As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The Department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for the people who live in island territories under U. S. administration.
HUBBELL TRADING POST NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

By
Albert Manchester and Ann Manchester

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1993
Tribute to a "Lady"

The death of Dorothy Hubbell on April 30, 1993, truly marked the passing of an era. Within the pages of this document one will catch only glimpses of her wit, business acumen, tenacity, and style. She truly left her mark -- every bit a Lady!!

- John Cook, Regional Director, Southwest Region
"We are not dealing with a normal situation at Hubbell Trading Post. It is an island in the middle of the vast Navajo Reservation so that every move we make is complicated.... Everything we touch has an angle to it, most of them without precedent."¹

¹Letter from Daniel R. Beard, Southwest Regional Office Director, to the Director of the National Park Service, July 13, 1966.
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Edward M. Chamberlin, Curator of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, deserves special thanks and recognition here. The project would not have been as complete as it is without his help and thoughtfulness. And we want to thank Charles Wyatt, Superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post, and the rest of his staff for their time, ideas, and memories. We want to thank, too, the staff of Southwest Parks and Monuments Association for loaning us space and their files on Hubbell Trading Post, with special thanks to Bill Malone and his kind staff at the trading post. Dr. Edward B. Danson gave us the better part of a day in order to recount, among other things, how the idea of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site was born. Dorothy S. Hubbell graciously answered our many questions, and at the end of our interview still had enough patience to share her birthday cake with us.

The Passing of Friday Kinlicheenie

Friday Kinlicheenie played an important and colorful role at Hubbell Trading Post during most of the time it has been a national historic site. He first went to work at the trading post in 1915. He retired when at last he could no longer work. Friday Kinlicheenie died on June 21, 1992, and he is buried at Cornfields next to his grandfather.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The movement to bring Hubbell Trading Post into the National Park System started in 1957. Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site was established by Act of Congress on August 28, 1965. Public Law 89-148 authorized the purchase of the "site and remaining structures of the Hubbell Trading Post at Ganado, Arizona, including the contents of cultural and historic value, together with such additional land and interests in land...needed to preserve and protect the post and its environs for the benefit and enjoyment of the public." During the 1965 Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs hearings concerning the proposed establishment of the old trading post as a national historic site, it was indicated that "arrangements should be worked out to have it operated along lines close to those that were in effect when it was an active post."

The trading post, as a national historic site, is still operated as a trading post, although the actual running of the business end of the site is under the direction of Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, which employs a Trader/Manager, Bill Malone, and many full-and part-time clerks. This arrangement, unique in the Park System, is governed by a cooperative agreement. Tourists visit the site, but so do Navajo who come to trade their arts and crafts and buy groceries. This is a real—and active—trading post, not specifically a museum.

As an important point of fact, the trading post was an active trading post when the Park System stepped in to manage the site. Dating from the mid-1870s, it was the oldest trading post still in operation on the Navajo Reservation, and it was the oldest business still operating in northern Arizona. When the NPS and SPMA came in the 1960s to manage the site and run the business, the trading post was owned and operated by Dorothy Hubbell, the daughter-in-law of its founder, John Lorenzo Hubbell. When the NPS and SPMA took over, there was a change of administration, that's all.

Full title to the property was acquired in 1968. There are 160 acres of land acquired in fee simple, of which approximately 110 acres are potentially irrigable. The trading post was also a farm; the fields have lain largely unused since about 1964. (There are problems with the dam at the reservoir, Ganado Lake, about two miles from the historic site; irrigation water has not been able to be moved through the ditches, which are becoming filled with weeds and drifting sand.) In order for Hubbell Trading Post to regain historical accuracy, farming should be reintroduced.

The cultural resources of the historic site are surprising and significant. Management has to be concerned with the maintenance of a complex of structures built between the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth century. There are a number of archeological sites within the boundaries of the historic site, and these archeological sites are evidence of human habitation here for thousands of years. One archeological site, Wide Reed Ruin, is of considerable significance all by itself. Virtually no attempts are made to interpret for the public the thousands of years of Indian habitation here. The museum collection, all of which was acquired with the historic site, is one of the richest in the Southwest. The collection consists of ancient and modern Indian arts and crafts, modern objets d'art, old farm implements and frontier tools, antique firearms, household furnishings from the late nineteenth century to the early decades of this century, and just an incredible assortment of household odds and ends and
Figure 1. Vicinity of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
Location of Hubbell in northeastern Arizona.

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business paraphernalia that has been found at the site. A full-time curator and assistant are on
duty at Hubbell Trading Post to maintain and catalog the thousands of artifacts.

Management and development decisions at the historic site must comply with the provisions of
the Antiquities Act of 1906, the National Park Service Organic Act of 1916, the Historic Sites
Act of 1935, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (as amended), the National
Environmental Policy Act of 1969, Executive Order 11593 of May 13, 1971, the Historical and
Archeological Data Preservation Act of 1974, the Archeological Resources Protection Act (P.L.
96-95) of 1979, and P.L. 89-148 authorizing the area, as well as the congressional hearings of
1966 during which Director George Hartzog committed the Park Service to running a live trading
post.

The mission of the Park Service at the historic site is of course the protection and preservation
of the site, but, and this is unique in the Park System, the site is also intended to perpetuate, for
as long as possible, the trading post business as an example of that kind of business. This is the
only trading post owned by the American people. It is important to note that although this historic
site has museum-like aspects, it is not a museum, and for the most part is not a site intended to
be "frozen in time." This may be our only historic site that is intended to go on evolving, a real
business that will change as the Navajo themselves change.

Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site is in Apache County, Arizona, which is the most
northeasterly of Arizona's counties, and it is entirely surrounded by the Navajo Nation.
Figure 2. Map of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
Hubbell Trading Post is not a "destination" for most of the people who arrive there. The authors' first trip to the trading post, in October of 1981, is probably fairly representative of most of the visits there. We were on a trip to the Grand Canyon. Before starting for home (Santa Fe) we decided to look at our maps to see if there might be something of interest to see along the way. And there, just west of a town called Ganado, we found a little red square with an arrow pointing at it and the words **Hubbell Trading Post Nat'l Hist. Site**.

Figure 3. The authors first visited the historic site in October, 1981. The only photo they took that day shows part of the wareroom, the curator's office and storage area, and, in the background, the barn. A. Manchester photograph.
Introduction

We had heard of the place, but we had never been there. If we drove through Cameron and Moenkopi, we noted, and took 264 easterly toward Gallup, we would be on a road with orange dashes paralleling it. Instead of having to escort hundreds of tractor-trailer rigs along I-40, then, we would be able to drive at least part of the way back home on a "scenic route." So our first trip to Hubbell Trading Post was simply a why-not? decision based on the hope that driving that way would be more interesting than getting back on I-40.

Ever since starting work on this administrative history we have been trying to recall what that 1981 visit meant to us. We’ve probed the wells of memory in hopes of finding there something that might benefit the people who will be using this work. We entered the trading post that day. We recall seeing the baskets on the ceiling. We didn’t buy anything. Then, unlike the majority of visitors, we took advantage of the tour through the house. We saw more baskets on the ceiling there, dark rooms, and old furniture. Back outside, near the bread oven, we recall looking at the garden. Cornstalks stood in the weak sun, brown leaves rustling in the wind.

Trader Bill Malone was there, but we don’t remember seeing him. We can’t recall the guide who took us through the home; and we can’t remember exactly what we were supposed to have learned about Indian traders and trading posts, although ever since that day, whenever the subject came up, our notion of what a trading post is like would be whatever we could remember of Hubbell Trading Post. So we must have learned something, we must have been somehow subtly impressed, in spite of the fact that we couldn’t have been there much more than an hour. We took one black and white photograph and then drove away.

Nine years later to the month, driving the same green Chevy pickup but this time approaching Ganado from the east, we went to Hubbell Trading Post to start work on this administrative history. We researched and wrote for over a year. We came to know Dorothy Hubbell, Ned Danson, and other people who were instrumental in bringing Hubbell Trading Post into the Park System. Doing our research, we returned to the trading post several times. We realized after a while that the post seems to have an aura all its own, and we think we know the source of that aura.

Hubbell Trading Post is not just an old trading post; it is a window to a very rich world. A world of traders and trading posts, of military campaigns against Indians, the campaigns and marauding of those Indians against the people history brought upon them. Hubbell Trading Post was one of the focal points during a collision of conflicting cultures. And the site has been occupied by man probably since man first walked into the area thousands of years ago and found water here; he has left dwellings, artifacts and burials here. The place is rich in the lore of arts and crafts. Significant people lived here, worked here, passed by here. Although small in area, Hubbell Trading Post is undoubtedly one of the richest cultural resources owned by the American people.

During our research we learned that one of the trading post’s superintendents reportedly complained that he felt like the manager of a grocery store. Surely he missed what Hubbell Trading Post is all about. When you do business with Bill Malone you are taking part in a tradition that goes back, now, 115 years; Bill is the most recent link in an unbroken chain that you can follow right back to the mid-1870s. In the West, that spells Tradition.
Location, Access, and Public Facilities

Hubbell Trading Post is located about a half mile to the west of what can be considered the center of Ganado, Arizona. Ganado is up in the northeastern corner of Arizona in the Navajo Nation, 53 miles northwest of Gallup, New Mexico, 190 miles west of Albuquerque, and 156 miles east of Flagstaff, Arizona. Ganado is 35 miles north of Chambers, Arizona, which is on I-40. US 191 and Arizona 264 cross in Ganado.

If you are driving from the east, it is recommended that you take US 666 north out of Gallup and then Arizona 264 west toward Window Rock, Arizona. The nearest rail connection is at Gallup, and there are commercial airports at Gallup and at Winslow, Arizona (124 miles). Rental cars are available in connection with airline transportation.

Advertised lodging is unavailable at this time in Ganado. The historic site has a VIP trailer, but if promised lodging there suddenly becomes unavailable to you (and this seems to be a chancy matter on the best of days), it is recommended that you stop over in Window Rock at the Navajo Nation Inn.

However, the citizens of Ganado and the historic site are aware that limited housing is available on the Presbyterian Hospital grounds. The hospital, now called Sage Memorial Hospital and operated by the Navajo Nation Health Foundation, is in fact a complex of buildings that has grown up during the past seventy years. The hospital land, like the land at the historic site, is not part of the Navajo Reservation. The hospital maintains "cottages" for visiting medical people and others who are there on business. If the cottages are not occupied, the hospital will rent them to anybody else.

Ganado is 6300 feet above sea level. This is high-desert country, the Colorado Plateau. The landscape is open, vistas large. Summer days are dry and warm, summer evenings cool. Scattered rainfall—sometimes short-lived, violent storms—are part of many summer afternoons. Annual precipitation is about fifteen inches. Winter days are dry and sunny, warm in the sun, cold in the shade. Winter nights can be quite cold, the temperature dropping below zero Fahrenheit. There is a year round temperature differential between day and night of about thirty degrees. Spring, when almost daily winds blow dust and grit, can seem like the worst season of the year. Winds are generally westerly. Last frost is about mid-May, first frost mid-October.

About 1500 people, primarily Navajo, live in the vicinity of Ganado, which, like every other town on the reservation, is not an incorporated town with city or town limits. There are little or no zoning restrictions on the reservation; there is the danger that something truly unsightly could be built next to the historic site.

Ganado has limited tourist services. There is a post office here, a small grocery, two restaurants, two gas stations, a substation of the Navajo Police, and a volunteer fire department with an ambulance. There are no supermarkets here, but besides Hubbell Trading Post there is the Round Top Trading Post. Possibilities for any kind of shopping are exceedingly limited. Many NPS employees make weekly expeditions to Gallup for supplies.
Introduction

Ganado has five churches, Catholic, Mormon, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Full Gospel. The local public schools include all grades from preschool through high school. The Navajo Community College offers about fifteen courses at Ganado, including (if there are enough students) classes in the Navajo language.

Ganado is one of the 110 "Chapters" of the Navajo Nation and has its own chapter house, the Navajo equivalent of a town hall. Navajo chapters were established all over the reservation in the 1920s as units of agricultural extension services. They came to be meeting places to discuss issues and over the decades developed into a form of local government. Generally speaking, total consensus is required before the Navajo will move on an issue; for the impatient Anglo new to the Navajo Nation, "progress" on an issue can seem slow, now and then unattainable. NPS employees must learn to work closely with the local chapter in reference to mutual concerns.

The Navajo Reservation encompasses about 25,000 square miles, and approximately 165,000 people are scattered across this land. Individual Navajo do not "own" the land on which they live, farm, graze their cattle, and gather firewood. Use of a given area or resource is allowed by permit from the Navajo Nation government.

Window Rock, Arizona, is the seat of government for the Navajo Tribe. The Tribal Council meets there four times a year and the Bureau of Indian Affairs has its offices there. Window Rock has developed into a considerable community. There are two supermarkets in town as well as a string of the familiar fast food places one might drive by on the road into almost any American town. No liquor, wine, or beer is sold legally on the reservation.

Utility Systems

The site's water supply, sewage, and electrical power is provided and maintained by the Navajo Tribal Authority. Telephone services and cable TV are provided by the Navajo Communications Company.

Economic Trends

The nearest major employment centers are Phoenix and Albuquerque, many miles from the Navajo Nation. Flagstaff and Gallup provide a more limited employment opportunity. Unemployment figures for the Navajo are high, reportedly over forty percent. Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site has been authorized to use the "Contiguous to the Area" hiring authority for temporary positions and selected continuing positions. Other than that, there is no written policy regarding the hiring of the Navajo. "We are guided by the usual equal opportunity laws, etc., plus just old common sense."2

Development on the nearby Navajo and the Hopi Reservations includes mining, coal-fired powerplants, roads, tourism, and recreational facilities.

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2John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

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On Avoiding A Gaffe

Social customs and personal conduct among the Navajo can seem "foreign" to a visiting run-of-the-mill American. The following points were worked up by Terry Nichols in 1982 when she was Supervisory Park Ranger at Hubbell Trading Post.\(^3\) This is an adaptation of her work.

1. To be outgoing and loud may be considered overly aggressive conduct. On the other hand, Navajo may expect such behavior from their American cousins and they may not be totally outraged or frightened by it.

2. To be reserved, quiet, gentle, not outspoken is considered the Navajo way. Older people are deferred to, treated with respect, not ignored.

3. Do not be derogatory about Navajo customs, politics, police. On the other hand, if you are a knowledgeable "foreigner" with some authority—an Indian trader, for example—your opinions may be considered. Most Navajo feel their way of life is perfectly adequate.

4. Many traditional Navajo were taught when they were small that white people are not to be trusted. Such Navajo may remain—understandably—aloof and cautious until they can see, possibly after years of observation, that you may be as worthwhile a person as you seem to be. Terry Nichols said that she was at Hubbell Trading Post for a couple of years before some Navajo accepted her.\(^4\)

5. Do not assume that a Navajo will know all about the National Park Service. Chances are they don't know anything about it.

6. To the Navajo, you are a visitor who will very likely be here just a short time. They will be pleased if you come to understand something of their approach to life.

7. Trying to learn a little Navajo is one way to bridge the culture gap. If nothing else, it may give the Navajo a chance for a chuckle or two. Terry Nichols recounted how when she tried to say that a particular hill was high, she suggested instead that it was pregnant, which was surprising news to her listeners.\(^5\)

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\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^5\) Ibid.
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8. At social gatherings, with food and drink available, if one is quiet and reserved, smiling, opportunities for some sort of communication should arise.

Except for dedicated readers of Tony Hillerman’s novels, few people know very much about Navajo social mores. The Navajo, however, get a chance to see other Americans every night on TV, and such exposure would tend to make even the strongest people cautious.

Figure 4. Hubbell Trading Post as seen from the top of Hubbell Hill and looking across the Pueblo Colorado Wash. The date is May, 1966. The bridge seen to the left was removed in the mid-1970s. Photographers Bill Brown and John Cook, NPS photo, HUTR Neg. 186.
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The Navajo Language

The Navajo language is described as complex and difficult to learn. Few NPS employees have become fluent in the language. Navajo has few points of reference for people who grew up speaking and studying European languages only.

Physical Description of the Historic Site

Hubbell Trading Post is situated on 160 acres of land, about 110 acres of which are irrigable. The land can be irrigated through a series of ditches planned and built by J. L. Hubbell, and will be irrigated as soon as the dam at Ganado Lake is repaired and the ditches are cleaned out and repaired. John Cook, Hubbell Trading Post’s first superintendent, recalls seeing water in all the ditches. The farmland rises gently north to south and is terraced to hold the water at many levels. Dorothy Hubbell described how her husband Roman would spend days in the fields with a transit, trying to level the land for proper irrigation and farming.

The visitor comes to the complex of buildings at the end of the entrance road. The imposing collection of buildings are all of adobe or rock construction and date from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s: home, trading post, warreroom, warreroom extension, barn, manager’s residence, guest hogan, chicken coop, bread oven, bunkhouse, hogan-in-the-lane, visitor center, root cellar, corrals, sheds.

To the left along the entrance road, close to where the entrance road meets the highway, lie the employee living quarters, a group of mobile homes and the superintendent’s “modular” home.

The Pueblo Colorado Wash, a broad, deep streambed, cuts the north side of the land. During local storms the wash may flood, and in the past it has caused erosion along its banks and some destruction to Wide Reed Ruin, an Anasazi (ancient Indian) pueblo ruin of surprising significance. Because of the availability of water in the midst of a vast and generally dry landscape, the site has been used and occupied for thousands of years. Indian burials and collections of potsherds and lithics have been found in several places on the historic site. Except for the lack of farming, the trading post looks much as it did in, say, 1920 or 1930, and a lot of effort is expended in keeping it that way.

History of the Site to 1957

In an oft-quoted statement made in 1907, John Lorenzo Hubbell said: "The first duty of an Indian trader, in my belief, is to look after the material welfare of his neighbors; to advise them to produce that which their natural inclinations and talent best adapt them; to treat them honestly and insist upon getting the same treatment from them;...to find a market for their products and vigilantly watch that they keep improving in the production of same, and advise them which

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6John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

7Dorothy Hubbell, interview with authors, March 27, 1991.
commands the best price. This does not mean that the trader should forget that he is to see that he makes a fair profit for himself, for whatever would injure him would naturally injure those with whom he comes in contact."

This business philosophy kept the Hubbell family in business from the mid-1870s until 1967, and this is still the general aim of the traders who now operate the business under the auspices of Southwest Parks and Monuments Association.

Figure 5. John Lorenzo Hubbell in 1908. This is one of the famous "Red Heads" done by E. A. Burbank. There are many Redheads at the site, most of them portraits of Indians, and they are conté-crayon drawings on paper. NPS photo, HUTR Neg. 1901.
Hubbell was born in Pajarito, New Mexico, near Albuquerque, in November of 1853. His parents were James Lawrence Hubbell, from Connecticut, and Julianita Gutierrez, of New Mexico. J ohn Lorenzo went to Santa Fe to attend Fraley's Presbyterian Academy, and then he took a clerking job in the post office in Albuquerque. After about a year in the post office, he set off on his own for the Utah Territory.

Hubbell was a clerk for a time at a Mormon trading post at Kanab, Utah. While there, in 1872, he was reportedly seriously wounded in a fight at Panguitch, Utah. Hearsay tells us that the incident may have been about a woman who was the wife of another man, and the "fight" may have been nothing more than John Lorenzo getting plugged as he was exiting a bedroom by way of a window. However that may be, a real fight or wounds for the sake of dalliance, the lively young man thought it better to ride out of town. He headed south, which is important for the rest of the story.

Legend tells us, too, that some Paiute Indians picked up the wounded John Lorenzo and took care of him until he had regained mobility. We next find him working as an interpreter at Fort Defiance, Arizona, and then as a clerk at the trading post at Fort Wingate, New Mexico. With some clerking and trading post experience under his belt, John Lorenzo went to Ganado Lake in 1876 and opened his first trading post at what was then called the Hardison place. He operated there until he bought the Leonard Trading Post in 1878. The original Leonard buildings were out in front of the present home and trading post. The Leonard buildings were razed in the 1920s.

J.L. Hubbell had a partner in the early years, C.N. Cotton, and during the years of this partnership Cotton assumed much of the day-to-day operation of the trading post while Hubbell pursued a political career. John Lorenzo was sheriff of Apache County and he was a territorial senator during the years before Arizona became a state. His political ambition ended when he was defeated in an expensive race for the U.S. Senate.

In the 1890s, long before the disastrous political race for the Senate (1914), Hubbell became sole owner of the trading post, and he concentrated more of his time on expanding the operations. Cotton moved to Gallup, New Mexico, where he opened a warehouse; he provided wholesale merchandise for Hubbell and other Indian traders, and he became very important in the marketing of rugs and blankets in many parts of the United States. C.N. Cotton is a considerable study all by himself.

J.L. Hubbell was married to Lina Rubi (1861-1913) of Cebolleta, New Mexico, in 1879. They had four children: Adela (1880-1938), Barbara (1881-1965), Lorenzo (1883-1942), and Roman (1891-1957).

Hubbell’s developed into one of the most successful and influential of the trading posts. During the early decades of the business the Hubbells branched out considerably. A truly detailed study of all of their enterprises has never been made. Many boxes of business correspondence, receipts, ledgers are in the hands of the University of Arizona. The Hubbells bought out or opened trading posts in other areas. They did freighting, for themselves and others. Apparently they even opened a used car business. J.L. Hubbell was a businessman right down to his bone
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marrow. As he became more influential, people came to know him as "Don" Lorenzo, the Don being a Spanish term of respect.

Figure 6. John Lorenzo Hubbell holds one end of a rug. A Navajo woman, probably the weaver, holds the other end. This Ben Wittick photograph from probably the 1890s shows the north end of the trading post. NPS photo, HUTR Neg. RP-312.

It seems likely that his concern for his Navajo neighbors and customers did surpass the necessity of a purely business relationship. He had true friends among the Navajo. He was of use to them, and of course he needed them. (A trader who was a cheat, who was of no use to the Navajo, would not last long.)

The relationship between the Navajo and the trading post continues to this day. The trading post is still a place for them to buy supplies and to trade crafts. Now that it is a historic site, it brings people and money to the area.
The trading post as it is now could not exist without the support of the Navajo. The trading post needs their crafts. Hubbell Trading Post is considered something of an economic asset in the area, and it is in the interest of the tribal council delegates and the Ganado governing body, and the administrators of the trading post, to remain on good terms, and to exchange ideas and discuss mutual problems.

Don Lorenzo’s influence on the local culture was considerable. Many Navajo rugs look the way they do simply because Hubbell advised the weavers as to which designs would sell, which others might not. The "Ganado Red" is a style associated with Hubbell Trading Post. He advised them on farming matters, and the farm at the trading post set an example. J.L. Hubbell tried to keep pace with some modern developments. He was a strong, intelligent businessman with a large dose of compassion running through him, a man whose sensibilities allowed him to find room for another culture; he was perfectly fluent in Navajo. He was also a frontiersman, so his talents lay in many directions. There aren’t many specialists on a frontier.

The Hubbells were appreciative and acquisitive. They came to own one of the largest collections of art and artifacts in the Southwest, most of which is still at the trading post. J.L. Hubbell was famous for his hospitality. Ganado has always been one of the crossroads of the Navajo Nation. The trading post has been a shopping place for Navajo and a stopping place for travelers for over a hundred years.

One traveler who stayed at the trading post in 1917 was Donald Scott, who would later become an authority on the Old West and the director of Harvard University’s Peabody Museum. In 1958, when he was driving back from California, Scott took the opportunity to revisit the Hopi and Navajo country. In a June 9, 1958, letter to the then director of the Peabody Museum, J.O. Brew, Donald Scott described the experience:

"...again I was deeply impressed by [Hubbell Trading Post’s] historic associations.

As you know it stands head and shoulders above all other trading posts, and while its trade has fallen off in these later days it still stands as a unique monument of the early days of the Indian trader and the Navajo economy. It was founded in 1874 by John Lorenzo Hubbell, a man of such character that his reputation soon spread through all the Navajo country.

The great business in wool, piñon nuts and other goods traded for his commercial stock lead [sic] to the building of a striking adobe compound of warehouses and stores. Because of the danger in an unsettled land, the group of buildings has partly the aspect of a fort. In a way its character is half way between the forts of fur trading days, such as Laramie and Bridger, and the more peaceful posts of today.

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I had a long talk with Mrs. Ramon [sic] Hubbell in the dining hall where Roosevelt, Taft and a great many other celebrities have eaten in days gone by. The family which made the name Hubbell, like that of Morgan a synonym for honesty and power, has now reached its end. Don Lorenzo's older son, Lorenzo, whom you knew, succeeded his father and established himself as far west as Winslow. On his death the younger son, Ramon, took over. It is his widow who is now managing the post, and I found her a woman of exceptional character and charm.

Mrs. Ramon feels she must dispose of the property.... It seems to me that some way should be found to perpetuate the post. Its physical character—the great adobe compound, warehouses, stores and patios—and its historic associations are a unique reminder of a colorful and important period in our relations with the native tribes. Much as I wish other monuments of the past preserved, there are many covered bridges, many historic houses and churches, but this trading post is unique as I am sure you would testify.

Figure 7. Navajo wagons at Hubbell Trading Post circa 1910. Some Navajo would trek in from considerable distances, camp overnight. Hubbell Hill rises in the background. Copy of photo from Huntington Library, San Marino, California. HUTR Neg. RP-200.
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When I first saw Ganado it was a picturesque spot surrounded by the camp-fires of Navajos who had come by horseback or in farm wagons from near and far to trade. The warehouses were bursting with wool and Don Lorenzo, quiet but powerful, made a deep impression on me. The Navajo are still there in this cedar-dotted, good grazing land....

The Hubbells started farming their land very early in the twentieth century. A system of irrigation ditches was developed for their own land and to get water from Ganado Lake. J.L. Hubbell was a dynamic and interested man. Trader, politician, farmer, patron of the arts. Builder of a unique trading post and business empire. But after his death it all slowly faded away until by the early 1950s only the trading post in Ganado remained. Dorothy and Roman Hubbell lived there and ran the trading post. By 1957, Roman Hubbell, who used to cut such a dashing figure in his boots and riding britches, was confined to a wheelchair. Without Roman to help her, Dorothy was beginning to find the trading post operation to be just a little more than she could comfortably handle.

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10Mary Alice (Showalter) Bowlin, of Mesilla, New Mexico. She grew up at Fort Defiance, knew the Hubbells well. She describes Roman as a kind, sophisticated, charming man. Interview with authors, November 22, 1991.

11A more thorough look at the history of Hubbell Trading Post can be found in many places. Try Robert M. Utley’s Study of 1959 for the Park Service, Special Report on Hubbell Trading Post; or Frank McNitt’s The Indian Traders. Because the fifty or so boxes of papers relating to Hubbell business matters have not been thoroughly researched, a definitive history remains to be written. Much of the story that has come down to us is hearsay and legend. Because this history is supposed to deal mainly with post-1957 matters, the early history of the trading post, traders, and Navajo will be discussed only enough to clarify issues.

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The Birth of an Idea

"I am sending you, under separate cover, the pen used by President Johnson in signing the Hubbell Trading Post bill. This is something you deserve." So wrote Morris K. Udall, Congressman from Arizona, in a letter dated September 20, 1965, to Dr. Edward B. Danson, Director of the Museum of Northern Arizona. Morris Udall was referring to the eight years of extraordinary dedication on Danson’s part in keeping the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site movement alive in Congress and in the minds of many private citizens in the face of persistent opposition. Ned Danson still has the pen—as well as the satisfaction of being the prime mover during the long effort to save the old trading post for the American people.

Figure 8. Photograph taken February 11, 1958, by K. Wing and C. Steen. The original east-west road through Ganado ran right past the front of Hubbell Trading Post. The state road was straightened and now runs across the far northeast corner of the site property. NPS photo, HUTR Neg. 1.
On a July day in 1957, Ned Danson, then Assistant Director of the Museum of Northern Arizona, and Dr. Harold Colton, the Museum's director, drove over to Ganado from their offices in Flagstaff. They were going to visit with Dorothy and Roman Hubbell at Hubbell Trading Post, their main purpose to arrange for the loan of artwork for an exhibit at the Museum. They were interested in borrowing some of the red conté crayon sketches by E.A. Burbank. These sketches, the so-called "Redheads," are portraits of many Native Americans including local Navajo and other citizens of Ganado, and also a profile of J.L. Hubbell. Burbank was one of the habitués among the artists who had accepted Don Lorenzo's hospitality. Dozens of the Redheads line the walls of the Hubbell home.

For Ned Danson, that drive in 1957 to Hubbell Trading Post was a trip through time as well as space; he had been to Ganado before, way back in June of 1926, the year his parents decided to take the train from their home in Cincinnati, Ohio, and tour the West with their two daughters and their ten-year-old son, Ned. The real western adventure started when the Super Chief rolled into Las Vegas, New Mexico, where the Danson family was met by one of the monumental Packard Eight touring cars of the Indian Detours. The cars were chauffeured by men wearing flannel shirts and ten-gallon hats, and young women dressed in Navajo-style blouses and wearing silver and turquoise jewelry rode along as guides. The Packard rumbled out of Las Vegas on a dusty road and up and over Glorieta Pass and down into Santa Fe, the guide answering the tourists' questions as they drove along. The Ohio family stayed over in Santa Fe to see a rodeo before boarding the train once again. Their next stop was Gallup. They were met by another touring car. The dudes in the chauffeured car rolled off into the north for a tour of the Indian reservations.

The impressions gained on those early tours have remained a part of Ned Danson. He still remembers how the long hood of the Packard would swing back and forth through what looked like empty space as the automobile climbed narrow mountain roads. The West was a vivid place for a boy to be and the 1920s was a good time to be there. Plenty of windows to the old West remained open. A boy could still meet the folks who had settled the country and he could see some of the Indians who had survived that settlement. Pioneers and colorful Indians were on hand to greet the Kodak-toting tourists who bounced into town and encampment in their newfangled machines.

Settlements in the West and away from the railroads were still usually without satisfactory tourist accommodations. (One early motorist, struggling through Wyoming, came upon a one-room

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1Edward B. Danson, interview with authors, April 18, 1991.

2Ibid.

3The Indian Detours operated under the aegis of the Santa Fe Railway and the Harvey restaurant and hotel company. Tourists were driven all over the Southwest in Packard and Cadillac touring cars and sedans. Its heyday was the 1920s and 1930s. Little known today, the Indian Detours was an important instrument in opening up the Southwest to general tourism. The first trip by Indian Detours cars took place on the 15th of May, 1926. The Danson family risked a tour with them just a few weeks later. Dorothy Hubbell, in a recorded interview on March 27, 1991, said that general tourism did not start at Ganado until the late 1920s. In their way, the Dansons, too, were pioneers. [The authors knew several former drivers and couriers who worked for the Indian Detours. They've written magazine articles on the subject, and a section of their book, Trails Begin Where Rails End, is devoted to the Indian Detours.]
"hotel" fashioned out of old railroad ties.\textsuperscript{4} For some, the so-called accommodations were so disgusting that they often preferred to sleep under the big sky.\textsuperscript{5} However, if evening happened to catch up with you as you pulled into Ganado, Arizona, you could probably find free room and board at Hubbell Trading Post. Don Lorenzo was well known for his hospitality, and it was very likely you wouldn't be the only guest there. As Dorothy Hubbell has pointed out, they were never sure how many people they would have for dinner.\textsuperscript{6}

The Danson family stayed at least one night at Hubbell Trading Post. Dorothy Hubbell could have been there. Don Lorenzo and Roman Hubbell could have been there. Ned Danson doesn't recall seeing them. What he does remember about the trading post of 1926 was that he shared a spare bedroom with his parents. He slept on a cot, his mother and father in a big brass bed.

And now it was 1957. Ned Danson had become Dr. Edward B. Danson. He was forty-one, married, and had children of his own. During the intervening years he had studied history at Cornell and anthropology at the University of Arizona. His doctorate in anthropology is from Harvard. Prior to his appointment to the Museum, he taught two years at the University of Colorado, at Boulder, and six years at the University of Arizona. But what made a man of him, he enjoys relating, were the two years he served aboard the schooner \textit{Yankee}.\textsuperscript{7}

A world map with the \textit{Yankee's} 1933-1935 circumnavigation traced on it is attached to an exterior wall next to the door of Danson's study in Sedona, Arizona. The \textit{Yankee} sailed south out of Gloucester, Massachusetts. Through the Panama Canal and across the Pacific with the trade winds—the Galapagos, Pitcairn Island, Tahiti. Then across the Indian Ocean to Africa. Durban, Capetown, and around into the Atlantic. St. Helena, Ascension Island, Bermuda. And home. Eighteen months of clambering through the rigging of a tall schooner in all kinds of weather. Danson was just seventeen when he sailed out of Gloucester in 1933. Indeed, if a boy is so created that he can be molded into a man, a little time at sea is a surefire way to push the process along.

But if a lot of water had rolled under some bridges--and a tall ship--for Ned Danson since 1926, the same was not apparent for Hubbell Trading Post. Well, the pickups and automobiles parked outside the trading post now outnumbered the horses and wagons that prevailed in 1926, but the same fortress-like buildings still hunkered on the earth as if, having survived their own colorful pioneer era, they were now prepared to wait out eternity. Hubbell Trading Post still maintains its aura of timelessness.

The lives and affairs of man are more transitory. Don Lorenzo had died in 1930. Dorothy

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\textsuperscript{4}A. L. Westgard, \textit{Tales of a Pathfinder} (New York: A.L. Westgard, 1920)


\textsuperscript{6}Dorothy Hubbell, interview with authors, March 27, 1991.

\textsuperscript{7}The schooner \textit{Yankee} was owned and operated by Irving and Electa Johnson, New Englanders who made several such trips with at least two large sailing vessels, both called \textit{Yankee}. The Johnsons are well known to long-time readers of \textit{National Geographic}. The crews of the \textit{Yankee} vessels were amateurs who paid for the opportunity to spend two years before the mast. The 1933-1935 voyage was the first and is told about in the Johnsons' book \textit{Westward Bound In The Schooner Yankee} (See bibliography). A young Ned Danson is included in at least one of the photographs.
Hubbell was just fifty-eight. But husband Roman Hubbell was now confined to a wheelchair. He had suffered a slight stroke in 1953, and then a series of small strokes had left him gradually paralyzed on his right side. Hubbell Trading Post, Inc., a business empire that had once included several other trading posts, ranchlands, farming, and an automobile touring company, Roman Hubbell Navajo Tours, similar in intention to the Indian Detours, had been reduced to Hubbell Trading Post itself and was in bankruptcy. Roman Hubbell, by all accounts a charming man who could handle passing tourists with ease and consideration, had never been the trader his legendary father was. And now he was desperately ill. Dorothy Hubbell was carrying on as best she could, running the trading post and caring for Roman, but it had become too much for her.

The meeting between Harold Colton, Ned Danson, and the Hubbells took place around the middle of July, 1957. Once the arrangements for the loan of Burbank's Redheads had been concluded, Roman looked at Dorothy and said, "Should we say something?" She nodded and said "Yes." As the Hubbells explained to Colton and Danson, with Roman ill, they were just no longer able to continue running the trading post. One of the Hubbell boys, Roman, Jr., had been killed during World War II. The other Hubbell son, John, was an instructor of Spanish at the University of Vermont. Although John showed up at the trading post during summer vacations to help out where he could, he had no intention of becoming an Indian trader. LaCharles Eckel, a niece of the Hubbells who had done a lot of her growing up at the trading post, now lived in Denver and was married and had children of her own. Her family responsibilities would keep her away from the trading post.

And so Hubbell Trading Post, founded over seventy-five years before by Juan Lorenzo Hubbell, was for sale. The Hubbells had already entertained offers. But what the Hubbells wanted to know from Dr. Colton was whether there would be any way for the Museum of Northern Arizona to acquire and preserve the property.

No, Dr. Colton said, the Museum could not acquire the trading post. He went on to explain that they were a private scientific institution dedicated to the study of geology, biology, anthropology, art and atmospherics. A trading post in the middle of the Navajo Nation would not fall within their purview. Dr. Colton was one of the founders of the Museum. He knew as well as anybody could just what the Museum would be able to absorb. And on that negative note, Harold Colton and Ned Danson started back to Flagstaff.

As Dorothy Hubbell explained later, her decision to approach the Museum of Northern Arizona was inspired to a great extent by what had happened to the Richard Wetherill property at Kayenta, another trading post. The Wetherills were a well-known family in the Four Corners region, ranchers in southwestern Colorado, who came to prominence in the late nineteenth century as the "discoverers" of the ruins at Mesa Verde. Theirs were the first "digs" in many Anasazi ruins all over the Four Corners area. At the same time they became involved in trading posts on the Navajo Reservation, and their interests in trading posts lasted for decades after they  

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*Letter from Dorothy Hubbell to Mrs. Bagwell, August 20, 1958.

*Edward B. Danson, interview with authors, April 18, 1991.

Chapter I

gave up exploring and archeology. Over the years the Wetherills amassed an enormous collection of ancient and modern Indian artifacts.

Dorothy Hubbell first met the Wetherills when she was still a newcomer to the country. "I was greatly impressed by the number [of artifacts] they had," Dorothy related. "And I was interested because it was new to me then, too. Then they died and it was only their son, Ben, alive. And then Ben moved away. The place was sold, everything was gone. Everything was gone. Nothing was collected, put into a collection where it could be studied. It was gone. I thought, well, now, what would happen to Ganado [Hubbell Trading Post] if I sold to somebody?"11

Figure 9. The trading post Bullpen in 1949, clerk Pete Balcomb waiting on Slim Tahe (Hastin Besh’ii’aahe Biye), the man in the leather jacket who is facing the camera. Except for a change of products on the shelves, the Bullpen still looks like this. Mullarky Photo Studio, Gallup, New Mexico. HUTR Neg. RP-188.

11Dorothy Hubbell, interview with authors, March 27, 1991.
The Hubbells were approached by at least three different parties who were interested in the property. Dorothy: "And this one man to whom I talked, I said, 'What would you do with these things?' I was pointing to the walls.... 'Oh,' he said, 'I would just sell them. I'd put in a liquor store'." Dorothy was appalled. Well, in any case, the Navajo would never have permitted a liquor store to become part of the trading post, but—could she stand to see so many of the beautiful things contained in the Hubbell homestead sold off? To just anybody? Would the Hubbell property have to suffer the same fate as the Wetherill's? Dorothy: "That let me know
that some people might just disperse the things that we had. And I had lived with them long enough that they seemed important to me.”

Dorothy had lived with them since 1920. Born Dorothy Elizabeth Smith in Indiana, Dorothy came west in 1920 to be teacher to the Hubbell children. Roman’s wife had died during the influenza epidemic that spread across much of the world just after World War I. Seven months later—to the utter consternation of her parents—Dorothy was married to Roman and became stepmother to her pupils.

The Hubbells, too, had gathered an impressive collection of Indian artifacts and modern art: floors covered with Navajo rugs, walls hung with artwork and Indian baskets, baskets from many Indian tribes of the Southwest nailed to the ceilings between the vigas, pottery from all of the southwestern tribes. The furniture was mostly period Victorian, and like many a bourgeois turn-of-the-century home, there seemed to be an excessive amount of everything. A traveler, marooned in 1907 by a time warp, would have felt right at home at Hubbell Trading Post in 1957. As Ned Danson suggested, “It was a hodgepodge of things....”

Hodgepodge, to be sure, but in many respects valuable. Apart from the historical and ethnological value of the contents of the trading post, a way of life had been—to an almost incredible degree—preserved there. For Dorothy Hubbell, that way of life was still tangible. (Several times while being interviewed for this administrative history, when people from her past were mentioned, she would pause, as if caught unawares, and say, "And now they’re all gone." Seventy years had slipped away.)

Dorothy was determined to see Hubbell Trading Post preserved: "It was important enough that I didn’t want to see it dissipated.” But with Roman’s health so frail and business slow.... If the Museum of Northern Arizona couldn’t take the old trading post, an eventual sale to disinterested strangers would be its inevitable fate.

During the two-hour drive back to Flagstaff, Danson and Colton continued to mull over the Hubbell’s offer and their precarious situation. But as far as they could see, there was nothing in the Museum’s mandate that would allow them to pursue such an exotic acquisition. Ned Danson, however, had recently become a member of the National Park Service Advisory Board. As he drove through the late afternoon, he was at last inspired by the notion that Hubbell Trading Post might be a candidate for the National Park System. He put the idea to Dr. Colton, who agreed that the idea had merit. Danson decided that the next time he went to Washington for a Board meeting he would put Hubbell Trading Post on the table for discussion.

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12Ibid.

13Ibid.

14Edward B. Danson, interview with authors, April 18, 1991.

15Ibid.
Ned Danson Looks for Help

By all accounts the exhibit of Burbank's Redheads was a success and the drawings were returned to Hubbell Trading Post on September 21, 1957. During the exhibit, sometime in August, NPS Regional Archeologist Charlie Steen happened to be at the Museum of Northern Arizona, and while Steen was there Ned Danson took advantage of the opportunity to tell him about the availability of Hubbell Trading Post as a possible NPS acquisition.¹

Figure 11. Dr. Edward B. Danson in the backyard of his home in Sedona, Arizona, on April 18, 1991, the day the authors interviewed him for this history. A. Manchester photo.

Steen recorded some details about the trading post so that he could report to the Regional Director, but he also advised Danson that chances were probably pretty slim that an appropriation could be pried out of Congress to buy an old trading post in Navajo country. Furthermore, Steen continued, the Park Service could not take it upon itself to explore for prospective sites, parks, or monuments. Steen didn't know of a written directive that prohibited a Park Service search for new areas, but any investigations the NPS might make in reference to a prospective acquisition were always made only at the request of a member of Congress. Danson mentioned that he was considering writing to his Congressman about Hubbell Trading Post; Steen encouraged him to do so. Steen explained that if one of the Arizona Congressmen was sufficiently interested in the site, he could ask the Park Service to appraise the land and buildings and also make an assessment of the trading post to see if its historical value was sufficient to qualify it for some kind of preservation with federal money.

Ned Danson wrote several letters to Arizona Congressmen. Representative Stewart L. Udall asked his administrative assistant in Washington to present a proposal to NPS Director Conrad Wirth immediately. Senator Carl Hayden forwarded Ned Danson's letter to Director Wirth and asked him to "give serious consideration to taking [Hubbell Trading Post] over as a National Monument." Senator Barry Goldwater asked Director Wirth to "institute studies leading up to a determination of the advisability of creating a national monument where the Hubbell Trading Post stands in Ganado, Arizona."

Ned Danson was not shy about spreading his enthusiasm. But unknown to him at the time, interest in the old trading post for all the Congressmen went back many years.

**Barry Goldwater, Carl Hayden and Stewart L. Udall Made Early Trips to Ganado**

It was probably Barry Goldwater's mother's interest in her adopted state (she had moved to Arizona from the Midwest for her health) that nurtured his own love for Arizona. For as far back as Goldwater could remember, his mother would take her children on motor tours around the state, and that was long before it was common practice for most motorists to risk their machines in the hinterland. As Goldwater recalled, roads could be so rough and tires so flimsy that the travelers might have to change tires four or five times in a hundred miles ("We could change those tires with our eyes closed."). Travel as arduous as that takes courage and a strong sense of adventure, the very stuff or pioneers—and dedicated early motorists.

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6All of the information here in reference to Barry Goldwater's early auto trips and his impressions of those days are contained in four letters from Barry Goldwater to the authors: January 26, 1991; February 13, 1991; March 29, 1991; and April 12, 1991.
Goldwater was seven years old in 1916 when he accompanied his mother on an automobile trek through Hopi and Navajo lands. He regards that trip as among the most wonderful experiences he's had. The Goldwaters stopped off in Ganado for several days. Barry Goldwater met Don Lorenzo, remembers him as being "very kindly," and he got to know Don Lorenzo's children. Goldwater saw the Redheads "...done by an artist who devoted his art to Indian faces, a Mr. Burbank, from California...."

As far as Barry Goldwater is concerned, Hubbell Trading Post was "...superior to any other Post we ever visited, and it still is to this day. Hubbell's remains "...a lot like when I first saw it." The old trading post made a "deep impression" on the future Senator. "Even after [Lorenzo Hubbell's] death, we would go to the post, stay there, and enjoy the whole area." "Always in my mind that was just the way a Navajo post should look." He was so impressed by Burbank's Redheads that in later years he acquired a few from the trading post.

Ned Danson had found one enthusiastic supporter, but in Senator Carl Hayden he would find another. Born in what is now Tempe, Arizona, in 1877, Senator Hayden was already a member of Congress when in 1915 he made his first trip to Ganado: "I...found Don Lorenzo Hubbell actively engaged as a Navajo Indian trader. I was told that he was the son of an American pioneer whose wife came from a prominent Spanish family in New Mexico. Don Lorenzo was then recognized as the most successful of all the traders in the Navajo country."7

And yet another traveler to Hubbell's was Stewart L. Udall, who was only ten years old when he accompanied his father there during an early 1930 political campaign (his father was a judge). Udall's grandfather and Lorenzo Hubbell had become political enemies during the 1880s but they resolved their differences in the late 1920s when Lorenzo was dying. As Udall remembers that early visit, he found the old trading post "redolent of the 19th century." He never forgot the place.8

So all of the Congressmen had visited Hubbell Trading Post way back when. Two of them had known Don Lorenzo. They had seen Hubbell's in the heyday of trading posts when it was an important element in the culture and economy of the Navajo. During the following years, their continued support would prove vital for the success of the Hubbell Trading Post national historic site movement.

Sometime during August, 1957, while on another visit to Ganado, Ned Danson explained his National Park Service idea to Dorothy Hubbell. As far as she was concerned it was the best solution she had heard. On September 27, Danson wrote to Mrs. Hubbell to advise her that he had received favorable responses from Senators Hayden and Goldwater and Representative Udall. Danson continued: "This is just the beginning of the process of getting the Park Service to approve the acquisition, and I am sure you understand that this will take some time. However, I feel a good start has been made and I am optimistic."9

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7Letter from Carl Hayden to Conrad L. With, September 18, 1957.
8Letter from Stewart L. Udall to authors, October 30, 1991.
9Letter from Ned Danson to Dorothy Hubbell, September 27, 1957. On file at Curator's office, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
A good start. Optimistic. But it will take some time. Yes, it would take some time...

**The National Park Service Goes to Work—Roman Hubbell Dies**

Ben H. Thompson, NPS Acting Director, replied to the Congressmen to advise them that Hubbell Trading Post would be investigated during the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings then underway. However, funds for the work were limited and he was not certain as to when the survey would be completed; but he did feel that Hubbell's would be among those places considered to determine whether or not it was "nationally important and suitable for national monument purposes." Also, the NPS Regional Office in Santa Fe was ordered to forward whatever data on the old trading post that might be readily available. The NPS would be concentrating their attention on western sites, and it was hoped that the "broad aspects" of the survey would be completed by the end of the 1958 fiscal year.

Efforts for the hoped-for disposal of Hubbell Trading Post to the NPS had hardly gotten under way when Roman Hubbell died, in October of 1957, aged only sixty-five years. He was the last of the original Hubbell clan. Dorothy was left to maintain the trading post as best she could. And in Washington the mill wheels of procedure started to turn ever so slowly.

And Ned Danson was hedging his bet. Aware of the economy drive in Congress, and at the suggestion of Dr. Colton, Danson wrote to Philip Merkle, of the *Arizona Republic*, to see if there might not be enough people in Arizona and possibly outside the state to contribute enough money to buy the trading post. Also, Dorothy received a letter from Dr. Hopkins, retired professor of journalism, who thought that the trading post should be preserved intact as a museum of Arizoniana, and he was sure that possibly the Heard Museum—or a foundation of public spirited citizens—could be induced to help with the matter. Many people who were interested in Hubbell Trading Post were also determined to preserve it intact.

**The National Advisory Board of the National Park Service Joins the Act**

At the next Board meeting of the Advisory Board of the NPS, in the spring of 1958, Ned Danson put Hubbell Trading Post on the table for discussion. The Board members were receptive to the proposal but decided not to act on it because, as yet, the Park Service had not completed its survey of the site. Dorothy Hubbell was advised that chances were good that Hubbell Trading Post would eventually be included in the Park System. In the meantime, the Southwest Regional Office of the NPS would be putting together a study of Hubbell Trading Post, and Robert M. Utley, Regional Historian, was in charge of—and doing most of the work on—the project.

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11 Ibid.

12 Letter from Edward B. Danson to Dorothy Hubbell, May 16, 1958. On file at the Curator's office, Hubbell Trading Post NHS.
Chapter II

Robert Utley's Special Report of Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona, for The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

While Dorothy Hubbell waited and Ned Danson talked and wrote, Robert M. Utley, Regional Historian, went to work on the Hubbell Trading Post study, completed by January, 1959. His job was to "...come up with...an analysis of Hubbell's role as an Indian trader and his influence on the Navajo, but also with an analysis of the role and influence of the Navajo trading post as a reservation institution and the role and influence of Indian traders throughout the West."13 This "study" developed into a 108-page document that has since been a good starting point for many studies about the trading post (including this one). Complete with maps and photos, the report was forwarded to Park Service headquarters, Washington, D.C., where, in February, 1959, an 18-page unsigned critique of it was issued.

In order to shorten the 18-page critique to a long paragraph, it should be enough to say that the Branch of History, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., was not enthusiastic about Hubbell Trading Post becoming a national monument. Don Lorenzo's influence on political, economic, and cultural affairs was, they thought, restricted to only a part of the Navajo Reservation, nor did they feel that Bob Utley had demonstrated that Navajo Indian traders were of national significance. The Branch of History reviewed four other letters and documents in reference to Hubbell Trading Post, but Utley's was the report they most relied on, and they thought an important weakness was its lack of a complete list of the ethnological and cultural objects he said were at the trading post. (At that time there was no complete list of the thousands of artifacts, nor would there be a complete list for a long time to come.) They knew Burbank's artworks were important, but they thought, too, that the Smithsonian would be a good place for that part of the collection. Not only was the trading post not of national significance, as far as they could see, Hubbell's was only important as far as part of the reservation was concerned. Hubbell Trading Post possessed no exceptional value for commemorating the cultural, political, military, or economic history of the United States; none of the members of the family had any important significance in the history of the United States; the trading post did not appear to have any association with important events which are symbolic of any great idea or ideals of the American people; the buildings at the trading post did not constitute notable works of a master builder, designer, or architect whose individual genius reflected his age; nor were the archeological sites of major significance. It was admitted, however, that the structures there were over fifty years old. And had integrity and original workmanship. It was decided that the trading post did not possess that exceptional value commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States necessary to give it an evaluation of national significance. The recommendation of the Branch of History was "that the State of Arizona or some suitable regional agency consider steps that may be taken to preserve the Hubbell Trading Post."14

So Hubbell Trading Post was good enough for the State of Arizona but not good enough to become a unit of the National Park Service, at least as far as the Branch of History was concerned. In the meantime, everybody who was interested in the trading post project knew that Dorothy Hubbell would have a hard time working the post alone, and efforts were made to see

13Letter from Robert M. Utley to Dr. E. B. Danson, September 12, 1958. On file at Curator's office, Hubbell Trading Post NHS.

14Evaluation of Hubbell Trading Post, Washington, Office, NPS.
if money could possibly be raised by the people of Arizona in order to buy it. Or some "suitable agency" might be found that would find the trading post worth preserving. The Navajo Tribe considered the purchase, but they decided that Dorothy Hubbell's asking price was too high.

Although Bob Utley's report failed to win over his counterparts in Washington, he still cherishes those days when he was doing research at Hubbell Trading Post. Utley: "I have warm memories of Dorothy Hubbell.... With a research assistant, I spent several days as a guest in her home, occupying the Burbank-bedecked bedroom on the left as you enter the front door. She presided in regal splendor over the big table in the dining room, in much the same fashion, I have thought, that Don Lorenzo himself presided over the same table. She tricked me into a boast that one should keep an open mind toward all forms of food and refuse nothing that had not been at least tried; she presented me with a can full of chocolate covered grasshoppers, which I could not bring myself to sample. ...I spent several days there...to go through the Hubbell papers, which were thrown into barrels in the barn and were well sprinkled with evidence of the passage of rats and other influences antithetical to the professional preservation of archival material."

But as it turned out, Bob Utley's intrepid explorations and investigations—even through rat droppings—were not in vain. As soon as Ned Danson heard that Utley's report was available, he requested a copy from SWRO; if Hubbell Trading post was going to be put on the table for discussion at the April meeting of the National Park Service Advisory Board, Ned wanted all of the other members to read it. Something swayed the Board in the direction of Hubbell Trading Post; on the 22nd of April they recommended that Hubbell Trading Post be classified as of exceptional value under the terms of the Historic Sites Act. They went on to recommend that the trading post be included in the National Park System: "The Hubbell Trading Post includes in its present make-up many intangible elements of feeling and association with important parts of American heritage. The Spanish element, the American element and the American Indian element are well represented. In addition the examples of western art preserved at the Post are significant Americana and part of the story of trading post life. This Post expresses a period of history as does no other known trading post, and its function as an acculturating agent continues to this day among the Navajo and Hopi Indians which tribes it has served since its founding in 1876.
"Further, the Advisory Board recognizes that this Post is now available for preservation and that its loss would forever impoverish our understanding of a major phase of our heritage."20

Ned Dansan wrote to Dorothy Hubbell to advise her of the Board’s direction and to tell her that although there had been opposition in Washington, most of it seemed to be based on ignorance.21 Dorothy was delighted with the Advisory Board’s approval. Although Park Service personnel had been stopping by the trading post all year, she had begun to think that nothing would come of the idea. And Bob Utley had forwarded a copy of his report to her; and she found it "truly comprehensive" and it "raised my hopes considerably."22

Although the Branch of History was unmoved by Bob Utley’s efforts, his report must have scored favorably with the people who counted. Today, over thirty years after it was written, and after a lot more research has been done on the subjects it delves into, the report is still a valuable source of information about the trading post and the Navajo. It was an important step in bringing the trading post into the National Park System.

**S. 1871 and H.R. 7279**

On May 7, 1959, Senator Carl Hayden introduced S.1871 to authorize the establishment of the trading post as a national historic site.23 However, a necessary report from the Secretary of the Interior arrived too late for the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to act on the matter, but Senator Hayden would urge early consideration of it after Congress convened in January.24

Congressman Stewart L. Udall introduced H.R. 7279 on May 20, 1959, for the establishment of the trading post as an historic site, but neither the House nor the Senate Committee on Interior Affairs held hearings on the bill.

The report that Carl Hayden said was needed for the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs was from the Office of the Secretary of the Interior and is a two-page description of Hubbell Trading Post. It mentions, too, that the owners of the trading post would be willing to part with the post for $300,000, and the assessed 1957 valuation of the real property, if noted, was

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22Letter from Dorothy Hubbell to Edward B. Danson, May 11, 1959. On file at Curator’s office, Hubbell Trading Post NHS.

23The very first bill in reference to Hubbell Trading Post was S. 3985, introduced in 1958. Nothing came of it. It, too, was Carl Hayden’s bill.

$9,957.25 This $9,957 amount, a figure for tax purposes, would become in the future a weapon for those opposing the Hubbell Trading Post bills.

H.R. 7279 passed successfully through the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee during the first weeks of 1960. Everybody interested in the project felt something had to be done quickly; the general perception of Dorothy Hubbell's financial foundation was that it was shaky. Rumors had circulated that she was selling off some of the better artwork, which was not true; she hoped to deliver the trading post intact, including its rich contents, to the American people. Potential buyers of art, hearing the rumors, would stop by "almost every day" to see what they could buy. Dorothy told them all that nothing was for sale.26

Her gasoline sales had been cut in half when the road was moved away from the trading post to the northeast corner of the Hubbell land. And now the El Paso Gas Company was putting in a gas station just off her property. That would further reduce her dwindling sales of gasoline. However, Standard Oil had proposed to her that she lease some land in that distant corner to them for a gas station. Although she needed the income, she was afraid that the presence of the gasoline station on her property might spoil her chances of ever selling the entire property to the government.27 But just how long could she wait for Congress to dance through its complicated routine? Ned Danson did his best to keep her informed of progress.

Opposition Arises to the Hubbell Trading Post Legislation

On March 4, 1960, Stewart Udall wrote to Ned Danson to advise him of some opposition to Hubbell Trading Post that was arising.28 In a publication called Human Events29 Udall's legislation was described as a boondoggle that would cost the taxpayers thousands of dollars. And what would the government get for its money? "In return for its $600,000 now and more later, the government would get the Trading Post, 160 acres, and a collection of Southwestern art and Indian relics in a nearly uninhabited area of northeastern Arizona, 80 miles from the nearest town of any size, 200 miles from the nearest city.30

The owners of the property would sell for $300,000 (the other $300,000 was intended for development). Representative H.R. Gross (R. Iowa) suggested that the owners of the trading post would no doubt be willing to sell for that amount. The 1957 assessed valuation was $9,957!

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25Letter from the Secretary of the Interior to the Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, September 11, 1959. On file at Curator's office.

26Letter from Dorothy Hubbell to Dr. Danson, September 9, 1959. On file at Curator's office, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.


29Human Events, The National Conservative Weekly, Washington, D. C. Udall does not say on what date the item appeared.

The letter went on to say that citizens should make a "PUBLIC PROTEST from now until election—when 'pork barrel' congressmen can be replaced by men willing to work for fiscal sanity."  

Representative Gross had objected to the passage of the bill on the consent calendar; and now it appeared that Stewart Udall would have to secure the cooperation of Speaker Rayburn in order to have the bill brought up on a special calendar. This would not be the last time for the proponents of the Hubbell Trading Post legislation to hear from Representative Harold Royce Gross.  

H.R. 7279 came before the House on March 21, 1960. It was defeated by a vote of 208 to 171. Some excerpts from the debate:  

Mr. Gross: "How much is the land around this trading post worth?"

Mr. Udall: "I do not know about that, but the real property, the buildings, is assessed at $9,000. As I say, however, property is assessed at 10 percent."

Mr. Gross: "With a few paintings and an ethnological collection, the price has gone up to $300,000. On top of that, the bill calls for $294,000 for redevelopment...and...$23,000 for federal management for this thing in the first year.... I say to you again that if you vote for this proposition you are approving an expenditure of more than half a million dollars to bail out an estate in the wilds of northeast Arizona. I want no part of it."

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Mr. O'Hara: "Mr. Speaker, I must answer to my constituents. I find here in report No. 1250 that the assessed valuation of the real property in 1957 was $9,957, and that the owner graciously had expressed a willingness to sell the property for $300,000. There may be an answer, but it will have to be a pretty good answer or I cannot look my constituents in the face if I vote for this."

Mr. Udall: "We discussed this matter.... I made two points: The first is that real property valuations for tax purposes in my State are about 10 percent.... But the real value of this trading post lies in the collection of Indian artifacts, art work, Indian blankets, and so forth."

Mr. O'Hara: "Allowing, as the gentleman states, the appraised value is one-tenth of the real value there still is a discrepancy of over $200,000, which has been explained very casually and with nothing on which to hang our hats."

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31Ibid.

32Representative Harold R. Gross would continue to figure prominently in the opposition to the Hubbell Trading Post legislation. He served in the House of Representatives for many years. He was born in Iowa in 1899, served with the First Iowa Field Artillery on the Mexican border in 1916, and he served in France with the U.S. Army from 1917-1919.
Mr. Gross: "Has an appraisal been made of the Indian collection involved?"

Mr. Udall: "None has been made. There is to be an appraisal before purchase."

Mr. Gross: "Yes, but you want to spend, under the terms of this bill, $300,000 for the property without an appraisal of the collection."

Mr. Udall: "No, my colleague does not understand. The $300,000 is a limit. It will be appraised at fair market value, and that will be the price."

Mr. Dowdy: "This is obviously an attempt to bail out the owners of a worthless property at the expense of the American taxpayer."

H.R. 7279 took some heavy bashing on March 21, 1960. Its companion bill in the Senate passed, and the Senate bill would now be introduced in the House. Both Barry Goldwater and Carl Hayden felt that they could get the bill through the House, but everybody now saw the necessity of having an independent appraisal done on all of the art and ethnological material at the trading post. If the Congressmen needed something on which to hang their hats, they should have it.

Inventories and Appraisals

As Stewart Udall tried to point out, the true value of Hubbell Trading Post lay in its art and artifacts. Senator Goldwater and NPS Director Conrad Wirth suggested to Ned Danson that he have the trading post inventoried and appraised.

A "Rough Inventory of Ethnological and Art Collections-Hubbell Trading Post" had been done on the 5th of March, 1958. This room-by-room inventory does not include all of the artifacts and art at the trading post (a storeroom is described as "full of stuff"), nor does it attempt to put a dollar value on anything. It doesn't look like an inventory that might impress Iowa's Representative Gross.

In order to get something on paper as quickly as possible, Ned Danson and Charlie Steen, with the assistance of Dorothy Hubbell, inventoried the trading post on the 19th of April, 1960. It was as complete an inventory as they could make in one day, and it was done by class of item, not by room. One has but to see the trading post in order to appreciate what a hard day that must have been. This inventory was sent to Carl Hayden to supplement the rough inventory he already had. Along with it went an inventory that Mrs. Hubbell had prepared some time before.35

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35Memorandum from George W. Miller, Acting SWRO Director, to Director, April 21, 1960. On file at Curator's office, Hubbell Trading Post NHS.
In order to get the contents of the trading post appraised, Ned Danson enlisted the best men he knew, Clay Lockett, a dealer in Indian art who had a shop in Tucson, and Ivan Rosecrist, owner and operator of Rosecrist’s Art Gallery in Tucson. The men would work without pay. They had no connections with either the Park Service or the Museum of Northern Arizona. William V. O’Brien, of O’Brien’s Emporium, Scottsdale, would assist Mr. Rosecrist; and Tom Bahti, of Tucson, would assist Mr. Lockett. The four men from Tucson, plus Ned Danson and his secretary (who would help with note taking), arrived at the trading post on the 20th of June, 1960. Mrs. Hubbell put them up in her bedrooms in the Hubbell home and in the Guest Hogan. They worked for four days.

The appraisals were ready by December. The total value for both the art and ethnological collection came to $111,536. This appraisal did not include the books, the house furnishings, nor the gun collection. If all of the other odds and ends around the post were to be included, the total value for personal property at Hubbell Trading Post was estimated to be about $120,000.

They were now armed with accurate appraisals of the art and ethnological collection. That was all well and good, but would that stop Representative Gross from carping about that $9,957 assessed valuation of the trading post real estate? In order to go forward fully prepared, thought Hillary A. Tolson, Acting Director of the Park Service, they should also obtain appraisals of the land and buildings at the trading post. Carl Hayden agreed and he so informed the Park Service. (Land and buildings appraised at $169,000.) In the meantime, he had activated another bill for Hubbell Trading Post, this one S.522. The bill passed the Senate, but again its companion bill foundered in the House. The same thing happened in 1962.

Hubbell Trading Post in Limbo

The Hubbell Trading Post bill remained in a state of limbo in the House. By 1963, even the apparently indefatigable Ned Danson revealed signs of discouragement: "I do not have the time or desire to work again on a 'lost cause,' but if all of you feel that there is a chance to add Hubbell Trading Post to the National Park System, I shall be happy to do what I can to get the information that will help you assure passage of the new Bill." He had been asked by the Secretary of the Interior to institute a study of trading posts to see if there might be another one with the history and integrity to equal Hubbell’s. He knew there was none. But he would see

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57Letter from Dorothy Hubbell to Dr. Edward B. Danson, June 10, 1960. On file at Curator’s office, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.

58Edward B. Danson, interview with authors, April 18, 1991.


to the study anyway. It had been over five years since he had taken up the lance in favor of Hubbell Trading Post....when it was claimed that Hubbell Trading Post was the best example of a trading post that still existed. Representative Gross said prove it, do your homework. In this case, it was up to Robert Utley, Regional Historian, to do the homework. Photographs and other information were duly gathered and sent on to Congress. It compared about a dozen of the old trading posts with Hubbell's, and discussed why, if any at all were to be preserved, the one to be saved should be the J.L. Hubbell Trading Post.

In January of 1963, Carl Hayden introduced yet another Hubbell Trading Post bill, this one S. 104. A new Arizona Representative, George F. Senner, Jr., introduced the companion bill in the House (H.R.3209).

Meanwhile, back at the trading post, Dorothy Hubbell traded indefatigably on. "I have been reading the newspaper notices and see that Representative Gross is most antagonistic. But, in all fairness, as I read the Congressional Record I find that he opposes most everything, and his comments have given me many a chuckle. She had not lost her sense of humor (although the National Park Service would one day give her cause to do so). In spite of many good efforts, Hubbell Trading Post remained in limbo in Congress.

By 1965, the bills in favor of Hubbell Trading Post had become Senator Hayden's S.1137 and Representative Senner's H.R. 4901. Hearings were scheduled before the Committee on Interior and Insular affairs for the 21st of June, 1965.

The Origin of the Live Trading Post Concept

Like many other Park Service personnel, Director George Hartzog was apparently somewhat less than excited with the idea that Hubbell Trading Post should become a national historic site. "...he did not really want it. For a long time he didn't want it. Then I took him along, there one day and I think he and Mrs. Hubbell sort of got along." So Dorothy Hubbell managed to charm even the Director of the National Park Service. And whatever else George Hartzog saw there, or heard there, or felt about the post would have a lasting impact on the old trading post; and what he decided about the future of Hubbell Trading Post, should it become a national historic site, was revealed on the morning of June 21, 1965, just before he and Ned Danson and Robert Utley were to appear before the Committee on Insular Affairs.

Danson and Utley met with George Hartzog in the Director's office. Hartzog asked Robert Utley how he proposed to interpret the trading post. Utley: "I responded with a rather conventional

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44 Edward B. Danson, interview with authors, April 18, 1991.

45 Others who testified on behalf of the trading post were Representative John B. Baldwin, Representative Morris K. Udall, and Senator George F. Senner, Jr.
approach of recreating a static exhibit, with period merchandise on the shelves and other features recalling the appearance of the various rooms in Don Lorenzo’s time."  

The Director’s reaction appalled Bob Utley. 

"Hartzog erupted vehemently that he would not countenance another goddamned dead embalmed historic site, that it must be a living trading post." Besides being appalled, Bob Utley was shocked; all of the backup material they had been gathering for the hearing had been prepared with the idea that they would be offering the trading post as another museum-like historic site.

Utley, who at the time was Chief Historian, tried to argue Hartzog out of the idea. Where would they find an experienced trader? The Navajo would never allow themselves to be on display in front of gangs of tourists. But Hartzog had made up his mind, "and that, in emphatic and colorful language, was that." And then Bob Utley was "stunned" when Ned Danson gleefully agreed with George Hartzog. Utley was outnumbered and outranked. Utley: "So we marched over to the hearings and George nailed us firmly to [the living trading post] approach in his testimony."

An important excerpt from the House of Representatives Hearings before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation) in reference to H.R. 3320 to authorize the establishment of the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, in the State of Arizona, and for other purposes:

Mr. O’Brien [to George Hartzog]: "I would like to ask one question. Throughout all the statements, including yours, you emphasize the uniqueness of this particular place. We are all aware, however, that there are other trading posts scattered around, some going to pot. Would it be the idea of the Department this would be selected not only because it is a good layout and historical but as a sort of a symbol of the trading post? We will not be having in the years ahead a whole string of former trading posts coming into being as historical sites? I do not want to close any doors in the future but I can see where sometimes there is a chain reaction. This would be a symbol of the trading post and a good one. There are plans that you know of in the future for setting up other places in that area?"

Mr. Hartzog: "Sir, this is what we consider to be, after surveying all of them, the best existing operating trading post. We would hope in our management to maintain it as an operating trading post. The operating trading post is fast becoming a thing of the past. Our study of it indicates that within a relatively
few years there will be no more of them because of the competition from supermarkets, improved modes of transportation, changing tastes and what not. So that we believe that as an operating trading post this will be the only one.

However, in the very next bill that is before this Committee for consideration it involves Fort Union as a trading post to commemorate a somewhat different aspect of the interpretation of westward history. This is the one near the confluence of the Missouri and the Yellowstone Rivers. There are no buildings there. This is a site and we would not propose an operating trading post there.

This, Mr. Chairman, as I have mentioned in my appearances before this Committee, I believe is perhaps one of the more neglected aspects of our American history and its interpretation by the National Park Service in telling the story of the great midcontinent and what happened in terms of its settlement in this period prior to the passage of the frontier in 1890."

Mr. O'Brien: "Mr. Hartzog, I was not attempting to throw a roadblock in the way of the next bill or establishment, where desirable, of some other part of the country for historic site. I was thinking mainly in terms of let us say Arizona. We are not going to have every trading post set up?"

Mr. Hartzog: "No."

Mr. O'Brien: "You are going to maintain it and operate the trading post?"

Mr. Hartzog: "That is what we hope to do."

That's what George Hartzog hoped to do. Operate the trading post. Following this excerpt is some conjecture about who the Park Service would get to run the trading post, but the portion of the testimony quoted here is the part that committed the Park Service to a "live" trading post.

Bob Utley has stated that George Hartzog had been thinking about the "living history" concept for some time and that Hubbell Trading Post gave him a chance to create a place that was not just a "dead embalmed historic site." Utley thinks, too, that Hubbell Trading Post may have given impetus to the living history program throughout the Park Service. The idea appeared to work so well at Hubbell Trading Post that "...[Hartzog] plunged the Park Service into quagmires of 'living history'." To that extent, then, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site has historic significance within the Park Service itself. As for Bob Utley, he fought back against much of the living history program, feeling that "...it perpetuated all manner of inappropriate excesses on our interpretation of historic properties. [But] I have to concede that Hubbell Trading Post is the one place where it has really worked perfectly."

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But if June 21, 1965, turned out to be a lucky day for Hubbell Trading Post, it turned out to be a hard one for Robert M. Utley, Chief Historian for the National Park Service. He had seen a lot of the art and artifacts at the trading post, and when it came his turn to testify before the Subcommittee to tell the Congressmen about the richness of the collection at the trading post, he was met by some sharp questions from Senator Clinton Anderson, of New Mexico. It became apparent that the "expert" on Indian art and artifacts at the Hearings was Clinton Anderson, not Robert Utley. Utley was "subjected...to awful humiliation."\textsuperscript{52} The day was not without its casualty.

\textbf{Success}

Hubbell Trading Post passed successfully out of committee with unanimous approval. And just at this time a movement was going forward to have former President Herbert Hoover's birthplace set aside as a national historic site. A Grant Wood painting from 1931 shows a modest wood-frame house that is painted white. It is a two-story, rectangular house with a small front porch, its long side, the front, facing a narrow, tree-lined road. A one-story addition extends from the back of the house, and there is what looks like a privy and then a shed just out back. Behind the shed is a red barn. A narrow stream below a steep bank meanders by one side of the yard. White towels hang still on the clothesline behind the shed and chickens peck around over by the barn. A tall, slender young man stands in the yard waving toward the viewer. A late afternoon sun slants the shadows long toward the southeast. If one can trust the state of trees, it is probably early autumn. The viewer looks down on the house, so possibly Grant Wood painted it from the top of a hill. As luck would have it, this bucolic scene is at West Branch, Iowa. Herbert Clark Hoover had the grace to be born there, and Representative Harold Gross was mighty interested that the native son's old house should become a national historic site. The boys from Arizona were content that he should have his way. Opposition to Hubbell Trading Post in the House was neutralized. The Hubbell Trading Post bill passed by a voice vote in the House on July 13, 1965.\textsuperscript{53}

But just as the road was cleared through the House, Senator Clinton P. Anderson, of New Mexico, raised unneighborly objections to the trading post in the Senate. The $169,000 for 160 acres and some "pretty ramshackle" buildings seemed to him a steep price.\textsuperscript{54} As Bob Utley had discovered, Senator Anderson knew a lot more than the average senator might about Indian arts and crafts and trading posts. And rumor had it that either Anderson himself or a friend of his had been taken advantage of in the purchase of an Indian blanket collection.\textsuperscript{55} Morris Udall wrote to Senator Anderson to explain that the art and artifacts were indeed of considerable

\textsuperscript{52}Robert M. Utley, letter to authors, March 20, 1991.

\textsuperscript{53}\textit{The Arizona Republic}, Tuesday, July 13, 1965.

\textsuperscript{54}Letter from Edward B. Danson to Paul J. Fannin. Mr. Fannin was the sponsor of the most recent Hubbell Trading Post bill in the Senate. On file in Curator's office, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.

and a dealer in Indian arts and crafts in Albuquerque by the name of M.L. Woodward wrote to Senator Anderson to advise him that Dorothy Hubbell could realize far more money if she were to break up the collection. Woodward went on to explain that he knew the men who had appraised the collection and he assured the Senator that they were competent and reliable. Possibly this assurance from somebody in his own state swayed the Senator. Whatever the case, the bill, H.R. 3320, passed the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee on August 12, 1965. The bill was voted on favorably in the Senate on August 17, 1965, and President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the matter into law on August 28, 1965. Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site is authorized by Public Law 89-148. A total of $952,000 was authorized for the purchase of the land, the buildings, the contents of the buildings, and for development of the new historic site.

President Johnson gave the pen with which the bill was signed to Arizona's Representative Morris K. Udall. Udall wondered what he should do with the pen. In a letter to Ned Danson he said, "I was even thinking that maybe I might give it to you because it was your push and initiative that kept me from getting discouraged and giving up." Ned Danson was spending six weeks in Europe, but Watson Smith, the Acting Director of the Museum of Northern Arizona, wrote to Morris Udall to tell him how satisfied he was that the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site was at last a fact. Ned Danson would be back in Flagstaff about the 16th of September, and Mr. Udall would surely hear from him shortly after his return. Ned Danson wrote to Carl Hayden on the 17th of September, 1965. "It has taken eight years of work, but I think future generations will thank you and all involved."

It still remained for the Park Service to negotiate a settlement with the Hubbell family.

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Southerners were opposed to the homestead bill. They contended that its primary purpose was to promote the emigration of free-state settlers into the territories. However, on May 20, 1862, while the Southerners were otherwise hotly engaged, the Homestead Law was passed. The law allowed any person who was the head of a family, or twenty-one years old, whether a citizen of the United States or an alien who had declared his intention of becoming a citizen, to take control of 160 acres (a quarter section) of unappropriated land. After living on the land for five years and "improving" it, the homesteader could receive title to the land for a cost of $1.25 per acre. In other words, the land was virtually free.¹

And that is why Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site contains 160 acres; the land was originally claimed under the Homestead Law. It was many years, however, before Hubbell gained a clear title to it. The Navajo Reservation surrounded him before he had a chance to officially "prove up."

When J.L. Hubbell bought the Leonard Trading Post in 1878 and filed a claim under the Homestead Law, he was still outside the Navajo Reservation (although there were plenty of Navajo in the area to guarantee customers). The original Navajo treaty land of 1868 was a rectangle of land in the northeast corner of Arizona and the northwest corner of New Mexico, a piece of land almost evenly divided between the territories. The reservation was expanded by executive order on January 6, 1880; Hubbell's acreage became engulfed by Navajo land, and he was in some danger of losing his land and his trading license.²

There followed years of effort to gain clear title to the homestead. Hubbell made trips to Phoenix to the United States Land Office, and to Washington, D.C., where hearings on the matter were held. Hubbell finally prevailed. The patent for his land, Homestead Certificate No. 154, Application No. 811, was issued on October 17, 1917. The patent is "Recorded at the request of J.L. Hubbell September 4, 1924 Book 3 Patents page 324, Records of Apache County, Ariz." His claim to 160 acres was "duly established and duly consummated, in conformity to laws, for the south half of the southwest quarter of section twenty-seven, the northeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section thirty-three and the northwest quarter of the northwest quarter of section thirty-four in Township twenty-seven north of range twenty-six east of the Gila and Salt Rivers, Meridian, Arizona...."³ Take half a quarter section, then add two quarters from the quarters of two other sections, and you wind up with a full quarter section. It makes sense just as long as you understand the rectangular survey system, which is also known as the government

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survey system, the means by which all of the West, except Texas, was surveyed. A section is one square mile.

Hubbell’s Patent Number 603857 was issued in lieu of Patent No. 2655, dated July 14, 1908, which had been cancelled because of an error in the description. The new patent was given under the hand of, among other people, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, who presumably took time out from a war to consider the matter.

It is granted in the patent that the land is "subject to any vested and accrued water rights for mining, agriculture, manufacturing, or other purpose, and the rights to ditches and reservoirs used in connection with such water rights, as may be recognized and acknowledged by local customs, laws, and decisions of courts; and there is reserved from the land hereby granted, a right of way thereon for ditches or canals constructed by the authority of the United States."

For many years, then, the Hubbell land was legally Navajo land. That J.L. Hubbell had the determination to eventually get clear title to the land is certainly a clue to at least part of the character of the man.

**Hubbell Hill**

The land of the historic site is shaped rather like two rectangles, one balanced precariously on top of the other, one end of the top rectangle extended too far to the east. A topographical map of the area shows a hill rising in the northwest corner of the top rectangle, just on the other side of the Pueblo Colorado Wash. And there, at the top of the cone-shaped hill, which is known as Hubbell Hill, and just north and outside of the historic site property, are buried some of the key players in the history of Hubbell Trading Post.

Hubbell’s wife, Lina, has a tall monument over her grave. The graves of J.L. Hubbell and his friend Ganado Mucho are there but unmarked. Daughters Barbara and Adela lie in unmarked graves. Roman Hubbell’s small headstone looks as though it could have been carved right down at the trading post (it was carved by a local Navajo man), and the most recent headstone up there was placed over the grave of LaCharles Eckel, who died in 1983.

Although the burial site is important to the historic site, the administrators of the historic site have no control over what might happen to that area or to the monuments. When Dorothy Hubbell was still living there, it was noted that a bit of Roman’s headstone had been chipped away. A car had been seen parked at the base of the hill. When Dorothy asked the owners of the car if they knew anything about the vandalism, one of them broke down and admitted that

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6 Ibid.

7 The full story of Hubbell’s efforts to gain title to his land require a great deal of space. Interested readers are referred to Chapter II of Charles S. Peterson’s *Homestead And Farm: A History of Farming At The Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site* for the most comprehensive look at the subject the authors were able to find in one source.
because Roman had been a good person to them when he was alive, they thought they would use a piece of his headstone in a ceremony.  

According to Dorothy Hubbell, the Hubbells were always under the impression that the top of the hill was included in their land. If indeed this is what they believed, they were wrong. The most recent surveys, on behalf of the National Park Service, are deemed accurate. By means of a possible land trade, the National Park Service hopes to gain control over the top of Hubbell Hill. Negotiations for even so small a trade could be long and tedious. "I would hope that someday we could arrange through either exchange of land use or maybe even some exchange of property to have Hubbell Hill within the Monument." This has been under consideration ever since the National Park Service took over at Hubbell Trading Post.

The National Park Service Moves to Hubbell Trading Post

John Cook, now Regional Director of the Park Service's Southwest Region, was Assistant Superintendent of Canyon de Chelly when one day in the fall of 1965, while having lunch at home, he received a call from Regional Director Dan Beard. Dan Beard offered Cook the superintendency of the new national historic site just an hour's drive down the road, Hubbell Trading Post. As Cook said to his wife after talking to Dan Beard, "He made a mistake, he said it was a promotion, but I'm sure it's a lateral, but I think we'll take it"

He took the promotion (lateral though it was) and went down and visited with Mrs. Hubbell. The Cook family moved to Hubbell Trading Post in 1966 and rented the Manager's Residence from Mrs. Hubbell. (They paid for the rent out of their own pockets.) Cook put a desk and a set of file drawers in what is now the Jewelry Room, over in the corner where postcards are sold, the northeast corner of the trading post. The government rented the space from Mrs. Hubbell. That corner was the first location of the National Park Service office at the trading post. (The office tended to move around during the following years, to the Guest Hogan, the Manager's Residence, into what is now the Curator's Office, until it came to rest on the west side of the Visitor Center.)

John Cook wanted to get this historic site off to a good start. He applied for Wescoat Wolfe, who would be the site's first historian; and he hired a seasonal ranger to assist those travelers who were stopping by who had heard that the trading post was a national historic site; the post did not yet belong to the United States, and he didn't want Mrs. Hubbell to be overly burdened by bunches of tourists. In the meantime, appraisals and inventories went forward, all of which were intended for use in the negotiations with the Hubbell family: Dorothy Hubbell, John Hubbell, and LaCharles Eckel, granddaughter of Lorenzo Hubbell.

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* Dorothy Hubbell, interview with authors, March 27, 1991.

* Ibid.

* John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

* Ibid.
Those were interesting and exciting days for the Cook family. Mrs. Hubbell invited the Cooks to have dinner with her on the occasion of Kayci Cook’s fourth birthday. John and Dani Cook were scared to death at the elegant table with all of that fine china, worrying about what their daughter might—or might not—do. John Cook: "I’ve never seen my daughter behave so well. We did not enjoy the dinner, my wife and I, but Lady\textsuperscript{12} and my daughter Kayci had a marvelous time."\textsuperscript{13}

The Cooks began to learn about the area and Mrs. Hubbell passed on some of the history of the post to them. It was during this time that Mrs. Hubbell told John Cook that her late husband, Roman, had promised to a "long-time Navajo compadre and friend,"\textsuperscript{14} Friday Kinlicheenie, that he would have a job forever. John Cook: "I made a commitment to Mrs. Hubbell that once we acquired [the trading post] that we would in fact see that Friday continued to work. We began with Friday coming back and planting corn in the area in front of the home."\textsuperscript{15}

As interesting and exciting as life at the trading post might have been (the Cooks were there for a year before the government came to own it), John Cook also had a job to do. And part of his job was to assist in coming to terms with the Hubbells on a settlement figure for the trading post. It was during the negotiations that the episode of the silk rug came very close to destroying the deal...after so many years of effort by so many people.

The Case of the Silk Rug

It seems likely that only two silk Navajo rugs were ever made, and those two are just alike. One of them is in the museum at the University of Colorado, Boulder, the other is with Dorothy Hubbell at her home in Sun City. During negotiations for the trading post, a controversy over Dorothy’s rug came very close to ending those negotiations forever.

Many years ago, J.L. Hubbell bought some spools of silk. He hired a good weaver to make two identical rugs. He presented one of the rugs to Mrs. C.N. Cotton, the other he gave to his wife. Mrs. Cotton’s rug is the one in Boulder; Dorothy has Lina’s rug. That silk rug was one of the things that Dorothy wanted to take with her when she left the homestead for good. It was one of the tangible items she felt she needed to help her keep in touch with the past.\textsuperscript{16}

John Cook and Bill Fields, who at that time was with the Regional Office of Land Acquisition, were authorized to negotiate with the Hubbells for the sale of the trading post and the land and

\textsuperscript{12}Dorothy Hubbell is referred to as "Lady" by many people. One person, Mary Alice Bowlin, of Mesilla, New Mexico, who knew Dorothy as far back as the 1930s, referred to her as a "lady’s lady." Indeed, Dorothy Hubbell is an elegant and intelligent person. Park personnel feel the name was given to her by J.L. Hubbell when she first arrived in Ganado.

\textsuperscript{13}John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{16}Dorothy Hubbell, interview with authors, March 27, 1991. (Dorothy has expressed some interest in selling the rug, and the Park Service hopes to negotiate a sale. Since only two silk rugs were made, the one Dorothy has is an important piece of the history at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.)
the thousands of artifacts that filled the house and other buildings. The men had arranged for the appraisals. Along with some other items, the silk rug was not appraised. In other words, the rug was not for sale and had not been considered in the negotiations.

The National Park Service men came within $50,000 of an agreement. At that point, however, they needed further authorization. They called the Regional Director. Unfortunately, the authority was reserved for the Washington Land and Water Rights Division people, who decided to send in a lands expert to wind up negotiations. As John Cook enjoys recalling, the expert would, "by golly, show us whippersnappers how to negotiate." The man indicated to Cook and Fields that if the parties couldn't come to an agreement, why, the old trading post would just have to be condemned.17 Dorothy Hubbell put the lands expert up in her guest hogan, and she even had a telephone installed so that he could stay in touch with Washington. The crisis was reached one evening in the living room.18

John Cook was present, and so were Dorothy Hubbell and LaCharles Eckel. The itinerant lands expert brought up the subject of the silk rug. He thought the rug should be included in the sale. But since the rug hadn't been part of the appraisal, Dorothy said, the government, if they truly needed the rug, would have to pay extra for it. And it was at that point that the lands expert decided to throw his condemnation clincher onto the table for everybody's consideration. Up until then, Dorothy maintains, she was not aware that the lands expert was there to bring negotiations to a conclusion.19

Dorothy was stunned by the condemnation threat: "And I said to him, all right, that's it. I went to the door with him.... When he went to the door I said, 'I don't care whether you ever come back again.' I never said that to anybody in all my life. I was really worked up."20 For once, Dorothy had lost her sense of humor, but anybody who has met her can well imagine that she could get "worked up" over what she perceives as ungentlemanly behavior. She went so far as to suggest that, henceforth, while she still owned the trading post, John Cook would be the only National Park Service person allowed on the land.21 In any case, with the lands expert heading down the road, she was sure the deal with the Park Service was off. But she didn't care. There was just so much she could stand.

But Dorothy wasn't the only person around the post who was worked up. John Cook called the Regional Director and laid out the mess for his consideration. Negotiations continued.

17John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

18Dorothy Hubbell, interview with authors, March 27, 1991.

19Ibid.

20Ibid.

21John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.
Dorothy Hubbell: "I liked John [Cook] very much, and his family. I was very pleased with him." And she knew the men who appraised the art and artifacts. They were the same people who had come with Ned Danson when the trading post and its contents were appraised for Congress. She trusted them. She trusted John Cook.

John Cook: "Subsequently, Mrs. Hubbell got not only the difference between what she and Bill and I had kind of come near agreement to, but she got some additional funds because I was so angry I upped the ante and told the Director that it was going to cost him even more than she agreed to." Anybody who knew anything at all about the contents of the trading post knew that the Hubbells were not paid enough for it. People who were in the business of buying and selling Indian arts and crafts or Southwestern art knew that if the collection had been broken up and sold piece by piece it would have made a lot more money for Dorothy and John Hubbell and LaCharles Eckel. It was only because of Dorothy Hubbell’s vision, determination, and patience that the collection came to the American people intact. Future generations of Americans have Dorothy Hubbell to thank for that. The 160 acres are now owned by the federal government in fee simple, the highest form of land ownership. Dorothy Hubbell moved out of the trading post just as soon as she knew when the trading post was going to be dedicated as a national historic site. She went to Scottsdale, where she stayed for two years, and then she moved to Sun City, Arizona, where she lived until her death on April 30, 1993.

The National Park Service didn’t get the 160 acres all at once. A few acres—3.07 acres where the Visitor Center is located—had been given to the Navajo Tribal Council in the 1920s for the construction of a day school. The school building was used for years as such by the Navajo, but later it served other functions: the offices of the local chapter, the Boy Scouts, the Navajo Police. The federal government acquired that bit of land, and the Visitor Center and site offices were moved there. The plot is required by the Navajo to be used for educational purposes, hence the Visitor Center. A small frame house and a hogan that were on the school site were removed in the 1980s because they were not considered historically significant. Also, the Hubbells had retained 5.57 acres in the northeast corner of the homestead as a scenic easement. The federal government bought that acreage from them in 1980. Since the early 1980s, then, and except for the road easement (0.836 acres) in the far northeast corner of the land where Arizona 264 cuts across, the federal government has owned all of the 160 acres of the original homestead. So except for the top of Hubbell Hill, the Hubbell burying ground, the question of land ownership at Hubbell Trading Post is settled.

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22Dorothy Hubbell, interview with authors, March 27, 1991.

23John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

24Edward B. Danson, interview with authors, April 18, 1991.

25The 3.07 acres where the Visitor Center is now located was deeded to the United States on the 29th of December, 1943, "to be used for the benefit of the Ganado Indian Day School so long as such school exists and hereafter for such similar purposes as the Secretary of Interior may determine pursuant to law." Photocopy of Deed of Conveyance on file in Superintendent’s office, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
But besides settling with the Hubbells in 1966, it still remained for the National Park Service to figure out just how in the world they were going to run a "live" trading post and not a "dead" museum. In all of its fifty years, the Park Service had never dreamed that one day it would have to manage a trading post. Never mind, John Cook figured he had just the man for the job.
CHAPTER IV

THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE FINDS AN OPERATOR FOR THE TRADING POST

The raison d’être of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site is the trading post itself: the grocery store (bullpen), the rug room, the trader’s office (jewelry room). Everything else there, every employee at Hubbell Trading Post, is on hand to support the trading post. And although the trading post remains seemingly suspended in time, it is not; this is an evolving business operation that will try, as far as trading posts can, to keep pace with the changing times.

The National Park Service manages many old buildings and museums all over the country for the American people, places where the past has been mothballed for posterity. Indeed, many of the "cultural resources" of Hubbell Trading Post—buildings and their contents—are being preserved, and this includes everything in the trading post (the store) that is not for sale. But this is the only trading post owned by the United States government and it was established by Congress as a national historic site with the understanding that it would remain a bona fide business operation, a live, evolving trading post. This is not the sort of "living history" one might encounter at, say, Appomattox Court House, where the characters in period costume that one met purported to be existing on or about April 9, 1865. No, Hubbell Trading Post is "live" in the true sense of the word; a customer can buy a rug, a silver and turquoise ring, and a can of beans and a loaf of bread.

The business end of Hubbell Trading Post is operated by Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, and for them, too, Hubbell Trading Post is an extraordinary enterprise.¹ The National Park Service maintains the milieu and the aura of the old trading post; SPMA is obligated to run the trading post—as far as is practicable—along the lines of a traditional trading post, helping to interpret the trading post era for the NPS. SPMA has its own employees to handle the job, and all of them are under the direction of the Trader/Manager, Bill Malone, who has presided at Hubbell Trading Post since May of 1981.

But as logical as the present association of the NPS and SPMA may seem at Hubbell Trading Post, there was nothing inevitable about it.

The Rise and Fall of the Trading Post as an Important Institution

The classic Indian trading posts have been compared to the old fashioned country stores of rural American society. Although there are some obvious differences between the two institutions, there is some validity in the comparison; in the days before country people could travel long distances in a short time to do their shopping, one local store—or on the reservation one trading post—would probably be the only commercial outlet available to a group of people in a given vicinity. Like the country stores, the trading posts had their captive customers. The main differences between the two institutions were some of the products that were bought and sold and traded, and the degree to which trading posts and the stores served their customers. The trading posts were, almost universally, much more important to the people they served than were the

¹See Appendix: Supplemental Memorandum of Agreement between National Park Service and Southwest Parks and Monuments Association for Operation of Hubbell Trading Post, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
country stores to rural Anglo customers. The trading posts proved to be significant acculturating institutions; the good Indian traders served their clientele in many extraordinary ways.

Hubbell Trading Post is the oldest trading post still in business in the Navajo Nation and is also the oldest continuously operated business in northern Arizona. The Navajo returned to their land from exile at Bosque Redondo in 1868, a few years after their roundup by Kit Carson’s command. A trading post, operated by William Leonard, was opened for business at Hubbell Trading Post’s present location in the early 1870s. When Leonard went into business there were just a few other trading posts scattered about the countryside.

Juan Lorenzo Hubbell drifted into the country in the early 1870s from his home at Pajarito (now encompassed by Albuquerque), New Mexico. After adventures in other areas, he bought Leonard’s adobe buildings and land in 1878 and became the trader for the Navajo in and around Ganado. He was twenty-five years old.

During the following sixty years trading posts popped up all over the Navajo Nation wherever an entrepreneur thought there were enough citizens to support a business. Sometimes the trading posts prospered, but a lot depended on the trader himself. If the trader was a wise businessman and at the same time considerate of his clientele—as was Lorenzo Hubbell—he might succeed. If not, the place probably had no chance of success. In any case, by 1930 there were about 300 trading posts scattered across the Navajo Nation. However, because of its location, volume of business, and the influence Don Lorenzo had on Navajo arts and crafts, Hubbell Trading Post was always one of the more important and influential of the trading posts. And because of the traders who have worked at Hubbell’s for the past twenty-five years, it continues to be an important institution.

World War II is a pivotal point in the history of the Navajo. They learned a lot about the rest of the United States and some other parts of the world. And many of them went to work for wages. They started drifting away from their traditional subsistence way of life of raising sheep and cattle and farming on family plots. They bought cars and pickups, and now they could drive right by the local trading post, if they didn’t particularly like that trader, and go on to the next trading post—or right on into town—to do their trading and shopping. Money and motor vehicles rendered a virtual revolution in their society, as they had, decades earlier, for the majority of the people in the United States.

Today, there are only a few old-fashioned trading posts left in the Navajo Nation. Many of the old trading posts are now "convenience" stores. The commercial outlets continue to evolve as the Navajo become more integrated with the rest of American society, and convenience stores

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4Ibid.

and supermarkets that would be recognized as such by any American are more commonplace every year on the reservation.

The NPS Looks for an Operator for the Trading Post

In 1967, then, the National Park Service set out to continue the operation of a business that was already becoming an anachronism. Committed to running a "live" trading post, the NPS thrashed about for some way to successfully implement the idea. The prospects for doing so seemed daunting. Good traders were in short supply even in those days on the reservation. It was suggested that the Babitt Brothers (diversified retailers in Flagstaff with experience in Indian trading) might run the trading post. They weren't interested. The association of Indian traders could get together and agree to run the store for the National Park Service. No, they weren't interested, either. The Director of the National Park Service, George Hartzog, wanted the Fred Harvey Company involved. They were big, they had the money to back up any commitment, and they had been dealing in Indian arts and crafts for decades.

Well, a decision would have to be made soon about the operation of the trading post, because the National Park Service was about to inherit a growing concern that included the sale of groceries and Indian arts and crafts. They would be handling pawn, and they would be housing a laundromat. And Dorothy Hubbell, who had been patiently and bravely "holding the fort" at Hubbell's since 1957, was ready to move to town as soon as an operator could be brought in and introduced to her customers.

Near the end of July, 1966, the head of the Fred Harvey Company's arts and crafts department (this could have been T. Bowman or Joe Ernst) arrived at Ganado to size up the trading post as a possible business venture. Dorothy Hubbell and John Cook were on hand to show him around and answer his questions.6

During the man's survey of the trading post, it became clear to Mrs. Hubbell and John Cook just what Fred Harvey had planned for the trading post. Fred Harvey would turn it into an arts and crafts outlet and purchasing point, the more prized pieces to be sent to their Grand Canyon store where they could command higher prices. As the Fred Harvey man disclosed some of their plans, John Cook became increasingly disappointed and thoughtful. The bullpen, the canned peaches and tomatoes, the bottles of soda pop, the wool, the piñon nuts—it would all become a memory. What the Fred Harvey Company had planned for the trading post would kill the atmosphere of a true trading post.7

John Cook Asks for Southwest Parks and Monuments Association

Deciding it was time for immediate and direct action, Cook drove to the National Park Service regional office in Santa Fe. With visions in his mind of Hubbell Trading Post filled with tourist trinkets---rubber tomahawks and tom-toms---John Cook tackled Assistant Regional Director George Miller. He told Miller that what the Harvey Company wanted to do would fail. The

6John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

7Ibid.
National Park Service could wind up with a "trading post" little different from the tourist shops along US 66 (SEE LIVE RATTLESNAKES AND BUY REAL MOCCASINS). The place would be an embarrassment, the trading post, as a bona fide trading post, ruined forever.\textsuperscript{8}

If Fred Harvey wasn't the solution, did Cook have a better idea? Yes. They could try to get Southwest Parks and Monuments Association\textsuperscript{9} to take over the operation of the trading post. SPMA could continue to run the place as a genuine trading post. Cook knew an old-time trader. Maybe he could be talked into managing the store for SPMA.

George Miller considered John Cook's ideas for a moment and then telephoned George Hartzog in Washington. He told Hartzog what Cook had in mind. Then John Cook got on the line. He explained that the Fred Harvey Company, in spite of all their experience, were not going to be good for Hubbell Trading Post. SPMA, with the right man on the premises, could probably do a better job. He had to admit, however, that neither SPMA nor the trader he had in mind were yet aware of his plan.

A naturally audacious man, Hartzog told Cook to take the idea and run with it. And, Hartzog continued, if the arrangement turned out to be a success, John Cook would earn everybody's thanks and congratulations. But if the plan should fail, Cook's career might "fail" at the same time.\textsuperscript{10}

It takes about four hours to drive from Santa Fe to Ganado. John Cook had plenty of time to think about what he would do next.

\textbf{Enter Southwest Parks and Monuments Association}

What Cook did next was call his old friend Dr. Edward B. Danson of the Museum of Northern Arizona. The ubiquitous Ned Danson was not only Director of the Museum and a member of the National Park Service's Advisory Board, he was also on the Board of Directors of Southwest Parks and Monuments Association! Danson was delighted with the scheme and promised to throw his weight behind it.

The problem they faced was one of timing. Matters would have to be arranged so that there would be a simultaneous transfer of the site to the government of the United States and a transfer of the contents of the store to the operator of the trading post. The trader John Cook had in mind for SPMA was a neighbor of his at Canyon de Chelly, Bill Young, who was then managing the Thunderbird Trading Post there.

The Southwest Parks and Monuments Association offices were in Globe, Arizona, in 1966. Founded in 1938 to help the National Park Service interpret monuments, sites and parks, the Association also supports scientific research in the parks by granting money to individuals and

\textsuperscript{8}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{9}At this time, SPMA was called simply Southwest Monuments Association. To avoid confusion, the organization will be called Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, or SPMA, throughout this work.

\textsuperscript{10}John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.
institutions. The Association, a nonprofit organization, operates in nine states and serves over forty areas within the National Park System. Most of the books and other items one sees for sale in these forty areas originate with SPMA, and SPMA provides most of the free interpretive material at those sites, parks, and monuments. SPMA aids the National Park Service in ways too numerous to discuss here, projects that cannot be included in the regular budget of the NPS.¹¹

In 1966 the Executive Director of SPMA was Earl Jackson, and neither he nor anybody else with the Association knew any more about running a trading post than did the innocent employees of the National Park Service. On August 3, 1966, John Cook followed up a lengthy phone conversation to Earl Jackson with a detailed written explanation of what faced SPMA should they agree to assume the responsibility of operating the trading post. It would be necessary, he wrote, for SPMA to take over the store when the NPS assumed responsibility for the care of the land and buildings. It would be important to hire a good Indian trader; an inexperienced concessioner would soon "make a shambles of the operation." The purchase price of the contents of the store would cost SPMA (approximately):

1- Merchandise Inventory: $13,671 (at cost)
   Rugs 6,456 (at cost)
   Pawn: 1,800 (amount loaned on items)
   Accounts Receivable 7,132
   $29,059

2-Trader/Manager’s salary $8,000 (annually, plus housing)
   Clerks (two) 7,000 (annually without housing)

3-A good used mobile home for the trader $4,000 - 5,000

It was thought that SPMA would have an initial investment of about $40,000 to acquire the contents of the store and to get the operation off to a running start. Income should quickly start paying the salaries of the employees. In order to insure a smooth transition, the Trader/Manager would have to be on the premises for at least two weeks prior to Dorothy Hubbell’s departure.

John Cook also advised Earl Jackson that the gross income for the trading post for 1965 was:

Gasoline: $3,982
Merchandise: 63,663
Rugs, skins, mohair, etc.: 14,385
Hogan rental: 161
Laundromat: 1,500
Gross $83,691

¹¹SPMA's offices are now at 221 North Court, Tucson, Arizona, and its present Executive Director is T. J. Priehs.
Cook went on to explain that it was the intention of the NPS to eliminate the sale of gasoline and to do away with the laundromat (the laundromat was a business operated by others, the space rented or leased from Dorothy Hubbell). And rental of the hogan would cease. Furthermore, and so SPMA could be aware of recent developments, the Navajo Tribe, just that year, had implemented a new cooperative program for the disposal of skins and wool and mohair; the role of the trader for those products would probably be greatly reduced. Cook's educated guess for an estimated gross income at the trading post from merchandise and rugs in the future would be $75,000. Operating expenses (merchandise, rugs, salaries) should be about $66,000. So SPMA could expect an estimated net profit of around $9,000 in its first year as Indian traders.12

For SPMA to take over a trading post in the Navajo Nation was in fact a blockbuster proposal. Although SPMA operated all over the Southwest, the risk at any one outlet was negligible. Accustomed to dealing with just hundreds of books and a few hundred dollars, the Association was now being asked to step into an exotic business for which none of their employees or board members had any expertise. Founded "to aid and promote the educational and scientific activities of the National Park Service," operating a trading post for the NPS could seem at first blush to be stretching the point a bit.

With the facts and figures of Cook’s proposal occupying his thoughts, Earl Jackson drove up to Ganado on August 12th—at the request of the NPS’s George Miller—to sit in on a meeting at Hubbell Trading Post. Present at the meeting were John Cook and Tom Kornelis of the NPS, T. Bowman and Joe Ernst from the Fred Harvey Company, LaCharles Eckel, and Dorothy and John Hubbell. The discussion was generated mainly by questions the Fred Harvey men put to the Hubbells in reference to details about the business.13

In order to keep the SPMA board members informed of developments, Jackson sent out a memorandum to them on August 15. He had learned at the August 12 meeting that most of the trading post’s clientele were now local Navajo who would, as soon as the NPS discontinued the sale of perishable foods and the operation of the laundromat, go elsewhere for such services and supplies. If he had to judge solely by what he had learned at the meeting, Jackson could not envision how the NPS ever hoped to continue the business operation as a true old-time Navajo trading post.

Continuing with his memorandum, Jackson explained that what he could envision as a possible development at the trading post would be a "so-called" trading post, an outlet for rugs, jewelry, and other arts and crafts. The customers would be the same tourists who were now passing through Ganado on their way to Canyon de Chelly and the Grand Canyon [roads in the area were being improved]. Such an arts-and-crafts store would operate in a "carefully preserved museum-like background," which should have a "tremendous appeal for a great many visitors." Unfortunately, it seemed likely that only a "sprinkling" of Navajo would continue to visit the store.

Jackson went on to say that by converting some savings and part of a checking account, SPMA should have enough money to buy the store inventory and a trailer house, and there might even be enough left over to provide some operating capital. From his point of view, then, it looked as though SPMA could buy into the operation without having to take out any loans. In any case, he wanted to point out that "Association money is not earned just to 'sit on' so it can draw interest, but is to serve NPS needs. Operation of a 'trading post' style Indian arts-and-crafts store would perfectly fit life-interpretation as we find it in numerous NPS historic areas...."  

(In an August 8th memorandum to the board members, which was based on his conversation with John Cook and Cook's written proposal, Earl Jackson had pointed out that SPMA was not organized to operate a trading post and lacked the experience to do so. The venture would be a "terrific" business risk. But he did want to help the NPS if they were asked to do so.) In concluding his August 15th memorandum, Jackson said, "If we are requested to take over the inventory and temporary running of the trading post, I will figure it is because the NPS needs for us to. Looking at it as a contribution to the Service and not as a money-maker, my recommendation to you, on the basis of present knowledge, would be for an affirmative vote." Because the governing board of the Fred Harvey Company would be making a decision on the matter within ten days, Earl Jackson requested that the SPMA board members respond with their decisions within that same period of time.  

SPMA Searches for its Role at Hubbell Trading Post  

The Board of Directors of SPMA voted in favor of assisting the NPS at Hubbell Trading Post, but precisely what they were going to do there went through some changes during the next few months. In an August 15th letter to Earl Jackson (in response to Jackson's August 8th memorandum to the board members), Ned Danson said that one of the best ways of achieving the potential of Hubbell Trading Post would be to run it as long as possible as a trading post, to "give the tourist the actual atmosphere of a post in operation."  

At first, however, the NPS wanted the Fred Harvey Company, under a special use permit, to liquidate the stock at the trading post within four or five months after the government assumed control there. As soon as the store was "as bare inside as the proverbial widow's cupboard," SPMA would take over the post under the direction of its Trader/Manager. SPMA would have the problem of going into business without any stock whatsoever, but on the other hand they would not have to worry about handling gasoline, dealing with laundromat customers, buying and selling groceries, or working with pawn and accounts receivable. They might lose several thousand dollars that first year, but they would then be in a position to insure that the integrity of the old trading post would be retained. Their insistence on quality would help the NPS create a successful operation. At the end of about four years, if the trading post appeared to be running smoothly, the NPS could set about "in the usual way" to find a concessioner to take over. And SPMA would have done its duty. (Just how one assured the "integrity" of a trading post by eliminating the goods and services the Navajo wanted was not explained.) Earl Jackson sent out ballots to the board members for their vote on the plan.  

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14Ibid.  
15Ibid.
By January 2, 1967, the plan was changed. The NPS had decided that it would be preferable if SPMA would operate the trading post on an indefinite basis. That is, there should be no concessioner in the future. If SPMA agreed to this idea, they could take over the trading post as soon as the Fred Harvey Company had liquidated the stock. They would have to acquire the pawn in order to maintain good relations with the local Navajo but that would not cost over $2,000.

As Jackson told the board members, he preferred this new plan. As he foresaw the matter, after a few "lean" or "in-the-hole" years, SPMA would have a chance to recoup their losses and possibly even make some money for the Association. The Board of Directors of SPMA, Dan Beard, Reg Manning, Emil Haury, Edwin McKee, and Edward Danson (with Danson exercising his proxy to cast Mr. Woodin's vote) voted in favor of taking over the trading post on an indefinite basis.

The Board of Directors of SPMA, Dan Beard, Reg Manning, Emil Haury, Edwin McKee, and Edward Danson (with Danson exercising his proxy to cast Mr. Woodin's vote) voted in favor of taking over the trading post on an indefinite basis.

The Third and Final Plan for SPMA at Hubbell Trading Post

On the 16th of January, 1967, John Cook was back in George Miller's office at the Southwest Regional Office. At about 3:40 p.m., after some discussion between George Miller and Cook, Miller called Mr. Allen, of SPMA. He explained to Mr. Allen that the fate of Hubbell Trading Post was again under discussion. And what the NPS now had in mind was this: the Fred Harvey Company should step out of the picture entirely. SPMA would then negotiate directly with the Hubbell interests for the merchandise inventory. Mrs. Hubbell was going to carry on a partial liquidation of the stock, and she would try to close out the pawn. SPMA would not have to take over the accounts receivable, although they might, as an accommodation to Dorothy Hubbell, act as her collecting agent.

Jackson got off yet another memorandum to the board members. With this most recent idea from the NPS, Jackson wrote, SPMA would not have to start out with those bare shelves he had described earlier. The continuity of the trading post should not suffer. And with any luck at all, they might even be able to break even on the deal, suffer no losses whatsoever on their investment. John Cook would recruit the Trader/Manager for SPMA, and the clerk John Cook proposed was already employed at the trading post (Jackson had met her and was "well impressed"). Finally, Jackson said that although he had at first thought that mainly Indian wares, rugs and jewelry, would be on sale at the post, "sober reflection" was convincing everybody that some canned goods should be stacked on the shelves so that the trading post would look "real." The board members agreed to the arrangement.

On January 30, 1967, John Cook wrote to Dorothy Hubbell to advise her officially that Southwest Parks and Monuments Association was the party approved by the National Park Service to handle the trading post operation. (Fred Whitteborg, Vice President in charge of Western Operations for the Fred Harvey Company, had assured George Miller that as long as SPMA thought they could handle the takeover, they, the Fred Harvey Company, were willing to step aside.) On that same day he wrote to Earl Jackson to advise him of the official approval.

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17Ibid.
of SPMA by the National Park Service. An inventory of the salable assets at Hubbell Trading Post was started on January 30 and was completed on the evening of January 31.

In his report of February 1, 1967, to NPS Director George Hartzog, Dan Beard said that the sale of perishable groceries would cease after April and "the sale of canned goods will be continued for a while, but these sales items will be phased out in the near future." The general plan for the trading post, Dan Beard went on to explain, was for the NPS to have "an operating trading post handling high-class Indian artifacts and related items only." (It's interesting to note how few of those becoming associated with Hubbell Trading post were particularly interested in selling groceries. But a trading post without anything in it that the local citizens could use for their own consumption was no more real than the "trading posts" along US 66.)

After approximately 100 sheets of inventory had been gathered and worked through, the final figure for pawn, merchandise, and equipment (pop vendor, safe, gasoline pump, meat cooler case, etc.) added up to $24,985.91. A check for $10,000 was issued on February 10, 1967, to J.L. Hubbell Trading Post, Inc., the balance plus six percent interest to be paid on or before January 31, 1968. With the delivery by John Cook of this check to Dorothy Hubbell, Southwest Parks and Monuments Association was officially in business as traders to the Navajo.
CHAPTER V

TRADERS AND TRADING

According to at least one Hubbell Trading Post superintendent, it is the continuity of experienced traders who have worked there who are responsible for the success of Hubbell Trading Post since the NPS and SPMA took over.¹ Ten superintendents served at Hubbell Trading Post during its first twenty-five years as a national historic site. Although all of those men and one woman arrived in Ganado with varying degrees of experience, only one of them had ever held a superintendent’s position, all the rest had a job to learn.

On the other hand, all of the three traders who have been employed at Hubbell Trading Post were already very experienced in their profession before they got there. As one of the traders mentioned, coming to work at Hubbell Trading Post was for him like "walking out the back door of the store and coming in again through the front door."²

The man John Cook would recruit for SPMA for the job of Trader/Manager at Hubbell Trading Post was Bill Young, a neighbor of his at Canyon de Chelly, who was then managing the Thunderbird Trading Post there.

Bill Young, SPMA’s First Trader at Hubbell Trading Post, 1967-1978

Bill Young was one of the last of the truly old-time Indian Traders. He was born William S. Young in 1902 in Winslow, Arizona. His first trading post job was in 1920 at a Richardson family trading post in Leupp, Arizona (they were well-known traders). He spent the next six years at either the trading post in Leupp or the one at Cameron. He was married in 1921 to Freeda Richardson. Although only nineteen when married, Bill had been working since he was thirteen, right after his father, a railroad worker, died. In 1928, Bill bought out the Red Lake Trading Post at Tolani Lakes and traded there for fourteen years. By that time he was fluent in the Navajo language. He claimed that it took him about six months to learn "trader Navajo" but that he needed another five years to become conversationally fluent in the language.

In 1942, Bill Young moved to the Belmont Ordnance Depot (Fort Wingate, New Mexico) to be trader to the Navajo employees there, and there he remained for the next fourteen years. After a brief stint as the owner of a market in Flagstaff, Bill returned to the Navajo Nation and became trader at the Thunderbird Trading Post, Chinle, Arizona, where he remained until he accepted the position at Hubbell Trading Post. By all accounts Bill Young was a most fortunate choice. Dedicated to preserving and encouraging fine arts-and-crafts work, he continued that same long tradition of Hubbell Trading Post. Bill Young was an archetypical trader who bridged the gap from pre-World War II trading into modern times. Bill retired in 1978. He died on May 23, 1990.³

²Bill Malone, interview with authors, May 9, 1991.
³Information on Bill Young was culled from newspaper and magazine articles on file in the Curator’s office at Hubbell Trading Post, as well as from several conversations.
Figure 12. Trader Bill Young examines a Navajo rug with Roberta Tso in May of 1972. Bill, one of the last of the truly old-time Indian traders, served at Hubbell Trading Post NHS from 1967 - 1978. NPS photo by Fred Mang, Jr. HUTR Neg. P1-182.
What It Takes to be an Indian Trader

While Bill Young was still trader at Hubbell Trading Post, there was already concern that a satisfactory replacement might not be available. According to the experts, it just isn’t possible to bring in a trainee and hope to turn him or her into a successful Indian trader. As Bill Malone said, the "charisma" might just not be present. If one is to judge by the careers of the men who have served at Hubbell Trading Post, apprenticing to become an Indian trader could take years. Unless one is a Navajo, one must learn a language with no relationship to European tongues, and one must adjust to a people who to a great extent still regard life from a different point of view than do most Americans. Although the Navajo language is becoming less of a necessity, it is still considered a requirement for the Trader/Manager at Hubbell Trading Post, and it is used there every day.

Besides having the proper charisma (an elusive attribute!), the trader must know the grocery business, and not many so-called traders these days do so. Although groceries are a small percentage of the business at Hubbell Trading Post, they are a part of any real trading post. Tourists may buy a few snacks, but Navajo who come in to trade arts and crafts will often pick up some groceries as part of the deal. They may trade a rug for some cash, pay off part of their account, and also carry out a few bags of groceries. That kind of a transaction is truly what a trading post is all about. For the trading post to keep its aura of a true trading post, it is absolutely crucial for the grocery department to be maintained; and every attempt should be made to remain competitive in the grocery business, at least in Ganado. All of the Trader/Managers at Hubbell had "thrown a lot of flour over the counter" before they came to Hubbell Trading Post.

A trader must know how to buy, sell, and trade for Navajo, Hopi, and Zuni jewelry, both old and new, expensive and not so expensive. The trader has to be able to recognize pottery, antique and modern, from most of the tribes of the Southwest. And he must be able to price old or new baskets from tribes all over the Southwest. For one person to be able to do this would seem to call for a lot of esoteric knowledge in one head. And that's exactly the case, and that's why a good trader is not created in a few months. The three men who have been Trader/Managers at Hubbell Trading Post all entered the business when they were young and all of them had spent a number of years as traders before they were hired by SPMA. Hubbell Trading Post's reputation rests on the fine quality of its arts and crafts. Many of the items there are of museum quality and some are valued in the thousands of dollars.

But Hubbell Trading Post was always famous for its Navajo rugs. Hubbell's was partly responsible for putting Indian rugs on floors all over the United States, and the "Ganado Red" is well known and easily recognizable by anybody who knows Navajo rugs and blankets. Some other rug styles originated in the area, Klagetoh, Wide Ruins, and Chinle, rug designs that say "Indian rug" to people who know little about the craft.

Hubbell Trading Post is still well known for its rugs. Rugs valued at thousands of dollars circulate through the trading post. The trader must understand the quality of a fine rug as soon as he sees it, and he must be able to discern between rugs from several parts of the Navajo

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*Bill Malone and Al Grieve, traders at Hubbell Trading Post.*
Nation as well as rugs from other tribes, or even imitation Navajo rugs. A good selection of antique rugs is also in the rug room, and the trader must know the era in which it originated, where it probably came from, and its present market value. The trader makes snap decisions involving thousands of dollars, but of course his decisions are based on decades of experience, some of it in the school of hard knocks. What the trader has to know about arts and crafts would take more space than we have here.

The trader at Hubbell Trading Post must be able to deal effectively with an extraordinarily wide range of people, customers and artists. In the very long tradition of the trading post, he is obliged to pay fair price for a job well done. Artists all across the Four Corners area know this, and many will pass by other trading posts without stopping in order to sell at Ganado. And buyers are aware that if the product is at Hubbell Trading Post it is guaranteed to be of high quality.

The old-time traders served their customers in many ways far beyond what is necessary today. To a great extent it was up to the traders to interpret the white man’s world for them. Traders like J.L. Hubbell and his sons, who knew the Navajo language and understood the people and their needs, would read and write letters for them, give them advice, intercede for them in the face of legal difficulties, be their pawnbroker and banker, give them medical attention, and act as art director. And because of the Navajo attitude toward death, some traders were occasionally called upon to bury the dead.

Today, the Navajo can communicate with the white man’s world just as well as can most other Americans. But if for whatever reason a Navajo does have a problem, there are tribal social agencies available to offer help and advice. However, Bill Malone mentions that at a few Navajo funerals he has been called upon to shoot the deceased’s horse, so the extension of extraordinary service to the community has not ended for this particular trader.\footnote{Bill Malone, interview with authors, May 9, 1991.}

**Wool and Mohair and Piñon Nuts and Livestock**

All of the old-time traders bought skins and wool and mohair, and piñon nuts when available, and many of them dealt in sheep and cattle. All of this is also among the skills required of a true Indian trader, and all of the men who have been Trader/Managers at Hubbell Trading Post had or have the experience to buy and sell these commodities.

Just now there seems to be little trading going on for raw products. Reportedly the past several seasons have been too dry for piñon nuts, which in the best of times is not necessarily an annual crop (the 1991 crop was reportedly a good one). But even if there are plenty of piñon nuts available, it is apparently difficult to buy them at a low enough price in order to make money on the resale in town. The people who gather the nuts would just as soon take them to town themselves. On the other hand, it would seem that it is no longer a particularly economical venture for the Navajo to invest time and money in a piñon nut gathering expedition. In a weekend a family may gather twenty to twenty-five pounds, and that’s a weekend of scrambling around on hands and knees. A few years ago the buyers tried to buy the piñon nuts at only twenty-five cents a pound, and of course at that rate the Navajo simply couldn’t afford to go after...
them. With their recent scarcity, however, the price for piñon nuts has risen to five and six dollars a pound. And piñon nuts are a product the Navajo themselves use, so the trader does like to have some on hand in the grocery store. If they are available, some will be bought.6

Hubbell Trading Post always bought wool. Travelers in the old days recall that in season the warehouse would be almost bursting with wool. Packing and weighing wool is hard work, and apparently it was always easy to lose money if the work wasn’t done correctly. If he didn’t know what he was doing, the trader could be cheated. And if the trader didn’t have time to do all the weighing himself, he needed somebody he could trust to do the work.

When Roman Hubbell became ill, Dorothy had to cut back on the buying of wool and skins and mohair and sheep. And then, for almost ten years, she had to keep the trading post alive in hopes that the National Park Service would take over. She had quite enough to do during that

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6Ibid.
period without the added work of the wool and mohair, etc. It was all she could do just to maintain the trading post as a viable business so that the NPS would have something to take over.

And, as we have noted, the Navajo Tribe is itself now dealing in many such commodities on a cooperative basis. These days, little wool is being moved by traders. For one thing, sheep and wool and skins are less a part of Navajo life than they were two or three decades ago; there isn’t as much wool as there once was for a trader to buy.

Bill Young bought sheep and wool and mohair, but his dealings with these raw materials could never have been a significant part of his operation. In any case, these items cannot be separated out of his profit and loss statements on file at SPMA. Very probably Bill bought these products because he always had done so, and buying them was good for interpretive reasons, or to please Navajo customers.
What we do know for certain is that Bill Young was not buying livestock and raw products "very aggressively" when Al Grieve took over as Trader/Manager. Grieve mentions that Assistant Trader/Manager John Young (Bill Young's son) had no interest in dealing in the products, and one can imagine that Bill Young had himself gotten beyond the point where he wanted to handle them.

We know, too, that Al Grieve started buying wool and mohair. He says he bought a lot of it and did not lose any money on the deal. Well, he didn't make very much on it either, and therein lies the conflict for the Trader/Manager. Just how much time is he going to devote to a product that is not particularly profitable?

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Figure 15. Putting sheep into the corral in the evening on September 26, 1969. The horseman is Friday Kinlicheenie. NPS photo by David Brugge. Old snapshot copied by the authors.

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It does seem likely that because of modern prejudices the trading post might not—probably should not—deal in skins and livestock. Surely such an operation would be repugnant to a great many visitors no matter how accurate the scene might be. Sheep were not being purchased when Bill Malone came mainly because the corrals were in such disrepair that they wouldn’t hold them and sheep have not been bought since. In order to have livestock on the premises, one superintendent, Kevin McKibbin, imported retired mules from the Grand Canyon. The animals deserved a retirement home, and at Hubbell they had a reason to go on living, which they could do in relative luxury. Wild horses from federal lands can be removed to the trading post. There are many ways of getting livestock to Hubbell Trading Post NHS without having exploited animals there. On the other hand, wool and mohair are a part of the trading post scene that can be continued without fear of offending a lot of people.

Al Grieve started buying wool because it was something he wanted to do, trying as he did to recreate the life and times of an old-fashioned trading post. Life at a trading post, especially a farm/trading post like Hubbell’s, would follow the seasons. In season, a trader bought wool and mohair. Al Grieve, together with Superintendent Juin Crosse, tried to determine what the Hubbell family would have been doing at any given time of the year.

Bill Malone bought and sold wool and mohair during his first three or four years as Trader at Hubbell Trading Post. He says the operation was "marginal." As he describes the business, the buyer must first contract with the source in order to get the wool. Then the trader might encounter a wool dealer who will offer the trader only five cents more per pound than the trader has paid for it. The sack may have cost the trader four or five dollars, and the sack will hold about 180 pounds, and so the profit on one sack may be only about $9.00, less the cost of the sack if he happens to lose it. But of course weighing and packing the wool takes time, and it can be a dirty business, and if the trader hires somebody to do the job for him he must pay that person at least the minimum wage. And then hope the worker is weighing the wool correctly. Once the wool is packed, it must be driven into Gallup, a further expenditure of time and money.

In the old days, Bill went on to explain, the person who was bringing in the wool might be paying off a grocery bill, and if the trader was making a profit of twenty to thirty percent on the groceries, he could make a profit on the entire deal. But most of the people in today’s market who are selling wool will generally want to be paid cash for it, they won’t want to take trade. So, Bill doesn’t mind explaining, if you’re not using the wool in a grocery account, you may lose money on it. And so he phased wool and mohair out of his operation.

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8Bill Malone, interview with authors, May 9, 1991.
9Juin Crosse Adams, telephone interview with authors, April 4, 1991.
10Bill Malone, interview with authors, May 9, 1991.
11Ibid.
Figure 16. Al Grieve, Trader/Manager at Hubbell Trading Post, 1978-1981. One of the NPS superintendents who was at the site during those years described Al Grieve as an "outstanding" trader. The photo is from May, 1981. HUTR Neg. R13#17.
Alan R. Grieve, Trader/Manager, 1978-1981

One ex-superintendent who was at Hubbell Trading Post when Alan Grieve was Trader/Manager there said that Al was an "outstanding" trader. Grieve was the youngest of the three traders who have worked for SPMA at the trading post, and by all accounts it was he who changed the direction of the trading practices to what they are today. Those who have seen him in action say that he is a creative, imaginative trader.

Al Grieve moved to the Navajo Reservation in 1966 from his home in Albuquerque when he married a Navajo girl. By 1969 he was living in a sheep camp, herding sheep, gathering wood, hauling water. He was not, however, making very much money, and so he set out to make some by buying and selling arts and crafts, a skill he had learned while still in high school. Grieve spent his summers working for an old-time trader who would buy anything as long as he felt he could take it down the road and turn it over with a gain of a few dollars, or a trade for something he presumed to be of more value.

In 1971, Al Grieve went into business at the Standing Rock Trading Post, which he operated until 1977 with his mother as his partner. During all of that time he was learning Navajo from his customers and his wife and her family. Standing Rock was a rather typical old-time, over-the-counter trading post, which to a great extent was the reason for its demise. The Grieves were just leasing the trading post, which, like Hubbell Trading Post, had old wooden floors, wooden warerooms, and the wind and dust would seep in around the old windows. When the Public Health service insisted that the post be upgraded in order to comply with modern notions of sanitation, the Grieves decided they just did not want to go to the expense of repairing an old building that did not belong to them.

By 1978, then, Al Grieve had almost ten years experience in operating a real trading post and buying and selling Indian arts and crafts. He was fluent in Navajo. When Bill Young decided to hang up his trading boots, Al Grieve was working over in Gallup at Little Bear’s Enterprises, running their pawn department, buying and selling crafts, and visiting crafts shows for them in many parts of the country. He had made many buying trips across the Indian reservations. People knew him out there where his skills were noted. One day when he was working at Little Bear’s Enterprises, a National Park Service employee by the name of Art White drifted in and insisted they go to lunch, he had something important he wanted to discuss with him. That "something" turned out to be an offer to take over at Hubbell Trading Post as Trader/Manager, an offer Al Grieve accepted.

Why John Young was not Chosen to Succeed his Father as Trader/Manager

John Young, Bill Young’s son, went to work at Hubbell Trading Post in 1968 as assistant to his father with the approval of SPMA’s Earl Jackson. Apparently it was hoped—by the Youngs—that John Young would take over as Trader/Manager when his father retired. However, even as early as 1974, when Bill Young first considered retirement, there was

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12 Ed Gastellum, telephone interview with authors, August 3, 1991.

13 Al Grieve, interview with authors, May 6, 1991.
controversy within the Park Service and Southwest Parks and Monuments as to whether or not John would succeed to his father’s position. At a May 14, 1974, meeting at the Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe it was decided unanimously that John Young would not be acceptable as Trader/Manager of Hubbell Trading Post.

John Young’s problem seems to have been one of indecisiveness. He couldn’t take control, and the general opinion of him was that he lived in his father’s shadow. In his later years, Bill Young would spend winter months in a warmer part of Arizona. Reportedly, John Young ran up enormous phone bills as he called Bill for advice. In 1972, after Bill Young was away from the trading post for a month because of ill health, Bill admitted to Earl Jackson that it took a while for them to get back on their feet, that things had "slowed down substantially" at the shop. And at that point John Young had been on the job for about four years. Furthermore, John Young reportedly had little grasp of the Navajo language.

Although he was passed over for the Trader/Manager position when Al Grieve was hired, John Young did stay on at the trading post as an assistant. Unfortunately, resentments festered between Mr. and Mrs. Young and Al Grieve. So many problems cropped up because of the Young’s presence in the store that John Young was asked to resign, with a month’s pay, effective July 1, 1979.

Changes in Trading Practices During Alan Grieve’s Tenure as Trader/Manager

When Bill Young started as Trader at Hubbell Trading Post he would generally buy low and sell high, with a two hundred or three hundred percent markup. That was how traders had operated when he entered the business in 1920, and for the most part that was how he continued to conduct business at Hubbell Trading Post. He did, however, have a fine appreciation for the arts and crafts, and his knowledge and experience sustained Hubbell Trading Post during its formative years as a national historic site. Another basic point about Bill and John Young’s methods was that the men seldom went on buying trips around the Navajo Nation. Many arts and crafts people came to them, but the Youngs did not necessarily get to see all of the developments in arts and crafts, nor did they know all of the better artists and crafts people.

Al Grieve’s modus operandi was to go on the road on occasional buying trips, a practice he’d followed during all of his years as a trader. As Grieve pointed out, Hubbell Trading Post is not on every crafts person’s route into town, so many of them never did pass by the trading post. By going on the road, then, Grieve was able to bring a wider range of crafts into the trading post, rugs from different areas. Hopi jewelry, sand paintings from what he considered to be better sources. He would also go into Gallup to see what he could discover there, and he would go to other trading posts, carrying with him what he considered to be surplus crafts from Hubbell Trading Post and he would trade for crafts he didn’t have. Ganado Red and Wide Ruins and Klagetoh rugs, which would just drift into Hubbell Trading Post, could be traded for Two Gray Hills and Teec Nos Pos rugs, only few of which would have been found in the trading post before Al Grieve got there.

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14Ibid.

15Earl Jackson to SPMA Board of Directors, May, 1979.
So Al Grieve can be credited with expanding the variety of the arts and crafts to be found at Hubbell Trading Post. Another change in the operation of the trading post was to start paying higher prices to the artists for their work and also to have less of a markup. The rationale behind this change of business philosophy was that if the artists were paid more they would continue to bring their work to Hubbell Trading Post, and with less of a markup on the items for sale more of the crafts could be turned over. It was hoped that these changes would help perpetuate the Indian arts and crafts business, which to a great extent is what Hubbell Trading Post as a national historic site was intended to do.

This change in business philosophy worked. Business increased by over $250,000 the first two years Al Grieve was on the job. However, there was no drastic change in the operation of the trading post when Al Grieve arrived to take over, just a change in emphasis in certain areas of the operation. That same can be said for the present operation. Hubbell Trading Post just tries to keep pace with the changing times, but still continue as a real trading post.

**Al Grieve Resigns**

Al Grieve contends that he is both a cowboy and a trader, and this conflict within himself eventually led to his resignation as Trader/Manager. He started leasing land for cattle raising even while he was at Hubbell Trading Post, and he enjoyed the work so much that he decided to go into it on a full-time basis. He leased a ranch near Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, and moved there with his family in 1981. Although he still ranches, he is also doing some trading, buying and selling arts and crafts, keeping in touch with the industry. Although he now thinks of himself as more of a cowboy than an Indian trader, he still enjoys trading.

**Billy Gene Malone, Trader/Manager, 1981 to Present**

Back in 1961, when Bill Malone took a job as a clerk in Al Frick’s store in Lupton, Arizona, out on US 66 just west of Gallup, he had no idea that he was starting down the road of a long career as a trader. He had just been released from the Army, where he had been trained as an electronics specialist, but the clerking job in Lupton was the best he could find around Gallup. As far as he’s concerned, it was probably the smartest move he ever made.

By the end of the year Bill was managing the store in Lupton, but in 1962 he took a job at the trading post at Piñon, which at that time was still an old-time, over-the-counter bullpen operation where about “999 out of 1,000” of the customers were non-English-speaking Navajo. The Piñon Trading Post sold groceries on credit, bought rugs, sheep, wool, mohair, piñon nuts, took pawn, and was in most respects a classic, old-fashioned trading post. Piñon lies west of Chinle, close to the Hopi Reservation but still in Navajo country. Bill speaks Navajo; he can carry on conversations with his customers on any subject they care to choose. He is married to a Navajo woman from Lupton, and they have five children and a growing number of grandchildren.

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16 Al Grieve, interview with authors, May 6, 1991.

17 Bill Malone, interview with authors, May 9, 1991.
Figure 17. Bill Malone, Trader/Manager of Hubbell Trading Post NHS. Bill went to work at Hubbell Trading Post in 1981. He continues the trading post’s long tradition of fair dealing and handling only quality arts and crafts. A. Manchester photograph, May 9, 1991.
In 1981 when AL Grieve was leaving Hubbell Trading Post, the ubiquitous and determined Art White stopped by the Piñon Trading Post to see if Trader Malone could be talked into applying for the position. No, Bill wasn’t especially interested. He had been aware of the job back when Bill Young retired. After all, he and his family were pretty well settled in Piñon. They liked it there. But the more Bill thought about it, the more he thought that it wouldn’t hurt just to drive down and take a look.... Eight or ten other applicants were on hand when Bill arrived at Hubbell Trading Post. As he recalls, they were to be advised of the results of the interview in about two weeks. However, only fifteen minutes after Bill was interviewed, he was called back into the room and offered the position of Trader/Manager. By 1981, good Indian traders could have been included on the endangered species list; the people who interviewed Bill Malone would have known that.

Conflicts

One day in the spring of 1991 a young Navajo woman approached Bill Malone in the bullpen and exchanged greetings with him. She told Bill that she was taking some children on a field trip. She would need gasoline. She had some craftwork with her that she wanted to exchange for just a bit of credit. If Bill would do that for her, she could make the trip. Bill didn’t hesitate.

An old-time trader would often keep a great deal of what was going on at the trading post in his head. Deals were struck suddenly, and maybe it was just too time consuming to make a record of it. Such an operation would drive a modern merchandiser mad. But of course an old-time trading post was absolutely nothing like a modern store where most of the pricing is done half a continent away, where all the sales are recorded by a computerized cash register.

There has always been a lot of give and take at a trading post. Al Grieve mentions that when he would sell an expensive rug, he might include in the deal—for free—a book on how to care for the rug. The trader is always trying to treat his customers fairly and possibly without the interference of computerized pricing and an up-to-the-minute inventory check.

It may well be that it is impossible to run a traditional trading post from downtown. The distant accountant, trying to balance his figures, is going to wonder what happened to a six-pack of Coca Cola that was given away and forgotten, a book that was thrown into a deal, a little cash exchanged for arts and crafts, the transactions not recorded because the trader was too busy to do so. The accountant has a right to know what is going on, but it may be impossible for a trader to deal in the traditional way and still be completely responsible to a distant office where modern technology is trying very efficiently to account for every penny.

This is indeed a conflict for the trader as well as the SPMA. They are working on the problem, but it does seem likely that a trading post cannot be run at long distance and that it must be operated to a great extent on old-fashioned trust if it is to maintain the aura of an old-fashioned trading post. And an old trading post was operated on guesswork, snap decisions, and personal whimsey. If Hubbell Trading Post ever enters the modern merchandising world, it may no longer be a trading post, and SPMA will no longer need a bona fide trader to run it. To what extent should Hubbell Trading Post devote itself to making money, and how much time should be devoted to "interpretation?" Buying and selling wool and mohair is hard work, time consuming, and not particularly profitable. But that’s what trading posts did.
No real trading post was simply an arts-and-crafts store. Without the groceries, the trading post is no longer a trading post. And some tourist-related items are encroaching on the grocery area. It's difficult to imagine many Navajo customers being interested in Taos drums or tee shirts and caps with Hubbell Trading Post printed on them. To the objective but interested observer, the tourist items may appear out of place in the bullpen. This is a sensitive issue that probably needs some study.

Finally, Hubbell Trading Post was always a farm as well as a trading post. J.L. Hubbell spent thousands of dollars creating an irrigation system that worked. When John Cook was superintendent there he saw water in every ditch. Since then, because of the leaky dam, the reservoir known as Ganado Lake has been drained. Ganado Lake was the source of irrigation water on the Hubbell land. And now the ditches are dry and deteriorating, filling in with drifting sand. It will take more thousands of dollars to restore the irrigation system once the dam is repaired or replaced.

When the dam is finally repaired, and the ditches to the Hubbell land repaired, and the ditches on the historic site repaired, then farming can start up again. SPMA and the NPS can cooperate in funding this aspect of the interpretation program of Hubbell Trading Post.

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18 Charles S. Peterson, Homestead And Farm: A History of Farming At The Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site (Prepared for Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, Utah State University, March 1, 1986)

19 John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.
CHAPTER VI

THE TRADING POST

Finances, Organization, and Some Veteran Employees

Finances

It may be recalled that in John Cook's August 3, 1966, memorandum to Earl Jackson he suggested that SPMA might make a profit of $9,000 during its first year in operation. In order to discover what profits were actually realized, the Statement of Income and Expense for the year ending December 31, 1968, is now included, Hubbell Trading Post's first full year under the direction of SPMA.

SALES

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<th>Item</th>
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<td>Rugs</td>
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<td>Jewelry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Curios</td>
<td>3,213.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Publications, slides</td>
<td>4,686.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Regular trading post business&quot;</td>
<td>50,797.00</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$122,270.55</strong></td>
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COST OF GOODS $77,703.96

There were, of course, expenses: salaries, travel, depreciation, etc., but the net profit from the operation for 1968 was $19,231.68, and net overall gain $21,124.29.

So instead of the lean or in-the-hole years feared by Earl Jackson, SPMA was already turning a notable profit. But of course they had one of the most experienced traders in the Southwest running the operation for them. At the time, it was estimated that the trading post was serving between 700 and 800 Navajo, who comprised about 95% of the people who shopped there. Profits at Hubbell Trading Post continued to grow as the historic site was discovered by more and more tourists. And as the years rolled on, more and more tourists were on the move. The percentage of Navajo visitors to the post dropped as thousands of people from all over the United States and other countries passed through Ganado.

The income from Hubbell Trading Post came to represent a very large part of SPMA's total profit for any year. The percentage has dropped off a bit as SPMA's sales at other parks, monuments, and sites have grown, but the income from Hubbell Trading Post still represents the largest part of the total sales of SPMA from all of their outlets, and it should be noted that SPMA

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1On file at SPMA headquarters, Tucson, Arizona.

The Trading Post has outlets at over 40 parks, monuments, and sites. As business at Hubbell Trading Post grew, SPMA itself grew considerably. A brief look at Hubbell Trading Post's financial data for 1990:

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<tr>
<td><strong>SALES</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>COST OF GOODS</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NET PROFIT</strong></td>
<td>$632,946</td>
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Total sales revenue for SPMA for the year ending September 30, 1990, was $5,626,915, and that included Hubbell Trading Post, SPMA’s wholesale warehouse, the Tucson bookstore, and all of the other areas. Total sales revenue for SPMA, less Hubbell Trading Post’s contribution, was $3,859,814. One can see immediately how significant a role Hubbell Trading Post plays in the success of SPMA with its $1,767,101 in gross sales. Compared to Hubbell Trading Post’s contribution, the income from almost any other of SPMA’s outlets is minuscule.

**SPMA’S Employees at The Trading Post**

SPMA maintains fifteen full- or part-time employees working at Hubbell NHS year-round, and during the summer five extra part-time employees may be hired. This may seem like a large crew, and at first one can be struck by the number of clerks on duty at the same time. However, there is often a large number of customers milling about, especially in the rug room and the jewelry room, and it should be remembered that much of the merchandise is extremely valuable—and vulnerable. Although thefts from the store are a rare occurrence, they have happened. For example, at one point during a busy summer day, a small rug was "carelessly" put down by one of the windows on the north side of the rug room. A little later it disappeared out the window, lost forever. And it should be remembered, too, that there are many items of historical value in the store that are not for sale. A lot of care is needed in the three rooms, and during a summer day when most of the clerks are occupied with customers, the Trader/Manager needs all the

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3SPMA records, Tucson, Arizona.

4Charles D. Wyatt, letter to authors, August 15, 1991.
people who are on duty with him. Depending on the season, one will find between four and eight people working in the store.

**Long-Term Employees at The Trading Post**

Some of the employees at the trading post have been there for many years: Lorene Dalgai, 20 years; Helen Kirk, 16 years; Evelyn Curley, 16 years; Mary Lee Begay, 15 years; Colina Yazzie, 11 years; and Irene Boloz, 10 years. There are several other fairly long-term employees. All of these people add up to a lot of experience and competence. (In 1967 Bill Young operated with just an assistant, Brad Stipp, and Rex and Eloise Begay, clerks.)

![Figure 18. Helen Kirk, weaver, in 1984. SPMA employs weavers and a silversmith to work in the Visitor Center. This is part of the interpretation program. NPS photo by Wilson Hunter, HUTR Neg. R5#12.](image)

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3Ibid.

6SPMA records, Tucson, Arizona.
Figure 19. Silversmith Ben Davis at work in the Visitor Center on 25 August, 1990. The weavers first came to work at the trading post, followed by a silversmith. Before working in the Visitor Center, they set up shop in the wareroom. NPS photo by Edward M. Chamberlin, HUTR Neg. R327#21.

The Chain Of Command At The Trading Post

When the Trader/Manager is not on duty, responsibility at the trading post is in the hands of Assistant Trader/Manager Colina Yazzie. If both Bill Malone and Colina Yazzie are absent, Lorene Dalgai is in charge.7

SPMA Employees Who Are Not Clerks

The trading post has a bookkeeper, and there are three weavers and a silversmith. The silversmith and the weavers, who may not all be on duty at the same time, will generally be found at the NPS Visitor Center where they are part of the interpretation program.

7Charles D. Wyatt, letter to authors, August 15, 1991.
Chapter VI

Friday Kinlicheenie, Retired SPMA Employee

Until recently, Friday Kinlicheenie was an integral and colorful member of Hubbell Trading Post's personnel. He was the trading post's gardener and took care of the kitchen garden. He was a medicine man, accustomed to doing an occasional Blessing Way for the trading post buildings or local citizens; and when lightning struck a tree at the post in the 1970s he helped perform a ceremony to clear the property of spiritual evil, much to the astonishment and delight of visiting tourists. When skunks plundered his corn patch, he would stay up all night to defend the garden with a stick, which, when he went into the trading post in the morning to announce some success, also astonished the tourists. Nobody seems to know exactly how old Friday is, although a good guess would place him at this time in his 95th or 96th year. He was born about seven or eight miles west of Ganado at a place called Cornfields, born probably in the month of February, and he came to work at the trading post in about 1915. In those early days he did chores around the place, sweeping out, chopping wood, packing and unpacking merchandise, and he would also help carry mail to Chinle and St. Michael's. Kinlicheenie was already a fixture at the store when Dorothy Hubbell rolled into the yard in 1920.

Friday Kinlicheenie was still working at the trading post when Dorothy Hubbell decided to sell. Roman Hubbell and Friday Kinlicheenie were long-time compadres, and Dorothy Hubbell explained to John Cook that Roman had told Friday that he could have a job at the trading post forever. John Cook made a commitment to Mrs. Hubbell that he would see to it that Friday would have a job at the trading post for as long as he wanted one there.

And so Friday continued on at the trading post, paid by SPMA, his main duty that of planting corn and caring for the garden that visitors see just to the front of the house. Friday spent more years at the trading post than did anybody else. He just grew too old to continue working. One can imagine that his spirit remains.


*Terry Nichols, telephone conversation with authors, February 16, 1991.

*Background for Friday Kinlicheenie was culled from several conversations, articles on file at Hubbell Trading Post, and from a transcript of a conversation with him that was recorded in 1970 and is on file at the trading post.
Figure 20. Early morning at Hubbell Trading Post, December, 1984. This photo shows the northeast corner of the trading post building, HB-1. The door to the right leads into the jewelry room, the door on the left into the bullpen (grocery area). The wareroom extension is the second door on the left, the curator's office and storage area, HB-9, is the third door on the left. The barn, HB-3, is the two-story building in the background. NPS photo by E. Bauer, HUTR Neg. R75#26.
Building Roster

Trading Post and Wareroom Extension

HB-1 and HB-9: This is the building the visitors see as they approach the site on the entrance road. The store, rug room, trader’s office (jewelry room), and wareroom are located in HB-1; the Curator’s office, storage and work area, and darkroom are in HB-9 (HB-9 was also the location of the laundromat). HB-1 was built in probably in four phases. According to a dendrochronological report,1 the office (jewelry room now) and the rug room were probably constructed in 1883. The vigas (beams)2 were harvested in the summer of 1883, so it seems likely the building was under construction at that time. The grocery store and wareroom were added in 1889, according to the same dendrochronological report (and family memory). The wareroom extension (Curator’s office) was under construction in 1930 at the time of Don Lorenzo’s death but was completed at a later date and housed the laundromat, which burned out in 1966.

Construction: HB-1: Sandstone and mortar walls, plastered and painted on the interior. Board and viga ceiling, earthen roof over the boards, now covered by a modern tar roof (re-roofed in spring, 1991). Stone parapets surround roof. Wood over earth floor. This was the nucleus of the present trading post complex. The north and west walls of this section underwent considerable renovation in 1970. The walls were bulging, and it was decided to do some tearing out and rebuilding.3

Construction: HB-9: A limestone and adobe mortar addition at the south end of HB-1. Board and viga ceiling, earth roof, later covered by tarpaper built-up roof. Concrete floor, interior walls plastered and painted. The walls and at least part of the roof were in place at the time of Don Lorenzo’s death. Although this structure now houses the Curator, plans are being made to convert this area to a museum as soon as a permanent curatorial building can be constructed (probably close to the staff living quarters). Many artifacts, historical objects, and objects d’art are stored here because there isn’t anyplace to display them.4

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2The Spanish word viga, used often in the southwest, means beam, a supporting unit in a structure.


4List of Classified Structures, Southwest Region, Undated, Curator’s Office, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
Hubbell Residence

HB-2: Adobe walls—16" to 18" thick—on a shallow stone and mud mortar foundation. Board and viga ceiling, boards covered with bark and straw to keep the earth from sifting down. Adobe mud was then spread across the board ceiling to serve as the original roof. A later roof of rafters, boards, and mineral-surfaced rolled roofing was added above the old earthen roof (renewed in spring, 1991). Exterior walls are covered with adobe plaster, interior walls are plastered and painted. Flooring is tongue and groove on 2 X 6 joists.5

Figure 21. The Hubbell home, HB-2, photo from 1965. The tall TV antenna has since been removed. NPS photo, HUTR Neg. 89.

5ibid.
If one is to judge by the tree-ring study, the front part of the house—the hall-living area, and the adjoining bedrooms—was under construction in 1900 and 1901, the southern end of the house, which initially consisted of a staff dining room and root cellar, may have been completed in 1897-1898. The two structures were joined, probably in 1910, by the addition of the present kitchen and the two rooms on either side of the courtyard. The residence, then, was under construction from about 1897 until about 1910, with some modern refinements, such as electricity and running water, entering the structure in the 1920s. There are porches at the south and north ends of the house. The interior of the house is furnished very much as Dorothy Hubbell left it in 1967 and looks as it might have in, say, 1920, when Dorothy arrived. (The contents of the house can be studied by referring to several comprehensive furnishings studies on file in the Curator’s office.)

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6National Register of Historic Places, Registration Form. Southwest Regional Office.
Figure 23. Hubbell Residence. The southern end of the house was completed in 1897-1898, the front section in 1900-1901. The two separate structures were joined in about 1910 with the addition of the kitchen and the rooms on either side of the patio. Southwestern architecture lends itself to such additions, which rarely seem to detract from the original plan.
Figure 24. The Barn, HB-3. The barn has been the subject of much reconstruction and stabilization. Construction of the barn was started in about 1893 and continued into the early years of the twentieth century. NPS photo by C. Steen and K. Wing, 11 February 1958, HUTR Neg. 14.

Barn

HB-3: "The barn of 1968 is virtually the same structure it was at the turn of the century." The barn was begun in about 1893 and completed in the early years of this century, with the only apparent addition in later years being the "ribbing or lath" which fills the openings in the second story. The use of the barn area changed over the years, however, as the blacksmith shop located there evolved into a shop for working on motor vehicles. It is interesting to note that to return the blacksmith shop to being simply a blacksmith shop—which might be the first thing one would

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4Ibid.
think of to do with such an area—would eliminate the changes brought by the early days of motoring, now no less an historic period than horse-and-buggy days.

The structure is 80' by 81' on the ground floor, the second story 60' by 62'. There are stock pens, stalls, storage rooms, and the work areas on the first floor. The second story is a hay loft. Walls are of "rough rubble" set with adobe clay mortar. Earth floors. Roofs are the usual large pine vigas, latilla ceilings over the vigas, earth spread across the latillas.

The barn has always been a source of headaches as well as the object of much reconstruction and stabilization. When the site was purchased in 1967, the west wall of the barn's storeroom was apparently on the verge of falling out. As already discussed, it has never been possible to keep a roof on the place. At some point a "nonhistoric" roof was installed over the original and this consisted of "corrugated sheet metal, a layer of gray portland cement mixed with perlite, a weatherproof sealer, and a final layer of stabilized aluminate cement, which visually resembles the earth color of the original roof." In spite of all this effort, NPS maintenance people are back to periodically spreading earth on the roof.

Over the many years the barn became the repository for an astonishing assortment of things that the Hubbells thought "might come in handy," including a "banjo case, less the banjo." An inventory taken on July 11, 1968, lists ninety-five entries, from washing machines to a "car, 1953 NM plates, not ancient." Is this the 1940 Packard that Ned Danson remembers being out there? If so, what happened to it? Because the trading post was usually short of qualified curatorial people, it took years to properly clean out the barn. Even in the mid-1970s, "J.L.'s [Lorenzo Hubbell's] alligator traveling bag was out in the barn where the mules and the horses were walking on it"

Manager's Residence

HB-4: Dorothy Hubbell recalled that when she first arrived in Ganado this building was the laundry. She used it as a schoolroom. It has also served as artist's studio and quarters for visitors. Since the NPS took it over, it has been used as the superintendent's quarters and, at the present time, the chief ranger's quarters.

The exact age of the building is in question, but it is apparent (from old photos) that it was expanded some time after 1931, possibly as late as the 1940s. The original section dates from at least as far back as the 1890s, and the older walls are of stone and adobe on a shallow foundation. The latest addition is of modern stud wall construction. Floors are wood, the roofs

*A latilla ceiling is composed of tree branches 1" to 2" diameter laid side by side. This ceiling was less expensive than boards, or was used where sawed lumber was not available.

10National Register of Historic Places, Registration Form. Southwest Regional Office.

11Inventory in Barn Stabilization file, Curator's Office, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.

12Ibid.

Figure 25. Manager’s Residence (Ranger’s Residence), HB-4, on February 11, 1958, as seen from the barn roof. This structure has seen many uses. Today, it is used as the ranger’s residence, so that somebody is usually in or around the trading post complex twenty-four hours a day. Hubbell Hill, the burial site of John Lorenzo Hubbell and others, rises in the background over HB-4. NPS photo by C. Steen and K. Wing, HUTR Neg. 36.

are covered with mineral-surfaced rolled roofing. Exterior walls have been stuccoed. The interior has been remodelled to make it a comfortable home, but the original floor plan has not been changed.\footnote{Benjamin Levy, Historic Structures Report, May 15, 1968. Curator’s office, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.}
Figure 26. Stone Residence (Bunkhouse), HB-5, in about 1965. This structure, located in the southwest corner of the compound, is used today only for storage. It could possibly be rehabilitated as another residence, or as quarters for visiting NPS employees. NPS photo, HUTR Neg. 117.

Stone Residence

HB-5: This building, located in the southwest corner of the complex, was constructed between 1913 and 1920. The Stone Residence has served as a bunkhouse for freight-wagon and motor truck drivers, and for other employees. Prior to 1931, a four-truck garage extended east of the Stone Residence. It was built of stone and mortar, with a flat, viga-supported roof. The trucks were used in the trading post business to haul products back and forth across the reservation, to and from the several trading posts owned by the Hubbells at that time, evidence of the wide range of their business interests. The garage was damaged by fire in April 1931, razed between 1935 and 1951. The concrete pad of the garage remains.

The walls of the Stone Residence are stone and mortar on a shallow foundation, the roof supported by vigas and covered with green mineral asphalt roofing. The building is filled with catalogued museum artifacts, primarily building fragments and some furniture.15

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15Ibid.
Guest Hogan

HB-6: The Guest Hogan, situated to the north of the main house, was built for the family by Emilio Limas as a memorial to J.L. Hubbell. Although the year 1934 is carved into the stone above the door, dated photographs indicate that the structure was probably not completed until the mid-1940s. The hogan is of coursed sandstone, the floors of flagstone, with a traditional hogan roof of vigas projecting radially, the vigas covered with boards, the boards covered with red asphalt shingles. There is a massive central fireplace of petrified wood, stone, and pottery and stone artifacts. The door was carved by Dorothy Hubbell (another example of her carving is stored with the Curator, a rendering of the Conveyance of the Gods, which was the symbol of the Hubbell motor touring business of the 1930s).

It was common practice for trading posts to have guest hogans for customers who had trekked in long distances to do business. The notion has been put forward that since Lorenzo Hubbell was noted for his hospitality, a guest hogan is a fitting memorial to him.

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Figure 28. The Guest Hogan as rendered by Ethel Trimmer, SWRO. The door was carved by Dorothy Hubbell.
Figure 29. The massive fireplace in the Guest Hogan, as rendered by Ethel Trimmer, SWRO. The fireplace is made of petrified wood, stone, and pottery and stone artifacts.
The hogan is not being used for anything at the present time and is awaiting interior refurbishing. The structure has been the subject of stabilizing by the NPS. The walls were spreading, due apparently to a poor—or nonexistent?—footing. The hogan has served as site headquarters and it has been used to house visiting NPS employees. Ned Danson would stay there when he visited the trading post.¹⁷ The most favored plan for the future use of the hogan that it should remain a guest hogan, to be used by NPS employees who have work in the area, or else to be maintained by SPMA and rented to visitors on a nightly basis (it was so rented by the Hubbells, so that idea is nothing new).¹⁸

Figure 30. The Bread Oven, HB-7, was an important part of the Hubbell operation until the 1930s. A. Manchester photo taken October, 1991.

Bread Oven

HB-7: The Bread Oven located close to the Manager’s Residence is the last of a series of ovens. The first bread oven was built during the years 1897 to 1903. Bread was made at Hubbell Trading Post, to be sold there and at other posts belonging to them, until the 1930s. This last

¹⁷Edward B. Danson, interview with authors, April 18, 1991.

bread oven was coal-fired. About 200 loaves would have been baked on baking days; bread was baked about three times a week. A baker was employed. The dough was mixed in the kitchen of the Hubbell home, also close by.

The bread oven at the trading post is a substantial structure, 12' 5" by 14' 7". It has a stone foundation up to three feet above grade, brick oven structure above the stone. It once had a chimney, probably on its southeast corner. The cast iron door is a New Model Oven Door (patented March 4, 1902), and there are smaller cast iron doors, one a viewing door that at one time would have had an isinglass window, and a cleanout door.

This structure was stabilized in 1986. It has been suggested—as early as Benjamin Levy’s Historic Structures Report of 1968—that returning the oven to its original function as a bread oven (rather than just an object of historic interest) would tend to enhance the living trading post aspects of the site as well as provide an authentic sales item.19

Figure 31. The Adobe Utility Building, HB-8, the chicken coop, as it looked in October, 1991, with a few resident chickens. A. Manchester photo.

19Ibid.
Adobe Utility Building (aka Chicken Coop)

**HB-8:** Estimates place the date of origin of this building at between 1906 and 1909, possible as late as 1915. Its first use was indeed as a chicken coop. It was later employed for storage and a place to house an electrical generator. Niches were cut into the adobe walls for nesting. The building was partitioned after it ceased being a chicken coop. Most reports indicate that at one time the backyard, to the west, was enclosed by a fence, first of rough stone, later of "faggots." The fence was gone by 1931.

The structure is on a stone foundation, walls of adobe brick. The walls were eroding to such an extent in the 1970s that the building was stuccoed in order to keep it from disintegrating.\(^\text{20}\) To that extent, then, the building does not appear as it did in 1967, necessity taking precedence over authenticity. Floors are concrete slab on south side, plank on north side. The roof is a complicated structure of *vigas* and thick latillas, a frame shed roof added over that and covered with rolled roofing.\(^\text{21}\)

Figure 32. The corrals, pens and sheds, HB-10, are located just to the south of the barn. During the heyday of the trading post, this would have been a busy area. NPS photo by C. Steen and K. Wing, 11 February, 1958, HUTR Neg. 15.

\(^\text{20}\)Kevin McKibbin, telephone interview with authors, April 27, 1991.

Corrals, Pens, and Sheds

HB-10: This part of the trading post looks substantially the same as it did in about 1915. The area does not now, however, give any idea of the considerable activity that must have gone on during the trading post’s heyday. There was an employee who took care of the barn, which of course was no doubt necessary. Such a person would be feeding and watering animals, moving them in and out of the barn to corrals and pens, cleaning stalls, tending to tack and harness, hitching up animals to wagons.

These now forlorn structures and fenced areas were vital to three aspects of the Hubbell business—sheep trading, the raising of domestic stock, and freighting. There are pens and runs for sheep trading, a large corral for domestic animals, and corrals and sheds for mules, horses, and the protection of wagons. It has been pointed out that unless this area of the trading post is understood, the extent of the Hubbells’ business interests cannot be fully appreciated. Few tourists wander that far into the complex. The fenced areas contain old wagons and old farming equipment, everything still parked in the weather as if it had been out there since Dorothy Hubbell left. Old equipment, including what must be one of the old gasoline pumps, rests in the sheds.

Figure 33. The Hogan-in-the-Lane, HB-11, was probably built in the 1950s by Friday Kinlicheenie for his personal quarters. There were other hogans at the trading post, apparently all north of the main buildings. NPS photo, April, 1966, HUTR Neg. 171.
Most of the construction here was done between 1897 and 1909. The corral complex is made of vertical poles of irregular length, looks much as it did in 1944, and was used principally for sheep. Sheds were built and fell to ruin and were removed. What is left is what was standing in 1967, palisade structures of local timber, heavy log construction. The roof is the usual viga type construction, but here the vigas are covered over with canvas tarps.\textsuperscript{22}

Hogan-in-the-Lane

\textbf{HB-11:} This crude structure was built in the 1950s (according to Interview #71-Dorothy Hubbell) by Friday Kinlicheenie for his own quarters. It is built in the traditional Navajo style of faced logs chinked with mud. Roof is cribbed-log, dirt covered, the floor earthen. The place was later used as guest quarters. Hogans such as this were found at most trading posts; they housed visiting customers, shepherders, and employees. This hogan is said to have been built to replace those that were to the north of the trading post, one of which appears in a photo taken by LaCharles Eckel in April of 1931. The hogan represents an important aspect of the trading post operation.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{hubbell_trading_post.jpg}
\caption{Visitor Center and Site Office, HB-12 was built in the 1930s to be a day school. It was built on land donated by the Hubbells. NPS photo by E. Bauer, October, 1984, HUTR Neg. R74#36.}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{23}Ibid.
HB-12, HB-13, HB-14: These buildings were not originally a part of the trading post complex. The land where they stand (3.7 acres) was sold for a small amount of money ($1.00?) or else leased by the Hubbells to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1924 to be used as a school tract.

HB-12: The present NPS office and Visitor Center was the school and chapter house until it fell into disuse. HB-12 was built by local Navajo in the 1930s to serve as a day school, and it was used as such until the early 1950s when it became the local chapter house, for which it served until the new chapter house was built in town. HB-12 is constructed of random ashlar stone walls, a flat, built-up roof with vigas projecting through the stone below the parapets. Floors are concrete. The interior was modified in 1979 for NPS use, the Visitor Center located on the east side with its books and pamphlets, a few displays, and a working area for the weavers and the silversmith. The west end of the building is devoted to (rather cramped) offices for the superintendent and other NPS personnel.24

Figure 35. The Restrooms, HB-13, were converted to their present use in 1980. The building was formerly a pump house. NPS photo by E. Bauer, October, 1984, HUTR Neg. R74#34.

24National Register of Historic Places, Registration Form. Southwest Regional Office.
HB-13: This structure is now the site restrooms, and was converted to its present use in 1980, re-roofed in 1982. The structure was formerly a pump house. Construction style and technique are similar to offices and visitor center. Before the restrooms were created, visitors had to use plastic privies. The restrooms are one of the most popular places in Ganado and at Hubbell Trading Post. The trading post and the hospital are the only places in town with public restrooms, and all the local citizens are aware of it.25

HB-14: This structure is to the northwest of HB-12, just a few steps from the offices. This was at one time a root cellar. It was converted within the past year or so to be the site library. This is a small stone structure, the south end built into the sloping land, the door facing north. Concrete floor, carpeted, with bookshelves around the walls, a table in the center of the room. This is a good area for (small) private conferences.26

Figure 36. The Library, converted from an old root cellar in 1990-1991. This is also a good place for private conferences. Photo from October, 1991. This is HB-14. A Manchester photo.

25Ibid.
26Ibid.
**Proposed Research Studies**

All of the historic structure reports are now considered out of date, and according to the most recent Resources Management Plan, little or no research is presently being done on building use, occupancy, or structural change. However, as further studies go forward in reference to the Hubbell's business matters, it seems likely that more information will turn up as regards the use of the structures. It is recommended in the Resources Management Plan that studies be made of the following structures in order to determine construction, use, occupancy, and structural history:

- Trading Post (HB-1)
- Hubbell Residence (HB-2)
- Barn (HB-3)
- Manager's Residence (HB-4)
- Bunk House (HB-5)
- Stone Hogan (HB-6)
- Utility Building (HB-8)
- Wareroom Extension (HB-9)
- Hogan-in-the-Lane (HB-11)
- Root Cellar (now Library) (HB-14)

**Pertinent Studies On File At The Historic Site**

*Hubbell Trading Post: Historic Structures Report: Part II, Historical Data Section*, by Benjamin Levy, May 15, 1968. Although old, this report is one that should not be neglected.

*Dendrochronology of Hubbell Trading Post and Residence*, by William J. Robinson, 30 September, 1979. Sampling was performed between November 14th and November 23rd, 1978; and laboratory work commenced in December and was completed in January, 1979. The report is a ten-page photocopy that attempts to tell when various sections of the house and the trading post were either built or repaired. If one can assume that the Hubbells would not have left a lot of logs lying about the post, the report is probably accurate.
The Museum Collection

Many of the meals at the trading post must have been extraordinary and entertaining events, gatherings of some of the brighter lights of America. Conversations could have ranged from art or agriculture to the price of wool to how many rounds of .30-06 ammunition Teddy Roosevelt needed to put down a full-grown rhino (nine).¹

Figure 37. The Hubbell home as it appeared on August 18, 1909. The decor has changed considerably since then, but this photo gives a good idea as to the richness of the museum collection at the site. Photo by Charles Drake, Courtesy of Museum of Northern Arizona. HUTR Neg. RP-14.

When visitors to Ganado came to the trading post looking for bed and board they got it free of charge. Dorothy Hubbell said they never knew how many people might be there for supper, and there were times when they could have had as many as forty. J.L. Hubbell was a big man in many respects, and he counted among his guests and friends Theodore Roosevelt, the All-American President, who knew his way around in some of the darker corners of the map.

When Dorothy Hubbell asked Don Lorenzo why he was willing to take in so many nonpaying guests, he explained to her that he had decided free room and board at the trading post would cause him less trouble than if he were to accept payment. For example, should a guest need hot water or a towel, either he, Don Lorenzo, or a member of his family or one of his employees would have to do the fetching. Hubbell did not consider himself an innkeeper. If his guests didn't have to pay, they took what they got (which apparently was plenty) and were well satisfied to get it. \(^2\) Among the many who drifted into Ganado and put up at the trading post were some of America's finest artists.

Plying the Indian hinterland for inspiration, the artists, writers, and photographers stayed at the trading post for a little R&R. A few of them, such as Elbridge Ayer Burbank, stayed over more than once and for lengthy periods of time. Although nobody knows which of the artists first left behind an example of his work as a sign of appreciation for Hubbell's kindness, it became something of a tradition for them to do so. A few of the artists became habitues around the post; they left behind a considerable body of their work. A visitor is struck by the amount and quality of the art hanging there. J.L. Hubbell's hospitality and the many signs of appreciation left behind by the artists has turned into a rich legacy for the American people. Much of the art is of exceptional quality and is at the same time a valuable record of the Indians' way of life and many of their rites. There was so much artwork and so many artifacts of various kinds that during the original inventory a storeroom was described as being "full of stuff."

Two Notable Artists Who Stayed At Hubbell Trading Post

Elbridge Ayer Burbank

It was Burbank's Redheads that drew Ned Danson to Hubbell Trading Post that fateful day in 1957. The Redheads are conté-crayon sketches of Native Americans and Ganado citizens the artist met while he was staying with the Hubbells, and among the Redheads is a sketch of J.L. Hubbell. Burbank was born in 1858. He studied at the Chicago Art Academy and in Germany. His work was exhibited in many American cities and even in Paris. In 1895, Edward Ayer, an uncle who was a museum president, commissioned Burbank to paint some Indian portraits, a project that developed into an important career. Burbank visited about 128 tribes in order to paint their people, and he did approximately 1200 works in oil, watercolor, and crayon. Among the great chiefs he painted are Geronimo, Chief Joseph, Rain-in-the-Face, and Sitting Bull. In many cases Burbank's portraits may be the only pictures of the subjects that still exist. E.A. Burbank was an artist of the first rank; his work is of importance to American history and culture.

\(^2\)Dorothy Hubbell, interview with authors, March 27, 1991.
Burbank first appeared at Hubbell Trading Post in 1905. He returned "frequently" and remained once for ten months. The historic site owns nearly 300 of his works. A collection of Redheads hangs in the home as do several oils. His artwork, including large oils, can be found even in the trading post. Some of his works are in curatorial storage. Burbank’s works are in the collections of museums and galleries in other parts of the country, including the Newberry Library in Chicago and the Smithsonian. He died in poverty and obscurity in San Francisco in 1949.

Maynard Dixon

Lafayette Maynard Dixon, born in California in 1875, died in Tucson in 1946. Maynard Dixon was another frequent visitor to Hubbell Trading Post and became one of Don Lorenzo’s close friends. He is considered one of the premier painters of desert scenes, and he was one of the most successful (in monetary terms) of the artists working in the Southwest. Hubbell Trading Post owns two oils, one large watercolor, a smaller watercolor, and two pencil sketches.  

Although Maynard Dixon and Burbank are the only two artists singled out here for special mention, the art collection at the trading post is considered to be remarkable, including as it does some of the well known artists of their day. One brief tour through the house hardly does justice to the artwork there. But the artwork is but part of the collection.

The Collection Management Plan (1975) states: "A beautifully restored and stabilized Hubbell Home without its furnishings would be nothing but an empty shell, useless for interpretive purposes and without meaning to the visitor. The furnishings are especially important at Hubbell Trading Post because they are all original objects that belonged to the Hubbell family. What is important about the site is the story of the trading post and the way of life of a particular trading post manager; it is essential to have original objects to tell this story."  

Indeed, an important point to keep in mind about this museum collection is that all of it belonged to the Hubbells. There are at least 180,000 items in the total collection, about 115,000 of them at the Southwest Regional Office and the Western Archeological Conservation Center, and 65,000 objects at the trading post. The University of Arizona has 572 boxes of business papers and documents, 252 linear feet, but those 572 boxes represent just one item on the complete inventory.

Cataloguing of the collection is now complete, but much of the cataloguing remains to be computerized. David Brugge, who at the time was curator for the Navajo Lands Group, was the first person to do curatorial work at the trading post. His *Furnishing Plans for the Hubbell Home*, July, 1973, is a fine document that Hubbell’s curators still refer to. But the home wasn’t

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1Letter from Edward M. Chamberlin, Curator, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, to authors, July 16, 1991.


the only building—or place—on the property to contain valuable artifacts and other objects of interest. The Hubbells were intelligent and interested people, and they were acquisitive. Very little was thrown away, and much of what was tossed out wound up in a trash heap, the bottles and cans, the broken toys, old automobile parts, pieces of harness, anything considered to have no value whatsoever. (Could they ever have imagined people who would come and find all that moldy debris to be of interest?)

Collection Management Plan (1975)

When a team from Harpers Ferry arrived in Ganado in 1975 to prepare the National Park Service's first collection management plan, they found museum specimens all over the property, in the blacksmith shop, corrals, closets and drawers in the house, on the porches of the home, even in the maintenance man's office. Valuable items were stored with apparent carelessness. Before and after photos in the 1975 Collection Management Plan will show what the team did in an attempt to sort of tidy up the place. There just hadn't been enough time or people to properly catalogue and protect everything.

Tom Vaughan became the superintendent in 1974: "I realized that what we had at Hubbell Trading post was kind of a disaster. And this is not to diminish Dave Brugge's work there for several years because he did a wonderful job of salvage history and salvage ethnology and doing what he could. But basically the Park Service's curatorial system was in disarray and under funded and understaffed.... Before I got there we literally had a basket fall off the [ceiling] and come down around the head of one of the guides taking people through. Our best storage area was a burned-out room (the old laundromat, HB-9). J. L.'s alligator travelling bag was out in the barn where the mules and the horses were walking on it.... One of the richest and most diverse collections in the Southwest Region of the Park Service, and it was just...a crying shame."

Tom had an opportunity to visit Harpers Ferry. He was escorted through the Division of Conservation by Arthur Allen, Chief, Division of Museum Services. When Tom got back to Hubbell Trading Post he took a close look at the state of his own museum collection. He called Art Allen: "Has there ever been a collection management plan that takes a look at what is, compares it to what ought to be, and lays out what needs to be done to get you where you need to go?" Art said no, but there ought to be. Tom: "I think it was only six months later we had done the work on site and we had...the first collection management plan ever done in the Park Service in hand. It's historic just for the speed in which it was done."

And that was how the Park Service came to have its first collection management plan. Although Hubbell Trading Post’s collection management plan is now outdated, it is still in use and the curators are still working from ideas it generated.

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7Thomas George Vaughan, telephone interview with authors, February 4, 1991.

8Ibid.

9Ibid.
The Collection

The collection is broken down into several "disciplines."

History

1. Three-dimensional artifacts:

   Objects in this category are house furnishings, and that includes furniture, fine arts, table settings, linens. This would include, too, the historic furnishings in the trading post, barn, blacksmith shop, etc.

   There is some consideration given to reproducing items that continue to be used, that when the object wears out it can be replaced with something that looks like the original. Photographs and measurements of the contents are needed so that should any reproductions be needed the documentation will be on hand for the job.

2. Archival Materials:

   Business papers, personal papers, papers and documents associated with other trading posts in Navajo and Hopi country. Diaries and descriptions of travelers who visited the trading posts. Archival material related to the trading post since it became an historic site.

   Acquisitions in this category should concentrate on the Dorothy and Roman Hubbell period, significant papers from Southwest Parks and Monuments Association.

3. Architectural Materials:

   When stabilization work on historic structures results in the removal of original fabric, a representative sample should be accessioned into the collection. If architectural elements are threatened, samples will be preserved in the collection.

4. Ganado Community:

   J.L. Hubbell was an important man in the community. Artifacts and documents related to the development of the town, the irrigation system, and the Presbyterian Mission will be considered.

5. Hubbell Trading Industry:

   The family ran up to twenty-four different trading posts at one time or another. Efforts should be made to tell the story of the rest of the Hubbell business enterprises.

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10 What follows is an adaptation of part of the Scope of Collection Statement for May 1990.
Archeology

Among the artifacts in this classification are items collected by the Hubbell family from many sources, artifacts found during excavations around the historic site, and surface finds collected by archeologists, site personnel, and visitors. The picking up of surface finds by other than archeologists who are at the site to do professional work is to be discouraged. For the artifact to be of its utmost value to archeologists, it should only be removed from its original place by a trained person who is prepared to record the important data in reference to the artifact. Once picked up by an untrained person, the object should not—generally speaking—be then returned to the area.

1. Three-dimensional Artifacts:

Research undertakings and many other kinds of work around the historic site may unearth artifacts and even human remains. All of this must be catalogued in the museum collection. They are NPS property, and their collection and storage must meet NPS guidelines, regulations, policy, and any laws pertaining to them, including the Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979. Storage of artifacts at the site is not required, but it may be recommended in order to ensure the utmost control and care. Artifacts from the historic site are now stored at the site; at the Southwest Regional Office, the Pinon Building, in Santa Fe; and at the Western Archeological Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona. Generally speaking, virtually any excavation on the site will require an examination by, or the presence of, an archeologist. For example, when utility pipes were laid within the site, an archeologist was on hand to inspect the ground. Excavations are very likely to unearth artifacts of some kind.

2. Archival Materials:

Records associated with the archeological collection and archeological activities on the historic site will be retained as part of the museum collection. Such records consist of final reports, field notes, and catalogs, daily journals, drawings and maps, photographs and negatives, sound recordings, raw data sheets, instrument charts, remote sensing materials, collection inventories, analytical study data, conservation treatment records, and computer documentation of data.

There are many gaps in this category, the missing records of various kinds of work done on the site. Efforts must be made to acquire the records of all of the archeological projects at Hubbell Trading Post. Such records will of course be of value during future projects.

Ethnology

Ethnographic materials in the collection include objects that are original to the site and also some reproductions of historic rugs. The reproductions were done by weavers working for Southwest Parks and Monuments Association. For example, some of the rugs that were on the floors of the Hubbell home have been reproduced. The originals are in storage. Additional reproductions for use as furnishings are needed. The ethnographic collection at Hubbell Trading Post is probably
the finest in the NPS. Establishing this site as an ethnological forum and acquiring comparative artifacts is appropriate.

The Navajo rug was one of the most important elements in the operation at the trading post, and J.L. Hubbell was one of those most instrumental in the evolution of the Navajo rug. In an effort to establish the entire story of the evolution of the modern Navajo rug, contemporary rugs donated to the historic site will be accepted.

**Library Management**

The interpretive resource (IR) library at the site is managed by the Division of Interpretation. There are nearly 1500 additional books catalogued into the museum collection, and they are in bookcases in the Hubbell home, in the trading post rug room, and stored in HB-9, museum storage. Cross referencing should be done, with library cards on file in the (IR) library, so the site staff will not only know what books are available but where they are. The books are an important part of the collection from the point of view of what the reasonably well-read pioneer in the hinterlands might have felt was of cultural importance or technical necessity. The books represent another angle from which to view the Hubbell family. There are several very valuable books in the collection.

**Natural History**

Geological specimens and mounted heads (hunting trophies) make up the majority of items in this category, and virtually everything was collected by the Hubbell family. Much of it is used as decoration in the buildings. The objects are catalogued and treated as cultural artifacts but are also cross-referenced under natural history.

An inventory of zoological species found within the park boundaries should be compiled, to include insects and arachnids, and other invertebrates, as well as the reptiles, amphibians, fish, birds, and mammals found there. In most cases, each conspicuous species and form thought likely to arouse visitor interest may be represented by at least one properly prepared adult specimen. As a conservation and preservation agency, it is the responsibility of the NPS to record natural and cultural data for the property being managed, especially when no other local institution or agency is doing so.

**Acquisitions**

The historic site may acquire objects by gift, purchase, exchange, transfer, field collection, and loan. In accordance with NPS policy, the site will discourage any gifts with limiting conditions. Acquisition of objects is governed by the site’s ability to manage them according to the principles outlined in Chapter V of the *NPS Management Policies* and the standards for managing museum collections in Chapter 3 of NPS 28, *Cultural Resources Management Guidelines*. Museum Objects must be acquired, accessioned, and catalogued in accordance with the *NPS Museum Handbook, Part II, Museum Records (1984)*.

The site Superintendent represents the Secretary of the Interior in accepting title to and responsibility for museum objects; however, any object or artifact exceeding the value of $10,000 may be accepted only after consultation with, and the approval of, the Regional Director. The
Superintendent bears ultimate responsibility for any acquisitions and for the proper care and management of the museum collection. The day-to-day care of the collection is the responsibility of the site Curator.

All permanent acquisitions other than field collections must be approved by the site Superintendent before they can be accessioned into the museum collection. All newly acquired objects and their documentation must be turned over to the site Curator. The site Curator prepares for the Superintendent's signature all instruments of conveyance and letters of thanks, or of acceptance, to lender or vendor, or other source of acquisition.

Restrictions on Museum Collection

The site's museum collection may be used for research, exhibits, interpretive programs, and other interpretive media (publications, for example), but the governing consideration in the use of museum objects must be the conservation of each object in question and the collection as a whole. Researchers and other specialists must examine objects under the conditions and procedures outlined in the Cultural Resource Management Guideline (NPS-28) and in the site's museum collection access policy.

However, the following restrictions are placed on the collection according to federal law, cultural sensitivity, and site policy:

1. In accordance with NPS Management Policies, Chapter VIII, "Interpretation and Native Americans," the site will not exhibit disinterred skeletal or mummified human remains. Grave goods or other sacred objects will not be displayed if Native Americans who are culturally associated with them object to such display.

2. Photographs of Native American ceremonies will not be displayed without approval by the appropriate tribe.

3. Access to museum objects by researchers must be authorized in writing by the Superintendent. Any researcher with approved access to museum objects shall be accompanied at all times by a member of the site's museum staff.

4. All endangered, threatened, or rare plants and vertebrate and invertebrate animals will be collected only when accidentally killed or when dead from natural causes. The collection of threatened, endangered, or rare plant and animal species will comply with NPS Management Policies and will be in accordance with the provisions of the Endangered Species Act of 1973, as amended, and will be strictly limited according to the applicable rules of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

5. NPS Management Policies, Chapter VI states that "Information regarding the location, nature, and character of archeological, historic, and ethnographic resources may be exempt from public disclosure."

6. Restrictions may be placed on the publication of images or manuscripts in the museum collection if these materials are subject to copyright, and this right has not been signed over to the NPS.
Some Disparate Issues Concerning the Museum Collection

It seems to have been forgotten that a final disposition of the contents of the Hubbell home was not consummated until the mid-1970s. That is, although the Hubbells had not included all of the personal property during the sale of the trading post in the 1960s (the silk rug, for example), they had not removed all of the things they considered theirs when Dorothy Hubbell departed. Some of the objects left behind were to be donated now, but decisions had to be made as to just what that would amount to. On June 24th and 25th of 1975, Dorothy Hubbell, LaCharles Eckel, and John Hubbell showed up at the trading post to decide on the fate of some of the objects the Park Service had been caring for—although it did not own—for the past eight years. The meeting was described by Superintendent Tom Vaughan in a memorandum to the General Superintendent,
Navajo Lands Group, dated July 2, 1975: A "scrumptious" luncheon banquet was laid on by Mrs. Freda Young on Tuesday, the 24th of June. Everybody understood the necessity of verifying the ownership and value of the objects in question, but Tom Vaughan noted that the experience was obviously "trying and depressing" for Mrs. Hubbell and Mrs. Eckel.

Mrs. Eckel retained a few items, which were particularly important to her, or which she felt she would want to pass on to her son. The large portrait of her that hangs on the west wall of the great hall, painted when she was a child, was something she wanted to keep. However, she decided that the painting should remain on formal loan to the historic site. They had discussions about what would be most advantageous to them as far as tax benefits were concerned, but in most respects they agreed with the opinion expressed by Mrs. Hubbell that they should just get it all donated and done with. In spite of Mrs. Young's scrumptious luncheon, the affair was a rather melancholy one; the Hubbells were at last saying goodbye to the old trading post where they had spent so much of their lives.

Caring for all of the historic objects around the trading post, although surely fascinating, can also be trying and time consuming. The house furnishings have to be dusted, for example, and all of the cleaning has to be done by the curatorial staff. In order to keep up with the cleaning and all of the other maintenance the collection requires, as well as stay on top of cataloguing, inspections, conservation, administrative duties, correspondence, and other jobs that appear (removing and replacing all of the artifacts from the ceilings and walls of the trading post and home when those buildings were reroofed in 1991), may require the addition of another person to the curatorial staff.

Items are stored under varying conditions, including outside, and this is the largest and most valuable collection under the control of the NPS in the Southwest. In order for some of the collection to be properly protected, the construction of a climate-controlled storage facility and curatorial offices, possibly near the housing area, is being considered. If this is done, it is thought that the present storage area and curatorial offices might be transformed into a museum where visitors can see some of the objects now in storage, an area which would also contribute to a more complete interpretation of the site.

For the most part, the museum collection is kept under conditions that would horrify the staff of a modern museum. Humidity, heat, cold, dust, and insects are subject to little more control at the trading post now than they were in 1967. There are thoughts, too, about attempting to create climate controlled atmospheres in the buildings, but that would be expensive and possibly not even practical. The issue remains to be studied. In the meantime, objects that are refurbished are sent back into the same atmosphere that had tarnished them. It may be that is to be their destiny, but whatever the ultimate destiny of the museum collection, it presently remains virtually unknown to most Americans.

A thirty minute walk through the house, while being lectured by a park ranger, is hardly enough time for even the most observant visitor to absorb many of the paintings, and it would be a good bet that almost none of the visitors to the trading post take particular notice of the artwork hanging there. Much of the collection is hidden away. Its story needs to be told and some thought is being given to how to make the collection more widely known and appreciated: A traveling show that would visit museums in the far corners of the country, to include new and old photographs of the trading post and enough information so that viewers can understand what
they are seeing. Articles in art magazines. Special tours through the trading post intended for art lovers. Some of these ideas present special dangers to the collection, but if it remains unknown and unappreciated, the collection will be of little use to the American people.

**Recommended Action Concerning the Museum Collection**

The actions recommended for the museum collection in the 1988 Resource Management Plan remain current:

1. Update Collections Management Plan (1975)

2. Prepare a study of environmental conditions in the Trading Post and Home and develop strategies to correct the deficiencies.

3. Catalogue all objects in the collection to NPS standards.

4. Improve storage facilities and environmental controls to provide proper storage for the entire collection.

5. Provide on-site or contract conservation services to maintain the items in satisfactory condition for their preservation and intended use.

6. Photograph valuable objects in the collection, particularly items on exhibit that are vulnerable to theft.

7. Transfer objects to the Western Archeological Conservation Center for storage.

8. Update Maintenance manual that outlines scheduled housekeeping activities and establish cyclic conservation work.

**The Curators of Hubbell Trading Post**

The first curator to work at the site was David Brugge, Curator of the Navajo Lands Group, who did the original salvage curatorial work, catalogued most of the ethnological material, developed the furnishing plans for both the trading post and the Hubbell home, and otherwise contributed so much to helping make sense out of the thousands of items left behind by the Hubbell family after ninety years of their occupancy of the site. When Dave Brugge left to become regional curator, much work was left to be done with the museum collection. The SWRO has extensive files on his work. He is retired and lives in Albuquerque.

Hubbell Trading Post was Kent Bush's first position with the NPS and he arrived in July of 1976 from the Stuhr Museum, Grand Island, Nebraska, where he was the exhibits person. Kent continued cataloguing, implemented Dave Brugge's furnishing plans, developed a storage facility to house the object collection, and applied preservation and conservation methods. He recalls that he had about $1500 for accomplishing all of this. Since 1980, when he left Hubbell Trading Post, Kent has been regional curator of the Pacific Northwest Region. Kent Bush was acting superintendent for most of his last year at Hubbell Trading Post, taking over when Superintendent Juin Crosse was transferred to Fort McHenry.
Elizabeth Bauer was curator from 1981-1988. Contributions: She continued to catalogue and organize the collection, and she prepared a comprehensive report on Navajo weaving.

Edward M. Chamberlin is Hubbell Trading Post's present curator. He came to Ganado from Grand Canyon and has been at the site since 1989. He has nearly completed the cataloguing of the collection, putting vital data on computers. One of his goals for the collection is to make it better known to the public, and to do this he is preparing grant requests to obtain money in order to organize, he hopes, a traveling exhibit.

The NPS has worked for twenty-five years to organize the Hubbell family's accumulation of three-quarters of a century. As Dorothy Hubbell said, collecting is a disease and all the Hubbells had it.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11}Kent Bush, telephone interview with authors, October 1, 1991. Attributed to Dorothy Hubbell.
CHAPTER IX
CULTURAL RESOURCES III

Indian Culture 9500 B.C. to Present

Paleo-Indian Period, 9500 B.C. to 5000 B.C.

Because of the presence of water in a generally semi-arid area, it is likely that Paleo-Indians drifted through the vicinity of Hubbell Trading Post. No remains associated with them have yet been found at the site, however. Any artifacts representative of these early people could be stone objects such as projectile points, scrapers, perforators, bifacial knives, hammerstones, and the debris from the manufacture of these weapons and tools.¹

Desert Culture Period, 5500 to 0 A.D.

No artifacts from this period have yet been found at the site. Their stone weapons and tools are not as well flaked as those of the Paleo-Indians. Milling stones are common at their sites (they gathered seeds and nuts, and near the end of this period maize agriculture was introduced). Site density and size increased through this period.²

Anasazi Period, A.D. 0 to A.D. 1300

Anasazi sites are common throughout the Four Corners area; Hubbell Trading Post has its share. This era is broken down into several periods:

Basketmaker II (A.D. 0-500), noted for the horticulture of maize and squash, hunting and gathering. The people lived in shallow pithouses and surface houses of brush and mud.

Basketmaker III (A.D. 500-800), characterized by painted ceramics, round to oval pithouses, and surface storage rooms. More dependency on horticulture and less on hunting and gathering. Single-family sites. Hubbell Trading Post has one site from this period, HUTR 10, to be discussed further below.

Basketmaker III trended into Pueblo I, a period of expanding horticultural activity and the decreasing of hunting and gathering. Population increasing, multi-family villages established. Multi-family building units, consisting of five to fifteen rooms, often of adobe, and adjacent pithouses for storage, living, and working. Evidence of Pueblo I culture at Hubbell Trading Post.

Pueblo II period (A.D. 900-1100) is noted for increasing sizes of villages, which now contained kivas. Ceramics more diverse in form and decoration. New types of black-on-white ceramics.


²National Register of Historic Places, Registration Form. Southwest Regional Office.
Map of the archaeological sites at Hubbell.

Figure 39. Archeological sites at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
Two sites with PIII affiliations at Hubbell. During Pueblo III (A.D. 1100-1300) period, villages moved to lower, wetter areas. Large villages near floodplains or sheltered areas, more complex and communal. Wide Reed Ruin at Hubbell Trading Post was a relatively large PIII site. There is another (probable) PIII site there, plus three others with PIII components. The general area was largely abandoned in about 1300 due to an ongoing drought that began in the 1270s. Little evidence of Pueblo IV and Pueblo V cultures after 1300 east of the Hopi mesas (which are west of Ganado).

The Navajo

One thing that seems certain about the Navajo is that they drifted in from the north. That is, their linguistic group, Athabaskan, would indicate their land of origin to be northwestern Canada. They were nomadic hunters and gatherers. Nobody knows for certain what pressures or goals brought them here. Nobody knows for certain when they first arrived in the Four Corners area. Some have suggested A.D. 1000 or earlier, others say they could have arrived as late as the fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

The Spanish encountered the Navajo during Antonio de Espejo’s expedition of 1582-1583. In the early seventeenth century the Navajo were described as "a semi-sedentary, agricultural people who moved away from their fields for hunting, lived in what are described as underground houses in small communities, traded with their Puebloan neighbors and were both friendly and hostile to them at different times and under different circumstances." This would be a reasonably accurate description of them until the Anglo-Americans arrived in the mid 1800s.

It does seem likely that when the first of the people who would be called the Navajo arrived they were still hunters and gatherers. In that case, then, their encounter with the Puebloan culture must have been a genuine culture shock. It would be fascinating to know what thoughts went through their heads when they stumbled into, say Chaco Canyon. The modern traveler to Chaco Canyon is still impressed by the magnitude of what was created there. As hunters and gatherers, the Navajo would have brought little but their survival skills with them, and they would have arrived in small groups. Whatever they have learned apart from their survival skills was acquired first from the Pueblo Indians, then the Spanish-Mexicans, finally from the Anglo-Americans. They learned agriculture and weaving from the Puebloans, herding from the Pueblo Indians and the Spanish-Mexicans, metal working from the Mexicans and the Anglo Americans. They have proved to be adaptable and resilient—more so than the majority of the Pueblo Indians—as the world has changed around them.

The Navajo suffered great traumas during the Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American military campaigns against them. They in turn did some campaigning and marauding of their own as they ranged far from their own territory in search of captives and sheep and horses. Kit Carson's devastating campaign of the 1860s, the resulting Long Walk to Bosque Redondo, and the exile of the Navajo there for several years in the hands of the U.S. Army were undoubtedly the severest blows they have suffered.

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When they returned to their own lands just before 1870, they fell under the influence of the Indian Agents and the Indian Traders. The traders proved to be one of the most important acculturating influences in the history of the Navajo, and J.L. Hubbell went into business at a crucial time in their history. (There's not enough room here for anything even approaching a detailed study of the Navajo. The interested reader should take a look at the bibliographic essay near the end of this work for suggested titles.)

Some Archeological Sites Within the Boundaries of Hubbell Trading Post

HUTR-1: This site includes the Hubbell Trading Post complex of buildings. The foundations of the Leonard Trading Post buildings are here (uncovered in 1987). Artifacts have been recovered while repairs to present structures were being conducted or utility lines dug. All such repairs or excavations have been monitored by archeologists. Artifacts found here are mainly of American and European manufacture, ceramics, food and medicine bottles, iron objects from farm implements or horse gear. Such objects are very similar to the artifacts recovered from the trash dump, which was northwest of the home and the guest hogan and just along the edge of the Pueblo Colorado Wash. The artifacts recovered at HUTR-1 are either still at the trading post or at the Division of Anthropology in Santa Fe.4

HUTR-2: This small site is located due south of the trading post at the boundary line of the historic site. Unidentified prehistoric sherds and lithic flakes have been recovered here in a small area on the surface by the irrigation ditch. The depth of the site seems to shallow and the area has been disturbed by the construction of the irrigation ditch, the boundary fence, as well as a nearby road.5

HUTR-3: Located just south of the entrance road and HUTR-5 (Wide Reed Ruin), this site was uncovered during excavation for a gas line that parallels the road. Three, possibly four slab-lined cists and five prehistoric sherds were exposed. The ceramics are Puebloan but have not been identified as to type. The artifacts may be associated with HUTR-5 and, if so, should not be considered a separate site.6

HUTR-4: The Sand Dune Site is located just west of HUTR-5 on the south bank of the Pueblo Colorado Wash. The area was excavated between 1978 and 1988 in order to salvage what secrets it contains before erosion destroys the site. An extensive study of the excavations is on file at the trading post.7 A small prehistoric pithouse and slab-lined hearth were excavated in 1981. Later excavations exposed evidence of historic Navajo occupation of the site. Major excavation in 1987 revealed many more historic features, including the remains of two (probably) mid-eighteenth century hogans, as well as the remains of ramadas, hearths, storage pits, and a

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4National Register of Historic Places, Registration Form. Southwest Regional Office.

5Ibid.

6Ibid.

small corral or pen. Hundreds of potsherds, primarily Dinétah Utility Ware (A.D. 1750-1800) and lithics and pieces of groundstone were recovered. Some Pueblo I-III artifacts were recovered but these may be associated with HUTR-5. This site is interpreted as primarily an eighteenth century Navajo site of undetermined size.  

HUTR-5: Wide Reed Ruin is the most important archeological feature at Hubbell Trading Post. It is located on the south side of the Pueblo Colorado Wash, north of the entrance road and the employee housing area. Because of the danger of Wide Reed Ruin being lost by erosion along the banks of the wash, the site was excavated in the early 1970s. A comprehensive report, Wide Reed Ruin, by James E. Mount, is on file in the trading post’s Curator’s office. Apparently the

Figure 40. A corner of Wide Reed Ruin in December of 1971. This photograph illustrates some of the damage done to the site by erosion along Pueblo Colorado Wash. NPS photo by E. Bauer. HUTR Neg. R76#23.

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8National Register of Historic Places, Registration Form. Southwest Regional Office.

report, well done and comprehensive, is as yet unpublished. One is surprised at how extensive
the ruin is. This is a pentagon shaped pueblo constructed in A.D. 1276-1277 (According to tree
ring dates). Nineteen of an estimated 68 rooms have been excavated, studied and photographed,
and then recovered for preservation. Gabions were placed in the wash in an attempt to keep
water away from the bank. This is a Pueblo III ruin with kivas and plazas, at one time the home
of a sizable community.\textsuperscript{10}

**HUTR-9:** Pueblo I sherds and a few lithic flakes were recorded on the surface at this site, which
is located on a low sandy loam ridge about 0.3 miles northwest of the trading post. Cultural
deposits appear to be shallow. The site is actually just outside the historic site boundary, and not
far from the Pueblo Colorado Wash.

![Figure 41. Laying inka to cover HUTR 10. After examination of the archeological site,
the area was reburied in order to preserve it. Summer, 1984. NPS photo by E. Bauer.
HUTR Neg. R76#23](image)

**HUTR-10:** Site 10 is located at the western end of the historic site and is found inside and
outside the boundary. It was discovered on April 27, 1969. This is a Basketmaker II-Pueblo I
site and covers the largest area of any of the archeological sites at the trading post. Several
burial sites have been excavated; reports on these investigations are on file at the Curator's

\textsuperscript{10}National Register of Historic Places, Registration Form. Southwest Regional Office.
A large number of sherds and lithics have been collected from or observed over an area of about 8700 square meters. Skeletal remains and ceramic vessels were removed from the burial sites. The site has been reburied for preservation.

**HUTR-11:** First recorded in 1969, this Pueblo III site is located along trading post boundary line between HUTR-10 and HUTR-12. This is a concentrated scatter of sherds and lithics. Construction of an irrigation ditch may have disturbed part of this site and part of the site is suffering erosion from a tributary arroyo of the Pueblo Colorado Wash.

**HUTR-12:** Another scatter of sherds, more sparse than that of HUTR-11 but covering a slightly larger area, this site is found along the north fence line between HUTR-9 and HUTR-11. The site has been much disturbed by agricultural activity but appears to cover approximately 2,600 square meters inside and outside the boundary line. Identified sherds found here have included Pueblo I, Navajo Utility, and Hopi.

**HUTR-14:** Extending over an area of about 1,960 square meters on a low rise south-southeast of the building complex, this site contains ceramic sherds from the Pueblo I-III periods. This is a dense concentration of sherds and lithic artifacts. An uncompleted irrigation ditch runs from the southeast boundary corner of the trading post site to the edge of HUTR-14.

**HUTR-15:** This site has been disturbed by agricultural activities associated with the operation of the irrigation system. The Chaco Center Remote Sensing Team of the NPS detected a circular depression here in 1977-1978. All evidence gathered here indicates that this is a modern Navajo site and the circular depression may be the of a Navajo hogan.

**HUTR-16:** This is another site that has been disturbed by agricultural activities. The period for this scattering of sherds and lithics is unidentified. The location of this small site is about 124 meters west-southwest of HUTR-14 and the depth appears to be shallow.

**Conclusion**

The 160 acres of Hubbell Trading Post contain an unusual concentration of cultural resources, from ancient Indians to modern Indians and the Spanish-Mexican and Anglo-European cultures.

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11David Brugge, "Excavation of Burial 1, Site 10" (Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ganado, Arizona. No date). Typewritten.


13Ibid. "Analysis of Burial #4"*

14National Register of Historic Places, Registration Form. Southwest Regional Office.

15Ibid.

16Ibid.

17Ibid.
In other words, virtually the entire history of man’s occupation of the area is represented here, from Anasazi pueblo sites to modern structures and artwork, and modern Indian arts and crafts.\textsuperscript{18} This is a rich—and valuable—collection of cultural resources to be in such a small area. When one also considers the lucrative ongoing business at the trading post, one begins to understand the large responsibility of the superintendency of this small, remote historic site. Added to this is the complexity of dealing with the Navajo Nation. Because all of the superintendents here were first-time superintendents, the historic site has been laughingly referred to (not by everybody, by any means) as a superintendents’ training ground. A few ex-superintendents suggested that it is not a good place to train superintendents. The issues to be faced here are too complex and varied.

**Pertinent Research Studies on File at Hubbell Trading Post (listed chronologically)**

*Excavation of Burial 1, Site 10: Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ganado, Arizona,* by David M. Brugge. This is an unpublished report of a site discovered on April 27, 1969. There are six typed pages, plus four other pages to which seven photographs have been glued. The file copy appears to be a carbon copy. Many sherds were found and they are described. The burial was found because of erosion to the bank of the arroyo there. The bones are in poor condition, some missing, and most of the vessels found there had been broken, possibly by the pressure of the earth. The bones were salvaged and some vessels were reconstructed from pieces.

This is probably the earliest report from this site. (Other archeological work was done in this vicinity between 1971 and 1978. The site was protected by the installation of geo-web and was recovered with earth as an anti-erosion measure.)

*Faunal Analysis of Material Collected at the Hubbell Trading Post During May and June 1973,* by Frank E. Bayham. Trenching was done in an area where animals used to be butchered. Quantities of bone were found in those places. This report, submitted by Stanley Olsen, Zoo-archeologist, of the Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, to Dr. Keith Anderson, Arizona Archeological Center, National Park Service, in Tucson, is the result of that study. The report is a 56-page photocopy. Many of the pages are simply lists that describe the species of the creatures that were butchered, the part of the skeleton recovered, the size of the bone, the age and sex of the animal, if known, and the condition of the bone. The study proved that 98% of the faunal material was from domesticated animals. The study also discusses whether the meat was used by the Hubbells and nearby Navajo, or was sold to other Navajo. The report is admittedly inconclusive; other bone pits may be available so whether there was indeed more mutton than beef on the Hubbell menu may be a chore for future researchers to decide.

*Wide Reed Ruin,* by James E. Mount. By 1972, a northern portion of Wide Reed Ruin was about to crumble into the invading Pueblo Colorado Wash. This study is a result of excavations on part of the site in order to preserve information buried there just in case a portion of the ruin should be washed away. James E. Mount was a part-time employee of the Arizona Archeological Center

\textsuperscript{18}Peter J. McKenna, *Studies of the Sand Dune Site, HUTR.* "An Evaluation of Ceramics at the Sand Dune Site, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site" and "Notes on Historic Material Culture at the Sand Dune Site, Hubbell Trading Post" (Division of Anthropology, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1987.) Bound photocopied edition. On file in library at the National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
and a graduate student at the University of Arizona. This is a surprisingly engrossing 207-page report filled with diagrams and many good black-and-white photographs. Tree-ring dates indicate that the pueblo was probably built as a unit in about 1276. Many sherds, tools, and ceramics were uncovered. The place was thoroughly mapped and photographed, and then it was re-covered. Gabions have since been placed in the wash to prevent further erosion. It should be noted that the south end of the ruin, the side not in any danger from the wash, has not been excavated. The report on file is a photocopy, photographs glued to pages.

Preliminary Report on Remote Sensing of Hubbell Trading, by LouAnn Jacobson, 10 July, 1978, Remote Sensing Division, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, National Park Service. Aerial photographs of Hubbell Trading Post were made on October 10, 1977. Photo interpretation revealed some anomalies. They were looking for possibly undetected archeological sites. An attempt to interpret the report indicates that probably nothing of interest was discovered: "This project was only moderately successful in locating archeological features using aerial imagery. A pithouse and sherd scatter unknown to the interpreter were located but all other known areas with cultural material were not seen on the photos." The report is a seven-page photocopy with some maps and photocopies of aerial photos.

An Archeological Assessment of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, by Dan Scurlock, and prepared by the Center for Anthropological Studies for the National Park Service, February, 1979. A 100-page bound work, this is a good overview of the general history of the area as well as a comprehensive survey of all of the people who have occupied the historic site. The bibliography will be useful to those who wish to do a thorough study of local Indians, the Indian traders, and many other pertinent subjects. An excellent reference work, and the bibliography should keep the interested reader busy for years.

Analysis of Burial #3 from Hubbell Trading Post (HUTR-10) in Northeastern Arizona, by Marilyn R. London and Analysis of Burial #4 from Hubbell Trading Post (HUTR-10) in Northeastern Arizona, by Marilyn R. London. These reports, photocopies, are in a folder labeled "HUTR Site 10, burial #2, Oct. '77." Ten Ektachrome transparencies of burial #2 are in the folder, but there is no report on burial #2. The transparencies show some fragmented pots, and the skull of what must have been an adult.

Burial #3 consists of a child of about five years of age who died 1200 to 1300 years ago. Neither the sex nor the cause of death could be determined due to the deteriorated condition of the remains.

Burial #4 consists of the remains of a six-month-old infant. The condition of the burial was poor due to age and rodent activity.

These remains were delivered to the University of New Mexico in 1981. Both reports are dated February, 1982.

Historic Analysis at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, by Judith A. Habicht-Mauche and Mary Stiner, Southwest Archeological Consultants. Prepared for the National Park Service, Division of Anthropology, 1987. This is a bound book of about 150 pages that "summarizes the analysis of historic artifacts recovered from test excavations conducted at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site (HUTR-1) between 1982 and 1987." These artifacts were recovered from
trash heaps, or from trenches dug at the time of maintenance or stabilization projects. The objects analyzed number in the thousands and include almost everything one might find in a trash heap that was building between the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Even plastics that postdate World War II are discussed.

In this remarkable study one can discover what the Hubbell family ate, what they ate from and with, what they drank, what they played with, their medicines, the tools they used. Samples of virtually all of the artifacts and assorted thingamabobs used by this family have turned up. And, yes, they did eat a lot of mutton. The study is not without a social comment or two: "The presence of fine matched dinnerware and personal objects of precious and semiprecious metal indicate the Hubbell family enjoyed a relatively high standard of living. The volume, variety and relative quality of materials recovered from HUTR-1 contrasts markedly with those recovered from contemporaneous Navajo sites, illustrating the stark social and economic differences that separated Indian from Trader." True, but then the Navajo were a different sort of people, and, during most of their history the Navajo wouldn't have had much use for a gravy boat or a gold lipstick case with engraved initials.

Studies at the Sand Dune Site, HUTR. Including: An Evaluation of Ceramics at the Sand Dune Site, and Notes on Historic Material Culture at the Sand Dune Site, by Peter J. McKenna, Division of Anthropology, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1987. This is a bound twenty-five page study that does, as the title claims, evaluate ceramics found at the Sand Dune Site. The work is for those whose main interest would be the identification of potsherds, but it even goes on to discuss some modern glass fragments and a beer can pull-tab found at the site.

Excavation of the Sand Dune Site (AZ.K:6:1) at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ganado, Arizona, by Karin L. Jones, November 3, 1987. Threatening erosion along the Pueblo Colorado Wash prompted this excavation. This is a bound work of about fifty pages with numerous photographs and diagrams that describes the site, the methods used during the excavation, and the results of the investigation. Hundreds of artifacts were recovered.

Suggested Further Research

The 1988 Resources Management Plan states that management needs more detailed information on the significance, extent, and condition of the archeological resources in order to properly care for them. It was felt that more precise information is needed in reference to their locations, features and bounds, and such information should include the foundations of the Leonard buildings, the first trading post on the site, which is to the north of the present home and trading post. A thorough and complete evaluation is wanted, one that would employ remote sensing, field investigation, documentary research, and comparative analysis. Such a project would enable management to provide protection and interpretation for the sites in the future. For example, some of the sites are located where future farming may be done. In order to work the area with confidence, without fear of destroying resources, management should know which portions of the fields should be avoided by farm machinery.
"My wife grew the most gorgeous flowers we've grown anywhere we've lived around that little house. That miserable sand grows the most gorgeous dahlias you've ever seen in your life. We had a marvelous little home there. We had morning glories that climbed all the way up the power pole that was next to the bread oven. They went all the way up to the top."

Hubbell Trading Post once had about 110 acres of arable land under irrigation. John Cook can remember seeing water in every ditch, but the land there has not been farmed since some time in the 1960s. The fruit and nut trees that the Hubbells planted along the irrigation ditches are all dead or dying. Until fairly recently, Friday Kinlicheenie used to plant the garden that was in front of the home. He was paid to plant the area, and he took all of the produce home.

The area probably looked much as it did when the Hubbells lived there. According to Dorothy Hubbell, plenty of vegetables were grown to feed the family and any guests; that was their source of fresh vegetables. In some respects this was an old-fashioned subsistence sort of farm. Friday Kinlicheenie’s sons used to help him plant the vegetable plot. Now that Friday is no longer working the garden, nobody is working it.

A request was made of SPMA in 1991 for a grant of $5,000 to hire a gardener to help make the place look more like it used to, that is, help "interpret" the place. The request was denied. Just at the moment the dam at Ganado Lake can't be used. The irrigation ditches are empty. The wind blows, the sand drifts, and the ditches fill with sand and weeds. As the years go by without any activity on the land, the trading post comes to look more and more like a moribund monument rather than the living, evolving entity it's supposed to be. The hard-won terraced fields are eroding, and the native vegetation is invading the land. And of course as the years go by it will become increasingly difficult and expensive to win back what took so much time and money to create.

In reference to the "historic scene" at Hubbell Trading Post, the tone of the December, 1988, Resource Management Plan is critical: "During the past twenty years...park administrators have taken inconsistent approaches to managing the historic scene." But in fact the 1988 plan is inconsistent and inaccurate.

Charles S. Peterson’s Homestead and Farm: A History of Farming at the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site has been available since 1986. Peterson’s book can be taken as the definitive study on the farming scene at Hubbell Trading Post. The project was funded by SPMA. It is an extremely interesting and almost overwhelmingly detailed account by an agricultural historian of what farming was all about at Hubbell Trading Post. With Peterson’s book in hand, and with a thorough study of photographs, it may be possible to recreate any scene one wants. But which scene will it be?

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1John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.
The Land

The 1988 Plan states that: "The landscaping surrounding the home reflected the taste of various family members who resided there from 1902 until 1967. When the NPS acquired the post, one of the intended purposes was to continue operations in the Hubbell tradition. It was not to be 'frozen in time' for any particular historical period," (page 6). But the trading post was only half trading post. The other half was farm. If the NPS isn't going to freeze in time the trading post operation, why do they feel it's necessary to freeze in time the farming operation? Surely the Hubbells wouldn't have been farming in 1934 with methods left over from 1904. The Hubbells themselves weren't frozen in time. Trying to make the trading post land look like it did in 1934—to pick a time roughly halfway between 1902 and 1967—is probably an unnecessary burden for the administrators of the site, few of whom seem to have known anything about farming.

The 1988 Plan goes on to say that: "Without guidance, management actions will continue to be haphazard and alter the appearance of the Site to a greater or lesser degree," (page 6). Without guidance, then, it may just be safer to do nothing. If we haven't decided on a period in time in which to freeze the site, we just won't tamper with it at all. But surely the general aspect of the site was changing all the time between 1902 and 1967, plants being added or removed every year, plants and trees dying, others coming in as "volunteers," new people at the trading post adding their ideas.

It may be that the original Master Plan (1966) is the original culprit: "The goal is to restore Hubbell Trading Post to the well-documented period of the early 1900s." The next sentence: "In doing this we need not, and indeed must not destroy more recent structures or radically alter the older ones." (page 1) Benjamin Levy, in his Hubbell Trading Post: Historic Structures Report, Part II, indicates that the early 1900s might not be as easy to document as the authors of the original Master Plan thought. In any case, it seems likely that what the writers of that Master Plan had in mind was the restoration of the buildings to some point in the early 1900s.

One of the goals of the original Master Plan was: "To restore the atmosphere and historical context of the site, and to display artifacts and historic objects in such a manner to properly recreate the early day reservation trading post." (page 1-A). They would recreate an earlier trading post while at the same time operate a living trading post, which seems like a contradictory mission. One of the goals under General Development Analysis in the Original Master Plan, Resource Management, is to "Re-establish farming operation." Nothing is said about re-establishing the farming operation as (an early-1900s anachronism) some sort of early-century anachronism.

This discussion may seem to be a candidate for inclusion in a chapter on planning issues, and some of these issues will appear there. But it would seem that when the Park Service was given a mandate to operate a "live" trading post they weren't ready to handle the concept. They were prepared to preserve and protect, maybe even to "freeze in time" a lot of things that perhaps needed some "freezing," but they weren't trained to operate an evolving business and operate a farm that didn't necessarily have to be frozen in time.

When Benjamin Levy was at Hubbell Trading Post in the late 1960s doing research for his Historic Structures Report: Part II, he noted that, "Today, corn is grown immediately to the west and north of the Hubbell home. How old a practice this is not known definitely, but available early photographs do not indicate the practice. They do, however, indicate that the ground was
Dorothy Hubbell said the area was used for a flower and vegetable garden when she arrived there. When Mary Alice Bowlin stayed at the Hubbell home in the 1940s with "Aunty Bob" (Barbara Hubbell Goodman), the area was actually rather barren. However, Aunty Bob said the flower garden was so striking in the 1920s that it was featured in a home and garden magazine. By the 1940s, Aunty Bob was too ill to tend the garden.

So the garden can be corn, vegetables, or flowers. Or it could be a combination of corn, vegetables, and flowers. Some organic gardeners will juxtapose certain flowers with their vegetables in the hope that any invading bugs will be offended by the flowers. If one wants to plant flowers that will help create an antique looking trading post, all that is necessary is to select some "old-fashioned" flowers: cosmos, hollyhocks, dahlias, morning glories, petunias, marigolds, poppies, nasturtiums, sweet peas, for example. Roses should work reasonably well in Ganado. Many houses in Santa Fe, New Mexico, have lilacs in their yards, and in planting the gardens for Hubbell Trading Post one might keep Santa Fe in mind; the altitude and climate of Santa Fe and Ganado are similar, so most of the flowers, shrubs, vines, and trees that will flourish there should do well in Ganado. An old gardening book from the 1930s would be a big help, something like the Complete Book of Garden Magic, by Roy E. Biles; or The Wise Garden Encyclopedia, edited by E.L.D. Seymour. Or someone can check the Hubbell library to see if Aunty Bob left behind some gardening books. But whatever is done to brighten up the buildings with growing things, surely it doesn’t have to look exactly as though Aunty Bob planned it all herself in May of 1923. (See bibliography for a few books on gardening found at Hubbell Trading Post NHS.)

Farmlands

Although John Cook saw water in all of the ditches in the 1960s, there was apparently little farming going on at the time. It was never easy to farm the Hubbell land; it’s a good thing the NPS gave up the image of mule dragging man and plow across the fields. Farming with some relatively modern equipment will be just a whole lot easier. For example, where Roman tried to level the terraces with the aid of a transit, they can now be laser leveled to help get irrigation water into the far corners. But any areas that are hard to irrigate can always be turned into orchards that are watered by drip irrigation, if the land is going to be used. There are plenty of modern solutions available to the future farmers at Hubbell Trading Post, and there are few lawns as beautiful as a field of alfalfa under a blue sky, all across the field pairs of the inevitable butterflies circling each other in what is probably a mating ritual. That should liven up the scenery around the old trading post.

Two approaches to farming at Hubbell Trading Post will be considered: A few acres can be worked as an interpretive device. Or very nearly all of the area formerly farmed will once again be put under cultivation.

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2Mary Alice (Showalter) Bowlin, interview with authors, November 22, 1991. Mrs. Bowlin owns and operates the Mesilla Book Center on the Plaza in Old Mesilla, New Mexico.
The first approach may be possible now but it would require investigation with the state of Arizona and the Navajo to see if enough water for such a project can be pumped. In any case, all of the acreage used by the Hubbells will not be farmed; care will have to be taken that archeological sites in the fields are not damaged. Other than that, if water ever comes through the ditches again, as much as possible of the land will be used. If this plan can be implemented, it is probably the best approach to take. The trading post would then be entirely resurrected to be more or less what it was during its heyday. Farming was, by all accounts, important to the Hubbells, and especially to J.L. Hubbell.

The Alfalfa Farm

The large garden down by the home was used as a kitchen garden. According to Dorothy Hubbell, that is where most of the vegetables they used in the home came from, and they had some fruit trees. But the fields south of the trading post were used mainly for growing alfalfa. It is said that the trading post was known as the "hay ranch," and that farms owned by the Hubbells in other areas were known as the "bean ranches" (Piñon Springs and Vander Wagen) and the "fruit farm" (Farmington). They experimented with other crops at Hubbell Trading Post, but the post was primarily an alfalfa farm.

If more or less the entire 110 acres is to be farmed, alfalfa would, in the authors' opinion, remain a good choice from several points of view. Not only would it be historically correct, it is also a relatively easy crop to care for. Alfalfa came to the New World with the Spanish, but the word—alfalfa—tells us that the crop probably arrived in Spain with the Moors (along with a lot of other things). A field of alfalfa can last about five years before it has to be broken up and replanted. According to Charles S. Peterson's farmland study, a farmer should realize at least three cuttings per season in Ganado's climate. Alfalfa is irrigated again soon after each cutting, and, where the authors live, in New Mexico's Mesilla Valley, about every two weeks. Alfalfa discharges nitrogen; it also revitalizes depleted soil, an added bonus.

It is the authors' experience that there always seems to be a market for alfalfa. Its main problem is that mown hay, caught on the ground by rain, or bales caught in the field by rain, can be ruined. It depends on the amount of rain, but if the hay is not yet baled, it can be turned over and dried. Soaked bales, even if they are not a total loss, will be diminished in value.

Rural Mexicans (and that includes those in the Mesilla Valley) eat alfalfa. Soon after a cutting, when the new shoots are still just a few inches long (and still tender), they will gather the shoots and cook them in much the same manner as one would cook spinach. They might mix the alfalfa with beans, or bits of bacon. It's not such a bad dish, and if you question the Mexicans about the appropriateness of eating cattle feed, they laugh and point out how big and strong their cows and horses are. Vegetarians have known for many years that alfalfa is packed with nutrient wonders.

Although the Hubbells planned most of the farming, they did little of the labor. They managed the farm. The season in Ganado runs from about the end of February to October. The Hubbells

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used varying numbers of hired people around the post, from one man at the beginning of the season, to large crews during harvest. Modern alfalfa farming requires few people and only intermittent attention. Irrigate as soon in the season as possible. Cut when ready, bale when sufficiently dry, get the bales out of the field and under cover. Irrigate as custom in the area dictates. During the summer rainy season, irrigating may be less of a chore.

The Hubbells farmed intensively until Don Lorenzo died. They sold the hay wherever they could, by the bale at the trading post, or in large lots for shipment to other trading posts of theirs or to other customers. They used the alfalfa for their own cattle at the trading post as well as for the many draft animals they required in their freighting business. In the early days, then, the alfalfa helped fuel the freighting end of their business empire. The hay produced at the trading post was an integral part of the overall Hubbell operation. A reenacted hay farm would be an accurate interpretation.

Don Lorenzo died at about the time transportation was becoming easier on the reservation. Better roads (sort of), as well as more, and more powerful, motor vehicles. The business didn’t require as much hay by that time, and it became easy to ship in hay from places where it might be cheaper to produce. But they did continue the hay farming at the trading post until Dorothy, left alone to manage everything, was forced to give it up. Nothing has been grown in the fields since.

Who Will Do The Farming for the NPS?

It hasn’t been decided, should it become possible to irrigate the land, who will do the farming. Although an operating farm at the trading post is almost essential for the site to be interpreted correctly, and it is Southwest Parks and Monuments Association’s raison d’etre to help the Park Service where it can, SPMA is, so far, noncommittal. When the time comes, they will discuss the matter with those entitled to know their answer.4

A local Navajo farmer could work the land on shares. In the authors’ neck of the woods, such arrangements are usually split two thirds to the farmer, one-third to the landowner, the farmer providing seed, fertilizer, if any, labor (which includes irrigating on schedule), as well as keeping weeds under control. In other words, he works—and cares for—the fields as if they were his own.

If just a few of the acres across from the Visitor Center are to be cultivated, it is unlikely that a local farmer would be interested. However, some thought has been given to the possibility of the Future Farmers of America Club at the Ganado High School working that small area. Such an arrangement should cost little and it would put the resource to use for a worthwhile purpose. A cooperative agreement would have to be worked out.5

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4Letter from T. J. Priehs, Executive Director of SPMA, to authors, November 12, 1991.

But the future of farming at Hubbell Trading Post rests with whether or not water will ever again come through the irrigation ditches. And if alfalfa is to be grown, the NPS should be aware that it is a thirsty crop (requiring about 40% more water than cotton, for example).

**Irrigation at Hubbell Trading Post**

Legend has it that when President William McKinley was assassinated, the original Hubbell homestead matter was on his desk and when Theodore Roosevelt became president the signing of Hubbell’s bill was one of his first acts. What is certain is that as soon as J.L. Hubbell became aware that the land around the trading post was to become his under the Homestead Act, he started making plans to irrigate and farm his land.

In Hubbell’s first irrigation effort, water was diverted from the Pueblo Colorado and brought to his land from over two miles away. A flood in 1911 altered the stream bed but by that time the federal government had stepped in and was funding the dam at Ganado Lake and the entire irrigation project. J.L. Hubbell contributed whatever he had built and he became a member of the local water district, which was operated by the Indian Irrigation Service. Local Navajo had about 700 acres under cultivation and the Presbyterian Mission used the irrigation water for their gardens. It was never a large irrigation system and it was always beset by problems. Hubbell himself spent thousands of dollars on ditches and flumes and masonry gates.

The canal entered his land on the east and emptied into a holding pond that was actually just south of his property. From there, water could be diverted to various parts of his land by ditches (six laterals) that are still easily discernible. The irrigation system and the terraced fields are as much monuments to the imagination and determination of J.L. Hubbell as is the trading post. The more one learns about J.L. Hubbell, the more one is impressed by the multiplicity of his interests. The means were on hand at Hubbell Trading Post to make the trader and his family virtually self sufficient, which, because of the remoteness of the post, was certainly a desirable goal. Don Lorenzo rarely missed a chance to take control of anything within his domain.

By the 1960s, the local irrigation system was virtually a dead issue. The dam at Ganado Lake is defective; the reservoir is empty. The canals and ditches and headgates are in disrepair. The Bureau of Reclamation is working with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Navajo Nation to determine what repairs are necessary; but the system is a "historic structure" and so everybody has to work within the limits of the Historic Preservation Act, in spite of the fact that it would probably be more practical to just start over again. Also, it may be that nothing will be done on the repair of the dam at Ganado Lake until issues are adjudicated involving water distribution of the Lower Colorado. Those matters have been in the courts for several years. They may well be there for several more.

As much as one would like to see the fields at the trading post covered with alfalfa, there is just nothing that can be done about it at the present time. If you want to make the desert bloom, you

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*Most of the information in this section was culled from Charles S. Peterson's farmland study, *Homestead And Farm: A History Of Farming At The Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.*

must bring water to it, and water in the Southwest is becoming an increasingly complicated issue. Legend also has it that when J.L. Hubbell was pressing to get some federal help for the irrigation project at Ganado, Teddy Roosevelt stepped in and helped him cut through the red tape. Today, even a Teddy Roosevelt might be daunted by the red tape.

Farmland Research

*Homestead And Farm: A History Of Farming At The Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site,* by Charles S. Peterson, Utah State University, prepared for Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, March 1, 1986. This is a magnificent book-length study that describes what must be every facet of farming and irrigation at Hubbell Trading Post. SPMA has chosen not to publish the book. Possibly they feel the work is too specific for a general audience. However, almost any NPS employee at the historic site would benefit from reading it; the book contains much information about J.L. Hubbell and his interests apart from farming. A copy is on file at the site.

*Vegetation Survey on Hubbell Trading Post Site,* by Kancheepuram N. Gandhi, S.M. Tracy Herbarium, Range Science, Texas A & M University. According to his report, Mr. Gandhi roamed about the historic site between the 20th of June and the 12th of July, 1986, surveying its vascular vegetation. The ten-page study lists by Latin classification and its common name all of the vegetation Mr. Gandhi discovered, and it also lists it by area so that, for example, one can know which weeds are growing in the trailer court.\(^8\)

*Soil Erosion Study, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site,* by The Earth Technology Corporation, Phoenix, Arizona. Prepared under the Supervision of Kenneth M. Euge, Principal Investigator, September 23, 1983. As the study explains, ever since 1978, when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers questioned the safety of the Ganado Dam, water flowing in the Pueblo Colorado Wash which was previously directed to the reservoir is now allowed to continue downstream. Increased erosion along the wash has been the result. This technical 108-page study, complete with photographs and many charts, should satisfy almost anybody’s curiosity about erosion at the historic site.

\(^8\)The collected plant specimens from this study are catalogued into the park’s museum collection. See accession HUTR-306.
A re-dedication of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site occurred April 4, 1992. Some of the original participants attended the ceremony. Unlike the first dedication held on September 7, 1967, which was punctuated by an uninvited cloudburst that drove all of the distinguished guests into the bullpen, the 1992 dedication activities featured blue sky.

Figure 42. Dedication Ceremony, September 7, 1967. Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, talking in the bullpen. LaCharles Eckel is to his left, Dorothy Hubbell to the left of Mrs. Eckel. Rain drove everybody under cover. NPS photo.
Dedication Ceremony, September 7, 1967

The invitations read: "The National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, and the Southwest Monuments Association request the honor of your presence at the dedication of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ganado, Arizona, on Thursday, the seventh of September, nineteen hundred and sixty-seven at four o’clock in the afternoon. The dedicatory address will be given by the Hon. Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior."

**Master of Ceremonies** for the event was John E. Cook, then Superintendent of both Canyon de Chelly National Monument and Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site. Cook had been living at Hubbell Trading Post during most of the past year. ("I went down there intentionally to get a feeling for the place.... I wanted to start Hubbell Trading Post right. I wanted it to be a special place in the National Park System.")¹

**Invocation** was by Reverend Glen Williamson of the Presbyterian Church, Ganado Mission.

**Welcome to Hubbell Trading Post** was by Wescoat S. Wolfe, Supervisory Historian at Hubbell Trading Post, the trading post’s first resident historian. (Wolfe himself had not been in Ganado for long. John Cook had asked for him to be assigned to the trading post because Wolfe had a reputation for outstanding work. The historian and his family had come from Washington, D.C. They were put in a mobile home that had been brought in for them and parked out by HB-5. The Wolfe’s first evening in Ganado, after dinner with John Cook and his family, their daughter ran into the Manager’s Residence all out of breath and exclaimed: "Mommy, Daddy, Indians, Indians!" Cook’s daughter went out to take a look. When she returned she said: "There aren’t any Indians out there, just Navajo."² Wescoat Wolfe was later Superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post, from 12 January, 1969 to 9 February, 1969, less than a month.)

**Blessing Ceremony** was performed by Friday Kinlicheenie, the longtime employee of the trading post, who is also a medicine man.

**Remarks** were made by the Honorable Raymond Nakai, Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council.

**Address** was of course by the Honorable Stewart L. Udall, who was also one of the first people to start working to bring the trading post into the National Park System. At the time, Udall was the Secretary of the Interior.

**Benediction** was by the Reverend Emanuel Trockur, O.F.M.

**Conducted tours** of the Hubbell home and the trading post were staged between 1:00 and 3:45 P.M., and there were other tours, as well as refreshments, after the dedication. In spite of the rain—or because of it?—the dedication was considered a success; with all those people crowded into the bullpen, surely some of them must have gotten to know each other.

¹John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

²Ibid.
The Blessing Way After Lightning Struck a Tree at Hubbell Trading Post

Bill Young and Friday Kinlicheenie dropped by to see Superintendent Tom Vaughan not long after lightning struck a tree at the trading post. This was in the days when Friday was riding his horse to work; he feared that he would no longer be able to allow his horse to graze at the trading post, that the lightning could have caused impurities in the grass. Furthermore, the lightning might have polluted food in the houses, it might just spoil the goods on the shelves in the trading post, and the evil could possible reach as far as Washington, D.C. Bill Young translated for Friday.

Tom had never before had any experience with the kind of lightning that Friday was describing through Bill Young, but he did ask what might be done to clear up the matter. The place could need a Blessing Way ceremony, Friday explained. Tom told them he would consider it. Friday went on to say that all the local Navajo were truly concerned, that the situation would have to be put to rest with a Blessing Way.

That night one of the trading post employees drove a car into a horse, killing the horse and seriously injuring the rider. The next day, while a restoration crew was at work in the barn, a roof beam broke. Nobody in the barn was injured, but it was a close run thing. Tom Vaughan could take a hint, and by that time everybody at the trading post—not only the Navajo—was ready for a Blessing Way. The office was closed at ten o’clock the next morning. The trading post closed its doors. Visitors were told that no business would be conducted until after the ceremony. If the visitors cared to do so, however, they could participate in or watch the ceremony.

The participants went into the compound and sat in a circle on the ground. While chanting his prayers, the singer buried bits of turquoise at the base of the contaminated tree. Friday and one of the trading post weavers acted as the singer’s assistants. A wedding basket with a potion consisting of blossoms, leaves, and other plant parts was passed around. The wedding basket went the rounds again and this time everybody dipped their fingers in the potion. After the finger dunking, the participants trooped off through the buildings, following the chanting singer as he and his assistants put their fingers in the wedding basket and flicked the potion around the rooms. Hoping that the menace had been dispelled by the ceremony, Tom had the office and the trading post reopened and everybody went back to work. Tom heard a tourist from the East saying, "They'll never believe this back home." Maybe not, but if you’re going to live and work in Ganado, you’d better maintain an open mind. Indeed, most of the people who have served at Hubbell Trading Post insist that while you’re there you should keep your mind open and ready to sample some notions that are going to be brand new to you. The ways of the traditional Navajo will be more "foreign" to a mainstream American than is the lifestyle of, say, a citizen of Germany or Denmark.

As Tom Vaughan recalls the incident, Bill Young contributed the wedding basket and also paid $100.00 to the singer for his services. Tom put in a requisition for the money, hoping to repay Bill, but he was never able to recover it. Who knows, that particular requisition may still be floating around, looking for a place to come to rest.

*Thomas George Vaughan, telephone interview with authors, February 4, 1991.*
It has been fairly common for a Navajo singer⁴ to perform a Blessing Way ceremony at one or another of the buildings at the trading post. Friday Kinlicheenie performed such Blessing Way rites while he was there. For example, on Establishment Day he went through the trading post chanting prayers while his assistant, in this case a niece of his, sprinkled cornmeal on the walls, thereby ensuring the safety of everyone and everything within those walls.

⁴A Navajo "Medicine man." Somebody who has studied religious rites.
Daughters of the American Colonists

In 1965 Mrs. Emry Kopta was working with the Arizona State Society of the Daughters of the American Colonists. She was the author of a resolution by the Arizona chapter of that society to make the acquisition of Hubbell Trading Post its "National Project for 1965." The Arizona chapter of the society wrote all of the chapters in the other states to ask them to write their congressional delegations so that they might support the Hubbell bill. Nobody will ever know how many of the chapters did comply with the request, but the Arizona chapter did receive some replies indicating that the request had been at least a partial success. Nobody will ever know what effect the Society of the Daughters of the American Colonists had on the eventual passing of the Hubbell Trading Post bill. However, lest their effort be forgotten, let part of their story be recorded here.

A program to dedicate a plaque at Hubbell Trading Post was held by them at the trading post on the 16th of May, 1969. Ned Danson was invited to speak. He replied to their request that he would be there, that he would be driving down from Canyon de Chelly in the morning. He promised to make his talk short, and, "because everybody knows about Hubbell Trading Post," he would explain how the work to get Hubbell Trading Post into the Park Service was started and "about some of the funny things that happened in the Park Service while we were working on the problem." He would give enough of the historic background of the trading post to make it all "worthwhile."

Because most of the members of the society were from Phoenix and Tucson, and it would be a long drive back for them, the program was held at 9:30 A.M. Mrs. Walter R. Stokes read a prayer, and the pledge of allegiance was led by Mrs. Roy V. Shrewder. Dorothy Hubbell made the welcoming address. A response to the welcoming address was given by Mrs. Roland M. James. Mrs. Fredrick J. Gwinner introduced John Cook, who was then Superintendent of the Navajo Lands Group. Ned Danson gave his address and then the plaque was unveiled by Mrs. LeRoy Garrigus. Introductions were by Mrs. James P. Lanehart, a prayer by the chaplain.

On the Road: Shows, Fairs, Exhibits, Galleries

The traders at Hubbell Trading Post have never been bashful about putting their wares on the road so that interested citizens in other parts of the country can get a chance to admire them. Rugs and other arts and crafts from the trading post have been as far afield as Chicago.

During the fall of 1991, some rugs from Hubbell Trading Post NHS were displayed in the museum in Kent Hall at New Mexico State University, Las Cruces. The exhibit was called "Contemporary Navajo Weaving---Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona," and was sponsored

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by the Arizona Commission on the Arts and the National Endowment for the Arts. The exhibit was part of the Traveling Exhibition Program. Twenty-six examples of weaving from the trading post’s rug room were included, mostly rugs, but a few saddle blankets were included. It was an attractive selection. The rugs were from Ganado, Klagetoh, Two Grey Hills, and Chinle, and were good examples of the fine weaving to be found in Hubbell Trading Post’s Rug Room. The rugs were for sale, and some of them did sell. The exhibit was a good advertisement, although there was no indication that the trading post is part of our National Park System.  

Hubbell Trading Post’s arts and crafts have been going on the road almost from the very moment that the NPS and SPMA took over. Hubbell Trading Post’s crafts are represented at the Navajo Tribal Fair, the Intertribal Gallup Ceremonial, and at many other regional fairs and shows. If there is going to be an arts and crafts exhibit at a fair or show, Hubbell Trading Post will be there. As well as being good public relations for the trading post, Hubbell always comes away with its share of prizes.

All of this off-site activity is in the best tradition of Hubbell Trading Post; J.L. Hubbell himself wasn’t shy about advertising his rugs, and, like C.N. Cotton in Gallup, he had a catalog produced. Lorenzo Hubbell, the nonstop businessman, was always on the alert for dealers and other outlets for his blankets and rugs. He did business with the Hyde Exploring Expedition (the Wetherill brothers, who were in the trading business for many years after they gave up exploring for Anasazi ruins) and the Fred Harvey Company. The Fred Harvey Company, with its outlets along the railroads, let very few train travelers get across the continent without seeing an Indian rug. The Fred Harvey Alvarado Hotel, in Albuquerque, bought $25,000 worth of rugs when they were selling for $20.00 to $150.00. Hubbell was able to establish market outlets as far away as Chicago and New York. It is interesting to note that sales in those distant places would eventually influence what the Navajo weaver was producing; the styles that sold were the styles the traders encouraged their weavers to make. The modern Navajo rug is the result of Anglo finagling and business acumen, and Navajo whimsy and creativity.

Newspaper clippings on file at the site give some indication of past activities: Rugs from Hubbell have been on exhibit at the Wheelwright Museum, Santa Fe; the Kaibab Shop, Tucson. In 1976, Sadie Curtis wove an American flag rug; an Arizona flag rug was woven by Mary Lee Begay. Both flag rugs were auctioned off on December 12, 1976, at the Arizona Gallery, Scottsdale, Arizona. The Arizona flag went for $3,750, the U.S. flag for $4,000, and the money was donated to the scholarship fund at the Navajo Community College, at Tsaile.  

This sampling should suffice to indicate the extent of off-site activities for the trading post. However, it should be noted, too, that Hubbell Trading Post’s Trader/Managers have often volunteered their time to be judges at arts and crafts shows.

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*The authors saw this exhibit.

Conclusion

The Trader-Managers have been doing their share to advertise the existence of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site. Some of these trips are expensive, and money earned has not always justified the cost in time and money spent.\footnote{Al Grieve, interview with authors, May 6, 1991.} It's difficult to gauge to what extent such activities help to bring in new customers, but in the long run the trips are probably a good investment.

It is evident that the general public, even citizens of the Southwest, do not know of Hubbell Trading Post. The magnificent collection of art and artifacts goes largely unappreciated, unnoticed. However, if the present curator at the historic site has his way, the museum collection should get more coverage—and possibly cover some ground (see Cultural Resources II, the Museum Collection).
During the mid-1970s a young trainee-ranger was on a tour of sites, parks, and monuments in the Southwest Region. The trip was part of his training, and during the tour he would inspect a place and then discuss his observations with the local superintendent and anybody else he cared to talk to. After the trainee's tour around Hubbell Trading Post, and over a cup of coffee with the site's superintendent, he mentioned that he was concerned about all the pickup trucks parked in front of the trading post. A visitor should see nothing but hitching racks for horses out there, he suggested. The pickup trucks, he noted, were not historically correct.

But, the superintendent pointed out, pickup trucks are how the Navajo get around these days. The only horses one might see parked out there would probably belong to Friday Kinlicheenie, an SPMA employee, because that's how he gets to work. If the trainee had wanted to see horses and wagons, he should have arrive fifty years earlier.

But wasn't the NPS trying to recreate an historic milieu here? If so, pickup trucks were jarring to the sensibilities.

The superintendent understood Hubbell Trading Post's mission in the Park Service. What you see here, he pointed out, is not made up. This is the real thing. This is where the Navajo have traded for the past century. The store hasn't changed much. It's not a museum. We're just trying to preserve and protect it. The business going on in the trading post is real, it is evolving, and it will cease when the Navajo no longer care to trade here. Then maybe we'll turn the place into a museum. We'll just have to wait and see about that.

But how do you interpret an ongoing business? the trainee asked.

That's a problem, the superintendent admitted. Most people, he said, including NPS employees, expect this place to be a museum. The trading post is unique in the Park Service. Before you can interpret it or plan for it, you have to understand what we're trying to do here.¹

**Interpretive Objectives (1980)**²

1) To operate the trading post in a traditional manner, continuing as an agent of cultural exchange.

2) To present the significance of Hubbell Trading Post NH, illustrating the role and function of the Indian Trader, the trading post, and its evolution over time.

3) To encourage community use of the site, particularly among the Navajo population.

¹Thomas George Vaughan, telephone interview with authors, February 4, 1991.

4) To maintain the cultural scene; at the grounds, the compound, the trading post, and in the surrounding farmland.

5) To emphasize personal services in the interpretive program, and to encourage the employment of Navajos to communicate the theme of intercultural relations.

6) To perpetuate historical trading post-related crafts, especially weaving and silversmithing.

This prospectus supersedes that of 1967. Although generally consistent with the 1967 prospectus, the one for 1980 tends more to stress the exchange of cultures that occurred at Hubbell Trading Post and other trading posts. Where the earlier plan had stressed the Hubbell's "baronial" lifestyle, the plan for 1980 incorporates the Navajo point of view in the interpretive program. Mr. Johnson Yazzie, Councilman of the Ganado Chapter, assisted in the preparation of the 1980 interpretive plan.

This plan appears to be consistent with present interpretive activities at the trading post. Except for item four; that is, parts of the training post will be maintained—the buildings, the artifacts—while other aspects of the site—business at the trading post, the farm scene (not active), the garden and other vegetation around the buildings—will change when there is irrigation water for the farmland, and somebody to grow a vegetable garden and tend to flowers and trees and shrubs around the trading post buildings. At the present time almost all of the land is barren, and this is neither historically correct nor attractive. With growing things around it, the trading post becomes a living entity rather than a dry monument to the past.

The following is taken verbatim from the Interpretive Prospectus Hubbell Trading Post NHS:

INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS — Exchange of Cultures

A. The Role of the Typical Trader: Instrument of non-directed change.

- Supplier of Anglo goods.
- Distributor of Indian trade items.
- Supplier of credit.
- Intermediary between Navajo and government.
- Interpreter of government regulations.
- Employer
- Educator
- Promoter, host.
- Social services - medical care - undertaker.
- Example of Euro-American culture and value system.

B. John Lorenzo Hubbell, Trader.

- Relationship with the Indian community:

Ibid. A through E, pages 5 and 6.
Chapter XII

- Knowledge of Navajo culture.
- Friendship with many Navajos.

- Bicultural background (Hispanic-Anglo).
- Philosophy of fair dealing.
- Business acumen:
  - Development of new markets.
  - Encouragement of new crafts.
  - Introduction of new techniques.
  - Improvement of local farming techniques.
  - Political activities.

C. The Hubbell House.

- Family compound.
- Enclave of Spanish/Anglo culture.
- Adaptation of physical and cultural environment.
  - Child Rearing.
  - Cultural Identity.

D. The Trading Post Complex:

- Continuing Economic Center.
- Continuing Social Center.
- Continuing Center of Exchange.
  - Crafts and products.
  - Ideas.
- Medical Clinic
- The Structures
  - Trading Post, Wareroom, Wareroom Extension.
  - Farm, Corrals, Barn, Chicken Coop, Grounds, Irrigation System.
  - Bunkhouse, Guest Hogan, Hogan-in-the-Lane.

E. The Navajo:

- History, as related to the Site.
  - Military Conquest.
  - Long Walk.
- Culture.
- Effects of trade.
- Continuing process of acculturation.

Hubbell Trading Post receives over 200,000 visits a year, of which approximately one fifth are Navajo who come to trade. In 1967, most of the customers were either Navajo or other residents of Ganado. The Navajo who now visit the site probably already know as much as they want to know about trading posts; their grandparents and great grandparents traded there; it seems likely that not all of the Navajo regarded Indian traders as the greatest thing since the discovery of corn. Few Navajo take advantage of the tours, fewer still wander around the grounds. Of the
Interpretation of the Site

thousands of tourists who show up at the trading post, it can be assumed that almost none of them knows anything about the Navajo, trading posts, or traders. In fact they may be burdened with misconceptions. Few tourists stay long; however, even the most informal observation of tourist activities will reveal that almost everybody gets into the trading post. Only about ten percent of the people go to the visitor center, the only place where they can find free brochures that describe the trading post. During any year, only about ten thousand people take advantage of the tour of the Hubbell home. In winter four tours a day are offered, two in the morning, two in the afternoon; during the summer, there can be as many as six tours per day. The size of a tour is limited to fifteen people. And, depending on the guide, the information about the Hubbell family and trading posts can be wildly different. Once the group has left the kitchen, where the tour ends, few people stroll around the grounds.

The average tourist is at the site less than an hour. With a good guide on the tour of the home, they might hear most of the ideas expressed in the Outline of Interpretive Themes. Otherwise, they may go away almost as ignorant about trading posts as when they arrived. The Visitor Center contains books and brochures, a display of trader artifacts, all of which were salvaged at Hubbell, and there are Navajo women present most days to give demonstrations of weaving. A Navajo silversmith has a workbench there as well, and there is an information desk. Although it seems likely that not many visitors learn a lot about traders and trading posts, they can probably learn as much as they want to learn.

It has been suggested in the past that the Navajo clerks in the trading post might help with interpreting the site. Classes were held that were attended by NPS and SPMA employees. None of the SPMA employees is now learning anything about interpretation, although it seems unlikely that any of them would avoid a question put to them by a visitor. It is explained that the culturally induced diffidence of the Navajo prevents them from being particularly forward with visitors. In any case, it appears that virtually all of the tourists take the clerks to be what they are, clerks, and seldom take advantage of the opportunity to engage them in conversations about the rise and fall of the trading post, the Long Walk, or the nuances of the Navajo verb.

Kevin McKibbin said he and his staff had a lot of fun trying to liven up the post. They brought in retired horses and mules from the Grand Canyon so that the animals would have a place to end their days in relative serenity while at the same time they would help interpret the site. During its heyday, Hubbell Trading Post always had animals on the premises. McKibbin got the chicken coop whipped into shape. Three young turkeys were bought over in Gallup and they grew up to be big, white, ornery turkeys. But ornery or not, the turkeys were popular with the visitors. During the turkeys’ third year at the post, they started waiting outside the kitchen door of the Hubbell home to greet the visitors as they exited the building after the tours. However, when a turkey attacked the woman who was guiding one of the tours, McKibbin decided that they had gotten to be too ornery for their own good; the turkeys went on a one-way ride back to Gallup. Besides the recalcitrant turkeys, the staff in those days had a peacock and pea hens strutting around the trading post. McKibbin wasn’t particularly concerned about whether or not the creatures were "historically accurate." Without changing the basic fabric of the trading post, the NPS staff were able to provide a colorful background for the visitors.

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4 Kevin McKibbin, telephone interview with authors, April 27, 1991.
Chapter XII

The Origin of Hubbell Trading Post's Annual Chicken Report

Not every superintendent has been so concerned about whether or not the trading post looked lively. Although the superintendent of the Navajo Lands Group kept "hinting" that Hubbell Trading Post needed some chickens to help make the site look a little more like it had before the National Park Service took over, the trading post's superintendent would take no action on the matter. (In the very early days of Hubbell Trading Post as a national historic site, it was part of the Navajo Lands Group.) On Christmas Eve, the general superintendent of the Navajo Lands Group acquired a rooster and four hens, put them in a box, and had the ranger from Hubbell Trading Post meet him about fifteen miles up the road. While the rooster and hens were being transferred to the ranger's car, the general superintendent told him what to do with them.

The ranger drove the birds back to Hubbell Trading Post and put them in the wareroom. He put water and feed into the box for them. Then he tied surveyor's flagging tape to the box containing the roosters and hens, ran the tape out of the wareroom and all the way around the trading post and over to the superintendent's quarters, and tied that end of the tape to the superintendent's doorknob.

Christmas dawned on a peaceful Hubbell Trading Post. The superintendent stepped outside to greet the day...and found flagging tape tied to his doorknob. He followed it around the trading post and into the wareroom, and there he discovered that he was no longer chickenless. At least one of his presents that morning was a surprise.

And that is how chickens came back to Hubbell Trading Post, and that is the origin of Hubbell Trading Post's Annual Chicken Report.

Cultural Interpretation

Some Navajo do take the tour through the house, so it is imperative that the guides have some knowledge of Navajo history and culture. Terry Maze, the second historian to work at Hubbell Trading Post, learned as much as he could about Navajo culture. He recalled that when he would take Navajo through on the tour, and he might comment about the Navajo in some general way, as to why they did this or that, or what might be their beliefs, he would be gratified to see them nodding in agreement. He was told that he was accurate, and that what he had to say was appropriate. He was careful to discuss the Navajo and their culture and beliefs without making any judgments.5

Terry thought that some NPS people might have problems at Hubbell Trading Post because they cannot appreciate or comprehend that there are other ways of life than what they are used to, or they may arrive there with some preconceived ideas as to what the Navajo are like. It is most important, he believes, for any NPS employees at Hubbell Trading Post to learn something about the Navajo culture. Although the NPS is trying to interpret the trading post for the visitors, interpretation here is, as it has been since the 1870s, something of a two-way street, Anglo-Americans learning as much as they can about the Navajo way, the Navajo studying the Anglo-Americans and the Hispanics, culling from those cultures whatever they might be able to

5Terry E. Maze, telephone interview with authors, March 16, 1991.
use in their own. Hubbell Trading Post continues in its ancient role as an outpost where differing cultures come together for mutual benefit. The mission of the National Park Service and its partner there, Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, is to get the idea across that Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site is an important living institution, not just a rug and trinket shop with an antique decor.
CHAPTER XIII
PLANNING FOR THE SITE

Douglas McChristian was the only superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post to arrive with prior experience as a superintendent. He came to Ganado after six years as the superintendent of Fort Davis National Historic Site. Staffing was his immediate problem. His maintenance foreman, Lawrence Woody, arrived the same day he did, and Woody had no experience as a foreman. They both had to learn about Hubbell Trading Post’s chronic maintenance problems while Woody also learned his job. The clerk-typist position was vacant. The chief ranger announced that he would soon resign from the Park Service. While McChristian tried to learn about the trading post as fast as possible, his wife, Mary, pitched in to answer the phone, do the filing, sort out the mail, and work the information desk in the Visitor Center. While Doug raced through each day trying to plug developing leaks in the operation, he did have various plans on file to help tell him what Hubbell Trading Post was all about. They were old and recent documents that had been worked up over the years to tell what had happened at the historic site, what projects were in the works, what other projects might be planned: master plans, statements for management, resource management plans, studies, research projects. With all of that information on hand and with all of his experience, he was able to hold the place together.¹

None of the other superintendents who have served at Hubbell Trading Post came with prior experience as a superintendent, and, according to the 1988 Resources Management Plan, the site "...has had a relatively high turnover in the top management position during its twenty years as a Park Service unit." (Doug McChristian stayed but one year.) The 1988 Resources Management Plan states, too, that: "This area has almost always served as a 'training park' for new Superintendents."² Which is probably an unfortunate statement to have in the plan, as it may give rise to the notion, or perpetuate the idea, that Hubbell Trading Post is an easy place to train new superintendents. That is, Hubbell Trading Post is small, relatively unimportant, so if so-and-so makes a mistake, maybe nobody will notice. Several of the ex-superintendents took exception to the idea that the trading post is a good basic training camp for NPS superintendents. Although one can learn a great deal there, many of the lessons learned may not be particularly useful elsewhere. The site is a unique operation within the Park Service, and the issues to be faced are easily as complex as those one might come up against in a much larger park. Doug McChristian did say that he became more sensitive to issues involving American Indians, so his experience there helped him when he got to Custer Battlefield National Monument (now designated Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument).

So far, the average stay for a superintendent at the trading post is about two and a half years. Testimony from many ex-employees there would indicate that it may take all of two years before the local Navajo acknowledge, more or less, your presence. Many Navajo are conservative, and they might be thinking that you’re just not going to be around long enough to make getting to know you a worthwhile project.

²The authors have heard the trading post referred to as "Hubbell Training Post."
The trading post business is of course one of a kind in the National Park System. Luckily, the Trader/Manager has been there for many years. And as one ex-superintendent said, "Nobody comes to Hubbell Trading Post to see the "superintendent"." That may be so, but the superintendent's position there is an important one, even if it is less glamorous than the trader's job, which is managing a $2,000,000 business. Besides a lucrative business, the superintendent has on the site many historic structures of—now—almost incalculable value, as well as a valuable museum collection. On top of all of that, he or she may be in almost daily contact with Navajo officials in reference to any number of mutual problems. To be able to face all of these issues with confidence, a brand new superintendent could use a good PLAN. For example, it took one superintendent quite a while to learn why a real trading post is doing business on a national historic site.4

The National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 requires that every park, site, or monument have a General Management Plan. In any case, it would be next to impossible to convince Congress to release money to an area unless there were planning documents to show that the NPS was thinking hard about what they were going to do there. And if the NPS is going to continue to put rookie superintendents into Hubbell Trading Post, a good up-to-date plan can serve partly as a training manual.

What, then, is the NPS doing at Hubbell Trading Post?

Management Objectives5

1. Protect the natural and cultural remains from loss through programs of stabilization and maintenance, protection, and as necessary, restrictions covering the allowable types and degrees of visitor and other uses of the site.

2. Perpetuate the concept of a "living" trading post that continually responds to the current needs of local Navajos and visitors while maintaining quality of merchandise and preserving the historic appearance and atmosphere.

3. To enable visitors to gain insight into the park's unique cultural significance through a varied and balanced interpretive program that focuses on intercultural exchanges which have occurred and will occur among the Indians, traders, and visitors.

4. Promote the National Park Service mission of natural and historical resource conservation by cooperating with other Federal agencies, the Navajo Tribe, the State of Arizona and the Ganado Community.

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4Ibid.

5These objectives are listed in many plans.
The Kitchen Conference<sup>6</sup>

At first Hubbell Trading Post was going to look as it did in the early 1900s. Then it would be restored to appear as it had in about 1920. And finally it was decided that the post would be preserved as it was found in 1967. The philosophy of how to handle the trading post has gone from one of restoration to stabilization and preservation. The controversy came to a head in the mid-1970s during the so called kitchen conference.

The meeting took place in the kitchen of the Hubbell home. The NPS was about to launch a restoration program at the trading post that would have consumed thousands of dollars. ("Bicentennial bucks were coming down the pike.")<sup>7</sup> People from Santa Fe were there, as well as Tom Vaughan, the superintendent. The decision had been made that the buildings were going to be restored to look as they had in about 1920. This date seems to have been chosen because it is more or less in the middle of the real heyday of the trading post culture.

But as they discussed the proposals, they became increasingly uneasy about what they were going to do to the place. For one thing, there were important elements to some of the buildings that had been added after 1920. In the wareroom, for example, they would have to entirely rebuild the front wall, remove the parapet wall, remove the rolled-paper roof, and remove fragments of the original roof before a brand new old-looking roof could be added. There were other problems. Windows would have to be replaced, doors changed. And after all of that work, they would still have buildings around the post—the Guest Hogan, for example—that were built long after 1920.

As part of this restoration project, they were even proposing to return the ground level around the trading post to what it had been in 1920. They had already done some archeological work to determine what the grade had been. But if they went ahead and restored the former level of the ground around the post, the wind would soon undo all of their effort by blowing in some more sand. Wouldn't it? The more they thought about restoring the former grade level, the sillier the idea seemed. And, if everything at the post was supposed to be synchronized to 1920, Dorothy Hubbell's life there with Roman would be extinguished. And one could easily argue that the 1957-1967 period was as important as any other at the trading post.

The kitchen conference ended with the decision that they would do little of the proposed restoration, that from that day on Hubbell Trading Post would be stabilized and preserved, but not much restoration would be considered. They decided at that conference that what was meant by "living history," as far as Hubbell Trading Post was concerned, was that the life of the place would continue on in its own natural course, not be redirected—or misdirected—by the National Park Service.

This was a hard decision to make in spite of the fact that the historic period at Hubbell Trading Post had ended so recently. It was a hard decision to make because it flew in the face of almost everything that was being done at the time at other historic sites. Trying to deal with Park

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<sup>6</sup>Thomas George Vaughan, telephone interview with authors, February 4, 1991.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.
Service policies that were being made for other historic sites, where everything was preserved and protected, and probably synchronized to a year or an era, and then having to consider the future of Hubbell Trading Post, whose role and destiny would be determined by what the future might bring, required two different modes of thinking.

The necessity for this dual approach has no doubt led to some confusion among the ranks of the Park Service personnel who have worked at Hubbell Trading Post. To be able to function correctly there it is necessary for one to understand that the place is not frozen in time. It surely does look that way, but "...formal 'museum-type' interpretation at the site is limited to the barest essentials needed for historical context and orientation." The quote is from the 1967 Interpretive Prospectus.

Being an administrator at Hubbell Trading Post would appear to be an opportunity for some creative work. One interesting approach was expressed by Al Grieve, the ex-trader there. Whenever a problem or an opportunity presented itself, he would get together with Juin Crosse, then the superintendent, and they would try to decide what old Don Lorenzo might have done if he were there and presented with a similar problem or opportunity.8

A layman who is studying the plans may be struck by the notion that the NPS could be missing an opportunity for doing some creative work at the trading post. Hold the line on the appearance of the buildings, to be sure; but as far as working the land, or the appearance of any plantings around the buildings is concerned, the administrators of the site could have a fairly free hand. After all, surely the trading post looked slightly different every year and from season to season. In any case, what was possible then may not be possible now. A landscaper could probably come up with some ideas for time-saving plantings, or a landscaping that would use little water and time. Instead of trying to proceed with one foot stuck in an uncertain past, it may be a better idea, since the trading post is supposed to be an evolving institution, to consider what might be practical and possible for today. Because of the living, evolving trading post concept of the original mandate, this is surely one of the few places within the Park System where an administrator is not necessarily stuck in the past.

Planning Documents for Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site

As has already been noted, virtually all of the planning documents now on file at Hubbell Trading Post are out of date. That does not mean, however, that they are of no value. Future administrators of the site should learn much from them about the history of the site since the National Park Service took over in 1967. The first Master Plan was started in 1966, even before the NPS assumed control of the site.

Master Plan for Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, 1966

Obviously this document was created even before the laundromat burned out; one of the stated objectives on page 8 is to: "Remove Silver Coin Laundromat, now located in the Wareroom Extension."

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8Al Grieve, interview with authors, May 6, 1991.
The fold-out maps are interesting in that they show the extent of land that Hubbell had donated for a Navajo day school (now the Visitor Center).

One of the stated objectives was to: "Avoid turning the site into a 'dead' museum..."

The Resource Management, page 8, is interesting because one can see what management originally hoped to do with the post. Much has been done; there is one item from that list that remains to be accomplished: "Restore agricultural activities and atmosphere, possibly by issuing special use permits to Navajo farmers."

But a careful reading will show that the original Master Plan was well thought out and that management at the site has proceeded generally in that direction.

Master Plan, 1972

Apparently the Master Plan was not actually approved until 1972 after it had gone through some revisions.

The main change that has occurred over the years is the approach of the NPS to the handling of the site. Where it was once going to restore the post to look as it had in an earlier day, the NPS will now simply hold the line at 1967. Except for these changes in the philosophy of how to use the historic site, these original Master Plans remain interesting documents. Readers just have to shake themselves free of the idea that they have to recreate historic scenes. The buildings and their contents speak for themselves, and as Stewart Udall said, are "redolent of the 19th century."  

Statement for Management, December, 1975

This twelve-page document is mainly a description of the site. The management objectives, starting on page 10, are thought to reflect fairly accurately even current thinking on how to use the site and its resources. It was just about this time—1975—that management abandoned some restoration projects and decided that preservation and stabilization would be a more practical approach to the site.

Resources Management Plan, 1979

"The Resources Management Plan is a strategic planning document and a key factor in proper management of resources."  

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9Stewart L. Udall, letter to authors, October 30, 1991.

The Resources Management Plan for 1979 outlines ideas about several hoped-for research projects in order "...to acquire basic data for intelligent management purposes...." The National Park Service accepts "..., the Hubbell Trading Post of today as an end product of ninety years of development by one family." They would retain the buildings as they had acquired them in 1967. However, to do that, it was thought that some research in certain areas should go ahead. For example, a guide for the preservation of historic structures should be implemented; research into the post 1930s period of the trading post was recommended in order that the Roman and Dorothy Hubbell era might be better understood; and even the preparation of an administrative history was suggested because: "In less than a decade there have been five superintendents and the intents and purposes of 1967 have become obscure." Other studies were recommended, some of them now completed (the farmlands study, the dendrochronological report).

Assessment of Alternatives for Development Concept Plans, March, 1979

This document put forward several alternative development strategies, or packages, for consideration. That is, where should the picnic area and the parking areas be located. The plans are easily absorbed by reviewing foldout maps near the end of the text. Apparently little from the plans was implemented. A couple of old buildings were removed from the Visitor Center area, otherwise the historic site remains essentially as it was before so much effort went into the development concept plan.

Development Concept Plan, August, 1980

Public Law 89-148 authorized up to $952,000 to be appropriated for the acquisition and development of Hubbell Trading Post, and the Park and Recreation Act of 1978 increased that authorization by another $25,000. As of January 1, 1979, there was $103,680 remaining. This Development Concept Plan proposed some items that would support the need to raise the authorization. The proposals were developed by an "interdisciplinary" NPS planning team.

It is evident from the map at the end of the plan that not everything proposed has been accomplished. One idea, such as a large visitor parking area east of the Visitor Center, has probably been dispensed with. The park offices are now in the school building along with "visitor contact functions." Many of the problems discussed in the plan have since been solved. The maps remain useful.

Resources Management Plan, 1981

This is a short plan that outlines some areas for proposed studies: historic buildings studies for preservation and interpretation; farmland study (done) and restoration; Hubbell history research

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11Ibid., page 16.
12Ibid., page 16.
13Ibid., page 41.
to determine extent of business operations; preservation and conservation of museum collection; erosion control study (done).

Some of the items in the resources management plans seem to be perennials. However, it is better to repeat the desire and the reason for such a study rather than to forget about it altogether. Changing management should be kept abreast of what studies are in progress, which have been completed, and they can continue to ponder the necessity for any pending plans.

**Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, Approved January, 1983**

Resources Management Plans are five year plans, and this one wanted to focus attention on preserving cultural resources and conducting basic research. Much of the proposed work was done during the ensuing five years: Preservation work went ahead on the corrals and shed complex, and some of the farm machinery was sent out for rehabilitation work. The farmlands study was completed; the ethnohistory and the business histories have yet to be written.

The 1983 Resources Management Plan is a 67-page document with information that would still be useful to management, although much of the information to be found in it is in other chapters of this work. To see what may have been accomplished between 1983 and 1988, a comparison of the two resources management plans is suggested.

**Statement for Management, 1986**

Prepared by Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, the statement for management tells us that all units of the NPS must have one. Major issues are identified, management objectives stated. The statement is mainly informational and remains reasonably current. (An earlier, undated Statement for Management was reviewed, one with an extremely interesting bibliography. It was probably from the 1970s. The Statement for Management for 1986 contains no bibliography.)

**Resources Management Plan, 1988**

The emphasis during the next few years would be to continue pushing for more research, and some basic problems are stated. Most of the problems, such as the care and storage of the museum collection, remain the same today. Historic furnishings reports are needed for HB-1, HB-2, and HB-5, a history of Hubbell’s business activities is needed, and a carrying capacity study is wanted.

**Conclusion**

The 1975 Resources Management Plan said that the intents and purposes of 1967, as far as how to handle Hubbell Trading Post was concerned, had become obscure. Since then, another five superintendents have come to serve at Hubbell Trading Post, all but one of them inexperienced in the position. Since 1975, however, it would seem that management has to a great extent returned to the let-the-place-evolve point of view that was originally intended for the site. There have been changes as different NPS people moved through the trading post, but not everybody
has truly understood how to handle the site. As Tom Vaughan said in 1976: "We still don’t really know how to cope with history that’s still alive and kicking." 14

Future administrators of the site should know that they don’t always have to search the past for guidance. They can’t run riot with personal whimsy, but they should realize that there are a lot of aspects of the trading post that are not frozen at some point in 1967 or before. Therein lies the challenge of this historic site. The trading post was not intended to be a dead museum. ("...they took the 'living' out of it and made it a museum.") 15 Hubbell Trading post is one place in the National Park System where an administrator has a chance for at least a little controlled creativity.

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14Tom Vaughan to Earl Jackson, SPMA, memorandum of 1/27/76, on file at Curator’s office, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.

15Edward B. Danson, interview with authors, April 18, 1991.
CHAPTER XIV

MAINTENANCE AND STABILIZATION

The south wall of the barn looked like it was going to collapse. Kevin McKibbin, Superintendent, decided to have it torn out and rebuilt before the barn fell down. His solo initiative did not go unnoticed by SWRO, and very soon indeed McKibbin and two men from Santa Fe were sitting on the pile of stones that had once been part of the barn wall, scratching their heads and trying to figure out just what they were going to do next. The men from SWRO suggested to McKibbin that it would have been a good idea if he had just numbered the stones. Then the stones could have been replaced more or less in the places from which they had been removed. Clearly, their sensibilities were stung by McKibbin's seemingly cavalier attitude toward the "integrity" of the barn wall.¹

McKibbin knew little about the stabilization of historic structures. He had seen a problem and he decided to fix it before a disaster might occur. But now, as far as the barn wall was concerned, there was nothing to be done but put it back the best way they could. To that extent, then, part of the Hubbell Trading Post is, as Kevin suggested, more K. McKibbin than it is J.L. Hubbell.² But that was not the only time that exigency has taken precedence over integrity at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site. Nor is the barn wall the only wall at the trading post that has been in danger of falling down.

When the Park Service assumed responsibility for the site, the west wall of the trading post and the wareroom looked like it was on the verge of falling down. John Cook got funding from the Regional Office. He called Charlie Voll, who was then in charge of the Ruins Stabilization Unit for the National Park Service. "Each rock was numbered and then photographed and then taken down and a new foundation put in and each rock put back according to its number in the photograph. So you have that whole west wall from the laundromat section to the door coming out of the bullpen...all redone. Charlie Voll took them down stone by stone and put them back stone by stone. That violates the dickens out of the Historic Preservation Act which was passed in 1966, but we didn’t have all the rules and we didn’t have all the knowledge we have today. I’m glad we did it because it will last forever. It’s been done right. We could never do it today. We did some things back then, we plastered the chicken coop because the rain was just washing it away. It would take six months to process the forms...today to get it done." When the Cooks moved down to Hubbell Trading Post in 1966 they took money out of their own pockets in order to paint the interior of the Manager’s Residence so that it would be habitable. And they painted it themselves.³

Like many old structures in the rural Southwest, the buildings at Hubbell Trading Post are made of local materials and to a great extent from the very ground they stand on. (Some of the rock may have been "mined" from Wide Reed Ruin.) The rock was set up with adobe mud. Adobe

¹Kevin McKibbin, telephone interview with authors, April 27, 1991.
²Ibid.
³John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.
bricks were probably made on site. Clay and sand and straw was—and is—the usual recipe. Adobe mud was mixed in a pit with hoes and the bare feet of the workers. It seems unlikely that J.L. Hubbell was out there stomping around in a mud pit, but it is likely that any structures on the site were designed by him. The buildings are not unlike many old structures one can find in New Mexico. New Mexican’s of Don Lorenzo’s day were accustomed to do for themselves; he could have learned any of the necessary skills when he was young. Today, people who build with adobe refer to the material as "forgiving," the building process itself as "labor intensive." A strong back and the ability to endure pain are easily as important as skill.

One of the "problems" with adobe is that it is vulnerable to the effects of wind and water, a case of earth to earth and dust to dust. A roof leak next to a wall can be disastrous. Running water will cut through adobe right before your eyes. Water must be kept away from adobe. Roof integrity is absolutely necessary, and that wasn’t easy with the materials available in remote areas in the early part of this century.

They started with a shallow rock foundation. Some people, although not the Hubbells, would start with a shallow foundation of adobe bricks. Foundations of adobe brick are still used in rural Mexico. The foundation didn’t have to be absolutely level because the walls would be of the same material as the foundation, climbing right out of the ground. However, accurate levels could be fixed with a hose with water in it. You put one end of the hose at one intended corner, the other end of the hose in the opposite corner, and then you run water into the hose. The water will attain an absolutely accurate level at each end of the hose. You pound in a stake, put a pencil mark on it at the water level. Then you move the ends of the hose to the other two corners of the foundation. Yes, it was possible to make a building plumb, level, and square without using sophisticated equipment. As the walls went up, you did what you could to protect them from sudden rainstorms.

Once the walls reached a certain level, the vigas (roof beams) were set in place. Most of the beams at Hubbell Trading Post are large; a lot of people would have had to be on hand to raise them. The vigas in the trading post buildings are all ponderosa pine and come from the magnificent stand of ponderosas between Ganado and Window Rock. According to the dendrochronology report by William J. Robinson, over 400 "primary" vigas were counted in the Hubbell home, the trading post, and the barn. If the vigas in the other structures are added, the total would increase to over 500. Considering that they were all cut by hand and moved by horse and wagon, the vigas alone represent an astonishing amount of work. The bark would be removed from the vigas—at least in the home—before they were set in place. The vigas would be more or less evenly spaced, and then the wall would be built up to enclose them. The ceilings in such rural houses would be either rough-cut boards or latillas. Latilla ceilings are formed by laying branches side by side on top of the vigas. The chicken coop at Hubbell Trading Post has a latilla ceiling. Latilla ceilings were installed in homes where sawed lumber was unavailable or in cases where that was all the people could afford. The ceilings in the Hubbell home are made of boards. (Latilla ceilings are still used in some Southwestern homes, but only because the builder was striving for a rustic effect.)
Straw and the bark that had been stripped from the vigas would then be spread across the boards, or latillas, and then a roof of about six inches of earth would be spread over the straw and bark. Modern roofs have been constructed over most of the original earthen roofs at Hubbell Trading Post.

It is easy to understand why at least a little dirt might tend to sift down through the straw and bark, and between the boards or latillas, and finally into the living space below. And it does. Some people would tack up squares of canvas to the vigas to form a solid ceiling. In the days when rusticity was not considered chic, many board and viga ceilings were hidden, either by canvas, or, when they became available, patterned metal ceilings. There is no evidence that either canvas or metal ceilings were ever used at Hubbell Trading Post. The ceilings in the Hubbell home were used as a place to tack up Indian baskets. Merchandise hung from the ceilings in the trading post. Or more baskets. Or almost anything, including helmets from World War I.

Local, natural materials were used in the buildings at the trading post. The building methods were simple. But the structures are extremely vulnerable to the elements. Wind and rain take their toll. The house has to be plastered periodically with more adobe mud, and every two years or so the earth on the barn roof must be replaced. In the August, 1991, issue of National Geographic there is a photograph of Ailema Benally, Cultural Interpreter, leaning against a wall of the rug room. The wall is water stained, and up near the ceiling it looks as though the paint has quite washed away. The ceiling is water stained. A critical observer might think that the trading post is falling apart, that the National Park Service isn't doing its job. Since that photograph was made, the trading post and the Hubbell home have been reroofed, and that wall Ailema Benally is leaning against has been repainted.

When the NPS took over at Hubbell Trading Post, all of the buildings were in a very sad state. Repair work there has gone on ever since, and the repair work, as a problem at the trading post, is described as "chronic." There is always something that needs attention, "niggling little things."

To document everything that has gone wrong, or could go wrong, would take too much space. The cyclic maintenance schedule first worked on when Doug McChristian was superintendent has been superseded by the NPS Maintenance Management System, a computerized work scheduling program wherein every known or anticipated maintenance activity is programmed for the year. The computerized program is adjusted quarterly.

However, a few of the problems for which future administrators should be on the qui vive were listed by the trading post’s present superintendent, Charlie Wyatt, and the present maintenance mechanic, Jim Hodges:

HB-1: Trading Post. No special problems with this structure except an annual look to

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see if any interior replastering is required. The trading post was reroofed in 1991, so leaks here should not be a problem.

HB-2: Hubbell Home. Replaster exterior annually, replaster interior as needed. This building, too, was reroofed in 1991.

HB-3: Barn. Repair earthen roof annually, re-point stone walls as needed.

HB-4: Manager's House. Replaster exterior as needed.

HB-5: Bunkhouse. Used only as a storage area. No significant maintenance problems.

HB-6: Stone Hogan (Guest Hogan). Irrigation of the adjoining field has caused a problem with the walls settling. An attempt was made to solve the problem by adding a French drain, but his has only been marginally successful. Other than this, the walls may need re-pointing annually. The interior is replastered as needed.

HB-7: Bread Oven. Only occasional re-pointing of stonework.

HB-8: Generator Building (Chicken Coop). Replaster every two to three years or so.

HB-9: Curatorial Storage. The only serious "problem" with this structure is the low clearance in ceiling/roof space. The building is insulated with fiberglass. There is very little clearance between the roof and the insulation, so that crawling through the insulation on the way to an electrical repair job can be an experience that is irritating in more ways than one,

HB-10: Corrals and Sheds. Occasional replacement of boards. About every two years or so the canvas cover on the sheds has to be replaced.


HB-12: Visitor Center and Site Offices. The ends of the vigas need re-pointing every year or so. Otherwise, only normal upkeep.


HB-14: Root Cellar (Library). Generally speaking, only normal interior office-type cleaning.

It should be noted that site maintenance people are often hampered by the lack of "as constructed" drawings and specifications, as well as operation and maintenance manuals. The site is also hampered to some extent by having a small maintenance crew. The specialists who might be available at a larger park are absent at Hubbell Trading Post. The maintenance people at the trading post must be able to do electrical work, plumbing, operate heavy equipment—whatever—while at the same time have a feeling for preservation. This calls for intelligent and talented people who have some insight into, for example, what somebody might have been thinking about while they were jury-rigging a repair job in 1937. The maintenance
people at the trading post are faced with construction techniques and materials that now stretch back a hundred years. The general goal of the maintenance and stabilization is to hold the line on the appearance of the trading post at 1967. Generally speaking, it is very important that a repair person at Hubbell Trading Post not proceed unless he or she is aware of what the object under consideration looked like at that time. So far, the NPS has been successful in maintaining the general 1967 look and feel of the site for the past twenty-five years, and during that time the site has undergone some significant stabilization projects as well as the usual day-to-day maintenance.

Figure 44. One of the two structures at the historic site that was eliminated in the early 1980s because they were thought to have no historic significance. This was a small wood-frame residence. NPS photo circa 1965. HUTR Neg. 141.
STABILIZATION PROJECTS

John Cook and Charlie Voll had the west wall of the trading post torn out and replaced in 1967. Kevin McKibbin had the south wall of the barn stabilized in the early 1970s. Those two jobs were noted earlier in this chapter, and another of the early projects already mentioned elsewhere was the rehabilitation of the Manager’s Residence in 1970 (although more work would be done on it later). The complete north wall of the trading post was taken down in 1970, a new concrete footing added, and then reconstructed. Before and after photographs show the remarkably fine job that was done.  

The Mid-1970s Barn Debacle

The “horrible Hubbell barn” was the subject of a lot of attention during the 1970s. The wretched earthen roof has been a constant source of despair as it continues to blow away, wash away, and leak. However, in a continuing effort to maintain the site as it appeared in 1967, the NPS has fought back with—sometimes apparently misguided—ingenuity. During Kevin McKibbin’s day they “went through all kinds of things on that barn roof. We finally got it where we thought we had it fixed when we put foam on it and colored the foam brown and that stuff hadn’t even dried when we had a wind that put it all out in the parking lot.” Well, if the foam wouldn’t cling on its own, they would first tack down some chicken wire and then lay the foam on the chicken wire. That should hold it. And it did, for a time, but the winds nibbled at the foam, and when Tom Vaughan was superintendent large chunks of the “alien material” came plopping down in the parking lot. (Almost everything falls in the parking lot because the winds are usually westerlies.) In 1978 the barn roof was stabilized with lightweight concrete and soil cement decking. However, earth still blows off the roof, and every year or so it has to be put back there.

It was mentioned in Chapter IX, Special Events and Public Relations, that a beam in the barn fell during the mid-1970s restoration work and came very close to causing injuries. The NPS was involved in a two-year project on the barn, and that first year, according to Tom Vaughan, was an “unbelievable nightmare” fraught with difficulties that included “...personnel matters, personality conflicts, poor communication, cultural conflicts, and perhaps even aspects of Navajo nationalism.”

The primary source of the troubles may have been the project supervisor, a person who, it turned
out, must have lacked the necessary skills for the work. It was said of him that he was a highly competent art conservator who must have had the "...requisite broad philosophical outlook necessary for any restoration of any historic object,"13 but that his "...background in restoring barns was exceedingly limited."14 He had little experience when it came to working with stone walls and heavy timbers, so if the workers were having close calls with disaster, that may be a clue as to the origin of the personality and cultural conflicts (many of the workers were Navajo). Other problems plagued the project. One of the Anglo workers was arrested by the Navajo Police when he attempted to drive a Navajo to a bootlegger. A government vehicle was virtually destroyed when the operators parked it at a bar—" a horrible place to be"15—that is just outside the Navajo Reservation on the road to Gallup. A good deal of the barn nightmare occurred during Tom Vaughan's first year as superintendent of the trading post. As he said about the first year of the barn project, "God, if I'd only known then what I know now."16 For Tom, becoming superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post was partly a matter of training by trauma.

One of the "cultural" problems encountered on the barn project had to do with the work schedule imposed by the Anglo workers. The Anglos lived far away, so they decided that a ten-days-on, four-days-off schedule would give them plenty of time to get home for a visit. Unfortunately, after years of adapting to the usual white man's week of a five-days-on, two-days-off schedule, the change proved to be unmanageable for the Navajo, disrupting family and community activities for many of them. At the end of four days off, some Navajo would not return to continue with the work. It was noted that a project supervisor must have "...the ability to recognize the legitimate problems inherent not only in cultural and social differences, but in such simple matters as the lack of telephones at workers' homes."17

The barn project was completed...with a new supervisor on the job.

**Other Stabilization Projects**18

1982 - Surface and groundwater drainage system installed between Trading Post and Home, with root cellar connection. Downspouts are tapped in. Drained in front of home and across compound to the Pueblo Colorado Wash west of Guest Hogan. The drainage is an attempt to preserve the shallow footings of the Home.

Manager's Residence was stuccoed and roofed, and insulation was added to the "ammo box" addition (much of the wood in this addition is from salvaged World War II boxes). Stuccoed with tinted soil cement, and false roof decking replaced and mineral roofing installed.

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13Ibid.

14Ibid.


16Ibid.

17Letter from David Brugge to Chief, Division of Interpretation, March 5, 1976. SWRO files.

18Information supplied by Terry Morgart, SWRO.
Doors and Windows of the Trading Post that were rotting with age were rehabilitated by Tony Esparza, a cabinetmaker of Gallup, New Mexico.

Home Porch was re-anchored to the home at roofline. The flooring was taken up, structural support added, and flooring replaced. Screens replaced, roofing renewed, and porch was painted.

1983 - Visitor Center Vigas. All exterior viga ends replaced.

1984 - Sheds and Corrals. Deteriorated posts and rails replaced.

Bunkhouse. West wall dismantled, foundation poured, and wall replaced in original configuration.

1985 - Bunkhouse. South wall dismantled, foundation poured, wall replaced.


1988 - Barn Roof. Solid cement decking of 1978 removed. Liquid rubber membrane applied over lightweight concrete decking after spot repair of decking. Soil placed over membrane. That is, soil right out of the fields is now used. Test panels of other material are being tried out over the Blacksmith Shop. Reportedly these test panels are of Rhoplex and possibly other materials. The test panels are an attempt to find a suitable roof for the barn that will still allow it to look as it did in 1967.

The stabilization projects for Hubbell Trading Post are by no means completed. For example, plans are afoot to somehow rehabilitate the Guest Hogan so that it can once again be used. And all of the monumental but delicate structures will continue to suffer the lashing of the elements as the seasons pass. There will always be work to do at Hubbell Trading Post, which still looks as it did in the early part of the twentieth century mainly because—in later years—the Hubbells did not have the money for any grand refurbishing. For the American people of today that was fortunate. Hubbell Trading Post was like a classic car that had gotten into seedy condition but still had all of its original parts. Keeping it going has been a lot of work. As Kevin McKibbin said, "Trying to maintain the integrity of the trading post and keep it from falling into ruins... was a challenge."

Threats to the Site (Of Fire, Flood, Prairie Dogs, and the Plague)

Dani Cook was the first to see the flames coming out of the laundromat. John Cook was already in bed for the night, and Mrs. Cook was about to retire when she just happened to look out the window and saw the fire. The Ganado Fire Department was called. John and Dani Cook aroused Dorothy Hubbell and the three of them rescued the Burbank paintings and some other valuable items from the trading post. If it hadn't been for that fortunate glance out the window, the trading post could have been more badly damaged than it was.20

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19Kevin McKibbin, telephone interview with authors, April 27, 1991.

20John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.
The fire department did manage to put out the fire, and the laundromat was put totally out of action, eliminating the necessity of the NPS having to evict the business when they assumed responsibility for the trading post. An investigation into the cause of the fire revealed that it may have been started by the combustion of stored dirty rags.\textsuperscript{21}

The memory of the fire has remained as a warning of what is possible. (John Cook said that his daughter still has bad dreams about the fire; from her vantage point in the Manager’s Residence, the flames looked as though they could have been threatening her.)\textsuperscript{22} The Hubbell home, the trading post and its wareroom, the curatorial offices and storage, the barn, and the visitor center are now completely outfitted with sprinkler systems; and every building is generously supplied with fire extinguishers that are checked periodically. With the precautions now being taken, it doesn’t seem possible that any of the more important structures could be a total loss in the event of fire.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure45.jpg}
\caption{The Pueblo Colorado Wash in flood. Looking upstream from below Wide Reed Ruin on 25 April, 1973. NPS photo by Voll and McKibbin. HUTR Neg. R146#4.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid.
In any case, as long as flammable materials are kept to a minimum in the buildings, it is not likely that a fire will get out of control; the beams and boards out of which the ceilings are made are so thick that it would probably take a long time for them to burn through, especially if the fire is at the same time being suppressed by the sprinkler system. The fire alarms and sprinkler system are now considered adequate, and the burglar alarms are also adequate (the first burglar alarms and sprinkler systems came in the 1970s). With good systems, and with the manager's residence generally occupied, the trading post should be immune from a disastrous loss either by fire or burglary. But other dangers do remain, among them flooding.

Figure 46. Erosion along the Pueblo Colorado Wash in May of 1973. This is the Wide Reed Ruin Site. NPS photo. HUTR Neg. R146#4.
It is thought that during a 100-year flood water might reach the library (root cellar) but that it would not likely get into the other buildings. As far as is known, flood water in the past has not reached any of the structures. But the Pueblo Colorado Wash, like so many nearly dry streams in the Southwest, can become an impressive sight in the event of heavy rains upstream. Unless one has witnessed the event, it's difficult to believe how quickly, and to what extent, an arroyo or stream bed in the Southwest can fill with fast-moving water, mud, and debris. Once seen, it's not hard to understand why people are lost in arroyos during summer rains. Past rains that have filled the Pueblo Colorado have caused erosion around the bridge pilings at the entrance to the site, destroyed parts of the Anasazi ruins along the wash, and destroyed gabions installed in the wash to protect the ruins from damage. Gabions installed in the 1970s were redone in the 1980s.

![Figure 47. Creating gabions in the Pueblo Colorado Wash in an attempt to prevent erosion, 12 July, 1974. NPS photo by Mike Varela. HUTR Neg. R151#19.](image)

It is thought that more work is needed in the wash to protect the ruins and the banks of the Pueblo Colorado. Rain in the desert can be whimsical, nothing here, a flood just over there, and often destructive, sometimes dangerous, but when you live in the desert you dare not ask the rain to stay away. And now that the fields are, except for sparse native growth, barren, heavy summer rains cause some erosion in the fields. An effort to recreate the terrace borders would
slow down some of that runoff, and the remedy may be as simple as making some passes along
the terrace edges with a border disc, a farming implement (towed by a tractor) used to separate
fields that are being irrigated.

A border disc raises a border of earth, and the height of the border is determined mainly by the
size of the equipment being used. Borders to stop rain runoff would not have to be high, but
they do have to be fairly high in order to hold back irrigation water, which can be four to six
inches deep. The Hubbell farm used to be entitled to 400 acre feet of irrigation water per year,
but that was when they were farming the entire area. To visualize an acre foot of water, just
think of a football field with a foot of water on it. Close enough. Now visualize 400 of those.
But the point here is that a lot of the present erosion in the fields could be controlled with some
simple tractor work. Trespassing animals that stripped the vegetation, hastening erosion, used
to be more of a problem than they are now since the 13,000 feet of fencing around the site has
been renewed.

The Navajo Reservation is "open range." Not only can this cause extra hazards along the
highways, it can also be something of an irritation when the site's fences are broken and sheep,
goats, horses, and cattle get into the fields. The animals have to be chased out, the fences
repaired. Wandering animals are part of the cultural scene on the reservation and in order not
to be regarded as the neighborhood spoilsport, one has to put up with it. Apart from occasional
large animal intruders, the site has a resident population of between 900 and 1200 prairie dogs.

The scampering rodents live in communities all over the site, doing their part to denude the
fields. Also, and most ominously, the prairie dogs can carry bubonic plague, a disease
transmitted by fleas. Dead prairie dogs should not be touched. The population fluctuates,
possibly as the plague carries them off. Then the population tends to grow again.

Site employees help to control the size of the prairie dog population by killing some of them with
a .22 rifle (after hours, so that visitors are not offended by the activity). The dead prairie dogs
are left to be dealt with by carrion-eating creatures and other natural elements. The prairie dog
problem would be eliminated to a large extent if only the fields could be farmed. If the creatures
are constantly being disturbed by people, machinery, and irrigation, they will soon move on to
what in a prairie dog's eyes are greener pastures.

But people themselves are a threat to the site. With the burgeoning population of the Navajo,
more house sites are needed, and there are no zoning controls on the reservation. It will be
necessary in the future to have sharp diplomatic skills in order to avoid what might be ugly
intrusions in the vicinity of the trading post. The local people have to be made aware that
whatever adversely effects the historic site may also be detrimental to the entire community.

Pot hunters could be a problem, as they are in much of the Southwest, and although the site is
small enough so that a pot hunter might be detected quickly, they remain a potential threat. In
the past, the Navajo have disturbed site ruins in search of Anasazi bones for use in their
ceremonies.²³ Although certainly extremely rare, such intrusions have to be considered in a
general plan for protecting the site.

Visitation has increased to the point where that in itself is something of a threat, but this of course is not an exclusive problem with Hubbell Trading Post. The trading post store takes most of the brunt of the invasion, the tours through the house being limited to fifteen people per tour, four to six tours per day. And not every tour has its allowed total of fifteen people. As with any site or park, the NPS has to learn to cope with the citizens who would see the trading post; they're the ones who are paying for it.

Roads and Bridges.

Up until the early 1980s, it was possible that there would be days when just getting from the paved highway into the historic site could be a memorable "interpretive experience" for visitors. When the entrance road dissolved into a stretch of adobe mud with ruts a foot deep, the visitors could experience for themselves what it was like to drive around on the reservation before its roads were paved. The road has been well ditched, and it was stabilized with a chemical to make it almost entirely impervious to rain and snow. The parking lot was also stabilized. There are NPS personnel who regret the passing of the historic scene—tourists down to their trannies in the mud—but as far as the visitors are concerned, that is a learning experience most of them would just as soon skip; few modern motorists know what to do with a vehicle that is hung up in twelve to sixteen inches of mud. The bridge at the entrance had a new deck installed in 1991.

The entrance road was a section of the main highway through this part of the country. If you were going west, you came down the road heading straight for the trading post, and there was a gasoline pump just outside the front door of the store if you needed fuel. Then the road turned right and went north and crossed a bridge over the Pueblo Colorado Wash. That bridge was removed by the NPS for safety. It was too expensive to maintain and its removal restricted access to the historic site. A photograph of the trading post taken by either Bill Brown or John Cook from Hubbell Hill in May of 1966 shows the simple wooden bridge with peeling white paint. When the main road bypassed Hubbell Trading Post, there was little real need for that extra entrance to the site.

There used to be an informal road that went along the wash after a bridge on the road to a settlement known as Lower Ganado was temporarily washed out. The road along the wash was never designated as a road, but people in the neighborhood used it for a time...until the NPS closed it, an act which caused some bitter feelings to erupt.

The informal road became a problem for the NPS because a bootlegger lived down at the end of it, and there was a lot of traffic to his house on Friday and Saturday nights. Littering along the trail to the bootlegger's den caused site personnel extra work, gasoline was stolen from Park Service vehicles, and some disorderly persons were a nuisance. The bootlegger himself didn’t seem to be a danger, but the extra traffic was a worry mainly because of the valuable museum collection. The burglar systems were not as good as they are today, and there were a lot of false alarms. Juin Crosse was the superintendent at the time, and she was living in the manager's residence with the alarm system: "We spent a lot of time at night out with the police searching

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24Photographs on file at the trading post show the rutted road with cars stuck in the mud.

25Juin Crosse, telephone interview with authors, April 14, 1991.
the house..." Not having control over the traffic on the historic site property became an intolerable situation.

Juin Crosse had meetings with the local Chapter and with Tribe administrators in Window Rock in reference to the unauthorized traffic. Since the bridge had been put back in, she wanted to stop the use of vehicle trails through site property. The county authorities agreed to maintain the main road so that the people who were then driving through the historic site would not really have to do so. The local Chapter then agreed that the NPS should have the right to close the road and that the historic site’s neighbors who had gotten accustomed to using it should go back to driving on the county road, now that the county had promised to maintain it. Fences went up across the informal road the same week Juin Crosse transferred to Fort McHenry National Monument.

And that left Kent Bush, who became acting superintendent, with just a "whole bunch" of unhappy citizens who had gotten accustomed to driving through the site. Until Kent got everybody together and sitting down and talking sense, he had to listen to threats against the historic site, himself, and his family. Kent: "You haven’t lived until you’ve closed a road on the Res." Using his own quickly developed and sharp diplomatic skills, Kent managed to get the community settled down. Roads, trails, and bridges are no longer such a critical issue at Hubbell Trading Post.

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26 Juin Crosse, telephone interview with authors, April 14, 1991.


28 Ibid.

29 Kent Bush, telephone interview with authors, October 1, 1991.
CHAPTER XV
CONTINUING POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION ISSUES

Employee Housing

When Charles Wyatt arrived at Ganado to assume the superintendency of Hubbell Trading Post NHS he was "surprised" by the poor quality of the employee housing.¹ Like Charlie Wyatt, Doug McChristian didn’t have to live in one of the mobile homes—he and his wife occupied the small "modular" home that has been the residence of the site’s superintendent—yet he found living at the historic site was "one step above camping out;" he could see daylight at some of the corners of the house. He admits that if he had known about the wretched site housing, he wouldn’t have taken the assignment. McChristian thought that the housing situation was so poor that it had a detrimental affect on morale; that new housing would not only boost the morale of the people already at the park but it would also be something of an inducement to getting more good people to come to the remote historic site.²

Bill Gentless worked on maintenance at Hubbell Trading Post between 1983 and 1985. He remembers the mobile homes as a handyman’s nightmare, castoffs from other parks which no longer wanted them. Everything was wearing out, the electrical systems, the plumbing ("Nothing seemed to fit anymore").³

Kent Bush thought the mobile homes were a morale problem, especially for families with children: "I recall my trailer being nearly twenty years old. It had been moved a number of times which made it less than sound. Wind and dust swept right through it, and during the winter it was very hard to keep warm."⁴

The employee housing site is close to the park’s entrance gate and is visible from it, the mobile homes huddled closely together and surrounded by chain link fencing. It would seem that trailer parks are almost impossible to make attractive and this one is no exception to the rule. Except for the Chief Ranger, who is historically ensconced in HB-4, everybody lives at the employee housing site; and, except for the superintendent in the small modular home, everybody is housed in mobile homes.

⁴Kent Bush, telephone interview with authors, October 1, 1991.
Until the modular home arrived at the site, the superintendent used to have his or her personal quarters in HB-4. The modular home appeared in the late 1970s and was authorized, as Juin Crosse remembers, because it was considered moveable. That is, it came in modular sections, and apparently Congress had placed no restrictions on such structures. Still, even the modular house has its limitations, as Charlie Wyatt discovered: "Coming from my own...home in South Carolina, a large three-bedroom house, to a smaller modular house here was quite a shock."

The employees at this site have survived for twenty-five years in what many of them consider to be substandard housing. The problem was partly one of timing; Hubbell Trading Post NHS just missed the Mission 66 Program which helped, among other things, to get adequate federal housing into many parks. Money has been a problem at Hubbell ever since, and now and then necessary funds have had to be squeezed from other parks in the area in order to cover necessities

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1Juin Crosse, telephone interview with authors, April 4, 1991.
at Hubbell Trading Post. Until recently, money for housing at the site was just not available, and no amount of crabbing by past superintendents could break loose any cash from Congress for that purpose. A review of the interviews with past superintendents will reveal that virtually all of them were concerned about the housing situation at Hubbell, but all they could do about it was outline what needed to be done and work on the configuration of the housing. Doug McChristian was so upset about the housing at the site that he considers it to be the issue to which he gave the highest priority.

When John Cook arrived at Hubbell Trading Post in 1966 with his family he moved into what is now called the Manager’s Residence, HB-4. The Cooks painted the interior and moved in. Historian Wescoat Wolfe was the next NPS employee to move onto the site, and he and his family lived in a mobile home that was parked at the southwest corner of the compound near HB-5. Since then, everybody has lived in the employee mobile home park.

Plans have been worked up for site housing, bids are out, and ground will be broken soon in the open field just above the superintendent’s modular home. Three or four three-bedroom single family houses will go in during the first year (three or four houses, depending on the bid price), and then it is hoped that five or six more houses can be built the next year. As soon as the first houses are occupied, some mobile homes will be moved out, and houses planned for the second phase could go in where the mobile homes had been. The beginning of Hubbell Trading Post’s second twenty-five years as a historic site seems like a fitting time to start the ambitious project. And, some will add, it’s about time.

Security for the Museum Collection and the Trading Post

The present security system at Hubbell Trading Post NHS was installed in 1990; and it works. Security of the museum collection has always been a primary concern at the site: what should be included in the collection, where it should be stored, what level of protection it requires, what might be discarded. And when one thinks of security there, one first thinks of night security, burglars slinking in; but as far as is known there has been only one night time attempt at an intrusion, and that occurred when Tom Vaughan was superintendent and residing in the Manager’s Residence, HB-4. The year was of course the mid-1970s, the alarm system still rudimentary and full of bugs.

Tom says that when he first drifts off to sleep his senses plunge quickly to an almost unfathomable depth. On the night in question he had just gotten to sleep when his wife, Jan, tried to stir him awake to tell him that something was going on outside. Jan told him the next

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6Ibid.
7Luis Edward Gastellum, telephone interview with authors, August 3, 1991.
10The authors discussed with HUTR Curator Ed Chamberlin just how much information should be in this administrative history in reference to the security system. Not much, we decided. NPS personnel who have to know about the security system at the historic site must apply there for such information.
morning that he slipped out of bed, stalked to the door and opened it and looked out, apparently
saw nothing, came back to inform her that nothing was wrong out there, and climbed back into
bed. And the next morning it was discovered that, well, yes, somebody had tried to break in.
A window had to be replaced. And Tom had sensed nothing the night before; he couldn't even
recall getting out of bed and peering out into the night. The burglar alarm had not gone off.
Luckily, nothing was missing (had Tom's unconscious sortie frightened off the burglar?).

Although the burglar alarm didn't work when somebody was trying to break in, it did work often
enough when nobody was trying to get in. It was thought that in the late afternoons, sunlight
reflecting from the windshield of an approaching car could strike the electric eye of a sensor and
set off the alarm. A heater coming on, stirring the air and causing items hanging from a ceiling
to swing back and forth, might set off the alarm. Squirrels frolicking about inside the buildings
triggered the alarm. Whatever the cause, site personnel had to respond. During the years when
the road to the bootlegger's den was still in use, and there was a lot of night activity on the
site—and a lot of worry for NPS personnel—local police and site employees would have to
search through the buildings with flashlights whenever the alarm sounded. All of the alarms were
false, and there were a lot of them.

One way Tom Vaughan responded to the threat was to be involved in what was called the
Northeast Arizona-Northwest New Mexico Crime Clinic, an informal group of law enforcement
officers from several agencies who met periodically but at least quarterly to share ideas and
experiences in reference to local crime. It was a way to keep track of trends in jewelry thefts
and trading post robberies.

Daytime losses have been the main security problem, and most of those losses have occurred at
the trading post, although Ned Danson feels that "some things" have been lost from the home.
He specifically mentioned a silver necklace that was lifted from a wall.

Shoplifters have been in action at the trading post. Besides the rug that probably disappeared out
the window of the rug room, another one, a 6 X 10 rug valued at $4500, may have walked out
the door inside a cradle board. Although the couple with the cradle board aroused some
suspicion, none of the clerks bothered to jot down the license number of their car. The weaver
of the rug was asked to sketch the design, but the rug was never recovered. Rugs are now
photographed with an instant camera as soon as they are purchased.
Figure 49. Interior of the trading post. This old diagram includes the location of the gasoline pump. The office is also the jewelry room.
When one superintendent became concerned about daytime security at the historic site, he hired two detective sergeants from the Albuquerque Police Department to see if they could "rip off" the historic site. The police detectives were a man and a woman, the woman wearing a mohair poncho. While the clerks in the trading post stood around chatting with each other, the woman detective walked out with a sand painting. (The superintendent was the only employee at the historic site who knew the detectives would be there.) Later, however, when the detectives went on a tour of the house, they were unable to steal anything. Each time the woman detective ducked back into a room, the tour guide would also drop back far enough so that she could keep her eyes on the main group and the detective. The superintendent, Tom Vaughan, felt quite proud of the guide when, during a conference he had with the detectives in the rug room in reference to the security problems at the site, he was told how alert she had been on the tour.

During that conference in the rug room, the woman detective sat on a pile of rugs. Tom was sitting right next to her. And, while she talked to Tom she also managed to roll up a $900 rug and hide it under her poncho without Tom being aware of the maneuver; Tom was not so proud of his own powers of observation. The lesson seems to be that determined shoplifters are difficult to guard against and site employees, both NPS and SPMA employees, have to be just as alert and imaginative as the shoplifters are.

If anything, the historic site's museum collection will get larger. It has been dispersed to a certain extent, partly for study, partly for protection. At one time, when the burned laundromat was the best storage area, and soot settled on the piled up museum collection, and sand and snow drifted in on it, there was ample reason to move some of it out to safer areas. Much of that material will be returning to the historic site, and certainly when a climate-controlled building is in place. (It should be noted that the historic structures may suffer if an attempt is made to give them a controlled atmosphere.)

Not only will the future storage building at Hubbell Trading Post NHS have to deal with artifacts that came from the site but have been dispersed to other storage facilities, it will also have to handle new acquisitions. The Scope of Collections states that the historic site will be documenting and interpreting material from the entire Hubbell trading empire. For example, at the Hubbell's old store in Winslow there are at least seven file cabinets filled with documents relating to their business, as well as a room filled with three-dimensional artifacts. It is hoped that all of this material will find a home at Hubbell Trading Post; and it seems likely that material will come from other areas. The need for quality museum storage and adequate protection is apparent and will, if anything, increase.

Each improvement to the security system through the years has tended to make the system more "high tech" and, with each improvement, to bring within the circle of electronic protection yet more areas or another building. However, for as long as the historic site buildings were inadequately protected, this lack of security was as much a matter of deep concern to SPMA as it was to the NPS. As recently as 1979, the director of SPMA regarded the burglar alarm system as a "joke." He was concerned about the possibility of SPMA employees violating the law should they become involved in trying to apprehend intruders when it was clear to him that NPS policy stated that only NPS employees with special training have authority within the parks to

apprehend law breakers. Rather than have SPMA employees risking life and limb while protecting government buildings where they happen to work during the day, he pleaded with the then superintendent of the historic site to push "even more vigorously" for the NPS to develop a security system that works.\textsuperscript{17}

Hubbell Trading Post NHS now has the added security problems of traveling exhibits. Some of the collection is at last going on the road. The Arizona Commission of the Arts is funding a two-year traveling exhibit which will include thirty baskets, ten photographs, and several illustrations. The extraordinary Hubbell collection will at last come to the attention of people who might never be able to travel to Ganado.

The NPS and SPMA at the Historic Site

Ned Danson feels that the trading post is "probably in absolutely perfect hands."\textsuperscript{18} Indeed, if the federal government had not purchased the property, Hubbell Trading Post might not exist today as anything at all. But with the NPS to protect the site and SPMA to operate the business, the trading post remains a dynamic institution. But was this partnership of the NPS and SPMA made in heaven? Not quite. Any partnership will have its rough spots.

The understanding and dedication of the directors of SPMA have been vital to the success of the historic site, and the almost priceless contribution of its expert traders has maintained the site as a living institution. The leadership on the SPMA side of the partnership has had more expert continuity than that on the NPS side. The unfortunate reputation of Hubbell Trading Post NHS as a boot camp for superintendents has already been discussed (Charlie Wyatt: "My observation when I got here was that it suffered terribly from this. Both superintendent and staff have not really had to even live with their mistakes or to be able to bask in the glory of their accomplishments because they're here and gone.").\textsuperscript{19}

The trader and his staff, on the other hand, are there to stay. The present director of SPMA has been at his post for over ten years; his interest in the success of both the NPS and SPMA at Hubbell Trading Post NHS is evident in the correspondence and memorandums reviewed for this administrative history: "I would agree that we should always strive for improved communication and dialogue . . . But we should keep in mind that our Hubbell operation is an atypical one for the SPMA and probably for any cooperating association. We think that because of the nature of Navajo trading and a variety of other factors, our relationship with the NPS [at Hubbell Trading Post NHS] will always be somewhat unique. Most of the time this uniqueness is wonderful, but I will admit to an occasionally frustrating moment when dealing with the way things work on the reservation."\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{17}Letter of November 27, 1979, to Superintendent, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, from Earl Jackson, on file at SPMA.
  \item \textsuperscript{18}Dr. Edward B. Danson, interview with authors, April 18, 1991.
  \item \textsuperscript{19}Charles D. Wyatt, interview with authors, May 8, 1991.
  \item \textsuperscript{20}Tim Priehs, 6 December, 1984 memorandum to Superintendent Barry Cooper, on file at SPMA office, Tucson.
\end{itemize}
Charlie Wyatt feels that the working relationship between the two entities is at the present very good. At the moment, then, he sees no reason to interfere with it. He’s in charge of the historic site, and the trader is running his operation, but if there are any complaints about what is going on over at the trading post, the superintendent must direct questions and suggestions to SPMA’s director. Charlie Wyatt, who came to the historic site with ample experience and, therefore, confidence, has no problem with this arrangement. Charlie Wyatt defers to Bill Malone in reference to the trading business, Bill defers to Charlie as far as the operation of the historic site is concerned; and matters work out to their mutual advantage.\(^{21}\)

There have been differences of opinion in the past between the NPS and SPMA about activities at the trading post. For example, the NPS had to insist the SPMA employees not store personal belongings in the wareroom, that they not play a radio when they are on duty in the Visitor Center, that they park their personal vehicles in the employees’ assigned area only. These are minor—although certainly potentially irritating—matters that can be worked out easily. The present director of SPMA and the present trader are affable gentlemen who are disposed to talking turkey when the success of Hubbell Trading Post NHS is at stake.

And the success of Hubbell Trading Post NHS is the raison d’être of the partnership of the two entities there. A conflict could arise in reference to the interpretive sales items displayed by SPMA at the historic site. But all interpretive and educational sales items must be approved for both content and price, and only the superintendent or the chief of interpretation and resource management may approve or disapprove of any sales items. Craft and trade items are excluded from the approval process; other sales items must be submitted for approval prior to the ordering or display of such items. The business manager must consult with the chief of interpretation before deciding not to carry approved items. SPMA is obliged to keep on file for three years all reviews of items approved or disapproved, after which period they may be destroyed.\(^{22}\) The present director of SPMA encourages the superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post to consult with him if there is any question about the appropriateness of any item offered for sale at the trading post.\(^{23}\)

But when an NPS employee is trying to second guess the trader on what is, or what is not an appropriate sales item, he or she is treading on shaky ground. It must be kept in mind that the trading post is an evolving business, that what the Navajo were buying last year may not be of any interest to them this year. Generally speaking, the tourists do most of their buying in the rug room and the jewelry room, and the Navajo make most of their purchases in the bullpen. NPS employees should be on guard against the encroachment of too many tourist related items in the bullpen, but they should not be overly precipitate about condemning sales items there.

As was noted in Chapter VI, SPMA has done very well, financially speaking, at Hubbell Trading Post NHS. Why, then, if they perceived the burglar alarm system to be a joke, why didn’t they replace it with a system they considered adequate? After all, most of the contents of the trading post belonged to them. Well, it is not the responsibility of SPMA to maintain the buildings at


\(^{22}\)Letter from Barry Cooper to Tim Priehs, 12 December, 1985. On file at SPMA, Tucson.

\(^{23}\)Letter from Tim Priehs to Barry Cooper, 20 December, 1985. On file at SPMA, Tucson.
the historic site; their legislation would not allow them to spend money on maintenance there. SPMA’s function is to help the NPS interpret the site.

But SPMA’s financial success at the trading post may be about to pay off for the historic site as well. Although SPMA has been contributing a $500 discretionary fund to each site, park, or monument where it does business, it was decided by their Board of Directors in 1990 that each NPS location should in fact receive a percentage of the SPMA income from the sales of books at the individual locations. A controversy arose, as far as Hubbell Trading Post NHS was concerned, when the subject of the profits from the rest of the sales at the trading post was brought up. That is, the sales of literature at Hubbell Trading Post are, to say the least, a minor part of SPMA’s business there. And so it was decided in October of 1991, at a meeting of SPMA’s Board of Directors, a meeting which took place in Ganado, that henceforth Hubbell Trading Post will receive a percentage of all of SPMA’s sales at the site. This could of course amount to some thousands of dollars.24 And so at last there should be sufficient "discretionary funds" available to help the historic site come alive.

The Friends of Hubbell Trading Post25

An agreement between Hubbell Trading Post NHS and the Friends of Hubbell Trading Post was entered into on the 19th of December, 1990. Basically, the Friends of Hubbell Trading Post might provide funds for small projects for which there is at present no money available via the NPS, nor, because their legislation would not allow them to fund such projects, from SPMA.

Irrigation and Erosion

The dam at Ganado Lake had been partially drained by the time Juin Crosse arrived at Hubbell Trading Post NHS in 1978. Apparently the floodgates had been damaged, some years before, and since then nothing had been done to repair the dam. Juin was concerned that the historic site would lose its irrigation rights, so she set about seeing what she could do to get the dam repaired. The lake did not belong to the historic site; Juin had to work through the tribe. But since virtually all of the decisions on community affairs are made by total consensus of the people involved, it proved impossible for any hard decisions to be made. Juin: "While we never ran into a total roadblock, people weren’t totally wild about [repairing the dam]."26 Juin even arranged to have divers come out to the lake to go down to see if the floodgates could be repaired.27 The water was so murky they couldn’t see anything. The divers had no success that first time. It then proved impossible to get the Navajo to allow the divers to try again. As it turned out, their reluctance to get the dam repaired may have had little to do with the dam itself.

24The authors were unable to determine the exact percentage the Board of Directors have in mind; it was reported to be 3% to 5%.


26Juin Crosse, telephone interview with authors, April 4, 1991.

27Juin Crosse, telephone interview with authors, April 4, 1991.
When the water receded at Ganado Lake, some very lush grass grew up where the water had been. Because that grass was a lovely place to graze sheep, the people who owned the sheep were not as interested in seeing the dam repaired as were those people downstream. And, thought Juin, it may have been that the people responsible for the dam were related to the owners of the sheep. (Juin: "Interrelationships run just every which way.") Whatever the case, Juin had the feeling that there was some foot dragging going on.

Foot dragging? Or simply the failure of the Navajo to be able to agree on what might be the best course for them to take as far as the dam is concerned. Whatever the case, the issue has never been resolved. And this issue has been a concern of every superintendent for at least the past twenty years.

Irrigation, the dam, and erosion along the Pueblo Colorado Wash are interconnected issues. Because the dam is broken, there is no water in the lake. Because there is no water in the lake, there is no water for the irrigation ditch. Also, because the dam is broken, water will run unchecked down the Pueblo Colorado Wash. The Pueblo Colorado Wash is trying to meander to the south, thereby causing erosion, another big concern for the NPS for many years as part of Wide Reed Ruin slumped into the roiling waters. Unable to convince anybody to repair the dam, the NPS has resorted to heroic efforts along the Pueblo Colorado Wash within the boundaries of the historic site. The NPS has installed gabions.

According to the American Heritage Dictionary, gabion is a French word derived from the Italian word gabbione. A gabbione is "a cylindrical wicker basket filled with earth and stones, formerly used in building fortifications." The word gabbione is a refinement of the Italian word gabbia, which in English is the word "cage." A gabion, then, is a big cage, and in the case of the gabions in the Pueblo Colorado Wash close to Wide Reed Ruin, the gabions are big cages fashioned of wire and filled with rocks. The gabions now visible in the wash are the second attempt at halting the erosion with the (according to some observers) unsightly intrusion.

Interestingly—assuming one is interested in precise definitions—the mass of wired rocks along the Pueblo Colorado Wash may in fact be a gabionade, a gabionade being "a fortification or defensive embankment or wall built with gabions." Well, whatever it's called, the massive collection of rocks in the wash was the idea of an engineer who was with the Navajo Lands Group when Kevin McKibbin was superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post NHS (1971-1974).

Kevin remembers the truckloads of rocks that were hauled in to fill the wire cages the Navajo crew were making down in the arroyo. Many tons of rocks went into gabions just upstream from

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28Juin Crosse, telephone interview with authors, April 4, 1991.


30Ibid.

31Ibid.

32Kevin McKibbin, telephone interview with authors, April 27, 1991.
Wide Reed Ruin and following the bank down just past the ruin, an impressive construction job, an enormous amount of work. Kevin McKibbin: "The only problem was that after two or three big flash floods, why, it was essentially gone. It just sank out of sight. It's there but I doubt now if it's at all evident anymore."\(^{33}\) Having witnessed the obvious force of an arroyo out of control with floodwater, and taking into consideration the apparently inevitable disappearance of Wide Reed Ruin, the NPS decided, before it was too late, to excavate and map parts of the ruin.

Erosion along the Pueblo Colorado Wash continued to be one of the "biggest" issues\(^{34}\) facing the superintendents. Unfortunately, during the past twenty years it has proved impossible to convince everybody with interest in the dam that erosion at the historic site might be a concern for all, not just the NPS. The present *gabions*, which don't seem to be sinking out of sight, were installed when Doug McChristian was superintendent (1986-1987). Doug: "That took what seemed like an extremely long time to accomplish. It was very slow going work."\(^{35}\) Although the new gabions seem to be doing the job, their time, too, may be limited. The best solution to the erosion problem along the Pueblo Colorado Wash remains the repairing of the dam at Ganado Lake.

The idea has been put forward that possibly the erosion issue and the irrigation issue can be separated for the time being, as far as the repairing of the dam is concerned. That is, the problem of erosion below the dam is an issue of interest to people other than the NPS, while the irrigation issue is perceived to be mainly a problem for the NPS. If the irrigation concerns can be left out of the discussion for the present, the expensive repairs necessary on the ditch outside of the historic site would not be an immediate concern for the people contemplating that repair work once the dam is working again. However, once the dam is repaired—ostensibly just to halt erosion downstream—the matter of water for irrigation, as well as the ditch repair problem, can resurface.\(^{36}\)

In the meantime, any superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post NHS will be facing the same old erosion and irrigation problems that have been among the issues faced by every superintendent there for the past twenty years.

**An Island in the Middle of the Vast Navajo Reservation**

How did the Navajo react to the NPS taking over at Hubbell Trading Post?

John Cook: "There were probably several sets and levels of reactions. The ones affected the most [Dorothy Hubbell's regular customers], very little to no reaction. Primarily because of the fact that Mrs. Hubbell reassured them that, one, their lines of credit would be maintained, that things bad would not happen to them. Secondly, bringing Bill Young along...he was no stranger to many of the individuals. Then you had the reaction of some of the tribal leadership, some of

\(^{33}\)Ibid.

\(^{34}\)Douglas C. McChristian, telephone interview with authors, September 30, 1991.

\(^{35}\)Ibid.

\(^{36}\)Luis Edward Gastellum, telephone interview with authors, August 3, 1991.
whom, as we were in the era of civil rights and the beginning of resurgence of American Indian rights, you got some people really kind of objecting to traders at all. And the National Park Service, the federal government, getting involved in this onerous thing [trading posts] that rips off the American Indian. So you had some negative feelings there. And then you had the Navajo Tribe itself.... Raymond Nakaai, and later Peter MacDonald... who felt that another national park area on or near the Reservation would create jobs and bring in money. The chapter people, the Ganado Chapter, they were concerned because they weren’t sure what kind of neighbors we were going to be."

But no one actively tried to stop the NPS from taking over at Hubbell Trading Post and operating it. John Cook feels that the change of administration at the trading post, from Dorothy Hubbell to the NPS, was made easier for the Navajo because he, Cook, was well known on the Reservation and also well known in the circles of Navajo leadership." Cook hopes that the NPS screening process, when selecting site administrators, will help find those people who will be most compatible with the environment. He understands that one has to subjugate one’s own culture to the dominant local culture, not necessarily to embrace that way of life, but at least to try to understand it. The administrators of the historic site must be tolerant, value cultural diversity, realize that the Navajo culture has a right to exist with the Anglo and Hispanic cultures that surround the Navajo Nation. And one must learn patience.

Art White was superintendent of the Navajo Lands Group when Kevin McKibbin was superintendent at Hubbell, and Hubbell Trading Post was at that time part of the Navajo Lands Group. Kevin McKibbin: "Art was very involved with the Tribe. In fact that was one of the reasons he was superintendent of the Navajo Lands Group.... He knew how to get along with them. They knew him and liked him. He was very good at dealing with the Tribe and common problems between the Tribe and the National Park Service. He spent a lot of time with them."

McKibbin: "A new superintendent has to know what the Navajo Tribe is. And he has to know that he’s right in the middle of them. Although he’s on a National Park Service enclave, he’s got to build a deal with them almost on a daily basis. And he’s got to know... who the local chapter officers are. And from there he should know the chain of command right up through the Tribal Council. Know who... the chairman is. And he needs to know some of the people in the tribal government... the natural and cultural resource people, the law enforcement people, the utility people... the Navajo Tribal Utility Authority. He should... know how they fit into the organizational scheme of things."

McKibbin: "You’re still in a community but it’s different. So you’ve got to understand that. A new superintendent, a lot of them, myself included, first superintendency, you come in pretty

37John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

38Ibid.

39Ibid.

40Kevin McKibbin, telephone interview with authors, April 27, 1991.

41Ibid.
bright-eyed and bushy-tailed, and you’re ready to take on the world...make your mark right now. [But] you’ve got to be very careful, especially in that environment. You’re going to fall right flat on your face...."  

Tom Vaughan recalls that Art White took him around to meet the Navajo officials. Tom made every effort to be involved with the Tribe, attending meetings at the local chapter house, becoming secretary of the Ganado Volunteer Fire Department, going out annually with the Navajo Police to qualify with firearms.  

Tom feels that the superintendent must look for opportunities to be involved with the Navajo. For example, when a local alcoholics group received some federal money for a project but needed lumber, Tom remembered that the NPS had been wanting to tear down the north bridge at the historic site. He sat down with the group and they agreed to take out the bridge just for the material it contained, at no extra cost to the government. And so that is how—and when—the north bridge was dismantled and removed. As Tom suggested, there just is not any organizational preparation available for such a place as Hubbell Trading Post. In his opinion, the person who is going to be effective in the superintendency of Hubbell Trading Post will be somebody who enjoys working in an area of cultural diversity.  

Dorothy Hubbell: "Sometimes if you get somebody in who is not familiar with the area at all..., well, he never gets the feeling of the place."  

However, as Tom Vaughan suggests, a person may not be sensitive to another culture just because he or she is familiar with the area. Juin Crosse echoes that sentiment: "Even though I was there as a child, I certainly felt like no authority on the culture. I did try to get some material in advance." She wanted to find out what some of the "dos and don'ts" were as far as the Navajo culture is concerned, but she found it difficult to find any good information. "You were just very lucky if you didn’t shoot yourself in the foot by doing something really insulting to somebody." She discovered when she was working on some problems that it wasn’t so much a matter of getting all of the Navajo to agree on an issue, it was mainly a matter of hoping that nobody would object. "They [the Navajo] almost never override opposition. It’s against their way. Total consensus is their way...."  

Juin Crosse discovered that it was difficult to have traditional Navajo supervising one another. Juin: "It is absolutely against their culture to criticize." And, she noted, the "supreme insult" among the Navajo is to ignore a person if he or she doesn’t approve of that person. Which, Juin
found out, can slow down progress a bit. She learned to be firm. If you cave in on an issue, the people will not respect you. [There seems to be a fine line here between standing up for one’s rights and what could possibly be perceived as Anglo arrogance.] Juin thought that if one retreated on too many issues, the Navajo would not respect one at all. And she does not think that it is in anybody’s best interest for a white person at a chapter meeting to just sit there and take abuse. Such abuse may occur, but if the Anglo simply accepts it, this may be, as far as the Navajo are concerned, a clue to that person’s character.48

One way Juin hoped to get the dam fixed was to try to get the Navajo themselves interested in farming Hubbell Trading Post NHS. If they were interested in farming the land, she reasoned, they would have to become interested in repairing the dam and the irrigation ditch. Juin: "We put out some special use permits to the schools...to get them over to do some farming. I was eager to try and get them interested because I thought that might also stir some community interest towards getting that irrigation ditch going again."49

Ed Gastellum tried to pick up where Juin had left off with the irrigation/dam/farming issue. He worked with local people associated with the tribal government. The Navajo would do the farming, maintain the ditches, and the proceeds from the sale of the hay would be split between the Tribe and the NPS. Ed didn’t get to the point of actually formulating an agreement. He was working on it, but the council delegates were involved in an election. Unfortunately, the council leadership changed, and a lot of the local interest in the project died. Ed: "The emphasis really died." Working with the Navajo, understanding their culture, adapting to the local environment, becoming a part of the community, was a tremendous challenge, Ed thought, but also a very positive experience.50

Ed remembers that when he first got to Ganado a council delegate came over to introduce himself right away, to welcome Ed to Ganado, to tell him that as superintendent of the historic site he was considered a vital part of the community. The council delegate invited Ed and his family to the chapter meeting, to be held that next Sunday, so that they could be introduced to the community. (John Cook: "If they invite you to a meeting, you’re the meeting.")51

Ed and his family arrived at the appointed time, 12:00 noon. People from the community trickled in, and Ed and his family got to meet everybody, but it wasn’t until four o’clock that there were sufficient people present to start the meeting. It was evident to Ed that the Navajo perception of time, and time over at the historic site, might be two different things. The fact that nothing seems to start “on time” can be a challenging concept for some Anglos.52

48Ibid.

49Ibid.

50Luis Edward Gastellum, telephone interview with authors, August 3, 1991.

51John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.

52Luis Edward Gastellum, telephone interview with authors, August 3, 1991.
Terry Nichols thought that it would be a good idea for a new administrator to know something about the Navajo ceremonial life, the mythology.53

Well, however one goes about getting to know the Navajo, the majority of the people who have gone through the experience agree that there always seems to be a "two-year getting acquainted courtship."54

Dorothy Hubbell, when it was suggested to her that it takes a couple of years to become a part of the community: "It does, it does. That’s right. Because we’re different. We’re all different. The Navajo are very careful about that. They may answer you, or they may not. They may just stand. But they are interesting people. When you can know them as individuals, they’re interesting people."55

Charlie Wyatt doesn’t think that most past superintendents were at the historic site long enough to get truly acquainted with the local community. Charlie: "And they are very gentle and very kind people."56

It took Charlie Wyatt two and a half years at the historic site before he didn’t have to invite himself places. After two and a half years, the local people started to invite Charlie; they came to understand that he had the good of the local community at heart. Charlie: "I’d say it would take two and a half years to start being effective and after that then you’ve got to play the cards as you see them. At least two and a half years before you would really be a contributing voice in the community."57

Tom Vaughan feels that the person who is superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post NHS should be one who enjoys a multi-cultural milieu. Tom does, and he came to appreciate the uniqueness of the remote historic site. Tom: "You really have a sense of being in another world when you step outside your door in August and hear drums...or, even more, in December when you’re standing at the front of the trading post seeing masked dancers coming down the entrance road. That’s when you realize you’re in someone else’s land."58

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53Terry Nichols, telephone interview with authors, February 16, 1991.


55Dorothy Hubbell, interview with authors, March 27, 1991.


57Ibid.

Figure 50. Sitsiji hózhóódooh shikéédéé’ hózhóódooh. (Before me peace, behind me peace.) Excerpt from Navajo prayer. A. Manchester photo.
From mule skinner to Director of the Southwest Region is the story of John Cook’s career with the National Park Service. And when he took that job in 1953 as a mule skinner at Saguaro National Monument he became the third generation of Cooks to be employed by the NPS (the Cooks’ daughter, Kayci, Chief of Interpretation at Apostle Island, is the fourth generation of the family to work for the NPS). By 1958 he was Administrative Officer at Chaco Canyon. After some time out for military service, he returned as Chief Park Ranger at Navajo National Monument, and from there he went to Yellowstone as a Sub-District Ranger.

Figure 51. John Cook, Superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post NHS from 1966-1969. NPS photo.
Cook returned to the Southwest as Assistant Superintendent at Canyon de Chelly, then moved to Hubbell Trading Post (in 1966) to bring the trading post into the National Park System. He was the new national monument's first superintendent. He then took over the joint superintendency of Hubbell Trading Post and Canyon de Chelly, and from that position he became the General Superintendent of the Navajolands Group, which included Aztec Ruins, Chaco Canyon, Canyon de Chelly, Hubbell Trading Post, El Morro, Wupatki, and Sunset Crater. He worked for a time in Scottsdale, Arizona, to establish the Southern Arizona Group, and then he left the Southwest for a time, off to San Francisco to take a Deputy Regional Director's job, then to Washington, D.C., as Associate Director of the National Park Service.

He returned to the Southwest in the mid-1970s to become Regional Director, but in less than two years he transferred to Alaska to assume the position as Alaska's first Regional Director. He left there in 1983 to be the Superintendent at Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

John Cook has been Regional Director of the Southwest Region again since 1986. His university studies were in business administration. Cook and his family went to Hubbell Trading Post before it was officially a national historic site, and they lived in what is called the Manager's Residence. He had a desk and a filing cabinet in what is now the jewelry room. He considers bringing Hubbell Trading Post into the National Park System one of the highlights of a long and varied career.
Wescoat Wolfe 1969

Wescoat Wolfe served Hubbell Trading Post as Superintendent from January 23, 1969, to February 9, 1969, less than a month. He came to Hubbell Trading Post to be the first historian at the site, and he served there under John Cook. Wolfe retired from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office as Chief of Interpretation.

Although Wolfe was superintendent for only a matter of weeks, he was at the historic site for quite a bit longer and it was at a crucial time, during the phasing out of Dorothy Hubbell’s administration and the phasing in of the NPS administration. He worked in the trading post in civilian clothes in order to learn the basics of the trading post business. His presence in those early days contributed a great deal to the historic site’s eventual success.

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1The authors were unable to locate Wescoat Wolfe so that he might have contributed to this administrative history. Others, especially Tom Vaughan, contributed the information for these brief biographical notes.
Figure 52. Bernard G. Tracy on 12 August, 1969. He was superintendent at the historic site from 1969 to 1971. John Cook is the man on the right. NPS photo by David Brugge.
Bernard G. Tracy, a native Arizonian, was Hubbell Trading Post's third superintendent, serving in that position from 10 August, 1969, to 6 February, 1971. He began his National Park Service career at Capitol Reef National Monument in 1960. He later transferred to the Navajo Lands Group where he was Maintenance Staff Officer until taking the position at Hubbell Trading Post.\(^2\)

Tracy's main contribution as superintendent was the remodeling of the Manager's Residence, and he did an outstanding job.\(^3\) Bernard Tracy is retired. He still lives in Arizona.

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\(^2\) *Gallup Independent*, 13 September, 1969.

\(^3\) John Cook, interview with authors, June 17, 1991.
Figure 53. Kevin McKibbin, who served first as acting superintendent and then was the fourth superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post NHS, 1971-1974. Friday Kinlicheenie, who started working at the trading post in about 1915, is shown here with Kevin. NPS Photo by Fred Mang, SWRO Library. NG. 74-1782-4-10.
Kevin McKibbin 1971-1974

Kevin McKibbin arrived at Hubbell Trading Post in February of 1971 to be Acting Superintendent, coming from Canyon de Chelly where he had been Chief Ranger. He was Acting Superintendent until May, 1971, at which time he was selected to be the Superintendent. Kevin remained at Hubbell Trading Post as Superintendent until August of 1974.

McKibbin was no stranger to the area. Starting in 1938, he would visit the Hopi country every year with his mother to see the snake dances. These annual trips took them across the Navajo Nation. He recalls that he bought his first .22 rifle at the Hubbell Trading Post at Oraibi. He served in the military during the Korean War. While he was at the University of New Mexico, studying for a degree in geology, he took a job with an engineering firm that was doing some surveying in each Navajo community that had a chapter house. The tribe was rebuilding all of the chapter houses, surveying the land on which they stand. This experience gave Kevin a chance to visit most areas of the Navajo Nation and gain a good understanding of the land and the people.

After graduation from the university, he found a job at Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory where he stayed from 1959 until 1964, at which time he entered the National Park Service at Timpanogos Cave. By March of 1967, McKibbin was at Navajo National Monument as Supervisory Park Ranger, but in March of 1968 he was transferred to Canyon de Chelly to be Chief Ranger. He remained until February of 1971 when he assumed the position of Acting Superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post. He was Superintendent at Pea Ridge National Military Park, Arkansas, from August 1974 until August 1977. McKibbin returned to the Southwest to become Chief of Interpretation and Protection (Chief Ranger) at Bandelier National Monument until he retired in January 1988.

Kevin recalls that he livened up the barnyard scene at Hubbell Trading Post by importing retired horses and mules from the Grand Canyon. He introduced turkeys and peacocks. Some stabilization work was done on a barn wall and at Wide Reed Ruin. Kevin tried to upgrade the interpretive program, and for a time women employees in period costumes could be seen around the trading post, a touch of living history. An attempt was made to control erosion in the Colorado Wash upstream of Wide Reed Ruin by installing gabions. The north side of the ruin was excavated and mapped.

McKibbin is now retired and he and his wife reside in Los Alamos, New Mexico.
Tom Vaughan was Superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post from August, 1974, to January, 1978. He had been with the Park Service for about ten years before he arrived in Ganado, coming from Point Reyes National Seashore where he was Assistant Chief Naturalist. His interest in the Park Service began when he was in school and worked several seasons as a seasonal ranger at Mesa Verde. He is a native of Wisconsin. He has an undergraduate degree in sociology and did graduate work in anthropology. He feels his five years in Hawaii were very important for his success at Hubbell Trading Post. His first permanent position was at City of Refuge National Historic Park, then at Maui as a District Ranger at Haleakala National Park. His experience there as a member of a minority, as a member of a linguistic minority, would help him when he arrived at Hubbell Trading Post.

Figure 54. Thomas G. Vaughan, Superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post NHS from 1974 to 1977. NPS photo.
Some of Tom’s accomplishments at the trading post: The effort of searching for period restoration was dropped in favor of simply trying to keep the site looking as much as possible as it did when the Park Service inherited the place from Dorothy Hubbell. Developing a Collection Management Plan, the first for the NPS, and implementing it with an on-site qualified Curator, improving storage conditions for the collection, and getting many thousands of dollars of project into the funding pipeline. Vaughan was instrumental in blocking the ascendancy of John Young to his father’s position as trader, and this resulted in the establishment of some standards for future traders: fluency in the Navajo language, active marketing and the improvement of crafts, the establishment of the philosophy that the traders at Hubbell’s should consider "how much can I sell this item for and how much of that can I pay the maker," rather than "how little can I buy this for and how much profit can I make." The Ganado Fire Department was integrated with Hubbell Trading Post, for the benefit of both. And it was established that at least one of the Ranger positions should require some Navajo language and cultural requirements. It was a busy and important three years for Hubbell Trading Post.

From October of 1977 to August of 1980 he was Superintendent of Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site; then, from August of 1980 and on into 1982 he was Chief, Branch of Conservation Laboratories, Division of Museum Service, Harpers Ferry. In 1982 he became a Staff Curator, Chief Curator’s Staff, at Harpers Ferry, a position he held until 1985. From 1985 until 1989 he was Superintendent, Chaco Culture NHP; and in 1989 he accepted a position as Interpretive Specialist at Anasazi Heritage Center, Dolores, Colorado.
Juin Crosse 1978-1980

Juin Crosse is another of Hubbell Trading Post’s Superintendents who was not a stranger to the Navajo Nation. Her father was a lawyer for the Bureau of Indian Services. She came to Window Rock in 1952, lived there for two years, and then she lived in Gallup for four years. One of her friends was the daughter of a trader at St. Michaels.

Figure 55. Juin Crosse, Superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post NHS from 1978-1980. NPS photo.
Juin assumed the Superintendency at Hubbell Trading Post on 29 January, 1978, coming from Redwood National Park where she had been Administrative Officer.

Juin entered the Park Service in August, 1966, at Fire Island National Seashore as a clerk-typist. She then moved to Flagstaff where she did general clerical work for the Administrative Officer. When the office there was dissolved, she went to Phoenix and moved into procurement work. From Phoenix she transferred to Washington, D.C. to take part in the Management Development Plan, then on to Redwood National Park for three years as Administrative Officer. She was in the Park Service for twelve years before assuming her first Superintendency, Hubbell Trading Post.

Activities at the trading post while Juin Crosse was there: Some major work on the Hubbell home was accomplished, the removal of straw and mud from the inner layer of the roof in order to cut down the fire hazard. Part of the back of the barn was taken down and reassembled in order to help stabilize the building. Some work was done on the porch at the front of the house. An interpretive prospectus was developed. She was concerned about getting water through the irrigation ditches, although that never came to pass. She was instrumental in getting the old schoolhouse (the present Visitor Center and site offices) transferred to the Park Service.

After Hubbell Trading Post, Juin moved on to Superintendencies at Fort McHenry National Monument and Hampton National Historic Site. She was in that area for five years when family illness forced her to take a leave of absence. After a year or two away from the Park Service, she returned at a time of severe reductions of personnel. Not entirely pleased with where the Park Service wanted to place her, she took a job with another federal agency. She retired after twenty-five years of service with the federal government.

Juin Crosse is now married to Mr. Elliott Adams. They spend part of the year at their home in Blowing Rock, North Carolina, the winter months in Florida.
"I left Hubbell Trading Post in May of 1984 and my enthusiasm for the area has not diminished." Ed Gastellum was superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post from 8 January, 1981, to 28 April, 1984. He is presently the Assistant Superintendent for the North Cascades National Park Service Complex, but he remembers the trading post as a "superb" cultural resource where "so much there...talks of times past and yet life goes on and changes...takes place slowly, reluctantly."

Ed's first permanent position with the Park Service was in 1973 at Tumacacori National Monument. However, his seasonal jobs with the Park Service, while he was still in school (BS from Northern Arizona University, social anthropology, business administration), were at Fort Washington National Historic Site and Oxen Hill Animal Farm in 1967; at Lake Powell National Recreation Area in 1971 and 1972; and at Organ Pipe National Monument in 1973, just after college and prior to going to Tumacacori. He stayed at Tumacacori for just ten months, then moved to Yosemite for two years as Administrative Assistant to the Chief Ranger for the Protection Division. In 1976 he transferred to the Albright Training Center, Grand Canyon, for four years as Administrative Officer. He left Albright for the superintendency of Hubbell Trading Post. After three and a half years at the trading post, he moved down to Petrified Forest National Park where he was Superintendent for five years, and from Petrified Forest he transferred to North Cascades, where he arrived in 1989.

Some major and minor projects while Ed was at Hubbell: maintaining the historical aspect of the site while at the same time creating a road surface to the trading post that would not turn into a quagmire in the winter (before that, it was possible to see ruts a foot deep in the road); the Visitor center was reroofed, vigas replaced; the restroom was completed (work on it had started prior to his arrival); major work on the collection storage area, the Hubbell home, the Bread Oven, the covered area for the wagons and farm implements, and the barn; efforts to complete the cataloguing and documentation of the collection; rehabilitation work on the farm equipment, wagons, and farm implements; historic preservation work contracted for and completed; completion of some of the planning documents; outlining what was needed for housing. A lot of this work was done as part of the Park Restoration Improvement Program.

Ed Gastellum, a native Southwesterner and a second-generation NPS employee, lived in and around the Navajo Reservation for thirteen years. As he said about Hubbell Trading Post as a career experience: "A lot happened while I was there. For me, it was a valuable experience that I will always remember with affection and pride."
Barry Cooper 1984-1986

Barry Cooper's experience with the Park Service started when he graduated from high school and went to work for the park concessioner at Mesa Verde. He worked summers there all through college, plus one full year when he took some time off to build up his savings. His degree, in geology, is from Colorado State University.

Figure 56. Barry Cooper, Superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post NHS from 1984 to 1986. NPS photo.
A recent college graduate in 1964, he volunteered for the Peace Corps and was assigned to Chile (a "maturing experience," he notes) where he worked in a rural community development program, attempting to help people in an agrarian reform colony set up a consumer co-op where they would have a place to buy groceries and other items.

On his return from Chile in 1966 he went to work for the Park Service as a seasonal at Mesa Verde. In January of '67 he started work at Petrified Forest as a seasonal. Nine months later he went to the Albright Training Center, then to Kings Canyon for a year on a training assignment. The next three years were at Platte National Park (Chickasaw National Recreation Area), then back to Kings Canyon as a Sub-District Ranger for two years.

After a year at Mendocino with the California State Park System on a ranger exchange program, he transferred to Scotts Bluff National Monument. Cooper went to Haleakala National Park in 1978 as District Ranger of the Crater District, then became Chief Ranger of the park. He assumed the superintendency of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site in July of 1984. In June of 1986 Cooper moved to Aztec Ruins National Monument to become Superintendent there, and he has been there ever since.

What Barry Cooper feels were the main accomplishments during his tenure at Hubbell Trading Post NHS: He promoted the hiring of American Indians to permanent positions on the staff; four out of five such positions were filled by local Navajo. He initiated the first comprehensive exhibits in the Visitor Center. Fire detection and protection systems were installed in the Administrative/Visitor Center building and the barn. There was restoration work on the bunkhouse, bread oven and many pieces of farm machinery; and storage conditions were improved for a portion of the museum collection.

Barry Cooper recalls Hubbell Trading Post for its unique preservation of a living cultural heritage.
Doug McChristian surrendered the command of Fort Davis National Historic Site to assume the Superintendency of Hubbell Trading Post. He moved from cavalry post to trading post. He had been Superintendent at Fort Davis for six years, so when he came to Ganado he was one of the most experienced of Hubbell Trading Post's Superintendents. And a good thing he was, because the ranks were pretty thin when he arrived. He had no clerk-typist. The Chief Ranger announced that he would resign in order to pursue a career in the movie industry. The Maintenance Foreman was a rookie. Doug's wife, Mary, helped out wherever she could until some people could be recruited and trained. Among the good people who transferred to the trading post were Rich and Cindy Simmons, and McChristian feels that their inclusion in the ranks of Hubbell Trading Post personnel was one of the successes of his tenure there.

Other accomplishments and activities during the year Doug was at the trading post: Updating the various cyclic funding programs. Culling and updating the Multi-Year Planning and Development Program. Rewriting the Resources Management Plan. A lot of effort went into trying to get the proposed employee housing off dead center (in his opinion, better housing is essential for the good morale of the employees there). Rip-rap was put into Pueblo Colorado Wash. A large portion of the stone fence around the yard of the Hubbell home was taken down, rebuilt, and stabilized with a concrete footing. New exhibits in the Visitor Center were installed (a project started by Barry Cooper). The platform on which the weavers work was installed. A cyclic maintenance program was organized, the cyclic cultural maintenance rehab program improved.

McChristian joined the Park Service at Fort Larned as a seasonal. After graduation from college in 1969 (Fort Hays State University, Kansas), he returned to Fort Larned for another season. Then, after a series of temporary assignments, he assumed his first permanent position, at Fort Davis, where he became Supervisor Park Ranger/Park Historian. After three years at Fort Davis, he was posted to Fort Laramie National Historic Site as Supervisory Historian. In 1978 he transferred to the Southwest Regional Office to be Historian in the Interpretive Division. Doug left SWRO in 1980 to return to Fort Davis, this time as Superintendent.

Doug McChristian has always been interested in military history, especially the military history of the 1870s, so when a position that he was interested in opened up at Fort Union National Monument he applied and was accepted. He was stationed at Fort Union from 1987 to 1989, then he was posted to Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, formerly Custer Battlefield National Monument, where he is now Supervisory Historian.
Chapter XVI

Charles D. Wyatt 1987 - present

Charlie Wyatt has been with the National Park Service for all of his adult life. The notion that he wanted to be a Park Ranger came to him "just out of the blue" while he was still a senior in high school. He now has thirty-four years with the Park Service and he has been Superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site since December 6, 1987.

Charlie’s father was a Park Ranger at Casa Grande and Canyon de Chelly National Monuments before World War II. Charlie himself started to work for the Park Service seasonally when he was nineteen and still in college, then went to work for the Park Service as soon as he finished college, taking a position at Carlsbad Caverns as a Tour Leader. After fifteen months at Carlsbad, he transferred to Bandelier for about a year and a half, then moved to Petrified Forest as a Park Ranger. After only six months or so at Petrified Forest, he transferred to Lake Mead National Recreation Area for about two and a half years; he was first a radio dispatcher and then, at the Willow Beach Sub-District, a Sub-District Ranger. Charlie Wyatt was the first permanent year-round Ranger assigned to Natural Bridges, soon after Canyonlands National Park was established. He spent some time in the Needles District of the Canyonlands Group and also in the Island in the Sky District. He was the first River Ranger at Canyonlands (in charge of river traffic).

Charlie Wyatt’s first tour of duty in administration was at Timpanogos Cave National Monument as Administrative Officer. After a year in Utah, he was selected to attend the Departmental Manager Training Course at the National Park Service headquarters. While in Washington he worked in the finance branch, then in the training division as the Administrative Officer. His next move was to the Grand Canyon to be Administrative Officer for the training center there. Returning to the East, he became Administrative Officer at Wolf Trap Farm Park in Virginia for two years, then moved to Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park as Chief Ranger for seven years, and for the next eight years he was at Fort Sumter. Charlie was transferred from Fort Sumter to become Superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post NHS, his first superintendency.

Some of the accomplishments during Charlie Wyatt’s tenure at the trading post: Work on employee housing has moved forward; three or four three-bedroom houses will be started in FY92. It is hoped that five or six more houses will go up the next year. An erosion control project along the stream was completed since Charlie has been at Hubbell. The Trading post, curatorial storage building, and the Hubbell home were reroofed. The barn was reroofed (again). The site has been almost fully computerized; Hubbell Trading Post has electronic access to the regional office. The storage cellar behind the office was converted to a library. The Guest Hogan is being restored so that it can be used by Park Service personnel who have work at the site. The fire suppression system was rearranged; the Hubbell home is now on a separate system, and the Manager’s Residence (Ranger’s Residence) had sprinklers installed under the same contract. Charlie’s future plans include an expansion of the office area.

Charlie Wyatt enjoys being Superintendent of Hubbell Trading Post. The historic site, the general area, and his neighbors suit him perfectly.
Acting Superintendents

1. Kevin McKibbin: February to May, 1971, at which time he was appointed Superintendent.

2. Kent Bush: Kent is now Regional Curator, Pacific Northwest Region. He was Acting Superintendent at Hubbell Trading Post during part of 1980. He was the first Curator there.

3. Elizabeth Bauer: May and June, 1984; and October to December, 1987. She is now at Mesa Verde. Her primary job at Hubbell Trading Post was as Curator.

In Tony Hillerman’s novel *Skinwalkers* Navajo policeman Jim Chee drives miles through the rainy boondocks to find a hogan that belongs to the Goldtooth "outfit." Once he found the place, Chee did not pull right up to it, dismount, and knock on the door. Among conservative Navajo, such a sudden approach could be considered impolite. Instead, Chee parked a little away from the house and left his car lights on until the front door opened and a woman appeared there making the traditional welcoming motion to Chee before going back inside and leaving the door slightly ajar for him. It was details like Chee’s considerate approach to the hogan that caused Dorothy Hubbell to enjoy Hillerman’s novels and approve of them for showing how a Navajo would correctly react to a given situation. Her own copy of *Skinwalkers* is inscribed "From Tony to Dorothy."

The Navajo like Hillerman’s books because they tend to make the Navajo "look good," although real Navajo policemen maintain that Hillerman makes them look too good. In any case, if one wants to do some light reading about the Navajo, Hillerman’s novels are a good place to start. He even mentions a few fictitious traders, and from all accounts he gets them right. Our own Hillerman favorites are *The People of Darkness* and *The Dark Wind*.

In mentioning Tony Hillerman, we don’t feel that we are bumbling into triviality. One of our history professors at the University of New Mexico always insisted that his students not forget to look into the novels written on their particular field of study. Hillerman writes well about the country, and apparently he writes well about the people who live in the country.

During the writing of this administrative history, we embarked on a reading project that we soon discovered could have been almost endless. Although the good books written about the traders themselves can be counted on one hand, the many studies devoted to the Indians who trade at Hubbell Trading Post are legion. Locked up as they are in the middle of the United States, the Hopi, Navajo, and Zuñi have been studied by every anthropologist worth his or her salt and with the bus fare to get them into Indian Country. We won’t burden the reader with the titles of all the books we looked into. Instead, we’ll discuss only those we feel deserve to be mentioned here. Most of these books have extensive bibliographies should the reader’s interest be roused by a particular area of study.

Our own reading started--fortunately, we feel--with Frank McNitt’s *The Indian Traders*. This book, a general history of the development of the Indian trader in the Southwest, is basic, gives the reader a good overview of the subject, and does include an account of the early years at Hubbell Trading Post. While speaking of McNitt’s work, we should mention his *Richard Wetherill: Anasazi*. Since the Wetherills were traders to the Navajo, the book can be included here although its main thrust is the study of the Wetherills as early archeologists in the region. It’s good background reading as far as the Anasazi are concerned and like all of McNitt’s work is entertaining as well as informative.

At the opposite end of the pole from *The Indian Traders* is William Y. Adams’ *Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navajo Community*. Where McNitt is general and historical, Adams is modern and specific. McNitt is historian and writer, Adams a trained
anthropologist who also worked in the trading post at Shonto as a trader. Adams writes with authority and a sense of humor about life at a trading post. Shonto was his doctoral dissertation. The book deserves to be read by anybody interested in the Navajo and their trading posts; it should be required reading for those who must know about the nitty-gritty of modern trading post life.

*Traders to the Navajos: The Story of the Wetherills of Kayenta*, by Frances Gillmor and Louisa Wade Wetherill, was informative but did not, as far as we are concerned, live up to its reputation. Written in the 1930s, it may just be starting to show its age. We found that it romanticized the role of the trader in a most irritating way. (Dorothy Hubbell: "They [the Wethererills] were after all just people.")

A valuable work by one of the old-time traders is *Navajo Trader*, by Gladwell Richardson, which has a forward by Barry Goldwater. Goldwater knew the Richardsons, a well-known trading family in Navajo country. From our point of view, the book seemed to be a good autobiographical look at the early days of trading post life by a literate man who knew how to whip together a good yarn. Ned Danson, who knew Richardson, told us that he found the book "interesting." Dorothy Hubbell admitted to having read *Navajo Trader* but would not comment beyond that, possibly because Richardson mentions a couple of amusing incidents that do not put the Hubbells in a totally good light. An interesting note on Gladwell Richardson: Starting in the 1930s and continuing up into the 1950s, Richardson wrote dozens of western novels, none of which—as far as we can determine—have survived. *Navajo Trader* was written late in Richardson's life and published posthumously. The book must have benefited considerably from his many years of practice on innumerable sagebrush sagas.

One well-recommended book that we did not find entirely useful was Joseph Schmedding's *Cowboy and Indian Trader*. That is, Schmedding was first a cowboy and then became an Indian trader, operating the post at Keams Canyon up into the 1920s. Just a few—but interesting—chapters have any relevancy to trading posts. Schmedding's raging conservatism spoils the book. As far as he is concerned, nothing was ever the same after the advent of "talkies" and "high-heeled pumps." He spends too much time lamenting the passing of the Good Old Days when men were men and women were (allegedly) too demure to notice.

An utterly charming book that we stumbled across is Earle R. Forrest's *With a Camera in Old Navaholand*. Forrest was a very young man in the early days of the century when he decided to adventure Way Out West and be a cowboy for the summer. He carried an unwieldy camera with him. During that summer, Forrest loaded his camera and plates on his pony and meandered down out of Colorado to a trading post in the northern part of the Navajo Nation. While there, he photographed the trader's customers who drifted in out of the hinterland. The book is a good description of life at a very remote trading post of the era and is loaded with interesting photographs. Forest returned to the Southwest many times in the following years, continuing his photography of the country and the people. The photographs are good and thousands of them were willed to the Museum of Northern Arizona. This must be an extraordinarily valuable and interesting collection.

As far as the trading posts are concerned, books on the subject, good or bad, do not cover a wide space on the shelf. The last one we will mention here is by Elizabeth Campton Hegemann,
Navaho Trading Days. This book should be reviewed if for no other reason then to study with never-ending fascination its 380 photographs. The flavor of the era in the remote corners of the Nation is captured here. This book does not seem to be well known; it should be.

As we mentioned earlier, books on the Indians themselves are so numerous that we will discuss only those that turned out to be the most useful to us. A few come recommended as standards, others we discovered as we poked around in libraries.

One old standby is The Navaho, by Clyde Kluckhorn and Dorothea Leighton. Originally published in 1946 (later revised), it’s dated. But good. The forward, in the 1962 edition, by Stanley A. Freed, declares that The Navaho is "the most useful and authoritative general ethnology on the Navajo." Not being students of the science, we have no way of knowing whether or not that’s still true. There are some anachronisms in the book. These days, one doesn’t often see Navajo men got up in breechcloths and headbands. On the other hand, some Navajo women are undoubtedly still "shrewish," shrewishness not being exclusively a matter of time—...—or race, for that matter.

Our understanding of the Navajo is that they are a conservative people, although not as conservative as their neighbors, the Hopi. In any case, The Navaho is still considered to be a good general overview of Navajo ways. We feel The Navaho should be read by anybody going to spend some time in the Nation. Having studied the book, we felt more comfortable in the Nation, more like knowledgeable neighbors than ignorant strangers. The authors discuss the history of the Navajo, the land they now occupy, their government, the supernatural, their language, their view of life, and much more. It was the one good general "guidebook" to the Navajo that we came across.

A book that attempts much the same thing as Kluckhorn and Leighton’s The Navaho is Ruth M. Underhill’s The Navajos. Much of this book may have been (we read elsewhere) derived from Charles A. Amsden’s Navajo Weaving. One advantage of Underhill’s book is that it is written in a very simple style (Dorothy Hubbell: "She talked that way."). However, the book is informative, easy to read, and still useful.

If indeed Ruth Underhill poked into Amsden’s Navajo Weaving for information and inspiration, she picked the right book. Navajo Weaving is a surprise; it’s as much about everything else in Navajo life as it is about their weaving. Of all the background reading we did for this project, we can suggest this as another good choice if one doesn’t have a lot of time for reading. This is probably the definitive book on Navajo weaving, at least up to 1934 when the book was published; Amsden carries the reader into the "revival" period. Although a little too prejudiced in favor of the earlier periods of Navajo weaving, we feel, Amsden makes many fortunate detours into other areas, basket making, silversmithing—and just about every other facet of Navajo life he was aware of in his day. This is an extremely valuable work. A logical companion book to Navajo Weaving is John Adair’s The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths. Here is just about everything you could want to know about Navajo and Pueblo silversmithing between the years 1880 and about 1940. The book was first published in 1944, but it has been—deservedly—republished several times since then. Like Navajo Weaving, The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmith is about a lot more than its title would lead a reader to believe. Adair’s book is as entertaining as it is informative. Charles Amsden’s and John Adair’s books are classics of the genre.
An author whose several books one might look at for a sensitive view of Navajo life is Gladys A. Reichard. Reichard died in the 1950s. She was an instructor at Barnard College who liked to spend summers in Navajo country. She passed a lot of time in the Ganado area. Reichard mentions the folks at Hubbell Trading Post where she would go for supplies and to visit. Our own favorite among her works is *Spider Woman*, a copy of which was given to us by Dorothy Hubbell when we visited with her in Sun City. In *Spider Woman* Reichard recounts her adventures and misadventures as she undertakes to learn weaving from the Navajo women she's living with. She also takes part in many of the family's other activities, including a four-day sing. Reichard's works are valuable for their pleasing and intimate glimpses into the nitty-gritty of Navajo life before that way of life became exceedingly integrated with the surrounding white culture.

For a look at the more bellicose side of the Navajo experience, the reader can look at *The Navajo Wars*, by Frank McNitt; *The Long Walk*, by Lynn R. Bailey; and *Navajo Roundup*, by Lawrence Kelly.

In our opinion, any book by McNitt is a good choice. The Foreword in the edition of *The Navajo Wars* we read was written by Robert Utley, retired NPS historian, who did much work at Hubbell Trading Post. We found Lynn Bailey's *The Long Walk* to be an easy to ready account of the military campaigns against the Navajo and their resulting exile to Bosque Redondo. *Navajo Roundup*, by Kelly, may be the least valuable of the works but it is an interesting look at the "selected correspondence" of the military involved in the capture and exile of the Navajo in the 1860s, actual correspondence being sometimes more revealing than a historian's interpretation of same.

We won't discuss in detail any of the books we looked at in reference to the Hopi and the Zuñi. The reader will have his or her hands full with books about the Navajo, which, as far as Hubbell Trading Post is concerned, is the main issue. However, two of the more interesting books we came across during research were books of photographs of the Hopi. The photographs in these books were taken in the early part of the century. Since then, the Hopi have become more conservative about allowing outsiders to photograph their rites and daily life. Possibly the more interesting of these books is *The Hopi Photographs, Kate Cory: 1905-1912*. In spite of the bulky equipment she was using, Kate Cory's photographs would compare favorably with photographs taken today—if the Hopi would still allow it, and if some of the practices photographed by Cory had not disappeared from the Hopi way of life. Today, her photographs are of interest to the Hopi themselves.

A bibliographic essay on books about trading posts, Indians, and related subjects could stretch on to an intolerable length. Let this suffice. It will soon become apparent to the interested student that a lifetime could be spent covering all of the reading that can be done in these areas.

**Documents, Studies, Correspondence, and Interviews**

The many plans and research studies that were used in the preparation of this administrative history are on file at the historic site, most of them in the Curator's office. A few, such as the erosion study, were found at the SWRO library in Santa Fe. Most of the documents, although possibly dated, have information not mentioned here that might be valuable to future
administrators. Virtually all of them proved useful in one way or another for this administrative history.

On file on the site's Curator's office is what appears to be most of the pertinent correspondence in reference to legislative history. Copies of the correspondence and documents found at the offices of SPMA, in reference to their initial involvement at Hubbell Trading Post, are now on file in the site's Curator's office.

**Interviews Recorded For This Administrative History**

- Kent Bush
- John E. Cook
- Charles B. Cooper
- Juin Crosse Adams
- Edward B. Danson
- Luis Edward Gastellum
- Bill Gentless
- Alan R. Grieve
- Dorothy S. Hubbell
- Billy Gene Malone
- Terry E. Maze
- Douglas C. McChristian
- Kevin McKibbin
- Theresa Nichols
- Robert M. Utley
- Thomas G. Vaughan
- Charles D. Wyatt

The tapes and the transcriptions of those tapes are all on file at Hubbell Trading Post NHS. But many other people were interviewed. Various aspects of the trading post were discussed with SPMA employees at the trading post and during our research trip to Tucson. It would seem that a majority of the NPS employees at the historic site were interviewed, although Charlie Wyatt's conversation is the only one of those interviews that is recorded. People other than NPS and SPMA employees were interviewed while we were in Ganado. Trying to get objective points of view in reference to the historic site, we talked to at least a dozen people while we were staying in hospital housing and having meals at the Sage Cafe.

But many insights into Hubbell Trading Post came by surprise and from surprising sources. When we told Mary Alice Bowlin, the owner of our favorite bookstore in New Mexico, what we were working on, she revealed that she had stayed at Hubbell Trading Post for quite some time in the 1940s and that she had known many of the people who figured in its history. Her stories were valuable to us. An old friend, Mark MacCurdy, of Albuquerque, told us that he used to drop by Hubbell Trading Post when he was driving across the reservation on business. That would have been in the early 1960s, before the trading post became a historic site. He liked to poke around in what is now the Rug Room, investigating old books and documents there. The post was fascinating, he said, and he would quite forget that he was supposed to be there on business. Dorothy Hubbell would join him when she could, and Mark related that Dorothy "had a story for every happening recorded in the letters and journals."
After a time, encounters with people who had visited the trading post way back when came as less of a surprise to us. We concluded that in spite of what the map might indicate, all roads must eventually lead to Hubbell Trading Post.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Kains, M.G. *Five Acres and Independence*. New York: Greenberg, Publisher, 1941.


Magazines


Videos


*A Weave of Time: A Navajo Family Through Four Generations*. National Endowment for the Humanities, 209 Oñate Hall, Corner Girard and Campus, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87131.
Farming and Gardening Books Found at Hubbell Trading Post


The University of Arizona College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station. *Timely Hints for Farmers No. 141*. The University of Arizona: Tucson, Arizona, 1922.
APPENDICES
Public Law 89-148

APPENDIX B

To authorize the establishment of the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, in the State of Arizona, for other purposes.

AN ACT

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purpose of establishing the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to purchase with donated funds or funds appropriated for the purpose, at a price to be agreed upon between the Secretary and the owner or owners, not to exceed the fair market value, the site and remaining structures of the Hubbell Trading Post at Ganado, Arizona, including the contents of cultural and historical value, together with such additional land and interests in land as in his discretion are needed to preserve and protect the post and its environs for the benefit and enjoyment of the public: Provided. That the total area so acquired shall not exceed one hundred and sixty acres: Provided further, That the amount of land retained for the purpose herebefore stated shall not be in excess of that amount of land reasonably required to carry out the purposes of this Act, and any excess land, together with water rights, shall be offered for sale to the Navajo Indian Tribe at a price per acre equal to the per-acre price paid for the total area, excluding structures and contents thereof.

Sec. 2. Upon a determination by the Secretary of the Interior that sufficient land, structures, and other property have been acquired by the United States for the national historic site, as provided in section 1 of this Act, such property shall be established as the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, and thereafter shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (30 Stat. 555), as amended. An order of the Secretary, constituting notice of such establishment, shall be published in the Federal Register.

Sec. 3. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated not more than $952,990 for the acquisition of lands and interests in land and the contents of the Hubbell Trading Post which are of cultural and historical value and for development costs in connection with the national historic site as provided in this Act.

Approved August 28, 1965.
SUPPLEMENTAL MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT between NATIONAL PARK SERVICE and SOUTHWEST PARKS AND MONUMENTS ASSOCIATION for OPERATION OF HUBBELL TRADING POST, HUBBELL TRADING POST NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, Ganado, Arizona

This SUPPLEMENTAL AGREEMENT is made and entered into this 26th day of MARCH, 1985 by the Regional Director, Southwest Region, National Park Service, hereinafter referred to as the NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, and by the Chairman of the Board, SOUTHWEST PARKS AND MONUMENTS ASSOCIATION, hereinafter referred to as the ASSOCIATION.

This SUPPLEMENT is made in accordance with Section 4, "Supplemental Agreements," of the Agreement between the NATIONAL PARK SERVICE and SOUTHWEST PARKS AND MONUMENTS ASSOCIATION dated the 6th day of January 1978. It establishes guidelines under which the ASSOCIATION will operate Hubbell Trading Post, a feature at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.

Hubbell Trading Post was established in 1876 by John Lorenzo Hubbell for trade with the Navajo Indian. The trading post was operated continuously by the Hubbell family for over ninety years. In 1965, Hubbell Trading Post was established as a national historic site (P.L. 89-148) with the express purpose of operating a "living trading post," rather than a museum, where park visitors would be able to experience the ongoing traditions of Indian trading.

The National Park Service requested that Southwest Parks and Monuments Association assume the Hubbell Trading Post operations consistent with this mandate. Southwest Parks and Monuments Association assumed the trading post operations in 1967. It is in the joint interests of the ASSOCIATION and the
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE for the ASSOCIATION to continue to operate the trading post, and to carry on related operational activities at Hubbell Trading Post.

Now, therefore, it is agreed,

The ASSOCIATION will:

1. Conduct the trading operations at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site throughout the year.

2. Conduct the trading operations based on the historical traditions of Hubbell Trading Post and Indian trading, while allowing for a continuing evolution of its practices and operations, to ensure the perpetuation of an active trading post for interpretation to the public. Consistent with this activity, the ASSOCIATION will buy and sell a range of Indian arts and crafts, operate a general and grocery store, and carry on related trading activities as an integral part of the interpretive program at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site. The interpretive mission of the trading operation shall take precedence over profit.

All net profits from the trading operation will, directly or indirectly, support the educational, interpretive and scientific research programs of the National Park Service.

3. Ensure that all Indian arts and crafts items are genuine and produced solely by Native Americans.

4. Comply with all applicable Public Health regulations related to its general and grocery store operations.

5. Employ such personnel as are necessary to operate the trading post, including a trader/manager and other supervisory personnel, and sales clerks/interpreters. These employees are essential aid to the interpretive intent of this "living trading post."

Employ a Navajo weaver[s] to demonstrate the art of weaving to the visiting public as an integral aid to the interpretive program.

6. Provide adequate insurance coverage as required by National Park Service regulations and guidelines set forth in NPS-32.

7. Provide the necessary personnel and materials for regular cleaning of the store, rug room, warehouse, jewelry and office room.

Maintain the necessary equipment to operate the general and grocery store and to meet applicable public health standards.
3. Incur the cost of utilities associated with operating the trading post, the Hubbell home, and the visitor center as contribution to the NPS.

4. At its discretion, provide housing for ASSOCIATION personnel within the NPS housing area at the national historic site and ensure that such quarters are maintained according to standards set forth by the NATIONAL PARK SERVICE.

The NATIONAL PARK SERVICE will:

1. Maintain, and provide necessary repairs to all buildings, parts of buildings, and associated utility systems that the ASSOCIATION must utilize to conduct its operations.

2. Ensure that the access road, parking area, and grounds of the trading post are maintained.

3. Provide, on a reimbursable basis, trailer space (or other housing) for association housing at rates established for NPS employees, not to exceed six (6) spaces.

4. Provide training to ensure that ASSOCIATION personnel are qualified to provide accurate interpretation and information to park visitors.

5. Submit bills of collection to the ASSOCIATION monthly for all reimbursable services provided.

6. Approve pricing of interpretive and educational items offered for sale to park visitors.

The NATIONAL PARK SERVICE and the ASSOCIATION jointly will:

1. Agree on the hours of operation for the trading post.

2. Conduct periodic reviews to ensure adherence to the above standards and guidelines.

Revenue that the ASSOCIATION receives in excess of expenses will be deposited in the ASSOCIATION's general account and will, directly or indirectly, support the educational, interpretive, and scientific research programs of the NATIONAL PARK SERVICE for the benefit of park visitors.
The effective date of this agreement shall be April 4, 1985 and continue for a period of ten years. This agreement will automatically renew for additional ten year periods. A ninety (90) day notice of cancellation, withcause, maybe given by either party at any time. This SUPPLEMENT may be modified by written consent of both parties.

In witness thereof, this SUPPLEMENT is hereby approved:

For NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

[Signature]
Acting Regional Director

For SOUTHWEST PARKS AND MONUMENTS ASSOCIATION

[Signature]
Chairman, Board of Directors
MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Between

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

and

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

Article I. Background and Objectives

 Authorities include, but are not limited to:


 National Historic Preservation Act 16 U.S.C. 470 et seq. and amendments

 National Environmental Policy Act 42 U.S.C. 4371 et seq.


 Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's regulations regarding
"Protection of Historic Properties" 36 C.F.R. 800

 Secretary of the Interior's "Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology
and Historic Preservation" FR 48:44716-40

 The Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site was established by

18f), the United States of America through the Department of the
Interior, National Park Service, hereafter referred to as the
Service, is authorized to accept donations of personal property as
museum property.

 On July 15, 1970, Dorothy S. Hubbell, Mrs. LaCharles Goodman
Eckel, and Mr. John Lorenzo Hubbell, donated to the Service,
papers and business records relating to the Hubbell Trading Post,
hereafter referred to as the collection.

 The University of Arizona, hereafter referred to as the
University, desires the collection to be archived in its library.

 The collection will be loaned by the Service to the University for
title to the collection and all parts thereof shall remain vested
in the United States.

 The collection will be maintained in the special collection
section in the University library which includes high storage
standards relative to fire, theft, temperature and humidity.
Appendices

Article II. Statements of Work

The University will have the responsibility of overseeing any projects involving the collection, including those funded by the National Park Service. This will include loan of items to either reputable museums and libraries for exhibit use or for photocopying (including microformats) of the collection or for documentation and distribution. Any projects involving the collection must have the prior approval of the National Park Service.

The University is responsible for curating, organizing, and cataloging other papers that may be donated from heirs of Hubbell Trading Post or papers donated by Southwest Parks and Monuments Association in the future. These additional materials will be added to the materials already at the University. Any use restrictions deemed necessary by the Hubbell Heirs will be negotiated at the time of donation and will be approved by both the University and the Service.

The Service reserves the right to remove selected documents from the collection for the purpose of display or making copies thereof, and will have access to the collection at all times.

The collection will be available to the public for research, study, copying, and publication, but not for copyright.

Article III. Term of Agreement

Agreement will continue in effect for 5 years from the date of the signing of this document. At that time the benefits that have accrued will be reassessed and it will be determined if the agreement will be reaffirmed or if modification is necessary.

The Collection will be inspected annually by the University and Service and the inspection will be documented.

This agreement may be amended at any time by mutual consent.

Article IV. Key Officials

Charles D. Wyatt, Superintendent, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site or his successor/s.

Patrick McCrary, Contracting Officer, Southwest Regional Office, or his successor/s.

Louis Hieb, Special Collections Librarian, University of Arizona, or his successor/s.
III. Termination

This agreement may be cancelled by either party upon 60 day written notice.

Upon termination, the subject materials shall be returned in good order to the National Park Service at the expense of the cancelling party.

IX. Required Clauses

"For the performance of this agreement, the participants agree to abide by the terms of Executive Order 11246 on nondiscrimination and will not discriminate against any person because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. The participants will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin."

No member or delegate to Congress, or resident Commissioner, shall be admitted to any share or part of this agreement, or to any benefit that may arise therefrom, but this provision shall not be construed to extend to this agreement if made with a corporation for its general benefit."

Charles D. Wyatt
Superintendent
Cushing Trading Post NHS

Laila Higg
Special Collections Librarian,
University of Arizona

Patrick McCravy
Contracting Officer,
National Park Service, SWRO

3-1-89
Date

3-10-89
Date
MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT
between the
HUBBELL TRADING POST NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
and the
FRIENDS OF HUBBELL TRADING POST NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, INC.

Article I - Background

THIS AGREEMENT is hereby entered into this 20th day of September, 1996, by and between the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site (hereinafter referred to as the "Site"), a unit of the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior, acting in its behalf through the Superintendent, or his/her designee, and the Friends of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Inc. (hereinafter referred to as the "Corporation") acting through the Chairperson of its Board of Trustees or the Board's designee.

Whereas, it is the purpose of the National Park Service to preserve, protect and manage the National Park System for the benefit and enjoyment of the people as provided for in the Act of August 16, 1916 (16 U.S.C. Sec. 1, et_seq.); and

Whereas, the National Park Service through the Secretary of the Interior has authority to accept donations for the purposes embraced by this Memorandum of Agreement (See 41 Stat. 917, 16 U.S.C. 6); and

Whereas, nothing in this Agreement shall affect or interfere with fulfillment of the obligations or exercise of the authority of the National Park Service or any other Federal Agency; and

Whereas, the Corporation is a non-profit, tax-exempt, fund raising organization established to aid and directly promote management programs and objectives of the Site for which no government or other donated funds are available; and

Whereas, monies donated and accepted may be specified by a donor for a particular Site item or project; if not so designated, they will be placed in a general donation fund of the Corporation, to be used by the Corporation to fund projects and activities mutually agreed upon by the Site and the Corporation; and
Whereas, the National Park Service wishes to recognize and encourage the Corporation in conducting its fund raising effort to benefit the Site; and

Whereas, the Superintendent of the Site has been delegated the authority to approve fund raising activities totalling less than $250,000. Fund raising campaigns in excess of this amount will require higher level approval in accordance with the fund raising policies of the National Park Service and will be agreed upon through sub-Memoranda of Agreement and appended to this agreement.

Article II - Responsibilities of Parties

NOW THEREFORE the parties agree as follows:

(1) The Site agrees to:

(a) Recognize the Corporation as an organization suited to aid and directly promote the management program of the Site.

(b) Provide the Corporation a Needs Assessment, a list of critical donation needs, in priority order annually for its funding consideration. This does not restrict the Site from submitting emergency and special funding requests as they arise.

(c) Designate the Superintendent or his /her designee as Site representative to the Corporation's Board of Trustees who will lend them every assistance possible to insure the success of the mutually agreed upon activities.

(d) Place all funds donated to the Site by the Corporation in special donation account and assure that they shall be used solely on behalf of and for benefit of the projects and activities set forth above unless otherwise provided by law.

(e) Make available to the Corporation such information and data as may reasonably be required and is generally available to inform potential donors and others about the status of plans for the projects and activities to benefit.

(2) The Corporation agrees to:

(a) Be fully qualified under State and Federal law to engage in fund raising and receive philanthropic contributions for the purposes enumerated herein.
(b) Accomplish all activities under this Agreement in conformance with the formal fund raising policies of the National Park Service which are made a part of this Agreement. (See Appendix 1).

(c) Bear all costs of the fund raising activities.

(d) Donate to the Site, funds, materials or services to support the priority needs of the Site for which no Government or other donated funds are available.

(e) Work in collaboration with and maintain liaison with the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association (SPMA), a Cooperating Association for the National Park Service, and operator of the trading post. The Corporation will undertake projects, services, or activities that enhance those of SPMA at the Site or which SPMA does not engage in at the Site. No Corporation undertaking will conflict with or compete with those of SPMA at the Site.

Article III - Term of Agreement

This Memorandum of Agreement shall be effective when signed by both parties and shall remain in effect as needed for up to three years from that date, subject to renewal by mutual agreement for a further period not to exceed three years.

Article IV - Key Officials

NPS:
Superintendent
Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site
P. O. Box 150
Ganado, Arizona 86505-0150

Friends:
Chairperson
Friends of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Inc.
P. O. Box 789
Flagstaff, Arizona 86002
Article V - Property

The Corporation may maintain office space at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site for the purpose of conducting administrative business and serving as its headquarters. The Site agrees to provide what furniture and office equipment is excess to its needs for the conduct of corporation related business. A property receipt will be required to be signed by an appropriate official. Meeting room facilities will be made available by the Site for Board meetings or special activities.

The Corporation may not construct any structure or buildings on the Site or otherwise make any alterations to the Site's buildings or land without written permission from the National Park Service.

Upon dissolution of the Corporation, its assets shall be transferred to the United States of America for the benefit of the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, subject to federal law.

Article VI - Prior Approvals

Any materials prepared for public consumption, such as individual promotional activities, brochures, or any other form of publicity will be submitted to the Site for formal review and approval prior to its release.

Any agreements the Corporation proposes to enter into with third parties in furtherance of its activities hereunder shall be subject to approval by the Site.

The Site agrees to the extent practicable, to arrange for and conduct tours, interpretive events and inspections for individuals and groups at the request of the Corporation provided that such activities shall not, in the judgment of the Site unduly infringe upon or detract from normal visitor activities and services. The Corporation shall request such tours and other events through the site Superintendent in advance. The Superintendent shall have final decision making responsibility as to such arrangements, depending upon Site workloads and staff availability.

The Corporation shall apply for and abide by the terms and conditions of a special events permit for each such event it proposes to conduct which may interfere with visitor services and use, which may impact the Site's resources, and which may require site staff support. The Superintendent shall have the final authority over the granting of such permits.
Article VII - Reports

The Superintendent will submit annually a list of priority projects, the Site's Needs Assessment, for funding by the Corporation. The Corporation shall respond to the Site within sixty days regarding its project selections. The response will identify the Corporation's role and responsibilities in funding such projects and identify any actions it expects the Site to fulfill. Fund raising activities will be agreed upon between the Site and the Corporation. The Corporation shall keep the Site fully informed on all such activities. Funds received and expended by the Corporation from whatever source and for whatever purposes shall be accounted for under a system of accounts and financial controls meeting accepted professional standards for non-profit charitable organizations. The corporation shall submit to the Site annually, within ninety days following the end of each fiscal year, a complete financial report, accompanied by a written summary of activities for the year. The Superintendent or his/her designee may review the records of the Corporation at any time during the term of this agreement.

Article VIII - Termination

The Site or the Corporation may terminate this Agreement by providing sixty days written notice to the other.

Article IX - General

All obligations of the Site hereunder are subject to the availability of funds, and to such direction and instructions as may have been or are hereafter provided by Congress.

During the performance of this agreement, the participants agree to abide by the terms of Executive Order 11246 (Appendix 2) on nondiscrimination and will not discriminate against any person because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. The participants will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, national origin, handicap, and/or age.

No member of or delegate to Congress, or resident commissioner, shall be admitted to any share or part of this agreement, or to any benefit that may arise therefrom; but this provision shall not be construed to extend to this agreement if made with a corporation for its general benefit.
The Corporation shall indemnify, save and hold harmless and defend the Site and the National Park Service against all fines, claims, losses, judgments and expenses arising out of or from any omission or activity of the Corporation.

The Corporation shall procure and employ liability insurance once office space is acquired at the Site or a Site fund raising activity is engaged in, unless waived by the NPS, for any number of claims from any one incident, with respect to the activities of the Corporation and its employees. The Site shall be named as an additional insured on all such policies. All such policies shall specify that the insurer shall have no right of subrogation against the United States for payment of any premiums or deductibles thereunder, and such insurance policies shall be assumed by and credited to the account of and undertaken at the Corporation's sole risk.

Dated the 19th day of September, 1996

AGREED TO BY:

[Signature]
Superintendent, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site

[Signature]
Chairperson, Board of Trustees,
Friends of Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Inc.
Land Description

APPENDIX A

LAND DESCRIPTION

Beginning at the northeast corner known as Corner No. 1, whence the section corner common to Sections 27, 28, 33 and 34, T. 27 N., R. 26 E., G:\:\:\:\:, bears S. 50°26' W., 2741.39 feet; thence N. 89°55' W., 2640 feet to Corner No. 2; thence S. 0° 03' E., 1320 feet to Corner No. 3; thence west 1320 feet to Corner No. 4; thence S. 0° 03' E., 1320 feet to Corner No. 5; thence east 2640.66 feet to Corner No. 6; thence N. 0° 03' W., 1320 feet to Corner No. 7; thence east 1320 feet to Corner No. 8; thence N. 0° 03' W., 1318.68 feet to the point and place of beginning known as Corner No. 1.

Execute: An area donated to the United States of America commencing at the quarter corner between Sections 27 and 28, T. 27 N., R. 26 E., G:\:\:\:\:, thence S. 27°02' E., 1561 feet to the point of beginning which is the southwest corner of the tract, thence east 536 feet to the southeast corner; thence north 250 feet to the northeast corner; thence west 536 feet to the northwest corner; thence south 250 feet to the southwest corner and the point of beginning containing 3.07 acres more or less, located in the southwest quarter of Section 27, T. 27 N., R. 26 E. G:\:\:\:\:.

And excepting the following: Beginning at the northeast corner known as Corner No. 1, whence the section corner common to sections 27, 28, 33 and 34, T. 27 N., R. 26 E., G:\:\:\:\:, bears S. 50° 26' W., 2741.39 feet; thence W. 89° 55' W., approximately 1510 feet to the east edge of the north-south access road to Rubbell Trading Post, thence southerly approximately 110 feet along the easterly edge of said road to the north bank of Pueblo Colorado Wash, thence easterly along meandering north bank of Pueblo Colorado Wash to a point, said point being S. 0° 03' E., approximately 60 feet from Corner No. 1, being the place of beginning. This is to be surveyed and the deed is to carry a metes and bounds description.
# Staffing Table

## NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

### HUBBELL TRADING POST NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

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**RECOMMENDED:**

Superintendent: [Signature]  
Date: 9/11/87

**APPROVED:**

Regional Director: [Signature]  
Date: 9/11/87
### Annual Gross Sales of SPMA at HTPNHS

#### ANNUAL GROSS SALES OF SPMA AT HUBBELL TRADING POST

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### Hubbell Trading Post NHS

**ANNUAL OPERATING BUDGET AMOUNTS**

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<td>1982</td>
<td>219,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>266,400</td>
</tr>
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<td>1984</td>
<td>303,400</td>
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<td>1985</td>
<td>298,300</td>
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<td>1986</td>
<td>288,000</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>314,000</td>
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<td>1988</td>
<td>320,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>329,800</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>342,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>375,000 (est)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>427,000 (budget)</td>
</tr>
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Visitor Use by Year 1968 to March, 1991

1968 - 50,200
1969 - 50,800
1970 - 77,300
1971 - 77,200
1972 - 71,700
1973 - 72,100
1974 - 73,600
1975 - 67,700
1976 - 62,600
1977 - 71,400
1978 - 67,100
1979 - 73,500
1980 - 110,900
1981 - 169,200
1982 - 166,100
1983 - 151,900
1984 - 149,400
1985 - 125,100
1986 - 143,400
1987 - 136,600
1988 - 153,000
1989 - 177,500
1990 - 180,923
1991 to March, 30,180

*Figures from Branch of Science, Denver Service Center, Statistical Unit, Denver, Colorado 80225.
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