



United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site
Box 298

Ganado, Arizona 86505

IN REPLY REFER TO:

H 2215

21 May 1972

D-17

Memorandum

To: Bob Simmonds, DSC

From: Curator, NALA at HUTR

Subject: Preliminary draft of furnishing study of HB-1

I am sending herewith a very rough preliminary draft of the furnishing study for the Trade Room, Office and Rug Room of HB-1. It will aid you in work on the architectural study and I expect that you will have comments and suggestions that will contribute to improving the final study as well. I think the odds are fairly good that we will turn up important new data if we do not try to finalize this study too soon.

Kevin and I have discussed the changes with Bill Young. He is willing to cooperate on what is necessary in the next couple of fiscal years. He does not think that the bookkeeping problem will be a major one and re-arrangement of the Office seems assured. The refrigerated show case is a greater problem. He would prefer not to have it in the Ware room because this would require a great deal of running back and forth in making sales. He has suggested getting a case that would fit under the counter and thinks that he can secure the needed technical advice for designing such as installation. While he would very much prefer a system that would allow for display of the meat, milk and other refrigerated goods, he thinks that he can get by with the plan that he has suggested. He does not believe that he could retain a significant Navajo trade if he did not carry refrigerated groceries and we must do so if the living trading post concept is to remain a part of the interpretive program.

Once you have had an opportunity to study the manuscript, let me know if you have any questions or suggestions.

Sincerely,

David M. Brugge
Curator
Navajo Lands Group

Enclosure

National Parks Centennial 1872-1972
cc: General Superintendent, Navajo Lands Group

ATTENTION:

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INTRODUCTION

The trading post itself was the center of activities at Hubbell's, both from an economic point of view and in most other dealings with people from outside the family. It was here that the most continuous interaction between the greatest number of Whites and Indians took place, when most business was done as well as a great deal of just plain socializing. It was the one good reason that the Navajos had permitted outsiders to settle in their midst at the beginning and provided the major economic base of the family locally as well as the center from which later business enterprises were developed.

The initial relationship between Whites and Navajos here had been based on needs felt on both sides, a need for customers on the part of the trader and a need for the White's products on the part of the Navajos. Neither trusted the other entirely and while trust increased in some ways as they came to know each other better, neither felt completely at ease with the other. Occasional small thefts, instances of sharp dealing, disputes over pasturage and, more rarely, outbreaks of violence at one or another trading post kept suspicions alive. The traders' precautions included semi-defensive measures in their architecture, efforts to command all activities within the post and, if they were wise, working at developing the Navajos' trust. The Navajos found the interior of the trading post a rather foreign environment and re-acted with a degree of caution and deliberation.

While this atmosphere of uncertainty would diminish in time, it would be very slow to disappear completely. The local people and a trader who was long established in a community would learn what to expect of each other and might be able to deal with ease, but the tribe was large and strangers were frequently arriving who, in some cases, knew neither the local population nor the trading post personnel.

The trade room itself, with its high wide counters and "bull pen", as well as the barred windows, clearly reflects the tentative nature of developing trust between two suspicious parties, appearing almost as a fort within a fort. This was but the beginning of a complex network of relationships that developed through time, however, by which both trader and Indian crossed a formidable cultural and linguistic barrier to profit from an economic institution in ways that influenced all aspects of each others lives.

The office, with its more open and informal arrangement of space and furniture, was a type of room found at very few posts, but it can serve well here to portray the more intimate relationships that came about in time between some traders and some Navajos, where the head of the firm or the local manager could sit at ease with trusted Navajo customers to discuss credit, employment, mutual business endeavors or community affairs in a more relaxed environment. In addition, this room is symbolic of the trade empire that grew under Don Lorenzo's supervision and the work that was required to oversee its operation.

The rug room served a number of functions, but apparently its most important was the storage and sale of rugs. As such, it is perhaps best adapted to tell the story of the development of Navajo arts and crafts and the trade with non-Navajo customers and visitors from beyond the reservation.

Thus, these three rooms must be the basis for most of the story of the economic side of trading as well as the major foil for presenting the intricacies of intercultural contact. Here Whites and Navajos met daily face to face and resolved problems ranging from the amount of wool to be exchanged for a sack of flour to the action to be taken when White rustlers ran off a herd of Navajos horses or a Navajo had killed a trader at a neighboring post. From these individual cases evolved a rather standardized way of handling business and roles that various individuals learned to fill in a manner that would be understood by their associates. It was at and through the trading post that most Navajos gained most of their knowledge of the ways of the Whites and whence came most knowledge of the Navajos available to the Whites. Even the government officials entrusted with handling Indian affairs found that they had to rely strongly on the traders if their programs were to succeed.

An unusually good description of trading is found in William Y. Adams' Shonto: The Role of the Trader in a Modern Navaho Community, Bulletin 188, Bureau of American Ethnology U.S.-Government Printing

Office, Washington, D.C., 1963. While pertaining primarily to the recent situation, the study was done in a remote and conservative community and in a general way is quite applicable to conditions in the past. The Hubbell post at Ganado was not, as noted above, an entirely typical trading post and a greater diversity of roles and activities might be expected, but most of the standard features of trading apply well here.

As indicated in the furnishing study for the Hubbell Home, HB 2, there are two basic anthropological themes and two basic historical themes to be kept in mind in the interpretive program. All four apply very strongly to the rooms under consideration here. While the problem of furnishings as such is somewhat simpler than for the home, the interpretive problems are more complex. A very careful restoration will be required to meet the demands of the interpretive program.

The first anthropological theme is that of cultural continuity and change. The new products introduced by the traders brought great changes in Navajo life and this part of the story is one that the visitors will expect and should find. It will recall for them information that they have already learned and will to a degree serve to re-assure them that this is the real thing. Complementing this, however, it should be made apparent that a demand for traditional goods continued and that the traders often went to considerable trouble to supply this demand. Many of the traditional goods were items originally obtained from other Indian tribes and unconventional

channels of supply had to be developed. Change affected the traders themselves. They might try to maintain their own culture in its standard form, although most doubtless had personal reservations about some aspects of it or they would not have chosen to live so remote from their own people. They had, of necessity, to learn enough of the local language to carry on trade; to speak at least the trade jargon that has come to be known as "trader Navajo", and to understand enough of the social and economic structure of the tribe that they could safely make judgements regarding credit. Usually this change for the traders also involved gaining an appreciation of native arts and crafts and for some extended far beyond these more superficial aspects of culture. Traders' children who grew up on the reservation with Navajo playmates became especially knowledgeable in the other culture and very frequently made their adult careers on the reservation, usually in trading.

The second theme, cultural contact, is a much more difficult matter to handle with furnishings. As suggested above, the arrangements of the trade room and the office can be utilized to show the lessening of distrust as the peace following the final wars extended into a permanent feature in Navajo-White relationships and as the Navajos and traders came to know each other better. The development of relatively standardized roles in the trading situation smoothed the way for interaction in which the participants could fairly reliably predict the outcome of routine transactions. The traders' role as an intermediary between the two cultures is one that deserves special emphasis. Beyond this, however, the types of relationships that

developed between traders and Navajo leaders within the community, the religious conflicts that would arise, the acceptance or rejection of foreign ideas when these might affect actions and the manner of resolving an infinity of problems that developed need some recognition.

Of the historical themes, that of the Indians' adjustments to conquest and reservation life is most closely inter-related with the antropological themes. The political dominance of the Whites, at least in external matters, is implicit in the definition. White rule was far less heavy-handed for the Navajos than for many tribes due to the size of population and territory and Navajo home life felt far less pressure, at least in the early days of the reservation period, than did that of smaller tribes. Officially the traders were expected to support all government programs and a trader could, if unlucky, lose his license if he did not do so. In effect, both the headmen and the traders were able to act as buffers between federal officials and the people. The headman did so quite willingly, at times even desperately, seeking to preserve a way of life. The traders' motives were usually straight forward; it was good business to support their customers in some things. A Navajo with two or three wives was often a better credit risk than one enjoying monagamous bliss, for he was usually richer. The gradual encroachment of bureaucratic controls is a part of the story that must be included, culminating as it does in the stock reduction programs, one of the more dramatic and decisive events in government efforts to

control Navajo affairs. As this happened, traders developed more devious interests in politics, seeking to escape some of the government regulations.

Last is the economic history of the Indian trade. Beginning in the remote prehistoric past with the exchange of goods between the various tribes by simple barter, with almost all trade being in luxury goods, to modern times when the greater part of essential staples are obtained through purchase, sometimes for cash and sometimes by complex credit arrangements, this history has a scope in geography and concepts that extends far beyond the routine of a single post in one community. As with the preceding themes, only a part of the story applies here. The furnishings can reflect the diversity of goods exchanged, the sources of supply and the nature of the transactions, in which a combination of barter, cash, tin money, pawn and straight credit made possible a specialized commerce in so alien a setting. The atypical nature of this post, as the headquarters of a widespread trade empire, needs to be emphasized, along with recognition of the fact that others also developed similar chains of trading posts. These were supported by wholesale houses in neighboring towns, some of which specialized in supplying Indian traders and others that dealt more generally with a variety of retail firms. Improvements in transportation, at first in wagons and teams, then the coming of the railroads and finally automotive vehicles and paved roads, made integration of the Indian trade into the national economy ever more

thorough. A basic source for background on this wider aspect is William J. Parish's The Charles Ilfeld Company, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1961.

The local economic aspects are most important, however. The advantages and disadvantages of the system for both Indians and traders should be identified and worked into the interpretive scheme. The methods used to attract and promote trade, such as the traders' rudimentary hospitality, with its strict limits which defined social distance to be maintained, and their sponsoring of rodeos or chicken pulls, as well as assisting local families in holding major ceremonies, were the equivalent of advertising by a city merchant in many ways.

The traders' efforts to enhance the economic resources of their customers, which they expected to find their way ultimately into their own cash drawers, made trading more than a mere exploitive undertaking. These efforts ranged from advocating improvements in arts and crafts that would make them more marketable to acting as an employment agent for off-reservation work.

While all of these complexities have potential for reflection in furnishings of the three northern rooms of HB-1, they must not be forced or so explicit that they overwhelm the visitors. Attention to details of furnishings that can serve to stimulate interests that

the viewer already has and bring up new ideas when he is receptive can allow for representation of many aspects of Indian trading in furnishings that are faithful to the data and that will permit flexibility in interpretive use.

THE DATE OF RESTORATION

Photographs indicate that the external features of the trading post saw only minor change after about 1900 and these primarily in the roof line. Interior pictures, both photographs by Vroman (HTP-PP-41, HTP-PP-42, HTP-PP-43) and White (Catalogue # 3282 and HTP-PP-11) and the Burbank painting give us good data for a restoration of trade room and Office to their condition during the first decade of this century. Descriptions, both by contemporary travelers from documentary sources and in the memories of people still living who visited the post or traded there, are brief and cursory at best for this early a period. For the Rug Room there is little data of any sort prior to 1920 and no photos exist earlier than the Gilpin photo of 1952 (HTP-PP-23). An interior photo of the Trade Room thought to date about 1920 (HTP-PP-38) and a photo of the Office dating about 1912 (HTP-PP-21) supply the only pictorial material for the rest of the interior prior to the 1950s. Fair descriptive data exists for the 1920s and perhaps a little earlier, this based almost entirely on verbal descriptions by former customers, workers and family

members. Thus, a restoration for the approximate interval from 1900 to 1910 based on some contemporary data and some later material is feasible. This is the period to which the furnishing study of the Wareroom is oriented (Levy, 1965, P.1) and these two portions of the building are so intimately associated that variable dating would be quite disruptive in interpretive programs.

In addition, this period covers an early part of the peak of Don Lorenzo's career and as such should lend itself to good interpretive utilization. It is anticipated that the very earliest period of trading will be represented by the foundations of the "Leonard Buildings" once these are exposed by archeological exploration.

One problem may develop as furnishing plans are prepared for the structure and the Hubbell Home. Some items may be found to have been used in the trading post during the earlier period and in the Home during the later period for which furnishings in the home are to be prepared. It is not anticipated that any major problems will result from such a situation, but the use of ten year periods for both structures will permit sufficient flexibility that any problems that do arise should be relatively easy to resolve.

THE BACKGROUND

By 1900 the trading post at Wide Reeds on the Pueblo Colorado Wash had been in operation for over 20 years, having commenced business

sometime during the 1870s shortly after the return of the Navajos from exile at Fort Sumner. Peace had become general, with only rare serious conflicts between Whites and Indians. Don Lorenzo Hubbell was well established at Ganado and the decade to follow would be a busy one for his trading business, as well as for the development of his farm. In 1902 the bill authorizing him to acquire title to his land was passed. (Ltr., Brosius to Hubbell, Washington, 2 July 1902, Hubbell Trading Post Historical Files). In addition to Ganado he had two other trading posts, one at Cornfields (account books) about 7 miles further down the Pueblo Colorado Valley, and the other at a place called Mud Springs, a location not yet identified (See account books, also ltr., Secrist to Hubbell, 11 July 1902, Hubbell Trading Post Historical Files). He did not operate the Mud Springs Trading Post long, or perhaps the name was changed, for no mention appears of it after 1902. By 1905 he had purchased the Oraibi Trading Post, however. (Ltr., Hubbell to Hubbell, Keams Canyon, 13 Oct. 1905). In 1902 he bought the Keams Canyon Store from Thomas V. Keams, the original owner, for his older son, Lorenzo Jr. (See extract, dated 17 May 1902, Hubbell Letterbook, 1901-04, 14, Hubbell Trading Post Historical Files). By 1909 he also owned the Cedar Springs Trading Post. (Ltr., Hubbell to Hubbell, 22 Mar. 1909, Hubbell Trading Post Historical Files). Thus, during this decade the family expanded its holdings from three trading posts to five and by the middle of the next decade would own eleven stores. Development of the irrigation system for the farm was underway

throughout most of the decade, so that by 1905 Hubbell had a two and one half mile ditch fed by diversion from the wash, the holding reservoir and laterals to his fields. (Affidavit of Paul Brizzard, April 1908; Affidavit of Mathew Howell, n.d., but probably 1908, Hubbell Trading Post Historical Files.)

In 1902 Hubbell was beginning his business with the Fred Harvey Company's Indian Department (Huekel to Hubbell, Kansas City, Mo. 23 Oct. 1902, Hubbell Trading Post Historical Files), that would become a major stimulus to the arts and crafts industry. Throughout the decade Hubbell was active in affairs of the Republican Party and state and local politics, becoming especially involved toward the end of the period in opposition to literacy requirements for voting and in promoting statehood for Arizona (Political File, Hubbell Trading Post Historical Files). During most of the decade, from 1895 to 1908, he was postmaster at Ganado. (Theobald & Theobald, 1961, p. 101).

A visitor in 1910 recalls the post as a busy place with many Indians arriving on horseback to do business. (Interview with Marie Lawshe Evans, 4 April 1972, Museum Journal, Vol. III, pp. 61-62). Nearly 200 of the dated works of art in the Hubbell Collection date between 1900 and 1910 inclusive, indicating that visitation by artists was high. Most of these are works by E. A. Burbank and his visits were particularly notable during the period. (Art Inventory, Jan. 1972.)

Indian affairs were still unstable through these years. The government still enforced regulations against such matters as selling arms and ammunition to Indians, although both commodities were freely available to Navajos at off-reservation stores. (Hayzlett to CIA, Ft. Defiance, 3 Mar. 1902, NA, CIA, File Code 14569, copy in Hubbell Trading Post Historical Files). Procedures regarding jurisdiction and law enforcement were poorly defined for the agents. (Hazlett to CIA, Ft. Defiance, 17 Apr. 1902, NA, CIA, File Code 23693; Britton to CIA, 29 July 1904, NA, CIA, File Code 53215; copies in HUTR Historical Files). A major task was enrolling children for the Indian schools. (Barton to Hubbell, Grand Junction, 22 Feb. 1905; Mayes to Hubbell, Chilocco, 28 Dec. 1905; Copies in HUTR Historical Files). In 1906 and 1910 troops were sent to Hopi, the Hubbells being asked to help in providing supplies for the soldiers. (Perry to Hubbell, Ft. Defiance, 17 Oct. 1906; Lanigan to Hubbell, Gallup, 17 Aug. 1910, HUTR Historical Files). In 1909 a government day school was built at Cornfields. (Abbott to Hubbell, Washington, 19 July 1909, HUTR Historical Files).

In 1901 the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church selected Ganado as the site for the establishment of a mission with a school and hospital. The first missionary, Charles Bierkemper, was welcomed by Hubbell who housed him and his wife for two years until the first buildings could be erected on the mission grounds. Mrs. Bierkemper ran the mission school and in 1905 Dr. and Mrs. Waterhouse arrived to begin the medical portion of the program. (Haldeman, 1967, pp. 1-2).

The Navajos were reported to be in a prosperous condition and becoming more sedentary in their habits. (Abbott to Hubbell, Washington, 19 July 1909, MUTR Historical Files). Many Horses died in 1909 (Hubbell to Paquette, Canado, 5 April 1909, MUTR Historical Files), being the first whose grave was located at the top of Hubbell Hill.

Thus, Canado, the J.L. Hubbell Trading Post in particular, was the scene of considerable activity and some permanent changes during the time to be considered for furnishing the post.

THE BUILDING

The precise dates of construction of the four rooms comprising HB-1 are not yet known and probably will not be known until more tree-ring dates are available. The sequence of construction is somewhat clearer. The two northernmost rooms were obviously built first, as is indicated by the wall abutments. A few tree-ring dates suggest that these rooms were originally erected in the 1880s, but the range of dates and small number of samples prevents any firm conclusions at this point. The Trade Room and Wareroom were added after completion of the first two rooms. Early photos show no wall abutments between the Trade Room and the Wareroom, nor any difference in masonry styles (see especially MP-PP-3), so that these two rooms were doubtless built at the same time. The present contrast must be the result of extensive repairs to the Wareroom walls at a relatively late date. This construction sequence is confirmed by Hastin

Yellowhair, born about 1883, who remembers the post when only the two northern rooms existed. (Hastin Yellowhair Interview, 6 Dec. 1971, p. 1, see also Joe Tippecanoe Interview, 22 Nov. 1971, p.1). Few dates are available for these two rooms, but they were completed before construction of the Barn, HB-3, as is shown by a Whittick photo taken prior to 1902 (HTP-PP-19), which shows HB-1 essentially complete, the Barn under construction and no trace yet of HB-2, the Hubbell Home. This photograph is also informative regarding some interior features. Two rather massive stone chimneys, one adjacent to the east wall of the Office and the other appearing to coincide well with the location of the fireplace formerly on the south wall of the Rug Room are clearly evident. Another Whittick picture taken the same day (HTP-PP-12) has better detail, but does not show as wide a field of vision. Both photos show the bars already on the windows.

A Burbank sketch owned by Roman G. Hubbell III of Albuquerque (HTP-PP-44) depicts the post as Burbank first saw it about 1897 or 1898. This shows the Barn already completed. Only the chimney of the Office fireplace is visible, but the angle is such that the other chimney might well have been too low to appear above the top of the wall. (HTP-PP-44). The picture was not dated by Burbank himself, however, and there is some reason to suspect artistic license taken in certain details. A photo from the 1903 Culin Journal (HTP-PP-83) shows only the northeast corner of the building

* Statements by older Navajos indicate that this may not be original construction, but enlargement of an earlier building, however.

and is from an angle that no chimneys could be expected to appear.

There are four photos dating from about 1904. One is from an album owned by St. Michaels' Mission. (HTP-PP-37). The Office chimney is present, but the well house blocks the view of the place where the Rug Room chimney should appear. Another from a Hubbell album was taken at sunrise, 28 October 1904. (HTP-PP-17). The Office chimney is present, but the view of it somewhat obscured by the branch of a juniper tree. A very dim image may be the top of the other chimney. Similarly, two photos by Voth dating about 1904 show the Office chimney well, but only one, again with a dim and far from definite image, may also show the top of the Rug Room chimney. (HTP-PP-46; HTP-PP-47). The latter is also the earliest picture to depict the wooden vestibule at the north (exterior) entry to the Office. All photos from 1904 or later which clearly depict the area over the east door of the Trade Room show the Sawyer plaque in place. A view of the buildings from Hubbell Hill taken by Simeon Schwemurger about 1905, but not precisely dated, shows the Office chimney present and the Rug Room chimney absent. (HTP-PAV-4). Next in sequence is a picture taken in the summer of 1906 by Virgil Huff White (Cat. # 3282). The Office chimney is conspicuous, but no indication of the Rug Room chimney appears. The vestibule is not present. A final photo for the period, taken about 1910 when Jay F. Alkire was working for Hubbell (HTP-PP-82), shows the Office chimney and

appears to lack any chimney for the Rug Room, but again a juniper tree obscures the view of the section where the large chimney might appear. The vestibule is absent. Another photo, supposedly taken in 1910 but probably considerably later (HTP-PP-33), shows only a stove pipe where the Office chimney had been. The parapet has not yet been added to the top of the walls. The vestibule is present. I suspect, but cannot conclusively demonstrate, that the vestibule was usually removed during the summer.

A photo suggestive of Dane Coolidge's style of photography and printing, HTP-PP-8, shows the Office chimney still in place. If this is a Coolidge photo, it probably dates about 1913. Another possible Coolidge photo is HTP-PP-20. This obviously dates later than the Alkire photo of about 1910 as the juniper trees northeast of the post are all dead. The Office chimney is still present, but the Rug Room chimney is very definitely no longer in place. The vestibule is present. Similarly, a 1912 drawing by Burbank shows only the Office chimney. (Burbank, 1946, facing p. 64).

Although there is good evidence that a corner fireplace once existed in the northwest corner of the Rug Room, no photographs show a chimney in that location. The most economical explanation seems to be that this fireplace was removed prior to the date of our earliest pictorial sources and that the fireplace against the south wall of

the room replaced the corner fire place, rather than the reverse sequence. Dibet/izhini, who says he helped build the trading post, indicates that the corner fireplace was first (Hastlin Dibet/izhini or Black Sheep Interview, 26 Jan. 1972, p. 1).

One other structural feature that would alter interior features is the east window of the Office. This is lacking in the Wittick photos (See especially HTP-PP-12). It appears in the Burbank drawing (HTP-PP-44), as well as in the 1904 photos that show the east wall clearly. (Cat. # 3282; HTP-21-17). One final feature, the piling of firewood against the exterior walls for use in cold weather is seen in a number of early pictures. (See especially Burbank, 1946, facing p. 64).

In summary, these rooms had already seen some alterations prior to 1900. The sequence of changes as nearly as they can be reconstructed is as follows. By 1898 the corner fireplace in the Rug Room was replaced by a larger fireplace against the south wall of the room. It is conceivable that the fireplace against the east wall of the Office was added at the same time. The next alteration was the opening of a window in the east wall of the Office. Toward the end of the decade use of a wooden vestibule outside the north door of the Office began, perhaps limited to the more inclement months and stored during the summers. The fireplace in the Rug Room was removed before the end of the decade, but its location was such that few photos conclusively show whether or not it was there. The

removal of the Office fireplace to make way for a wood stove did not take place until well after 1910.

Until the history of the business and the dating of original construction are better known, it will be uncertain who designed and initiated construction of the various parts of the post. It seems most likely that the two northernmost rooms were built in the early 1880s and can therefore be attributed to Don Lorenzo. The Trade Room and Wareroom may well have been added in the late 1880s when there is evidence of extensive remodeling of the first two rooms. If so, they were erected while the site was owned by C. N. Cotton. Eleven tree-ring dates from the walls of the Office and Rug Room range as follows: one date at 1878, two dates at 1879 and eight dates at 1880. The placement of wall construction thus seems fairly secure for the two rooms. Only one wiga has been dated thus far and it produced a date of 1889vv, the suffix indicating that an even later cutting date is not unlikely. There are indications in the walls of two rooves or ceilings and it is thus strongly suggested that the present ceiling was a replacement. There are only two dates for the Trade Room thus far, both from the west wall and having somewhat uncertain association of cutting dates with original construction. One is 1886 and the other 1886GB, the last a bark date with beetle galleries and almost certainly a true cutting date. (See Appendix A) These data are highly suggestive

of an interpretation of building of the Trade Room and second roof of the Office at the same time, probably about 1889 or 1890, with some of the timber perhaps cut prior to the beginning of 1889 growth.

Cotton purchased a half interest in the business from Hubbell on 23 September 1884 (Cotton to Collector of Internal Revenue, Ganado, 17 Dec. 1884, Cotton Letterbook, 1884-1889, p. 12). On 22 June 1885 Hubbell sold his remaining interest in the business to Cotton. (Hubbell to Speigelburg Bros., 21 June 1885, Cotton Letterbook, 1884-1889, p. 131). Trading licenses were issued in Cotton's name until 1897, usually with Hubbell listed as "clerk". (See notes on trader licenses, HUTR Historical Files). At the beginning of 1889 Cotton ordered that his newspaper subscriptions be addressed to Gallup (Cotton to Moore, 8 January 1889, Cotton Letterbook, 1884-1889, p. 916) and that Hubbell's be sent to Ganado (Cotton to Moore, 8 January 1889, Cotton Letterbook, 1884-1889, p. 917), but many of Cotton's subsequent letters during the year were written from Ganado (Ibid., p. 939 ff). Our data for the 1890s are so sparse and ambiguous that we really do not know who was doing what at Ganado, nor just when the post reverted to Hubbell ownership. No license has been found for 1898 and the 1899 license was in Hubbell's name. (See notes on traders' licenses, HUTR Historical Files).

to be written later.

THE TRADE ROOM

The room called here the "Trade Room" and variously referred to as the "bull pen" and "store" was the scene of most actual trading, probably from the time of its construction about a decade prior to 1900. There is one good interior picture of it during the period from 1900 to 1910, this being E. A. Burbank's oil painting done in 1908 (HTP-P-55; Cat. # 3457). This will of necessity have to be the primary source for restoration. An interior photo very uncertainly dated about 1920 (HTP-PP-38) can supply supplementary data and descriptions by people who saw the post at an early date will also add some details.

The floor in 1908 was of planks, probably about 6" wide, laid east-west. In the approximate center, probably in the same location as at present, was an area without flooring where a small rectangular cast iron wood stove was set. Surrounding the central part of the room were high counters. Burbank's painting indicates that these were the same counters presently in place and that they were painted in part with a mahogany stain and in part darkish green. The colors suggest that a green undercoat was later painted over with the mahogany color (Cat. #3457), although paint chips from the counter indicate a reverse sequence. The counter in the northeast part of the room was not set out, but in line with the rest of the north counter to judge from the one photograph. (HTP-PP-38) Two log posts were set upright in the inside corners of counters in the

southwest and northwest (Cat. # 3457) and gaps in the present flooring still indicate their locations. There were also two log posts behind the counter near the shelves on the west wall. These four posts are absent in the photograph.

The post office was in the northeast corner according to the earliest data we now have, which largely dates in the late teens, such as LaCharles general statement for before 1920 (LaCharles Eckel Interview, 14-16 May 1971) and Francis M. Irish memories for the latter part of 1917 (Francis M. Irish Interview, 6 April 1972, Museum Journal, Vol. III, p. 63). According to Joe Tippecanoe, who began working in the store about 1911 (Joe Tippecanoe Interview, 22 Nov. 1971, p. 1) this was its original location (Joe Tippecanoe Interview, 16 Nov. 1971, p. 2). [Hold final conclusions for possible further data from Tom Morgan]. The counter for the post office or at least the counter top is now used in the Office. (Dorothy Hubbell Interview, 13-24, October 1969, p. 8) and can be replaced in its original location. The cage that fits into the holes in the top of the post office counter is no longer on the site. Efforts are being made to locate it or one like it for replacement.

The shelves against the walls were somewhat like those in use at present, but either lightly stained or unpainted and darkened with age. The molding along the tops of the shelves, however, is the same color as the counters. Two display cases are on the south

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counter in the Burbank painting. Against the back (west) wall there were more shelves closer together which were used for canned goods, the space between shelves being just slightly more than the height of the cans. As a result there were 4 shelves where now there are but two. The original shelves did not overlap the door and window frames. On the south wall there were compartments as at present, but higher and narrower than those now used. (Cat. # 3457) Examination of the shelves now in place shows that they were put in with round nails, while at least part of the molding was installed with square nails. On the north wall the shelves were also slightly different, extending to the west wall where the sink now is and being unevenly spaced. (HTP-PP-38).

Considerable furnishings existed on the counter top, included glass show cases, scales, tobacco cutter and probably other equipment (Cat. # 3457). The display cases were different from those now in use, having narrower molding supporting the glass. One had a broken pane which appears to have been patched with a piece of cardboard. (Ibid.) One with a slanting front pane appears in the same approximate location on the south counter in both the Burbank painting and the photograph. A sturdier showcase, longer than any now present, is located diagonally across the northwest corner of the counters in the photo, but is not present in the painting. The painting shows a tobacco cutter near the southwest corner of the counters, as well

as large balance scales. The same scales seem to appear in the photograph which, showing more of the north side of the rooms, also shows the Perfection Scale dated 1865. A kerosene lamp, fairly ornate and lacking a chimney, is beside the scale. Whether this was for lighting or is another piece of merchandise is uncertain, but the absence of any other means of providing light in either picture as well as its elaborate style seems indicative of functional rather than display purposes (see below for a discussion of merchandise). The photo also shows the passageway through the north counter leading to the Office with an inward opening wooden gate, the gate differing slightly from that now present. On the counter on the east side of the passage is another glass display case with sloping glass front, only a corner being visible.

The rack for ax handles against the west wall on the north side of the door is raised much higher than the present rack, which was installed since Park Service acquired the site at the time the west door was again made functional.

One of the most interesting features of the west wall is the door, which is painted a light gray in the Burbank picture. Over the center of the lintel is nailed a horse shoe, open side down. On the door itself the painting shows a dark gray wing-like picture. The photo, which obviously postdates the painting, shows that this was an as yet incomplete picture of a hawk or eagle with its wings spread. It is probable that this decoration is still on the door

under the more recent coats of paint. If the original picture can not be recovered, a copy should be done. It is of interest to note that Burbank's painting is so literal a depiction of the scene that he shows this unfinished picture on the door.

The goods displayed in the glass show cases can not be identified in either picture.

Goods on the shelves are identifiable only in general classes. The southwall appears only in the painting. Shelves there contain several kinds of boxes, including one compartment with what looks like modern shoe boxes, a few dark bottles and various kinds of canned goods, most of the latter being stacked on the top of the shelves. In both pictures most of the shelves on the west wall are filled with canned goods, those in the painting having red, yellow and green labels. On top of the counters are larger bundled items. The north wall is shown only in the photograph. The westernmost tiers of compartments are filled with small boxed items. The remaining visible shelves, as well as the top, contain rolls of various kinds of cloth. That in the compartments appears to be mostly calico and other finer material, while that above seems to include rolls of a very heavy coarse material and quilts.

Both pictures show a great array of goods hanging from the ceiling. In the Burbank scene the portion near the west wall includes bridles,

harness straps, girths and possibly a Navajo sash. More toward the center and back are numerous horse collars and at the extreme right, probably about north of the stove, is a cluster of coffee pots. The photo also includes two bunches of canteens hanging south of the stove, several saddles among the horse collars and a row of Pendleton blankets above the aisle between the counter and the north wall.

A small part of the south wall is visible through the open door in one of Vroman's photos of 1904 (HTP-PP-41). This shows the same arrangement of "shoe boxes" on the shelves and glass display cases on the counter as appears in the 1908 painting. In addition, storage space under the north counter contains a couple of Dutch ovens.

Levy's listing of goods ordered by the firm for the furnishing study of the Wareroom (Levy, 1968, pp. 8-44) gives a good idea of the kinds of merchandise that would also be on display in the store. There is little advantage to be gained by a repetition of this listing here, but some data from interviews with older Navajo residents of the Canado community will help to make this list more meaningful. Most Navajos are in agreement that the quality of the manufactured goods carried was generally rather low. (See for example Hastiin Dibet'izhini Interview, 26 Jan. 1972, p. 4). The general impression gained from reading the business correspondence and invoices supports this conclusion with regard to most products, with the major exception

being those items which were used in native trade. High quality was expected by the Navajos in turquoise, coral, buckskin, bison hides, blankets and similar items and the Hubbell Papers contain disproportionately large numbers of letters relating to such merchandise.

Joe Tippecanoe, who began work in the store in 1911 and was an employee of the Hubbells for many years, mentions candy, particularly stick candy, and tobacco as being in the glass show cases. He says that on the south side toward the door the shelves contained dishes and coffee pots. On the north side were the shoes. Under the counters lard, potatoes, sugar and corn were kept, some of these things being in bins. (Joe Tippecanoe Interview, 16 Nov. 1971, pp. 1-2). One of the old bins is now stored in the barn and still has a paper label, "Navajo Corn 7¢ lb." Two more of these bins are still under the south counters. The 1905 inventory lists "boxes" for wheat, pinyones, salt, coffee, sugar, flour, rice, corn and bran. (Inventory at Ganado Jan. 1 1905, extracts in HUTR Historical Files.) If these are the bins, a number have been lost through the years. Some larger and less well finished bins in the barn were probably used there rather than in the trading post.

There is a roller behind the south corner of the west counter, above which is a board with several small holes. This was probably used for cord and light rope. A similar arrangement with larger holes in the counter top serves for heavy rope and is still in use.

The best and most detailed description, which dates from boyhood memories in the late teens and early 1920s, has been given by Arthur Hubbard Sr. While a little late for our period, it conforms well with more scattered bits of information from others. He remembers plug tobacco and tobacco cutters, a screened case for salt pork, a stone bowl filled with tobacco with cigarette papers along side (in contrast to the usual description for other trading posts of a small container nailed to the counter, nail points up to prevent too large a helping of free tobacco), materials including gingham and velvet, levis, high-top shoes, blue shirts, cones of brown sugar, Arbuckles coffee, flour in 50 and 100 pound sacks, 100 pound sacks of sugar, coffee beans and the coffee grinder, salt pork, bread, canned goods, beans and potatoes. What he remembers particularly is the aroma of the store which he describes as seeming to him a combination of fruit and tobacco smells. (Interview with Arthur Hubbard, Sr., 1 Dec. 1971, pp. 1-2). While a number of informants have mentioned Don Lorenzo's hospitality at the time a customer arrived, Hubbard described it in some detail. In the spring and fall when customers arrived with wool or lambs he would open a can of tomatoes, pour sugar into it with a scoop and pass out spoons and bread. The family so treated would take the food outside for a snack and then come in to bargain for their groceries and the sale of their products. (Ibid., p. 2).

There was one or more cash drawers under the counter. One of these is now out in the barn. (LaCharles Eckel Interview, 14-16 May 1971, p. 7). Little business was done with actual cash, however. Some was done on credit, but much was done by exchange of goods and use of tin money. (Dlinibaa' Morgan Interview, 8 Mar. 1972, Mrs. Ben Wilson Interview, 17 Jan 1972, p. 4; Tom Morgan Interview, 19 Nov. 1971, p. 7; Hastlin Yellowhair, Interview, 6 Dec. 1971, p. 2; Dolth Curley Interview, 8 Nov. 1971, p. 4; Charlie Smith Interview, 14 Nov. 1971, p. 3; Asdzaa Dloo Holoni Interview, 14 Jan. 1972, p. 2; Joe Tippecanoe Interview, 15 Nov. 1971, p. 2 and others.) It is therefore probable that the contents of the cash drawers were trade tokens for the most part.

Additional sources of information, relatively minor but highly accurate, are labels from baking powder cans and an evaporated milk can (Catalogue Numbers 3299, 3300 and 3301) found under the floor during stabilization of the west wall. The baking powder, packed by C. N. Cotton, was guaranteed under the Food and Drugs Act of June 30, 1906. The other label lacks any date. In addition a salt bag, with a patent date of 1889 (Catalogue Number 3294) was recovered with this lot of material, as well as a match box with trade mark registered in 1874 (Catalogue Number 3309) and a mouse trap patented in 1894 (Catalogue Number 3288). These items can be used as a basis for very accurate reproductions of some merchandise.

One other feature below the counter at the present time is a series of cubicles for paper bags of various sizes. Levy (1908, p. 32) demonstrates that paper bags were in use in the store by 1908 at least and the bag cubicles may well date back to that time period.

The walls seem generally to have been unfinished adobe plaster as shown in the Burbank painting and by samples collected recently that crumbled from the east wall.

One recent Nudge description suggests that a Spanish style ceiling of yellow oak shingles was in place. The planks were in place.

THE OFFICE

The Office is said to have been the trade room at the time HB-1 consisted of only the two northern rooms, the Rug Room serving as warerooms. (Joe Tippecanoe Interview, 22 Nov. 1971, p. 1). By 1900, however it was the trader's office and a few photographs taken during the first two decades of this century show its furnishings in part. As with the Trade Room, one angle was a favorite of the early photographers and four of the five photos are of the south wall, the fifth being a good detailed picture of the fireplace on the east wall. There is nothing to help with the remainder of the east wall nor the west and north walls except some rather uncertain memories on the part of various people who were here during that period. As these photos show some changes during the period they cover, an explanation of their chronology seems needed.

The earliest are three pictures taken by Adam Clark Vroman in 1904. Two (HTP-PP-41; HTP-PP-42) show the south wall of the Office before the large desk was set against the wall. The other (HTP-PP-43) is a remarkably good picture of the fireplace against the east wall. Our copies were acquired from the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, were printed from Vroman's original glass plate negatives and are well documented. Caution must be exercised in using HTP-PP-41 as it was printed backwards.

Next in time is another photo of the south wall taken in the summer of 1906 by Virgil Huff White. We have a loose copy which was found in the Hubbell property on the site (HTP-PP-11) and another in an album presented to the National Park Service by the photographer's daughter, Kathleen V. Brokaw (Catalogue Number 3282). In this picture the large desk is set against the wall and there have been some minor changes in the decoration on the wall.

Finally, an undated closeup photograph of the Italian madonna painting was taken in the Office and enough shows around the edges to help in documenting furnishings. (HTP-PP-21) A note on the back of this picture, probably by Wescoate Wolf, former NPS superintendent at Hubbell, suggests a date of "Circa 1920". The only record that has come to light of photographs being made of the Italian painting dates from 1912 (Hubbell to Cassady-Davis, 7 June 1912, NUTR Historical files). This strongly suggests that the picture may date in that year, but is

by no means certain proof. The picture is part of a set which includes HTP-PH-55, dated on the basis of the fact that it was taken during Charles Hubbell's employment at the Oraibi Trading Post from about 1911-1916. (Brugge, 1972, p. 104). Thus, a date considerably prior to 1920 is indicated.

The fireplace will be considered first. As noted above on the basis of exterior photos showing chimneys, this fireplace existed throughout the all or most of the period from 1900 to 1910. The Vroman photo (HTP-PP-43) shows it in great detail. It was plastered with adobe and rectangular in cross-section, the chimney being equal in exterior horizontal dimensions to the fireplace proper. A Navajo rug hangs over the opening, but sufficient is visible on both sides to suggest an arched top. A depressed dirt floored area in front of the hearth doubtless served to prevent sparks from reaching the wooden flooring. A wooden frame formed a sort of facade about the opening for the hearth and above this were three shelves appearing rather like a triple mantel. These were filled with pottery, most of which was of modern Hopi manufacture although including at least one prehistoric Anasazi jar, a bas-relief of a Navajo weaver, a few stone artifacts including an ax head, a small stone bowl and the knobby war club head now in the Hall of HB-2, a vase and some unidentifiable bric-a-brac. Above these on the front of the chimney were hung 8 of the small rug paintings and what appears to be a Burbank painting of an elderly Navajo or Hopi

man. The location of the Burbank painting today is unknown. A series of small triangular wooden shelves on each side of the fireplace and chimney complete the structure. On the north side these are filled with books, account books on the lower two shelves and unidentified published sets on the upper four. On the south side the lower two shelves hold business papers in cardboard files and boxes and the top shelf is vacant. The other three shelves hold pottery, some of which is Hopi, but also including pieces that appear to be from Zuni, Acoma or even further east. On the south part of the facade a small Hopi bowl or dipper hangs from a nail and a two-pronged metal bracket provides a place for leaning pokars and other tools.

The arrangement along the south wall is very complex. In 1904 (HTP-PP-41; HTP-PP-42) the furniture from east to west was as follows. In the southeast corner, back against the east wall, was a small roughly built cabinet for miscellaneous office equipment. Next to this was a wooden crate which may have served as a waste basket. Next was a rather high narrow cabinet, the lower portion being equipped with two hinged doors, a narrow area that could be used as a desk above this and rack of pigeon holes above the back portion of the desk surface. Various boxes and papers covered the available surfaces of this piece of furniture. It is no longer on the site. Set out from the wall was a largish table used as a desk, a chair

being placed between it and the wall. This table is still present in the Office. The chair is not visible as such, being covered with a pelt and a pillow and a man seated in it. The surface of the table, except for a few Hopi baskets and Kachina dolls, is relatively uncluttered, containing only an ink bottle, a rubber(?) stamp of some sort, a few papers and an account book. Against the wall immediately east of the doorway into the Trade Room is a small table on which rests a press, probably a letterpress for making copies of correspondence. It appears, in fact, to have been in use with two letterbooks at the time the photographs were made. In the southwest corner the pawn closet is already in place. The wall was covered with pictures, most of which are the small rug design paintings. Also present, however, are Sawyer's painting of a Ye'i'aash rite, a plaque similar to the weaver plaque now mounted in the wall of the Pat o in HB-2, the photograph of Don Lorenzo's two daughters now on the east wall of the Office and the large sketch of a Navajo in profile now in museum storage, as well as an unidentified picture of an individual with long loose hair, probably a painting or photograph of an Indian girl. The floor is covered with rugs and two plain wooden chairs provide seats for visitors. The number of rugs and their distribution suggests that they were not used regularly in this manner, but placed as props especially for the picture taking.

Alter^{ations}~~ations~~ visible in the White photo taken two years later are numerous. Most notable is the presence of the large desk which is

still in use in the office. The simple wooden chairs have been replaced with two swivel chairs, both with pelts to soften the seats. The wooden crate has been moved to a position between the cabinet and the desk. A wastebasket in coiled Indian basketry, probably of either Hopi or Mescalero Apache origin, is under the desk. The letterpress is no longer on the small table by the door. In its place is a small object that appears disturbingly similar to a radio of the 1930s and which has yet to be identified. The table itself appears to be a replacement, although of about the same size as the one in the earlier picture. The pictures on the wall have been shifted about somewhat. The painting of an Indian girl(?) and the Sawyer oil are no longer visible. The mounted head of a four-horned ram, looking quite new, is hung directly above the center of the desk. A calendar with a portrait of a young woman hangs near the southeast corner. A small part of the east wall is visible in this photo and rug paintings are also hung there. Simple drapes, apparently made from a calico print, hang at the east window.

Office equipment shows some advance in this picture. While the letterpress is no longer visible, a typewriter on the desk indicates that it was no longer needed. It is worth noting here that the latest letterbook in the Hubbell Papers ends in 1904, with a few late entries dated 1914. (J.L. Hubbell Letterbook, 1901-1904, 1914, extracts in H. Historical Files.) On the table is a heavy glass inkwell and a small balance scale, as well as numerous papers,

account books and a clip board. Many unidentifiable items appear, most of which would probably be easily recognized with a clearer image or if shown from a slightly different angle. A rolled up concho belt and what is probably a beaded belt are on the small table by the door, but the dark objects on the floor under the table are not familiar. Aside from the account books and a couple of cigar boxes, most of the papers and containers on the office furniture cannot be described in more specific terms.

Finally, a simple striped rug on the floor under the table appears to be a legitimate part of the furnishings rather than a photographer's prop.

The latest photograph of this early series, HTP-PP-21, needs, for our purposes here only to be dated as shortly after 1910, a dating which seems quite secure. (See discussion of photograph dates above.) This shows a very limited field of view, but includes enough to demonstrate that the cabinet, desk and table were all still in the same relative positions and that the small rug paintings still hung on the south wall. The only change of consequence is the hanging of the Regulator clock now on the west wall immediately above the cabinet against the east wall.

The photographic evidence quite clearly shows that the clerical and office work was carried on from at least as early as 1904 in the

portion of the Office still devoted to that function. The quantity and variety of office furnishings increased steadily through the early years of the century. Selection of the specific items to be used will depend to some degree on interpretive needs and to some degree on the items available. The small cabinet can be easily rebuilt on the basis of the photographs, as can the small table. The large table and the old roll-top desk are still in the Office. None of the original chairs survive on the site, but two swivel chairs that are very similar to those in the 1906 photo are in the Office and will probably serve the purpose. The small shelves in the southeast corner were homemade expedients and a similar set can be easily installed. The crate and the coiled basket which were probably used as waste baskets will be harder to replace. A modern Hopi copy of the coiled basket can doubtless be procured, but the crate, with its rather elaborate label on one end, is probably beyond recovery. Only a lucky find in some old attic or basement is likely to provide another or a copy of the calendars in use during the period. An old Hammond typewriter very similar to that on the desk in the 1906 photo is in museum storage and is still semi-operable. Restoration should not be difficult, particularly since the working parts of a second typewriter of the same model might provide any needed replacement parts. These two machines are still the property of the Hubbell heirs, but their donation to the Park Service is hoped for. Use

of an old letterpress, perhaps for actual demonstrations, would be of greater interest to visitors as few people today have even heard of them. Letterpress copies did continue to be made, even from typewritten documents, for some time and the presence of both a typewriter and a letterpress would not be incongruous. I do not know when carbon paper came into general use, making the letterpress obsolete, but some research on the history of copy-making could produce background data for a very instructive living history demonstration, as well as allow for discussion of some of the sources used for historical research.

Structural features visible in the photos are relatively limited, but of significance. The wall was a light color, probably being whitewashed. The same door was in use for the doorway to the Trade Room, but it was hung on the west side of the frame. The floor was of boards about 6" wide laid north-south and this is doubtless one of the two floors now under the present floor. (Memo, Curator to Chief, H30, 22 July 1970). The date of installation of the pawn closet is uncertain. It was not built until after two layers of plaster had been applied to the walls, the second layer having two coats of white wash that extended behind the area now covered by the closet. (Ibid.) Old Navajos remember Mr. Hubbell having a small cabinet of some sort for pawn. According to Hastiin Dibet'ishini this was a piece of furniture with drawers and it was located next to the door to the

Trade Room on the east side of the door. (Hn. Dibet/izhini Interview, 2 Feb. 1972, p. 1) As nothing of this sort appears in the photographs, it is probable that it was in use prior to 1904 and that the pawn closet replaced it, serving the same purpose from the time of its construction.

Removal of the present floor along the east wall should reveal foundations of the fireplace, as well as the earthen-floored area in front of the hearth. Again Hastiin Dibet/izhini's memories pre-date the photos. He describes the room as being originally dirt-floored (Ibid.), which is in accord with observations made at the time the vault was installed in the pawn closet (Memo, Curator to Chief, H30, 22 July 1970), the fireplace and chimney being of unplastered rock at that time. He is able to recall one of the two earlier floors as well (Hastiin Dibet/izhini Interview, 2 Feb. 1972, p. 1). In view of Joe Tippecanoe's recollections of the removal of the fireplace, that it was "built into the wall" (Joe Tippecanoe Interview, 16 Nov. 1971, p. 2), it is probable the structural remnants that would aid in reconstructing this feature also exist under the plaster in the wall.

Descriptions of the other portions of the room are quite vague. At one time a pool table was set up in the center of the room, but this seems to date post-1920 into the 1940s. (LaCharles Ackel Interview, 14-16 May 1971, p. 35; Dorothy S. Hubbell Interview,

13- 24 Oct. 1969, p. 78; Allen Hill Interview, 4 Dec. 1969, *Museum Journal*, Vol. II, p. 12). Mrs. Hubbell's description of the room in 1920 when she first came to Ganado indicates that the desk and the large table were still where they had been in 1906. There was a built-in cabinet in the southeast corner of the room and the large safe was against the east wall next to the cabinet. A display case for dead pawn was set out from the west wall. This was considerably smaller than the display counters now used for jewelry. The fireplace had already been removed and a wood stove installed. The plain adobe plaster covered the formerly whitewashed walls. The rug paintings were then hung in the rug room. A phone was in use in the Office and was installed beside the east window. The small cabinet now by the east wall was in the northwest corner. The mounted heads were all in their present locations. The file cabinet was present, but its location is not recalled. The clock hung on the east wall. (Dorothy S. Hubbell Interview, 13-24 Oct. 1969, pp. 8-10).

Office equipment included the old Burroughs adding machine and two typewriters, a Hammond model and another with long carriage (*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12). The latest patent date on the Burroughs machine is 1908, so that it may well have been in use by 1910. The only patent date on the file cabinet is 1879. No patent date can be located on the safe.

The various early inventories are suggestive, but do not show in which room an item was used and sometimes lump items together. The January 1902 inventory lists a clock, a letterpress and lamps that might be expected in the office (Inventory, Jan. 1st 1902, extracts in HUTR Historical Files). The 1903 inventory includes two tables, a scale, a mimeograph, a typewriter and a clock that may be office furnishings. (Inventory, Jan. 1st 1903, extracts in HUTR Historical Files). In 1904 only the tables, a typewriter and a desk appear. (Invoice Jan 1st 1904, extracts in HUTR Historical Files). The 1905 inventory is more detailed and one of the clocks, one of the desks, the mimeograph, the typewriter, the "press and stand", tables, scales, ink stands, chairs, letter files and lamps suggest items to be found in the Office. (Inventory at Ganado Jan. 1 1905, extracts in HUTR Historical Files). In 1906 office furnishings are indicated in listings of 84 "blanket patterns", a sheep's head, a deer head, a desk and "contents", a desk chair, a typewriter, tables, lamps, chairs, an inkstand and a "copying pen". (Invoice, Jan. 1st, 1906, extracts in HUTR Historical Files) Most significant in suggesting furnishings for the period under consideration is the 1910 inventory. The following list seems to apply specifically to this room:

- 1 Deer head & 1 sheep head
- Books in office
- Old guns
- 1 Clock
- 1 Office desk
- 1 Dixon Salome
- 1 Taft & Sherman

4 Chairs
2 Typewriters
1 Press
1 Pencil sharpener
1 Sideboard (?)
1 Bookcase hand made
2 Tables in office
2 Lamps Royo

- - - -

1 Bedstead in office
1 Swing chair (?)
Misc. in J.L.H. Desk.

(Inventory January 3 1910, extracts in HUTR Historical Files).

Only one elk head appears in the above inventory and it would seem to have been in the hall. (Ibid.) Items such as the bedstead and the "swing chair" may well have been in the Office on a very temporary basis and need not be considered in furnishing plans. It should be noted that the letterpress was still in the Office in 1910, while no mention of an adding machine appears in any of the above inventories. Descriptions of most items are so limited that specific identifications on the basis of the inventories must remain inferential for the most part except where supported by independent data.

One final comment regarding the two posts supporting weak vigas is required. There is no indication that these were present between 1900 and 1910. In fact, they may have been added when or shortly after the fireplace was removed to correct structural weaknesses

that developed as a result of weakening the east wall by taking out a structure that may well have served as a sort of interior buttress. Again it is worth quoting Hastiin Dibet'izhini, this time with regard to the structural qualities of the walls. According to him the work was done by "Spanish-American and Navajo workers who had no special skills as masons. The rocks were just stacked up. I did not expect it to last, but it's still here." (Hastiin Dibet'izhini Interview, 2 Feb. 1972, p. 2; this is a rather free translation.)

THE RUG ROOM

For the rug room there is no pictorial evidence prior to 1952. It is said to have been the wareroom when only the two northern rooms of HB-1 existed. (Joe Tippecanoe Interview, 22 Nov. 1971, p. 1).

There is smoke blackening under the plaster near the top of the west wall at the northwest corner and a patch in the ceiling, both strong evidence of a corner fireplace formerly located there. No photograph in our files shows the chimney of this fireplace. Only Hastiin Dibet'izhini, of those asked is able to remember this fireplace (Hastiin Dibet'izhini Interview, 25 Jan. 1972, p. 2). It is presumed that this corner fireplace was built about the time of original construction or shortly thereafter and then dismantled prior to the earliest photos we now have. Dibet'izhini also recalls this

room as originally having an earth floor and no decoration on the walls. (Hastiin Dibet/izhini Interview, 2 Feb. 1972, p. 1.) He further stated that the baskets on the office ceiling were first on the Rug Room ceiling. He remembers seeing rugs being weighed in the Rug Room also, and then placed in stacks about 2' high to be tied into bundles for shipment to Gallup. (Ibid., pp. 1-2). It seems probable that most of his memories are from before the turn of the century, but his description of activities in the room could certainly fit later usage as well.

The foundation and stone flooring of the fireplace built against the center of the south wall are good evidence for reconstruction of this feature. As in the case of the fireplace in the Office, there may well be traces in the older layers of plaster on the south wall that would assist in restoration. As noted above, this fireplace was removed quite early in the decade, certainly prior to the date of the Schwemberger photograph (HTP-PAV-4), which was probably taken no later than 1905. I have yet to get any good description of the fireplace. By 1920 an iron stove was in use. (Dorothy S. Hubbell Interview, 13-24 Oct. 1969, p. 11).

Most features now present in the room post-date 1920. The linoleum on the floors, the gun rack, the railing and the bookcases are all in this category. (Dorothy S. Hubbell Interview, 13-24 Oct. 1969, p. 11; LaCharles Eckel Interview, 14-16 May 1971, pp. 35a-37.)

In 1920 the table now in the northeast corner of the Office was in the Rug Room and was used as a place to pile rugs. (Dorothy S. Hubbell Interview, 13-24, Oct. 1969, p.9) At one time during the 1920s (and perhaps earlier?) there was a cot and wash stand in the Rug Room and one of the clerks slept there. (Ibid., p. 3). Arts and crafts of various sorts, including Hopi pottery and basketry, were kept in this room. (Ibid., p. 49). Of the art work, only the use of numerous Burbank redhead drawings on the south wall after the removal of the fireplace is suggestive of early usage. (LaCharles Eckel Interview, 14-16 May 1971, pp. 35a - 36).

The only items identifiable in the early inventories as rug room furnishings are:

1 set scales in Bktrroom	10.00
1 cs. in bktrroom & contents	200.00

(Inventory at Ganado Jan. 1, 1905, extract copy in HUTR Historical Files).

The nature of the case and its expensive contents is yet a mystery, but the presence of scales gives support to Hastiin Dibet'izhini's information on the weighing and bundling of rugs in this room.

Plaster from the east wall of the room indicates following sequence:

- Adobe layer $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick
- Whitewash
- Adobe layer $\frac{3}{32}$ " thick
- Adobe layer $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick
- White wash
- Cream colored enamel paint

Mrs. Hubbell can remember only the plain adobe plaster (Dorothy S. Hubbell Interview, 13-24 Oct. 1969, p. 11) apparently in use in 1920, and the later enamel paint. Park Service had an imitation white wash applied when refinishing the walls recently became necessary.

All in all our data for this room are very sparse and it is hoped that further details will be available before furnishing plans need to be finalized.

CONCLUSIONS

The above text is tentative as many details are lacking in data thus far gathered, especially for the Rug Room. It is especially in regard to pictures that more material is needed, although further descriptive data can add significantly to what we know. The tree-ring study will be particularly valuable in giving us better temporal control when and if done. Written sources seem to be very poor in data useful for furnishing plans for these structures.

Tentative conclusions are as follows:

- 1.) The restoration should date to the period from 1900-1910.
- 2.) Fireplaces in the Office and Rug Room and wood stove in the Trade Room as apparent sources of heating. Only the fireplaces should be operable, however.

- 3.) Wall finish - White wash in Office and Rug Room, plain adobe in the Trade Room.
- 4.) Floors - fairly wide rough boards, east-west in Trade Room, north-south in Office and probably the same in Rug Room.
- 5.) Ceilings - Varnish should be removed from vigas in Trade Room and Rug Room as well as enamel paint from ceiling resting on vigas.
- 6.) Shelves should be returned to unpainted condition and size and proportion of compartments shown in the Burbank painting and the ca 1920 photo (HTP-PP-38).
- 7.) The post office should be restored in the north-east corner of the Trade Room, moving the counter back in line with the rest of the north counters.
- 8.) Restoration of the features beneath the counters such as cash drawers, bins for dry food such as grains, nuts, etc., is of undetermined significance. It would be good to have these, but few visitors would be able to view them.
- 9.) Counter-top furnishings such as scales, tobacco cutters, coffee grinder and glass show cases should be acquired.
- 10.) Continuing research for brand labels and containers used for various kinds of merchandise, both the small packages used on the shelves and the crates

and cartons that would appear in the Wareroom,
is needed.

- 11.) Restoration of the Office furniture will provide particularly valuable interpretive benefits.
- 12.) Data on art work on the walls of the Office and Rug Room, aside from that on the south and part of the east walls of the Office, is still very uncertain.
- 13.) Air conditioning is very important for the Office and Rug Room for preservation of the art. It would be good to include the Trade Room in the system as well.
- 14.) The small wooden vestibule used at the north door of the Office should be restored. This would aid in temperature and dust control.
- 15.) As no special mention of it was made in Levy, 1968, it will be noted here that great care should be taken to preserve the wool packing rack in the Wareroom. (Levy, Hubbell Trading Post Wareroom Furnishing Study, 1968.)
- 16.) The gun rack, railings and bookshelves should be removed from the Rug Room.

Priorities for this work should be determined. Some of this can be accomplished without greatly disrupting the "living trading post" and some, such as replacing historic merchandise on the shelves, cannot be done until the present mode of operation is no longer meaningful. It is anticipated that the living trading post operation will continue for several years yet, perhaps for many years. The work programed for the immediate future will require re-arrangement of facilities for the refrigerated cases, either into the Wareroom or under the counter, the latter seeming preferable for both operational and historic objectives. Irreversible change should be avoided as much as possible.

APPENDIX A

TREE-RING DATES (reported as of April 1972)

OFFICE, West Wall	HUB-1	1880r
	HUB-2	1879r
North Wall	HUB-3	1880r
	HUB-4	1880r
	HUB-5	1879r
	HUB-7	1880r
	HUB-8	1878+v
ceiling	HUB-14	1889vv
RUG ROOM, North Wall	HUB-6	1880r
	HUB-9	1880r
	HUB-10	1880r
	HUB-11	1880r
TRADE ROOM, West Wall	HUB-12	1888GB
	HUB-13	1886r