

MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO
OFFICE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

**INVESTIGATIONS AT WILDCAT SPRINGS TRADING POST,
LA 55647, ALONG STATE ROAD 264, MCKINLEY COUNTY,
NEW MEXICO**

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ADMINISTRATIVE SUMMARY

Between May 1987 and May 1988, the Office of Archaeological Studies, Museum of New Mexico, excavated portions of sites LA 59497 and LA 55647 and conducted an ethnohistorical study of LA 55467 for the New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department. Portions of the sites were within the right-of-way for a proposed widening of State Road 264 in McKinley County. Because LA 59497 (a prehistoric site) and LA 55647, Wildcat Springs Trading Post, represent two very different cultural adaptations and were studied in very different manners, a separate report has been written for each site. This report covers only the archaeological and ethnohistorical investigations at LA 55647.

LA 55647 is the structural remains of Wildcat Springs Trading Post, built in 1944 and burned in 1951. The archaeological study describes the structural remains of the trading post and residence and associated features. The features are interpreted from an archaeological perspective. The historic artifacts are analyzed and described, and are used then to provide information about site chronology, function, and past human behavior related to trading posts and roadways. The ethnohistorical study provides a detailed account of the trading post occupation, the family histories, trading post economy from the perspective of regional political-economy, and an interpretation of site features based on personal interviews and photographic records.

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CONTENTS

ADMINISTRATIVE SUMMARY	ii
INTRODUCTION	1
LA 55647, WILDCAT SPRINGS TRADING POST	2
Site and Feature Descriptions	2
Historic Artifacts	10
General Surface Artifacts	11
Artifact Concentrations	12
Site Dating	14
Archaeological Interpretation of Site Occupation	16
A HISTORY OF WILDCAT SPRINGS TRADING POST	18
Introduction	18
Research Design and Theory	18
Research Methods	19
A Synopsis of Site Chronology and Resident Families	20
Changes in the Political Economy of Land Ownership and Land Use at Wildcat Springs	21
Biographies of Wildcat Springs Trading Post Families	25
Ethnohistorical Data on the Archaeological Features at Wildcat Springs Trading Post	29
RESEARCH QUESTIONS: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOHISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES	42
REFERENCES CITED	45
APPENDIX 1. Site Location Data	47

Figures

1. Project vicinity map	3
2. Site map, LA 55647	4
3. Plan of Feature 1, Wildcat Springs Trading Post	5
4. Profiles of Features 2 and 3	7
5. Feature 3, excavated	8
6. Feature 7, Hooch's stone	9
7. Feature 11, Wildcat Springs petroglyph, north of the trading post	10
8. Manufacture dates for selected historic artifacts	15
9. Front view of Wildcat Springs Trading Post	32
10. View of rock foundation	32

11. Floor plan of the trading post	34
12. Family photograph showing the Light House to the left of two large trees	38
13. Family photograph showing the Light House and trees in distance	39
14. Family photograph of Phyllis Graham on horseback, showing Light House at base of trees in left background	39

Tables

1. Tabulations from Artifact Concentrations 1 and 2	12
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INTRODUCTION

Between August 1986 and May 1987, New Mexico State Highway and Transportation (NMSHTD) archaeologists identified four sites and one isolated occurrence within the right-of-way of State Road 264 in McKinley County, New Mexico. The NMSHTD proposed to widen State Road 264 to four lanes within the existing right-of-way. Two sites, LA 59497 and LA 55647, were recommended for data recovery. This report presents the results of field investigations at LA 55647, Wildcat Springs Trading Post. Environment and Prehistoric Culture History sections can be found in the LA 59497 companion report (*Archaeology Notes* No. 85).

The data recovery plan and subsequent archaeological and ethnohistorical data recovery efforts were conducted by the Office of Archaeological Studies (OAS) (formerly the Research Section, Laboratory of Anthropology), Museum of New Mexico. The principal investigator was Dr. David A. Phillips, Jr.; the project director was Stephen S. Post; and the field assistant was Charles A. Hannaford of OAS. Dr. Frederick F. York of Albuquerque conducted the ethnohistorical study of Wildcat Springs Trading Post.

Archaeological investigations at LA 55647 were completed in November and December of 1986. This testing was sufficient to fulfill the archaeological requirements for data recovery. Additional data recovery efforts focused on the ethnohistorical study, incorporating both document research and personal interviews with former site and local residents.

LA 55647 is on New Mexico State Trust land, administered by the New Mexico State Land Office. Site location data are in Appendix 1.

Editor's Note: Most of the family photographs accompanying the Ethnohistoric Section were not available for reprinting at the time of publication and appear as photocopies.

LA 55647, WILDCAT SPRINGS TRADING POST

Wildcat Springs Trading Post is located along the north right-of-way of State Road 264 at an elevation of 2,049 m (6720 ft). It is at the base of a low sandstone and shale ridge in the central part of the Burned through the Rock Wash Valley (Fig. 1). The vegetation is a mix of piñon-juniper woodland, mixed grasses, and saltbush. The soils are alluvial, but eolian sand overlays coal and shale deposits eroding from outcrops and exposures located to the north and directly behind the trading post.

Site and Feature Descriptions

LA 55647 is composed of a number of architectural features and activity areas located within and outside of the existing construction right-of-way (Fig. 2). Located within the right-of-way are foundation remains of the trading post and domiciliary building (Feature 1); a sandstone foundation segment of undetermined function (Feature 4); two oblong depressions (Feature 2 and Feature 3); two modern artifact concentrations; and a light scatter of modern and prehistoric artifacts covering the site area. Outside of the right-of-way are located a concentration of unshaped tabular sandstone blocks (Feature 5); a possible corral (Feature 6); a scatter of sandstone blocks and construction debris (Feature 7); a refuse area (Feature 8); a scatter of construction debris and modern refuse (Feature 9); a concentration of whole and broken cinder blocks (Feature 10); and a petroglyph panel composed of modern and prehistoric drawings (Feature 11). A hogan complex was recorded by a previous survey and is located north of the trading post complex. It was not dealt with as part of this project.

The site had been damaged prior to or during the initial construction of State Road 264. Areas closest to the right-of-way fence appeared to have the most integrity, evidenced by the presence of artifact concentrations and a standing segment of the trading post foundation.

Eleven features were identified during the testing. Four features were within the existing right-of-way; seven other features were outside of the right-of-way. Descriptions of the features, their temporal placement and functional interpretation are given where possible. These are archaeological descriptions based on field identification and testing in 1986. The ethnohistoric study by York (this report) provides an important comparison with, and supplement to, the archaeological data.

Feature 1 was the remains of the trading post and domicile (Fig. 3). The feature consisted of a low foundation remnant, a cement slab, and a tar floor. The foundation for the trading post was located within the right-of-way. The domicile was attached to the back (north side) of the trading post and little besides the tar floor remains. From surface indications it appeared that the foundation was rectangular. Testing showed that the foundation was not rectangular and had two rounded corners (southeast and southwest) forming a D shape. The D-shaped foundation measured 12.5 m east to west and 8 m north to south. The west, south, and most of the east section had a single course of tabular sandstone 35-60 cm in width and length and 10-15 cm thick with cement mortar. The northernmost 3 m of the east wall foundation was above ground,

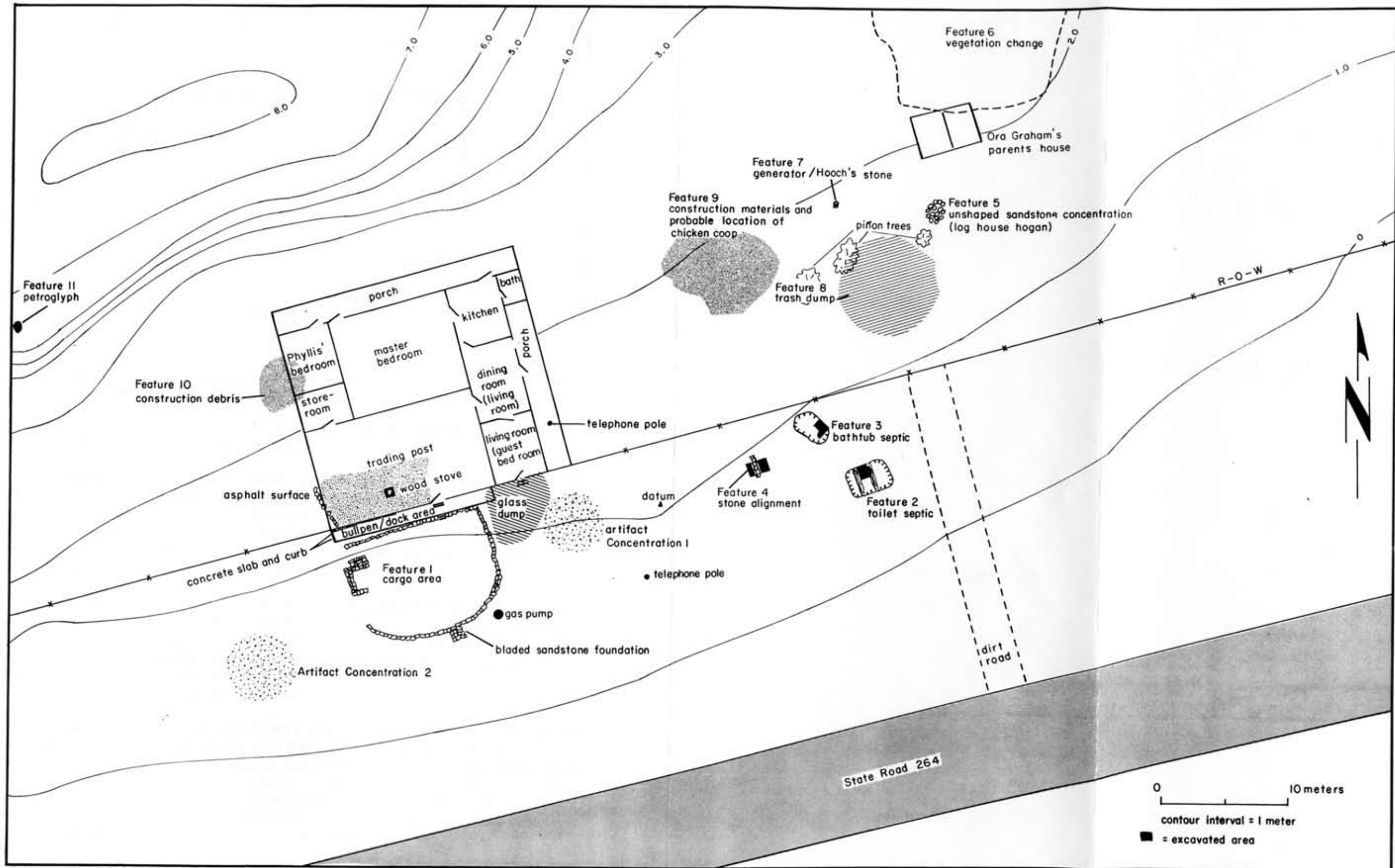


Figure 2. Site map, LA 55647.

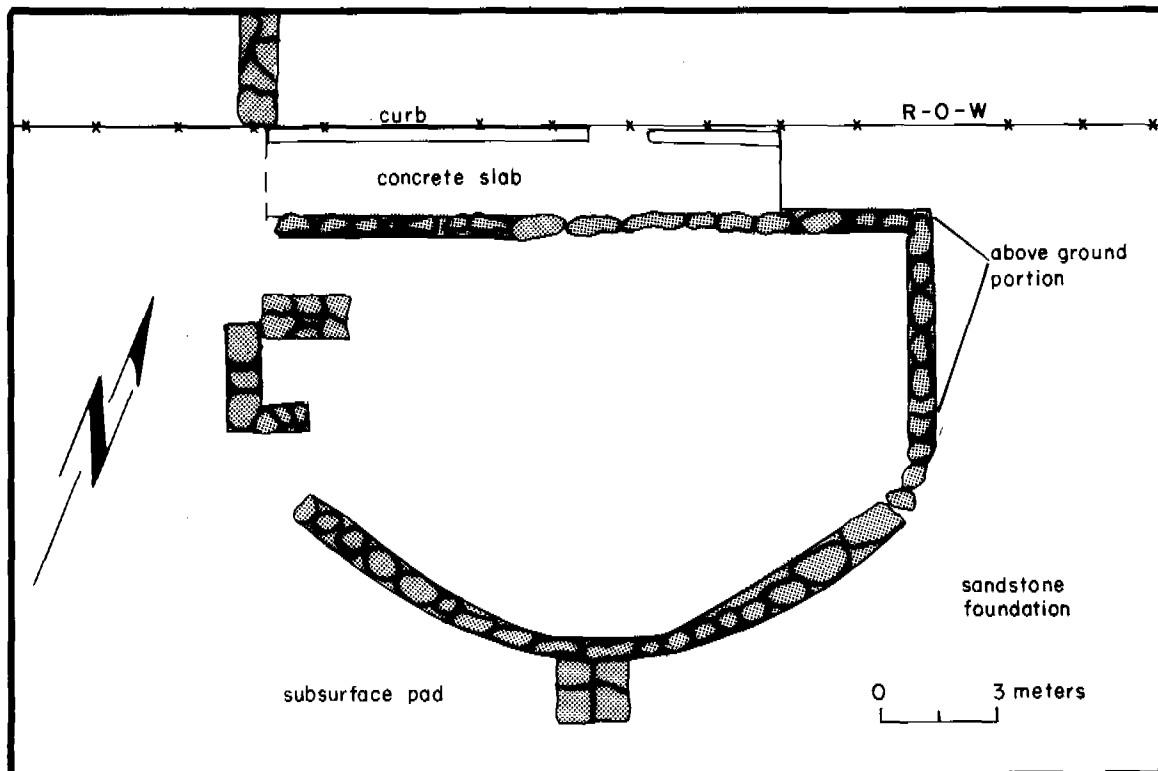


Figure 3. Plan of Feature 1, Wildcat Springs Trading Post.

ranging from one to three courses high or 50 cm at its highest. The north wall was constructed of cement-mortared sandstone and cinder block and stands three courses or 50 cm tall.

Features that were built in or attached to the exterior of the foundation provide additional information about the trading post/house building. Four sandstone slabs, measuring 1 by 1 m sq, were attached to the outside of the south wall and were centrally located. This foundation appeared to support something attached to the outside of the building, such as a staircase or a stoop entryway. A staircase would indicate that the structure was raised and the modern ground level within the foundation would have been a subfloor or crawl space.

The northwest corner of the west wall contained a 1-m-wide break and then a C-shaped sandstone foundation. This was followed by a 1.5 m break between the C-shaped foundation and the stub end of the west foundation. The two breaks were of undetermined function. The C-shaped foundation was substantial and presumably supported an attachment to the trading post. This attachment could have been the foundation for a water or gas storage tank. No archaeological evidence of function was recovered.

Attached to the north wall of the building at a height equal to the top of the third course was a cement slab, 9.5-m-long east to west and 1.6-m-wide north to south. The cement slab was joined on the north with a 30-cm-wide concrete foundation. The location of the cement slab at the back of the trading post suggests that it may have been a hallway and may be a storage space between the trading post and the house. The elevation of the slab was probably equal to the height of the raised floor of the trading post. A 1-m break in the concrete foundation was probably a doorway between the back of the trading post and the house.

The only identifiable remnants of the house attached to the back of the trading post were a tar surface that could be a floor or subfloor and the west wall foundation that was constructed of sandstone blocks. The foundation extended to the north of the cement slab approximately 5 m. The extent of the foundation was determined by sticking long probes into the ground, indicating the presence or absence of subsurface slabs.

Two artifact concentrations on either side of the trading post represented the best artifact evidence for trading post use. They were primarily bottle glass and bottle tops. This is the kind of trash that might come from people loitering outside the trading post.

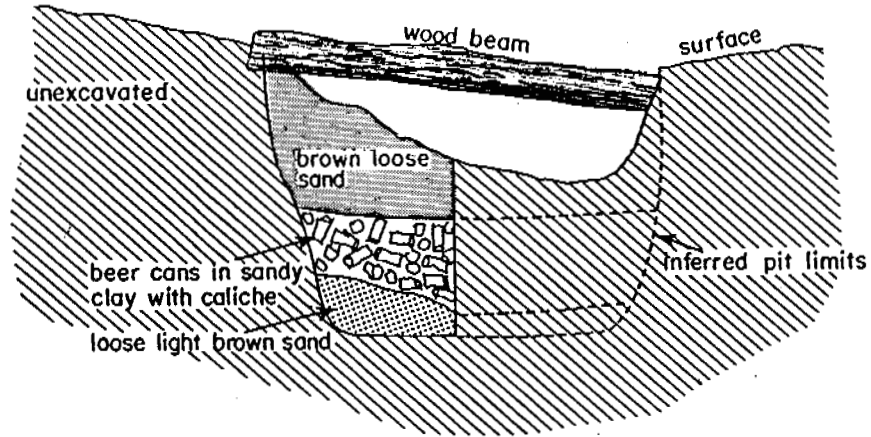
Informants contacted during the survey suggested that the trading post had burned and was rebuilt. It was not clear from the initial information whether or not the post was rebuilt on the same spot. Burning was evidenced by the oxidized sandstone rubble and interior of the east foundation wall. However, no archaeological evidence for reconstruction was present in the subsurface deposits, the surface, or the features. Reconstruction evidence might entail the use of different materials in the foundation, an imperfect joining of structural corners, or the superimposition of one foundation over another. The scattered construction debris cannot be definitely attributed to the trading post since there is evidence for outbuildings. Much of the building's superstructure may have been salvaged and used in the construction of the newer trading post building located around the west end of the sandstone ridge (Fig. 2).

Feature 2 appeared as a depression on the surface. Upon excavation, the pit was 3.5 m east to west by 2.2 m north to south. The depression was 36 cm below modern ground surface, while the bottom of the pit was 140 cm below modern ground surface (Fig. 4). The pit was dug into the native soil and had walls and a floor. The upper portion of the pit was lined by rough-cut and hand-hewn beams or studs suggesting that the structure was made from boards and poles or beams. The beams lining the pit appear to be the foundation to which the superstructure was attached. The trash in the fill was a combination of soda, beer, and food containers. The pit served as a trash dump either during or after the occupation of the site. Aside from its use as a dump, no other function could be assigned to the pit based on the archaeological evidence.

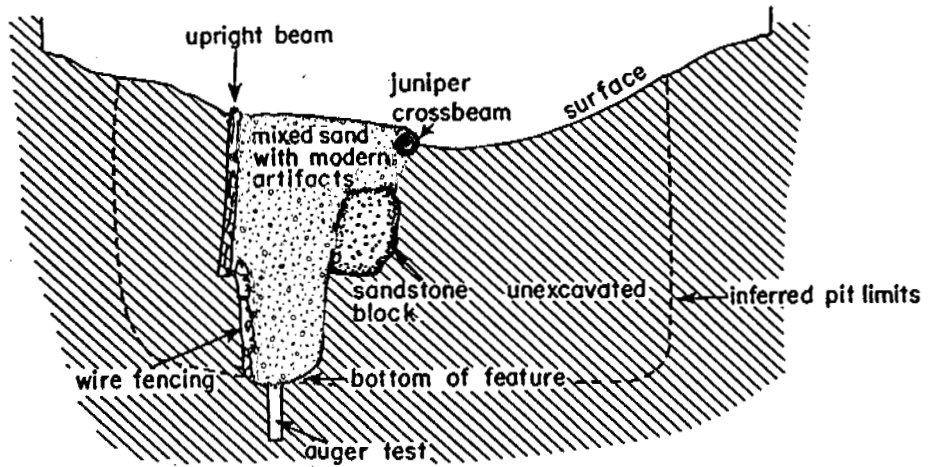
Feature 3 was similar to Feature 2 in that it was a subrectangular pit that appeared as a depression on the surface. The upper portions of the pit were lined with boards and beams and upright poles are embedded deeply into the walls. Parallel boards (two-by-fours) were uncovered 25 cm below the bottom of the depression; these either represent a collapsed floor or a portion of the wall that was pushed into the pit during demolition. The pit was 3.5 m long north to south by 2.4 m east to west. The bottom of the pit was 157 cm below modern ground surface (Fig. 4). The pit was dug into the native soil and has unmodified walls and floor (Fig. 5). No function could be assigned to the feature based on the archaeological evidence.

Feature 4 was a sandstone foundation remnant oriented roughly north to south. The segment was 190 cm long, 60 cm wide, and 24 cm high. It was constructed of two courses of unmodified dry-laid sandstone blocks. No evidence of a superstructure was found. Construction debris scattered throughout the site indicated there were outbuildings, and possibly this may have been the foundation for an outbuilding.

Feature 5 is a concentration of unshaped sandstone blocks roughly circular in outline and measuring 1.4 m in diameter. The average size of the sandstone is 30 cm long by 15 cm wide



east wall profile of Feature 2



profile of Feature 3

0 1 meter

Figure 4. Profiles of Features 2 and 3.



Figure 5. Feature 3, excavated.

by 5 cm thick. Function of this feature is unknown, and it may only be a construction debris pile.

Feature 6 is a circular area of wolfberry bushes that is 30 m in diameter. This may be the remains of a corral. There is no manure or evidence of fencing. A field informant suggested that it was constructed of brush.

Feature 7 is a concentration of building debris covering a 20 m sq area. One of the sandstone blocks is inscribed with the names of family members and dates (Fig. 6). "Hooch Graham, Nov. 23, 45," "-hyllis G-- Nov. 23, 45," and "George---PMG Nov 23." If this was a cornerstone of the trading post or an outbuilding, it indicates an initial construction date of November 23, 1945.

Feature 8 is a refuse area covering roughly 64 sq m. It contains mostly clear glass, with fewer pieces of white ironstone and red earthenware, two milk-glass buttons, and window glass. A small amount of purple glass was present. Maker's marks on bottle bases indicate a post-1940 date for this trash. This is a combination of domestic and trading post refuse.

Feature 9 is a scatter of sandstone blocks and spalls similar to Feature 7. Ceramic pipe tile, cement encased tile pipe, and a burned juniper log are included in the debris. It covers about 15 sq m.



Figure 6. Feature 7, Hooch's stone.

Feature 10 is a scatter of broken and whole cinder block. There were no alignments and the feature appeared to be partly eroding down the slope of the sandstone ridge. The debris covers about a 10 sq m area. The position of the rubble on the slope suggests it may have been the foundation for a gravity fed water tank.

Feature 11 is a petroglyph panel located on a south-facing sandstone exposure (Fig. 2); both modern and prehistoric glyphs are present (Fig. 7). The modern petroglyphs were produced with a hammer and chisel and show a cowboy figure with a star and a Colt revolver to his left. The majority of the panel is taken up by the inscription WILDCAT SPRING N M (the N is backwards) USA 1943. The prehistoric glyphs are a scroll, a snake or serpent, and an anthropomorphic motif. The prehistoric petroglyphs were probably made by the residents of the prehistoric pueblo (LA 59497) located 200 m east of the trading post.

Historic Artifacts

The historic artifact assemblage is an interesting combination of materials relating to the occupation of the trading post, use of the highway, and the occupation of the prehistoric site to the east. Artifact data were compiled to address two basic questions: (1) What are the dates for the occupation? and (2) What do the artifacts tell us about the site history? The artifact data were tabulated for tested features, two surface artifact concentrations, and the general site surface. Post-occupation disturbances within the right-of-way limit the interpretive potential of fine-grained

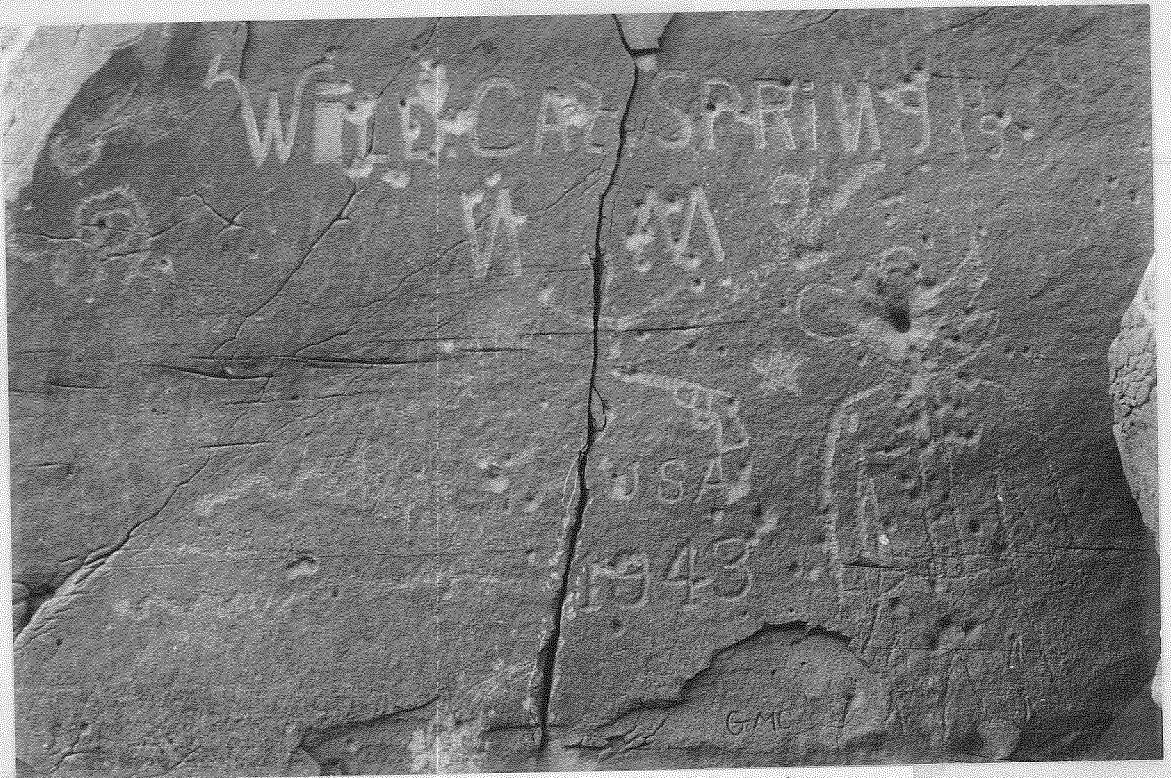


Figure 7. Feature 11, Wildcat Springs petroglyph, north of the trading post.

spatial associations. Surface artifact data were recorded in the field, and the artifacts were not collected. Data are presented by general proveniences and then are discussed with regard to the research questions. Interpretations are then compared with the ethnohistoric data.

Interpretation Conventions

The assemblage was divided into six functional categories based on the inferred use of the objects. The categories include indulgences, foodstuffs, domestic routine, construction/maintenance, transportation, and arms. These categories are not mutually exclusive, but are unique enough to allow some inference into activities performed at the site. The functional categories are indicative of three main activities: road travel, the residence, and the trading post business. Transportation, indulgences, and foodstuffs are subsumed under road travel. Domestic arms, construction/maintenance, and indulgences suggest residential use. Indulgences, foodstuffs, and construction/maintenance pertain to trading post use.

The three broad categories exhibit enough ambiguity to obscure the interpretive framework. Based on the context of the artifacts and the site, some assumptions were made to eliminate the ambiguities.

First, indulgences can be assigned to all three major categories. In the case of this assemblage, most of the indulgences are soft drinks or alcoholic beverages. We assume that alcohol was not sold at the trading post unless it was bootlegged. Therefore alcoholic beverages

had to be brought to the site. The most convenient method for transporting beverages would have been by car. The bottles can then be tossed out of the car window when empty. Alcoholic beverage containers are assumed to be part of road travel trash. Soft drinks were probably sold at the trading post and could have been consumed and discarded at the site. Soft drinks may have been consumed during road travel. Because the soft drink containers are numerous, their concentration is assumed to derive from the trading post business. The presence of numerous crown caps supports this. Beverage indulgences are not specifically associated with the residence because they were assumed to have been consumed less frequently in a household situation than the potential accumulation from road trash and trading post consumption.

Second, the construction/maintenance category cannot be separated for the residence and the trading post. Archaeologically, there are examples of the construction materials used in the trading post foundation, however no evidence of the superstructure of the trading post, the residence, or any associated outbuildings exist. Therefore, the construction/maintenance category only serves to illustrate that a number of buildings were on the site at one time.

Third, foodstuff containers could originate from any one of the primary site activities; however, most of the foodstuffs are considered to originate from the residence. Both road travel and trading post business would generate some discard from foodstuffs, but this should not occur in concentration and instead would occur as a linear distribution along the length of the right-of-way.

General Surface Artifacts

The general surface artifact scatter was composed of a variety of artifacts that resulted from use of the trading post, the residence, and road travel. Road travel refuse is composed of items from the indulgence and transportation categories including discarded car parts and liquor bottles tossed from moving or stopped vehicles. A list of artifacts includes brown and clear beer bottles, whiskey bottles, clear and green wine bottles, shattered windshield glass, and rubber tire fragments. In most cases, refuse of this type was in fragments, with glass fragments being the most frequent artifact type.

Small amounts of trash from within the right-of-way are related to the residential activity at the site. This trash includes items from the domestic routine and foodstuff functional categories. The residential trash included ironstone and small fragments of porcelain dishes, milk glass, threaded jars, butchered sheep and cow bones, sanitary cans, and coal. All of the domestic trash was represented in low frequencies.

Trading post business is represented by materials related to indulgences and foodstuffs for which containers were discarded after the contents were consumed. The only definite kind of trading post trash that could be identified was pop bottles and crown caps. A single whole Nesbitt soda bottle was collected.

Construction debris consisted of tabular and block sandstone, cinder blocks, lumber, window glass, and ceramic pipe fragments. Construction material could be from either the trading

post, outbuildings, or the house. It gives a general idea of the construction of the structures. There is relatively little construction debris considering the potential number of structures that could have occupied the site area. Construction materials were present in low frequency partly because the distance to construction material yards and hardware stores is 15 miles. If construction material was salvageable, it was probably incorporated into later construction at the house to the west or was used by locals for construction of houses or sheds. Therefore, the materials that were left represent those that could not be saved and used in construction elsewhere.

Artifact Concentrations

The content of the two artifact concentrations is similar to the general site scatter. The results of these tabulations are shown in Table 1. Feature 8 was a third artifact concentration. The feature has already been described in Feature Descriptions (this report). It can be summarized as a mixture of trading post and residential trash including items from the categories of domestic routine, foodstuffs, and indulgences.

Other subsurface artifacts recovered during the testing (Post 1987) conform to the functional categories formed by the surface artifacts. Test Pit 7 in Feature 2 is interesting because of the concentration of beverage cans encountered. The majority were 12-oz Coors beer cans (71). Also included were 12-oz Budweiser beer cans (2), 8-oz Hunts tomato juice cans (2), 12-oz Del Monte soda cans, all church-key opened, and a Hamms beer can with a pop-top opening. Additional items included a 1-qt Valley Gold milk carton and a Jergens lotion bottle. This concentration appears to result from the latest site occupation based on the plastic bottles and one pop-top can. Feature 3 had a plastic Clorox bottle and 12-oz Coors beer cans (2) located near the bottom of the pit. These artifacts also seem to represent the latest occupation of the site.

Table 1. Tabulations from Artifact Concentrations 1 and 2

Artifact Type	Conc. #1	Conc. #2
Indulgence		
Clear Glass, bottle		
Body	31	
Base, hexagonal	1	
Base, round	2	
Aqua Glass, bottle		
Base	2	
Body	3	1
Green Glass, bottle		

Artifact Type	Conc. #1	Conc. #2
Body	1	
Brown Glass, bottle		
Rim		1
Base		1
Body	7	1
Purple Glass, bottle		
Body	1	
Bottle Top		
Crown cap	1	
Screw top	1	
Domestic Routine		
Clear Glass, jar		
Lip, threaded	1	1
Body	1	2
Clear Glass, tumbler		
Rim	1	
Ironstone	2	
White Porcelain, coffee cup	1	
Foodstuffs		
Bone, indeterminate	2	
Construction/Maintenance		
Common Nail, 1d.	1	
Window Glass	1	
Transportation		
Clear Windshield Glass		1
Aqua Windshield Glass	1	
Arms		
Rifle Cartridge, .22	1	

Site Dating

Precise occupation dates can be taken from the ethnohistorical study, but occupation date ranges also can be determined from the archaeological materials. These ranges are based on the manufacturing dates of products or on manufacturing techniques that were used for a restricted period. These archaeologically based dates can be compared with the ethnohistoric dates. The dates for selected artifacts and manufacturing techniques are listed in Table 2.

Most temporally sensitive historic artifacts collected or observed in the field are from the Indulgence and Foodstuffs functional categories. This is partly due to container durability, making them last longer after discard. Time-diagnostic manufacturing techniques of glass and metal containers withstand the vagaries of surface corrosion and are most useful for dating occupations. In addition to the developments in technology, bottle manufacturers often embossed a single digit on the bottle base that is the last digit of the year in which it was made. Combined with other dates, the individual year dates provide fine-grained resolution that is usually lacking in the prehistoric record.

Composite dates are shown as a time line using the artifact types and dates shown in Figure 8. The time line shows a range of possible occupation dates from 1920 to 1960. This date range can be further narrowed using field observations.

Table 2. Manufacture Dates for Selected Historic Artifacts

Artifact Type	Dates	Reference
Indulgence		
Nesbitt soda bottle	1939-1959	Gilpin 1982:632
12-oz soda bottle	1934-	Ward et al. 1977
Canned soft drink	1953-1965	Ward et al. 1977
Canned beer	1935-1965	Ward et al. 1977
Church key opener	1935-1965	Rock 1981
Shallow crown caps	1956-	Ward et al. 1977
Pull tabs	1960-	Rock 1981
Cans, aluminum top	1960-	Rock 1981
Purple Glass	1897-1918	Gilpin 1982
Foodstuffs		
Crimped seam can	1920-	Gilpin 1982
Glass jar	1940-	Toulouse 1971

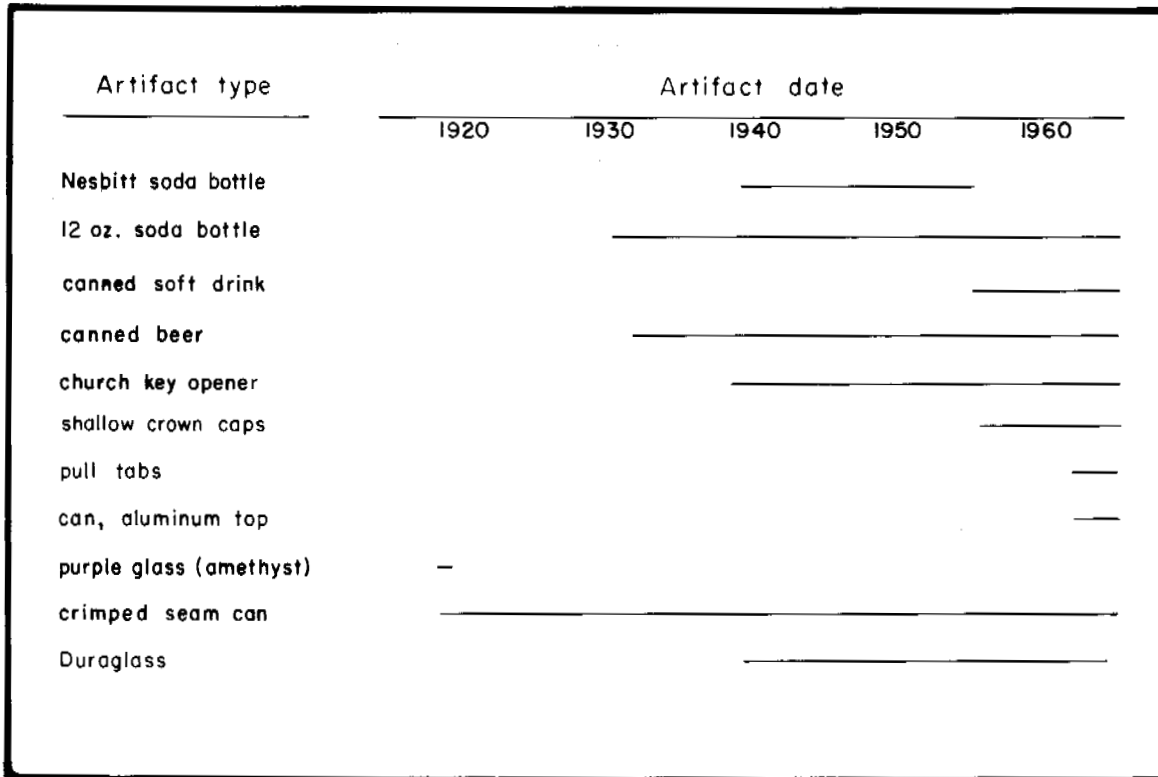


Figure 8. Manufacture dates for selected historic artifacts.

An occupation that spanned 40 years is unlikely because of the small amount of trash observed on the surface within and outside of the right-of-way. The amount of disposable trash should be tremendous if only for a period of five years. There should be more than one piece of purple glass if the 1920s occupation was at all substantial. This glass fragment may represent an occupation that pre-dated the trading post, for which we have no other data.

The next possible early date for the occupation is between 1935-1940. This range is based on 12-oz soda bottles, beer cans with punch-top openings, and the Duraglass jar. Although these artifacts occur infrequently, they appear to represent the most viable evidence of the early trading post and residential occupation.

An end date can be fixed at just after 1960, based on the presence of both punch top and pull tab opened cans in the lower fill of Feature 2. Either the feature was used as a dump at the end of the occupation or the beverages were consumed by the workers that demolished the site prior to road construction.

This narrows the date range to 25 years, which would still seem too long given the light accumulation of trash on the site. The artifact dates show no hiatus in occupation caused by change of ownership or periodic closing of the trading post. The only incident from which we can infer a construction episode is the evidence for burning on the inside of the foundation of the trading post building; however, there is no artifactual data with which to date the burning.

Unlike prehistoric sites, two other absolute dates exist that are both ethnohistorical and archaeological. These dates are inscribed in stone with the name of the trading post and three of its inhabitants. Features 8 and 11 have dates that were probably left by the trading post's one-time residents. Feature 7 includes a large block of sandstone on which is inscribed the date Nov. 23, 1945 and two names and a set of initials. Kelley (1985:28) suggests that the sandstone block was part of the trading post foundation, placing the construction at 1945. However the 1943 date inscribed on the sandstone face behind and above the trading post foundation indicates an earlier establishment date. What can be said is that the trading post was probably constructed between 1943 and 1945.

The other date available for the abandonment and demolition is the year of the paved road construction, which was in 1961. This date nicely corresponds with the beverage can level in Feature 2. Therefore, the additional evidence suggests an occupation period spanning 18 years. This range is close to that based on artifact manufacture dates.

Archaeological Interpretation of Site Occupation

Based on other work conducted on trading post and Anglo-American sites, it was assumed that a range of activities could be identified through the study of the artifact assemblages from which inferences about trading post behavior could be made. From Wildcat Springs Trading Post, the artifact data are minimal and ambiguous. However some observations about site characteristics can be made.

First, there was a surprisingly low frequency of domestic trash on the surface and within the features. Logic dictates that a modern residential occupation should generate a considerable amount of refuse. This refuse may be scattered in piles across the landscape or localized in one or two main dumps that are close to the residence. The paucity of trash could be interpreted as evidence against a residence associated with the trading post, except for the few ironstone, porcelain, and bone fragments. Another possible explanation is that the trash was hauled to a distant dump. Landfills are few and far between in this region as evidenced by the road trash and the filled garbage bins by the side of the road. The hauling of the trash seems labor intensive and little is gained from it. The burning of certain kinds of trash could be expected but this should leave an ash dump. Burying trash is another possibility but it is also labor intensive. Undoubtedly a combination of methods were employed to dispose of the daily refuse, resulting in sparse concentrations of trash near the trading post and residence.

The soda bottle fragments and crown caps on the surface should be expected. Sodas were likely to be consumed for refreshment before a customer returned home. This time may have been spent outside of the trading post talking with acquaintances or resting after a journey on foot. Staples and household goods would be carried back to the homesite, leaving no evidence of the main part of the trading post inventory. Without evidence of the inventory it is difficult to determine what impact the trading post had on the local economy or even how much the local population depended on the trading for subsistence goods through archaeological investigation. Instead, the artifact inventories of contemporaneous Navajo residential complexes must be examined, and in this reverse manner, the trading post inventory may be partially revealed. This indicates that we cannot archaeologically determine what level of impact or interaction was

maintained by the trading post on or with the local economy. This impact or interaction between the trading post and the local population is an important aspect of site behavior.

The excavation of other trading posts have revealed the presence of a wide range of activities that cannot be found in the legal documents and that are not commonly associated with trading posts (Kelley 1985). The testing of Wildcat Springs Trading Post has revealed no obvious evidence of ancillary activities based on the artifact assemblage and surface evidence of feature remains. By-products of blacksmithing, auto repair, and other activities might be expected, even in low frequencies, if they were a common part of the daily life. No such evidence is present and additional activities besides domestic and basic trading post are not indicated.

To summarize, the artifact assemblage from the site reveals little about the site activities or the people that occupied the site. A better indication of the trading post role in the local economy should be found in the artifact assemblages of contemporary Navajo residential complexes. The range of occupation dates developed from the documented changes in manufacturing technologies and maker's marks of certain container types is between 1940 and 1960. When combined with other chronological evidence it appears to be accurate.

A HISTORY OF WILDCAT SPRINGS TRADING POST

Frederick F. York

Introduction

The study of LA 55647 had been conducted to amplify information derived from the archaeological study of features recorded at the abandoned site and a related ethnoarchaeological study of the surrounding area. Research began with the intent of both answering specific research questions generated as the result of an archaeological testing program and providing a broader theoretical context for interpretation of the site.

This chapter is divided into five sections following this introduction. The second section presents an account of the research design, theory, methods, and data sources. The third section presents a synopsis of site chronology. The fourth section focuses on changes in the political economy of land ownership and land use at Wildcat Springs with reference to changes in the regional political economy of Navajo country in northwestern New Mexico.

Detailed biographies of the residents of Wildcat Springs Trading Post and a new house that replaced the original building following its destruction by fire in 1951 are presented in the fifth section. The sixth section describes LA 55647, the Wildcat Springs Trading Post site, on a feature-specific basis. In addition to considering initial archaeological interpretations of recorded features in light of interview data and photographs, the final section introduces information about other components of the complex.

Research Design and Theory

The ethnohistorical approach to studying Wildcat Springs Trading Post employed here complements both a previous ethnoarchaeological study of the surrounding area and the analysis of material remains recorded at the old store site during archaeological work that preceded the road construction project along New Mexico Highway 264. Dr. Klara B. Kelley referred to the trading post in an ethnoarchaeological study of a McKinley Mine South Lease Area that surrounds the site and has provided initial historical data (1978-1979, 1986). While Kelley's research focused on Navajo land-use practices and social organization, she also considered the business activities engaged in by trading post owners and their relationship to changes in the political economy of the local Navajo population.

Kelley gathered oral history data about the trading post and its owners from members of the local Navajo and Anglo populations who lived in the vicinity of the old store. She also used public documents on land ownership and land-use history. Subsequently, additional interviews were conducted by Norman Nelson and Stephen Post. Post also collected documentary data in public records on file at the McKinley County Courthouse in Gallup. All of this earlier research established base-line information that facilitated the integration of a theoretically grounded

research design with a number of specific research questions generated in the process of archaeological mapping and study of remains at the old trading post site.

In the study, a three-part periodization for the late nineteenth and twentieth century as formulated by Klara Kelley (1986) is used. The three periods consist of the Railroad Era, 1880-1930; the Great Depression and Grazing Regulation, 1930-1950; and the Industrial Era, 1950 to the present. Elsewhere I have argued that a central process that has taken place in these periods has been the introduction of exclusive land ownership and the establishment of formalized land-use rights (York 1990). The process initiated a transformation in Navajo land tenure and simultaneously facilitated non-Navajo access to Navajo-occupied areas in and around the Navajo Reservation.

During the first period from 1880 to 1930 the Navajos reestablished themselves on the treaty reservation and its surrounding areas of the Four Corners region that includes northwestern New Mexico. The second period from 1930 to 1950 witnessed implementation of land management and the introduction of a system of formal land use rights for Navajos living on the reservation and in adjacent areas. Finally, the third period beginning in 1950 and lasting to the present is one in which industrial land uses have displaced Navajo pastoral production.

The theoretical implications of this periodization for my study of the Wildcat Springs Trading Post are presented below. Here it is sufficient to note that at the onset of my research, it was known that Wildcat Springs Trading Post probably began operation during the last half of the 1930 to 1950 period and that it may have continued in operation for several years in the early to mid 1950s. A detailed history of Wildcat Springs Trading Post was therefore expected to contribute to an understanding of the second and perhaps the third periods of Kelley's periodization.

A central research goal was the determination of an exact chronology for the construction, use, and abandonment of the store. Other research goals focused on a comparison of oral history data and other sources of information describing or identifying the function of structures and other features with the material record as documented at the site by archaeologists. In other words, our intent was to test structure- or feature-specific archaeological interpretations with information derived from ethnohistorical data sets.

Research Methods

Ethnohistorical data collection methods were designed to reconstruct a history of Wildcat Springs Trading Post and fulfill other research goals. Since previously acquired oral history had provided preliminary information on when the store was built and approximately how long it was in operation, I sought to interview primary respondents who had actually lived at the site. In addition, I wanted to compare information from respondents who lived at the site at different points during its history. Finally, I searched for documents and other forms of written evidence that could be used to test the validity of oral history data and previous archaeological interpretations of site data.

Greater detail was added by taking advantage of other sets of information in completing the research and preparing this chapter. One important set of corroborative data consists of contemporary newspaper accounts about Wildcat Springs Trading Post and the people associated with it, drawn from issues of the *Gallup Independent*. Microfilm copies of the newspaper for the period from 1943 to 1952 were reviewed at the Zimmerman Library of the University of New Mexico.

A second set of information consists of interviews with several Navajos who recall Gib Graham and Jay Smith. Although interviews with local Navajo residents were not part of the original research design, my involvement in another research project in the area surrounding Wildcat Springs Trading Post has allowed me to interview Navajo individuals who knew Graham and Smith. In one case, an interview with an elderly woman who had purchased certain former railroad land cleared up a question I had about the chronology of land sales and the identification of who was involved in those transactions.

A final set of information relevant to the history of Wildcat Springs Trading Post and the processes it exemplified pertain to changes in land ownership and land use in recent decades of the Industrial Era. This additional information, like the interviews with Navajos, was made possible through my work on a coal lease area that includes Wildcat Springs Trading Post. The new data helped me to place the history of Wildcat Springs into a wider perspective on changes in land ownership, the rise of external controls over land use, and displacement of Navajo pastoralism.

A Synopsis of Site Chronology and Resident Families

Previous research by Kelley and others had identified three individuals and their families who were involved with the Wildcat Springs Trading Post and the surrounding land since the store was built in the mid 1940s. My own research verified the identity of the three families and refined the chronology of the Wildcat Trading Post site. The history began when Gilbert "Gib" Graham and his wife, Ora, built the store during the fall of 1944.

Although Mr. Graham is deceased, it was possible for me to interview Ora Graham at her home about 6 miles east of Wildcat Springs on several occasions. We also visited the old Wildcat Springs Trading Post on two occasions for on-site interviews. Mrs. Graham provided information that helped me to locate other respondents and documentary information. Mrs. Graham also provided photographs of the store and other structures.

Another primary respondent was the late Doris Smith of Cortez, Colorado. Mrs. Smith and her husband Wales J. Smith initially lived at the store in late 1949, while "Jay" ran it for Gib and Ora Graham. By June 1950 the Smiths purchased the store and a substantial amount of real estate from the Grahams.

Doris Smith was interviewed at her home in Colorado on one occasion. During the interview, she provided important information about a critical part of the Wildcat Springs history. Her help resulted in additional interviews and the discovery of a written record of the destruction of the store by fire on January 1, 1951.

After the combined Wildcat Springs Trading Post and residence was destroyed, Jay and Doris Smith continued off-site construction of a new residence initiated in 1950 and they replaced the store with another store building erected on a new site during 1951. In June 1952, they sold the new improvements, the property on which the Wildcat complex had been located, and certain other land.

The new owners were "Colonel" A. P. Springstead and his wife, Thelma. Mr. and Mrs. Springstead were already deceased when research began, but I was able to interview one of their sons, Dr. Bronson Springstead, in Albuquerque. With the exception of his recollections about a rodeo event attended at Wildcat Springs when the Grahams still owned it, Dr. Springstead's knowledge of the site dates after the original store had been replaced by the new structures built by the Smiths.

Changes in the Political Economy of Land Ownership and Land Use at Wildcat Springs

A 1944 purchase of former railroad company land acquired through a federal land grant in 1866 combined with the construction and subsequent operation of the Wildcat Springs Trading Post mark important changes in both land ownership and land use in one part of the checkerboard area in Navajo country. Those changes include the history of business operations at Wildcat itself, but their significance also relates to broader changes in regional political economy. When Navajos reoccupied the Four Corners region following the establishment of the Navajo Treaty Reservation in June 1868, a checkerboard pattern of land ownership already existed on land adjacent to the reservation in parts of northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona.

Within the checkerboard area virtually half of the land (consisting of alternating, odd-numbered 640-acre sections) belonged to railroad companies as a result of the 1866 federal land grant intended to encourage entrepreneurs to invest in completing portions of a proposed transcontinental railroad (Mosk 1944). The railroad land, like the reservation, had been carved out of the "public domain" in the vast territory the U.S. acquired as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo in 1846. Consequently, in the early reservation period the other half of the checkerboard (consisting of even-numbered 640-acre sections) adjacent to the Navajo Reservation continued to be federally owned land. Ownership patterns later became more complex due to federal authorization of homestead entries, mining claims, land grants to the Territory of New Mexico prior to statehood, and land grants to individual Navajos under the 1887 General Allotment Act.

Regardless of formal land ownership in the checkerboard and other areas adjacent to the reservation, patterns of Navajo land use and residency were the same as they were within whichever formal reservation boundaries the federal government recognized at any given time. Federal recognition of Navajo occupation far beyond the boundary of the initial Treaty Reservation of 1868 resulted in additions of land to the reservation from 1878 to 1933 (Correll and Dehiya 1978). As the area held in trust within the reservation grew, new boundaries replaced old ones, but certain Navajos continued to live beyond them.

By 1906, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) used the General Allotment Act of 1887 in a unique way in Navajo country. Instead of allotting reservation land to individual Indians to disembody the reservation as they had done elsewhere, federal officials allotted portions of the public domain to give resident Navajos some formal claim to land not held in trust for the tribe as a whole. In the Wildcat Springs township (T 16N, R 20W, NMPM), the first and biggest change in the classic checkerboard pattern of alternating sections of railroad land and public domain took place in 1910 when 65 allotments of 160 quarter-sections were made to 65 Navajo individuals in all but one of the 18 even-numbered sections.

While many quarter-sections within the even-numbered sections became Navajo allotments, the odd-numbered sections remained the property of the railroad. However, in spite of formal ownership by the railroad, Navajos used the land. Their system of land tenure rights based on family social organization was the basis for local control of day-to-day residential use, grazing activities, and farming.

Challenges to Navajo land tenure began with the creation of a formally defined, geographically limited reservation and later took a number of forms. For example, even though the reservation grew in size, those Navajos who lived outside of the reservation experienced conflict over certain lands as settlers competing for a variety of local resources moved in. Land conflicts were increasingly resolved through the application of property ownership rights or other formal use rights such as those based on leases of private property or public land.

Another challenge to the Navajo land tenure system arose in the 1930s when the federal government implemented an emergency livestock reduction program and began to make plans for a range management system (Aberle 1982). Through a system of grazing permits the government sought to control the number of Navajo-owned livestock following the livestock reduction effort. In addition, the permit system introduced the idea of formal use rights for areas where the Navajo land tenure system had continued to prevail without regard to either property ownership or reservation boundaries (see Haile 1954).

The allotment of public lands to individual Navajos in the checkerboard introduced the idea of formal property rights long before the grazing permit system was initiated. However, owners of allotment land necessarily combined use of their own land with whatever other land was available regardless of whether it was reservation land held in trust by the government, federally owned public land, state land, or privately owned land such as that held by the railroad. Opportunistic use of widely spread land throughout Navajo country facilitated the expansion of livestock herds as a commodity specifically produced by the Navajo for exchange with traders. The very existence of the traders indicated the growth of a mercantilist marketing system in the Four Corners region as part of the evolving capitalist political economy of the U.S.

By 1940, just four years before the railroad sold surface rights to extensive holdings between Gallup and Window Rock, the railroad was leasing certain holdings to the Indian Service for local Navajo use. Until shortly after the railroad sold the surface rights to approximately 30,000 acres near the future site of Wildcat Springs Trading Post in October 1944, the informal family-centered Navajo land-tenure system and the formal Anglo-American system of property ownership and land-use rights appeared to coexist quietly.

Conflict between the two systems became obvious, however, following the purchase of approximately equal portions of the former railroad land by two individuals. One of the purchasers, Howard Wilson, did not move on to the land he had purchased and initially maintained leases like those the railroad had with the Indian Service. Continuation of the leases maintained the status quo by facilitating local Navajo use. In contrast, the other purchaser, Gib Graham, moved on to a portion of the land and discontinued the leases. He asserted his exclusive rights to the land by forcing resident Navajos to leave the property he had recently purchased (Kelley 1986:122).

The intersection between Navajo land tenure, formal property rights, and the implementation of a land management system by the federal government has been demonstrated by Klara Kelley (1986) for the Wildcat area. Because of the land transfer from the railroad to Graham in 1944, the Grazing Service of the United States Department of Interior initially reduced the number of livestock permitted to Navajos in the area that included Graham's holdings. Officials of the Grazing Service, renamed as the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) after consolidation with the General Land Office in 1946 (Clawson 1971:450-451), then told permittees to either live with the reductions or to purchase land from Graham if they wanted to qualify for permits that would allow larger herds (Kelley 1986:105-106, 166-122).

By 1949 administration of grazing in the Wildcat Springs portion of the checkerboard area was transferred from the BLM to the BIA. Soon thereafter, members of the Tsayatoh chapter community voted to abolish the grazing permit system (Kelley 1986:102). While the permit system, as a challenge to pre-existing Navajo land tenure, was done away with in part of the area surrounding Wildcat, formal property rights were in place. Graham expected to profit from the sale of former railroad land, once used freely by local Navajos, to Navajos and others. However, his direct involvement in land speculation in the Wildcat area was cut short by a series of events in 1949 and 1950. The events included three separate allegations of criminal activities by Graham, his flight to Mexico, and the death of Graham's son, Hooch, as described below.

Gib and Ora Graham agreed to buy former railroad land in the fall of 1944, and they acquired a warranty deed to surface ownership of 15,306.58 acres on April 27, 1950 from the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company in exchange for \$15,306.58. One item in the deed refers to an easement to the State of New Mexico dating to 1935 for the highway along which the Grahams built the Wildcat Springs Trading Post in 1944. Referred to as "N.R.S. No. 209-B" in the deed, the road is now State Highway 264. The majority of the land purchased, consisting of 17 sections containing 10,878 acres, was in the same township as the Wildcat Trading Post. By June 7, 1950, Wales J. and Doris Smith obtained a mortgage for the purchase of all the land the Grahams had recently acquired the deed for. The mortgage assigned to The Merchants Bank of Gallup on June 17, 1950 allowed the Grahams to secure the \$50,425.58 owed to them.

Negotiations for the sale of four sections of land initiated by Graham were completed by the time Smith's county tax schedule was filled out in early 1951. Another 10 sections were sold later that year. All but one of the 14 sections were sold to local Navajos. That section was sold to L. E. Wilson, a brother of Howard Wilson. As noted previously, Howard Wilson and Gib Graham were the two men who each had purchased equal shares of the approximately 30,000 acres the railroad sold back in 1944.

The original Wildcat Springs Trading Post located in Section 11 of T 16N, R 20W was destroyed by fire on January 1, 1951. Before the end of the year all but 3 sections out of the 17 in the Wildcat township were sold by the Smiths. They had already built a new house and a separate building for use as a store to replace the original store and residence. By June 1952 the Smiths sold the new improvements and their remaining land in the Wildcat Springs township (Sections 11, 13, and 15) to A. P. and Thelma Kirk Springstead. Easements included one for the recently paved highway (Kelley 1986:152), which dated to 1935, and another for a natural gas pipeline dating to 1950. Mrs. Springstead's parents, the Kirks, moved into the former Smith residence, but use of the separate store building was discontinued. The new store, called the Vega Trading Post, was operated out of one room in the residence.

Later the Springsteads sold one of their three sections, Section 15, back to Wales J. and Doris Smith. That land, located southwest of Section 11 and south of Highway 264, became the site of a new Smith residence and two businesses. One business was a retail store called Jay's Feed and Supply Store. The other was a land development project that subdivided the former railroad section into residential lots. Roads were put in, and a water system and utilities were eventually installed.

Coinciding with the above changes in the Wildcat area after 1950, the federal government promoted industrialization and other forms of economic development in Navajo country. The effort was marked by the 1950 Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Act, Public Law 474 (Young 1961:1). The act in part sought to promote surveys of natural and other resources on the reservations that could contribute to economic development. Coal reserves, a major natural resource regarded by government officials to be promising from an economic development perspective, were identified in several locations on the reservation and in nearby areas as the result of exploration leases granted to industrial mining interests in the mid to late 1950s.

By 1961, the Pittsburgh and Midway Coal Mining Company, a subsidiary of Spencer Chemical Company, began operations at the McKinley Mine located between Gallup and Window Rock (Kelley 1986:153). The coal lease area includes Navajo reservation land to the north of the Wildcat Trading Post site and a variety of private holdings, including Navajo tribal land and individual Navajo allotments, in the checkerboard area that includes the site of the old store. The old store site, located on private land owned by the railroad prior to its first-time sale in 1944 to Gib and Ora Graham, is near the eastern edge of the coal lease area. The closest active coal mining was about 2 miles to the southwest as of early June 1990.

The changes in Navajo land tenure that were initiated as a result of the creation of the reservation, the establishment of formal use rights and property ownership, and the implementation of grazing regulations have been dramatic but incomplete. Aspects of the Navajo family-based land tenure system persist in and around the coal lease area where they coexist uncomfortably with the formal system meant to facilitate external control of local Navajo land use. Despite long-standing leases designed to compensate certain resident Navajos for leaving their land to facilitate coal mining, local residents, including those with land rights based on inherited interests in allotments, have typically resisted leaving the land for as long as possible.

Biographies of Wildcat Springs Trading Post Families

Together with the changes in local political economy documented in the preceding section, Wildcat Springs Trading Post and later nearby residences on private land became Anglo enclaves within a predominantly Navajo-occupied area. The sociocultural context of three families who lived at or near the Wildcat site is presented here with reference to the biographies of family members leading up to, including, and subsequent to the operation of Wildcat. Events that had a role in the conduct of business at Wildcat are also introduced. Comparison of the family biographies suggests the simultaneous existence of alternative routes into trading, ranching, and other business activities in Navajo country within a framework of regional patterns generated by Anglo settlers.

The biography of Gib and Ora Graham is presented in greatest detail because they established the Wildcat site and lived there for all but the last year of its existence. Wales J. and Doris Smith began their time at Wildcat while it was still owned by the Grahams, but they soon purchased the trading business along with substantial land holdings. During their tenure at Wildcat, the original store and residence was destroyed by fire less than seven months after it was purchased. The Smiths built a new house and a separate store building near the Wildcat site. They sold the new improvements less than a year and a half after the Wildcat building was destroyed by fire. The third and last family includes A. P. and Thelma Springstead, along with Mrs. Springstead's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Lew Kirk, who succeeded the Smiths in running a store near the old Wildcat Springs Trading Post site.

Gib and Ora Graham

The Grahams were married early in 1928 at Las Lunas, New Mexico. Ora Stayner Graham was 17 at the time and had been living with her parents, George F. and Sara Stayner, in Ramah where they had filed a homestead application after moving from Nutrioso, Arizona. Mrs. Stayner was originally from Moab, Utah. The names of places at which the Stayner family resided in New Mexico and Arizona exhibits a pattern of mobility typical of families who lived at various Mormon settlements in Arizona and New Mexico during the early part of this century.

Gilbert "Gib" Graham was born in Crossplains or Bayard, Texas in 1902. He was 25 when he married Ora Stayner. Gib's father died when Gib was a boy, and he traveled to California with his mother and two brothers before moving to the Datil Mountains of New Mexico, midway between Magdalena and Quemado.

Soon after Gib and Ora married, they moved to the Grants area where Gib hauled logs for the Breece Lumber Company from a number of logging camps, including Cat Camp, Malpais Springs, and Paxton Springs. Their son Gilbert Lowell "Hooch" Graham was born while they were at Cat Camp in October 1928. After Gib worked for Breece Lumber company for about two years, the Grahams moved south to the Datil Mountains where they filed on a homestead.

In the Datil Mountain range Gib worked for ranchers including a Texan named J. McPhaull, George Criswell, a Basque named Peter Henry Goslin, Bob McCard, and Ray Marly. Gib and Ora's daughter, Phyllis, was born in Magdalena on August 3, 1930. Ora's mother and

father also moved down to the Datil Mountains at the time.

In 1932 the Grahams moved west to Nutrioso, Arizona, south of Springerville, to accept an offer from one of Ora's brothers to help them get a ranch started. Ora's parents in the meantime moved up to Fort Wingate where George Stayner taught farming and livestock raising to Indian students. After the Grahams moved to Nutrioso by wagon, Gib acquired 17 head of cattle. During the hard winter of 1932, however, he lost most of his livestock. The couple then moved to Fort Wingate where they stayed with Ora's parents for a time while Gib looked for work.

By the fall of 1933 Gib was hired as a ranch hand by Harold Prewitt, a prominent McKinley county sheep and cattle rancher with extensive holdings east of Gallup and along the Continental Divide. Graham became a range rider for Prewitt in the Rincon Marquez area south of Chacra Mesa between White Horse Lake and Torreon. The Grahams resided in an old store at Rincon Marquez where Gib continued to work for Prewitt for about five years.

In 1937 the Grahams went into the trading business. They leased a section of "school" land from the state of New Mexico and built their first store. They got credit for their Torreon Trading Post from the Gallup Mercantile Company. At first they used a Model T Ford coupe to haul bags of wool to Gallup and to bring supplies back to the store. Their own livestock was limited to a few horses, burros, and a milk cow.

In 1944 Harold Prewitt found out that the AT&SF Railway was planning to sell a large amount of land in the vicinity of the main road from Gallup to Window Rock and he encouraged the Grahams to purchase part of it. As it turned out, the Grahams purchased the western half of the 30,000 acres of checkerboard land, while Gallup area trader and Republican party official, Howard Wilson, purchased the eastern half of the available odd-numbered sections.

At the time Wilson and Graham bought the railroad sections during October 1944, Wilson had a store on Highway 666 north of Gallup at Tohlakai while the Grahams kept their store at Torreon. Wilson did not initially move on to any of his land. Instead he leased it to the BIA. The BIA in turn made the land available for local Navajo use. In contrast, Gib and Ora built their second store, Wildcat Springs Trading Post, in the fall of 1944 and began to assert direct control over their holdings.

The Grazing Service reduction of the number of livestock allowed on individual Navajo grazing permits in the Wildcat area corresponded to the reduced land area available as the result of the Grahams' purchase. And the possibility that the action might help Graham to profit from selling land to local Navajos was realized when the Grazing Service and its successor, the BLM, recommended that Navajos buy land from Graham.

In addition to the potentially profitable sale of land, the Grahams' trading post benefitted from the increased wage income available to local Navajos during World War II. After the end of the war, they undoubtedly suffered from reductions in Navajo wage income, but Navajo earnings from seasonal work on the railroad and elsewhere were sources of cash that persisted even if in diminished volume. However, another important source of cash related to Navajo railroad work arose in 1945. During the late 1940s the new source of cash assumed economic importance for traders throughout Navajo country.

In May 1945, only eight months after the Wildcat Trading Post was established, a district office for the administration of the Railroad Retirement Board was created at Gallup to handle sickness and unemployment benefits claims from railroad workers, many of whom were Navajos (*Gallup Independent*, May 1, 1945). Howard Wilson, in his role as president of the United Indian Traders Association, put the association's support of railroad unemployment benefits on record in December 1946. And by mid-January 1947, the *Gallup Independent* reported that the last training session of three in Farmington, Gallup, and Winslow had been held

to instruct 75 agents, 70 of whom are Indian traders, who have been delegated to handle claims for unemployment benefits for Indians who have worked for the railroad and are now out of work. The system is just being put into effect to overcome the handicaps of distance and transportation on the Indian reservation. (*Gallup Independent*, Jan. 18, 1947)

The new system naturally augmented the role traders had assumed as recruiters of Navajo labor during the war. The much welcomed economic impact of the system was proclaimed in a newspaper headline in late November 1947: "6,000 Navajos to File Claims for Unemployment Aid, Benefits are Expected to Reach \$1 Million, Sickness Pay Coming" (*Gallup Independent*, Nov. 29, 1947). Early in 1948 the manager of the Gallup office of the Railroad Retirement Board said that compensation benefits for all of January 1948 would amount to \$135,000 to be paid out to some 2,700 to 3,000 Gallup district office claimants (*Gallup Independent*, Jan. 26, 1948). It was later reported that in the week ending January 30, 1948 alone some \$35,000 had been paid to 1,500 Navajo claimants (*Gallup Independent*, Feb. 4, 1948).

Since unemployment and sickness benefits during the winter were based on the employment of Navajos at other times of the year, statistics on Navajo employment are also instructive as to the economic impact of the railroad. In July of 1948 it was reported that a total of 6,900 Navajos were employed by railroad companies. Six hundred were employed by the Denver Rio Grande & Western alone, a company for which Howard Wilson served as a recruiting agent (*Gallup Independent*, July 8, 1948).

Returning to figures on railroad benefits, by May 1949 it was reported that \$724,419 had been paid out in that benefit year. A total of \$2,100,000 had been paid out since the benefits program began in January 1, 1947 (*Gallup Independent*, May 12, 1949). During the economic slump of the post-war economy, there is little doubt that railroad employment and benefit payments from the Railroad Retirement Board were as important to traders who depended on business with Navajos, as to the Navajos themselves.

Expansion of trading activities by the Graham family occurred as the system of unemployment and sickness benefits administered by the Railroad Retirement Board was put into place. Gib and Ora's son, Hooch, had grown from a teenage rodeo cowboy whose victories were recounted in the Gallup newspaper between 1946 and 1948, to a young married man with a child of his own and responsibility for running the Torreon Trading Post in late 1949 (*Gallup Independent*, July 6, 1946, July 8, 1947, July 6, 1948, Dec. 2, 1949). When the Graham family moved to Wildcat in 1944, they kept their first store in Torreon. Until Hooch took greater responsibility, the store was operated on behalf of the Grahams by Pete and Lucy Toledo, Torreon area Navajos.

During 1949 Gib and Ora's 19-year-old daughter, Phyllis, was married. By August she and her husband, Eddie Savoy, purchased the former Kirk Trading Post in St. Michaels, Arizona. So in mid 1949, the St. Michaels store Phyllis and Eddie ran was the most recently acquired store to be operated by a member of the Graham family. In contrast, the Torreon store started in 1937 by Gib and Ora, but then operated by Toledos and Hooch, was the oldest. The Wildcat Springs Trading Post started by Gib and Ora in 1944 was still operated by them.

In addition to Gib, Ora, and their two children, periodic residents of Wildcat Springs primarily included members of Ora's family. Ora's nephew, George Condrey, the son of Ora's sister, Clara Condrey, often stayed at the Graham home. Ora's parents, George F. and Sara Stayner who lived near Ft. Wingate, sometimes stayed in a wood-frame building a short distance east of the combined Wildcat Springs Trading Post and residence. When their maternal grandparents were not at Wildcat, Hooch and "Georgie" used the separate residential structure. Sara Stayner died at her home near Ft. Wingate, east of Gallup, in early November 1949. Her funeral was held at Ramah (*Gallup Independent*, Nov. 7, 1949).

Despite the 100 miles or so that separated Torreon in Sandoval County, northwest of Albuquerque, from Wildcat and St. Michaels, straddling the New Mexico and Arizona border, the three stores were bound together by members of the Graham family and a series of legal problems and events that culminated in the sale of Wildcat in June 1950. Newspaper accounts indicate that Gib Graham's first legal problem consisted of a charge by the FBI that he assaulted a U.S. Indian Service Officer at the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial in August 1949 (*Gallup Independent*, Aug. 20, Sept. 2, 1949). He was released on a \$2,500 bond, and a hearing before a U.S. Commissioner was set for September 2, 1949. However, no reports of the results of the hearing were found. It is possible that by the date of the hearing he was on an initial trip to Tres Rios near Nuevo Casas Grandes in Chihuahua, Mexico where he soon started a cattle ranch.

Two subsequent charges against Gib and other family members in early 1950 concerned allegations about extortion and the filing of false claims with the Railroad Retirement Board. The extortion charge was made against Gib, his son, Hooch, and Gib's son-in-law, Eddie Savoy, during February. At the time, a newspaper account of the charge quoted Gib Graham's lawyer Herman Atkins as saying that Gib would return from Mexico if the "district attorney insisted on his immediate presence" (*Gallup Independent*, Feb. 23, 1950). The charge alleged that the three men had threatened "injury to the person of Stanley Cleveland to extort money or obtain advantage from him" (*Gallup Independent*, Feb. 23, 1950) in an incident on April 2, 1949. The incident was not described in the newspaper account.

Another charge was formally made against Gib Graham alone in April 1950. The charge was based on alleged offenses that began in November 1949. It accused Graham of assisting in the filing of false claims to the Railroad Retirement Board for a Navajo who worked as a clerk at the Wildcat Springs Trading Post at the same time that he received compensation benefits. The newspaper account indicated the economic importance of the compensation checks by citing the Navajo clerk's estimate that "about 140 Indians would come to the post on Mondays to receive their railroad retirement checks and make purchases" (*Gallup Independent*, April 29, 1950).

On April 21, 1950 while Gib Graham was in Mexico and Ora was at the St. Michaels store, their son, Hooch, was shot and died near the Torreon store. Explanations given to the

press of what happened at the time Hooch was shot and the specific reason for his interaction with the Navajo man who was accused of shooting him, Henry Castillo, vary considerably. In one account it was said that Hooch was bringing the store manager, Pete Toledo, to Gallup to have him sign an affidavit pertaining to pending legal charges about irregularities in the cashing of checks from the Railroad Retirement Board (*Gallup Independent*, April 24, 1950). In another it was said that he was trying to collect debts from customers prior to selling the store (*Gallup Independent*, April 26, 1950).

Regardless of the details that led to the shooting, it resulted in Hooch's death, the immediate destruction of the Torreon store by fire, and Castillo's conviction on a count of voluntary manslaughter in a federal court held at Santa Fe (*Gallup Independent*, April 22, 1950, Sept. 26, Oct. 9, 1951). At the time of Hooch's death, it was reported that Gib was at his ranch in Mexico, while the Wildcat Springs Trading Post was being operated by a friend, mistakenly identified as "Wade Smith" (*Gallup Independent*, April 22, 1950). Wade Smith, a prominent McKinley county rancher who once had a ranch near Chaco Canyon with his brother, Wales A. Smith, died in California in 1945 (*Gallup Independent*, May 12, 1945). It was Wade's nephew, Wales J. Smith, who ran the Wildcat Springs Trading Post for Graham beginning in late 1949.

By Sunday, April 23, 1950, Gib Graham returned to the Gallup area for Hooch's funeral. He promised to stay in the U.S. until the cases pending against him were settled (*Gallup Independent*, April 26, 1950). A few days after the funeral at the Gallup Latter Day Saints Chapel, Graham put up a \$2,500 bond on the federal charge of filing false claims with the Railroad Retirement Board. The earlier charge of extortion originally made against Gib, Hooch, and Eddie Savoy was also still pending (*Gallup Independent*, April 29, 1950).

Gib then returned to his ranch in Mexico after taking care of certain business transactions, including the sale of Wildcat in June 1950. By February 1951, it was reported that he had defaulted on a total of \$3,000 in bonds (*Gallup Independent*, Feb. 19, 1951). No evidence has been found to suggest that he ever appeared before a grand jury hearing or in another court of law to have the charges against him adjudicated.

Gib Graham spent the rest of his life living in Mexico where he ran a ranch and received periodic visits from his wife and other family members. The ranch consisted of some 98 sections (62,720 acres). In 1957 their livestock holdings, some 3,000 head of cattle, were sold, but the family maintained the ranch. Gib died while residing in Mexico on November 25, 1965. Ora, Phyllis, and a son, Jack, born after Gib moved to Mexico, still live in the Gallup area.

Ethnohistorical Data on the Archaeological Features at Wildcat Springs Trading Post

In this section ethnohistorical data about the material remains recorded at the Wildcat site by several archaeologists in the period from 1978 to 1986 and tentatively interpreted by them will be introduced. Sources of data upon which my own interpretations have been based include interviews with three residents of Wildcat (Ora Graham, Phyllis McAvoy, and Doris Smith), contemporary photographs taken at the time the combined Wildcat Springs Trading Post and

residence was in use, and additional interviews with two individuals (Doris Smith and Dr. Bronson Springstead) who lived in a nearby house that initially replaced the original Wildcat building as a residence and later as the site of a combined domicile and store called the Vega Trading Post.

In the course of presenting the new descriptive data and my interpretations, I will begin by referring to 11 specific features shown on the site map (Fig. 2). Feature numbers shown were assigned during the testing phase of archaeological research conducted by the Office of Archaeological Studies (formerly the Research Section of the Laboratory of Anthropology). Both the specific research questions generated as a result of the testing phase and certain interpretations offered by earlier researchers will be addressed. In the case of features for which no information was acquired, the dearth is discussed. Finally, I will introduce information about features that were undoubtedly part of the Wildcat Springs Trading Post complex, but were not recorded either due to a lack of surficial evidence or because they were located a considerable distance from the features recorded in or near the right-of-way.

Thanks to the availability of a series of photographs provided by Mrs. Ora Graham, I am confident about new interpretations given for certain previously recorded features. The photographs provided a means by which interpretations made by archaeologists and recollections of respondents I interviewed could be tested. Despite the acquisition of new data, certain specific questions about the archaeological record at LA 55647 remain unanswered and enigmatic. Those problem areas are discussed in the summary section.

Feature 1 and Feature 10

In the testing report Feature 1 was described as the "foundation remains of the trading post and domiciliary building." As shown on the site map in the Figure 2, those remains consisted of several alignments of stone or cinder blocks, a concrete or cement slab, a concrete "curb," and an "asphalt surface" adjacent to the north of the concrete curb and east of an alignment of sandstone. Feature 10 was described as "a concentration of whole and broken cinder blocks." This pile of rubble was located about 10 m north of Feature 1. Field interpretations of the two features were problematic. At first it was thought that the building was rectangular in shape with an alignment labeled 1-A in Figure 2 identified as the foundation for the north wall. However, test excavations to the south then revealed a D-shaped or semicircular alignment labeled 1-B that was also presumed to be a foundation. If this second alignment had been a foundation, it suggested a different configuration for the structure as a whole. A more detailed view of most of Feature 1 is shown in Figure 9.

When I first visited the site with Ora Graham, she said that alignment 1-A was the foundation for the front wall of the building that she and her husband, Gib Graham, constructed in the fall of 1944. Ora's daughter, Phyllis, agreed with the location of the front wall. Part of the apparent sandstone foundation was capped with the remains of the first tier of concrete blocks from which the front wall of the trading post was built. Ora recalled that the concrete blocks used for construction were purchased from Frank George in Gallup and then hauled to the building site.

In my review of the local newspaper, the veracity of Ora's information as to the identity

of Mr. George as the source of the concrete blocks was supported by a front page news item. The article noted that Mr. and Mrs. Frank George along with Frank J. Burke were new incorporators of the Gallup Brick and Tile Corporation during August 1944 following the then recent death of a former manager (*Gallup Independent*, Aug. 7, 1944). The timing of that information fits well with Ora's recollection about the fall 1944 construction of the building following the Grahams' purchase of railroad land, as substantiated in a separate news item (*Gallup Independent*, Oct. 30, 1944).

The entire front wall of the trading post and residential building after its completion appears in Figure 9. The photograph verifies that the wall was made with concrete blocks. On the basis of extrapolation from the width of one doorway, I estimate that the wall was 40 to 45 ft long. In the area of the photograph between the gas pump in the center foreground and the late-1930s or early to mid-1940s automobile to the right, it can be seen that the wall is supported by a stone foundation in the area between the two doorways. A closer view of the stone foundation in the same area is shown in the photograph presented in Figure 10.

Ora and Phyllis were able to describe the entire structure, give a floor plan, and clear up certain questions, but they could not account for the D-shaped sandstone foundation that the archaeologists found in their excavations south of the building's front wall. Their recollections of a dock area in front of the central doorway into the store and a gas pump a short distance south of the building are supported by the photo shown in Figure 9. No indication of the D-shaped stone foundation appears in any of the available photos dating to the Grahams' tenure at Wildcat.

Earlier in this chapter, I have shown that Ora and Gib Graham went to Mexico during late 1949 and that Jay and Doris Smith took their place at Wildcat. When I interviewed Doris Smith about the time during which she lived in Wildcat Springs Trading Post building and residence built by the Grahams, I asked about the D-shaped foundation. She explained that the apparent foundation was probably the remains of a stone wall that certain local Navajos had been hired to build. After the wall was finished, the area between it and the store was filled with dirt and then covered with cement. Subsequent blading of the area in front of the store after the building was destroyed by fire on January 1, 1951 probably accounts for removal of any evidence for the cement surface. This interpretation supports the archaeological interpretation that whatever existed above the "foundation" area had been demolished. It adds to the earlier interpretation by suggesting that the wall alignment contained a surfaced area for pedestrians rather than a structure.

Feature 1 became the main trading and residential structure at LA 55647 when it was built by the Grahams in 1944. They used the structure as a combined place of business and residence until some time in late 1949, and it continued to serve the same function for Doris and Jay Smith until destruction by fire on January 1, 1951. On the basis of information from three former residents, recorded material remains, and with the help of the old photographs, I would now like to describe the entire building.

The main part of the building had exterior walls that may have been mostly constructed of concrete blocks. The front wall faced the main road to the south. That wall was 40 to 45 ft long, and about 10 ft high at its highest point in the center. With the exception of what appear



Figure 9. Front view of Wildcat Springs Trading Post.



Figure 10. View of rock foundation.

to have been wood lintels and sills for two doorways and a number of windows, it was fully constructed of concrete blocks resting on a stone foundation. East and west side walls were probably also made of concrete blocks. Those two walls extended to the north about 40 ft to a rear or north wall of the same dimensions as the front wall. The building therefore contained about 1,800 sq ft. When the west wall was standing, it would have extended through the pile of rubble designated as Feature 10. It is likely that Feature 10 is a pile created due to surface disturbance of the area after the time the building was destroyed. The rubble is near the area that would have supported the building's northwest corner.

There was a peaked roof made of milled lumber that sloped to the east and west from the center of the building. The wood roof was covered with roofing paper typically called tar paper. Figure 9 shows that the high point of the building formed the peak on top of the front wall, above the trading post doorway. The area labeled "asphalt surface" on the site map in Figure 2 probably represents a remnant of the building's original roofing material that survived the 1951 fire and the elements.

The largest room within the building measured about 30 ft by 20 ft (600 sq ft) and was set aside for use as a trading post. The floor plan in Figure 11 shows there were seven other rooms, six of which were used as parts of a domicile. The seventh room was used as a warehouse. Labels in each of the domiciliary rooms show the uses to which they were put by the Grahams and the Smiths. Changed uses by the Smiths are shown in parentheses.

In addition to the main concrete block structure, there was a contiguous wood-frame porch along the east and north sides of the building in an L shape. The porch expanded the living area and facilitated movement between rooms that were themselves arranged to the east and north of the largest room used as the trading post. The bathroom appears to have been part of the east porch area. The former residents were uncertain about how many of the walls for the residential quarters were of concrete block construction. It is possible that, with the exception of the entire front wall and parts of the side walls, all other walls were framed with wood.

Ora Graham remembers that the floor in the trading post and in the "store" room or warehouse were concrete. The floors in the residential rooms were wood built on top of two-by-fours used as joists. Because the building was on a slope, the wooden floor at the front part of the residential quarters, on the south side, had more space between it and the ground than did the floor on the north side of the building. On the south side, a wooden framework supported the joists and the floor's surface. In contrast, the floors for rooms to the north were only separated from the ground by the two-by-four joists.

There were two doors on the front or south side of the building. The central door went into the room used as the store. The other door located to the east led into a room used as a living room by the Grahams and later as a guest bedroom by the Smiths. Steps were required for both the doorways. The floor in that room was made of hardwood, while the wood floors in all other rooms of the domicile were construction-grade subflooring such as pine or fir covered with linoleum.

The porches adjoining the east and north sides of the building were also made of lumber and were partially enclosed. The kitchen was located between the more centrally located master bedroom to the west and a bathroom that may have been part of the wood-framed porch area.

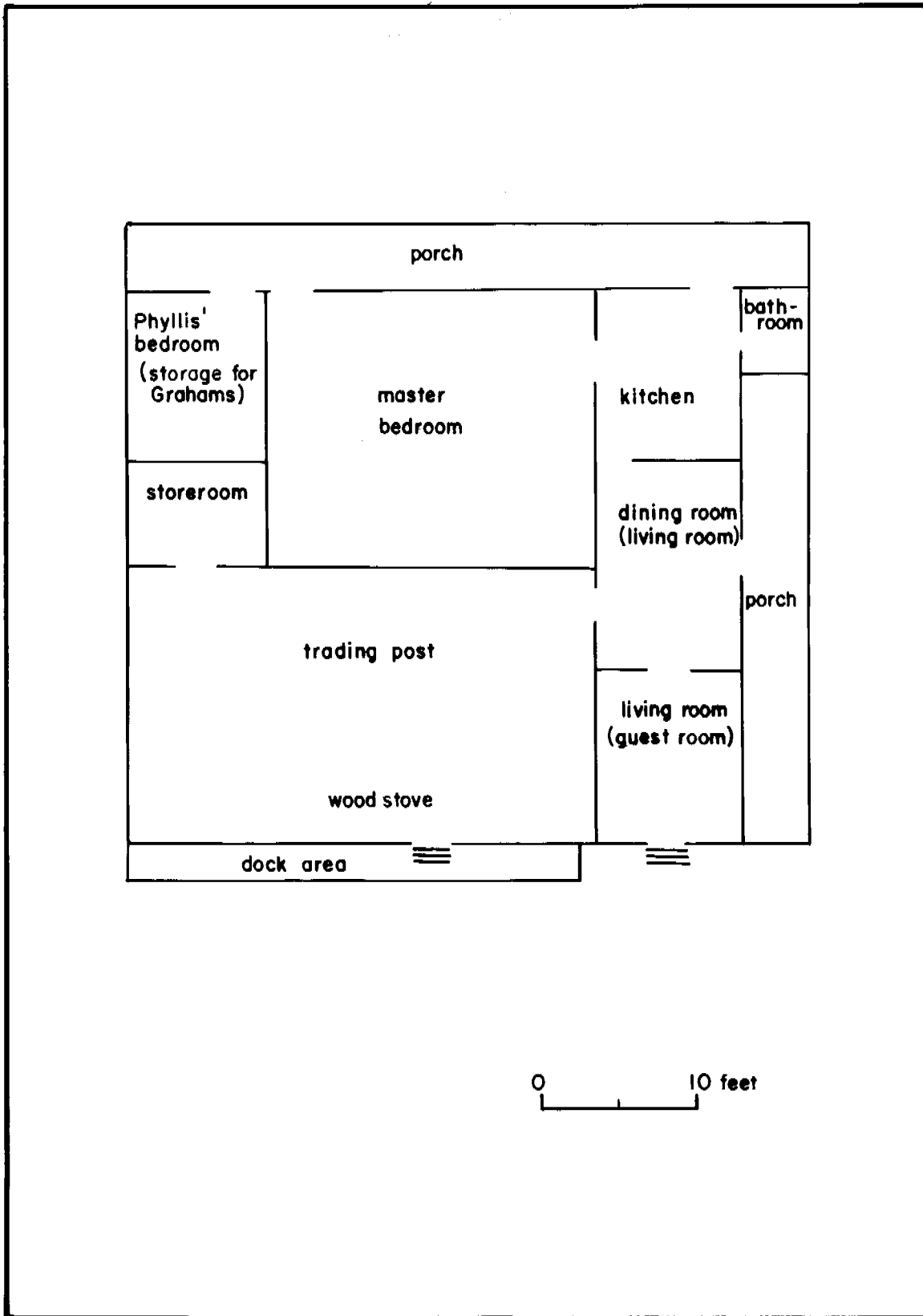


Figure 11. Floor plan of the trading post.

Both the kitchen and the bathroom had plumbing and the bathroom had a bath tub in addition to a sink. When the Grahams were at Wildcat there was no commode in the bathroom. Instead, there was an outhouse located about 30 m northeast of the residence and store near Feature 7. Doris Smith recalled that a commode was installed in the bathroom while she and Jay lived in the building.

Water was initially hauled to Wildcat by truck, but during 1945 or 1946 the Grahams had a well drilled a short distance to the north on the adjacent ridge. A windmill was installed to pump the water up to a storage tank. From the tank, gravity fed water through pipes to the original Wildcat residence. After the original Wildcat Springs Trading Post and residence burned down, the same well provided water to the new residence and the new store built by the Smiths. Bronson Springstead recalled that he helped his father, Colonel Springstead, rebuild the windmill-driven pump just before going into the Navy in 1955. The two men pulled the pump rods and replaced the leathers.

In the trading post portion of the building there was a wood- and coal-burning stove. A stove pipe can be seen protruding from the roof over the store section of the building to the left of the store entryway in Figure 9. However, the Grahams installed butane space heaters and a butane cooking stove in the residential part of the building. Doris Smith said that a problem with the butane heater in the bathroom may have caused the fire that destroyed the building in January 1951.

Another source of heat in the residential part of the building may have been a fireplace indicated by the chimney that appears on the east side of the building in Figure 9. However, I did not ask about that possibility during the interviews. When the Grahams and the Smiths lived in the Wildcat building, electricity was not available through a utility company. The sources of lighting and electricity they used are discussed below with reference to Feature 7.

Feature 2 and Feature 3

In the testing report these two features were described as subrectangular pits, each of which had some milled lumber that appeared to have been used for lining the upper portions of the pits along with some larger beams that supported covers over the pits. Ora Graham was not positive about the function of these two features. However, the explanation that she offered was that they were part of a septic system for gray water from the bathtub and the two sinks in the house. She recalled that the pits were dug out with shovels. The walls were lined with lumber to prevent cave-ins and the heavier beams were placed over the pits. The two pits were prepared on different occasions. She did not recall if a waste water pipe to the pits had been placed in a trench or if pipes simply ran above ground from the house.

Since there was no commode in the bathroom during the five-year period when the Grahams lived at Wildcat, only liquid waste drained into the pits. This may account for why so little was learned from test excavations inside the two pits.

Feature 4

In the report on archaeological testing this feature was described as a foundation segment consisting of unmodified sandstone blocks. Interviews with two former residents at the feature did not result in any functional identification. The lack of information discovered about this feature and the lack of definitive information about Features 2 and 3 suggests certain limitations of interview data. First, it is difficult to get information about low-profile features after substantial time has passed between residency at a site and research. Second, it is difficult to know if we are dealing with a contemporaneous feature or even a feature at all when extensive surface disturbance has taken place.

Feature 5

In the testing report this feature was described as a concentration of sandstone blocks that could either represent a feature of unknown function or construction debris. Ora Graham recalled that a guest hogan used by Navajo customers of the trading post was located at this feature as shown on the site map in Figure 2. The hogan was of the stacked log type and was built by Navajo customers after the Grahams established the Wildcat Trading Post.

The virtual disappearance of the hogan and even diagnostic indicators for its previous existence underscores the significance of change at LA 55647. It is likely that in the time following the destruction of the original Wildcat Springs Trading Post and residence, the wood from the hogan, like other useable materials such as whole concrete blocks, were removed by either the local property owner or people who passed by this easily accessible site. The sandstone remaining at the site of the hogan may originally have been used in a foundation for the hogan or at another nearby structure at Feature 7 that is no longer evident.

Feature 6

Feature 6 was described in the testing report as a possible corral area manifest by wolfberry growing within a 30 m diameter area. Given the association between corral locations and the subsequent appearance of wolfberry, the presence of a corral at this locality is likely. However, residents of Wildcat Trading Post did not recall a formal corral area at the location shown on the site map in Figure 2.

Between 1944 and 1951 when the original Wildcat building was occupied, the only formal corrals used by resident traders were on the south side of Highway 264 as I will describe further below. It may be possible that the wolfberry represents earlier use by local Navajos who once resided nearby (Site PM 179 A, recorded by Kelley 1978-1979), periodic use by Navajo customers contemporary with the operation of Wildcat, or periodic Navajo use in the years following the abandonment of the Wildcat site by the Smiths in 1951. The most likely alternative in light of changes in land ownership and land use since 1944 is that a brush corral existed in the area prior to the construction of Wildcat.

Feature 7

This feature was described as a concentration of building debris spread over a 20 meter square area. A particularly interesting piece of concrete has the names "George," "Hooch Graham," and "Phyllis G," and the date--November 23, 1945. Hooch and Phyllis were the two Graham children born in 1928 and 1930. George was their cousin, George Condry, whose mother was Ora Graham's sister, Clara Condrey. As I have noted in an earlier section, George often lived with the Grahams.

When Ora and I visited Feature 7 she immediately identified it as the site of a shed she called the "Delco" or the "Light House." The shed, approximately 10 ft by 10 ft in size, had been constructed of milled lumber planks specifically for the purpose of housing a gasoline-powered electrical generator. The generator was made in the U.S. by Delco, an electrical products and storage battery manufacturer. The generator was mounted on a poured concrete foundation, part of which bears the names of the three children. Ora recalled that the generator was purchased from Sam Ray in Gallup. She thinks that the date on the foundation fragment represents the date it was prepared for the generator.

When the Wildcat Springs Trading Post site was initially recorded by Klara Kelley in association with a nearby Navajo residential site it was suggested that the concrete fragment with inscriptions found at Feature 7 represented part of the original trading post's foundation. The date was then used to mark a tentative starting point for construction and operation of Wildcat by the Grahams (Kelley 1985:28). It is now evident, however, that the concrete fragment was part of a foundation for the Delco and not the combined trading post and domicile structure. The date on the Delco foundation does not represent the initial construction of the main building at Wildcat, but the subsequent installation of an electrical generator about one year after Wildcat was first built.

Although Feature 7 was only manifest by the inscribed concrete foundation fragment and lightly scattered sandstone debris when the site was recorded archaeologically, the existence of the wooden shed described by Ora Graham is corroborated in Figure 12. In Figure 12, Phyllis Graham is standing by the Light House near the base of the two trees, which are prominent in this photograph. When I conducted my interviews, the two trees shown in this photo were still standing. They provided valuable reference points in the interpretation of certain photographs.

Figure 13 shows a corner of a building to the left of a girl, Phyllis Graham. In the distance are two trees and the Light House. The building to the left of Phyllis in the photo appears to be the southeastern corner of the porch. That part of the porch was a south-facing wall attached to the east side of the Wildcat Springs Trading Post and residence. Figure 14 shows the two trees and the Light House to the left rear of Phyllis who was sitting on a horse. This photograph also shows an alignment of railroad ties that were used as a fence and another building in the rear central portion of the photograph behind the horse's rump. The fenced in yard and the additional building are described further below among features not previously recorded.

Ora Graham recalled that her family used the Delco to power lights, but Doris Smith did not recall having electric lights at Wildcat. Mrs. Smith remembered that she and her husband probably used kerosene lanterns at Wildcat, like they had done when they lived at the Divide



Figure 12. Family photograph showing the Light House to the left of two large trees that are still standing.

Trading Post before moving to Wildcat. She thought that the Delco installed by the Grahams may have been broken by the time she moved. When the Smiths moved into their new residence following the fire at Wildcat, they may have continued to use lanterns.

Dr. Bronson Springstead recalled that by the time his parents purchased the house the Smiths built, electricity may have already come into the Wildcat area through the Rural Electrification Association. He did not recall the use of a Delco generator by his parents or grandparents for the house originally built by the Smiths. In contrast, the Springsteads continued to use a Delco over at their place near Church Rock until the early 1960s because electrical utilities were not available.

Feature 8

As shown on the site map (Fig. 2) Feature 8 is just south of Feature 7, the site of the Light House. Feature 8 was described as an area with scattered refuse in the testing report and it is labeled as a trash dump on the site map. It was suggested that it might represent a combination of domestic and trading post refuse. A specific research question asked what discard practices were among Wildcat residents that might account for the relatively light scattering of refuse at the site.



Figure 13. Family photograph showing Light House and trees in distance.



Figure 14. Family photograph of Phyllis Graham on horseback, showing Light House at base of trees in left background.

In separate interviews, both Ora Graham and Doris Smith recalled that their trash was hauled to an arroyo southeast of Wildcat on the south side of Highway 264 where it was then dumped. There was no formal trash dumping area at Feature 8 as far as Ora could recall. Given the time that has passed and the extent of disturbance at this site, it is possible that the refuse at Feature 8 is intrusive.

Feature 9

This feature is west of Feature 8 as shown on the site map (Fig. 2). It consists of construction debris, according to the testing report. Ora Graham remembered the location of this feature as the approximate site of a wood-framed chicken coop. However, the recorded debris includes fragments of cement encased tile pipe and other items that may have been associated with the house or other recorded features.

Feature 11

This feature is a petroglyph panel. As shown in the site map in Figure 2, it is located on a western portion of the sandstone ridge that lies to the north of all other features recorded at the Wildcat site. The only modern glyph that may be pertinent to the ethnohistory of Wildcat Springs Trading Post is the inscription "WILDCAT SPRING N [the "N" is backwards] M USA 1943."

No one interviewed knew who might have made the inscription or if it had anything to do with the trading post founded by the Grahams in 1944. Since the year given precedes the purchase of surrounding land by Gib and Ora Graham by a year, it represents an enigma. Both the origin of the Wildcat Spring place name and the location of a water source by that name are unknown to me.

Other Parts of the Wildcat Springs Trading Post Complex

In addition to the features recorded by archaeologists at Wildcat, there are two other categories of features that were part of the more extensive Wildcat Trading Post complex. The first category consists of features that were within the area presented on the site map in Figure 2. These features could not have been recorded because there is little or no surficial evidence for their existence. The second category consists of features that were located beyond site boundaries and were therefore not recorded due to a combination of factors. Those factors include archaeological conventions employed in defining sites and their boundaries, as well as the absence of purely material evidence for relationship between distant features.

Category One. In addition to identifying construction debris and other recorded features as the remains of certain structures that once stood at the Wildcat site, interviews with two former residents suggested the existence of an additional building and a yard area defined by a fence. There was no surface evidence for either the building or the fence. The building was described as a wood-frame structure occasionally used as sleeping quarters by members of the Graham family and at other times used by visitors.

The building was located at the east end of the site about 10 m from Features 5 and 8 as shown on the site map in Figure 2. Although there is no surface evidence for the structure, as Figure 14 documents its existence. The building can be seen in the distance to the right rear of the horse with rider. Also behind the horse and rider, but to the left, the Light House can be seen at the base of one of two trees shown.

Figure 13 also offers some important information for comparative purposes. In this photo, a building does not appear to the right of the two trees in the background. However, the Light House is shown. Since this photograph was taken from a slightly different perspective, it shows a little more of the Light House plus the corner of a building to the left of the photograph's central subject, Phyllis Graham. The corner is the southeastern corner of the porch area that was attached to the east side of the Wildcat Springs Trading Post and residence.

Also missing in Figure 13 is the alignment of what appears to have been railroad ties or other heavy wooden posts that defined a fenced-in yard area. It is likely that the second photograph is an earlier one since both the fence and the wood-framed house were not yet in place. The extensive use of wooden posts or railroad ties within the yard area is shown in a third photograph in Figure 14. This photo appears to be of the sloping area between the ridge and the main cluster of features recorded at Wildcat.

Category Two. Features in this category consist of components of the Wildcat complex that were outside of the area shown on the site map. Three of these components, a corral, a water well and wind mill, and a garbage dump, have already been mentioned in discussions of earlier interpretations given to recorded site features.

A corral used for livestock was located near a barn and loading pens on the south side of Highway 264 in a flat area between the road and an arroyo. The distance between the trading post and the livestock containment area was about 100 to 125 m. Remains of the loading pens consisting of posts and milled lumber are still evident in the area. Nearby there was also a rodeo grounds area, but remains of a formal arena were not observed.

The well and wind mill were located on top of the ridge to the north of the recorded Wildcat site. Within the site, however, some of the construction debris included pieces of pipe encased in concrete. Some of the pipe was undoubtedly used for bringing water to the site, while other pieces may have been part of a waste-water disposal system that serviced the plumbing in the residential portion of the Wildcat building.

The use of a garbage dump area located in an arroyo about ¼ to ½ mile to the southeast of Wildcat was reported by both Ora Graham and Doris Smith. Although the dump was located at some distance from the Wildcat site, it is an important component to consider in the interpretation of recorded site features. The regular use of the dump accounts for the relatively light scatter of domestic trash at the Wildcat site. While some of the trash recorded at the site may date to its occupation, it is likely that much of it is intrusive road-side trash of more recent origin.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOHISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Archaeological interpretations and ethnohistorical accounts and descriptions of the remains of the Wildcat Springs Trading Post have been given in the previous sections. Each method yields a different view of the site. The archaeological study, which focused on the material remains (artifacts and visible cultural features), gives a very impersonal and dry account of what remained at the time of excavation. The ethnohistorical study is more personal and humanistic. Through the interplay of personal interview and historical documents, the history of the land and the people who lived on it comes alive. Personal accounts are clarified by documents and vice-versa. Document-based descriptions and interpretations are given life through personal memory. Architectural remains and empty space are given substance with descriptions of a home, a business, a light house, storage rooms, corrals, and even a primitive sewer system. Is one method better than the other, or are they complementary with the advantages of both methods providing a fuller, more satisfying picture of trading post life in the early 1940s?

Three questions were outlined in the data recovery plan that could be archaeologically and ethnohistorically addressed: (1) What was the function of all of the features except the trading post foundation? (2) Which features are associated with the different occupations? and (3) Is the refuse present on the surface and within the features a close representation of the domestic and business activities conducted at the site? These three questions address temporal and functional/behavioral problems.

Question 1 is problematic from the archaeological perspective. It asks for a determination of feature function. Feature morphology, superstructural remains, scattered construction material, and intramural de facto refuse are the primary data by which features are assigned functions. Subsurface pits with clean fill or amorphous stains are initially identified as "pit" or "stain," and usually they remain as such because they are functionally nondistinct.

A review of the archaeological feature determinations for LA 55647 shows that they are based on the same evidence by which we identify prehistoric features. The closer in time the occupation is to the investigation, the more informed feature determinations should be. However, based on the success in identifying Features 2, 3, or 7, it is immediately apparent that living in the twentieth century does not necessarily bestow the archaeologist with any special advantage. Even in the case of the trading post structure, which was also a residence, we would not know its function unless we had a priori knowledge from previous investigation. The residence was not even described in the previous accounts.

Another case is the curious origin of the Wildcat Springs name and petroglyph. Because it is a place name, we might assume that the petroglyph was etched by the site residents during the occupation, and that the name derived from a natural feature, a spring. It is in writing we should feel confident in what can be inferred from it. But were we correct in our inference?

Ethnohistorically, we learned that the Wildcat Springs petroglyph was not made by the residents, and that they did not know where the name originated. York was unable to find a reference to a natural feature or place name from which Wildcat Springs could be derived.

Therefore, the association between the trading post occupation and the petroglyph is weak and can not be substantiated, archaeological interpretation is dashed on the rocks of ambiguity.

Based on the material remains what did we miss archaeologically? A review of the York's study reveals that we were unable to find unequivocal evidence of the corrals on the south side of the road, the house that Mrs. Graham's parents lived in, the Delco from which the residents derived their power, most of the interior divisions of the house, to name the major ones. A large commercial and residential complex was only evidenced by the most minimal of structural remains and artifacts. High impact disturbances may remove substantial portions of sites leaving the archaeologist with very bare bones from which to reconstruct the site history. The Wildcat Springs Trading Post is a prime example of how ethnohistorical research can add immensely to the knowledge of the site structure and functions.

Lest we think that ethnohistorical study is the best and only way to deal with sites like the Wildcat Springs Trading Post there are a few issues to consider before we discount the value of the archaeological work. It seems that personal memory is selective with only personally important events and material remains remembered. Just as personal memory is individual specific, so are photographs tied to a single moment in the history of a site or the life of an individual or family. Photographs do not show the changes that may occur in site structure during the occupation of a site. Both personal and photographic sources often provide great detail but because they are selective, they often need to be supplemented or triggered by outside stimuli and data. The memory "joggers" can be provided by the archaeological work. For instance, the D-shaped plan of the trading post front was not visible on the surface nor was it immediately visible in the photographs. It is highly likely, therefore, that it would not have been included in the personal accounts since the ethnohistorian would not know to ask a question specific to the archaeologically discovered form. The results of the archaeological study served as guidelines in the formulation of site-specific questions.

This study demonstrated that although each method may have drawbacks, in combination they provide a complement and a system of checks and balances. While the archaeological data may be incomplete and can be filled out by ethnohistorical data, personal memory and documentary evidence may be selective and time specific, a condition that may be alleviated through the memory triggers that are uncovered through archaeological investigation.

The second question is tied into the first question. Archaeologically, the burning of the trading post suggested that it was rebuilt and that a new series of extramural features accompanied it. There was no feature information by which the chronology of feature construction and abandonment could have been determined. Therefore, ethnohistorical interview was expected to provide more detailed information about the chronology of site structure. But as York learned, after the fire in 1951, the old trading post site was abandoned and moved around the mesita to the west, where the second house still stands today. There was no structural chronology in the area of the site that was archaeologically investigated. The answer to the second question is a moot point.

The third question asks if the refuse is indicative of the occupation. Archaeologically, the functional categories that were assigned to the artifacts were not mutually exclusive, but they were clarified somewhat by considering the site setting. The low frequency and limited diversity of artifact types suggested that either the refuse was dumped off-site or removed by the road

construction activities. While some of the artifacts could be tied to trading post activities, there was very little to indicate a residential occupation. I concluded that either the occupation was very short-lived or the family residence was located away from the trading post.

Ethnohistorically, York asked former site residents about their methods of trash deposition. He was told that it was dumped in the arroyo east of the site and south of the road. Therefore it is likely that the trash was washed away, buried, and carted off during construction. Residential trash could not be expected to occur on the site. Therefore, the archaeological assumption of refuse as representative of the intensity and duration of occupation does not hold true on this twentieth-century Anglo site. York also suggests that the surface trash is not from the first trading post or residence and that it was left from other activities. Because a majority of the artifacts are soda bottle glass, it is possible that the old trading post site was used as a rest stop and meeting place for travelers and clients of the new trading post. Congregations of people and soda drinking could result in a concentration of broken bottle glass.

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