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MASTER OF ART

NAVAJO PICTORIAL WEAVING: ITS PAST AND ITS PRESENT CONDITION

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NAVAJO PICTORIAL WEAVING: ITS PAST AND ITS PRESENT CONDITION

BY
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A.B., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, 1967

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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NAVAJO PICTORIAL WEAVING: ITS PAST AND ITS PRESENT CONDITION

BY
DOROTHY ELIZABETH BOYD

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The purpose of this study is to describe and classify a type of Navajo weaving usually termed the pictorial which has never been treated in all aspects by any single author. The term "pictorial" is used in this study to indicate any blanket or rug in which naturalistic motifs or intelligible lettering are used for their decorative or expressive qualities rather than for their ritual connotations or the sole purpose of permanently recording ritual designs such as sandpainting rugs. After reviewing anthropological literature relating to Navajo weaving and culture, extensive study was conducted on pictorials owned by various Southwestern museums. Finally, traders and curio shop operators in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Gallup, and on the eastern Navajo reservation were interviewed, and all pictorials in their inventories at the time of the visits were included in the study. These 191 rugs were categorized on the basis of design motifs and then organized chronologically within each category. Finally, they were classified by area and chronology. Early pieces seem stylistically related to Navajo rock art and sandpaintings, while later designs show white influence. Most examples which are of a known provenience are from around Lukachukai and Shiprock, but pictorials may be done on any area of the reservation. Design motifs range from native items to exotic objects introduced through white contacts. Certain designs have become standardized, while others are unique and show great originality. The rugs range in date from before 1863 to 1969. Pictorial weaving is a creative response by the weaver to stimulation from outside as well as within and is as "Navajo" as the Ganado rug.

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NAVAJO PICTORIAL WEAVING: ITS PAST AND ITS PRESENT CONDITION

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to describe and classify a type of Navajo weaving usually termed the pictorial. This form has been either overlooked or barely mentioned by such authoritative writers as Amsden,¹ Reichard,² and Matthews.³ One notable exception is the pamphlet by H. P. Mera entitled Pictorial Blankets, which was later included as a chapter in Mera's book Navajo Textile Arts. Mera defines the pictorial rug or blanket as one with naturalistic motifs without the appearance of or derivation from ceremonial or ritual motifs.⁴ Thus, Mera excludes the now numerous Yei, Yeibichei, and sandpainting rugs, which had their beginnings sometime after 1900. Unfortunately, such a clear-cut distinction is often impossible, as will become apparent later. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, the term "pictorial" will be used to designate any blanket or rug in which naturalistic motifs or intelligible lettering are used for their decorative or expressive qualities rather than for their ritual connotations or the sole purpose of permanently recording ritual designs such as in sandpainting rugs.

The Yei and Yeibichei rugs appear to rely heavily on the ritual conventionalization of the figure while the sandpainting rug is essentially a copy of a religious design arrived at by someone other than the weaver.

This definition does not, however, exclude those rugs which may combine ritual design elements with naturalistic ones or which may even reinterpret ritual motifs into decorative and expressive designs (e.g., the cornstalk and birds or the medicine basket). This study attempts to show that in most cases pictorial weaving is a creative response by the Navajo weaver to stimulation from outside as well as within, and that it is every bit as "Navajo"--and as old--as the "typical" Ganado geometric rug with a border or the contemporary Crystal vegetal dye rugs with bands and stripes.

The method of inquiry used is threefold: First, the anthropological literature relating to Navajo weaving and culture was thoroughly reviewed. Second, extensive study was conducted on the pictorial rugs owned by various museums in the Southwest. Particularly important were a number of pictorials in the care of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe. In Albuquerque, pictorials in the collection of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico were examined. Correspondence with Norman Feder, Curator of American Indian Arts at the Denver Art Museum, provided information on the pictorials in that collection. Mrs. Martha Tilley, Assistant Curator of the Taylor Museum in Colorado Springs, sent descriptions and photographs of the pictorials in the Taylor Museum. Mr. Tom Cain of the Heard Museum of Anthropology and Primitive Art in Phoenix, Arizona, sent information and a picture of one of the two pictorials in that collection.

The third part of the research consists of field work carried out in the summer and fall of 1969 in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Gallup, and Farmington, New Mexico, Cortez, Colorado, and on the eastern half of the Navajo Reservation. Traders and curio shop operators were interviewed,

and all pictorials in their inventories at the time of the visits were included in this study. Mr. Don Watson of Cortez, Colorado, had excellent color photographs of additional pictorials and these were also included. The study cannot claim to be all-inclusive since every trader on the reservation was not consulted nor was every museum with pictorials contacted. Accessibility of trading posts and road conditions were key factors in the choice of informants. For this reason, no weavers were consulted.

This method of investigation resulted in the inclusion of 191 pictorials in the study. These rugs were first categorized on the basis of design motifs and then organized chronologically within each category. For further insight into the problem, the rugs were also classified by area and chronology. A complete catalogue of the rugs including descriptions, present owners, and reproductions will be found in the appendix. Rugs mentioned in the text are identified by these catalogue numbers.

¹Charles A. Amsden, Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and History (2nd ed.; Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1949).

²Gladys A. Reichard, Navaho Shepherd and Weaver (New York: Augustin, 1936).

³Washington Matthews, "Navajo Weavers," Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report, III (1882), 371-391.

⁴Harry P. Mera, Navajo Textile Arts (Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology, no date), 33-35.

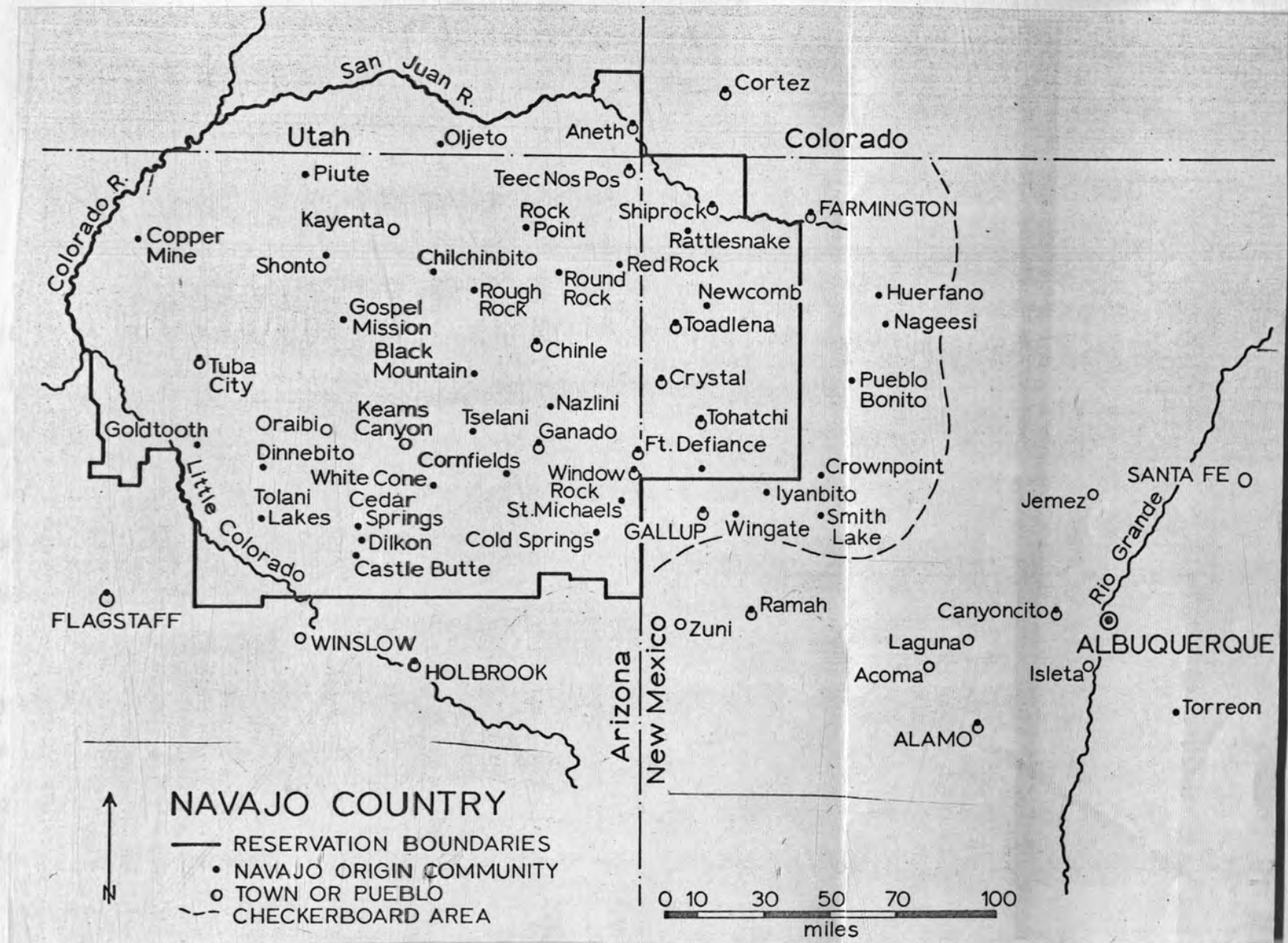


FIGURE 1.

Map of the Present Navajo Reservation. From Hodge, The Albuquerque Navajos, Fig. 2.

CHAPTER I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF NAVAJO WEAVING

It is beyond the scope of this paper to recapitulate a detailed history of the development of Navajo weaving as authorities have pieced it together. Amsden has done a definitive job of tracing the history,¹ while Kent² and Maxwell³ have added to his information and summarized it quite successfully. Nevertheless, a brief historical and technological synopsis of Navajo weaving should clarify the terminology and research methods used in this study.

Most authorities believe that the Navajos migrated into the southwest band by band sometime before A.D. 1500. There they found Pueblo people already skilled in the art of weaving on the vertical loom with cotton and other vegetable fibers. When the Spanish conquistador Coronado left Compostela, Mexico, in 1540 to conquer the Seven Cities of Cibola (Zuni), he took with him five thousand churro sheep. The churro were perfectly suited to the arid southwestern climate; they were long-legged, wiry, and tough. The long, straight, greaseless wool was perfect for hand spinning and weaving in a dry land where extensive washing of the wool is impossible.⁴ It was the churro wool which made possible the high technical quality and fine spinning characteristic of mid-nineteenth century Navajo weaving.

The problem of where and when the Navajos learned to weave with

wool is not a simple one. The first mention of Navajo weaving in Spanish records is in 1706.⁵ This follows two decades during which time many Pueblo Indians were living with the Navajos in the San Juan drainage south of Colorado, in the Rio Arriba section of New Mexico, and in the Gobernador area of northwestern New Mexico.⁶ After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Navajos were unhindered in their raids on the Pueblos. Then, with the De Vargas Reconquest of 1692, many Pueblo Indians fled to the west to live in close association with the Navajos.⁷ Dorothy Keur reports the excavation of a number of sites in the Gobernador with "pueblitos" and "tower pueblitos" associated contemporaneously with hogans with tree ring dates from A.D. 1656±20 to 1771±5. Artifacts from the sites include Navajo utility ware, Gobernador Polychrome, seventeenth and eighteenth century Puebloan wares, a batten, and two spindle whorls.⁸ Kent suggests that it was during the 1690's in the Gobernador area of northwestern New Mexico that the Navajos learned to spin and weave the wool from the flocks built up by raids during the seventeenth century.⁹

The technical processes of Navajo weaving have been well explained in detail by Amsden,¹⁰ Reichard,¹¹ and others. A diagram of a loom and tools will be found in Fig. 2. The shaft and whorl spindle is of the simplest possible design; the loom is upright and has a "simple heddle and shed rod for controlling warp sets." It can be easily dismantled and transported and therefore is suitable to the Navajo way of life. Cords twisted along the warp and weft selvages strengthen these edges, which are under the greatest stress in normal wear. Weaving tools include wooden battens and combs and cards which originally were made of wood and burrs. Navajo weaving is essentially a tapestry technique, where only the wefts are visible. Both sides of the fabric are identical

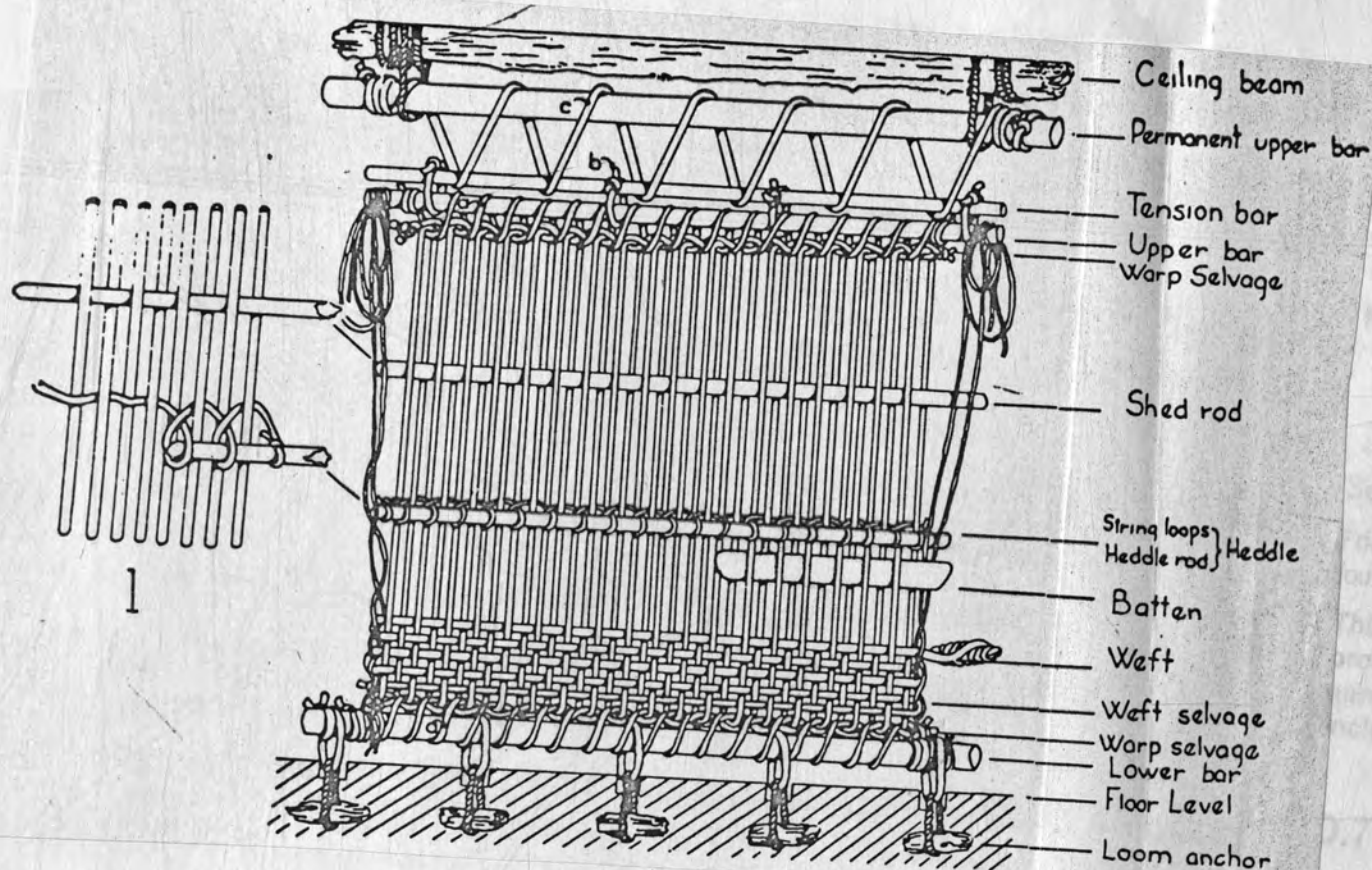


FIGURE 2.

Diagram of a Navajo Loom and Weaving Tools, rigged for plain weave.
From Kent, The Story of Navaho Weaving, p. 2.

in pattern. Commonly, wefts are carried only as far across as the pattern demands. Normally a woman will be seated before her loom and will weave a section only as wide as her reach. Then she will move over and complete the unfinished area. The place where the two areas join results in the "lazy line," a diagonal line formed by the tiny holes left where the two wefts meet and turn back.

A different technique is known as twill weave, where several heddles are used and the wefts go all the way across the textile instead of stopping at some middle point. The design is formed by wefts overlapping one, two, or more warps in a given sequence "in echelon."¹² The pattern is reversed on the back face. Another variation is the form known as the two-faced weave. In this type, the pattern may be striped or plain on one side while the other side may have a geometric pattern of stripes, crosses, diamonds, stepped frets, and so forth. No two-faced pictorial rugs were found. Matthews records an early example of a two-faced weave which he saw in the 1890's.¹³ Maxwell observes that these rugs do not come from any single area. Very few are made since the technique is difficult. The weft threads are "laid one behind the other," instead of on top of each other as in tapestry weave.¹⁴

To return to the history of the Navajos during the eighteenth century after they had learned the above technology, there are several references to the "People" in Spanish records. In 1744, Sergeant Major Don Joaquín Codallos y Rabal, Governor and Captain General of New Mexico, wrote a history of the years 1706-1743 which includes much ethnological material on the Navajos. Rabal notes that from about 1716 to 1743 the People prospered; they farmed in the lowland areas and their flocks of sheep and goats increased. Trade with the Pueblos and the Spanish

flourished, with the Navajos offering woolen blankets, baskets, and buckskins. Rabal also describes Navajo dress; the women wore Pueblo-style wool dresses consisting of two blankets joined at the shoulders and sides, while the men wore buckskin clothes similar to Plains Indian costume. Both sexes wore handwoven wool blankets.¹⁵ In 1788 Spanish officer Vicente Troncoso suggested to Navajo chief Antonito that the Navajo concentrate on weaving blankets for trade, and that they buy the pre-dyed wool in New Mexico.¹⁶ Kent notes that by 1812 Navajo woolen blankets were traded as far south as Sonora and Chihuahua as well as in New Mexico.¹⁷

Regarding weaving of this period, Kent notes that all but one of the few examples still in existence are of a plain tapestry weave with bands and stripes of natural white, brown, and black wool. There is a limited use of vegetal yellow, reddish brown, and green and bits of bayeta red and indigo blue. The one exception is a twill weave with indigo blue, black, and white stripes. These examples are all from Massacre Cave in Canyon del Muerto and White House in the nearby Canyon de Chelly.¹⁸ Several of these fragments are preserved in the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

In 1822 came the Mexican War of Independence. New Mexico was under Mexican rule from 1822 to 1846, and Bartlett states that Navajo raids increased in the absence of Spanish military forces.¹⁹ One writer who was in New Mexico in 1826 mentions striped blankets of different bright colors which were technically superior to contemporary Spanish Colonial textiles. Josiah Gregg, a trader whose expeditions traversed the plains to New Mexico and then went south into Chihuahua, describes Navajo textiles of 1844. He mentions coarse blankets and finer ones

"in handsome figures of various colors"; the "Sarape Navajo" he notes is waterproof, and finely and closely woven.²⁰

The annexation of the New Mexico Territory by the United States in 1846 was closely followed by a number of military expeditions to pacify the Indians and survey the new land. Several members of these groups have left diaries, reports, and records which include references to Navajo weaving. One curious account of 1840 describes Navajo blankets of "great beauty, being woven in flowers with much taste." One Major Emory, visiting Santo Domingo Pueblo in 1846, mentions a couch in the priest's residence which was "covered with a white Navajo blanket worked in richly colored flowers." Hollister suggests that these were merely white Navajo blankets embroidered by Mexican women.²¹ They might more specifically have been Spanish Colonial colchas, i.e., wool embroidered coverlets, which will be discussed later.

James H. Simpson, an officer with Colonel Washington's expedition to Navajo country in 1849, includes illustrations of Navajos wearing black and white striped blankets.²² He notes that the Navajo men in 1849 usually wore red into battle.²³ Major E. Backus mentions in 1854 Navajo blankets with "diamond and parallel shapes" in red (bayeta), black, and blue.²⁴ In 1855 Letterman describes Navajo blankets with designs of bands and diamonds.²⁵

From this point on, Navajo weaving is more fully documented and represented in museum collections. Mrs. Kent terms the years of 1850-1875 the Classic Period. She states that Navajo women wove both clothing for their own people and blankets for domestic use and for outside consumption by Mexicans, American soldiers, and other Indians. This period marks the climax of technical excellence and aesthetic quality which had been

developing for the previous century and a half. Single-ply handspun native yarns had to be very finely spun to match the raveled bayeta strands and the Saxony yarn characteristic of the Classic Period. Bayeta or baize was a wool cloth made in England and imported to New Mexico through Mexico. Several colors were available but cochineal-dyed red was the color most commonly raveled and retwisted in strands of two or more for use as wefts. Kent states that bayeta was used by Navajo weavers from the early 1800's until the end of the Classic Period.

Three-ply Saxony yarn, a German commercial product imported to New Mexico by at least 1850, is used in many colors but, like bayeta, is only rarely used in quantity.²⁶ Kent observes that Classic Period designs are based on the stripe and right angle but may include "rectangles, crosses, zigzag horizontal lines and diamond-shaped figures." This period produced the well-known "chief blankets," wide, striped blankets which usually include other design elements. Typical colors are red, black, white, indigo blue, and grey. Also common were the "Moki" pattern or banded background blankets, which consist of narrow black or brown and indigo blue weft stripes. Variations on this basic pattern include white and red stripes and "beading," or narrow bands "in which tiny blocks of color alternate." Such pieces were also produced at this time by Hopi, Acoma, and perhaps other pueblos. Spanish Colonial weavers in New Mexico were making textiles of similar design on narrow horizontal looms.²⁷

It was during the Classic Period that the United States government authorized Kit Carson to round up all Navajos and escort them to a reservation area near Fort Sumner, New Mexico, known as Bosque Redondo. Between 1863 and 1868 those unfortunate people who had not managed to elude Carson's troops were incarcerated there and came in

contact with such commodities as calico cloth, aniline dyes, commercial yarn, coffee, and wheat flour. A treaty signed in 1868 allowed the surviving Navajos to return to a newly established reservation in northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico.²⁸

The next years, 1875-1890, Kent terms the Transition Period. As handspun indigo blue, bayeta, and Saxony yarn grew less common, aniline dyes, coarsely-spun wool, and four-ply Germantown yarn were employed. Aniline dyes, invented in England in 1856, produced bright, unstable colors which weavers used in garish combinations. Cotton string warp, carried by most traders, was commonly used in place of strong wool warp. Designs were based on the acute angle and resulted in what Kent terms "the serrate, or diamond, style." Many of these seem to relate to the Saltillo serapes which were imported from Mexico throughout the nineteenth century.²⁹ Slavery was practiced by both Spanish and Navajos during this century; Navajo women so attached to Spanish households would surely have been familiar with such Mexican imports and might even have been ordered to copy them.

During the 1880's a tradition of pictorial weaving or the use of representational figures as design elements became established which continues to the present day. Another form which was sometimes done in the late 1880's is the wedge weave or "pulled warp" rug. This involves laying the wefts diagonally so that the warps are actually bent to one side. As a result, the edges of the piece are scalloped.

The coming of the railroad in the 1880's brought increased outside contacts, and more traders were locating on and near the reservation. From them the Indians could obtain packaged foods, bolts of calico and velveteen, levis, and thick wool wearing blankets made by

Pendleton Mills of Oregon. With the advent of these clothes and "Pendleton" blankets, Navajos no longer had to weave their own clothing. In these years, too, most traders bought blankets by their weight and weavers soon realized that a heavy rug of dirty coarsely-spun wool brought more money than a well-woven rug. These products are known as "pound blankets."³⁰

The next period, 1890-1920, Kent designates the "Rug Period." This was marked by the cultivation of an Eastern market which demanded thick, bordered floor coverings instead of wearing blankets. Many weavers unaccustomed to weaving borders left a single weft of a different color running through the border. This line, known as a "spirit trail," persists in many textiles woven today. Several traders worked to raise the quality of Navajo weaving and discouraged the use of cotton string warp and Germantown wefts. One such trader was J. Lorenzo Hubbell of Ganado, Arizona, who promoted a revival of "Moki" rugs and got weavers to make very large rugs. The Fred Harvey Company and the Hyde Exploring Expedition also encouraged quality weaving.³¹ C. N. Cotton, onetime partner of Hubbell at Chinle, Arizona, went on to found a successful wholesale house in Gallup in 1894. In 1897 Cotton sent out the "first illustrated and descriptive catalogue of the Navajo blanket ever issued" in one of the first attempts to attract the Eastern market.³²

Another trader, J. B. Moore of Crystal, New Mexico, in 1911 published a second mail order catalogue for rugs. He had his wool commercially cleaned and carded so weavers could spin it finely. He had weavers work from his own "Indian" designs, which were always enclosed in borders. Color combinations were restricted to red, black, grey, brown, tan, and white, though customers could specify colors and sizes

other than those illustrated in the catalogue. Kent states that this early Crystal style led to the present day Two Grey Hills rug, which is named for a trading post near Crystal.³³ Arthur Newcomb, onetime owner of the Two Grey Hills post, continued to upgrade the product in the early part of the twentieth century.

However, the United States government unwittingly jeopardized these improvements in 1910 by introducing Rambouillet rams to the reservation. Wool from the increase was short-stapled, greasy, kinky, and nearly impossible for weavers to use. Designs and colors deteriorated along with the technical quality. By 1920 Navajo weaving had hit a new low.³⁴

Beginning in the early 1930's, a number of people were instrumental in rescuing the craft. Miss Mary C. Wheelwright of Boston and Mr. L. H. "Cozy" McSparron of Chinle, Arizona, encouraged weavers to try vegetal dyes and return to Transition Period designs. A new series of aniline dyes, Old Navaho colors, was created by Diamond Dyes. These were softer in hue and more permanent than earlier aniline dyes. Sallie and Bill Lippincott of Wide Ruins Trading Post in the late 1930's and early 1940's also encouraged the development of vegetal dyes and the use of simple bands and stripes with no borders. The Chinle and Wide Ruins areas today are known for fine quality borderless vegetal dye rugs.³⁵ One more group should be mentioned here: The Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild, established by the government Indian Arts and Crafts Board in 1941, ceased to function during the war but during the 1950's and 1960's has served to encourage quality weaving.³⁶

Summary

Navajos probably learned to weave through Pueblo contacts during the seventeenth century, and their skill in this art was first recorded in 1706. The weaver uses a vertical loom to produce textiles in a tapestry weave. Technical variants include the twill and double-face weaves. Probably patterns were limited to simple bands and stripes and twills throughout the eighteenth century, during which time the Navajos were building their herds through both peaceful and war-like pursuits. The Navajo blanket was traded widely among both Indians and Spanish settlers. After American entry in 1846, the development of Navajo textiles is fairly well documented. The first major style is termed the Classic Period, 1850-75, where finely spun yarn and raveled bayeta are worked in stripes, zig-zags, and stepped diamonds. From 1863 to 1868 many Navajos were held at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, where contact with American commodities soon resulted in a Transition Period, 1875-90. The changes include adoption by many weavers of aniline dyes, Germantown yarns, cotton string warps, and coarsely spun, unwashed wool. Patterns were based on the acute angle and serrate diamond which probably were derived from the Saltillo serape. Forms done in the 1880's include the pictorial and the wedge-weave rugs. Changes in the market, however, encouraged weavers to produce thick rugs rather than wearing blankets, and the next period, 1890-1920, is termed the Rug Period. Traders such as Moore, Cotton, Hubbell, the Hyde Exploring Expedition, the Fred Harvey Company, and Newcomb encouraged quality weaving, but by 1920 most of the work was poorer than at any previous time. The vegetal dye "revival" initiated by Wheelwright and McSparron and later encouraged

by the Lippincotts has resulted in quality weaving which persists to this day in the Chinle and Wide Ruins areas. Post-war weavers have been assisted in upgrading their work by the Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild.

¹Charles A. Amsden, Navaho Weaving; Its Technic and History (2nd ed.; Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 111-235.

²Kate Peck Kent, The Story of Navaho Weaving (Phoenix, Arizona: Heard Museum, 1961), 5-32.

³Gilbert S. Maxwell, Navajo Rugs: Past, Present & Future (Palm Desert, California: Southwest Publications, 1963), 7-15.

⁴Ibid., 7.

⁵W. W. Hill, "Some Navaho Cultural Changes," Miscellaneous Series, #100 (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1940), 401.

⁶Dorothy L. Keur, "A Chapter in Navajo-Pueblo Relationships," American Antiquity, X (1944), 76.

⁷Katharine Bartlett, "Why the Navajos Came to Arizona," Museum Notes, X (December, 1932), 30.

⁸Keur, pp. 76-84.

⁹Kent, p. 5.

¹⁰Amsden, pp. 31-65.

¹¹Gladys A. Reichard, Navaho Shepherd and Weaver (New York: Augustin, 1936), 1-133.

¹²Kent, p. 45.

¹³Washington Matthews, "A Two-Faced Navaho Blanket," American Anthropologist, n.s. II (1900), 638-642.

¹⁴Maxwell, p. 48.

¹⁵Hill, "Some Navaho Cultural Changes," pp. 395-398.

¹⁶Donald E. Worcester, "The Navajo During the Spanish Regime in New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, XXVI (April, 1951), 115.

¹⁷Kent, p. 6.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Bartlett, "Why the Navajos Came to Arizona," p. 31.

²⁰Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, ed. Max L. Moorhead, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 148, 199.

²¹Uriah S. Hollister, The Navajo and his Blanket (Denver: Williamson-Haffner, 1903), 95.

²²James H. Simpson, Navaho Expedition; Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navaho Country (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), pl. 44, 50.

²³Frank McNitt, ed., Navaho Expedition; Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navaho Country Made in 1849 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 81.

²⁴Major E. Backus and Lt. Long, U.S.A., "Spinning and Weaving," in Henry R. Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes of the United States, IV (Philadelphia: 1854), 436.

²⁵Jonathan Letterman, Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, Territory of New Mexico, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D. C.: 1856), 291.

²⁶Kent, pp. 6-9.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 9-10, 17.

²⁸Bertha P. Dutton, Navaho Weaving Today, 3rd ed. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1963), 4.

²⁹Kent, pp. 17, 21, 26.

³⁰Dutton, p. 5.

³¹Kent, pp. 26-27.

³²Frank McNitt, The Indian Traders (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 213, 222.

³³Kent, p. 27.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., p. 32.

³⁶Ibid.

CHAPTER II

EARLY NAVAJO PICTORIAL TRADITIONS

The earliest documented Navajo textile bearing a naturalistic figure is in the collection of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe (Cat. 1, Fig. 3). It was found on the body of the fallen Cheyenne Chief White Antelope after the Sand Creek Massacre of 1863. The location of this site 320 miles northeast of Shiprock, New Mexico, in northern Colorado exemplifies the wide distribution by trade of the Navajo blanket. The blanket is of a fine, regular weave, with cotton warps and zeypher (commercial yarn) wefts of white, lavender, orchid, light and dark blue, yellow, light and dark red, black, peach, tan, light and dark green, and pink. It is Classic in every detail except that it has four tiny birds (ducks?) near the four corners of the central band (a detail showing one bird is illustrated in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 26). The birds are about 1-7/8" in width; two are outlined in red and have red heads with blue bodies while two birds are all blue. The birds are somewhat geometric in conception yet are not so stylized as to be unrecognizable. Such birds reappear later, as for example on a bird blanket of an early Crystal design (Cat. 53), an 1880's rug owned by the Alameda Trading Post (Cat. 52), and in the "Happy Times" rugs depicting cornstalks with birds on each branch. The important point here is that at least one Navajo weaver was using naturalistic motifs



FIGURE 3.

Chief White Antelope blanket, Cat. 1, MNM 7124/12, 56 x 76", late 1850's or early 1860's, Museum of New Mexico. Photograph courtesy Museum of New Mexico.

at an early date for some reason other than to please Anglo tourists, and for reasons perhaps personal and aesthetic rather than commercial.

Early Navajo arts containing naturalistic forms include pottery, rock art, and sandpainting. Since these all predate the first recorded instance of Navajo pictorial weaving they probably influenced the stylistic conventions used by the first pictorial weavers. These three arts will now be treated and will suggest to what extent the People were accustomed to using naturalistic motifs. None of these designs are known in Navajo basketry, but they do appear in the rather crude painted pottery described by Hill¹ and Tschopik.² Hill notes that the earliest painted ware he knows of was collected in 1880 and admits that it is hard to date the arrival of this pottery type which probably stems from Pueblo contacts.³ Kluckhohn and Leighton state that such ware was made "for a relatively brief period around 1680" and has survived in a few areas until recently.⁴ Tschopik reports that the painted ware was made in most areas of the reservation with the exception of the western part.⁵ He illustrates several animal motifs which appear on pots made in the Ramah area and which resemble the animals in early pictorial rugs. The deer, elk, and antelope appear around the bowl in a clockwise direction. One Ramah informant asserted that the black animal must always be drawn first and that snakes, bears, lightning, birds, and floral patterns must not be used.⁶ One pot features two running horses while another is decorated with realistic oak leaves and plant motifs.

Fewkes describes and illustrates tiny clay sheep, horses, cats, dogs, goats, and people commonly made by nineteenth century Navajo children as playthings.⁷ This would suggest a familiarity among most children with the idea of fashioning animals and familiar objects in a

fairly naturalistic style. In addition, the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology owns three small wooden dolls used in Navajo curing ceremonies. The dolls are tall and slender, with proportions similar to the Yeis in certain old Lukachukai Yei rugs. There is no indication of facial features and only minimal treatment of the extremities. One of the dolls still has shreds of calico stretched over the shoulders.⁸

Another possibility for prototypes of pictorial textile designs are the Navajo petroglyphs and pictographs described by Mrs. Polly Schaafsma, who has extensively studied the rock art of the Navajo Reservoir District. Mrs. Schaafsma has distinguished the Pueblo from the Navajo work, and Navajo stylistic conventions for drawing animals seem to conform to those which appear in the "cow" rugs of the 1880's. For example, the animals are always seen from the side with all four legs visible.⁹ They are more angular than Pueblo drawings (which depict mainly symbols and humans) and when riders on horseback appear (e.g., site LA 3017, Fig. 4) the men's legs are omitted and their arms upraised. This same form appears in the fine old pictorial fabric illustrated in Mera, 1940, pl. 27 (Cat. 48). In another example (Cat. 44) the riders' legs appear only in two out of 12 figures; these two are in the bottom row, which suggests that the weaver experimented and then changed her mind. She either considered human legs superfluous or could not successfully integrate them with her design.

Mrs. Schaafsma found that the most commonly represented forms in Navajo rock art are animals (e.g., eagles, bison, deer, and horses) and animal tracks (deer, bear, and coyote). At least one owl appears. Panels of cruciform stars, lightning forms, snakes, rainbows, and feathered shields also appear and presumably have supernatural connotations. (The

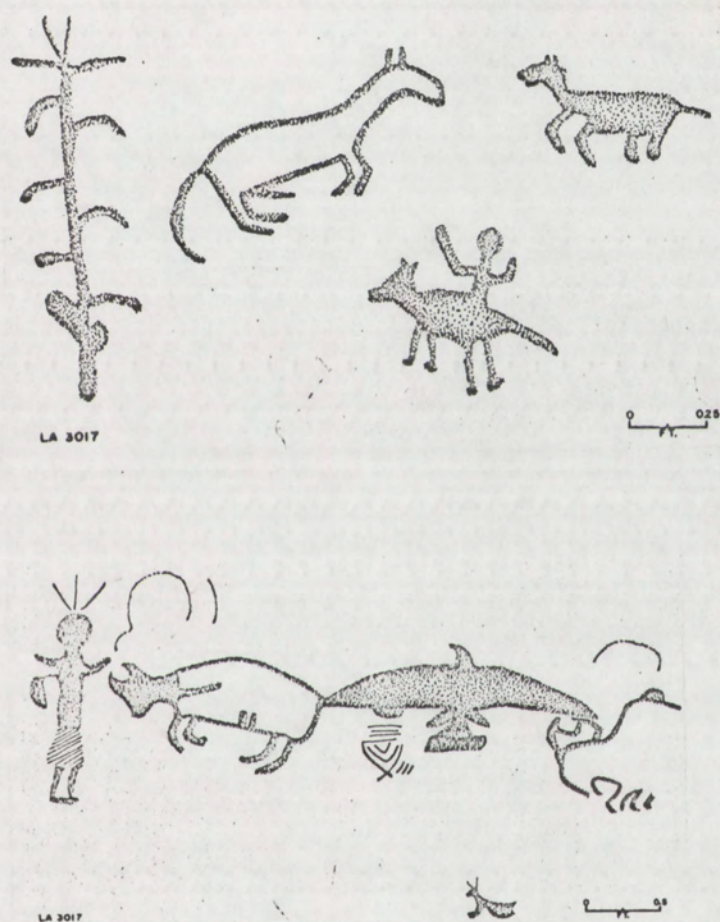


FIGURE 4.

Miscellaneous Navajo Figures from Panel 3,
LA 3017, Navajo Reservoir District. From
Schaafsma, 1963, Fig. 37.

Navajo form of representing stars as cross-shaped is sometimes carried over into the American flags, where the stars become crosses.) Also depicted are Yeis and other mythical beings, some of whom are identifiable today.¹⁰

The figures are lively and often show a progressive linear movement similar to that found in the cow rugs, where the alternate row animals may face in opposite directions. In only one case did Mrs. Schaafsma find a base line. She observes that the eighteenth century Navajo artist was concerned with the realistic representation of form as well as its decorative quality. The exact function of these rock art sites is not known; some appear to be shrines while others may simply be records of sandpaintings used by singers.¹¹

Mrs. Schaafsma places all of the Navajo Reservoir District rock art in the Gobernador phase of the Navajos, which lasted from A.D. 1698 to 1775. She notes that this was a period of strong Pueblo influence upon the Navajo, with Pueblo people living among them after the De Vargas reconquest. She mentions other Navajo rock art of the Gobernador phase in Canyon Largo and its tributaries and around Big Bead Mesa and Chaco Canyon, noting that in the latter two areas the Gobernador phase began later and lasted until about 1800. After this period she sees a secularization of the rock art¹² which may have finally prompted the inclusion of pictorial elements in weaving.

Examples of later Navajo rock art are the early nineteenth century Navajo pictographs at Standing Cow Ruin in Canyon de Chelly described by Clara Lee Tanner. Painted high above the walls of the Ruin is a linear procession of mounted Spanish soldiers, with prancing horses painted in various colors and all posed nearly identically. Though there

is no indication of ground lines, some riders are grouped above others in a suggestion of perspective. The figures are more naturalistic than those in early Navajo animal rugs, but still are somewhat angular and elongated. Limbs are articulated and such details as hooves, helmets, and guns have been included. Also at Canyon del Muerto is a "standing cow" (from which the ruin gets its name) with rounded, naturalistic contours and a group of antelope painted in orange-red, white, and black. Each of the latter animals is about a foot long, and all of the above figures at Canyon del Muerto show elongation, repetition, linear progression suggesting motion, and geometric, rather naturalistic forms.¹³

An obvious possibility for sources of pictorial weaving is the Navajo sandpainting. Connections may be seen between sandpainting forms and some drawings appearing on the cliff faces of the San Juan. Similar forms may be traced to weaving. However, due to the strict Navajo restrictions against doing sandpaintings in permanent form, only a few weavers (and these not until well after 1900) dared to create fairly accurate sandpainting rugs. Tradition predicted that such intrepid souls would be struck blind, or worse, for so profaning the paintings and thereby causing them to lose their power. Certain similarities may be seen in the treatment of animals in pictorial weaving and sandpainting. Further discussion of the sandpainting motifs will be undertaken when treating the currently popular "Happy Times" rugs of Lukachukai and Shiprock. ★

Summary

One may get a fairly accurate idea of early Navajo conceptions of representing naturalistic motifs from the arts of pottery, rock art,

and sandpainting. No pictorial tradition is known in Navajo basketry. In Navajo painted pottery, which first appeared in the late seventeenth century and which was done in some areas until the early twentieth century, one finds naturalistic representations of game animals, horses, and plants. Nineteenth century Navajo children made tiny pottery animals and human figures for toys, while small wooden dolls were used by adults in curing ceremonies. Late seventeenth and eighteenth century Navajo rock art in northwestern New Mexico depicts animals, humans, cosmic symbols, and supernatural beings, while animals and Spanish soldiers appear in some early nineteenth century pictographs in northeastern Arizona. Stylistic conventions similar to those found in early pictorial weaving include profile representations of animals arranged in linear progression, depiction of stars in cruciform shapes, omission of the rider's legs when horseback figures appear, and a geometric elongation of all forms. Many nineteenth and twentieth century sandpainting forms seem to have developed from rock art prototypes. Not until the early twentieth century, however, do sandpainting motifs appear in Navajo weaving; these are known as Yei, Yeibichei, and sandpainting rugs and have been excluded by definition from the term "pictorial." Thus, of the three early Navajo arts with pictorial traditions, pottery, rock art, and sandpainting, all were being done as early as the Gobernador phase of Navajo culture which lasted throughout the eighteenth century, while the earliest documented instance of pictorial weaving does not occur until the mid-nineteenth century. It is not surprising to observe, therefore, that the stylistic conventions which appear in early pictorial weaving are derived from these older forms which were modified by technical limitations of Navajo weaving.

¹W.W. Hill, "Navaho Pottery Manufacture," University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series, II, no. 3 (1937).

²Harry Tschopik, Jr., "Navaho Pottery Making," Papers of the Peabody Museum, XVII (1941).

³Hill, "Navaho Pottery Manufacture," pp. 22-23.

⁴Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho (Cambridge and London: Harvard and Oxford University Presses, 1946), p. 26.

⁵Tschopik, pp. 70-71.

⁶Ibid., pp. 34-35.

⁷J. Walter Fewkes, "Clay Figurines Made by Navaho Children," American Anthropologist, n.s. XXV (1923), 559-562.

⁸Accession numbers 63.34.9N, 66.29.2, and 66.29.1, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

⁹Polly Schaafsma, "Rock Art of the Navajo Reservoir," El Palacio, LXIX (1962), 206.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 53.

¹¹Polly Schaafsma, Rock Art in the Navajo Reservoir District (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1963), 63-65.

¹²Ibid., pp. 54-55, 68.

¹³Clara Lee Tanner, Southwest Indian Painting (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1957), 32-35.

CHAPTER III

GERMANTOWN PICTORIALS AND THEIR PROGENY

If the Classic Period Chief White Antelope blanket, collected in 1863, is the first documented pictorial, then perhaps many of the next ones were done as "special orders" for Anglo Army men and ranchers in the area near the reservation. Amsden notes that 1868 ushers in the reservation period: it brings the arrival of the trader, the railroad (1883-85), linoleum, and the pictorial rug. He feels that it is doubtful whether any Navajo woman had tried to weave a narrative or make pictures before Bosque Redondo.¹ This was the period when four-ply Germantown yarn² and cotton string for warp became available in reservation trading posts. A rug market (as opposed to a "blanket" market) began to be developed in the eastern United States. Amsden notes that at this time the designs began to run lengthwise (with the warp) rather than crosswise as before.³ This is a common technical characteristic of pictorials where the design would be more easily woven if the weaver actually saw it sideways as she is working rather than as it is intended to be viewed when in use. Yet, even today, the Lukachukai pictorials are usually woven with the design running crosswise. The early Germantowns include several with writing, but these will be treated in Chapter IX with "Rugs with Lettering."

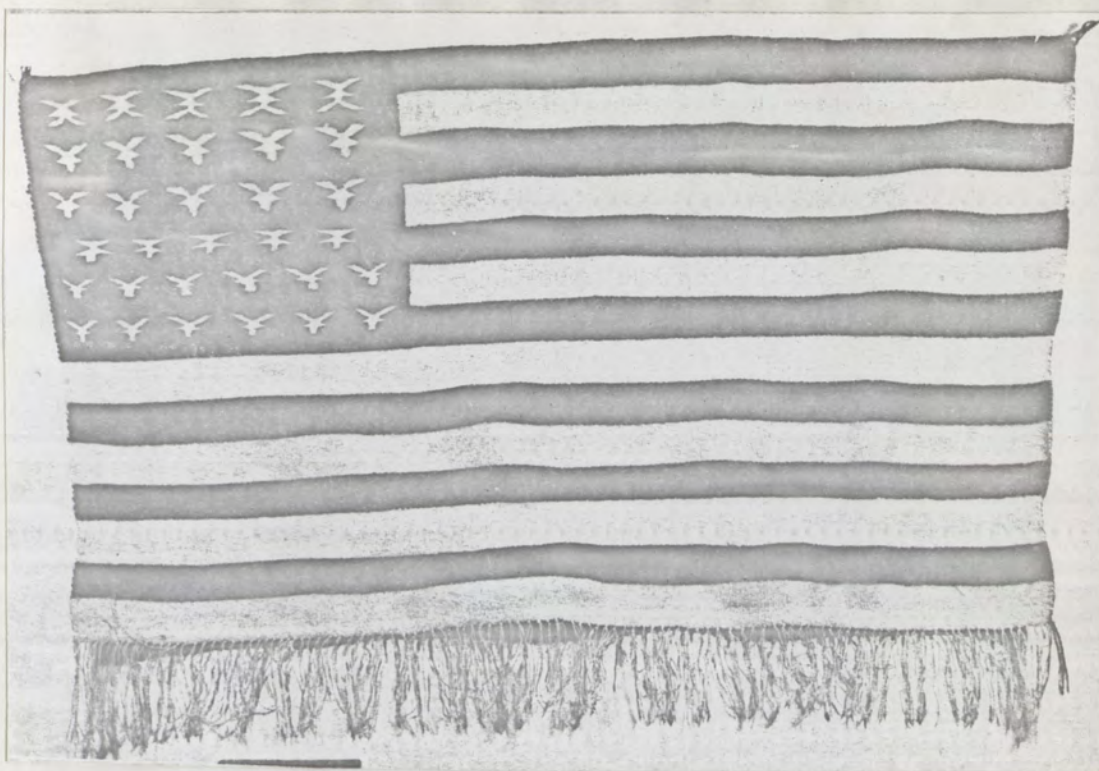


FIGURE 5.

American flag rug, Cat. 4, No. 2470, 27 x 43-50", 1880's or 1890's, Taylor Museum. Photograph courtesy Taylor Museum.

American Flag Rugs

Amsden notes that with the Germantowns come "flags and rampant eagles and square-wheeled railway cars."⁴ In a photo taken in 1873 (Cat. 2; Amsden, pl. 114) an adaptation of the American flag appears at each end of a rug. The five-pointed stars have become crosses and spill over onto the thirteen stripes. Perhaps the geometric design of the flag was attractive to the weaver, who was accustomed to making stripes and crosses. Even the red, white, and blue colors would have seemed natural to one whose wool had long been limited to natural white, black, and brown, indigo blue, and raveled bayeta. At any rate, the flag has

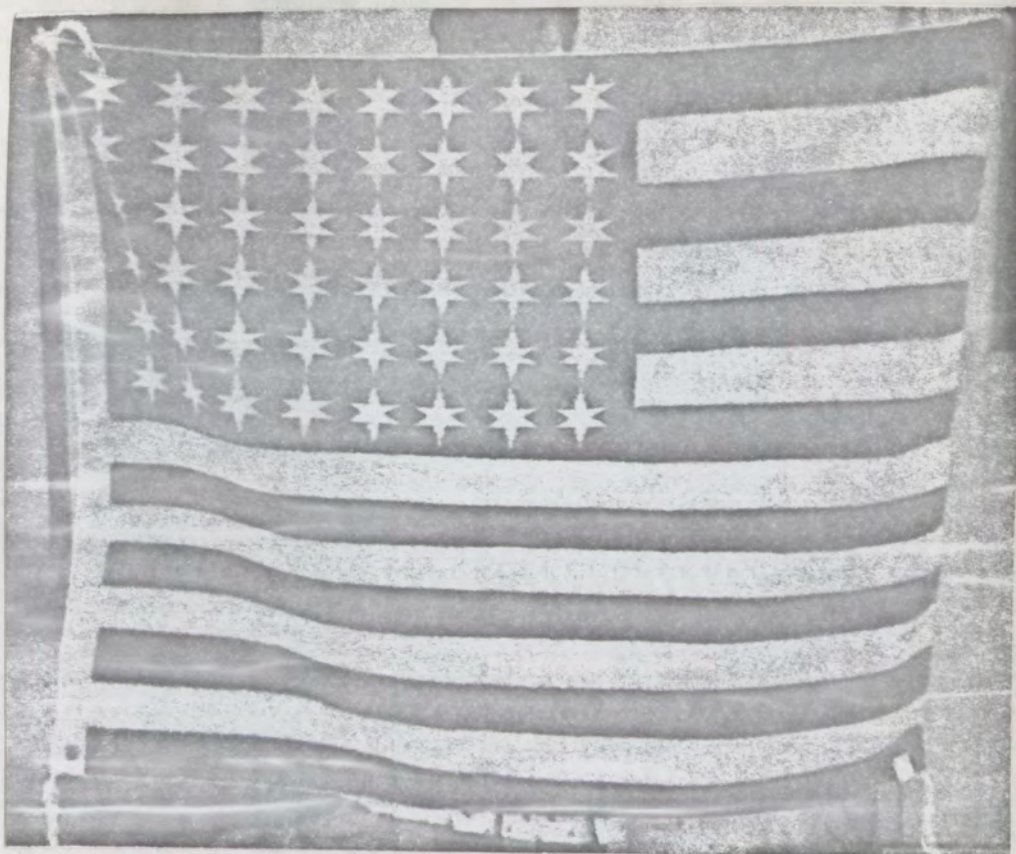


FIGURE 6.

American flag rug, Cat. 6, 53 x 42", c. 1950's, owned by Mr. Justin La Font, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona. Photograph, author.

been a constant source of inspiration ever since, with seventeen flags among the 191 pictorials studied. The Denver Art Museum owns a Germantown blanket with American flags which was collected in the 1880's (Cat. 3). The Taylor Museum has a Germantown which seems to date from the late 1880's or early 1890's (Fig. 5, Cat. 4). The Girard Foundation in Santa Fe holds seven recent variations on the same theme (Cat. 11-17). Some of the flags are painstakingly accurate (forty-eight or fifty five-pointed stars with thirteen stripes), and one recent one in the collection of Mr. Justin La Font of Canyon de Chelly even has a white left border

with the holes for the rope represented in blue and gold (Fig. 6, Cat. 6). Yet, often the five-pointed star proves too awkward for tapestry weave, and the stars become six-pointed, diamond-shaped, or cruciform (or in the case of one strange rug in Maisel's of Albuquerque, Cat. 10, eight-pointed). The blue field may vary in hue from Prussian to royal to turquoise; one grey-fielded rug was found. The number of stripes varies from eleven to twenty, though most have thirteen. The stars number from nine to fifty. All but three flag rugs (Cat. 3, 4, 6) are entirely of handspun wool. One example (Cat. 17), owned by the Girard Foundation, is unusual in technique. It consists of fifty asymmetrical five-pointed stars on a turquoise field with thirteen red and white stripes and a white border at the left (c.f. the Canyon de Chelly example, Fig. 6). But here, the weaver has made the stripes go parallel to the warps rather than across with the wefts, as would be easiest and therefore most common. Only the Canyon de Chelly rug can be traced to a specific area on the reservation, near Chinle. Mr. Barton Wright, curator of the Museum of Northern Arizona, has stated that the weaver will make flag rugs just to sell, to cater to the trader.⁵ But Mrs. Ann Goodman of the Covered Wagon in Albuquerque believes that flags and American eagles are expressions of the patriotism of the Indians.⁶

Rugs with Floral Motifs

Other early Germantowns which are similar in style and subject to later pictorial traditions include several with plant or floral designs. Perhaps the earliest is an example in the Museum of New Mexico (Cat. 19, Fig. 7) which dates back to the 1880's. It has no borders



FIGURE 7.

Floral pictorial, Cat. 19, MNM 7292/12, $32\frac{1}{2}$ x 46", 1880's, Museum of New Mexico. Photograph courtesy Museum of New Mexico.

and depicts two stylized century plants separated down the middle by a serrated column. There are no bands. The plants are green, black, grey, white, yellow, orange, blue, purple, and maroon on a rich red ground. As with most Germantowns, the warps are cotton string. The design seems related to the Saltillo serape with its individual serrated

elements.

A second Germantown with floral and geometric patterns is owned by the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque (Cat. 20). This rug is done in red, green, orange, tan, and blue yarn with cotton string warp. There are no borders, and the motifs are arranged in bands. The green and orange designs have been so highly abstracted that they are no longer recognizable as floral elements; they are quadrilaterally symmetrical and measure eight inches in width. The entire design looks as though it might have been adapted from a linoleum rug of the period.

Floral pictorials woven since about 1950 are quite handsome and beautifully done in terms of technical quality as well as design. An example is a 4 x 6' handspun wool rug from Nazlini in the collection of the Museum of New Mexico (Cat. 21) containing stylized cattails and cornplants. It is organized in vertical bands with an interlocking plant in each band. The colors are a rich combination of black, white, red, yellow, brown, and grey obtained from vegetal as well as aniline dyes. While still extremely geometric, the plants are recognizable, as opposed to the Germantown examples of half a century earlier.

Another floral rug of about the same size made about 1950 is even more tightly and evenly woven with a bit of mohair carded with the wool (Cat. 22, Fig. 8). This rug, in the Museum of New Mexico, has a black border with a wide white inner border containing dark green arabesques with orange and red flowers. In the center on a carded grey field are six curvilinear plant forms in dark green, red, orange, and tan. These forms are almost Oriental in feeling compared with the highly abstracted century plants of the earliest Germantown rug. This

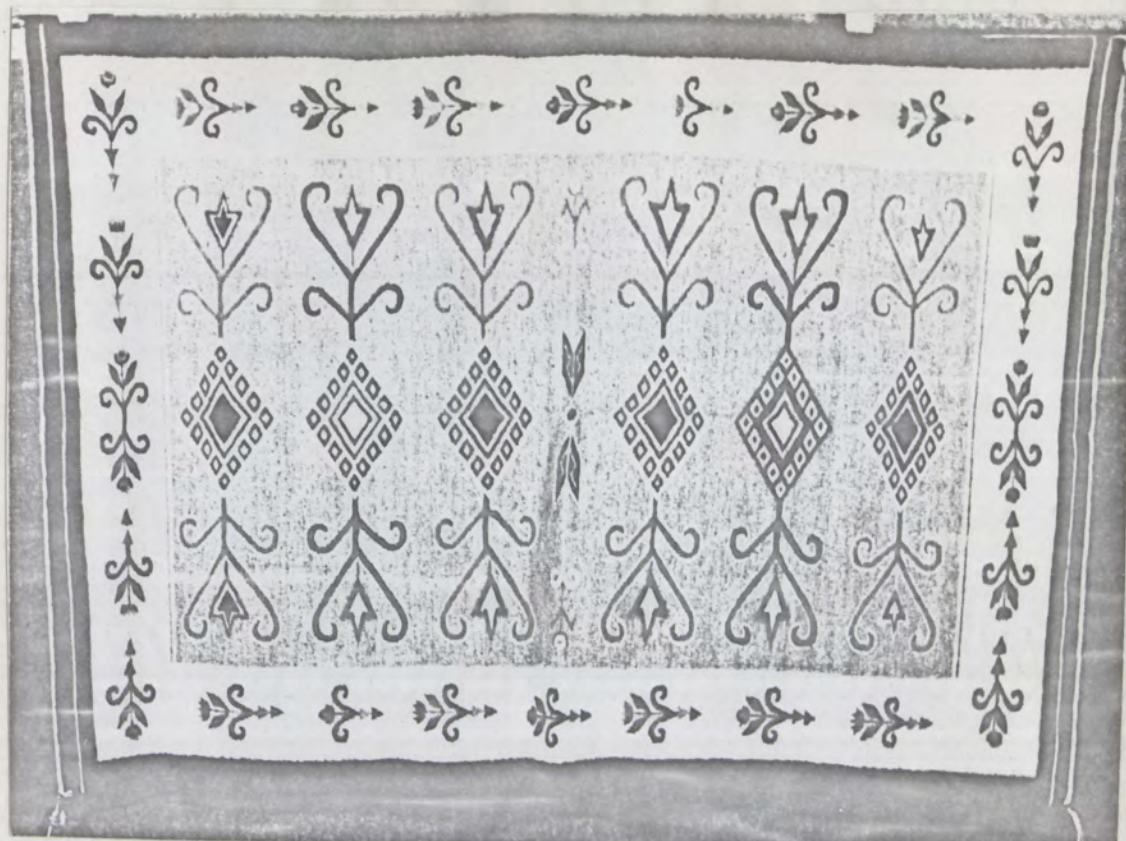


FIGURE 8.

Floral pictorial, Cat. 22, MNM 5044/12, 50 x 68", c. 1950, Museum of New Mexico. Photograph courtesy Museum of New Mexico.

use of curvilinear contours and a straight border reflects the early influence of white traders rather than an indigenous tradition; Amsden states that there were no straight borders before the 1890's.⁷ The "spirit trail" in the upper right corner stems from the weaver's desire not to weave herself and her creativity into a prison.⁸ Traditionally in Navajo basketry, weaving, and sandpainting, borders (if any) are not completely closed because of this fear.

Woodard's Indian Arts in Gallup has on display a beautiful Navajo rug copied from a Persian rug in 1934 by a woman from around Ganado (Cat. 23). This piece seems to possess a sensitivity and

decorative quality similar to that found in the rug in Fig. 8. A 3 x 4' rug (Cat. 24) woven about 1968 and recently in the Covered Wagon rug room does not quite measure up to the above masterpiece but is still a fine example of a well-handled contemporary floral design. The rug has a narrow serrated black border and a rich ochre central area across which are laterally arranged eleven tulip-like plants with bright red flowers. These are not so curvilinear as in the piece illustrated in Fig. 8 but seem more closely related to the forms of the Nazlini corn and cattails rug (Cat. 21). The tulip rug is done in a fine, regular, tight weave.

This Persian rug incident brings to mind another possibility for floral prototypes: Could some eighteenth or nineteenth century slave weaver have been inspired by an Oriental rug seen in the home of her Spanish master? The Benavides Memorial records that eleven "Turkish carpets" were brought to New Spain in 1624-26 for the Franciscan fathers.⁹ Presumably, then, such items did exist in small numbers in the Spanish Colonies now known as New Mexico. Another type of floral textile in the Southwest which may have influenced Navajo weavers is the colcha. Used as a quilt or bedspread, the colcha design is embroidered and thus the pattern is freer to use curvilinear shapes than is a woven design. Typical colcha motifs include birds and plants in elaborate compositions. The practice of slavery among the Navajo as well as among the Spanish Americans even after American rule would have made it probable that many Navajo women were familiar with the Spanish colcha. Underhill records that as late as 1872 100 Navajo women finally were returned from Mexican settlements where they had been enslaved.¹⁰ From 1872 to 1880 when this style came into its own is no great time gap.



FIGURE 9.

American eagle rug, Cat. 25, No. 63.40.3, 63 x c. 44", 1890's,
Maxwell Museum of Anthropology. Photograph, author.

American Eagles

As for the American eagle, which is supposed to have come into fashion with the use of Germantown yarn, only one example was located. This rug (Cat. 25, Fig. 9) depicts three heraldic eagles, all facing left, in poses quite similar to the rock art thunderbird shown in Fig. 4. The eagles are arranged vertically down the center of the rug with twelve large arrows placed down each side; a narrow straight border frames the design. The birds lack the shield on the breast and the usual arrows and olive branch clutched in the talons. The warps and wefts are handspun natural white, dark brown, and combed tan and aniline dyed brown and red wool. Strangely, for such an early (1880's or 1890's) example, this rug lacks the spirit trail. American eagles do appear in an early coarse aniline dyed Animal rug on loan to the Museum of New Mexico (Cat. 48), but since they are only a minor part of the design, this rug will be discussed in Chapter IV with the Animal rugs of the 1880-1890 period.

A number of later examples were found; often these can be traced to the images on coins or paper money. One fine specimen was recently in the Don Watson Trading Post in Cortez, Colorado; Mr. Watson states that the eagle was copied from the seal on a dollar bill¹¹ (Cat. 26). The rug is done with black lettering on a brown background which reads "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" across the top and on either side of the eagle, "E PLURIBUS/UNUM." The eagle faces left with wings outstretched. In his right talons he holds a branch with green leaves and in the left talons are several red arrows. The arrows and branch are not crossed. Across the eagle's breast is a shield with red and white stripes and a



FIGURE 10.

American eagle rug, Cat. 27, 30 x 32", c. 1969, Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Photograph, author.

brown band at the top. The eagle itself has black wings and body with a white head. The weaving is technically fine and the curves are well handled. Also at Don Watson's was another eagle pictorial similar to this though of a coarser weave and lacking the lettering and curvilinear forms (Cat. 27, Fig. 10). Neither of these two rugs can be traced to a specific geographical area.

A third eagle rug at the same trading post includes three abstracted eagles with wings up placed one over the other with a bow and arrow motif separating each. The colors are natural brown, black,

and white on a dark red background (Cat. 28). A narrow black border frames the design nicely. The rug, a fine, tight weave, was made around Ganado. At Justin's Thunderbird Lodge and Trading Post at Canyon de Chelly is another American eagle pictorial (Cat. 29), this one with no borders or arrows or branch but still with the union shield on its breast; the eagle's wings are abstracted. The Freed Company in Albuquerque recently had a rug with four eagles with wings up (two face right and two left, Cat. 30). The piece is long, c. 8' x 30", and is made of rather knotty, coarse, handspun wool with narrow black borders around a vegetal green field with ochre, black, and natural white designs.

Still other eagle pictorials were found at the Enchanted Mesa in Albuquerque (Cat. 31, a poor, small piece which came from Shiprock) and at the Covered Wagon (Cat. 32-34, three beautiful pieces). One of the latter, Cat. 33, seems iconographically related to silver dollars minted from 1840 through 1873 (with crossed arrows and branch held in the claws and the shield on the breast). After 1878 silver dollars have a similar eagle with crossed arrows and branch but lack the shield. Other United States coins depicting an eagle with a shield and crossed branches are quarters minted from 1815 through 1891 and half dollars from 1807 through 1891.¹² Silver coins have long been used by Navajos as buttons; possibly some old coin has thereby survived to be copied by a weaver. The eagle on the paper money does not have crossed arrows and branches. One of the eagle rugs at the Covered Wagon (Cat. 34) seems to derive from the eagles on quarters minted between 1932 and the present.¹³ The wings point downward and the bird seems to be perched on a brown branch on either side of which is a red and white striped bar. The branch is probably intended to be a bundle of arrows. The



FIGURE 11.

American eagle rug entitled "Lunar Landing," Cat. 35, 36 x 30", 1969, Silversmith Indian Shop, Blanding, Utah. Photograph, David Barde, Albuquerque.

eagle is black with white eight-pointed stars on his wings. His head is brown and he wears a green necklace. The blue and red is commercial yarn, while the brown, black, and natural white wool is handspun.

A particularly interesting eagle was found in Blanding, Utah, in the Silversmith Indian Shop (Cat. 35, Fig. 11). Entitled "Lunar Landing," the rug was made at Crystal in 1969 and features a heraldic eagle with an angular green olive branch and several zig-zag arrows in the talons (not crossed). The black, grey, and white wings are outstretched and the eagle faces to the right. The left border consists

of a vertical band of red and white stripes with a blue column of seven five-pointed stars. Across the top and bottom are narrow black bands which blend into a serrated black band down the right side. Crystal is known for beautiful, rich vegetal dye rugs with wavy lines and fine technical quality. This rug, while atypical in design and subject, has this same fine quality. The design appears related to the seal worn by the Apollo XI astronauts in July, 1969, on their trip to the moon.

In all, of the 191 rugs studied, 11 were American eagles (not including the animal rug with eagles, Cat. 48). Barton Wright believes that today eagles reflect a seasonal interest and are done during the eagles' nesting time.¹⁴

Railroad Trains

Another subject mentioned by Amsden which was first done in the Germantown yarn-cotton warp days is the railroad train. The coming of the railroad to the reservation in 1883-85¹⁵ was to have profound repercussions in every aspect of Navajo culture. Use of Navajo labor, the introduction of currency into a barter economy, the wide variety of hardware and drygoods made available through the trader: all of these changes had hardly been set in motion when the first rugs with square-wheeled trains began to appear. George James records the weaving of the large blanket illustrated in Fig. 12 (Cat. 36). A woman's summer hogan was near the track fifty miles west of Gallup. She sat at her loom as traffic passed; first came a passenger train going east, then a cattle train, then a lapse with birds sitting on the track and women

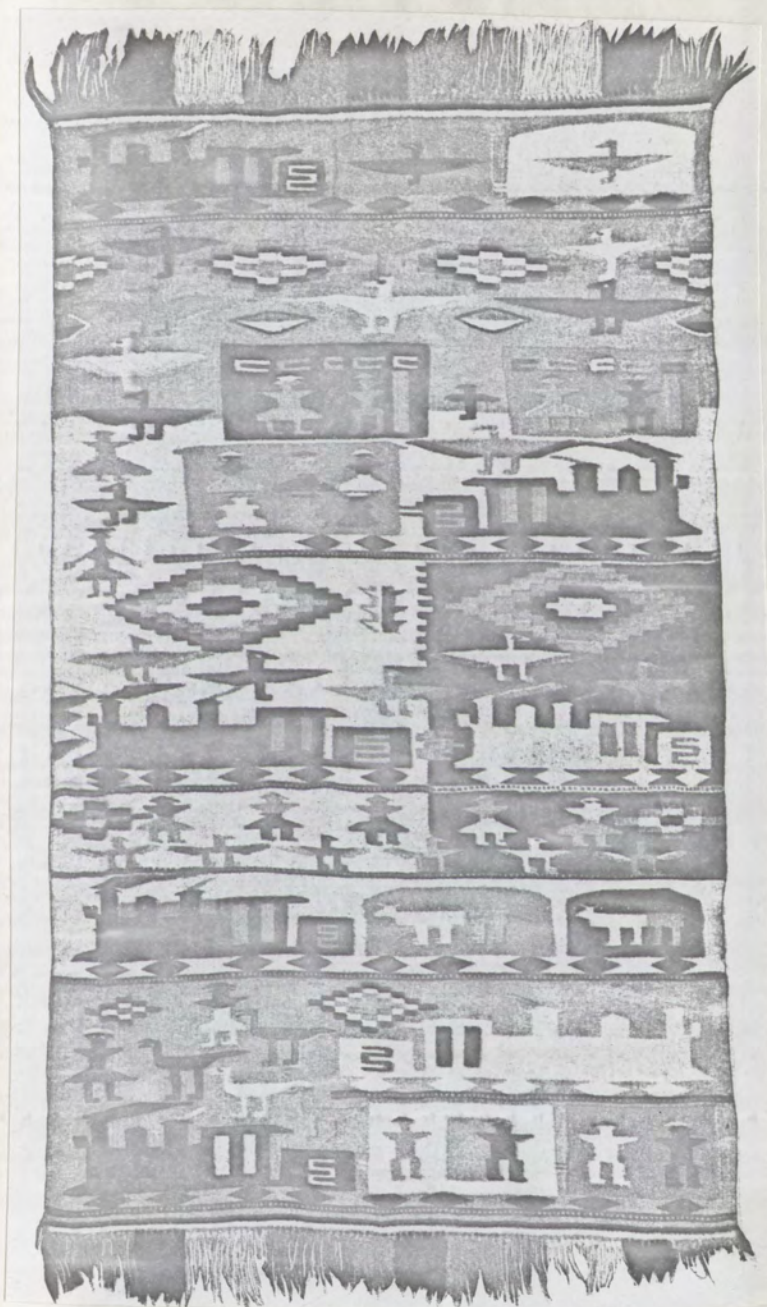


FIGURE 12.

Railroad blanket, Cat. 36, large (exact size unknown),
1880's, illustrated in color in James, 1920, Fig. 146.

walking by, then two engines together heading west, flying birds, rainclouds, a sleeping car, and finally a poultry train steaming west.¹⁶ These images all appear in the rug, and are arranged in bands with no borders in colors of red, white, green, black, and blue. The forms are very geometric, with diamond-shaped wheels, blocky people, rectangular cattle, and triangular birds. The design seems to have that quality noted by Schaafsma in some rock art: progressive movement across a linear band. The diamond shapes correspond to the diamond style of the 1880's.¹⁷

These textile train designs are much less realistic than several drawn by a young Navajo named Choh in the early 1880's. This young artist had been given a red and blue pencil and wrapping paper and he went often to the train station at Fort Wingate to draw from life. His wheels are round, he has used some shading which suggests volume, and he has even left highlights. The letters on the sides of the train, however, have been hopelessly jumbled.¹⁸

Another train rug is in the collection of the Denver Art Museum (Cat. 37). Mr. Norman Feder describes this as a double saddle blanket of Germantown yarn woven in the 1880's with a train and the lettering "SANTA FE ROUTE & CRESCENTE CO. GALLUP NM."¹⁹ Since the rug was not inspected personally, no further information can be given here. In the Museum of New Mexico are two rugs with trains. One (Cat. 38, Fig. 13) is a Germantown saddle blanket with trains, human figures, cattle, horses, and wagons in white, blue, and green on a red background. The rug was bought at Paguate, New Mexico, near Laguna.²⁰ The second rug (Cat. 39, Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 29) is large (61 x 80") and has a diamond border on all four sides. On a line across the center are two railroad trains with diamond-shaped wheels and smoke steaming from

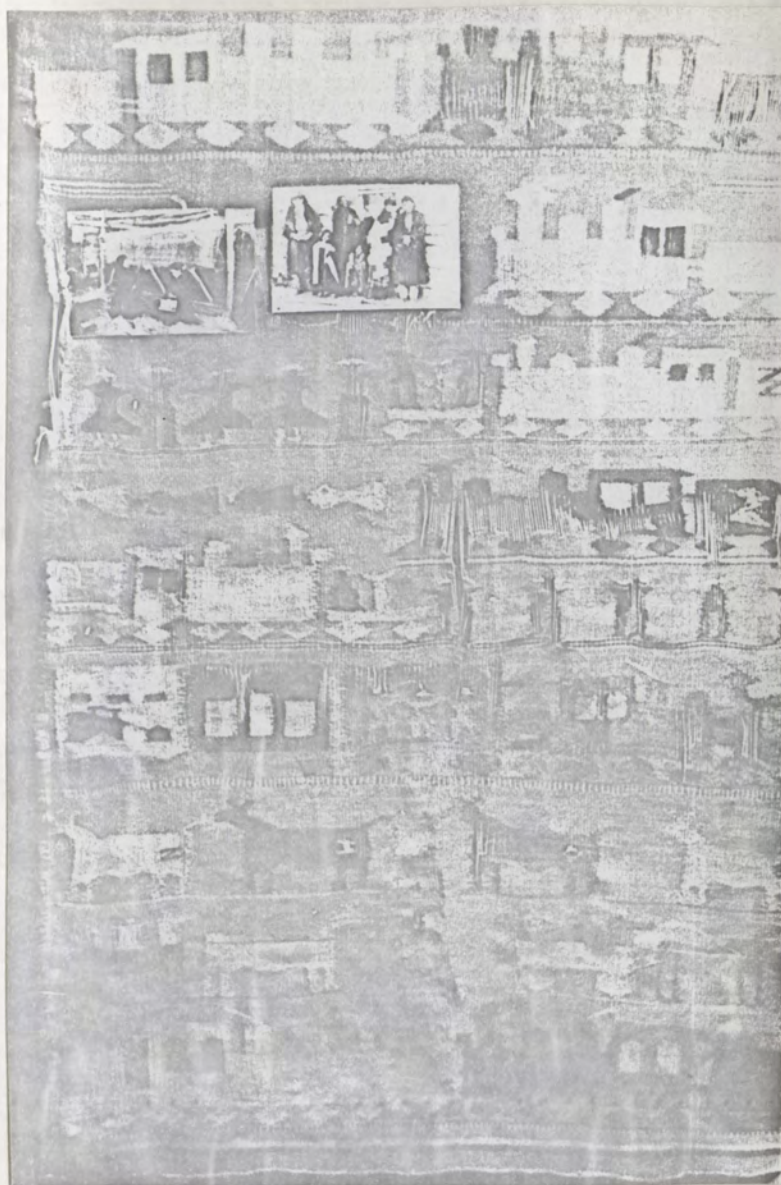


FIGURE 13.

Railroad saddle blanket, Cat. 38, MNM 9077/12, 26 x 40", 1880's, Museum of New Mexico. Photograph courtesy Museum of New Mexico.

the stacks. Below the trains are several bird figures strikingly similar to the birds of the Chief White Antelope blanket. Scattered at random across the rest of the space are human figures, riders, more birds, dogs, arrowheads, cattle, boots, and fish. The colors are white, black, blue, green, yellow, lavender, and red. Each of these nineteenth century weavers has depicted the train in an abstracted form and has organized the borderless design in bands.

A more recent train rug is the tiny (c. 12 x 8") piece owned by the Girard Foundation (Cat. 40). Done with black, red, white, and green commercial yarn and cotton warps, the rug has no borders and depicts only the engine and the coalcar. The wheels are hexagonal and the track is shown in a birds-eye view with a beaded band. On the train are the letters "GI," which could be personal initials, a reference to the slang term for an army enlisted man, or a jumbled version of some railroad insignia. The train is definitely a steam engine, not a diesel, and it has a bell, smokestack with stylized smoke, and a cowcatcher.

Summary

The arrival of Germantown yarns in the 1870's is accompanied by the first flowering of Navajo pictorial weaving. The yarn is especially adapted to the fine detail often needed in representational designs, and the colors are brighter than the old indigo and natural wool shades. The group of pictorial designs which first appear in these Germantown weaves persists in slightly altered form to the present day. Of the 191 rugs studied, 17 depict flags, six floral patterns, 11 eagles, and five trains. Of these 39 rugs, ten date before 1900, one from the period

1901-1939, two from 1940-1955, and 26 from 1956-1969. The first flags, eagles, and trains are easily traced to the years after the incarceration at Fort Sumner when contact with Americans for the first time was via peaceful trade and contacts of a non-military nature. The weavers of the three early flag rugs were quite imaginative, with little or no attempt to make exact replicas of the American flag. More recent pieces are often elaborate; many have the correct number of stars and stripes, and in one case (Fig. 6), even the left border with the holes is depicted. In many cases from the 1870's to the present, weavers have used tiny crosses to represent the stars, a convention already noted in rock art. Ten of the eagle rugs date from the most recent period, 1956-1969, and range in style from naturalistic to geometrically abstract. Many examples may be traced to the images on coins or paper money, but one piece is clearly derived from the Apollo XI insignia. Trains appear on blankets as soon as the Navajos saw them; four such designs date before 1900, with only one done recently. Usually they are geometric and two-dimensional with humans, birds, and animals completely out of proportion with them. Floral motifs may have been done before the arrival of Germantown yarn, but this is undocumented. Early floral designs were angular and abstract, but recent ones are more curvilinear and naturalistic. Possibly use of floral patterns was encouraged by the white taste for Oriental rugs, one of which was actually copied in 1934 by a Navajo weaver, or by Spanish Colonial colchas.

¹Charles A. Amsden, Navaho Weaving; Its Technic and History (2nd ed.; Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 213.

²This yarn is produced in Germantown, now part of Philadelphia.

- ³Amsden, p. 214.
- ⁴Ibid., p. 213.
- ⁵Barton Wright (Flagstaff, Arizona), Interview, August 13, 1969.
- ⁶Ann Goodman (Albuquerque, New Mexico), Interview, July 5, 1969.
- ⁷Amsden, p. 215.
- ⁸Gilbert S. Maxwell, Navajo Rugs: Past, Present & Future (Palm Desert, California: Southwest Publications, 1963), 59.
- ⁹Benavides Memorial, 1634, reprinted by the Quivira Society (Santa Fe: Quivira, 1945), 115.
- ¹⁰Ruth Underhill, The Navajos (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 193.
- ¹¹Don Watson (Cortez, Colorado), Interview, July 18, 1969.
- ¹²R. S. Yeoman, Lee F. Hewitt, and Charles E. Green, Handbook of United States Coins (Racine, Wisconsin: Whitman, 1956), 54-58, 63-68, 90-94.
- ¹³Ibid., pp. 58-60.
- ¹⁴Wright, Interview, August 13, 1969.
- ¹⁵William Y. Adams, Shonto; a Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navaho Community (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1963), 42.
- ¹⁶George W. James, Indian Blankets and Their Makers (Chicago: McClurg, 1920), 124-125.
- ¹⁷Kate Peck Kent, The Story of Navaho Weaving (Phoenix, Arizona: Heard Museum, 1961), 21.
- ¹⁸R. W. Shufeldt, "A Navajo Artist and his Notions of Mechanical Drawing," Magazine of American History, XXII (1889), 466-68.
- ¹⁹Norman Feder (Denver, Colorado), Letter, August 4, 1969.
- ²⁰The Museum of New Mexico photograph of this rug (Fig. 13) apparently includes two old photographs tacked over the upper left corner of the rug.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANIMAL RUG FROM 1880 TO THE PRESENT

The first major pictorial iconographic subtype discernable from museum collections seems to be the "horse and cow" blankets of the 1880's and 1890's. Mera notes that these were popularly known as "burial blankets" but observes that this is probably fictitious since no funeral blanket tradition among the Navajo has been recorded.¹ Martha Tilley describes Cat. 47 (Fig. 14), an example of about 1880 which was accessioned in 1929 with the note that it was "found in arroyo after flood, burial blanket." Mrs. Tilley admits, "I am inclined to accept the note as a bit of dealer's legend."²

Of the 191 pieces studied, 16 are animal rugs of this period. Typically, they consist of cows, horses, riders, or buffalo arranged in rows across a field without borders. The animals are usually done in random colors (aniline red, orange, black, and green) and may exhibit strange combinations of spots; that is, they may be half one color and half another, or have diamond-shaped spots, or they may even have brands. Most of the animals are similar in form and pose to those in eighteenth century rock art, with all four legs shown and the horns depicted as though seen frontally. The body is usually elongated and rectangular. Rarely is any attempt made to indicate a ground line.

One unusual animal rug in the Museum of New Mexico (Cat. 41,

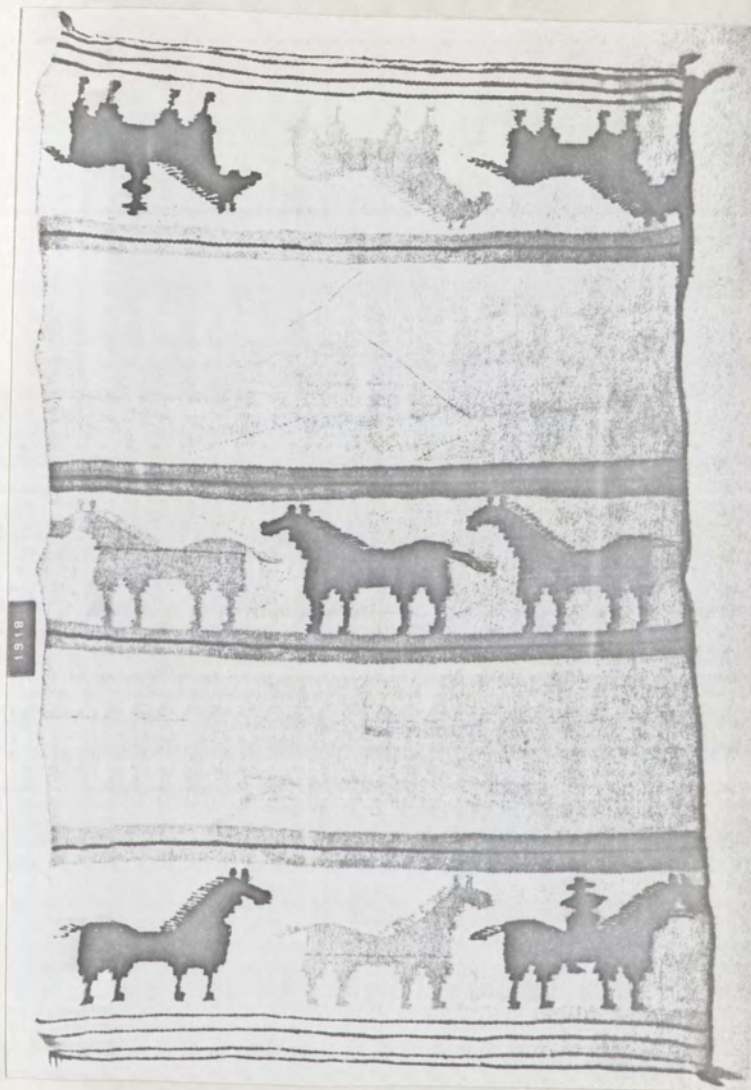


FIGURE 14.

Animal Rug, Cat. 47, No. 1918, 81 x 52", c. 1880,
Taylor Museum. Photograph courtesy Taylor Museum.

illustrated in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 30), a large specimen with three rows of three cows each in wide aniline red bands on a natural white field, contains an unusual technical feature. The tails of the animals are extended diagonally from the bodies: to get a smooth line, the weaver has placed the wefts around the tails as well as those which form the tails diagonally across the warp. This is not a true wedge

weave since the warps are not distorted, but the idea seems related to the wedge weave or "pulled warp" technique in vogue at the same time. Other rugs with animals arranged in bands, without borders, in handspun aniline dyed wool are Cat. 42-47, the last of which is illustrated in Fig. 14. Cat. 48, illustrated in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 27, is similar in style but in addition to horses, colts, cows, and riders it depicts two rows of arrows and two rows of American eagles. The eagles are so stylized that they seem almost insect-like. Two of the horses may have brands, but the marks are not traceable through the New Mexico Brand Books.

Another interesting animal rug is Cat. 49 (Fig. 15), a red, black, purple, and white handspun piece with four human figures, two cows, and diamond designs. The human figures have triangular heads (or hats?) like those in Cat. 61 but in formal abstraction are closer to those in the James railroad blanket (Cat. 36, Fig. 12); yet in the latter piece the figures have outstretched arms, and here they lack arms. An intriguing feature visible in the lower center of Fig. 15 is the (intentional?) use of diagonally placed wefts to form tiny hills and mesas "behind" the first row of figures and cow. This is not just a "lazy line" division but an area where the wefts are "folded" over one another. The warps are not distorted as they would be in a wedge weave. The effect is a subtle creation of three-dimensional space which may not have been intended.

A pictorial reproduced in Amsden, pl. 115 (Cat. 50), is of handspun aniline dyed red and black and natural white wool. It was collected in the 1880's by an army colonel³ and represents assorted animals arranged roughly in two columns on either side of two plant

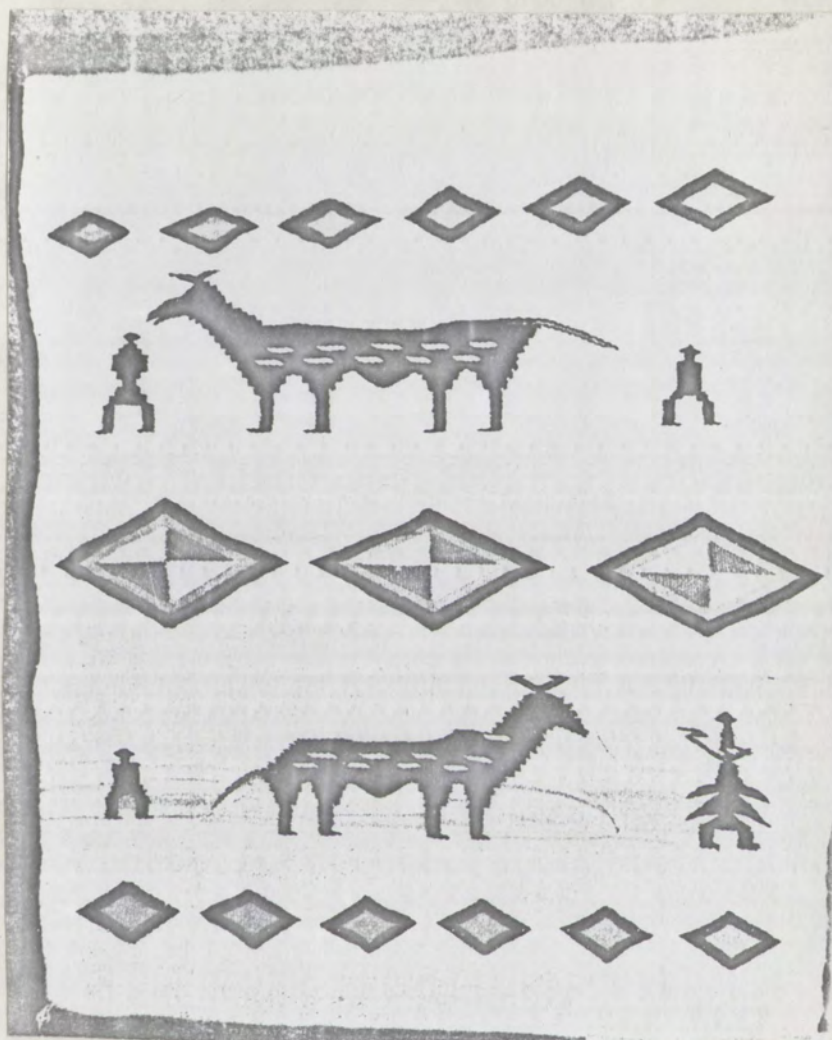


FIGURE 15.

Animal Rug, Cat. 49, MNM 36449/12, large, 1880's or 1890's, Museum of New Mexico. Photograph courtesy of Museum of New Mexico.

forms with birds on the top branches and serrated borders down each side of the composition. The animals appear to be chickens, dogs, and insects. The birds on top of the plants bear a curious resemblance to the currently popular "Happy Times" design of birds on cornstalks, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI. In the Amsden piece, however, the plants are not intended to be cornstalks since they lack tassels

and ears. Yet, the composition resembles that found in many Lukachukai "Happy Times" rugs of the 1960's.

In the Alameda Trading Post, north of Albuquerque, are two old animal rugs. The first (Cat. 51), an all-over serrated diamond design without borders done in aniline red, black, orange, purple, and green and natural white handspun wool with cotton warp, contains four typical elongated cows arranged in a vertical column down the center. The bottom cow has an untraceable slash-like brand on the right rump and all have scissor-like cloven hooves. The brand is similar but not identical to a brand registered to Richard Wetherill, Jr., of Cuba, New Mexico, in the 1941 New Mexico Brand Book, p. 207. The weaver has filled in the area between the legs of the animals with red though the background is another color, as has been done with some cows in Cat. 44.

The second old animal rug at the Alameda Trading Post (Cat. 52), another borderless, handspun, aniline dyed rug, has bands and serrated zig-zags with four small white bands incorporated in the design. The top two face to one side while the bottom two face each other. The style of the birds is strangely like that of a Moore-designed Crystal rug of perhaps two or three decades later. The Moore design (Cat. 53, Moore, 1911, pl. XXVI) is bordered with a small diamond in each corner of the border. The rug illustrated in Moore's catalogue has a red background with white motifs and blue borders with plant motifs and two small birds in the center. Moore classed this as an "ER-20" and offered to have rugs woven in any size or color combination at 90¢-\$1.00 per square foot, depending on quality. He names the weaver as Bit-se-bi-Gay-bit-Se.⁴ Probably Moore designed the rug himself to suit Eastern tastes, which demanded borders and floral motifs as result of the Persian rug fad.

But the small birds may have been a native motif which Moore incorporated to give the rug an "Indian" character, since they do appear in the older rug described above (Cat. 52). Another Moore design on an early Crystal rug is found in Cat. 54. A nice, even weave, this rug has a wide white border with a black plant design around a carded grey central panel, which contains a large geometric figure in natural tan, white, and aniline orange.

Even after the bordered style had been introduced by traders, some weavers continued to use the older animal motifs but adapted them to borders. An 1890's example is Cat. 55 (illustrated in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 31), a large rug which has three brown cows in the center of three concentric brown borders. A tiny "spirit trail" cuts each of the three borders on one side. The tails of the cows are interesting for a technical point: the tail of the bottom cow is diagonally placed and poorly woven, with holes in the web. The tail of the next is also diagonal, but ragged and stairstepped. The weaver must have given up the diagonal ideal by the time she did the tail of the top cow, for it comes straight out and down at a right angle. This latter is by far the most successful solution to the problem in her case. The rug has a beautiful texture and is full of lazy lines. The restraint in color (natural white and brown) and simplicity of design is quite pleasing.

A similar but smaller piece is the double saddle blanket (Cat. 56) with a serrated brown border containing a horizontal motif of three "meandering arrows." Four steer heads are placed vertically down the center of the blanket. Again, there are no aniline dyes but only natural handspun grey, brown, and white wool. Also in the Museum of New Mexico

collections is a large fret-bordered rug with a small horned animal in the center (Cat. 57). It, too, is handspun brown and white wool.

Of about the same period (1890's) is a rug hanging in Irma's Indian Arts in Albuquerque (Cat. 58). Done with handspun natural brown, grey, and white with some aniline red, this 27 x 47½" rug has an eight-pointed star in the upper left corner with a white horse and cowboy with a red shirt, bridle and saddle, and grey pants. Below this are a grey-brown horse with a white blaze face, a white cow and calf facing right, and a grey and brown striped bull. The tails of the animals come straight out and then down in a right angle. All horses have a Lazy M or W brand on the rump. Investigation shows such a brand to have been registered to a Hiram M. West, Sr., of Moriarity, at the time of the first state recording of brands in 1899. One Albert White of San Juan had a similar brand in 1899 (New Mexico Brand Book 5, p. 268) but it was on the shoulder, rather than the rump. Also, A. Martin & Sons of Aztec had this brand (Book 10, p. 38). Of the three, the most likely source of the brand would seem to be the latter outfit, which is close to Navajo country. The 1941 Brand Book lists several slash Wetherill brands (pp. 207, 315) at Cuba which could possibly be related to this rug, since one branch of the family for years had a ranch and trading post at Chaco Canyon. The style of the cows fits with the rugs of the 1880's, yet the wide, straight border places the rug a bit later, perhaps in the 1890's.

Two old rugs which depict human figures will be included at this point, for they are stylistically related to figures which appear in animal rugs of this period. The first (Cat. 61) depicts two blocky figures in the center of a borderless Late Classic diamond design. Three-ply commercial wool yarn has been used for the warps and the red,

green, and blue-grey wefts, while the white and indigo blue wefts are handspun wool. Collected in 1880, the blanket appears stylistically related to the Alameda Trading Post bird blanket. The figures are similar to those in Cat. 49, Fig. 15. The second human figure rug (Cat. 62), collected in the 1880's and owned by the Denver Art Museum, measures 45 x 31" and depicts a white man on a red background. No other information is available on this rug since it was not inspected personally.

Today livestock may still be the entire subject of a rug. In composition and feeling perhaps the closest relationship lies between the old animal rug and what might be termed the "Reservation Scenes" rugs which will be discussed in Chapter V. Some very small pieces seem almost like paint by number, picture postcard, or calendar illustrations in comparison with the charming nonchalance of the late nineteenth century rugs. An example of this realistic type is owned by the Foutz Indian Room in Farmington (Cat. 64). Winner of a second prize in the juvenile division in the 1967 Gallup Ceremonial, it depicts a large black bull standing on a kelly green bar with a fence in the background. Some attempt has been made to compose this as though it were a painting and to create three-dimensional space.

A similar rug is owned by Al Packard's Chaparral Trading Post in Santa Fe (Cat. 65, Fig. 16). It is done with commercial yarn and has a narrow brown border framing the heads of a realistically treated Hereford cow and a black bull, both of which have purple noses. Over their heads is lettered "NEW MEXICO." This is quite different from the older tradition where the animals are geometric and fantastically colored and where spatial organization is mostly in two dimensional bands. Another such rug owned by the Chaparral (Cat. 66) depicts a realistic,



FIGURE 16.

Modern animal rug, Cat. 65, 18 x 18", 1969,
Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe. Photograph,
author.

curvilinear brown cow with white spots and a bright pink udder (usually in the old rugs there is but rudimentary, if any, indication of sex). The background is grey with a narrow black band at the top and bottom edges.

Another less skillfully done example is a double saddle blanket found at the Freed Company in Albuquerque (Cat. 67). It has no borders and serrated diagonals cut the four corners. In the center is a white serrated square containing a black horse head. The weave is coarse. Again, the treatment of the animal is fairly realistic: it has green eyes, a blaze face, and brown nostrils.

A strange rug recently appeared at the Covered Wagon in Albuquerque (Cat. 68). A 30 x 36" borderless grey rug, it has a large, realistically treated brown buck in the center. The animal is outlined in black and has a red mouth and white antlers. Across the bottom are small green corn-like plants with yellow tassels. At the top are two white eight-pointed stars and the letters "67 JAN 27." Though no provenience was available, the rug is similar in style and design and color to another woven at Crystal in 1969 (Cat. 35, Fig. 11). Possibly it commemorated a hunter's success, but more likely the weaver simply carried out a personal idea. The pose is still a profile, but the geometric abstraction, elongation, and whimsical coloring of the early animal rugs is gone.

Yet, a few rugs are still being made which have some of these qualities. Hanging on the wall of the Chaparral Trading Post in Santa Fe is a single saddle blanket with a white outside border and tan and brown striped inner border (Cat. 69). In the center are two geometric and abstracted black and white cats facing opposite directions. The tails are curled up and the backs are arched but the "curves" have returned to the stair-step form of earlier days.

Thus, while some contemporary weavers have adopted Anglo values of realistic representation and coloring, others still feel free to depart from visual realism and to distort the image in the older way.

Summary

Of the 191 rugs studied, 30 may be classified as animal rugs. Sixteen of these date from the period 1870-1900, seven from 1901-1939,

none from the period 1940-1955, and six from the years 1956-1969. The early rugs have no borders and consist of geometric cows, horses, riders, and generalized animals arranged in rows or bands. Most pieces are large and fairly coarse in texture and combine aniline dyed wool with natural white, combed grey and tan, and brown wool. The conventionalized animals resemble those found in eighteenth century Navajo rock art.

In the 1890's under the influence of traders and white consumers animal rugs began to have straight borders, but the general design remains the same. The lack of examples from the period 1940-1955 is consistent with the general scarcity of pictorial rugs from those years. Animal rugs currently done are basically of two types: the first is typically large and usually features animals, houses, trucks, people, and other items common in Navajo country; this will be discussed in Chapter V with the Reservation Scenes rugs. The second form is usually small and features one or two naturalistic animals carefully posed, realistically colored, and sometimes even with the illusion of three-dimensional space. These later examples reflect an awareness of Anglo composition and design principles, while the late nineteenth century animal rugs are composed on a two-dimensional plane in the bands and stripes tradition of older Navajo textiles. Thus, the development of the animal rug seems to parallel the changes in Navajo culture, which has been increasingly influenced by the white culture.

¹Harry P. Mera, Navajo Textile Arts (Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology, no date), 33.

²Martha Tilley (Colorado Springs, Colorado), Letter, November 4, 1969).

³Charles A. Amsden, Navaho Weaving; Its Technic and History

(2nd ed.; Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), pl. 115.

⁴J. B. Moore, The Navajo (Crystal, New Mexico: 1911), 19.

CHAPTER V

RESERVATION SCENES

As has been pointed out in the discussion of Germantowns and animal rugs, the use of familiar surroundings as subject matter is not new. Due to the chronological separation of the early train and figure rugs, however, the present division for the later genre seems justifiable. Many contemporary weavers are producing rugs with an almost painterly sense of design. Three-dimensional space is created by overlapping planes as in a landscape drawing, something that was never done in the older rugs. That is, objects are made to appear in front of or behind each other. Borders are common but not universal. Of the 191 rugs studied, 42 fit this category which we term Reservation Scenes.

Comparison of the following two rugs will illustrate the difference between the old and the new concepts. An example of the "new breed" is illustrated in Fig. 18 (Cat. 70). The wide border contains arabesques, while the central area is taken up with houses, evergreen trees, a horse and rider, a wagon, mesas, more horses, and clouds arranged in a fairly believable spatial relationship. Presumably, this rug dates from the early 1930's. The second rug, owned by the Museum of New Mexico (Cat. 71, Fig. 17), has twenty house outlines organized in rows on a white background in aniline brown, purple, pink, orange, and yellow. Dated by the museum at about 1900, it is a good example of what an early



FIGURE 17.

Early pictorial, Cat. 71, MNM 44457/12, 37 x 74",
c. 1900, Museum of New Mexico. Photograph courtesy
Museum of New Mexico.



FIGURE 18.

Reservation Scene, Cat. 70,
early 1930's, illustrated in
Reichard, 1936, pl. XV.

weaver would choose to do with a house rather than to depict it in a landscape, as in Fig. 18. The design exists entirely on the surface of the textile.

A particularly fine pictorial is owned by the Hubbell Trading Post at Ganado, Arizona (Cat. 72, Fig. 19). Woven about 1969 at Nazlini by Fanny Mann, the borderless 68 x 65" rug depicts houses of various styles, trucks, camper trailers, station wagons, evergreen trees, clotheslines with the family wash, a gasoline pump, a fenced garden plot, a church with bell and cross, and even a gas station with a Seven-Up sign. The wool is handspun in brown, red, dark green, black, blue, natural white, and carded grey wool on an ochre background. The objects are evenly distributed across the field, with no difference in size or overlapping of planes. The garden in the right center of the rug is



FIGURE 19.

Reservation Scene, Cat. 72, 68 x 65", woven by Fanny Mann of Nazlini, Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona. Photograph, author.

shown as a rectangle with right-angled corners and the fence is foreshortened at the sides. Other items are shown as though seen from the side. The convention is identical to that in Plate 18F of George Mills's Navaho Art and Culture, where an informant has drawn a scene with mountains, trees, flying birds, and a corral.¹ All objects except the corral are represented as the artist saw them. But he knew that the corral was square, so he drew it that way in a bird's eye view. It is this borderless style of Reservation Scene weaving which seems most

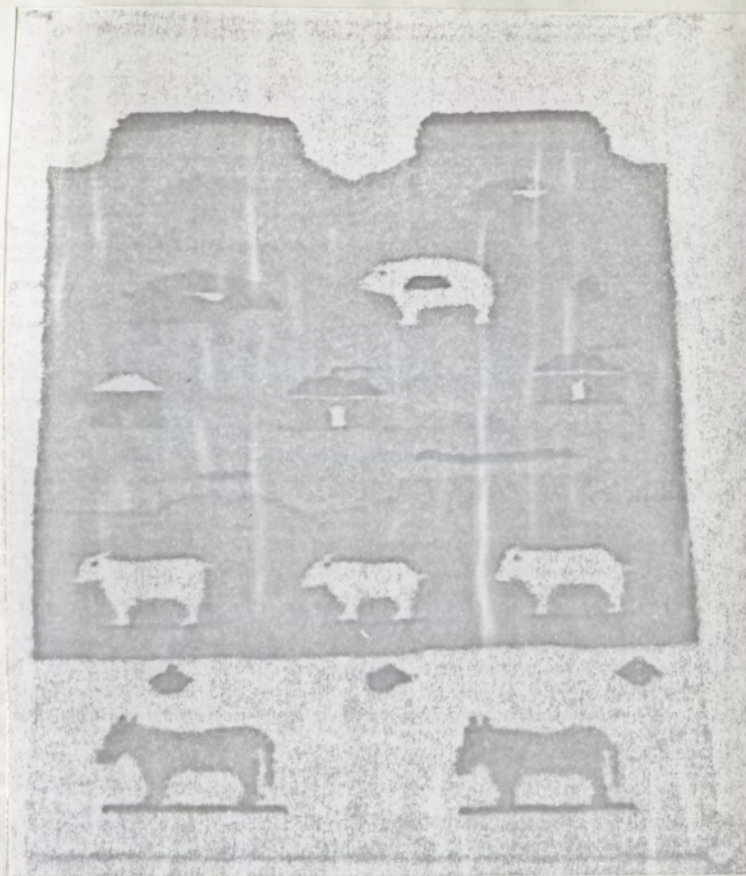


FIGURE 20.

Reservation Scene, Cat. 82, 32 x 43", woven by Virginia Ray Leonard of Lukachukai, Arizona, c. 1968, Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Photograph, author.

closely related to the old animal rugs. A second smaller pictorial (Cat. 73) at Hubbell's by the same lady is similar in design but includes television antennas and has a dark red background which is quite handsome.

These two rugs are similar to a style encouraged by trader Don Watson of Cortez, Colorado, among weavers around Lukachukai, Arizona. Mr. Watson recalls that he encouraged the members of the Ray-Leonard family at Lukachukai to do natural reservation scenes about 1960. This weaving family includes Alice Ray, her seven daughters, and her three

granddaughters. Mr. Watson has long taken an active interest in "creating a market" for pictorials.² He works with his weavers on their designs and technical problems. Nine Reservation Scene pictorials (Cat. 74-82, e.g., Cat. 82, Fig. 20) or photos of ones already sold were in the Watson establishment in July, 1969. As many are bordered as not, but spatial organization is the same in the inner field of a bordered rug as in the unbordered ones. Typically included are cows, chickens, dogs, birds, rabbits, turkeys, squirrels, giraffes, elephants, pigs, houses, hogans, mesas, teepees, cornfields, wagons, cowboys, trucks, tractors, stoves, coffeepots, turtles, sheep, and anything else which strikes the weaver's eye. The wool is rather coarsely spun, and the aniline colors are fairly bright with brick red and yellow ochre predominating and bright reds, blues, greens, yellows, and blacks used in small areas. The concept of space is basically two-dimensional. A chicken may be as big as the horse next to him and a pig may tower over the house below him. In other rugs, size relationships may seem natural but no attempt is made to render things in linear perspective or to foreshorten objects. Every item is presented in its most easily remembered aspect (c.f., the early animal rugs). Yet, curvilinear contours present no technical difficulties for these weavers.

A rug woven about 1961 (Cat. 83, Fig. 21) by Mary Yellow Hair of Chilchinbeto is conceptually similar to the Lukachukai works. The rug has a dark red border with geometric motifs. The central field is grey with two houses, four horses, two cornstalks with birds on the tassels, a hogan, a Navajo man and woman, a truck, two deer, two white prairie dogs, dark green mountains, three jet planes, and at the top the words, "LAND OF NAVAJO INDIAN." Color is not used descriptively;

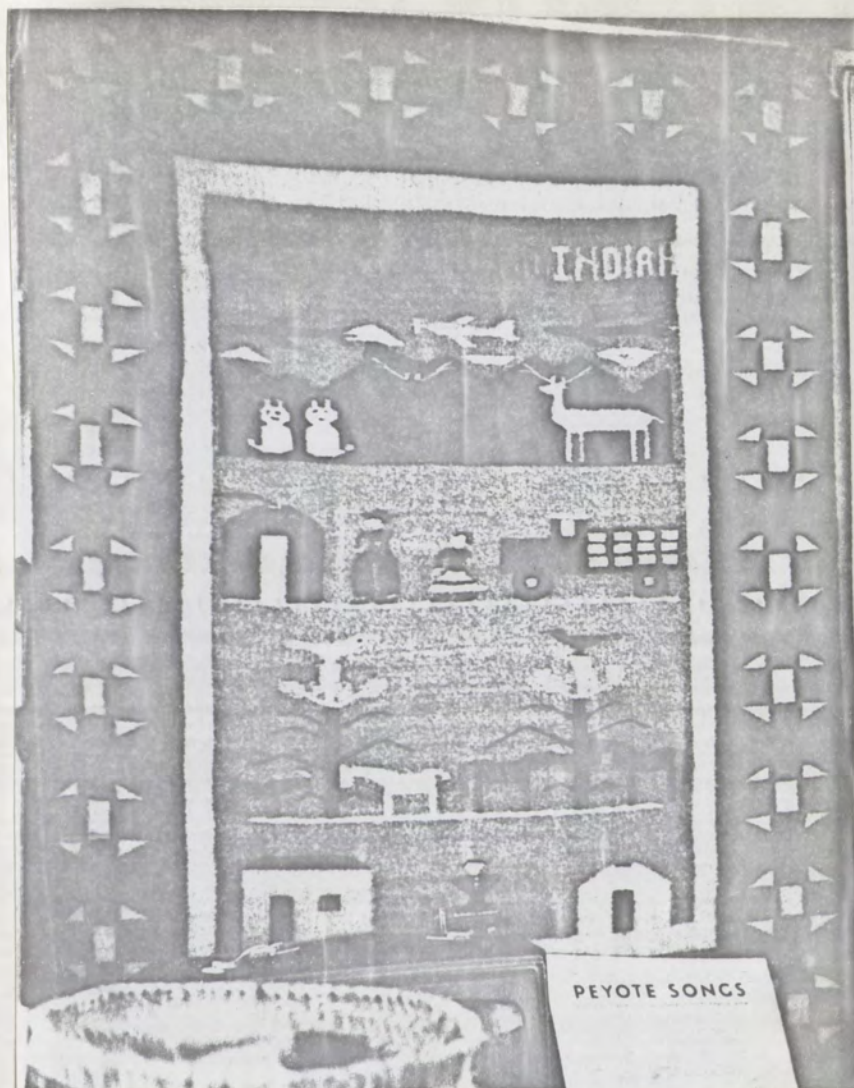


FIGURE 21.

Reservation Scene, Cat. 83, large, woven by Mary Yellow Hair of Chilchinbeto, Arizona, in 1961, Silversmith Indian Shop, Blanding, Utah. Photograph, David Barde, Albuquerque.

the horses are red, blue, white, and black and the deer are yellow and blue. All items are more angular than the Lukachukai versions, and size relationships are not realistic. This weaver has organized her design with several things on the same four white ground lines. The top zone merges into the mountains, sky, and planes. The two houses in the first

or bottom zone are the same size as the hogan and truck in the third zone, so that there is no use of aerial or linear perspective to create deep space. The space is handled decoratively on a two-dimensional plane.

Other Reservation Scene rugs were found from Teec Nos Pos, Farmington and Shiprock, Round Rock, Monument Valley, and Ganado. From Teec Nos Pos came a 30 x 36" bordered rug (Cat. 84) with a house, cowboy twirling a lariat, and mesas fashioned with varigated red and black and brown and red yarn to simulate rock. From the Shiprock area where much commercial yarn is used and a very fine weave is thereby attained come a number of rather stereotyped pieces (e.g., Cat. 86, Fig. 22) which command high prices because of their technical fineness (Cat. 85-88). Typically they are about 30 inches square, unbordered and depict a hogan, perhaps a horse or sheep, a pickup truck, a clothesline with brightly colored clothes, maybe Shiprock or another mesa in the top zone with clouds and a jet plane in a very blue sky. A trader at Shiprock stated that he gets perhaps twelve such pieces per year, and that there is a good market for them.³ Prices range from \$150 to \$200. The names of several weavers in this area are known: Mary Allison, Victoria Yellowman, and Jetona Yellowhorse, but since Navajos often are known by several names such information can only be considered tentative. These rugs seem to be composed with the idea of showing three-dimensional space, for if desert plants dot the middle ground they often get smaller toward the top of this zone. The horizon is well defined by the rock formation and the viewer has some sense of the vastness of the reservation landscape. Colors are usually descriptive but may overstate the case, that is, the intense blueness of the skies or orangeness of the rocks. The forms are not so curvilinear as some from Lukachukai, nor are they painfully

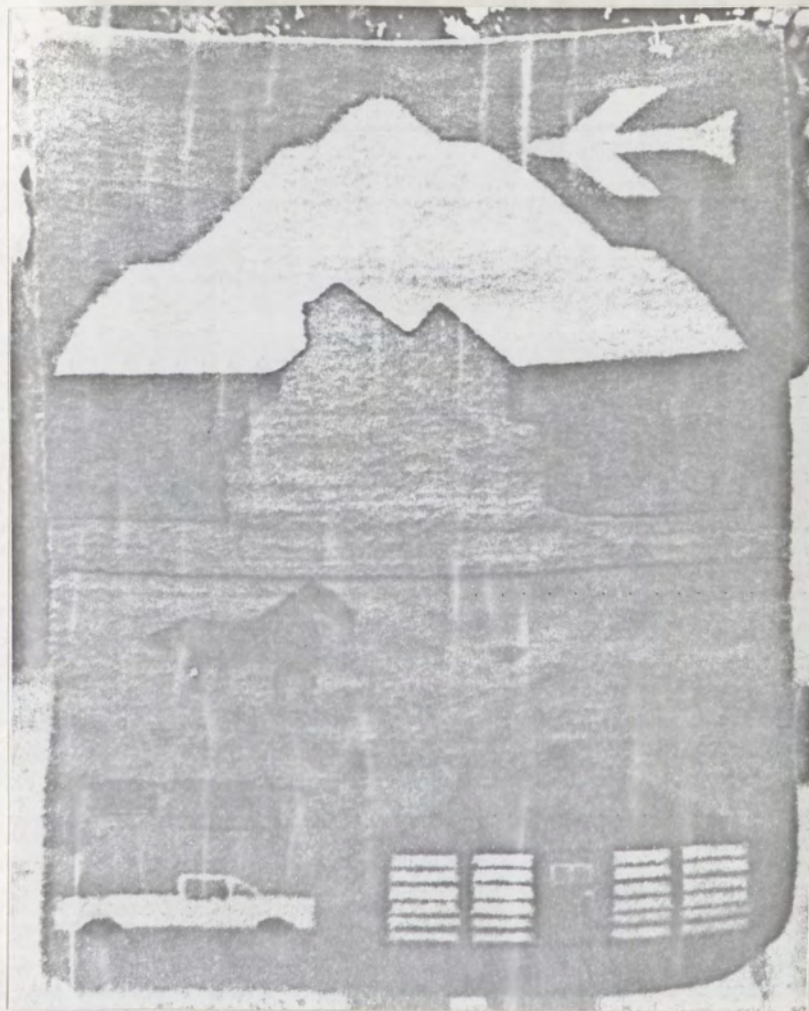


FIGURE 22.

Reservation Scene, Cat. 86, 30 x 39", woven by Victoria Yellowman, Shiprock, c. 1969, Arrowsmith's, Santa Fe. Photograph, author.

angular.

Two other rugs from the Shiprock area depict modern white houses with picture windows. In one by Helen Joe found in the Enchanted Mesa shop in Albuquerque smoke is coming from the chimney into a turquoise sky (Cat. 89). The white house is outlined in royal blue and turquoise

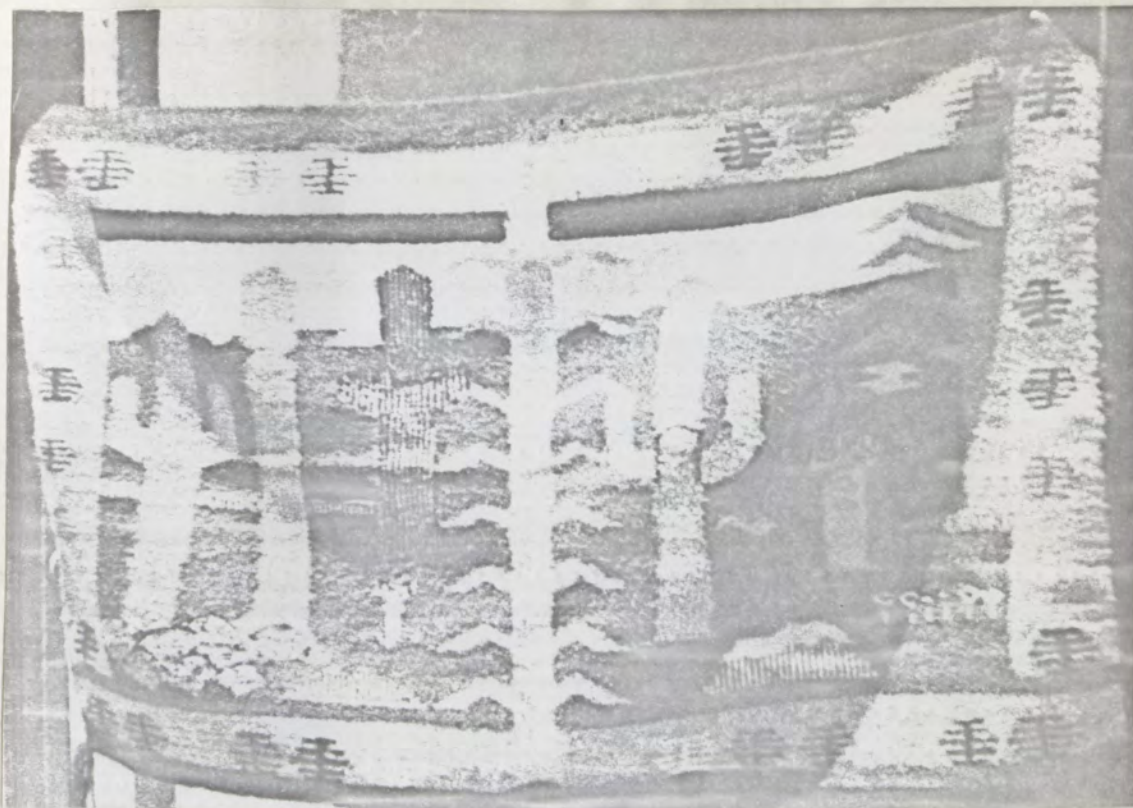


FIGURE 23.

Reservation Scene, Cat. 93, 4 x 3', c. 1969, Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe. Photograph, author.

and the roof has a red and blue serrated pattern. This is entirely handspun and meticulously woven. The other Shiprock rug depicts Monument Valley in the background with a row of seven aqua thunderbirds in a band across the center (Cat. 90). In the foreground is a modern white house with a fence behind it. A borderless rug in the trading post at Mexican Water also pictures Monument Valley by means of brown rocks with white lines and a hogan and loom in the foreground. At the top in red and blue is lettered "MONUMENT VALLEY." The background is natural white and the rug is entirely handspun.

An interesting example in the Chaparral Trading Post (Cat. 93,

Fig. 23) in July, 1969, is a horizontal bordered piece, which depicts several saguaro cacti (not a reservation plant), a yellow cornstalk down the center, and various rocks and flowers in the foreground. The colors are strange: a dark aniline red and black, natural brown, grey, and white, and vegetal greens and yellows. Varigated yarn is used in one strange striped saguaro, but the others are solidly colored. The source for this could have been a postcard or an Arizona Highways illustration, for in composition and subject matter it resembles a photograph rather than the conceptualized representation of familiar objects.

Though the trader at Round Rock admits to a strong dislike of pictorial rugs,⁴ some are made in his area, and an image of his own trading post even appears on an unbordered rug in the Chaparral Trading Post (Cat. 94, Fig. 24). At the bottom are the words "ROUND.ROCK/ DECEMBER251966" [sic]. Above this in succession are a series of small hills, then orange-red mesas, then blue sky with clouds, then a highway with a tractor-trailer, a Volkswagon, and a cattle truck, and finally the trading post itself with a scenic mural painted on the facade and the letters "ROUND ROCK TRADING POST/RUGS/JEWELRY/1889" on the building. Above the building is a windmill, other buildings, snow-capped mountains, a plane taking off, and clouded skies. The weave is coarse and even. The scene in the top half of the rug is very much like the actual site, while the bottom half contains a view of Round Rock. This is confusing at first if one is expecting a single panorama. The bottom scene is quite similar to a rug owned by the Museum of New Mexico (Cat. 95) which was woven at Round Rock in 1968. It is 64 x 45", coarsely woven, unbordered, and is done in the same colors as the previous example.

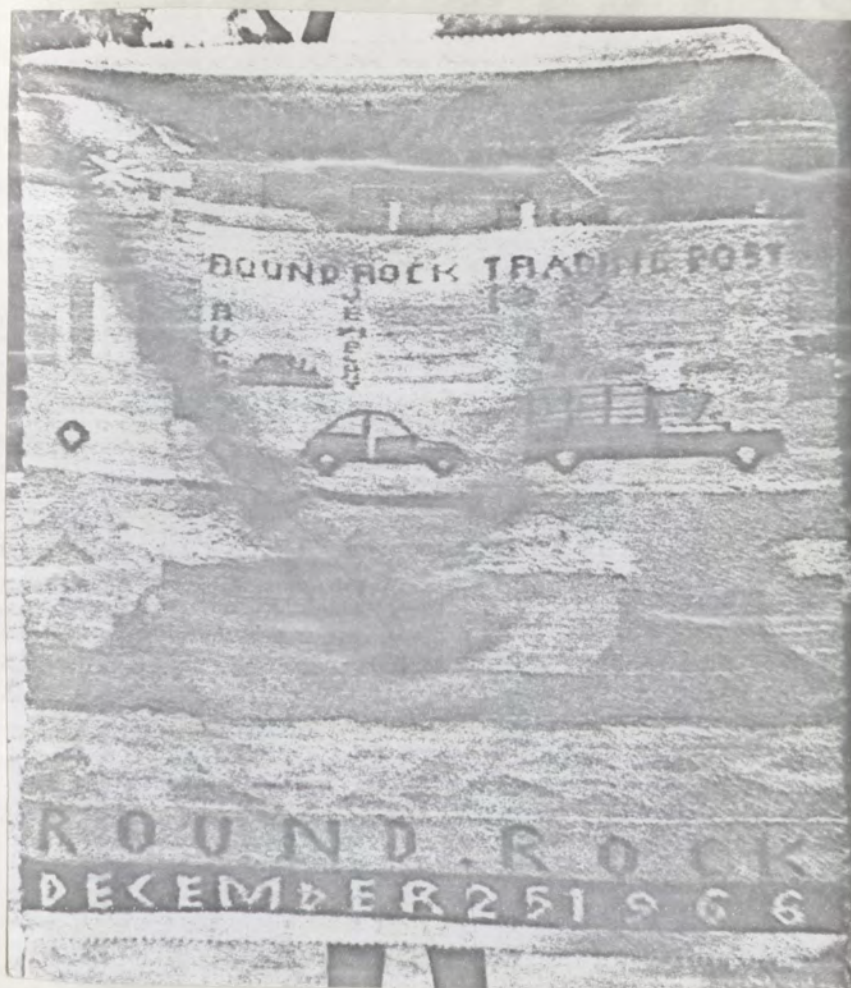


FIGURE 24.

Reservation Scene, Cat. 94, 60 x 53", woven at Round Rock, Arizona, 1966, Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe. Photograph, author.

There are two black bands with geometric designs across the ends and a picture of Round Rock in the central zone. At the top of this zone are the words "ROUND ROCK" and below the picture the word "ARIZONA." Possibly the same woman may have done these two. The weaver of the first rug reveals a flair for realistic representation for she has taken great pains to portray the motor vehicles and buildings as specific rather

than generalized forms.

Another "half and half" example is the double saddle blanket illustrated by Editha Watson (Cat. 96, Watson, 1957, p. 22). At the top is a conventional Storm Pattern but at the bottom are red mesas on a white background.⁵

From the Farmington area comes a rug with another building with the lettering "TOTAH/CURIO/SHOP/ZONI JEWELRY/WHOLESALE RETAIL/NAVAJO RUGS/FARMINGTON N.M." [sic] (Cat. 97). The rug has a black outer border, then a natural white and tan inner border, and an inner natural grey border. Near the word "ZONI" is the head of a woman; since Zoni in Navajo means woman⁶ the weaver may have been punning. Possibly the sign of the shop originally said "Zuni and Navajo Jewelry."

Two other rugs should be included in this category, though they primarily feature human beings. One, owned by the Teec Nos Pos Trading Post, is tiny (20 x 15") and depicts two angular Navajo women holding a rug (Cat. 98). The colors are subdued: natural grey, white, and black and tan and blue. The weave is very fine and the stylization of the heads matches that of the woman's head in the former rug. The second example (Cat. 99), woven near Ganado in 1969, is 37 x 27" and depicts a Navajo man, woman, and girl, all in red shoes, standing outside of a hogan with a bright rug over the doorway. The weaver, Jane Charley, is young and the technical quality of the rug shows her skill.

Two other sub-classes should be included in this group. They seem to be established designs and therefore merit separate treatment. One type, woven in the Four Corners area, is simply a copy of the plaque at the spot where the four states meet. It consists of a cross and in each quarter the words Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah (in

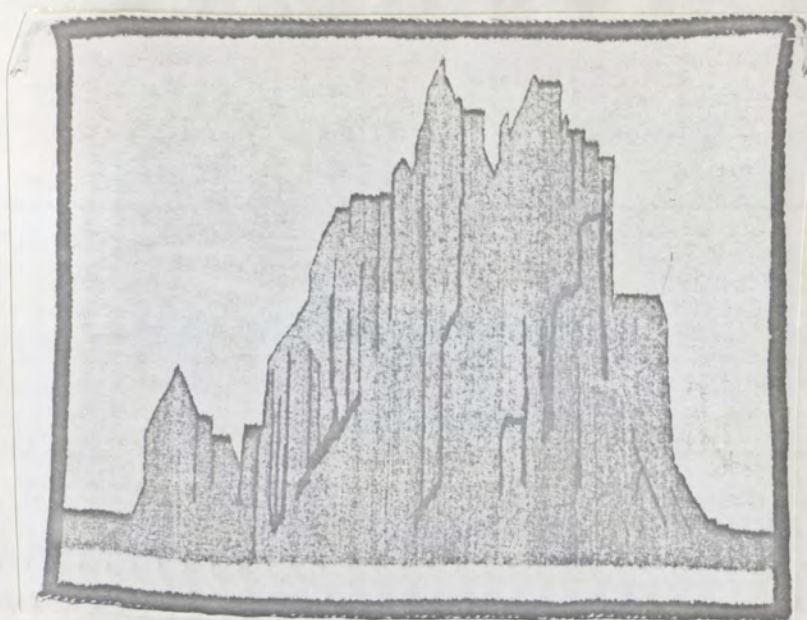


FIGURE 25.

Reservation Scene featuring Shiprock, Cat. 103, MNM 5046/12, 33 x 43", woven by Mary Francisco of Huerfano in 1950, Museum of New Mexico. Illustrated in Dutton, 1963, p. 30.

various abbreviations and misspellings). One of these, though poorly woven, is in the collection of the Girard Foundation (Cat. 101). Still another was for sale at Teec Nos Pos in July, 1969 (Cat. 100).

Another substyle, produced in the Shiprock area and first recorded by Gladys Reichard in 1936, depicts Shiprock itself in dull grey, black, and white. Done with "realistic perspective and good proportion," it compares, according to Miss Reichard, to Old World tapestries. She also calls it the only "realistic" Navajo rug she has seen which is successful.⁷

The Museum of New Mexico owns a similar rug (Cat. 103, Fig. 25) woven in 1950 by Mary Francisco of the Huerfano Trading Post, near Shiprock. The rug, 33 x 43", is done in handspun coarse natural grey, white, and black and is a fairly faithful representation of the rock

formation with no other elements included. A black border frames the design. Three other Shiprock pictorials were found in July, 1969, in Farmington and Albuquerque trading posts. Each had the word "SHIPROCK" at the bottom, and two were unbordered. The one owned by the Indian Room in Farmington (Cat. 104) is done completely in natural greys with a black outline defining the rocks and identifying the site. A tan thunderbird is included in the design. The example in the Covered Wagon in Albuquerque has the rocks in grey and white clouds in a blue sky (Cat. 105). The Yucca Trading Post piece has a blue sky, grey border, and dark and light brown varigated rocks. These four Shiprock rugs and the Reichard description together show a continuity of design from the early 1930's, to 1950, to the present day. Since the Reichard example is not illustrated, the earliest Shiprock pictorial available for comparison is the Museum of New Mexico piece in Fig. 25. The latter does not differ significantly in style from the three later pieces, except that it has no lettering, while the three recent examples all bear the label "SHIPROCK."

Other pictorial designs may be loosely attached to the Reservation Scenes category. These are clearly representational designs drawn from familiar objects, perhaps trading post commodities or gas station signs. A famous example is the weaver who copied the Ivory Soap wrapper. Reichard relates how the weaver boasted to the trader of a large, fine blanket on her loom and describes the trader's anticipation. When she finally brought the rug in, it was an imitation of the Ivory Soap wrapper, letters and all. The Ivory Soap Company bought the rug.⁸ Mr. Foutz, of the Indian Room in Farmington, recalls handling a rug with a Mazola emblem, as well as a number with Masonic symbols.⁹

Perlman states that during the 1930's rugs with the Conoco symbol, the Arbuckle Coffee label, or the Shell Oil conch were common.¹⁰ Mr. Al Packard in Santa Fe has a small 2 x 3' rug with the Conoco symbol in red, white, and blue on a white field (Cat. 107). The rug is all handspun wool with no borders. Mrs. Ann Goodman of Albuquerque recalls a black and gold Richfield Oil Company symbol which she sold to the company headquarters in California. She observes that now the Southern Union Gas Company's blue flame symbol is a favorite and may occur in any rug.¹¹ Editha Watson notes that one weaver has made quite a number of rugs with automobile emblems, which large automobile companies buy. Another lady has successfully copied a Pendleton blanket, which in 1957 was worth \$300.¹²

Mr. Barton Wright has stated that some baskets and cornstalks with geometric designs are done around the northwestern reservation.¹³ Two small rugs were found at the Mexican Water Trading Post in July, 1969. One had a black serrated border and two black, white, and red medicine baskets with two white and ochre twelve-pointed stars at the bottom (Cat. 108). The bottom was a beautiful rose color. The wool was finely spun and evenly woven. The second rug had a natural grey background with no borders and four medicine baskets in black, white, and red. This, however, was done with commercial yarn (Cat. 109). No information was available as to the origin of these two pieces. Since the medicine basket is a common sight on the reservation, it seems plausible to include these two rugs in this section.

An old rug (Cat. 111, Fig. 26) woven on the northwestern area of the reservation makes use of two biplanes in the center of a rug with a wide border with geometric grey and brown designs. No date is given,

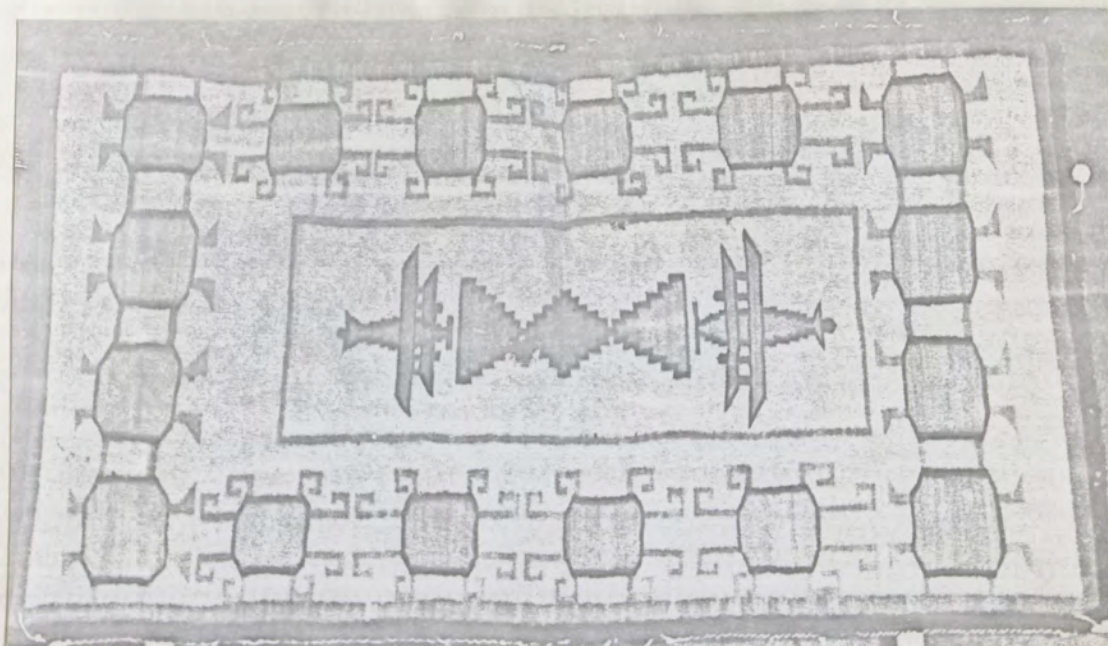


Figure 26.

Early Reservation Scene rug, Cat. 111, MNM 36443/12, 3 x 6½', woven in the early 1900's on the northwestern reservation, Museum of New Mexico. Photograph courtesy Museum of New Mexico.

but the rug appears to be about fifty years old. In 1950 another weaver, from (Upper) Greasewood, Arizona, used five tri-motor airplanes on a white field in her design (Cat. 110, illustrated in Dutton, 1963, p. 23). One plane is black and the other four grey; the propellers are red. A geometric border in red and natural grey sets off the design. In each rug the planes are treated fairly realistically, which would indicate that the weaver either was looking at the plane itself or at a picture of it. As mentioned above, jet planes appear often in contemporary pictorial rugs in the Shiprock area.

Summary

The category of Reservation Scenes, which includes 42 of the 191

rugs in the study, consists of those pieces which depict sights familiar to the Navajo weaver. Some of these montages depict traditional elements of Navajo life, e.g., hogans, looms, livestock, pickup trucks, cornstalks, medicine baskets, and familiar landmarks such as Monument Valley, Shiprock, Four Corners, and Round Rock. Others appear to have been suggested by Anglo products which have become very much a part of the Navajo world, such as Ivory Soap, gasoline company emblems, airplanes, and soft drink signs. Stylistically these vary from the fairly naturalistic, curvilinear, and three-dimensional representations woven at Lukachukai to the more angular and geometric two-dimensional creations from around Chilchinbeto. In the older examples, such as the house outline design in Figure 17 and the biplane rug in Figure 26, familiar objects have been incorporated into geometric designs rather than into landscapes, as in the 1930's Reichard piece and many recently done Lukachukai, Chilchinbeto, and Shiprock rugs. Most of the landscapes appear to be generalized reservation panoramas, while a few such as the rug depicting the Round Rock Trading Post and the Shiprock rugs are highly specific in reference. A few scenes have become stereotyped, such as the silhouette of Shiprock, the Four Corners plaque, and the hogan-truck-loom-jet-Shiprock design done around Shiprock. On the other hand, some of the scenes are so individualized as to be atypical, as for example, the saguaro cactus landscape.

Thus, the Reservation Scenes category, which is the largest of the groups considered, shows perhaps the greatest diversity in style. Thirty-six of the 42 rugs were done since 1955, while only four date from the period 1901-1939, two from 1940-1955, and none predate 1900.

¹George T. Mills, Navaho Art and Culture (Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum, 1959), pl. 18F.

²Don Watson (Cortez, Colorado), Interview, July 18, 1969.

³Anonymous trader (Shiprock, Arizona), Interview, July 18, 1969.

⁴Anonymous trader (Round Rock, Arizona), Interview, July 18, 1969.

⁵Editha L. Watson, "Navaho Rugs," Arizona Highways, XXXIII (August, 1957), 22.

⁶This definition of the word zoni comes from Bob French (Farmington, New Mexico), Interview, August 13, 1969). Zoni does not appear but the word sáni is defined as "the old women" in Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language (Saint Michaels, Arizona: Franciscan Fathers, 1910), p. 118.

⁷Gladys A. Reichard, Navaho Shepherd and Weaver (New York: Augustin, 1936), 154.

⁸Ibid., p. 147.

⁹Anonymous trader (Farmington, New Mexico), Interview, July 17, 1969.

¹⁰Barbara Perlman, The Arizonan, Scottsdale, Arizona, August 11, 1967, 9.

¹¹Ann Goodman (Albuquerque, New Mexico), Interview, July 5, 1969.

¹²Watson, "Navaho Rugs," p. 83.

¹³Barton Wright (Flagstaff, Arizona), Interview, August 13, 1969.

CHAPTER VI

THE "HAPPY TIMES" RUG

A common basic design in the Lukachukai and Shiprock areas and one which occurs on the extreme western section of the Navajo reservation as well consists of a cornstalk with a number of birds perched on the tassel and leaves. The number of birds varies from one to 54. Other animals may be placed in the composition as well. Of the 24 such rugs found, 16 were done around Lukachukai, one near Teec Nos Pos, one near the Gap, one at Shiprock, and one at Canyon de Chelly. One of the oldest such rugs (Cat. 112, Fig. 27) was purchased at the Gallup Ceremonial in 1928.¹ It is about 2 x 4' with a narrow natural brown border and a white cornstalk in the center. Although there are no birds here, 28 small steer heads are arranged in rows down the sides. The colors are natural brown, a grey tan, white, and an orange which may be vegetal. The tassels are embroidered with a dusty pink which may also be vegetal. All warps and wefts are handspun wool.

Mr. Don Watson at Cortez has encouraged his Navajo weaving family at Lukachukai to produce the "Happy Times" rug. A non-Indian lady employee of Mr. Watson states that this is the term by which the design is known among the weavers. They explain its meaning by noting that it refers to harvest time, when the corn is ripe, birds are everywhere, and food is plentiful. Mr. Watson's employee recalls that the trader at Red



FIGURE 27.

"Happy Times" rug, Cat. 112, c. 24 x 48",
purchased at the 1928 Gallup Ceremonial,
anonymous Chicago Collector, courtesy
Pa-Wahn-Tah Trading Post, Santa Fe.
Photograph, author.

Rock (east of the Chuska Mountains) once told her that this rug design was old in that area but not nearly so common as around Lukachukai, which is on the west side of these mountains.² The source of the design appears to be a sandpainting motif, a representation of which hangs on the wall of the trading post at Lukachukai. Mr. Jack, the trader there, describes this skin painting (which depicts a male masked figure standing beside a cornstalk with a bluebird on the tassel) as being 50 to 100 years old. He states that the "Happy Times" design comes directly from the Night Chant, or Yeibichei.³

There are numerous references to sandpaintings containing the cornstalk with a bird on the top tassel. Describing a Yeibichei sandpainting made during a chant at Pinyon, Arizona, in autumn, 1927, Laura Armer notes that it had the four sacred plants with "beautiful birds" on top of each.⁴ This painting was made on the fourth day of the nine-day chant. Matthews in 1902 mentioned a Night Chant legend which speaks of many little birds in the cornfield, "desporting themselves" in the corn.⁵ One illustration of the mask of Talking God, a major figure in the Night Chant, shows a white rounded face with a cornstalk drawn in the nasal area, feathers around the head, and two bluebirds facing each other on top of his head.⁶ Kluckhohn notes that at the final sunrise of the chant the beautiful "Bluebird Song" (originated by the Bluebird Clan) is sung.⁷

More specific relationships to the "Happy Times" design are found in a painting from the Female Branch of Beautyway. In the collection of Mrs. Franc Newcomb are two sketches for this painting by Hastin Gani (also known as Mr. Arm of Beautiful Valley, Arizona). Each has a tall cornstalk in the center (blue in one sketch and black in the second)

and the roots of the corn are in cloud symbols above mountain symbols which are the same color as the corn. Each plant has 12 leaves with a different bird on each leaf; two other birds are above the plants. Hastin Gani told Mrs. Newcomb that the birds have pollen on their bills and feet and that there should be all colors of birds and all colors of pollen on the corn tassels. On either side of the corn there are two human figures, one above the other. Wyman records the third painting done in the Beautyway, which includes two bluebirds and two blackbirds over four cornstalks.⁸ A Beautyway painting in the Taylor Museum (No. 29-3222, Huckel Collection) depicting Blue Corn People, White Corn Boy, Yellow Corn Girl, Yellow Pollen Boy, and Blue Cornbug Girl shows the Corn People carrying corn and baskets with the bluebird, blue swallow, oriole, and wild canary on their heads. Another painting in the same collection (No. 33-3235) from the Sun's House Phase of Shootingway represents the Straight, Crooked, and Big Snake People and a central cornstalk with a blackbird on the tassel. "The blackbird at the top of the corn shakes down pollen which makes the corn grow and gives the snakes their power."⁹ The second painting of Beautyway also contains the bird above the cornplant as does the "Emergence" or "Creation of the Navajo" painting for Beautyway.¹⁰

Haile records one instance in the "Emergence Myth" after the third year of the Separation of men and women, when many "little birds came to sing in the [men's] cornfields where the corn was in blossom." There were bluebirds, swallows, yellowbirds, mockingbirds, and meadowlarks; the men's fields were prospering, but the women's crops were failing.¹¹ In the Emergence Myth Wheelwright illustrates two paintings (pp. 143, 141) with the bird-cornplant motif: one is from a Blessing Ceremony and the

other represents the Emergence people in an unnamed ceremony.¹² The pose and abstraction of the bird on p. 143 of Wheelwright's book is very similar to the birds on the early pictorials, e.g., the Alameda Trading Post bird rug of the 1880's (Cat. 52).

Mary Wheelwright in her book Navajo Creation Myth illustrates Hosteen Klah's version of Blessingway sandpaintings and the bluebird on a cornplant appears in all four sandpaintings. She notes that the bluebird ("Dohleh") here symbolizes happiness. In Hasteen Yazzie's version the bluebird on a cornplant appears in the third and fourth alternate sandpaintings of Blessingway. Yazzie, a singer from the eastern reservation, related to Miss Wheelwright the origin of the Hozhonji Ceremony of Blessingway: when White Shell Woman first said all its chants and prayers correctly, a bluebird came and sat and sang on the corn tassel under which she was seated. Thus, she knew she had done it all properly.¹³ In a later work, Wheelwright records the Navajo word for "small colored birds"; it is ay-yásh.¹⁴ She also records this motif in two sandpaintings from the now obsolete Hasteen Klah version of the Hail Chant. In the first and third sandpaintings of the Water Chant the motif is also included.¹⁵ It appears in a painting from the almost forgotten Buffalo Chant¹⁶ and in paintings from the Red Antway,¹⁷ where it is associated with the Blue Corn People.

Mrs. Franc Newcomb observes that the yellow-shouldered blackbird is important in Navajo lore and is called the "corn-bird." If a flock of corn-birds stays in or near the cornfield for a while during the spring migration then the people can expect a good crop.¹⁸ Mr. Barton Wright states that the bird and cornplant design has been popular in Navajo weaving since the mid-1950's and points out that before this

time Spanish carvers were doing trees with many small birds in the branches.¹⁹ Mr. Jerry Brody, Curator of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology in Albuquerque, observes that the profusion of carved wooden trees with birds dates only since about 1960. Carver George Lopez had done a few in the 1920's. Mr. Brody suspects that this Spanish tradition can be traced back to the Franciscan Tree of Life design, which came to New Mexico through Mexico. He suggests that the popularity of the carvings today is due to the Peace movement and the "tremendous market" for them.²⁰

From these numerous references it should be clear that the "Happy Times" design did not just spring from some creative weaver's mind. Though Kluckhohn records that a Navajo woman may not look at a sandpainting,²¹ certainly enough women have seen them, particularly the popular Blessingway and Night Chant, as patients, for the patient sits on the painting at one point and hears the telling of the myths.

While the design probably had its roots in myth and ritual, the Navajo weavers have made it into something quite different. The Newcomb collection example by Hastin Gani of Beautiful Valley, south of Chinle, is the closest to the actual design, for it alone has a bird on each leaf. One of the "Happy Times" rugs studied was made near there. A brief look at a few of the "Happy Times" pictorials will illustrate how far they have come from the original design.

A typical example (Cat. 123, Fig. 28) is a 60 x 34" handspun piece by Emma Leonard of Lukachukai. This is quite simple, and features only one cornplant with eleven different colored birds on the leaves and tassel and another sixteen birds down the sides of the design. The background is bright ochre, the corn dark green, and the birds down the sides are black, white, and rust, while the one on the top is red and blue. A

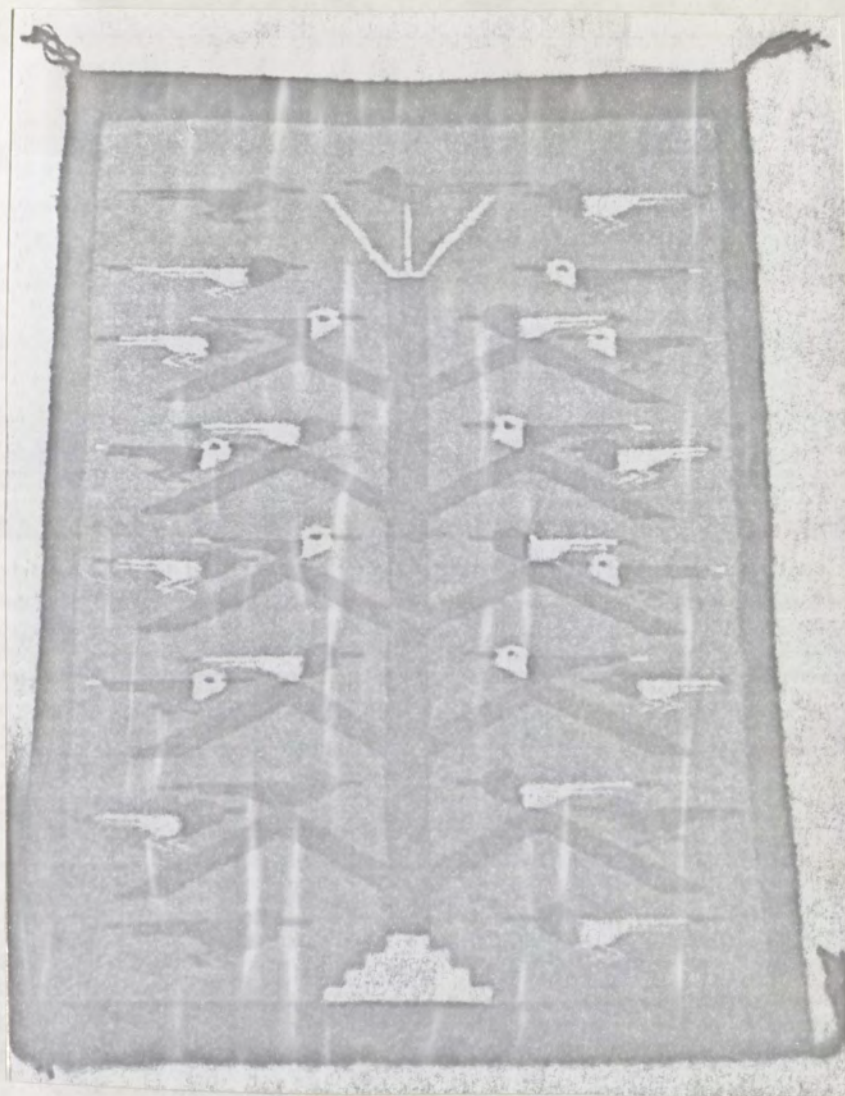


FIGURE 28.

"Happy Times" rug, Cat. 123, 60 x 34", woven by Emma Leonard of Lukachukai, Arizona, in 1969, Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Photograph, author.

narrow black border sets the design off nicely. The design is bilaterally symmetrical and evenly distributed within the central field.

Another Lukachukai piece by Mary Leonard (Cat. 125) features a central cornstalk with ten birds on the leaves and a hogan and snow-capped mountains at the top. Down each side are arranged a windmill, horse, hen,

lamb, two rabbits, two squirrels, two birds, a billy goat, a rooster, a pig, and a woodpile. The background is natural grey and a black and white serrated border surrounds the composition. Other colors are brown, red, blue, orange, tan, and turquoise. The composition is similar to that in the Lukachukai Reservation Scene rugs, which are done by the same family.

A charming departure (Cat. 126, Fig. 29) from the basic design was created by Alice Ray, the matriarch of the Ray-Leonard family. It is 84 x 62" and consists of two central cornstalks with yei heads and colored tassels and 12 birds on the leaves of each stalk. Down the sides and across the bottom are 29 white rabbits and two green bushes. At the top are two rabbit hutches and three black cloud-topped hills. Between the two stalks are a hogan, a chicken, and another bird. The composition is again bilaterally symmetrical and evenly distributed across the field. A black border frames the design which is done in handspun yellow, red, turquoise, orange, green, black, and white on a dyed grey background. The Ray-Leonard family typically uses spirit trails to break the border. It was also Alice Ray who produced the large "Happy Times" rug with 54 black and white and colored birds mentioned earlier.

A member of this family, Margaret Bochinclony, in 1961 produced the animal rug in the collection of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology (Cat. 128). The weaver has placed a blue cornstalk with 16 birds on it in the central white field. On the top leaf is a butterfly, and around the outside ochre border are a frog, squirrel, a red pig, a horse, elephant, turtle, rooster, billy goat, bird, rabbit, porcupine, cow, dog, cat, duck, hippopotamus, owl, camel, and two unidentifiable animals. Across the top are seven star-crosses, a rainbow arc, and a five-pointed



FIGURE 29.

"Happy Times" rug, Cat. 126, c. 84 x 62", woven by Alice Ray of Lukachukai, Arizona, c. 1969, Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Photograph, author.

star. The animals look as though they might have come from a child's picture book.

A "Happy Times" rug in Arrowsmith's in Santa Fe has been done in commercial yarn and measures 23 x 40" (Cat. 129). It features a grey cornstalk with three birds on it and two brown adobe houses at the bottom on a white field. The stalk is rooted in a black, white, and red medicine basket. A serrated black border surrounds the design.

A very finely woven rug from the Shiprock area (Cat. 131, a blue ribbon winner in the 1969 Gallup Ceremonial) measures 30 x 20" and features a green cornstalk with colored birds on each leaf and rabbits, bears, birds, and a squirrel down the sides. It was entered in competition by the Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild.

At Justin's Thunderbird Lodge and Trading Post in Canyon de Chelly is a 30 x 44" "Happy Times" rug by Jennie Nez (Cat. 132). Done with commercial yarn, it contains a green cornstalk with an elaborate gold tassel with one bluebird on each side and ripened ears of corn on a white field. A black and white serrated border goes down the sides with purple end bands.

A particularly fine pictorial (Cat. 133, Fig. 30, blue ribbon winner at the 1969 Gallup Ceremonial) by Laura White from the Gap area on the western reservation features a typical red, black, white, and grey storm pattern in the center and two cornstalks down each side of an ochre border. The birds on the leaves (11 each) are unique for their naturalistic turning, twisting poses. Across the bottom are symbols, some of which are unclear. One appears to be a cornucopia, another cotton or a white flower, another a pipe of the type used in peyote ceremonies, and a pot-like object. Across the top are a crescent moon,

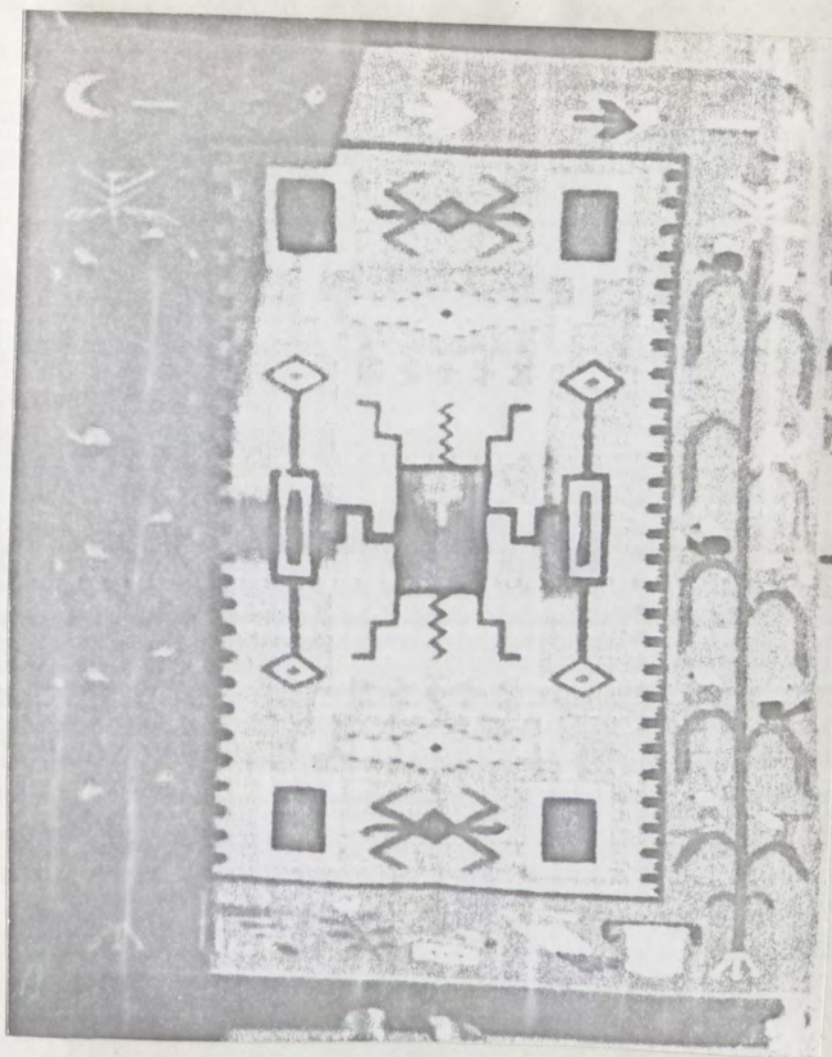


FIGURE 30.

"Happy Times" rug, Cat. 133, c. 4 x 6', woven by Laura White of Gap, Arizona, 1969, the Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico. Photograph, author.

three flying birds, two rainbow spots, and a five-pointed star. The rug is larger, about 4 x 6', and is all of handspun, evenly woven black, red, white, grey, ochre, dark green, blue, and brown wool. Small areas seem to have been done with ochre and red wool carded together and then spun, giving a soft, rich effect. Mr. Bob French of the Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico, observed that this is unusual for not many

pictorials come from the Gap area.²²

Mrs. Chernoff, of Wright's Trading Post in Albuquerque, has in her collection an example of the "Happy Times" rug which includes 12 horses in the design (Cat. 135). She says that an Indian came in and referred to the design as a "fertility tree,"²³ which would be consistent with the idea of the birds causing fertilization by shaking pollen over the female flowers and carrying it in their feathers from plant to plant.

Summary

The "Happy Times" category is the second largest of the groups of pictorial rugs. Twenty-four of the 191 rugs fit here, with all but one 1928 example dating since 1960. Typically the design consists of one or two central cornplants with birds on the leaves and tassels and animals arranged vertically down the sides. The basic element, that of the birds on the cornstalk, appears to have been suggested by various Navajo sandpaintings, but it has been so modified by the weavers that current examples may properly be termed pictorials. The term "Happy Times" is one used by weavers from around Lukachukai, who claim it refers to harvest time. An Albuquerque trader, however, relates that an Indian acquaintance once called the design a "fertility tree." While all "Happy Times" rugs are based on the same central motif, a fairly wide range of variation has been achieved. The animals depicted include exotic species as well as native creatures, and in one case the "Happy Times" design has been combined with the Storm Pattern. Of the 24 rugs in this category, 16 were woven at Lukachukai by the Ray-Leonard family at the encouragement of trader Don Watson of Cortez, Colorado. Two more came from the

Shiprock-Red Rock area, one from the Teec Nos Pos area, another from Canyon de Chelly, and still another from the Gap, on the western reservation. Thus, while the basic "Happy Times" design is probably derived from a ritual (mythological or sandpainting) prototype, it has, since the late 1920's at least, been changed and modified by the incorporation of pictorial elements in a way that sandpainting and Yei-Yeibichei textile designs have not.

¹Pa-Wahn-Tah Trading Post (Santa Fe), Interview, July 12, 1969.

²Anonymous informant (Cortez, Colorado), Interview, July 18, 1969.

³Mr. Jack (Lukachukai, Arizona), Interview, September 9, 1969.

⁴Laura Armer, In Navajo Land (New York: McKay, 1962), 68.

⁵Washington Matthews, "The Night Chant: a Navajo Ceremony," American Museum of Natural History Memoirs, VI (1902), 190.

⁶Navajo Mask Combinations (St. Michaels, Arizona: St. Michaels Press, 1947), Chart No. 1.

⁷Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Dance of Hasjelti, Being an Account of the Yeibitchai Held at Thoreau, New Mexico, November 9th to 18th," El Palacio, XV (December 15, 1923), 192.

⁸Leland C. Wyman, Navaho Sandpainting; the Huckel Collection (Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum, 1960), 181.

⁹Ibid., pp. 50-52.

¹⁰Leland C. Wyman, The Sandpaintings of the Kayenta Navaho (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), Figs. 20, 34.

¹¹Mary C. Wheelwright, Emergence Myth (Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1949), 21-22.

¹²Ibid., pp. 140-143.

¹³Mary C. Wheelwright, Navajo Creation Myth (Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1942), 171-172.

¹⁴Mary C. Wheelwright, The Myth and Prayers of the Great Star Chant and the Myth of the Coyote Chant (Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo

Ceremonial Art, 1956), 9, Glossary.

¹⁵Mary C. Wheelwright, Hail Chant and Water Chant (Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1946), 186-187, 190-191.

¹⁶"Navajo Sand Paintings as Decorative Motive," El Palacio, XIV (1923), p. 183.

¹⁷Leland C. Wyman, The Red Antway of the Navaho (Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1965), p. 227, Figs. 13, 14, 58.

¹⁸Franc J. Newcomb, Navajo Omens and Taboos (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1940), 45.

¹⁹Barton Wright (Flagstaff, Arizona), Interview, August 13, 1969.

²⁰Jerry Brody (Albuquerque, New Mexico), Note, November 23, 1969.

²¹Kluckhohn, "The Dance of Hasjelti . . .," p. 189.

²²Bob French (Farmington, New Mexico), Interview, August 13, 1969.

²³Mrs. Sam Chernoff (Albuquerque, New Mexico), Interview, July 5, 1969.

CHAPTER VII

"INDIAN" DESIGNS

As has been seen in the last few chapters, the subject matter of many pictorials comes from familiar surroundings of the Navajo culture as it exists today, with elements of the white culture (jet planes, Ivory Soap and Seven-Up labels, etc.) appearing only as they seem to the Navajo. Other pictorials, however, seem to capitalize on the white man's stereotype of the Indian. Such rugs would include those with Indian chiefs in war bonnets, bows and arrows, feathers, swastikas, and obvious references to the Indian as a curiosity rather than a human being. Certain traders in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century encouraged the use of swastikas (e.g., Moore at Crystal¹). Though Gladys Reichard observes that the thunderbird and bow and arrow are deeply symbolical in Navajo mythology and sandpaintings,² current use of these seems completely secular and commercialized. Dutton notes that such elements are symbolic when used in their proper context.³ This is, however, certainly not the case in pictorial weaving.

One such example is a rug owned by Arrowsmith's in Santa Fe (Fig. 31, Cat. 136). All handspun wool in white, grey, natural brown, and orange and measuring 26 x 40", the rug is zoned into bands with lettering and symbols. At the top are the heads of two Indians in war bonnets, four feathers, and the word "CHIEF." Then come a bow and arrow

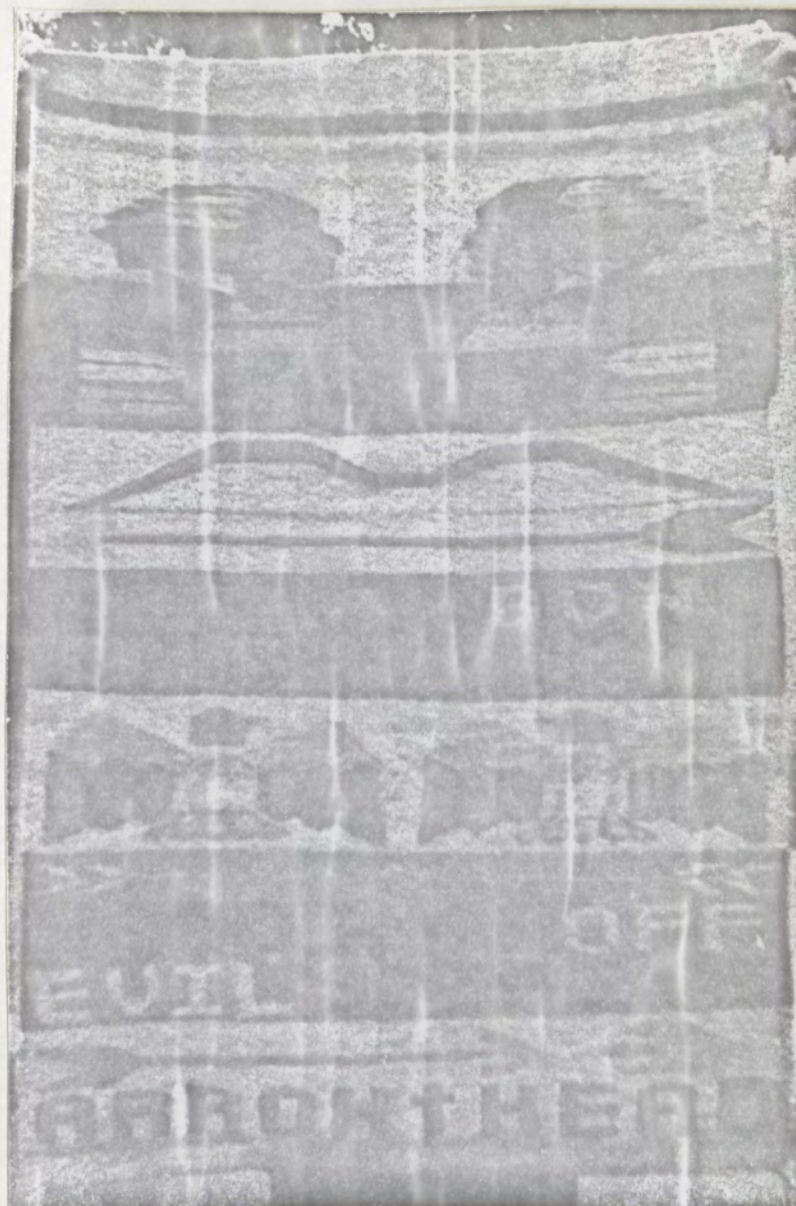


FIGURE 31.

"Indian" design, Cat. 136, 26 x 40", c. 1969,
Arrowsmith's, Santa Fe. Photograph, author.

and the words "ARROW BOW/THUNDERBIRD." Below this are two thunderbirds and two arrows, with the legend "WARDING OFF/EVIL SPIRITS." At the bottom are an arrow and arrow point with the words "ARROW + HEAD." Perhaps the weaver is poking gentle fun at the white tourist.

Other rugs with swastikas, bows and arrows, or feather designs are Cat. 137, 138 (c. 1908), 139 (c. 1930's), 140 (1920's), 141, and 142. Thunderbirds appear in Cat. 143-145. Not particularly interesting as pictorials, they are highly conventionalized in form, and their merits depend on their technical quality and abstract design rather than their uniqueness, graphic composition, naturalism, or humor (all potential factors in enjoying a pictorial rug).

The "Indian Chief" rugs, while totally unrealistic in their portrayal of the Indian, offer a variety of design and color possibilities. Often done at least in part in commercial yarn, these may present a rainbow of colors and many small design units in the war bonnet. One example in the Indian Room in Farmington, 24 x 30", has four concentric borders with a chief's head and the date "1969" in the center (Cat. 146). The rug is done with cotton warp and commercial and handspun yarn. Another "Indian chief" was in the Covered Wagon in Albuquerque in July, 1969 (Cat. 147); it had a Greek key border of black and white, a natural grey ground, and a brightly colored Indian done in tan, pink, red, purple, green, turquoise, ochre, and blue commercial yarn. A smaller piece with a full-figure Indian in a war bonnet was found at Mexican Water in July, 1969 (Cat. 148). All handspun, the piece was worked in black, grey, red, and blue on a white ground. At the same trading post was a three-foot square rug with feathers, geometric designs, and a man and woman arranged in bands or horizontal zones (Cat. 149). Both were similar in

conventionalization of the human figures.

Another type of rug which may or may not be termed pictorial and which may have been invented by J. B. Moore in the early twentieth century is the "Storm Pattern" rug. The design first appears in his 1911 catalogue (Cat. 150, pl. XXVIII) and is described by Moore as "one of the really legendary designs embodying a portion of the Navaho mythology." He asserts that only one clan will weave these due to superstition.⁴ Kent concurs with the idea of its invention by Moore⁵ though Elizabeth Hegeman states that it had for years been known as the "Red Lake" pattern since its invention by an early trader at Tonalea on the western reservation.⁶ For this reason and the fact that it is so highly abstracted and conventionalized and stereotyped, the Storm Pattern rug will not be considered as a true pictorial in this study. However, in at least three cases this pattern has been combined with pictorial motifs, as in the Gap "Happy Times" piece (Cat. 133, Fig. 30), and will be considered only in these instances.

Don Watson has a photograph of a rug woven by a woman in Hogback, near Shiprock, which was taken from a 1956 Pablita Velarde painting which in turn was adapted from a Mimbres design (Cat. 152). The painting was illustrated in color in Indian Life in 1959⁷ and presumably would have been available to the weaver in this form. The grey, white, black, and tan design features a large bird at the top with long curves and asymmetrical balance within a serrated black border. A second rug (Cat. 153, Fig. 32) copied from the same painting is owned by the Maxwell Museum. Woven by Atsuna Blackhouse, it is done with commercial maroon, black, greys, gold, purple, white, brown, green, plum, and dark purple wefts and cotton warps. The design is a relatively faithful copy of the original painting,

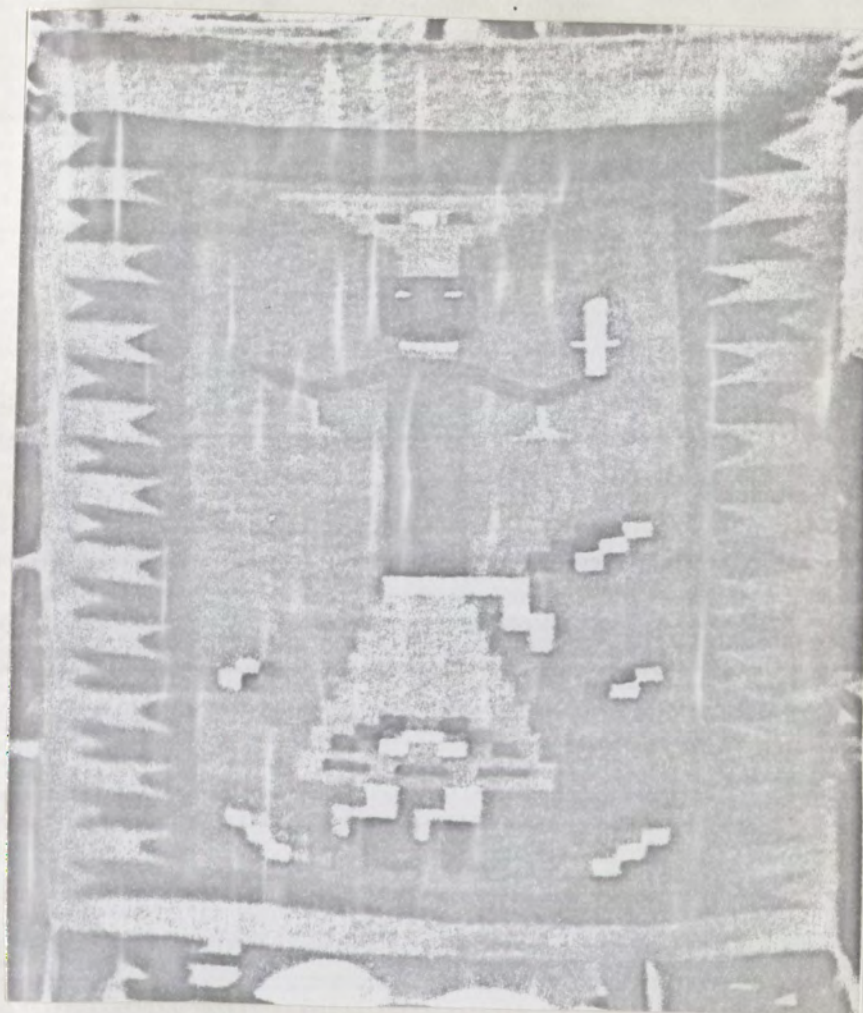


FIGURE 33.

"Indian" design depicting Apache Ghan dancer, Cat. 151, 36 x 36", woven by Sarah Brown at Salina in 1969, Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona. Photograph, author.

though the colors have departed from Miss Velarde's subdued white, black, greys, and tans, and a wide border has been added. The rug is well woven and pleasing. Mr. Jerry Brody has a report that "some weaver" has been entering such rugs in the Gallup Ceremonial competition each year since about 1960.⁸

Still one more fine example (Cat. 151, Fig. 33) is an Apache Ghan

dancer on a three foot square rug woven in 1969 by Sarah Brown of Salina. The rug is done in handspun black, yellow, brown, ochre, and white on a rust background with a wide serrated border. The figure has been elongated and geometricized like a Yei; the black-masked face and torso are frontal but the legs are turned to one side. The design has been well handled and the rug is quite handsome.

Summary

This category includes the 18 rugs which capitalize on the White stereotypes of the Indian. Of these, one is dated from the period 1870-1900, five in the period 1901-1939, none in 1940-1955, and 13 since 1955. Such designs include bows, arrows, swastikas, thunderbirds, and Indian chiefs in war bonnets. The "Indian chief" theme seems to be fairly common, with three examples in the study group. The Storm Pattern, though it consists of supposedly Indian symbols, was probably invented by a white trader about 1900 and will not be considered in itself as a pictorial. Other "Indian" designs include a depiction of an Apache Ghan dancer and two copies of a Pablita Velarde painting. Most of these pieces are technically excellent and many later ones might better be termed wall hangings than rugs. Commercial yarn is most common in the later examples and allows fine detail in the designs.

¹Kate Peck Kent, The Story of Navaho Weaving (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 1961), 27.

²Gladys A. Reichard, Navaho Shepherd and Weaver (New York: Augustin, 1936), 180.

³Bertha P. Dutton, Navaho Weaving Today, 3rd ed. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1963), 8.

⁴J. B. Moore, The Navajo (Crystal, New Mexico: Moore, 1911), pl. XXVIII.

⁵Kent, p. 40.

⁶Elizabeth Hegeman, Navaho Trading Days (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963), 300.

⁷Lucy May Smith, "The Indian Painters Museum," Indian Life, (1959), 30.

⁸Jerry Brody (Albuquerque, New Mexico), Note, March 4, 1970.

CHAPTER VIII

HOLIDAY AND CHRISTIAN DESIGNS

Other designs which stem from white outside influences rather than from traditional Navajo experiences are those commemorating Anglo holidays. Six rugs related to Christmas were found. Perhaps the most novel is a Santa Claus rug owned by Don Watson of Cortez, Colorado. Woven at Canyon de Chelly in 1956 (Cat. 154), the design features a dark green brightly decorated Christmas tree with packages beneath it, a row of three large red bells across the top and a charming Santa with red suit and black gloves, boots, belt, and eyes. He has a bright red nose and a fluffy angora beard done in the tufted saddle blanket technique. The composition is well-handled and the use of the tufted technique fits nicely with the design. Another rug owned by Mr. Watson (Cat. 155, Fig. 34) depicts a Christmas tree with packages and ornaments and two large red balls at the top similar to those in the Santa rug. At the bottom are the words "MERRY/CHRISTMAS/HAPPY/NEW YEAR." The colors are dark green, orange, white, red, and black. The weaver, Mary Leonard, is a member of the Lukachukai weaving family mentioned earlier. A second Lukachukai Christmas design (Cat. 156) features a Santa Claus in a sled pulled by one deer with three hogans, rugs on a clothesline, trees, a truck, a pig, and a dog. The weaver, Marie Begay, has used red, tan, brown, black, and dark green on a white background to produce a



FIGURE 34.

Holiday pictorial, Cat. 155, 49 x 26", woven by Mary Leonard of Lukachukai, Arizona, c. 1969, Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Photograph, author.

successful two-dimensional design.

The Covered Wagon in Albuquerque owns a particularly fine Christmas tree rug (Cat. 157, 33 x 48") woven in the Farmington area. It has a black border with green and orange floral motifs and in the central white area is a deep blue-green tree with white, orange, red, yellow, blue, and tan ornaments. At the bottom is a cross and two gift-wrapped Christmas presents. The entire piece is handspun and tightly woven. The design with its essentially foreign subject matter has been beautifully abstracted and condensed into a perfectly balanced, pleasing pattern. Mrs. Goodman of the Covered Wagon also owns a tiny nativity scene (not available for inspection at the time of the interview) with Indian participants in a reservation setting.¹ Still another Christmas tree pictorial was in the Indian Room in Farmington (Cat. 158). It features a candy cane in each corner of a borderless white rug with a decorated dark green tree in the center. This example also has been well designed and well woven. In the Freed Company was a red double saddle blanket with green, black, and white bands containing Christmas trees with ornaments (Cat. 159). In form the trees are quite similar to the pine tree motifs found around Ganado.

A small (15 x 18") coarsely woven unbordered turkey mat in the Covered Wagon seems to refer to Thanksgiving, for turkeys are not commonly shown in animal pictorials (Cat. 160). The bird is shown in profile with his red and yellow head and his body and tail of dark brown, tan, black, white, and dark green against a natural white background. He is fairly naturalistic in style and stands on a dark green ground line.

Reichard illustrates a bordered rug with hearts and arrows and the word "VALENTINES" [sic] at the top and at the bottom² (Cat. 161).

Presumably this dates from the early 1930's, but no other information was given. Thus, through the contacts with traders and government schools the Navajos have become aware of white traditions and have not hesitated to adapt these to their art.

Six of the 191 pictorials depict Christian crucifixes. Three owned by the Girard Foundation simply depict plain Latin crosses (Cat. 162-164). Each is small, poorly woven, coarse, and uneven. In one example in Irma's Indian Arts in Albuquerque, a small bordered piece contains a central pink cross on a red field with the black letters "JESUS/SAVER" (Cat. 165). This, too, is poorly done and contains cheap commercial yarn. Another rug in the Covered Wagon is a bit larger (15 x 23") and contains a central cross with the words "LORD/JESUS CHRIST" (Cat. 166). The rug is done in handspun white, tan, brown, and black wool with cotton warps.

Only one such rug seems to show any creativity or originality (Cat. 167). Owned by the Girard Foundation, it features an American flag with 16 star-crosses on a dark blue field and 16 red and white stripes. The flag is on a natural brown field. Below it are three burning candles with three crosses and three serrated diamonds. The wool is handspun and the weaving is straight and uniform. This combination of patriotic and religious symbols is well designed and decoratively pleasing.

The Navajos have not been Christianized to any great extent, but they have been the target of missionaries since the late nineteenth century, with only sporadic mission contacts before that period. Kluckhohn and Leighton in 1944 listed the Christian missions then on the reservation; they included the Franciscan Fathers, Christian Reformed, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, and Mormon denominations as well as a

number of non-denominational groups. The total number of employees was at least 300 including about 60 Navajos.³ These groups have exposed a fair number of Indians to Christian paraphernalia. Perhaps these crosses and candles come from around St. Michaels and the influence of the Franciscan Fathers.

Summary

Of the 14 rugs in this category, six relate to Christmas, one to Thanksgiving, and one to Valentine's Day. All but the latter date from 1956 to 1969. Most are technically well done and represent a blending of a Navajo sense of design and composition with Anglo iconography. The six rugs which depict Latin crosses include one example which is particularly interesting for its combination of crosses, candles, and the flag. All of these have been done since 1955, and four (Cat. 162-165) are technically inferior pieces--the highest proportion of bad pieces found in any of the groups. Each of the 14 rugs exemplifies what a Navajo weaver might do with essentially alien symbols to which she has been introduced by a trader, schools, or missionaries.

¹Mrs. Ann Goodman (Albuquerque, New Mexico), Interview, July 5, 1969.

²Gladys A. Reichard, Navaho Shepherd and Weaver (New York: Augustin, 1936), pl. XV.

³Clyde E. Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 1946), 80.

CHAPTER IX

RUGS WITH LETTERING AND MISCELLANEOUS PIECES

This term will be used to designate those rugs which are typical in every way (geometric design, weaving technique) but which contain lettering. Some of these appear simply to have been the idea of the weaver, while others were probably ordered by traders or ranchers. Four examples clearly date from the late nineteenth century to about 1900. The first (Cat. 168, c. 1880's) is a 3 x 4' rug done with cotton warp and four-ply red, white, black, green, brown, and reddish-brown commercial wool yarn. The serrated diamond design has a small band across the center with the word "NVAVAJO" [sic]. The second rug (Cat. 171), on display in Woodard's Indian Arts in Gallup, is a 2 x 4' Germantown, c. 1900, in red, blue, white, black, peach, and purple colors with Saltillo serape motifs and a dollar mark in each corner. There are no borders and the dollar signs have been turned around for design purposes so that they face each other. A third early example (Cat. 170) measures 35 x 24" and has the date "1897" woven in. A fourth (Cat. 169) example, a Germantown saddle blanket dated 1880-1890, has the name "RATHKE YAZZA" in the center.

Most traders have rug-signs hanging in their establishments. Such pieces include one reading "JL.HUBBELL/GANADO/ARIZONA" [sic] in red letters on a plain tan ground (Cat. 172), one large bordered rug with the letters "PACKARDS'/STORE/NEW MEXICO/1936" in a geometric natural

brown, white, and black design (Cat. 173), and one reading "SHIPROCK TRADING CO." under an eagle done in yellow, turquoise, brown, pink, white, dark and light tan, deep blue, and black on a grey background (Cat. 175). In Justin's Thunderbird Lodge and Trading Post is a small piece reading "THUNDERIRD" [sic] done in natural grey, black, and white (Cat. 176). In the Elk Ridge Cafe in Blanding, Utah, is a 36 x 30" sign reading "PHIL ACTON/ELK CAFE RIDGE/NF" with an elk head in the center and a serrated border done in natural grey-brown, black, and white (Cat. 177). These last two examples are reminiscent of an incident related by Gil Maxwell: he once ordered a rug with the name and address of his business. "Farmington" became "Framington" and the weaver commented, "'Framington' looks just as good as 'Farmington.'" ¹

An interesting special order rug is owned by the Girard Foundation: it measures about 6' x 40" and is done in black, natural grey-brown, white, and aniline red and mauve (Cat. 178). Across the top is "THE DIAMOND T" and this is repeated but exactly reversed in a mirror image at the bottom. The rug is designed with geometric patterns and three diamonds down each side. Clearly the weaver has seen the letters as patterns and has not hesitated to break words with motifs she feels will enhance the the design (or perhaps she misjudged her space and ended up with too much space in the middle of the word and had to fill it). The New Mexico Archives has records of several such brands, all but one of which are in southeastern New Mexico far from Navajo land. The closest brand was registered to one Guy Brown of Belen sometime before 1915. ²

Alberta Hannum records an experience of Sally and Bill Lippincott at Wide Ruins in the late 1930's. A lady made a small bordered rug in bright yellow with the word "HELL" woven into it in "bitter black." She

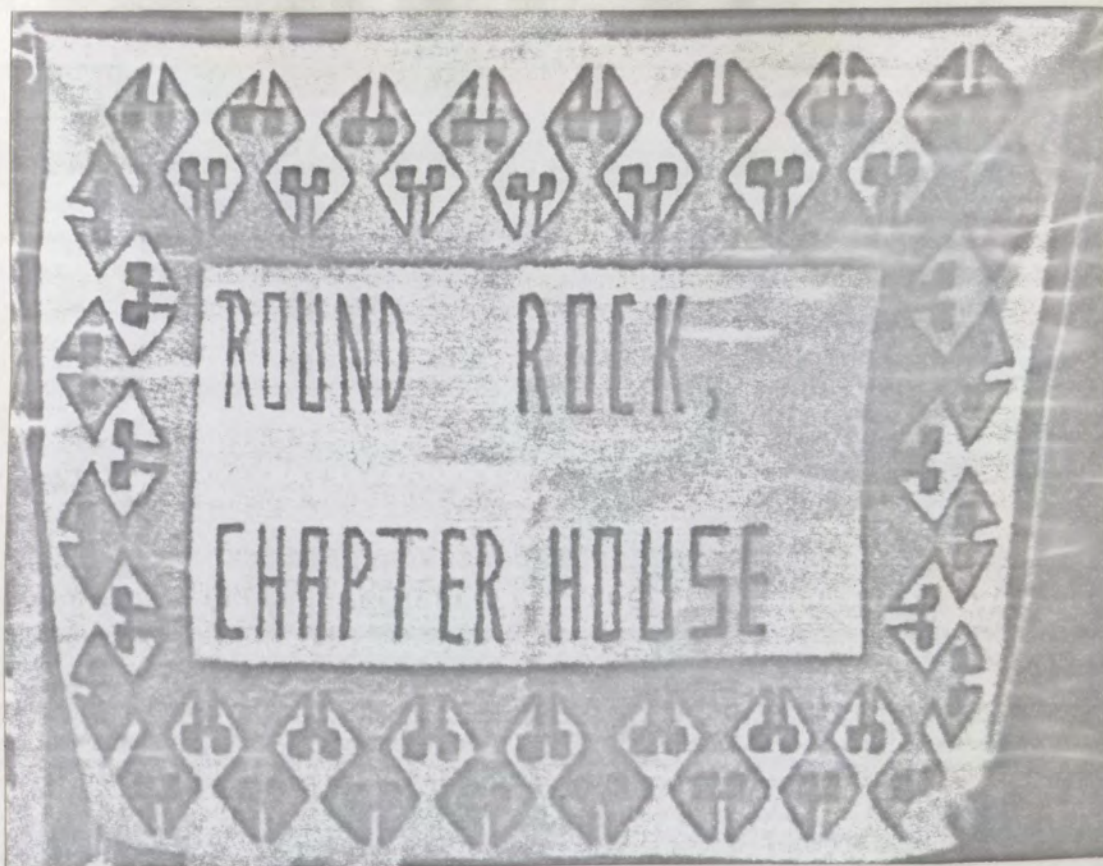


FIGURE 35.

Rug with lettering, Cat. 187, 36 x 48", woven at Round Rock, Arizona, c. 1969, Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe. Photograph, author.

explained that it said "hello"; Bill asked where was the O; she replied "No room for the O" (Cat. 179). Another time, after the Lippincotts had been encouraging the "revival" of vegetal dyes, they received "the perfect rug" (Cat. 180); it had a tasteful, simple pattern, fine weave, and soft vegetal colors. But when the rug was unfolded, there in the center were the black letters, "VEGETABLE DYE RUG."³

Other rugs with lettering are Cat. 181 (with "CH" in each corner) and a rug in Woodard's (c. 1915-25, with four small "C's" and two "H's" down each side, Cat. 182). It seems unlikely that these refer to C & H

Sugar, since most posts stock Crystal Sugar. The initials of the husband of the donor of the piece were C. H., but whether this rug was so ordered is unknown. Cat. 183, c. 1930's, has the initials "A.P." in black on a white rectangle in the center. In the Girard Foundation is a rug with the notation "M./1969" (Cat. 184). Recent rugs found in trading posts in summer, 1969, read "TEEC NOS POS/1967/1966" (Cat. 185), "SENIOR/OF/64" (Cat. 186), and "ROUND ROCK,/CHAPTER HOUSE" (Cat. 187, Fig. 35). Each was well woven, beautifully designed, and cheaply priced. A large, beautifully done Storm Pattern rug in the Don Watson Trading Post includes the legend, "GOD/BLESS/OUR/HOUSE" (Cat. 188).

Miscellaneous Pieces

A few rugs which bear pictorial designs can not quite be forced into the foregoing categories. One is a small (18 x 2") unbordered portrait of former President John F. Kennedy (Cat. 190). The pose is full face, bust length, with the hair part on the left and a black and yellow striped tie and blue shirt. Below the bust is woven "JOHN F. KENNEDY." The rug is tightly woven of commercial dark and light blue, flesh, light brown, and rust, with wool warps; it was woven in March, 1965. Presumably the weaver was looking at a portrait of Kennedy (a stamp or commemorative portrait in a magazine) and has succeeded in producing a more naturalistic human face than in any other rug studied. Its resemblance to Kennedy, however, is more iconographic than naturalistic.

The Maxwell Museum of Anthropology has in its collection a jacket woven by a Navajo in 1960 (Cat. 191). The piece is mostly carded grey.

with a black and white geometric pattern running around the edges. On the back is the head of a snarling tiger in brown, grey, black, and red with orange eyes. The weave is fairly fine but even so the weaver has had problems in keeping her details clear, as in the tiny teeth and contours of the head. The tiger looks as though he might have been inspired by an old circus poster, and the weaver has tried to be as naturalistic as possible. Jerry Brody, Curator of the Maxwell Museum, suggests that the jacket may be a copy of similar articles made in the late 1940's and early 1950's in Japan and Korea for sale to American GI's. He reports seeing such jackets with tigers embroidered on the back which were made recently in Hong Kong and Viet Nam.⁴

Summary

This category includes those examples which are typical Navajo rugs with non-pictorial designs but which contain lettering. Twenty-two of the 191 rugs fit here; four date from the period 1870-1900, nine from the years 1901-1939, none from 1940-1955, and nine from the years 1955-1969. A common use for rugs with lettering has been as signs in trading posts, restaurants, and ranches; seven such examples were found. Four other rugs bear initials, presumably those of the individual for whom they were intended. Two pieces have slogans which seem to be associated with graduating high school classes. On the remaining five rugs are assorted phrases, place names, and dates which were probably not directly commissioned.

In addition to the 22 rugs with lettering, this chapter includes two pieces which fail to fit into any one category. These two are a

small, naturalistic, woven portrait of the late President John F. Kennedy and a jacket with a snarling tiger depicted on the back. The latter piece may stem from a Far Eastern prototype.

¹Gilbert S. Maxwell, Navajo Rugs: Past, Present & Future (Palm Desert, California: Desert-Southwest Publications, 1963), 48.

²New Mexico Brand Book (Albuquerque, New Mexico: New Mexico Cattle Sanitary Board, 1915), 414.

³Alberta P. Hannum, Spin a Silver Dollar (New York: Viking, 1945), 57, 72-73.

⁴Jerry Brody (Albuquerque, New Mexico), Note, November 23, 1969.

CHAPTER X

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF PICTORIAL WEAVING

It is recognized by the author that Navajo weaving is a vital and constantly changing art, and that to attempt to classify and categorize the contemporary designs in any way other than that used by the Navajos themselves is somewhat artificial. The first category, which includes the Germantowns and the chronological development of design motifs introduced then, is partly a technical and chronological and partly a thematic division. The rest of the classes are divided on the basis of subject matter, with an attempt at chronological arrangement starting with the oldest known example of the class. It is felt that some further breakdown is necessary to cut across these categories.

When questioning traders about the pictorial rug, one is usually told either that a pictorial can come from anywhere on the reservation or that most pictorials are done in the Lukachukai area. Both statements are true, but no work has yet been done to elucidate or to empirically prove them. Therefore, a consideration of the reservation roughly according to the areas set up by Maxwell in 1963 would seem to be in order. Maxwell's areas (refer to map, Fig. 38) are as follows: 1) Shiprock-Red Rock, 2) Lukachukai-Round Rock-(Upper) Greasewood, 3) Teec Nos Pos-Beclabito, 4) Red Mesa-Mexican Water, 5) Toci-to-Toadlena-Two Grey Hills, 6) Crystal, 7) Gallup-Standing Rock, 8) Many Farms-Chinle-Nazlini,

MOTIF	PRE-1870	1870-1900	1901-39	1940-55	1956-69	TOTAL
FLAG	0	3	0	1	13	17
FLORAL	0	2	1	1	2	6
EAGLE	0	1	0	0	10	11
TRAIN	0	4	0	0	1	5
ANIMAL	1	16	7	0	6	30
RESERVATION SCENES	0	0	4	2	36	42
"HAPPY TIMES"	0	0	1	0	23	24
"INDIAN"	0	1	5	0	12	18
HOLIDAY AND CHRISTIAN	0	0	1	0	13	14
RUGS WITH LETTERING	0	4	9	0	9	22
MISCELLANEOUS	0	0	0	0	2	2
TOTAL RUGS	1	31	28	4	127	191

FIGURE 36.

Correlation of the Frequency of Motifs with Chronology in this Study.

																	TOTAL			
																	KNOWN	TOTAL		
MOTIF	AREA	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	UNKNOWN			
FLAG		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16	17	
FLORAL		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	
EAGLE		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	7	11	
TRAIN		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	5	
ANIMAL		0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	28	30	
RESERVATION SCENE	11	13	2	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	34	8	42	
"HAPPY TIMES"	2	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	21	3	24	
"INDIAN"	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	9	9	18	
HOLIDAY AND CHRISTIAN	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	8	14	
RUGS WITH LETTERING	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	12	22	
MISCELLANEOUS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	
TOTAL RUGS	21	33	5	6	0	4	1	9	3	5	0	3	0	0	1		91	100	191	
NO. PRE-1940	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	13	45	x	

- Area 1: Shiprock-Red Rock
 2: Lukachukai-Round Rock-(Upper) Greasewood
 3: Four Corners-Teec Nos Pos
 4: Red Mesa-Mexican Water
 5: Two Grey Hills-Tocito-Toadlena
 6: Crystal
 7: Gallup-Standing Rock
 8: Tselani (Salina)-Black Mountain-Chinle-Nazlini
 9: Klagetoh-Wide Ruins-Pine Springs
 10: Ganado-Sunrise Springs-(Lower) Greasewood
 11: Pinon-Hard Rocks-Hopi
 12: Cedar Ridge-Gap-Tuba City
 13: Coalmine Mesa
 14: The Northwestern Reservation
 15: Chilchinbeto

FIGURE 37.

Correlation of Geographical Area with Frequency of Motif.

9) Klagetoh-Wide Ruins-Pine Springs, 10) Ganado-(Lower) Greasewood, 11) Pinon-Keam's Canyon, 12) Cedar Ridge-Gap-Tuba City, and 13) Coalmine Mesa.¹ In view of pictorial traditions on the northwestern reservation and around Chilchinbeto (which Maxwell has not treated), it seems advisable to amend his 13 style areas by terming these two places numbers 14 and 15 respectively. Maxwell's area eight has been enlarged on the map in Fig. 38 to include Tselani or Salina and his area six to include Sawmill. Dutton has arranged the areas a bit differently, with Chinle, Salina, and Nazlini-Sawmill in three different groups rather than in the same category.² The information presented in this chapter has been summarized in the chart in Fig. 37.

Area 1: Shiprock-Red Rock.

Of the 191 rugs studied, 91 either are of a known provenience or are recognizably from a given area. Of these, 21 are from the Shiprock-Red Rock area. Eleven are Reservation Scenes, including four Shiprock silhouettes. Two are "Happy Times" rugs, two are Christmas trees, two are "Indian Chiefs," and one is an American eagle. There are three rugs with lettering as well. This is an area where the Yei blanket was first commercially developed by Will Evans, former trader-owner of the Shiprock Trading Company. Maxwell reports that 80 to 90 per cent of the Yei and Yeibichei rugs are done in this area.³ There is great use of commercial yarn here and processed wool as well, which when spun is much finer than native carded wool. Even commercial yarn may be respun and dyed with vegetal dyes.⁴ Therefore, pieces from the Shiprock area tend to be of a fine weave and to show fine detail. The trader at the Shiprock Trading Post acknowledges that he has a good market for

pictorials but gets only about 12 per year.⁵

Area 2: Lukachukai-Round Rock-(Upper) Greasewood.

Of the 33 pictorials done here, 13 are Reservation Scenes, 16 are "Happy Times" rugs, two are of Christmas subjects, and one is a trading post sign. Don Watson of Cortez, Colorado has encouraged the Ray-Leonard family, mentioned earlier, to weave Reservation Scenes and "Happy Times" pictorials. In July, 1969, the trader at Round Rock, on the other hand, had no pictorials in stock and admitted to a strong dislike of the type.⁶ This area is high and green with mountains in the background and the Mountain Bluebird is everywhere. Here, the wool is typically rather coarsely spun but evenly woven, and the designs are usually woven to be seen with the warps vertical. The weaver then can more easily visualize the design as she works, much as a painter can. The rugs vary in size from small to large but most are three by five to four by five feet.⁷

Area 3: Four Corners-Teec Nos Pos.

This area produced but five of the 91 rugs: two are Four Corners plaques, one is a Lukachukai-type "Happy Times" rug, and two are special orders. This is the place where the Teec Nos Pos outline style in many colors and usually in commercial yarn is most typical.⁸ The two special orders are done with fine commercial yarn in this style, with serrated diagonal bands setting off the central lettering area. The two Four Corners designs and the "Happy Times" rug are made of handspun wool.

Area 4: Red Mesa-Mexican Water.

From this area came six rugs: three are Reservation Scenes, one

is a special order, and two are "Indian" designs. Maxwell notes that the yarn tends to be rather coarsely handspun and geometric patterns in reds, greys, blacks, and whites predominate.⁹

Area 5: Two Grey Hills-Tocito-Toadlena.

Though this area produces perhaps the finest Navajo weaving today, no pictorial rugs were found here.

Area 6: Crystal.

This area produced four of the 91 pictorials: three are old J. B. Moore early Crystal designs, and one is an American eagle celebrating the 1969 Moon landing. This may be the place where the Storm Pattern was born, but the three pictorial Storms in the study were done on the western reservation. Today the area is famous for its beautiful, rich vegetal dye rugs with wavy lines. Yet, the trading post at Crystal, visited in September, 1969, does not carry rugs at all today.

Area 7: Gallup-Standing Rock.

From the Gallup area came a Germantown train saddle blanket. This was an area of strong influence from the railroad and from outside work opportunities for Navajos. Today the Gallup "throw," a cheap coarse weave with cotton warps, is the typical product. Some Yeis and cornstalks are also woven.¹⁰

Area 8: Tselani (Salina)-Black Mountain-Chinle-Nazlini.

From this region came nine rugs: they include two Reservation Scenes, one "Happy Times" rug, one floral design, one Santa Claus with a tufted beard, one American eagle, one American flag, one special order, and one "Indian" rug (the beautiful Apache Ghan dancer). Several of

these have been done with commercial yarn which is sold at most trading posts. This is the place where Cozy McSparron, one-time owner of the Thunderbird Ranch at Canyon de Chelly, and Miss Mary Wheelwright began encouraging use of vegetal dyes and bands and stripes in the 1920's. Some of the dyes in these pictorials appear to be vegetal, but most of them are aniline, and none was done completely with vegetal yarns. All are recent.

Area 9: Klagetoh-Wide Ruins-Pine Springs.

This area produced only three of the pictorials. They include the two rugs with lettering produced for the Lippincotts in the early years of the vegetal dye campaign and the great aniline-dyed railroad blanket of the 1880's in Figure 12. Klagetoh has its own style in red, white, black, and grey, while Wide Ruins and Pine Springs produce perhaps the best vegetal dye rugs made today.¹¹ Trader Lon Wheeler observes that not many pictorials come from the Klagetoh area, and he had but one typical Klagetoh rug to sell.¹² At Wide Ruins, trader John Reifer had only two rugs and no pictorials.¹³

Area 10: Ganado-Sunrise Springs-(Lower) Greasewood.

From around Ganado came five of the 91 pictorials. These include one Reservation Scene, one American eagle, one special order (the Hubbell sign), one rug with decorated Christmas trees in bands, and the Woodard "Persian" rug of 1934. All are recent except the latter and the Hubbell sign, which appears old but is undated. The old Hubbell Trading Post has recently been taken over by the National Forest Service and is designated a National Historical Site; the present trader, Bill Young, continues to encourage good weavers and owns a large, fine pictorial

Reservation Scene from Nazlini which is available to weavers for their inspiration. Mr. Young says he has one lady who has a special talent for pictorial weaving; in the past two years he has had three "good-sized" ones and three small ones.

Area 11: Pinon-Hard Rocks-Hopi.

No pictorials were found from this area. Typically produced are "big bold designs," with borders, in rich red, black, grey, and white.¹⁵

Area 12: Cedar Ridge-Gap-Tuba City.

Only three of the 91 pictorials came from the western area. This reflects a bias in the study, however, for field work was done only on the eastern reservation due to an extremely limited budget. These three rugs include one Reservation Scene (an airplane rug, c. 1930), and two recent Storm Pattern rugs with pictorial elements. One is a "Happy Times" design, while the other bears the phrase "GOD/BLESS/OUR/HOUSE." Mr. Barton Wright has observed that the Gap area usually produces a few pictorials.¹⁶ Cynthia Musillo states that Troy Washburn, trader at the Gap, encourages weavers of all ages, with girls of nine weaving "little rugs and pictorials."¹⁷ The area is especially noted for its Storm Pattern rugs, which Maxwell believes were originated by a trader at Tonalea about 1900.¹⁸ The late Elizabeth Hegeman, formerly Mrs. Harry Rorick, who had a trading post at Shonto in the early part of this century, agrees with Maxwell.¹⁹ Kent, however, suggests that the pattern was designed by Moore, for it appears in his 1911 catalogue.²⁰ The area has also received encouragement since 1949 from the competition of the Museum of Northern Arizona's annual Western Navajo Arts and Crafts Exhibition.²¹ Dutton records that during the 1950's a trader near Tuba City encouraged his weavers to adopt

geometric designs from Pueblo pottery to weaving.²² Editha Watson identifies the trader as Edward Kerley, and notes that his weavers used wool from the Leupp wool-scouring enterprise of the Navajo Tribe.²³

Area 13: Coalmine Mesa.

None of the 91 pictorials was made in this area, where Maxwell states that a Navajo man has recently initiated a new design and technique using a raised outline in a double weave rug.²⁴

Area 14: The Northwestern Reservation.

This area includes Page, Oljetoh, Kayenta, Shonto, Glen Canyon, and Mexican Hat. Until the development of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, this was one of the most isolated areas of the reservation. Barton Wright states that Page produces poor rugs with little imagination, and that a lady at Oljetoh makes a cow rug about every five years. He feels that the rugs made at Glen Canyon are "wild"; they may include lions, tigers, snakes, and pouncing animals. The area also produces "picture postcard" rugs of Rainbow Bridge and Glen Canyon in a style similar to the Shiprock silhouette rugs.²⁵ Don Watson says that occasional pictorials are done at Mexican Hat (these, too, are "wild"), Bluff, Page, and Gap. Some are geometric designs with medicine baskets and cornstalks in the center.²⁶ None of the rugs in this study, however, is known to be from these places.

Area 15: Chilchinbeto.

From the last area, Chilchinbeto, south of Kayenta, came one pictorial, a Reservation Scene containing prairie dogs, a recent fad there. The composition is similar to the Ray-Leonard style at Lukachukai.

Summary

This information has been summarized in the map in Fig. 38 and the chart in Fig. 37. Obviously, most of the pictorials (74 of 91) which are traceable to a single area were done in the area included in a line from Mexican Water south to Salina-Nazlini and then northeast to Shiprock. The southeastern section of the reservation produced 13, with the other four rugs coming from the western and northwestern areas. As has been stated above, the lack of examples from the latter areas may perhaps be explained by the impossibility of field work in that area. By the time these rugs reach the traders in Gallup, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque (and they do), they have changed hands so many times that the provenience is unknown.

The provenience of only two of the animal rugs is known, and they constitute a large proportion of the pictorials studied. Most of the rugs with a known provenience (78 of 91) are recent, since the older ones were mostly given to museums as bequests or after they had changed hands many times. Yet, this area-by-area analysis should demonstrate that certain areal styles and types are distinguishable, particularly in the case of rugs done recently. It should also illustrate the wide distribution of certain classes, e.g., the "Happy Times" design appears from Shiprock to the Gap and a special order rug with lettering could come from anywhere.

This study should give some insight into the nature of Navajo pictorial weaving from the earliest nineteenth century examples to the present day. The market for pictorials has never been better, and well-woven aesthetically pleasing designs usually command prices higher

than geometric designs of comparable technical quality. A subtle change can be seen in the chronological development of composition, where conventional Anglo standards seem to have been gradually substituted for traditional Navajo ones (which are exemplified by the designs seen in eighteenth century Navajo rock art). This change can be seen in every category, with most older rugs treated in flat, geometric patterns and fantastic colors and many recent rugs with some illusion of three-dimensional space, perspective, and naturalistic curves and colors. Perhaps this reflects the school training of more of the recent weavers, where they have learned to draw and compose from white teachers. Pictorial designs seem to have no appreciable relation to those in modern Navajo painting. In addition to some adoption of alien design conventions, the iconography has become increasingly more "white" than Navajo, paralleling the changes in Navajo material culture. Examples of this are the commercial, Holiday, and rugs with lettering designs. Other pieces play on white stereotypes of Indian life, such as certain Reservation Scenes and most "Indian" designs. Yet, technical standards are the same for judging pictorials as for other Navajo weaving. Some weavers seem to have a special talent for designing pictorials, which is quite different from the skill required for making a fine vegetal dye Wide Ruins or Crystal design or a modern Two Grey Hills tapestry. The pictorial has been a distinct genre of Navajo weaving since the nineteenth century, and remains so to this day.

¹Gilbert S. Maxwell, Navajo Rugs: Past, Present & Future (Palm Desert, California: Desert-Southwest Publications, 1963), 2.

²Bertha P. Dutton, Navaho Weaving Today (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1963), 20-21.

- ³Maxwell, pp. 21-22.
- ⁴Cynthia Hills Musillo, "Contemporary Navajo Weaving," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1968), 17, 19.
- ⁵Anonymous trader (Shiprock, New Mexico), Interview, July 18, 1969.
- ⁶Anonymous trader (Round Rock, Arizona), Interview, July 18, 1969.
- ⁷Maxwell, p. 23.
- ⁸Ibid., pp. 23-24.
- ⁹Ibid., p. 25.
- ¹⁰Ibid., p. 30.
- ¹¹Ibid., pp. 32, 43.
- ¹²Lon Wheeler (Klagetoh, Arizona), Interview, September 9, 1969.
- ¹³John Reifer (Wide Ruins, Arizona), Interview, September 9, 1969.
- ¹⁴Bill Young (Ganado, Arizona), Interview, July 19, 1969.
- ¹⁵Maxwell, p. 45.
- ¹⁶Barton Wright (Flagstaff, Arizona), Interview, August 13, 1969.
- ¹⁷Musillo, p. 31.
- ¹⁸Maxwell, p. 46.
- ¹⁹Elizabeth C. Hegeman, Navaho Trading Days (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963), 300.
- ²⁰Kate Peck Kent, The Story of Navaho Weaving (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 1961), 40.
- ²¹Katharine Bartlett, "Present Trends in Weaving on the Western Navajo Reservation," Plateau, XXIII (July, 1950), 6.
- ²²Dutton, p. 9.
- ²³Editha L. Watson, "Navaho Rugs," Arizona Highways, XXXIII (August, 1957), 23.
- ²⁴Maxwell, p. 46.
- ²⁵Wright, Interview.
- ²⁶Don Watson (Cortez, Colorado), Interview, July 18, 1969.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF RUGS IN THIS STUDY

1. MNM 7124/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 56 x 76"; warps: 3-ply and 2-ply cotton; wefts: 3-ply Zeypher white, lavender, orchid, light and dark blue, yellow, light and dark red, black, peach, tan, light and dark green, and pink wool; Classic period design with stepped, serrated, zigzag design in overall zoned pattern, with 4 birds in red, blue, and white, c. 2" wide, worked into 4 corners of design; found on body of Chief White Antelope at Sand Creek, Wyoming, in 1863. Entire piece and detail of one bird reproduced in Mera, Navaajo Textile Arts, pl. 26. Fig. 3 of this study.

FLAGS

2. Present whereabouts unknown. Exact size, materials, and colors unknown; double saddle blanket with American flag at each end; top flag has 13 stripes and cruciform stars; illustration from photograph taken in 1873. Reproduced in Amsden, 1949, pl. 114.
3. RN-44, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado. Germantown with American flags, collected in 1880's. Photograph, Denver Art Museum, Neg. #246.
4. 2470, Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, Colorado Springs, Colorado. 27 x 43-50"; warps: cotton; wefts: 4-ply red, white, and blue Germantown wool; loomstrings remain on white stripe edge and fringe is formed by cut warps; American flag with 14 red and white stripes, 6 6-pointed stars, and 27 5-pointed stars; c. 1890. Photograph, Taylor Museum. Fig. 5 of this study.
5. MNM 36476/12, on loan to Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 4 x 6'; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, dark blue, and white wool; American flag with 13 stripes, 48 5-pointed stars; date unknown. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #293.
6. Justin's Thunderbird Lodge and Trading Post, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona. 53 x 42"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: commercial red, dark blue, and white wool; American flag with 15 stripes, 48 6-pointed stars, and white band down the left side; 1950's; woven by Bessie Mailbag. Photograph, author. Fig. 6 of this study.
7. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 46 x 31"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, dark blue, and white wool; American flag with 13 stripes, 50 cruciform stars; 1968-69; woven by Helen Yazzie.

8. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 24 x 20"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, dark blue, and white wool; American flag with 13 stripes, 50 cruciform stars; c. 1968.
9. Present owner unknown; once owned by Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. American flag with 13 stripes, 49 stars.
10. Maisel's, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 36 x 42"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, black, and natural white and combed grey wool; 2 American flags, each with 11 stripes and an 8-pointed star on grey field, with narrow black bands at top and bottom of rug; 1969.
11. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 20 x 25"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: coarsely spun red, white, and turquoise wool; American flag with 13 stripes, 13 diamond stars; 1960's.
12. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 40 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, white, and light blue wool; American flag with 13 stripes, 50 5-pointed stars; c. 1960's.
13. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 40 x 48"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, white, and blue wool; American flag with 13 stripes, 12 5-pointed stars; c. 1960's.
14. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 55 x 40"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, white, and blue wool; American flag with 13 stripes, 50 5-pointed stars; c. 1960's.
15. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 24 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, white, and blue wool; poorly woven; American flag with 19 stripes, 36 5-pointed stars; c. 1960's.
16. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 24 x 24"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, white, and unevenly dyed blue wool; American flag with 20 stripes, 9 6-pointed stars; c. 1960's.
17. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 36 x 20"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, white, and turquoise wool; American flag with 13 stripes, 50 5-pointed stars, and white border on left side; woven so that stripes are parallel with warp instead of going in same direction as weft; c. 1960's.
18. Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona. 24 x 36"; American flag with 13 stripes, 50 stars; 1968. Photograph, Heard Museum.

FLORAL MOTIFS

19. MNM 7292/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 32½ x 46"; warps: 4-ply cotton; wefts: Germantown 4-ply white, black, grey, yellow, orange, green, dark green, blue, purple, red, and maroon; conventionalized Century Plant design in mirror image on red background with no bands or borders; 1880's. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico

Neg. #258. Fig. 7 of this study.

20. 2.18.5.16, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Warps: cotton; wefts: Germantown 4-ply red, green, orange, blue, and tan wool; floral and geometric designs arranged in bands on a red ground with no borders; many lazy lines; c. 1900.
21. MNM 5049/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 45 x 73"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, red, yellow, brown, and grey wool; floral motifs abstracted from corn and cattails arranged in zones without borders; vegetal and aniline dyes both used; woven before 1961, at Nazlini, Arizona. Reproduced in Dutton, 1963, p. 26. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #245.
22. MNM 5044/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 50 x 68"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, black, grey, green, dark green, red, orange, and tan wool with some mohair combed with wool; curvilinear floral motifs arranged symmetrically in central design and in wide border which contains spirit trail; c. 1950. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #259. Fig. 8 of this study.
23. Woodard's Indian Arts, Gallup, New Mexico. c. 24 x 40"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun gold, purple, green, black, and white wool; copy of Persian prayer rug; woven in 1934 around Ganado, Arizona.
24. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 34 x 44"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun dark green, red, tan, black, and white wool; 11 abstracted tulip-like flowers on tan ground with serrated black border; 1969.

AMERICAN EAGLES

25. 63.40.3, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 63 x c. 40"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun natural dark brown, combed tan, and white and aniline dyed red and brown wool; bordered design with 3 American eagles arranged vertically, with 12 arrows down each side; eagles face left (or right) with wings out and legs spread, but hold nothing in talons; no spirit trail; c. 1890's (because of straight border). Photograph, author. Fig. 9 of this study.
26. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 30 x 32"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun yellow ochre, darker tan, black, natural white, red, and blue wool; American eagle copied from the seal on a dollar bill; wings uplifted, facing left with branch in right talons and red arrows in left; lettered across top is "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/EPLURIBUS/UNUM" [sic]; borderless; 1969. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
27. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 30 x 32"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun yellow ochre, tan, black, natural white and

combed grey wool; American eagle adapted from seal on dollar bill; wings upstretched with serrated edges; shield on breast, talons hold arrows and branch; unbordered design on ochre background; c. 1969; woven by Alice Claw. Photograph, author. Fig. 10 of this study.

28. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. c. 40 x 48"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, dark red, and natural brown and white wool; 3 American eagles arranged vertically in alternation with 2 bow and arrow motifs on red background with black border; c. 1960's; woven by Mrs. Yazzie at Ganado.
29. Justin's Thunderbird Lodge and Trading Post, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona. c. 30 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun yellow, brown, red, and natural grey and white; American eagle with white upraised wings and shield on breast; no border; c. 1968.
30. Freed Company, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 6' x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, vegetal green, and ochre wool; 4 American eagles facing left, 2 facing right, with wings up; serrated black, green, and ochre borders; c. 1968.
31. Enchanted Mesa, Albuquerque, New Mexico. c. 9 x 12"; warps: cotton; wefts: handspun light and dark green, carded grey, and commercial yellow wool; American eagle with wings upraised with two 5-pointed stars above; no borders; 1969.
32. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. c. 4 x 4'; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun grey, green, red, and white wool; American eagle with wings up, crossed branches in talons; 2 crossed flags at top with letters "USA"; no borders; c. 1969.
33. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 19 x 21½"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, tan, blue, red, carded grey, black, and brown wool; American eagle with wings held straight out, crested head, shield on breast, holding crossed branches in talons; no borders; 1969.
34. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 15 x 18"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, green, white, grey, and black, and commercial red and blue yarn; American eagle perched on brown log, wings half-lowered with red and white striped bars at each side; design similar to that on United States quarters minted 1932-date; c. 1969.
35. Silversmith Indian Shop, Blanding, Utah. 36 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, brown, green, blue, grey, black, and red; American eagle in center holding branch and arrows in talons; serrated black border on top, bottom, and right side; red and white striped band and blue band with 7 5-pointed stars on left side; entitled "Lunar Landing," woven at Crystal, New Mexico, 1969; related to seal worn by Apollo XI astronauts in July, 1969. Color slide, David Barde, Albuquerque. Fig. 11 of this study.

TRAINS

36. Present whereabouts unknown. Large; wefts: red, black, green, white, and blue wool; 7 engines and 8 cars with chickens, cattle, and human figures arranged in bands; no borders; 1880's. Described and illustrated by James, 1920, pp. 124, 125, Fig. 146. Fig. 12 of this study.
37. RNsd-67, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado. $25\frac{1}{2} \times 46$ "; wefts: 4-ply red, white, green, yellow, brown, grey, and blue Germantown yarn; train with letters "SANTA FE ROUTE & CRESCENTE CO. GALLUP N M"; 1880's. Reproduced in Mera, The Alfred I. Barton Collection, p. 67.
38. MNM 9077/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 26×40 "; warps: cotton; wefts: Germantown white, blue, green, and red yarn; trains, human figures, cattle, horses, and wagons; bought at Pagate, New Mexico; 1880's. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #957.
39. MNM 10/1946, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 61×80 "; wefts: white, black, blue, green, and red yarn; trains, human figures, riders, several birds, dogs, arrowheads, cattle, boots, and fish; 1880's. Reproduced in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 29.
40. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 12×8 "; warps: cotton; wefts: commercial red, black, white, and green yarn; engine and coal car with letter "G" on latter and "I" on former; undated.

ANIMAL RUGS

41. MNM 4645/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 52×69 "; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, vermillion, black, green, yellow-green, and deep yellow wool; 3 wide red bands with 3 cattle in each; no borders; tails of animals are placed diagonally across wefts; 1880's. Reproduced in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 30. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #258.
42. MNM 9686/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 64×45 "; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, brown, and orange wool; 4 rows of 4 horses each and 1 row of buffalo on white field; no borders; 1880's or 1890's. Reproduced in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 32. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #256.
43. MNM 7262/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 53×75 "; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, black, light brown, olive, and mottled purple to red wool; 6 rows of 3 cattle each on white field, with each row facing in opposite directions; no borders; many lazy lines. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #259.
44. MNM 36290/12, on loan to Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 58×69 "; warps: handspun dark wool; wefts: handspun red, white, black, blue, and yellow wool; 4 rows of 3 riders each alternating

with 3 rows of 4 cattle each; no borders; 1880's or 1890's.
 Reproduced in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 28. Photograph,
 Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #278.

45. Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona. 55 x 74"; warps: handspun and some commercial 2-ply white yarn; wefts: handspun red, green, white, black, and grey wool; 6 rows of 4 cattle each on white field; no borders; c. 1880. Reproduced in color in Kent, 1961, pl. 14.
46. RN-98, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado. 47 x 75"; incomplete information; design with people and animals; c. 1890.
47. 1918, Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado. 81 x 52"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, black, yellow, indigo blue, and white wool; 3 rows with 3 horses and riders each in bands; no borders; c. 1880. Photograph, Taylor Museum. Fig. 14 of this study.
48. 36289/12, on loan to Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 55½ x 72"; warps: dark handspun wool; wefts: orange, rust, dark blue, yellow, green, and red handspun wool; eagles, riders, horses, birds, cows, and arrows in bands; no borders; 1880's or 1890's. Reproduced in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 27. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #278.
49. MNM 36449/12, on loan to Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Large; warps: handspun dark wool; wefts: white, red, brown, and maroon handspun wool; 4 human figures and 2 cows in bands with diamond elements; no borders; in lower half several wefts have been placed at a diagonal and appear to form a tiny hill in white background area; 1880's or 1890's. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #292. Fig. 15 of this study.
50. Brooklyn Museum, New York, New York. Incomplete information; black, white, and pink wool; various animals arranged vertically on either side of central floral element; zigzag borders; collected by Col. Carmody, U. S. Army, in 1880's. Reproduced in Amsden, 1949, pl. 115.
51. Alameda Trading Post, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 5 x 7'; warps: cotton; wefts: handspun red, black, orange, green, purple, and white wool; serrated diamond design with 4 cows arranged vertically; no borders; bottom cow with slash brand; 1880's or 1890's.
52. Alameda Trading Post, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 51 x 78"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, dark blue, yellow, white, red, and lighter red wool; bands and serrated zigzags with 4 white birds; no borders; 1880's.
53. Present whereabouts unknown. Original 64 x 84"; stock sizes 45 x 76" up to 6 x 9', made to order in any size or colors; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, white, and blue wool; wide borders with floral motifs; 2 small birds in center; early 1900's. Reproduced in Moore, 1911, pl. XXVI.

54. MNM 44072/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 82 x 45"; warps: dark brown handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, light brown, orange, and black wool; wide border with large central figure flanked by floral motifs; early 1900's; probably early Moore design; woven at Crystal, New Mexico. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #1136.
55. MNM 7323/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 60 x 83"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun natural brown and white wool; 3 concentric borders with 3 cows in central area; 1890's. Reproduced in Mera, Navajo Textile Arts, pl. 31. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #260.
56. MNM 36406/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 37 x 74"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, brown, and grey; 4 steer heads in vertical arrangement in center with 3 zigzag arrows, from which run 4 diagonal bands to corners of blanket; serrated borders on long sides; early 1900's. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #288.
57. MNM 36400/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 50 x 62½"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown and white wool; down each long side is a pair of opposed zigzags which come together in point at one end; small horned animal in center; early 1900's. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #288.
58. Irma's Indian Arts, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 27 x 47½"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun natural white, brown, and grey and aniline red wool; 8-pointed star in upper left corner, with cowboy on white horse and cow, calf, bull, and grey horse arranged below; Lazy M or W brand on either hip of horses; straight border; 1890's.
59. 1711, Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado. 46 x 36"; warps: brown cotton; wefts: handspun red, black, and white wool; 3 human figures and 4 cows arranged at random on white field; end bands, no side borders; early 1900's. Photograph, Taylor Museum.
60. 1710, Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado. 32 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, red-brown, pink, grey, and white wool; 4 rows of abstracted birds, 20 in all; narrow straight border; early 1900's. Photograph, Taylor Museum.
61. MNM 7329/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 52½ x 74"; warps: 3-ply white wool yarn; wefts: handspun white, indigo blue wool; commercial 3-ply red, green, and blue-grey wool; 2 human figures in center of serrated diamond design typical of Late Classic period; collected 1880. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #251.
62. RN-74, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado. 45 x 31"; incomplete information; red and white wool; white male figure on red ground; collected 1880's.
63. MNM 45649/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 39 x 21"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, brown, carded grey-

brown, and faded aniline red wool; cornstalk, bow and arrow, 2 small rabbits, large chicken, and 2 feathers; c. 1930.

64. Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico. 15 x 12"; warps: wool; wefts: commercial black, green, tan, and white yarn; large realistic bull in center with fence in background; no borders; 1967; 2nd prize in Juvenile Division of 1967 Gallup Intertribal Indian Ceremonial; woven by Sadie Haskee.
65. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 18 x 18"; warps: cotton; wefts: commercial brown, grey, white, purple, and dark green yarn; heads of brown cow and black bull, realistically done, with letters "NEW MEXICO" at top; straight border; c. 1969. Photograph, author. Fig. 16 of this study.
66. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 14 x 10"; wefts: commercial grey, black, pink, and brown yarn; realistic spotted cow in center; end bands only; c. 1969. Photograph, author.
67. Freed Company, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 8' x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, black, green, brown, combed grey, orange, and ochre wool; white serrated square in center containing black horse's head; serrated diagonals across each corner, with end bands; c. 1965-69.
68. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 30 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: natural brown, grey, white, and aniline black, green, yellow, and red wool; realistic buck with red mouth, in center of grey field, with letters "67 JAN 27" over his back and 2 white 8-pointed stars at top; green plants with yellow tassels along bottom of design; no borders; c. 1967.
69. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 30 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, tan, brown, grey, and black wool; a black and a white cat, very geometric, in center; 2 concentric borders; c. 1965-69.

RESERVATION SCENES

70. Current owner unknown. Incomplete information; realistic depiction of several houses, 2 horses, rider, people, wagon, trees, and mesas; wide border with floral motifs; early 1930's. Reproduced in Reichard, 1936, pl. XV. Fig. 18 of this study.
71. MNM 44457/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 37 x 74"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, brown, purple, pink, orange, and yellow wool; rows of 20 house figures; no borders; 1890's or early 1900's. Photographs, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #1184. Fig. 17 of this study.
72. Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona. 68 x 65"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, red, dark green, black, blue, ochre,

- white, and grey wool; unbordered design featuring houses, fenced garden, gas station, Seven-Up sign, camper trailer, gas pumps, tractor trailer, church with bell and cross, cars, and pine trees; many lazy lines; c. 1969; woven by Fanny Mann of Nazlini; 1st prize in 1969 Museum of Northern Arizona Navajo Art Exhibition. Photograph, author. Fig. 19 of this study.
73. Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona. c. 36 x 60"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun dark red, dark green, black, white, brown, and royal blue wool; unbordered design with houses with television antennas, trucks, camper trailer, station wagon, pine trees, outhouses, and clotheslines; c. 1969; woven by Fanny Mann, Nazlini. Photograph, author.
 74. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, white, yellow, tan, ochre, black, blue, and rust wool; unbordered design with sky, mesas, cornfield, horses, rabbits, squirrels, dog, bird, turkey, car, cows, outhouse, hogan, modern house, and elephant; c. 1969; woven at Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
 75. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, black, white, brown, and blue wool; bordered design with teepees, hogans, and houses in wide border and mesas, cows, truck, and hogan arranged in bands in center; 1967; woven by Mary Leonard, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
 76. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, yellow, brown, tan, grey, and blue wool; bordered design with long sides serrated; in center are clouds, covered wagon, rider, Hereford cattle, black bull, several birds, tree, elephant, giraffe, and sheep; 1965; woven by Virginia Ray, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
 77. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun greys, black, and white wool; unbordered design with snowcapped mountains, a seated cowboy, rider, boots, cinch, feed bag, saddles, holstered guns, chaps, saddle bags, campfire, saguaro cactus, and covered wagons; 1965; woven by Mary Leonard, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
 78. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun green, red, grey, white, and brown wool; borderless design with trees, hogans, trucks, rabbits, and birds arranged in bands; 1965; woven by Caroline Begay, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
 79. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, brown, ochre, blue, tan, and black wool; stepped border with mesas, farm tractor, barn, 3 hogans, station wagons, stove with coffee pot and pot-bellied stove; c. 1968; Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.

80. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, tan, red, black, and white wool; stepped fret border around design with hogans, truck, hills, birds, setting hen, squirrels, alligator, turtle, and pig placed at random; c. 1967; woven by Virginia Ray Leonard, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
81. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 30 x 32"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun ochre, grey, purple, white, dark green, light green, and orange wool; borderless design with hogan, tree, wagon, clothesline, 3 sheep, mesas, and clouds; c. 1968; woven by Anita Benally, Lukachukai. Photograph, author.
82. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 32 x 43"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, blue, orange, turquoise, purple, grey, ochre, dark green, and white wool; borderless design with black-topped mesas, 2 pigs, 3 hogans, 3 sheep, and 2 horses evenly distributed across field; c. 1968; woven by Virginia Ray Leonard, Lukachukai. Photograph, author. Fig. 20 of this study.
83. Silversmith Indian Shop, Blanding, Utah. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, yellow, grey, white, black, brown, dark green, and turquoise wool; jet planes, clouds, mountains, prairie dogs, hogans, people, truck, birds on cornstalks, and 4 horses; wide border with geometric motifs; at the top is lettered "LAND OF NAVAJO INDIAN"; 1961 or 1962; woven at Chilchinbeto by Mary Yellow Hair. Color slide, David Barde, Albuquerque. Fig. 21 of this study.
84. Teec Nos Pos Trading Post, Teec Nos Pos, Arizona. 30 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, brown, green, black, pink, and white wool; bordered design with mesa, house, green trees, and cowboy twirling rope; c. 1969.
85. Shiprock Trading Post, Shiprock, New Mexico. 30 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, turquoise, grey, brown, tan, purple, red, green, and light brown wool; borderless design with mesa (perhaps Shiprock), clouds, hogan, blanket on line, cactus, and pickup truck; c. 1969; woven by Mary Allison, Shiprock.
86. Arrowsmith's, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 30 x 39"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: commercial divided yarn, white, black, blue, green, ochre, tan, brown, and light green; borderless design with mesa, cloud, hogan, pickup truck, cactus, and clothesline; c. 1969; woven by Victoria Yellowman, Shiprock. Photograph, author. Fig. 22 of this study.
87. Prospector's Shop, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 30 x 30"; warps: wool; wefts: divided commercial blue, white, tan, ochre, brown, red, and orange yarn; borderless design with cloud, mesa, hogan, cactus, truck, clothesline, and plane; c. 1969; woven by Jetona Yellowhorse, Shiprock. Photograph, author.
88. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 35 x 47"; warps: wool; wefts:

divided commercial green, black, blue, grey, tan, and white yarn; unbordered design with bird, plane, trees, pickup trucks, hills, and mountains; 1969; Shiprock.

89. Enchanted Mesa, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 25 x 29½"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, ochre, blue, turquoise, red, pink, black, and white wool; borderless design with large white house shown at angle to surface plane; c. 1969; woven by Helen Joe, Shiprock.
90. Price's All Indian Shop, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 25 x 30½"; warps: wool; wefts: handspun blue, aqua, ochre, red, black, and white wool and commercial green yarn; borderless design with house, fence, Monument Valley on horizon, and clouds; c. 1969.
91. Mexican Water Trading Post, Mexican Water, Arizona. 30 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, brown, pink, and white wool; borderless design with 2 mesas, hogan, loom, and letters "MONUMENT VALLEY" at top; c. 1969.
92. Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico. 15 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, blue, dark red, grey, and turquoise wool; horizontal design with mesas and clouds; c. 1968.
93. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 4 x 3'; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, natural brown, yellow, combed grey, and white wool; bordered design featuring desert scene with several saguaro cacti, yellow cornstalk, tiny flowers, and rocks; c. 1969. Photograph, author. Fig. 23 of this study.
94. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 60 x 53"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, blue, green, tan, black, and white wool; borderless design with jet, clouds, mountains, trucks, Volkswagon, mesas, Round Rock Trading Post, and the letters "ROUND ROCK TRADING POST/RUGS/JEWELRY/1889/ROUND.ROCK/DECEMBER 251966" [sic] at bottom; c. 1966. Photograph, author. Fig. 24 of this study.
95. MNM 45717/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 64 x 45"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, red-brown, and tan wool; end bands with geometric motifs, picture of Round Rock in central area and words "ROUND ROCK/ARIZONA" at top and bottom; 1968.
96. Present whereabouts unknown. Double saddle blanket; red, grey, black, and white wool; top half is typical Storm Pattern and bottom is picture of red mesas; before 1957. Reproduced in color in Watson, 1957, p. 22.
97. Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico. 30 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, tan, and combed grey wool; border with geometric motifs and in center the lettering "TOTAH/CURIO/SHOP/ZONI NAVAJO JEWELRY/WHOLESALE RETAIL/NAVAJO RUGS/FARMINGTON N.M."; near word zoni is head of Navajo woman; c. 1968.

98. Teec Nos Pos Trading Post, Teec Nos Pos, Arizona. 20 x 15"; warps: wool; wefts: handspun blue, tan, black, white, and combed grey wool; border serrate along sides; central design with 2 Navajo women holding rug; c. 1969. Displayed at 1969 Gallup Ceremonial.
99. Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona. 37 x 27"; warps: wool; wefts: commercial black, ochre, grey, red, and white wool; borderless design with man, girl, and woman in native Navajo dress standing beside hogan; end bands with black and white stripes; 1969; woven by young Jane Charley, Ganado.
100. Teec Nos Pos Trading Post, Teec Nos Pos, Arizona. 30 x 24"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun tan, brown, black, and white wool; design features plaque at Four Corners with 4 states spelled out as follows: "ARIZONA/UTAH/COLORADO/NEW MEXICO"; 1969; Four Corners area.
101. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 24 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, turquoise, black, dark blue, dark green, ochre, brown, and natural white wool; depiction of plaque at Four Corners with black border and letters "UTAH COLO/ARIZ N. ME" [sic]; c. 1960's.
102. Present whereabouts unknown. Incomplete information; realistic depiction of Shiprock in dull grey, black, and white wool. Mentioned in Reichard, 1936, p. 154.
103. MNM 5046/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 33 x 43"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, and grey wool; realistic depiction of Shiprock; black border; 1949; woven by Mary Francisco, Huerfano, near Shiprock. Reproduced in Dutton, 1963, p. 30. Fig. 25 of this study.
104. Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico. 36 x 15"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun greys, black, and tan wool; borderless design depicting Shiprock with lettering "SHIPROCK" at bottom; c. 1968; Shiprock.
105. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 24 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, grey, and blue wool; depiction of Shiprock with lettering "SHIPROCK" at bottom; 2 clouds in sky; c. 1969; Shiprock.
106. Yucca Trading Post, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 24 x 24"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun grey, blue, dark brown, and light brown wool; depiction of Shiprock with lettering "SHIPROCK" at bottom; straight border; c. 1969; Shiprock.
107. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 24 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, blue, and white wool; borderless design with emblem of Conoco Oil Company; no date.
108. Mexican Water Trading Post, Mexican Water, Arizona. 24 x 24"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun rose, black, red, ochre, and

white wool; black border serrated along sides, with 2 large medicine baskets and 2 12-pointed stars and 2 16-pointed stars; c. 1969.

109. Mexican Water Trading Post, Mexican Water, Arizona. 15 x 24"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun combed grey, white, black, and red wool; borderless design with 4 medicine baskets arranged vertically down center; c. 1969.
110. MNM 5057/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 28½ x 47"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, grey, and red wool; bordered design with 5 tri-motor airplanes in center; woven in 1950 at Upper Greasewood, Arizona. Reproduced in Dutton, 1963, p. 23.
111. MNM 36443/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 3 x 6½'; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, red, combed grey, light brown, and white wool; wide border with geometric motifs; central area with 2 biplanes facing each other over stepped fret; early 1900's; woven on northwestern part of reservation. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #292. Fig. 26 of this study.

HAPPY TIMES RUGS

112. Anonymous Chicago collector. c. 24 x 48"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, orange, grey, pink, and white wool; bordered design with central cornstalk and 24 small steer heads arranged down sides; 2 arrows at top and 2 at bottom; corn tassels embroidered in pink; purchased at Gallup Intertribal Ceremonial in 1928. Photograph, author. Fig. 27 of this study.
113. Lukachukai Trading Post, Lukachukai, Arizona. 18 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun ochre, red, blue, black, white, green, and dark red wool; borderless design with cornstalk and birds; c. 1969; Lukachukai.
114. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Incomplete information; medium sized; warps: grey, blue, black, and other colors; bordered design with cornstalk and birds; also rabbits, squirrels, turtles, and other birds; 1965; woven by Marie Begay, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
115. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Incomplete information; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun tan, black, grey, brown, green, and white wool; bordered design with cornstalk and 12 birds, 2 skunks, 2 squirrels, 1 ram, 2 hogans, 2 mesas, and 2 clouds; after 1965; Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
116. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Incomplete information; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, tan, and blue wool; cornstalk and birds with turkeys and rabbits; bordered; after 1965; Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.

117. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, orange, ochre, tan, black, green, and white wool; cornstalk with Yei head and 54 birds on stalk and down sides; after 1965; woven by Alice Ray, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
118. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 5 x 7'; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, red, grey, ochre, brown, white, blue, and green wool; wide black border with 32 animals, rainbow band, and stars across top; in central area is large cornstalk with Yei head and many birds on it and chickens, rabbits, clouds, and 6 8-pointed stars around it; c. 1968; woven by Alice Ray, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
119. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 41 x 48"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun blue, red, white, brown, and black wool; 2 cornstalks with 10 birds on each and 3 8-pointed stars and 1 5-pointed star; brown borders and black background; c. 1968; woven by Alice Ray, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
120. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 31 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, white, blue, and tan wool; cornstalk with 6 birds; end bands; c. 1968; woven by Virginia Ray Leonard, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
121. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 50 x 42"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, orange, brown, grey, blue, tan, red, and green wool; cornstalk with 11 birds, 2 hills, truck, car, 2 garages, and 4 hogans; black border serrated down sides; c. 1968; woven by Virginia Ray Leonard, Lukachukai. Photograph, Mr. Watson.
122. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 39 x 62"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, combed grey, chartreuse, green, black, yellow, purple, lavender, and white wool; cornstalk with 15 birds and 2 hogans; border stepped down sides; c. 1968; woven by Virginia Ray Leonard, Lukachukai.
123. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 60 x 34"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, dark green, ochre, rust, blue, red, and white wool; cornstalk with 27 birds; straight border; c. 1969; woven by Emma Leonard of Lukachukai. Photograph, author. Fig. 28 of this study.
124. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 48 x 32"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, grey, blue, dark green, yellow, brown, black, and white wool; dark green cornstalk with 25 birds; end bands; c. 1969; woven by Virginia Ray Leonard, Lukachukai.
125. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. c. 45 x 55"; warps: handspun black, grey, blue, red, brown, orange, tan, turquoise, and white wool; cornstalk with 12 birds, 2 squirrels, 2 rabbits, sheep, ram, hen, rooster, horse, pig, woodpile, windmill, hogan,

hills, and arrow; border serrated down sides; c. 1969; woven by Mary Leonard, Lukachukai. Photograph, author.

126. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. c. 84 x 62"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun yellow, red, turquoise, orange, green, black, and white wool; 2 cornstalks with Yei heads and birds, bushes, hills, clouds, 2 rabbit hutches, and 29 white rabbits; straight border; c. 1969; woven by Alice Ray, Lukachukai. Photograph, author. Fig. 29 of this study.
127. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 39 x 47"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun green, yellow, ochre, black, grey, and white wool; cornstalk with Yei head and 6 birds; borders serrated down sides; c. 1969; woven by Virginia Ray Leonard, Lukachukai.
128. 2.25.5.14, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Large; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, black, turquoise, brown, blue, red, yellow, grey, and ochre wool; cornstalk with 16 birds, cows, dogs, cats, bears, chickens, owl, camel, frog, squirrel, lizard, hippo, horse, elephant, turtle, rooster, goat, rabbit, and several unidentifiable creatures; 7 cruciform stars, rainbow arc, and 5-pointed star are at top; c. 1961. Reproduced in Maxwell, 1963, Fig. 32.
129. Arrowsmith's, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 23 x 40"; warps: wool; wefts: commercial black, yellow, white, grey, turquoise, brown, and red yarn; cornstalk with 3 birds, medicine basket, and 2 pueblo houses; borders serrated down sides; woven c. 1968.
130. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. Medium-sized; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun grey, orange, green, brown, tan, and purple wool; cornstalk with 10 birds, hogans, houses, sweathouses, shades, and mesas; c. 1969; woven by Della Willie, Teec Nos Pos.
131. Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild, Window Rock, Arizona. 20 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun green, orange, red, yellow, rust, grey, white, and black wool; cornstalk with birds, rabbits, bears, and squirrel; c. 1969; Shiprock. Blue ribbon winner in 1969 Gallup Ceremonial.
132. Justin's Thunderbird Lodge and Trading Post, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona. 30 x 44"; warps: wool; wefts: commercial gold, green, black, purple, tan, and white yarn; cornstalk with birds; border serrated down sides; c. 1969; woven by Jennie Nez, Canyon de Chelly.
133. Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico. c. 4' x 6'; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun gold, dark green, blue, black, red, grey, and white wool; conventional Storm Pattern in central rectangle, with cornstalk and 11 birds on each side; across top and bottom are cornicopia, cotton plant, 3 more birds, 2 rainbow bars, crescent moon, 5-pointed star and 3 other objects; c. 1969; woven by Laura White, Gap. First prize in 1969 Gallup Ceremonial. Photograph,

author. Fig. 30 of this study.

134. Gallup Indian Trading Company, Gallup, New Mexico. c. 4 x 8'; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun grey, white, black, ochre, green, and red wool; cornstalk with 2 birds and 2 medicine baskets; feathers arranged vertically down sides, wide border; c. 1969. Exhibited at 1969 Gallup Ceremonial, second prize.
135. Wright's Trading Post, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 24 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun green, blue, yellow, red, white, and black wool; bordered design with cornstalk and birds and 12 horses; c. 1968.

"INDIAN" DESIGNS

136. Arrowsmith's, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 26 x 40"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, brown, orange, grey, and black wool; unbordered design with 2 Indian chief heads, then "CHIEF," then bow and arrow and "ARROW BOW/THUNDERBIRD," then 2 thunderbirds, then "WARDING OFF/EVIL SPIRITS," arrow shaft and point, and finally "ARROW + HEAD"; c. 1969. Photograph, author. Fig. 31 of this study.
137. MNM 16031/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 55 x 89"; warps: wool; wefts: red, green, yellow, grey, blue, brown, orange, and white wool; bow and arrow in diamond bands; no date. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #285.
138. MNM 45313/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 51 x 61½"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun green, white, black, and red wool; 6 large diamonds placed vertically, 3 per side; bow and arrow design inside each diamond; 2 serrated diamonds placed vertically in center; end bands; c. 1908. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #1222.
139. MNM 44502/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 71½ x 55"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, black, and red wool; stars, feathers, and crosses on white background; c. 1930's. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #1184.
140. MNM 37000/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Incomplete information; arrows, lightning, bow and arrow design with border; c. 1920's. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #326.
141. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 8 x 8"; warps: wool; wefts: commercial red, blue, black, and white yarn; bordered design with large swastika and 2 arrows; undated.
142. RN-57, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado. 69 x 80"; incomplete information; serrated diamond in center, bows and arrows on ends; collected 1939.
143. MNM 17298/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 35 x

- 24½"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black and white wool; 2 large thunderbirds in black on white ground; undated. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #640.
144. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 24 x 27"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun tan, grey, rust, black, and white wool; unbordered design with large thunderbird in center; undated.
 145. Cerrillos Trading Post, Cerrillos, New Mexico. Medium-sized; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, red, and ochre wool; bordered design with thunderbird in center; c. 1969.
 146. Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico. 30 x 24"; warps: cotton; wefts: commercial black, green, white, tan, dark tan, dark blue, turquoise, purple, red, orange, and yellow yarn; head of Indian chief and date "1969" with geometric border; c. 1969.
 147. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque. c. 36 x 36"; warps: wool; wefts: commercial pink, red, purple, green, turquoise, ochre, and blue and handspun grey wool; bordered design with Indian chief's head in center; c. 1969.
 148. Mexican Water Trading Post, Mexican Water, Arizona. c. 9 x 12"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, red, grey, and blue wool; unbordered design with frontal view of full-figure Indian chief, with end bands; c. 1969.
 149. Mexican Water Trading Post, Mexican Water, Arizona. 36 x 36"; warps: commercial wool; wefts: handspun black, tan, grey, purple, green, and red wool; borderless design with feathers and human figures arranged in bands with geometric motifs; c. 1969.
 150. Present whereabouts unknown. 45 x 76 to 72 x 108" (woven to order); warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun wool, typically red, white, grey, and black but woven to order; Storm Pattern rug; before 1911. Original reproduced in Moore, 1911, pl. XXVIII.
 151. Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona. c. 36 x 36"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, orange, ochre, brown, yellow, and white wool; bordered design with Apache Ghan dancer; 1969; woven by Sarah Brown, Salina. Fig. 33 of this study.
 152. Present whereabouts unknown. Incomplete information; large; grey, white, and brown bordered design of curvilinear geometric motifs; adapted from a Pablita Velarde painting which was derived from a Mimbres pottery design; c. 1968; woven at Hogback, near Shiprock. Photograph, Don Watson, Cortez, Colorado.
 153. 69.67.18; Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 39 x 54"; warps: cotton; wefts: commercial maroon, black, grey, gold, purple, white, brown, green, plum, and dark purple yarn; copy of 1956 Pablita Velarde painting with asymmetric design of eagle, rabbit, and plants enclosed by wide

border; after 1956; woven by Atsuna Blackhouse. Velarde painting reproduced in color in Lucy May Smith, "The Indian Painters Museum," Indian Life, 1959, 30. Photograph, author. Fig. 32 of this study.

HOLIDAY AND CHRISTIAN DESIGNS

154. Present whereabouts unknown. Incomplete information; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, dark green, black, grey, tan, and white wool; bordered design with Santa Claus figure, Christmas tree, 3 bells at top, and presents under tree; Santa's beard is woven in tufted technique, with long mohair strands hanging down; 1956; Canyon de Chelly. Photograph, Don Watson, Cortez, Colorado.
155. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. 49 x 26"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun dark green, orange, white, red, and black wool; borderless design with Christmas tree, bells, presents, and letters "MERRY/CHRISTMAS/HAPPY/NEW YEAR" at bottom; c. 1969; woven by Mary Leonard, Lukachukai. Photograph, author. Fig. 34 of this study.
156. Present whereabouts unknown. Incomplete information; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, tan, brown, black, dark green, and white wool; Santa Claus in sled with 1 deer, 3 hogans, rugs on clothesline, trees, truck, pig, dog, and figure; c. 1968; woven by Marie Begay, Lukachukai. Photograph, Don Watson, Cortez, Colorado.
157. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 33 x 48"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, green, orange, white, red, yellow, blue, and tan wool; bordered design with Christmas tree, 2 gifts, and cross; border contains plant motif; 1969; Farmington area.
158. Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico. c. 20 x 24"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, dark green, pink, red, and white wool; unbordered design with candy cane in each corner and Christmas tree in center; c. 1969.
159. Freed Company, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Incomplete information; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, dark green, and white wool; many small Christmas trees arranged in horizontal bands, c. 2" wide; borderless; c. 1969.
160. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 15 x 18"; warps: cotton; wefts: handspun white, dark brown, tan, black, dark and light green, red, and yellow wool; profile view of turkey standing on green ground line; end bands; c. 1969.
161. Present whereabouts unknown. Incomplete information; design with 18 hearts in various sizes, with arrows piercing each, and word "VALENTINES" at top and bottom; borders serrated; c. early 1930's. Reproduced in Reichard, 1936, pl. XV.
162. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 19 x 27"; warps: handspun

wool; wefts: handspun turquoise, red, white, and black wool; borderless design with turquoise cross on field of red and white stripes; black end bands; date unknown.

163. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 10 x 15"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun blue and white wool; Latin cross in center of unbordered field; date unknown.
164. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 12 x 12"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, and red wool; serrated diamond design with 4 Latin crosses; end bands; date unknown.
165. Irma's Indian Arts, Albuquerque, New Mexico. c. 10 x 12"; warps: cotton; wefts: commercial pink, black, and red yarn and handspun white wool; bordered design with cross in center bearing letters "JESUS/SAVER" [sic]; c. 1969.
166. Covered Wagon, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 23 x 15"; warps: cotton; wefts: handspun black, brown, white, and tan wool; Latin cross with letters "LORD/JESUS CHRIST"; brown and tan checkered pattern down each side; c. 1969.
167. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 30 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, white, orange, dark blue, and natural brown wool; borderless design with American flag with 16 stripes and 16 crosses and 3 burning candles, 3 brown crosses and 3 serrated diamonds below flag; c. 1960's.

RUGS WITH LETTERING

168. MNM 44446/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 46 x 34"; warps: cotton; wefts: 4-ply Germantown wool yarn in red, white, black, green, brown, and reddish-brown; late Diamond style design on red ground with small band across center containing letters "NVAVAJO" [sic]; c. 1880's. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #1184.
169. MNM 9567/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 26 x 26½"; warps: cotton; wefts: commercial grey, black, white, red, purple, tan, and green yarn; name "RATHKE YAZZA" woven in center; c. 1880-1890. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #255.
170. RN-76, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado. 35 x 24"; incomplete information; date "1897" woven in; c. 1897.
171. Woodard's Indian Arts, Gallup, New Mexico. c. 24 x 48"; warps: not inspected; wefts: 4-ply Germantown red, blue, black, peach, purple, and white yarn; Saltillo serape designs with end bands, no borders; dollar sign (\$) in each corner; c. 1900.
172. Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona. Small; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, black, tan, and red wool; sign with

- letters "J.L. HUBBELL/GANADO/ARIZONA" [sic]; end bands; undated.
173. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 48 x 84"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, black, and white wool; bordered rug with letters "PACKARDS'/STORE/NEW MEXICO/1936"; c. 1936.
 174. Lukachukai Trading Post, Lukachukai, Arizona. c. 60 x 24"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, red, blue, grey, and black wool; unbordered design with large figure wearing concho belt and hat with name of trading post in center; no date.
 175. Shiprock Trading Post, Shiprock, New Mexico. 24 x 20"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, pink, white, light tan, dark tan, wedgewood blue, black, turquoise, and yellow wool; unbordered design with American eagle and words "SHIPROCK TRADING CO."; no date.
 176. Justin's Thunderbird Lodge and Trading Post, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona. 15 x 16"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun grey, black, white, and purple wool; borderless design with thunderbird in center, 4 arrows at bottom, and word "THUNDERIRD" [sic] at top; undated.
 177. Elk Ridge Cafe, Blanding, Utah. 36 x 30"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun tan, black, red, and white wool; head of elk in center with lettering "PHIL ACTON/ELK CAFE RIDGE" [sic] at top and bottom; serrated border; undated.
 178. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 72 x 40"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, brown, tan, mauve, red, and white wool; bordered design with geometric motifs and lettering "THE DIAMOND T" at top and in mirror image at bottom; undated.
 179. Present whereabouts unknown. Incomplete information; small; yellow rug with black border and lettering "HELL" in black; late 1930's; Wide Ruins. Mentioned in Hannum, 1945, p. 57.
 180. Present whereabouts unknown. Incomplete information; simple pattern in vegetal dyes with black aniline letters "VEGETABLE DYE RUG" in center; Wide Ruins. Mentioned in Hannum, 1945, pp. 72-73.
 181. MNM 35564/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 26 x 54"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white wool; linear serrated border with arrow point designs; initials "CH" in each corner; undated. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #280.
 182. Woodard's Indian Arts, Gallup, New Mexico. 36 x 60"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun white, grey, black, and red wool; bordered design with serrated diamonds arranged in 2 columns, with 4 "C's" and 2 "H's" down each side; c. 1915-25.
 183. MNM 36355/12, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 64 x 33"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun red, black, grey, and white

- wool; serrate diamond design with initials "AP" in white rectangle in center; c. 1930. Photograph, Museum of New Mexico, Neg. #282.
184. Girard Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 24 x 20"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, and grey wool; unbordered design with 8-pointed star in each bottom corner and in central cruciform area, letters "M./1969"; c. 1969.
 185. Teec Nos Pos Trading Post, Teec Nos Pos, Arizona. c. 20 x 23"; warps: wool; wefts: commercial white and tan yarn; bordered design with lettering "TEEC/NOS POS/1967/1966" in center; c. 1967.
 186. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. c. 30 x 40"; wefts: commercial grey, black, red, maroon, tan, green, orange, turquoise, and grey-black yarn; serrated diagonals with lettering "SENIOR/OF/64" in center; c. 1964.
 187. Packard's Chaparral Trading Post, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 36 x 48"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, grey, and brown wool; border containing geometric motifs, with lettering "ROUND ROCK./CHAPTER HOUSE" in center; c. 1969. Photograph, author. Fig. 35 of this study.
 188. Don Watson Trading Post, Cortez, Colorado. c. 72 x 48"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun black, white, grey, and red wool; Storm Pattern rug with lettering "GOD/BLESS/OUR/HOUSE" in center; c. 1968; woven near Tuba City.
 189. Indian Room, Farmington, New Mexico. c. 8 x 12"; warps: cotton; wefts: handspun ochre, turquoise, green, red, and blue wool; bordered design with lettering "RED/ROCK" and diamond in center; c. 1969.

MISCELLANEOUS

190. Maisel's, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 18 x 20"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: commercial light and dark blue, tan, light brown, rust, black, yellow, and red yarn; unbordered design featuring frontal bust portrait of John F. Kennedy with words "JOHN F KENNEDY" [sic] at bottom; likeness, while not striking, is recognizable; March, 1965.
191. 63.34.177, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 17½ x 23"; warps: handspun wool; wefts: handspun brown, white, black, red, orange, grey, and tan wool; handsome grey jacket with roaring tiger's head on back; 1960.