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The Navaho Rug at the Hubbell Trading Post, 1880-1920

JOANN F. BOLES

Navaho Indians created the first native United States tapestries. Their rugs, originally called blankets, are a unique American art form in a land so often considered an extension of Western "old world" culture. Through three centuries, the Navaho weaving has progressed from a rudimentary and utilitarian blanket to a visual art form and a highly developed technical craft. In the early stages of development the Navahos' weaving resembled that of their teachers, the Pueblo Indians, but in later stages the weavers' skill improved and their designs became more original. Today, Navaho rugs are of a high technical and design quality and bring a fine price and prestige to the weaving artist.

Traders played an important role in promoting the sales and development of the Navaho rug. During the period 1880 to 1920, the weavers (Navaho women) no longer sold directly to their buyers; instead, the rug was merchandised by the trader who helped the weaver by interpreting the type of rug the buyers wanted. Traders interjected their own ideas into that interpretation of the buyers' wants, and they also taught the buyers to understand and appreciate the Navaho aesthetic.

An especially important trader was J. L. Hubbell, the most successful of the nine major traders on the Navaho reservation in the late 19th and early 20th century, the era known as the trader period of the Navaho rug business. According to George Wharton James, omitting the name of Hubbell when talking about the development of the Navaho weaving art would be similar to leaving out the

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name of Edison when talking about the phonograph.¹ Hubbell greatly increased the visibility of the Navaho rug through both verbal and visual communication. His letters and spoken comments were augmented by paintings known as rug studies. Hubbell commissioned rug studies, or paintings of especially fine rugs and hung them in the trading post as ever present examples of good design.

Along with traders, buyers had a substantial impact on the development and use of the Navaho rug. Most often white, they lived in all regions of the United States and purchased Navaho weavings primarily for use as rugs in their post-Victorian homes. As a result, the blanket nomenclature was discontinued and the product was referred to as a rug to reflect its end use.

The final role of influence, one of integral importance, belongs to the Navaho women who produced this native American tapestry. Their skills and form of aesthetic expression were assimilated from other cultures. Weaving techniques were learned from the Pueblos, while design was integrated from the Pueblos, the Mexicans, the Spanish and Anglos. However, the product always had the distinctive signature of the Navaho and eventually the modern Navaho rug evolved.

A history of the Navaho rug business was collected through a thorough search of the Hubbell correspondence which spanned 1878 to 1957. The entire collection of Hubbell papers is on permanent loan from the National Park Service to the University of Arizona Library, at Tucson, Arizona. The information gained from the overall study of the correspondence in regard to the rugs and rug business has not previously been analyzed and presented. The collection includes the correspondence of all Hubbell family members and employees. Both personal and business outgoing mail was duplicated and saved by Hubbell, and he also saved incoming mail. Unfortunately, letters from the early 1890s are missing from the collection; letters during that period of time were stored in the generator room at the Hubbell Trading Post and were destroyed by rain.

During the period 1873-1930 when J. L. Hubbell was operating the Hubbell Trading Post, he was engaged also in other activities that took him away from the Post for long periods of time. In the latter part of the 19th century he left the post for ten years and C. N. Cotton took over the operation: hence the "Cotton Letter Books."² After Arizona became a state, J. L. Hubbell was a state senator for two terms and ran unsuccessfully for U. S. senator; during that period of time his sons Lorenzo and Roman ran the

post, as they did from his death until 1957 when the family gave the post, family home, and correspondence to the National Park Service. The Hubbell correspondence gives a written record of the Navaho rug at the turn of the century.

COLOR

Along with size, color was the most often specified description of the rugs in both the incoming and outgoing mail. The correspondence between Hubbell and his customers revealed that the predominating colors throughout the period from pre-1900 to 1920 were red, grey, black, and white. In addition, blue was suggested by Hubbell and requested by customers in the later periods, and green was requested by customers in the later periods and mentioned by Hubbell and Cotton in one earlier period. Yellow was mentioned by Hubbell and Cotton prior to 1900 and by customers from 1900-1909. Customers mentioned brown from 1900-1920, and orange was requested from 1905-1920. Before 1900, the colors were more frequently suggested by Hubbell and Cotton than by the customers; however, in the twentieth century the colors suggested by both Hubbell and his customers were probably of equal influence (Figure 1).

The predominant color combinations mentioned in the correspondence were those that included two or more of the following colors: red, grey, black, and white. The number of references in the correspondence to such color combinations increased during the time span of 1890 to 1920. In the period between 1910 and 1920, there were 19 variations of the combination of red, grey, black, and white. The number of color combinations mentioned by customers which included colors other than red, grey, black and white were most frequent between 1905 and 1909. In contrast, Hubbell mentioned other color combinations more often prior to 1900.

The greatest increase in requests by customers for specific color combinations were those that included two or more colors of red, grey, black, and white. The greatest decrease in suggested color combinations for rugs was in Hubbell's old style color combinations, which involved a small navy and black striped background which the Navahos had assimilated from the Hopi Indians. Thus, the customers' requests for specific color combinations brought about the businessman's acquiescence to their preferences.

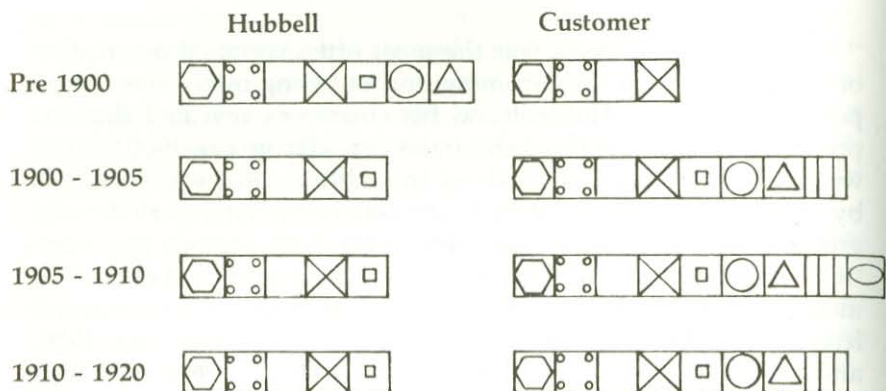
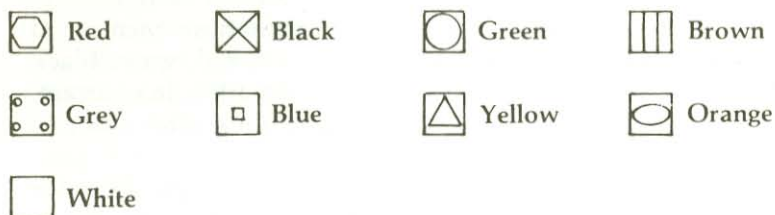


FIGURE 1. Rug Colors Mentioned In Correspondence By Hubbell And By Customers



As indicated in the correspondence, the mail order rug business increased from 1885 until it peaked in the 1905 to 1909 period. Prior to 1900, the total number of color requests was three; 36 between 1900 and 1904; 116 between 1905 and 1909; and 88 between 1910 and 1920. The decline of requests from 1910 to 1920 may be attributed to the circumstances of World War I.

The importance of color in rugs was further demonstrated by J. L. Hubbell's concern about dyes. Orders for various dyes to be sold at the trading post provided the researcher with information on dyes used before 1900. Orders for indigo dyes were noted as early as 1885, and remaining pre-1900 dye orders were for Cardinal dye which was an aniline dye mixed with a mordant. These aniline dyes were ordered in scarlet, red, dark red, and green.

Between 1900 and 1905, Hubbell and a dye chemist, Dr. Karl Schlatter, corresponded extensively about experiments to improve the dyes used in Navaho rugs. The process of dyeing at the Post and the equipment needed for such an operation were discussed as well as dye fastness. Schlatter, whose company had developed a fast black dye, promoted his product as well as artificial indigo and cochineal. Schlatter also informed Hubbell that cheap dyes were brilliant but not fast. Hubbell's orders were for Schlatter dyed yarns in black, blue, red, and white.

After 1905, comments in the correspondence regarding dyes were more sparse than in the preceding years. However, customers were becoming conscious of dyes and their relative merits. After 1910, a few customers still asked for native, natural dyes and Hubbell continued to try to improve the quality of dyeing done by the Indians. Roman Hubbell, son of J. L. Hubbell, apparently wrote to Cotton asking why the colors of the dyed wool were so uneven; Cotton replied that the Indians were either not stirring the Cardinal dyes enough or were not including enough water in the dye bath.³

Hubbell's concern for the quality of dyes proceeded from the use of Cardinal aniline dyes in pre-1900 to the use of an improved dye by an Eastern dye chemist in the early 20th century. Later, Hubbell worked with the Navaho to improve the original aniline dye. The researcher suspects that the high cost of the Eastern dyes was the reason that the use of the Schlatter dyes was not continued. Customer complaints regarding dyes fostered and encouraged the continued efforts to maintain quality dyes in the rug.

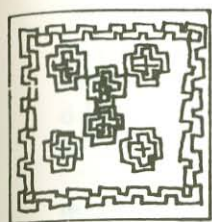
DESIGN

Design was discussed frequently in the correspondence; however, the comments were in very general terms by both Hubbell and his customers. Although the average customer had general ideas about the rug design he wanted, much of the design choice was left to Hubbell. Some customers, however, had specific requests and even included design sketches with their letters.

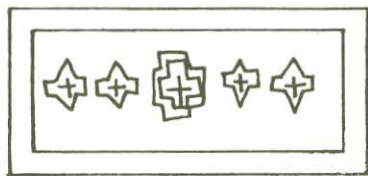
Hubbells' and Cotton's comments on design were made between 1886 and 1889, in the 1902 catalog, and in 1909 correspondence.⁴ Between 1886 and 1889 most of the rugs were sold by the pound and even the traders seldom spoke of the artistic and design value of the rug. The designs pictured in Hubbell's 1902 catalog were unbordered designs: the chief's blanket, a man's shoulder blanket with black and white stripes, corner and center designs; the old style blue and black striped blanket with tiny stripes of the aforementioned color in the background; the common coarse native blanket of coarse yarns and simple striped designs; and the squaw dress made of two blankets loosely stitched together with black ground and red borders. Hubbell's 1909 letters reaffirmed his appreciation of Hopi design and the fact that he collected and kept good designs to show his weavers. He always told buyers that it was almost impossible to get a weaver to totally duplicate a rug. Navaho weavers never duplicated or exactly copied a rug; they always made some change or added something new. The weavers felt they had to continue to grow and that their designs had to reflect this growth and improvement. As recently as 1976 this researcher observed a weaver at the Hubbell Trading Post improving and changing a design she had been commissioned to weave from an old painting. The buyer had been previously informed that the weaver would use the old rug painting as a base for improving the design and format.

In 1909 Hubbell also demonstrated his influence on design by paying higher prices for what he considered good design. He also admitted that he was encouraging bordered designs because they sold better.

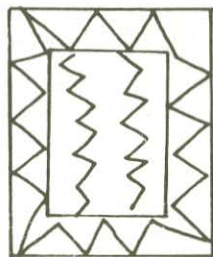
Since customers were inclined to request rugs in general terms they placed on Hubbell the final selection of design and a greater influence in their purchases. In specific instances customers sketched design requests directly into their letters (Figure 2). Three out of seven of these exceptional requests have great similar-



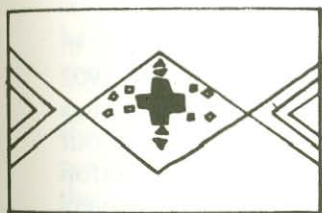
a²⁴



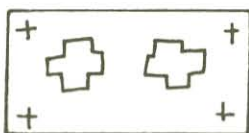
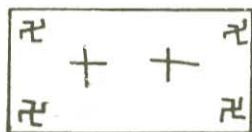
b²⁴



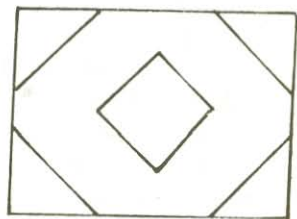
c²⁴



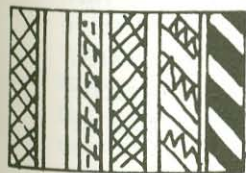
d²⁵



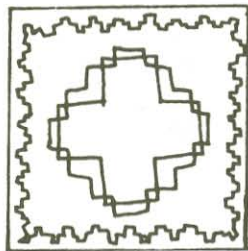
e²⁶



f²⁷



g²⁸



h²⁹



i³⁰



j³¹

FIGURE 2. Rug Sketches Sent To Hubbell By Buyers

ities with three of the rug studies, or paintings of old rugs on the walls of the Trading Post.

FIBERS, YARN, AND RUG CONSTRUCTION

The fibers referred to in the Hubbell correspondence included three major natural fibers: cotton, wool, and silk. The reference to silk in the correspondence as a possible warp fiber was of great interest for it had not been mentioned as a fiber used in the Navaho rug in other primary or secondary sources, in museum catalogs, or by museum curators.

Prior to 1900, all of the fiber statements were written by Clinton Cotton in 1886 and 1887. In reference to the rug, Cotton said that the Indians made common coarse rugs from heavy wool from their own sheep. He further stated that each rug weighed five to seven pounds and would outlast any other American-made rug.

After 1900, statements about fibers were written by Hubbell in either his 1902 catalog or in the 1909 correspondence. In the 1902 catalog Hubbell's only comment in reference to fiber was of rugs being made of native wool. In 1909, Hubbell's comments about fibers concerned Bayeta,⁵ Germantown yarn, goat hair, and cotton fibers. Hubbell said that since Bayeta was scarce only a few weavers were making Bayeta rugs. Germantown yarn, which was purchased three- or four-ply commercial yarn, was misused because the weaver used too many colors together. In addition, the weavers had a tendency to use cotton warp when the Germantown yarn was used. Hubbell answered a correspondent in 1909 that there was no such thing as a goat hair rug. Since Reichard wrote extensively about the goat hair rug in the Ganado area, the researcher concluded that both the goat herds and use of mohair in rugs developed after 1909.⁶

The requests for natural or native wool spanned the time between 1902 and 1920. In 1902 and in 1905 Fred Harvey requested that the rugs sent to him were to be of native wool. Also, in the early days when native wool was requested, correspondents asked for hard twist yarn and no Germantowns.

Dr. Karl Schlatter tried to perfect colors for Hubbell's rugs and furnished commercial yarn as a base. Schlatter and Hubbell discussed the pros and cons of Nevada and Chinese wool, and the weight loss in wool during scouring and dyeing. Schlatter also sold Hubbell 900 pounds of commercially prepared wool yarn, three- and four-ply Germantown yarns, and three-ply woolen warp.

The advantages and disadvantages of Germantown yarns were reflected in the requests for such rugs. The advantages were the evenness and fineness of yarn and the fastness of color. The disadvantages were poor multiple color combinations and the use of cotton warp with them.

Cotton fiber warp yarn was used by the Indians when they began using commercial wool as weft in the latter part of the 19th century. Commercial cotton yarn was used by the Navaho because it was cheaper, less time consuming to warp, and because it did not have to be spun. The customer, however, disliked cotton because it did not wear as well as wool; also, the wool weft did not adhere to the cotton warp yarn as it had to the wool warp because cotton lacked the scale covering of the wool fiber. In addition, the cotton rug was lighter weight than the all wool rug. In an effort to improve the cotton fiber, Schlatter suggested the use of mercerized cotton, either Sea Island or Egyptian.⁷ Some customers confused hard twist merino wool warp with cotton. Many cotton warp rugs were returned to the trading post between 1902 and 1914.

The use of silk fiber in Navaho rugs has not been mentioned in the literature. Apparently Schlatter discussed with Hubbell the possibility of the use of silk as warp in 1903. Schlatter had perfected the use of silk noils in silk yarn and could sell it to Hubbell for the same price as wool.⁸ For the rug warp, Schlatter suggested either the use of three-ply silk or mercerized cotton.⁹ Whether Hubbell actually used silk in his rugs remains an unanswered question, but he did discuss the possibility.

The construction of the rug was the responsibility of the Navaho weaver, but the customer and the trader affected construction through the price they paid for various qualities of work. One of the criteria on which the price of the rug was based was the fineness of weave.

Cotton, in the Cotton Letter Books in the late nineteenth century, referred to the closeness of the weave and how the weaving was done. The closeness of the weave was either referred to as common coarse construction or fine woven. At one time Cotton described to a customer how a squaw worked many months to weave a rug because she worked one yarn at a time. He also explained to another customer that washing and carding a rug would improve the appearance 100 percent.¹⁰

In the 1902 catalog, Hubbell described his attention to the construction of the rugs produced at the Hubbell Trading Post. He explained that the buyer could receive genuine reproductions of

old weaves from him, and that he unravelled old rugs to show his weavers how the old patterns were made.

In his 1909 correspondence, Hubbell further extolled the quality of his own rugs, which he said were the finest grade on the market, and defended some of the construction methods used by the weavers. One customer must have complained about several perceivable horizontal construction lines on a rug, for Hubbell explained that sometimes on a long rug the finished weaving was turned down and thus appeared to have a seam, but that when such a rug was laid on the floor those seams disappeared visually. He also defended blemishes as a selling point on a handcrafted item as opposed to the mechanistic look of a machine made product.

Cleanliness of yarn was a major concern of the customer between 1902 and 1910. They wanted rugs clean and free from grease. In 1910, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was contemplating the establishment of scouring and dyeing plants at convenient locations on the reservation.¹¹ In 1910, after the establishment of his wholesale business in Gallup, Cotton sent a rug carding frame to the trading post with the suggestion that Hubbell put it to use immediately before the Indians began to hang their saddles on it, as they had done with the last one he sent.¹²

Many of the customers' comments relating to weave were also reflected in the ultimate use of the product. Rugs to be used as portieres¹³ or curtains were requested to be woven closely enough so that light did not come through. Couch covers required a soft and flexible weave while blankets were described as flexible, yet heavier than couch covers. Saddle blankets were requested in single and double weave and in a lighter and less coarse weave than those previously produced. Rugs were ordered in hard woven or close weave and in thick, smooth, and straight pieces.

Buyers frequently requested low prices for the best weave, but in truth paid higher prices for good weaves. Complaints by buyers related to rugs that arrived and were irregular in shape.

USES OF RUGS

The use of the Navaho rug as discussed in the correspondence ranged from the most obvious use as rug or blanket to that of table runners and portieres. The uses explored here are those suggested by Hubbell and Cotton in correspondence, recorded in the 1902 catalog, mentioned by customers in letters, and viewed by the researcher in the restored Hubbell house and trading post at Ganado.

The trading post and house at Ganado, Arizona are operated as a National Historic Site by the National Park Service. The house is maintained as a museum and the trading post as an operating trading post for the Navahos. The Hubbell house utilizes Navaho weaving for floor rugs, couch and chair covers, table covers, trunk covers, and bed covers.

In letters prior to 1900, Cotton recommended that the Navaho rug be used as a floor rug, saddle blanket, curtain, lap robe, camp blanket, and as a portiere. In reference to floor rugs, Cotton noted that he had rugs as large as six feet by nine feet, and in referring to the use of the rug as a blanket, Cotton stated that it was not as big as the American bed blanket but would last four times as long. He recommended that the rugs be used as blankets by miners and cattlemen.

In the 1902 catalog, the recommendation was made that the product of the Navaho weavers could be used as a rug, blanket, or as portieres. Parlor and dining room rugs were available in sizes ranging from 8 x 9 feet to 12 x 12 feet.

In 1909, Hubbell remarked that rugs of an appropriate size with white ground and black figures were selected for use in bathrooms. A rug of this description observed in a private collection was remembered by its owner as having been used in the bathroom when she was a child.¹⁴

Although the very early use of the Navaho rug had been as wearing apparel, orders for such use were scarce during the period researched. In 1907, a white man ordered a blanket to wear for a special club initiation and in 1916 a northern Indian chief ordered one to wear at ceremonies.

The Navaho rug had been used by the Indian as a bed blanket, and the use of the rug as a bed blanket was imitated by whites, Mexicans, and other Indians of the Southwest. Easterners were more inclined to use it as a bedspread rather than a blanket, or as a decorative cot cover. Portieres were made from Navaho rugs since they were in fashion and the rug offered doorway privacy. The Fred Harvey Company was instrumental in promoting the sale of Navaho rugs as portieres.

Saddle blankets were sold as a utilitarian item, but the beauty of the saddle blanket encouraged some buyers to use the double blanket as a rug. Other uses of Navaho rugs by customers were as couch covers, pillow tops, table runners, and auto robes. Couch and chair covers were requested between 1906 and 1912; pillow tops were requested between 1908 and 1915, and table runners were re-

quested between 1911 and 1915. With the advent of the automobile the Trading Post received its first request for an auto robe in 1911.¹⁵

The primary request was for the Navaho rug as a floor covering was evidenced by the orders in the correspondence from 1903 until 1920. Although the Navaho rugs were used in every room, the majority of requests were for hall, porch, bathroom, and dining room. Apparently the use of the rug as a wall hanging postdates the research period for no requests for such use were found.

THE RUG BUSINESS

The Navaho rug business experienced the rise and fall of sales, complaints and compliments from customers, and advertising expenditures common to other businesses. The following section includes information from the correspondence which is relevant to the rug business, Hubbell's and Cotton's comments on the business, customers' comments on the business, and advertising. Advertising was included for it was an important factor in increasing the Hubbell rug business according to the written documentary evidence available for the present study.

In previous sections of this paper, reference to Cotton was 1) as a trader at the Hubbell post prior to 1900, and 2) as one of Hubbell's many customers after 1900. However, in presenting the findings concerning the rug business, Cotton's comments are placed with Hubbell's comments on the business for both periods, pre- and post-1900. The assumption was made by the researcher that the relationship between Hubbell and Cotton was very close in a business sense even after Cotton went to Gallup and established his own wholesale business in Indian goods. This assumption could not be substantiated with legal business documents; the assumption was determined from the evident mutual respect and cooperation between the two men revealed in the extensive correspondence in the Hubbell collection. Since Cotton's wholesale house was located next to the Santa Fe Railroad in Gallup, New Mexico, it appeared in many instances that Cotton received goods that would eventually go to Hubbell. At times customers questioned Hubbell as to whether they were dealing with him or with Cotton because they were instructed to mail packages to and from Cotton.

Cotton's comments relating to the rug business spanned the years from 1907 to 1920. His rug sales appeared to have reached a peak in 1907 and the business began declining after 1914. Cotton boasted

in 1914 that he was the largest handler of Navaho rugs in the country with a stock worth over \$50,000. Periodically Cotton complained of the high price he had to pay the trader for rugs and he occasionally returned rugs that did not meet his quality or price standards. In 1912, Cotton bought a rug from a Mexican that he was quite sure was a Hubbell rug. He suggested that Hubbell's Mexican teamsters were probably stealing his merchandise in transit.¹⁶

J. L. Hubbell's written comments on the rug business were from one year, 1909, as were his other rug statements. He noted that nothing at the post was paying as well as the Navaho rugs. In writing to his son, J. L. reminded him that a poor quality rug must be purchased for a lower price so that high standards could be rewarded and the rug business might remain their best investment. Hubbell's best rug customer, the Fred Harvey Company, was assured that any suggestion Harvey gave regarding the rug business was given prompt attention. Hubbell lamented that although he had sold rugs all over the United States, the Eastern South was his least successful area. The Southern attitude, as reflected in not purchasing Navaho rugs, was probably a conservatism in decorating. At that time the use of Navaho rugs was innovative, ethnic decorating.

Both the growth and limitations of growth of the rug business concerned buyers throughout the entire study period. Although Hubbell had only one authorized dealer in each city, those dealers often particularly in large metropolitan areas were able to sell a portion of their supply of rugs to department stores. A New York dealer was able in 1905 to interest Marshall Field and Company and Abraham Strauss in purchasing Hubbell's Navaho rugs, and also sold rugs to Preston of Boston in 1906. Of course, no dealer affected the wide distribution of Hubbell Navajo rugs as did the Fred Harvey Company which had concessions in all of the Harvey Hotels along the Santa Fe Railroad line. Hubbell was well aware of the importance of Harvey and was quick to give personal attention to this buyer's orders. Harvey also had various weavers from Ganado transported to his shops for months at a time to demonstrate weaving. Several museums throughout the United States owe much of their fine Navaho collections to donations from the private Harvey collection.

Shipping rugs from the post seemed a concern of many of the buyers. Apparently when rugs were shipped they were covered with burlap and were dirty when they arrived at their destinations.

Between 1903 and 1913, dealers suggested that Hubbell wrap rugs in paper and then cover with burlap. Moths also caused problems in shipping, either in transit to dealers, in shops, or on a return trip to the post.

The price of rugs was also an item of concern. Dealers wanted the best weave, the best yarn, the best pattern, the best color, and the largest size for the lowest price. Dealers often made comparisons of Hubbell rugs to other rugs. Mrs. J. B. Moore said that she and her husband, the trader at the Crystal Trading Post, thought their Navaho rugs were surpassed only by those of Ganado.¹⁷ Dealers enabled their customers to compare Navaho rugs to Turkish and Persian rugs by selling several styles of rugs in their shops.¹⁸

Aside from personal letters and contacts, Hubbell's most important advertising was his 1902 catalog. Letters from H. G. Maratta, a Chicago artist and advertiser, included extensive descriptions of his work on the catalog.¹⁹ He photographed the curios Hubbell sent to him for the catalog and wrote the introduction to the rug section in the catalog. Maratta also stated that he had organized the catalog according to his own ideas and he believed that the catalog was much better than the one produced earlier by Keams for the Keams Canyon Post. Maratta mailed the finished catalog to Hubbell on August 30, 1902.²⁰ The correspondence included the information that Hubbell had advertised his catalog in *American Monthly*, the magazine of the Daughters of the American Revolution, *Out West Magazine*, and the Globe Theater program in Boston.

Another form of advertising was letterheads on business stationery. At the turn of the century these letterheads were very decorative and pictorial. Hubbell's letterhead generally included a rug and a weaver at her loom. As well as printing the catalog, Maratta printed much of the Hubbell stationery in Chicago.

In the same city, E. A. Burbank, another rug study artist, took some of the rug studies to a color printer so that they might be reproduced for customers or made into postcards.²¹ There was no evidence demonstrating that Burbank's efforts were ever carried out.

James, the author of a book on Navaho blankets, considered the use of dealers' names in his book as advertising.²² He planned to conclude the book on Navaho rugs with a chapter on "Reliable Dealers," and wanted to include Hubbell as one of the dealers for a fee of \$150 a page, justifying the \$150 as a form of advertising.²³ Although the published book contained the Hubbell information,

the researcher found no written record of a payment by Hubbell to James.

Other forms of promotion were expedited by friends. For instance, Burbank and Maratta took rugs from the reservation to Eastern cities to sell. Schlatter, the dye chemist, asked for rugs which his son took to Europe to sell, but the venture was unsuccessful because Europeans could buy Turkish rugs more cheaply.

Hubbell had only one agent in each of the major cities. The agent was able to advertise that he was the exclusive dealer in Hubbell Navaho rugs and usually said that the Hubbell rugs were the best in design and quality. Thus, the use of an agent was another way in which Hubbell's rugs were set apart from others.

The influence of Hubbell's suggestions was and is obvious at Ganado. However, it was his ability to merchandise the product, that brought his Navaho rug to the white man as *the Navaho rug* and also affected rugs on other parts of the reservation. The following items summarize Hubbell's influence on the Navaho rug as determined by the correspondence:

1. Red, grey, black, and white combinations, which included two or more of the colors, were the most frequently requested combinations by customers and the colors most often suggested by Hubbell.

2. Since design requests from customers tended to be nonspecific, design selections were often made by Hubbell.

3. Throughout the study period, Hubbell reinforced his preference for old style designs but acquiesced to a bordered format for adaptations of old designs because they sold better.

4. Fibers used in rugs were found to be wool, both native and commercial, cotton, and possibly silk. Hubbell strove to improve the rugs and eventually eliminated the controversial use of cotton warp.

5. Concerning rug construction, Hubbell again emphasized to his weavers the superior quality of the fine old weaves; however, the customer was more concerned with the compatibility of end use and weave.

6. Hubbell recommended the use of the Navaho rug for floor coverings, at windows and doorways, as a bed cover, and for horseback riding. Customers wanted the rugs to wear, as bed covers, at the windows and doorways, for horseback riding, as couch covers, pillow tops, table runners, auto robes, and floor coverings. Neither trader nor customer indicated that they wanted them for wall hangings.

7. The rug business was Hubbell's best business and he maintained it by paying weavers for high standards, patronizing good customers, advertising, and establishing a network of influential and helpful business acquaintances.

Although this study has been concerned with the influences on the Navaho rug, especially those of J. L. Hubbell, the Navaho weaver deserves the final word. Her artwork, the rug, from beginning to end is a totally assimilated product, but its statement is entirely Navaho. The strength of that Navaho expression could only have been influenced by a person, such as J. L. Hubbell, a man who understood and respected the Navaho and her aesthetics.

NOTES

1. George Wharton James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1914). p. 204.
2. Special Collections (Cotton Letter Books, 1885-1886), Hubbell Papers, Correspondence, University of Arizona Library.
3. C.N. Cotton to Roman Hubbell, April 15, 1912, Hubbell Papers.
4. J.L. Hubbell, *Navajo Rug Catalog* (Chicago: Hollister Bros., 1902).
5. Bayeta was a type of red wool fabric imported by the Spanish from Manchester, England, into Mexico and sold by the Mexican to the Navaho. The Navaho ravelled the cloth for the red yarn and then untwisted the yarn and respun it. It was a method to obtain red yarn for a rug.
6. Gladys Reichard, *Navajo Shepherd and Weaver* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1936), p. 150.
7. Dr. Karl Schlatter to J.L. Hubbell, April 3, 1903, Hubbell Papers.
8. Schlatter to Hubbell, April 13, 1903, Hubbell Papers.
9. Schlatter to Hubbell, May 1, 1903, Hubbell Papers.
10. Although Cotton used the word "rug" here, the researcher interprets the statement to mean fibers for only fibers are carded in preparation for spinning.
11. W. R. Griffiths to Hubbell, August 2, 1910, Hubbell Papers.
12. C. N. Cotton to F.M. Parker, October 8, 1910, Hubbell Papers.
13. Curtains hung in interior doorways in Victorian interiors.
14. Williams, Private Navaho Rug Collection (Blacksburg, Virginia, 1976).
15. R. L. Hogue to Lorenzo Hubbell, November 26, 1911, Hubbell Papers.
16. C. N. Cotton to J. L. Hubbell, September 20, 1912, Hubbell Papers.
17. Marion Moore to Hubbell, August 13, 1908, Hubbell Papers.
18. S. M. Matter to Hubbell, February 21, 1909, Hubbell Papers.
19. H. G. Maratta to Hubbell, August 9, 1902, Hubbell Papers.
20. Maratta to Hubbell, August 30, 1902, Hubbell Papers.
21. E. A. Burbank to Hubbell, May 23, 1912, Hubbell Papers.
22. George W. James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* (Chicago: A. O. McClurg, 1914), p. 204.
23. G. W. James to Hubbell, March 17, 1913, Hubbell Papers.
24. Frohman to Hubbell, September 19, 1903, Hubbell Papers.

25. Fred Harvey to Hubbell, November 30, 1903, Hubbell Papers.
26. C. M. Dennison to Hubbell, October 7, 1905, Hubbell Papers.
27. Dickens to Hubbell, February 11, 1906, Hubbell Papers.
28. A. A. A. Walling to Hubbell, May 4, 1906, Hubbell Papers.
29. A. B. Dickie to Hubbell, February 13, 1912, Hubbell Papers.
30. E. H. Gregory to Parker, February 5, 1914, Hubbell Papers.
31. J. Gibbon to Hubbell, No date, Hubbell Papers.



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