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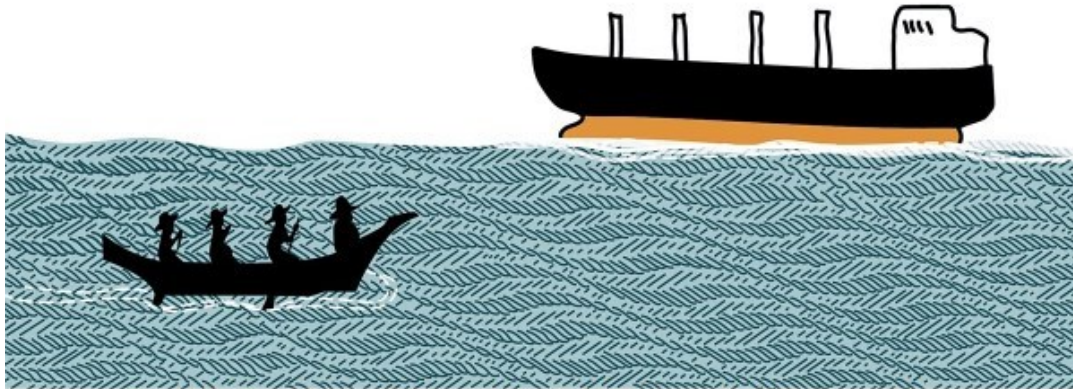
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# The Social Fabric: Deep Local to Pan Global



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# Schoolgirl Embroideries: Integrating Indigenous Motifs, Materials, and Text

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The stitching of needlework samplers and related schoolgirl embroideries was an essential element of female education in western Europe and the Americas from the 17th century through much of the 19th century. Appearance and materials changed over time, reflecting the teachers' expectations, often informed by religious, regional, and familial traditions. Women and needlework teachers brought their needlework traditions with them when they migrated to a new land. This means the first girlhood embroideries of a colonized nation were often indistinguishable from those of the mother nation. For example, samplers stitched by English girls living in colonial New England during the 17th century are, in appearance, nearly identical to those stitched by English girls in 17th century England. In a similar manner the sampler traditions of Spain and Austria heavily influenced the early samplers made in colonized Mexico. And the sampler traditions of France found expression in the schoolgirl samplers of Louisiana.

When agents of a colonizing nation chose to educate the girls and young women indigenous to their new colonies, they adopted (and often imposed) traditional curricular expectations. For female needlework instruction, this meant teaching girls to showcase their knowledge of stitches, patterns, and motifs by embroidering samplers. These needlework objects reflected the expectations of the teacher or school in which the indigenous girls were educated and therefore displayed designs, alphabets, and motifs from the teachers' own needlework traditions, not that of the students. Under some circumstances, however, needlework teachers seem to have embraced aspects of the iconography and culture of the indigenous communities in which they were teaching. This paper will explore three ways in which aspects of indigenous cultures have been integrated into the needlework projects produced by girls and young women in the schools founded and run by representatives of colonizing nations: *Motifs*, *Materials*, and *Text*.

## Motifs

Motifs are recurring patterns or designs, usually representing an object in the natural or human made world – animals, flowers, baskets, houses, etc. This section of the paper focuses on motifs with indigenous roots found on samplers stitched by girls in Mexico. Most Mexican samplers are filled with color and an array of decorative bands, borders, and motifs showing proficiency in a number of different stitches. Mexican samplers seldom have much text – usually just the sampler maker's name and possibly that of her teacher. Sometimes there is a date, an alphabet, but only rarely a verse or quotation.<sup>1</sup> Students learned to stitch decorative bands and motifs by copying stitched examples provided by the teacher or by copying patterns from a book. Although most of the published patterns available to needlework students in Mexico can be found on samplers from multiple European countries, some of the patterns were specific to the culture of Mexico, and a few seem to have roots in the lengthy and rich iconography of Mexico's indigenous cultures – most specifically the Aztec, Maya, and Olmec. This section of the paper will describe five motifs found on Mexican samplers and their links to the country's indigenous cultures.

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on Mexican samplers and the various influences on their design see Lynne Anderson, "Mexican Samplers," *Samplers International: A World of Needlework* (Eugene, OR: Sampler Consortium, 2011), 46-49.

**Eagle with snake.** Figure 1 depicts a mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Mexican motif sampler stitched by an unknown schoolgirl. She included many motifs common to Western European and American cultures: flowers, grapes, cornucopia, birds, deer, cat, horse, and rooster. There are also a couple of motifs that seem to derive specifically from her Mexican culture - - the burro in the upper right-hand corner and the eagle with a snake in its mouth sitting on a prickly pear cactus.

The eagle motif derives from an Aztec legend about the founding of the city of Tenochtitlan, the ancient capital of the Aztec empire, in 1325 A.D. Mexico has adopted this motif as its national shield, or coat of arms, and there have been many official variations since Mexico won independence from Spain. This particular motif most closely resembles the design created by José Mariano Torreblanca and adopted by Mexico as its official coat of arms in 1821.



Figure 1. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Mexican sampler made by an anonymous schoolgirl, with detail of eagle motif. Photograph courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London

Representations of the iconic bird sitting on a cactus, however, are not new. They date back hundreds of years, appearing in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in such early documents as the Mendoza Codex (circa 1529-1553 A.D.) and Fray Diego Durán's *The History of the Indies of New Spain* (Durán Codex), published circa 1580 A.D. (Figure 2).



Figure 2. *The Founding of Tenochtitlan*. From Fray Diego Durán's "The History of the Indies of New Spain" (Durán Codex), circa 1580.

**Stag with flowers.** Figure 3 depicts a sampler stitched by Rosa Maria Vasconcelos in 1860. She included a variety of decorative bands and borders stitched in concentric squares around a central motif – a white stag with flowers coming out of his mouth, set against a contrasting blue-grey background. This motif is familiar to anyone studying Mexican samplers as it appears frequently. It is also quite common for the stag to be depicted with a checkered or spotted appearance.



Figure 3. Mexican sampler by Rosa Maria Vasconcelos in 1860. Photograph courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.  
Figure 4. Representation of an Aztec god in the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Liverpool.

The motif of a stag with flowers flowing from his mouth is unique to Mexican samplers and derives from the pictorial form of communication used by the Aztecs. In their writing system, speech was represented visually by a scroll issuing from the mouth of the person talking. Special forms of speech had more elaborate representations. Noble speech combined a large decorative scroll topped with flowers, which was also the glyph for poetry. Chanting was represented by an ornate scroll with repetitive speech blurbs, as seen in Figure 4. The latter depicts an Aztec god, taken from the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, an Aztec manuscript of central Mexico. It is one of the rare pre-Hispanic manuscripts that survived the Spanish conquest of Mexico.

But why flowers? In the Nahuatl language of the Aztecs there is a metaphorical linking between flowers and song<sup>2</sup> – which leads to the conclusion that the stags stitched on Mexican samplers are meant to be singing. Stags are not the only animals that sing. Other creatures are represented as singing, and there are even samplers with small flowers coming from the mouths of tiny birds.

**Flower with roots intact.** Figure 5 depicts a richly embroidered Mexican sampler created by an unknown schoolgirl in 1785. There are many fascinating motifs in this sampler, but we will focus on just one – the girl at the top right who is holding and presenting a flower. What is unique about this motif is that the flower's roots are still attached and predominantly displayed.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya* (London: Thames & Hudson, Ltd, 1993), 88.



Figure 5. Sampler made by an unknown Mexican schoolgirl in 1785, with detail of girl and flower motif. Photograph courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Girls and young women are frequently depicted on western European samplers presenting flowers to friends and family. The flowers, however, are never shown with their roots intact. Depicting flowers with their roots has its origins in Aztec culture, not the western European culture of sampler making. Figure 6 is an early representation of Xochiquetzal, the Aztec goddess of fertility and female sexual power. Interestingly, she is also the patroness of women's crafts such as weaving and embroidery.<sup>3</sup> Her name means "flower quetzal feather" and she is always shown in association with flowers. In this drawing she is holding two sunflowers, both with roots intact. The sunflower was powerfully symbolic for the Aztecs and often used in offerings. This ritual of presenting flowers as an offering is also depicted in Figure 7, in which an Aztec woman offers a sunflower to her guests, along with a tobacco tube for smoking.

**Popular Aztec ruler.** Motifs representing important Aztec rulers also appear on Mexican schoolgirl samplers. One of the most popular was Itzcoatl, also known as the Obsidian Serpent of Knives. He was the fourth Aztec ruler, leading the Aztec empire from 1427–1440 A.D. It was during his reign that the Mexica overthrew their adversaries and forged important alliances, leading to the Aztec empire.<sup>4</sup> Figure 8 is a representation of Itzcoatl found in the *Mendoza Codex*, sitting on his basket-work throne and speaking. In 1870, Micaela Garsia stitched a

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 190.

<sup>4</sup> Kimberly Randall, "The Obsidian Serpent," Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Museum of Design – Object of the Day, May 5, 2013, <https://www.cooperhewitt.org/2013/05/05/the-obsidian-serpent/>.

stylized version of Itzcoatl at the top right of her sampler. The ruler is wearing a blue cape and can be identified by his name glyph – an obsidian serpent rising from behind his head. There was a resurgence of interest in Mexico’s Aztec heritage following its independence from Spain. Stitching motifs of important figures in Aztec history may reflect this increased national pride.



Figure 6. Depiction of Xochiquetzal from “Book of the Gods and Rites,” written by Fray Diego Durán circa 1574-1576 A.D.  
 Figure 7. Depiction of Aztec woman offering a sunflower to her guests. From the Florentine Codex (circa 1545-1590 A.D.).  
 Photograph courtesy of the Laurentian Library in Florence, Italy.



Figure 8. Representation of the ruler Itzcoatl, the Obsidian Serpent of Knives, in the Codex Mendoza.  
 Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.  
 Figure 9. Mexican sampler by Micaela Garcia, 1870. Photograph courtesy of the Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum.

**Double-headed eagle.** In 1738 Antonia Sánchez stitched a gorgeous blue eagle with two heads under a large crown on her sampler (Figure 10). This motif is often referred to as the Habsburg eagle, a symbol brought to Mexico under Spanish colonial rule. It had been adopted by the Hapsburg house when they assumed control of Austria in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and extended to Spain through marriage alliances with Spanish kings in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> From Spain it was imported to Mexico where it was widely displayed as the symbol of Spanish power and dominance.



Figure 10. Sampler made by Antonia Sánchez in 1738 in Mexico, with detail of two-headed Hapsburg eagle.

Photograph courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England.

Figure 11. Detail of two-headed eagle motif without a crown from a sampler made by Marya Teraza Perez Y Gymens in 1839.

Photograph courtesy of the San Francisco Museum of Fine Art

<sup>5</sup> “Double-headed eagle,” Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Double-headed\\_eagle](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Double-headed_eagle).



Interestingly, the indigenous elite of Mexico were quick to adopt this symbol of Spanish power, displaying it over the doorways to their homes and including it on personal manuscripts to show they were loyal, tax-paying subjects of the crown.<sup>6</sup> The symbol was also embraced by teachers as an appropriate motif for girlhood embroideries, lasting for nearly a century.

The symbol of the double-headed eagle, however, did not originate with the Austrian Habsburgs, and was a powerful symbol for many ancient cultures. Some of the earliest depictions can be found on ancient Hittite monuments in what is now Turkey, dating as far back as the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Figure 12).<sup>7</sup> The two-headed eagle was also an important symbol in early Mesoamerica and had been represented in various forms by multiple indigenous cultures long before the Spanish conquest. One of these early cultures was the Olmec, as documented in a jade figurine dating from 1000 to 400 B.C. (Figure 13), now in the Museum of Jade in Costa Rica. It is possible the prior existence of the double-headed eagle as a symbol with significance to the people indigenous to Mexico explains their willing adoption of the Hapsburg eagle.

Various versions of the double-headed eagle, without the Habsburg crown, can also be found on girlhood embroideries (Figure 11), especially those stitched after Mexico obtained its independence from Spain in 1821. And to this day, the double-headed eagle is a popular motif on contemporary indigenous clothing, bags, and masks. Many of these depictions are more reminiscent of pre-Columbian double head eagles, suggesting a symbolism freed from its association with Spanish domination and more aligned with the country's ancient roots.



*Figure 12. Hittite carving on a rock face in Turkey, 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Photograph courtesy of Alexander Kostypin.*

*Figure 13. Olmec figurine in smoky jade, 1000 – 400 B.C. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Jade, San Jose, Costa Rica.*

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<sup>6</sup> Dr. Stephanie Woods, email message to author, January 25, 2018.

<sup>7</sup> “Double-headed eagle,” Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Double-headed\\_eagle](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Double-headed_eagle).

## Materials

Girlhood embroideries are made of diverse materials. Most early samplers were stitched in fine wool or silk on linen materials, referred to as the “ground.” In contrast, 19<sup>th</sup> century British sampler makers often used a wool ground instead of linen. Samplers from some parts of New England were stitched on a ground that is a mix of linen and wool, called linsey-woolsey. The thread on samplers was usually silk, but by mid-19<sup>th</sup> century it became common to use wool or even cotton. From a technical standpoint, the most difficult of girlhood embroideries were the silk on silk needlework pictures. Generally reserved for adolescents with more needlework experience, silk on silk embroideries usually depicted scenes from the Bible or classical literature. Occasionally schoolgirl samplers and pictorial embroideries were adorned with other materials such as beads, sequins, ribbons, and paint.

New Zealand has a long and rich history of sampler production in schools across both the North and South Islands.<sup>8</sup> It is rare, however, to find New Zealand schoolgirl embroideries constructed of silk thread on a silk ground. In the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa there are two highly unusual silk on silk embroideries, unique because they are adorned with materials commonly used by the indigenous Maori when making their clothing.



Figure 14. Embroidery made by Maud Mary Ann Brown in 1891 at Mrs. Murray's school in Wellington, New Zealand. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

The most complete of the two embroideries was made by Maud Mary Brown in 1891 (Figure 14). It depicts a Maori village scene along the Whanganui River, the longest river in New Zealand and a sacred waterway to the country's Maori people. In 2017 the river was given legal

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<sup>8</sup> Vivien Caughley, *New Zealand's Historic Samplers: Our Stitched Stories* (Auckland, New Zealand: David Bateman, Ltd., 2014), 10-14.

personhood by New Zealand's parliament, marking the successful end of a 170-year struggle by the Maori people to protect the river's "health and well-being."<sup>9</sup>

Maud's needlework picture is comprised of Maori villagers in feather cloaks, a Maori canoe paddled by a woman, a Maori home or meeting house, and various indigenous flora and fauna. Mountains have been painted in the background and there appear to be clouds in a blue sky. Maud Mary Ann Brown was the daughter of Benjamin and Mary Ann Brown. She was born in 1873 and so was 18 when she stitched this needlework picture.

Although the stitching is in silk, important to note is the use of actual feathers indigenous to New Zealand for the long cloaks, a traditional Maori garment. Feathers have great symbolic value to the Maori people, with different feathers having different connotations and associations. In Maori tradition, when feathers are attached to inanimate things, those things are imbued with a life force, transferred from the bird through its feathers. Feathered cloaks therefore are both protective and empowering.

Maori feather cloaks have different names, depending on their style and materials. In Maud's embroidery, the feathers are attached in patterns designed to represent the various forms of cloaks in actual use at the time. The white feathers in the cloak on the left are from the kiwi bird. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a belief that the Maori were a disappearing people, on the verge of going extinct. Hence an interest in capturing elements of their material culture on film, in paint, and, as shown here, in needlework. Although harder to see, Maud also stitched blue lines on the faces of the villagers to represent the facial tattoos prevalent in Maori culture.

It would be tempting to think that Maud was a particularly creative and talented young needleworker. However, her embroidery is one of three known examples of this scene, all of which include feathers in the depiction of Maori cloaks. Two are in the Te Papa Museum in Wellington (Maud's and one stitched by 14-year-old Alice Harriet Clapham), and one is in a private collection. Given the similarity in their needlework pictures, the three girls were obviously receiving instruction from the same teacher and copying from the same design source, probably a photograph or painting. Moody, romantic, paintings of the Whanganui River were popular in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and there are hundreds in existence. Although I was unable to locate the exact design source for these unusual embroideries, many of the paintings include similar elements of Maori culture, mountains, clouds and, of course, the Whanganui River.

When I first started this research, I thought that perhaps these spectacular needlework pictures were the work of young Maori women, possibly attending one of the many mission schools set up specifically for their education. We know that domestic subjects such as needlework were important components of the curriculum at New Zealand's mission schools, along with basic academics such as reading and writing. However, from the information shared by family descendants when Alice Clapham's sampler was donated to the museum, we know the girls were attending a school on Molesworth Street in Thorndon, a suburb of Wellington, taught by a Mrs. Murray. But who was Mrs. Murray? And what was her interest in Maori culture and the Whanganui River?

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<sup>9</sup> Eleanor Ainge Roy, "New Zealand River Granted Same Legal Rights as Human Being," *The Guardian*, March 16, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/16/new-zealand-river-granted-same-legal-rights-as-human-being>

According to Wellington city directories, the only Murray living on Molesworth Street in Thorndon in the 1890s was the Reverend Richard J. Murray, a Wesleyan minister who served at the Wesleyan Chapel, also located on Molesworth Street. Richard Murray was born July 23, 1862 in southern England, the son of Robert and Lydia Murray. He immigrated to New Zealand with his parents and siblings some time prior to 1880. The family first settled in Ashburton, Canterbury province, on the South Island. But by 1890 they had moved to Palmerston North, Manawatu-Wanganui province, on the North Island, not terribly far from the mouth of the Whanganui River. The Reverend Richard Murray did not marry until 1898, so Mrs. Murray the teacher could not have been his wife. The most probable scenario is that the minister's mother either lived with or visited her son in Wellington in the 1890s and during those times taught needlework to local teenage girls, perhaps members of her son's church. Her knowledge of and interest in the Maori culture and the Whanganui River may have come from living in the same general geographic area. At the moment this is still speculation but fits with the known facts.

## Text

Schoolgirl samplers from the United States and Great Britain are often filled with text: alphabets, numbers, and verses, as well as signatures providing the girl's name, age, the date of completion, the town she lived in, and sometimes the school or teacher under whose instruction the sampler was made. The text on continental European samplers is usually much less, often limited to an alphabet or two, the girl's name (or initials), and date of completion. In almost all cases, the language used for these inscriptions is the native language of the teacher, which is usually that of the student as well.

There are times, however, when teachers have assigned students to stitch text that reflects the students' native culture, even though that is not a culture shared by the teacher. This happened most frequently when teachers in English speaking mission schools adopted the joint goals of helping their students become literate in two languages – English and the language of the student's birth culture.



Figure 15. Needlework sampler by Jane S. Purviance stitched in 1848 at an American mission school in Oodooville Ceylon. Photograph courtesy of Bill Subjack.

The sampler in Figure 15 was stitched by Jane S. Purviance at an American sponsored missionary boarding school in Oodooville, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). In overall appearance the sampler is similar to many American samplers stitched in the middle of the 19th century - a border, a verse or two, a signature by the sampler maker, and a large Berlin work motif in the center stitched. But not all is as it seems as Jane Purviance is not the girl's real name. In 1835 Miss Margaret S. Purviance from Baltimore, Maryland gave \$20 to support the mission's educational work. In return she was granted the right to assign a name to a native girl at the school and she chose to honor her older sister, Jane Steward Purviance, who had just died. It was common practice for mission schools to give important benefactors the honor of choosing English names for the school's students, and they usually named the students after themselves.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes the students corresponded with their benefactors and send small gifts of appreciation. According to an inscription on the reverse, Jane sent this sampler to Margaret Purviance in Baltimore as a "small memento" and it descended in the Purviance family.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the true identify of this talented sampler maker has been lost.

What makes this sampler unusual, however, is not the girl's name - it is the integration of the girl's native language, Tamil, and the use of Tamil script to inscribe a biblical verse at the top of the sampler. Tamil is one of the world's longest surviving languages, estimated to be 4000-4500 years old, and is spoken by the people of India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and Singapore. It is an alphabetic language like English but has 12 vowels and only 18 consonants. Immediately following her verse stitched in Tamil script, Jane provided a translation in English: *Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God John 3:3*. A very similar sampler was stitched at the same school by an unknown and unnamed student about the same time. It contains the same biblical verse, also in Tamil as well as English, suggesting it was standard procedure for the school's students learn to read and write both languages.

During the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century religious zeal in America was at an all-time high, resulting in Christian evangelical efforts throughout the world and the founding of missions in places where people followed religious faiths other than Christianity. Schools were established along with the missions as a way of reaching and converting the young. In many countries, the most lasting benefit of the missionary movement was the literacy and other educational accomplishments resulting from these schools.

In Hawaii, mission schools were established for Hawaiian girls as well as boys, albeit often on opposite sides of an island. Figure 16 is a sampler made in 1841 by a Hawaiian girl named Maka, one of only a handful of samplers known to have been stitched at Hawaiian missionary schools. At the time she stitched her sampler Maka was a student at the Wailuku Female Seminary on the island of Oahu. Maka's teacher was Maria Ogden, who also provided instruction to girls at the mission in spinning, weaving, and quilting.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Silke Strickrodt, "African Girls' Samplers from Mission Schools in Sierra Leone (1820s to 1840s)," *History of Africa: A Journal of Method*, 37 (2010):189-245.

<sup>11</sup> Sincere appreciation to Bill Subjack of Neverbird Antiques for sharing his in-depth research on Jane S. Purviance and the story behind her sampler.

<sup>12</sup> Alden O'Brien, "Needlework News from the DAR Museum," *Daughters of the American Revolution*, posted March 9, 2018, <https://blog.dar.org/needlework-news-dar-museum>.



Figure 16. Sampler made by Maka in 1841 at the Wailuku Female Seminary in Hawaii. Photograph courtesy of the Daughters of the American Revolution Museum.

Maka’s sampler includes two versions of the Hawaiian alphabet, which has twelve letters - five vowels and seven consonants. The Hawaiian alphabet was adapted from the English alphabet by 19<sup>th</sup> century American missionaries and used to translate Hawaii’s rich oral language into writing. This resulted in widespread literacy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with dozens of Hawaiian language newspapers, translations of traditional stories, novels, and of course religious materials. On her sampler Maka includes a short inscription in Hawaiian which translated says, “Wailuku School, A Place of Refuge” April 22, 1841, and then she signed her name, Maka.



Figure 17. A 19<sup>th</sup> century Mexican sampler stitched by María Soledad with text in Nahuatl. Ernesto Cervantes Collection. Donated to the Museo Textil de Oaxaca by Alejandro de Ávila. © MTO

Figure 17 provides the last example of needlework where indigenous, non-European, text has been integrated into the design of a schoolgirl sampler. This sampler was made by María Soledad and is typical of many 19<sup>th</sup> century Mexican samplers except for one distinctive feature. In the lower left-hand corner María used drawn-work techniques to stitch both her name and the word “NOMA.” Noma is not a Spanish word. It is a word in Nahuatl, the ancient language of the Aztecs, and translated means “my hand” or “by my hand.”<sup>13</sup> This is the only known example of a Mesoamerican indigenous language being integrated into the western European tradition of schoolgirl samplers. Its meaning is similar to sampler signatures in Spanish that say “a mano de” - by the hand of. But in using a word in Nahuatl to claim ownership of her sampler, María Soledad reveals her ethnic identity and suggests pride in her native heritage. It is only one word, but it linguistically links Maria to a people and a culture that controlled all of central Mexico prior to the Spanish conquest.

### **Concluding Remarks**

This paper has presented a variety of examples in which traces of an indigenous culture have been stitched onto schoolgirl samplers, leaving evidence of a rich non-European heritage not normally associated with this western European approach to female education. For some of the examples given, the choice to embrace and honor the students’ national heritage was clearly that of the teacher or school. In other instances, the role of the teacher is less clear, and one suspects there may have been some independent decision making on the part of the student. Offered below are a few concluding observations, meant as food for thought about the integration of indigenous motifs, materials, and text into a western European needlework tradition often imposed on colonized nations and peoples. Keeping in mind that the decision about what is included on a sampler was largely at the discretion of the teacher, these possibilities will hopefully prompt future investigation.

1. RESPECT for the girls’ indigenous heritage and a desire to honor that;
2. Effort to make the task of sampler making RELEVANT to the girls receiving instruction by including familiar motifs and text;
3. INSTRUCTIONAL – use of native motifs, materials, or text to pass on key cultural values or improve literacy;
4. Romantic sense of NOSTALGIA for a way of life that has passed or is in danger of going extinct;
5. Adoption and transfer of TRADITIONAL local motifs that have been incorporated into indigenous weaving and needlework for generations;
6. And/or, a small statement of REBELLION against an oppressive system that often ignored indigenous contributions and values.

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<sup>13</sup> “Los textiles como memoria,” Museo Textil de Oaxaca, April 6, 2015, <http://www.fahho.org/prensa.php?in=453>.

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