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By
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Abstract

Weaving has been an ongoing traditional folk art in northern New Mexico for hundreds of years. There are currently about 200-250 Hispanic weavers in the area. Although these weavers are carrying on a centuries-old tradition, no two weave exactly alike or have the same experiences to relate regarding their weaving. In an effort to present an introduction to contemporary Hispanic weavers and their lives, three families have been studied and documented: the Ortegas of Chimayó, the Trujillos of Chimayó, and the Martínez of Medanales. These three families have been singled out because they reflect different facets of Hispanic weaving: commercialism, innovation, and inter-generational continuity. However, in many ways these families are more alike than different. All live in rural northern New Mexico as members of large, extended families. All can trace their weaving heritage back through several generations. All create unique and beautiful weavings inspired by the weaving designs of their ancestors. And all deal in trade in textiles, especially to tourists.

The connecting thread throughout the lives of the Ortegas, Trujillos, and Martinez is one of Hispanic roots and yards upon yards of yarn. The very fabric of Hispanic life is exemplified by these three families--a distinctive fabric of strong, colorful and beautiful patterns--a fabric which endures through their many weavings and through their commitment to a creative way of life.
HISPANIC WEAVERS OF NORTHERN NEW MEXICO:
THREE FAMILIES

Introduction to the Families:

Weaving has been an ongoing traditional folk art in northern New Mexico for hundreds of years. There are currently about 200-250 Hispanic weavers working in the area. Although these weavers are carrying on a centuries-old tradition, no two weave exactly alike or have the same experiences to relate regarding their weaving. In an effort to present an introduction to contemporary Hispanic weavers and their lives, three families have been studied and documented: (1) the Ortegas of Chimayó, (2) the Trujillos of Chimayó, and (3) the Martínez of Medanales. These three families have been singled out because they reflect different facets of Hispanic weaving: commercialism, innovation, and inter-generational continuity. However, in many ways these three families are more alike than different. All live in rural northern New Mexico as members of large, extended families. All can trace their weaving heritage back through several generations. All create unique and beautiful weavings inspired by the weaving designs of their ancestors. And all deal in trade in textiles, especially to tourists.

Of the three families, the Ortega family has the oldest and largest weaving operation. Their successful, tourist-oriented business, Ortega's Weaving Shop, dates back to the turn of the century. Although the family specializes in small, portable weavings for visitors to take home as souvenir items, they also sell superior weavings produced by the best of their large number of cottage weavers.

The Trujillo family, who also sell to the tourist trade in their Centinela Traditional Arts Shop, focus a large part of their energies on weaving for a
fine arts market; their work stretches the boundaries of traditional Hispanic weaving and is highly labor-intensive and innovative. They also have received many honors, including numerous awards and have been included in many prestigious exhibitions.

No less honored have been the various members of the Martínez family, a very large, extended family headed by the matriarch of Hispanic weaving, 96-year-old Doña Agueda Salazar Martínez. This family currently boasts of having 64 weavers spanning five generations. The Martínez' extraordinary family involvement and inter-generational continuity in weaving is unrivaled in New Mexico, yet it remains but one facet of their daily lives. For the members of this family who continue to live in Medanales, farming and other work responsibilities are on an equal footing with weaving; weaving is integrated into their lives in a folk art tradition not unlike that practiced centuries ago.

The Ortega Family:

Unquestionably the best-known family of weavers in northern New Mexico is the Ortega family of Chimayó. Popular articles recount again and again the story of the Ortegas, contemporary heirs to a weaving tradition that extends back in an uninterrupted line for eight generations. This incredible weaving lineage, and their prominence as merchants, brings the Ortegas an unparalleled reputation. Their weavings appear in collections worldwide—from suburban homes in the Midwest, to Spanish palaces, to the Vatican in Rome.

Billboards along the main highway between Santa Fe and Taos divert visitors through the countryside to the village of Chimayó where the family business is located. Chimayó is well known for its weavings and fine fruits and
vegetables. The outside world, however, has most often heard of the village because of the Santuario de Chimayó, a small chapel built in 1816 known for its miraculous soil which has drawn thousands of pilgrims seeking divine intervention. Visitors passing through are not a new phenomenon to Chimayó.

Tour buses include the Ortegas on their north and southbound routes. Nicasio and Virginia Ortega originally established their business as a general store in 1918. Since then it has gone through many remodelings and today visitors find a spacious store geared to tourists' needs. Ortega's weavers produce a full range of woven items which can be found in the store. The majority of items come in standardized sizes ranging from 4" x 4" mug mats to the ever-popular small mats (10" x 10"), long table runners (congitas) (15" x 30", 20" x 40", 20" x 60") and twin or full-size bed blankets (frezadas) (48" x 72", 54" x 84"). Rugs and cushions also come in standardized sizes. Made from loom-woven fabric are various items of clothing such as vests, coats, ponchos and purses; these are displayed in modern racks and shelves.2

Weavings display what has come to be known as the classic Chimayó design format: a band of variegated striping at each end with a central design element. Larger weavings feature secondary and tertiary design elements arranged around the central motif.

More than a place to buy weavings, Ortega's Weaving Shop is a place where visitors can make contact with weavers even when converging tour buses create a frenzied atmosphere. In a room which adjoins the shop, visitors watch and converse with weavers working at their looms. The Ortega family welcomes visitors to the store and may enchant tourists with personal accounts of Ortega family ancestral ties to the craft and to the community.
The store also carries more conventional tourist goods: American Indian jewelry and pottery, postcards, and an extensive selection of books on the Southwest dealing with topics such as geography, history and art. To round out the range of available arts and crafts, one member of the Ortega family opened an art gallery in 1984, the Galería Ortega, next to the Ortega's Weaving Shop.

David Ortega, the current patriarch of the Ortega family was born in 1917. After almost fifty years in the business, he retired in 1992 and passed on Ortega's Weaving Shop to one of his four sons, Robert. Andrew owns and operates the gallery next door. The other two sons, Christopher and Alan, are involved in different endeavors and do not live in Chimayó. David's "making way" for his sons was not unlike his own experience when his father, Nicasio Ortega, founder of the store, turned the reins over to him.

Nicasio, one of 14 children, had entered the business world in 1912, when he accepted a large order for weavings and then had to recruit his relatives to help him fill the order. Nicasio's brother, Reyes, also of Chimayó, had already been involved with the business side of weaving, working for curio dealer J. S. Candelario of Santa Fe and later developing his own weaving business. Another brother, Victor, had a general store in Chimayó where he also sold weavings. Nicasio opened his general store in 1918 and sold weavings along with general merchandise. By 1922 his business was successful enough to enable him to buy the first car in Chimayó, a Touring Nash, which he paid for in gold coins.3

Trade in weavings was nothing new to the Ortega family. This family is justly proud of a family heritage of weaving that dates back to the original resettlement of northern New Mexico in the last years of the 17th century when they were issued a family land grant in 1696. The first documented
Ortega weaver was Nicolás Gabriel Ortega who was born in 1729. He and later Ortega ancestors undoubtedly participated in the widespread trade in blankets that went on during the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods of New Mexico history, trade that stretched as far as Mexico and California.

The importance of the Ortega family within their community, from the 1700s to the present day, is obvious. Their ancestry and modern success have made them a part of the elite of northern New Mexico. A main irrigation acequia was named after the Ortegas and the family maintains their own 19th century chapel, the Oratorio de San Buenaventura, in the old Plaza del Cerro. During the past half-century, David Ortega has become a community leader; he has been active in politics and in the revival of Spanish Colonial arts. He also was instrumental in bringing paved roads, a fire department and a dump to the village of Chimayó.

However, the undisputed success of the Ortega family's weaving business lies not only in its historic connection to the area, but in the way in which the Ortegas have developed their business acumen based on the business practices of the world outside of northern New Mexico. The family business was truly launched in the 1920s as the widespread use of the automobile permitted travel to rural areas such as Chimayó, and the family was able to market directly to tourists.

As Nicasio's four sons, José Ramón, Ricardo, Medardo and David, grew up they contributed to the expansion of the family business. All of the sons became accomplished weavers. David recounts weaving with another young man, Willie Jaramillo, two at a loom. The two of them completed a complex Trampas/Vallero style weaving in a day and a half.

In the 1930s, when Anglo commercial weaving ventures opened in Santa Fe and sought Hispanic weavers to operate looms, David went to work for
Burro Weavers. This experience provided David with a window on then-modern Anglo business practices. Later when two Santa Fe weaving concerns, McCrossen Textiles and Southwest Arts and Crafts, closed their doors, David bought out their weaving equipment.

After service in World War II, David, at his father's request, returned to Chimayó to save the family business which had deteriorated during the war because of the shrinkage of the tourist market. David brought with him his wartime Anglo bride, Jeanine Williamson. In 1947, the Ortegas remodeled the family store, adding a new front addition and closing the grocery business three years later in favor of a shop devoted primarily to weaving. David also instituted some important changes at Ortega's Weaving Shop. For example, he added jackets, coats, and vests to his inventory, and changed from using cotton carpet warp to the more durable wool warp. The change in materials has been an asset in marketing Ortega's weavings as 100% wool. In addition to building a new knotty pine showroom, the Ortegas launched the business on a successful new path which capitalized on the postwar growth of tourism. New colors were added to the standard selection. For example, pastels became popular after the war; many of the weavings from this period are identifiable by their tans, lavenders, and pinks. However, David credits his father with teaching him how to handle the business. He says, "The simple secret is to pay the bills. My father always asked me, 'Did you pay the bills?' And to this day, I will do it. I always try to keep current." 4

During the 1940s and 1950s, David and his brother José Ramón began marketing Ortega's weavings beyond Chimayó. They traveled throughout the Southwest, wholesaling Chimayó weavings at national parks and shops along the way. David tells a story of having once met with Clay Lockett, an Indian arts authority in Arizona. The gentleman told him he did not buy David's
blankets because they were "too bright." David challenged him: "If I weave weavings that you like, like you're describing, would you buy me out?" David went home, wove a blanket and sent it to him. Lockett's response was "Send me all you can produce." The blanket, which David referred to as having a Clay Lockett design, was predominantly tans and white, with banded stripes interspersed with oak leaf tapestry designs. David says that it became one of their most popular blankets: "It took fire. Hell, we couldn't keep up. In fact, we were not even needing to sell to him. We were selling right here. And that's the way it developed." 5

The family has continued to be responsive to changes in consumer needs. For example, as tastes changed in the 1950s, highly saturated turquoise blues and reds replaced the post World War II muted color harmonies. In the 1960s, when tourist interest in Navajo rugs increased demand for woven floor coverings, a line of rugs was added to the inventory; handwoven shawls were added in the 1980s.

In the mid 1970s, following the death of Nicasio in 1964 and José Ramón in 1972, "new blood" was recruited; David's sons entered the family business. The business also expanded in 1978 as David's brother, Medardo, opened an Ortega's Weaving Shop outlet in Albuquerque's Old Town.

As the Southwest in general, and Santa Fe and Taos in particular, became leading art centers, the Ortega family capitalized on their High Road location linking the two cities and expanded their marketing efforts in the arts. In 1983, David's son, Andrew, and his wife, Evita, opened the Galería Plaza del Cerro. This art gallery was initially housed in the Ortega's ancestral home which dates from the 1700s. Two years later the gallery was moved to a site adjacent to Ortega's Weaving Shop and renamed Galería Ortega. The promotional flyer for the first gallery stated:
The galería is dedicated to the recognition of Northern New Mexico's multi-talented artists. Northern New Mexico's unique tri-cultural heritage is represented by its fine artists in styles ranging from the traditional to the contemporary. Andrew and Evita have exhibited and sold the work of Hispanic, Indian, and Anglo artists and artisans of the area. They continue to maintain tradition with a keen awareness of, and engagement in, changes in the modern world.

More than any other weaving family in New Mexico, the Ortegas have been featured in numerous newspaper and magazine articles over the years. On May 9, 1953, *The Saturday Evening Post* published an article by Neil M. Clark entitled "The Weavers of Chimayo: An Ancient New Mexico Craft Lives On." The family has since reproduced the article in booklet form to sell in the shop. Other notable articles have appeared in *The New York Times*, *The National Geographic*, *Vista Magazine*, *Countryside*, *Southwest Profile*, *Culture and Leisure*, and several articles have been printed in *New Mexico Magazine*. The Ortega family has also been included in many television, film and video programs.

The relatively small physical scale of Ortega's Weaving Shop belies the scope of this large enterprise. Behind the scenes are dozens of weavers who weave in their own homes in a cottage industry. The Ortega family has provided work for many families. According to David, the Ortegas had 115 looms and 60 active weavers in 1983, weavers whom they paid about a quarter of a million dollars in wages. The number of weavers has remained relatively constant. A decade later, Robert's roster of contract weavers was still 60, but many more were working full-time, indicating a greater commitment to the weaving profession today. The weavers are located in a wide geographic radius. Most live in northern New Mexico but some are scattered throughout the state; one weaver even resides in El Paso, Texas.
An important key to the success of the business has been the recruitment and retention of good weavers. The first Ortega weavers were Nicasio's relatives and in-laws. A cousin, Juan Melquiades Ortega, wove for the Ortega family business well into his 90th decade. Another distant cousin, Georgia Serrano, daughter of Agueda Martínez, has become one of the Ortegas best weavers. Other weavers, such as the Vigil family of Cundiyó, and the various factions of the Trujillo family of Chimayó, are linked to the Ortegas through ties of marriage and compadrazgo (godparenthood).

As the Ortega business expanded, other non-related community members were trained to weave. Today, some of the most prominent Ortega weavers include members of the following families: García, Martínez, Manzanares, Rodríguez, Serrano, Trujillo, Valdez, and Vigil. Constant recruitment is necessary as weavers work seasonally or leave the area to pursue other endeavors; some also leave to work for themselves or for other dealers.

David Ortega speaks with great pride of the weavers the family has trained. One family "educated all their girls with their weaving." He notes how many families have stayed off the welfare rolls because of their work as weavers. Ortega's weavers include young mothers, women whose families have grown and left home, retired people, and college students home on vacation. Most are individuals who prefer to work part-time at home in their own communities. A few have worked for the Ortegas for decades. Many have neither the ability nor the desire to try to procure their own supplies or market their weavings. They prefer, instead, to rely upon entrepreneurs, like David Ortega, to supply them with materials and equipment and to take responsibility for selling their finished pieces. David generally sells a 54" x 84" blanket for about $350.00; the weaver is paid about one-quarter to one-
third of the sale price depending upon the complexity of the weaving. From all accounts, David has made a substantial income from serving as a middleman and has in turn played a benevolent role in the lives of the weavers and the community.

The Ortegas supply the weavers with yarn. If the weaver does not own a loom, one can be supplied. The loom is warped in the basement of Ortega's shop using a large warping device. This device ensures a uniform warp tension critical to the quality and evenness of the finished piece. A weaver can start working for the Ortegas with just an elementary knowledge of the craft, working on smaller, simpler pieces with samples of weaving to use as a guide. The weaver may then advance to more complicated designs. The Ortegas are justly proud of the weavers who have perfected their skills while in their employ.

Yarn for the weavers is ordered primarily from J. & H. Clasgen's of Richmond, Ohio, and Crescent Woolen Mills of Two Rivers, Wisconsin. In 1991, 10,000 pounds of commercially spun and dyed wool were purchased by David Ortega, 88% of which was weft yarn. The brightly colored wool is warehoused in a large room behind the store showroom. When completed, weavings are brought to the Ortegas and weighed. Based on the weight of the weaving, the cost of the yarn is calculated and subtracted from the price per piece paid the weaver. During the day, weavers or members of their families stop by Ortega's shop to deliver completed weavings or to pick up yarn, or perhaps to leave their warp beams for re-warping. The finished pieces are steam-pressed at Ortega's shop before being sold in the showroom.

The Ortegas ensure a high degree of control over their weavings. Regarding the quality of work brought to him by his weavers, David remarked:
If it's good, we pay them immediately. If it's bad, we sort of reprimand them and try to correct. If it's not saleable, we do something else with it. We don't just sell it as straight goods. We have the facility to turn a piece of weaving into other than a straight line of goods, like a cushion, or a purse, or a coat, or a jacket--something like that.

In addition to the work displayed in the store, the Ortegas fill many special orders. "Send anything, we can weave it," is their motto. For decades they have taken pride in weaving complex organizational emblems, logos, lettering, and pictorial images, as well as replicas of historic Hispanic or Navajo blankets. For example, the Ortegas do not hesitate to produce blue, black and white striped blankets, patterned after the old Spanish Colonial designs, to meet Anglo consumers' desires for replicas. The Ortegas have even designed blankets for presidents. Richard Nixon owned an Ortega weaving and Franklin Delano Roosevelt wrote to Nicasio Ortega in 1934 expressing his pleasure with a eagle-motif blanket which Señor Ortega had woven.

The Chimayó style of weaving has become so popular today that it is being imitated in the third world. Made in Mexico, cheaper Chimayó-style "knock-off" weavings in acrylic often bear the label "Made by Indians of the Americas." The workmanship in some of these blankets is often quite good, but the materials are considerably inferior. There are also cotton weavings being produced in India that use Chimayó weavings as prototypes.

Despite resounding success in the weaving business, the Ortegas still maintain their agricultural holdings, depending upon local farmers to work their property. It is likely that the farm is worked more out of a sense of continuity with the past and ethnic identity than for its viability as a source of livelihood.

Outside the community, David Ortega has been involved with the support of Hispanic arts and crafts. He has been a member of the board of the Spanish
Colonial Arts Society, has many friends among this primarily Anglo arts support organization, and has even been a judge at Santa Fe's annual Spanish Market. David believes strongly in the role of Hispanic weaving as a vehicle for transmitting information about Hispanic culture. He has generously helped fill the notebooks of dozens of researchers and journalists seeking information about Chimayó and Hispanic weaving, opening family records and photo archives, and proudly displaying family heirloom weavings.

Mr. Ortega has been a successful entrepreneur who earned the respect of his community. His sensitivity to his market, his ability to recruit and retain weavers, his participation in the greater business world, and his alertness to changing business practices enabled him to become a leader in the weaving industry. At the same time, his local roots, and his claim to being a member of eight generations of Ortega weavers, have remained of utmost importance to him. Now that he has retired, he can proudly step back, survey what he has accomplished and slip into the role of advisor to guide his sons as they carry on the Ortega family business in Chimayó.

The Trujillo Family:

No family better exemplifies the conflict between the rural Hispanic community ruled by old world family values and the fast-paced, competitive Anglo-dominated outside world than the Trujillo family of weavers. Jacobo "Jake" O. Trujillo was born in 1911. He grew up in rural Chimayó but spent 30 years of his life in Los Alamos, the quintessentially modern Anglo bastion where the atomic bomb was developed. There he worked for the federal government by day and taught weaving classes by night. His son, Irvin L. Trujillo, born in 1954, grew up in Los Alamos, but after college and a mainstream career, chose to return to the Chimayó homestead to establish a
weaving business. For many years, father and son commuted between Los Alamos and Chimayó on weekends and in summers, maintaining contact with both worlds.

Like the Ortegas, Jake Trujillo was born into a family with a long weaving tradition. In fact, Jake could lay claim to being a sixth generation weaver descended from Nicolás Gabriel Ortega and a third generation weaver descended from his paternal grandfather, José Concepción Trujillo. When he was still a young boy, tending sheep was one of his main chores. Because his family used their sheep's wool for their weaving, Jake learned wool-processing skills from his parents. Jake's father, Isidoro, sheared the sheep and, together with his mother, María Francisca (Francisquita) Ortega Trujillo, carded the wool. Señora Trujillo did the spinning and dyeing and both parents wove the Rio Grande and Chimayó blankets.

Jake and his five siblings—Teresita, Fedelina, Mercedes, Antonio, and Rosinaldo—all learned to weave. The family wove handspun yarn into striped blankets and also weavings of commercial yarns for the blanket dealers. Jake was taught to weave by his mother in the 1920s when he was fourteen or fifteen. He then worked as a cottage-industry weaver for his brother-in-law, Severo Jaramillo, husband of his oldest sister, Teresita, who had opened a shop in Chimayó in 1922. Jake refined his skills while working for his brother-in-law and, while still in high school, was considered to be one of Jaramillo's best weavers. Jake was assigned to fill the more difficult special orders.13

In the fall of 1932, Jake was recruited to serve as a teacher in a new WPA program being set up by the State Vocational Education Department at the San José Training School in Albuquerque. He was to teach half days and take classes at the University of New Mexico on the other half days. Soon Jake was teaching teachers from all over New Mexico how to card, spin, dye with
natural dyes, warp a loom, and, finally, weave blankets. After his tenure at San José, Jake was sent to the El Rito Vocational School (1934-1935), followed by a transfer to Española (1936-1937). At each place he had to set up a weaving classroom and gather more dye plants. When they attempted to move him to yet another site, he quit, and returned home to weave. During his years as a teacher, he was liked and respected by the many weavers whom he taught, many of whom are still weaving today.14

In 1942, Jake was inducted into the Navy. He loved to tell the story about how he served his country during the war. Jake went to Gunner School and expected to be shipped overseas. He was already aboard ship in Norfolk, Virginia, when he received a telegram asking him to report to Treasure Island, near San Francisco, for a special assignment.

I thought they were going to send me where the fighting was really going on. But the officer had been checking the records and they discovered that I had been an instructor in arts and crafts here in New Mexico and they wanted somebody to be in charge of a rehabilitation center where they could teach the sailors different crafts and keep them occupied in learning some kind of trade.15 Jake was delighted with the news and spent the duration of the war running the arts and crafts program and teaching weaving.

After the war, Jake searched for a job to earn money to start his own weaving shop. He landed one as a time keeper with the Atomic Energy Commission, whereupon he moved with his new bride, Isabelle García Trujillo, to Los Alamos. Later he worked as a property manager with the National Laboratory, operated by the University of California. He thought he would work in Los Alamos for two or three years "but thirty years went by very fast" and his dream of having his own shop did not become a reality until 1982.16

Upon his retirement in 1975, Jake's weaving became his major occupation. However, Jake, always the workaholic, worked long hours tending
his gardens and orchards and continued teaching weaving classes at Los Alamos High School. Together with his wife, Isabelle, Jake also attended many markets and fairs in those succeeding years, including the Feria Artesana, Rancho de las Golondrinas, the Los Alamos Fair, the State Fair, and the Spanish Market in Santa Fe.

At the fairs, and in his weaving shop, the loquacious Jake was able to pursue his other love, educating people:

I get a real satisfaction from telling people the type of work that we do and how we do it...because it is very important that people understand and know, be able to tell the difference between good quality work and bad quality.17

Jake always had high standards for his weaving. During the 65 years in which he worked at his loom, Jake mastered every style associated with the Hispanic weaving tradition: Saltillos, Rio Grandes with stripes or tapestry designs, Trampas/Valleros, jergas, and Chimayó blankets. He won numerous ribbons, awards, and prizes for his work.

This country boy, who got swept up by the global events of his day, spent much of his life working in an Anglo culture. However, he never broke ties to his Hispanic community. Through his Hispanic values, Catholic Church affiliation, Spanish language, compadrazgo, and congenial personality, he remained a valued citizen of Chimayó. Jake died on April 18, 1990 and was buried 1,000 feet from where he was born. There were many Hispanic and Anglo mourners at his gravesite, mourners from different walks of life who did not know each other but who had known Jake from one of his many different roles. He left a marvelous legacy in his work and another through his incredibly creative family.

When Jake's son, Irvin, was 10 his father taught him to weave by placing a little soap box next to his own loom where his young son could watch
him create the woven designs. After a brief period spent observing, Irvin experimented with weaving for two weeks. At the end of this time, Jake told him that he was ready to weave on his own. Ten-year-old Irvin then spent his entire 1965 summer vacation as a production weaver for the Ortegas working from 8:00 in the morning until 9:00 at night...weaving 20" x 20"s and it's very difficult to design a new design every 20" x 20." ... My record at that time was weaving ten [pieces per day] with a 2 1/2" design...[working] about 12 hours.18

Irvin exhibited an unusual precocity for learning whatever he set his mind to. He also inherited his father's penchant for hard work.

However, weaving did not assume a really vital place in Irvin's life until he was in his twenties. Until that time, Irvin had pursued a career as an engineer and a serious avocation as a musician, a drummer with a preference for rock music. It was only after selling his weavings at Spanish Market in 1977 and seeing wonderful examples of Spanish Colonial weaving in the 1979 publication, *Spanish Textile Tradition of New Mexico and Colorado*, that he re-evaluated his ideas about his father's craft and the examples of weaving that had surrounded him all his life. Up until that time he had either taken weaving for granted or even denigrated the tradition. For example, when he was in junior high school, Irvin says, he had a pretty negative opinion of Chimayó weaving:

I really got sick of Chimayó [weaving]... I had a lot of shame about it. I was very [ashamed] that I was a Chimayó weaver because the Chimayó designs were not very complex.... I was really bored with Chimayó [weaving]. Since...that time to now, I've really gained a lot of respect for the designers of Chimayó blankets because not everybody weaves simply.... And I've gained a respect for my father's work because he was doing it without diagrams or without books to look at. He was...basically doing it from his mind. And I've since learned that doing pieces without sketches is very difficult.19

Irvin also resented the low wages which weavers were paid by dealers; he knew he wanted to earn a much better salary.
Regardless of his feelings about Chimayó weaving, Irvin continued to weave throughout high school. Later, he remembers a turning point in his life:

I got a music scholarship to go to Eastern New Mexico University to study...a full four-year scholarship and I turned it down...because my parents felt that being a musician...was a hard life, and it wasn't a very lucrative way of making a living. 20

After acceding to his parents' wishes that he pursue a different area of study, Irvin earned two Associate Degrees in 1974 from Eastern New Mexico University in Civil Technology and Machine Design Technology. He then went to work as a technician doing drafting for Sandia Laboratories in Albuquerque. He was quickly bored by the work and realized he could not attain his life's goals as a draftsman. He returned to school, this time at the University of New Mexico, where he earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Civil Engineering in 1979.

Although Irvin would have preferred to study music at the university, he dutifully yielded to his parents' wishes. However, he never abandoned his love for music and took private lessons whenever possible. He also used his free time to satisfy his passion for music by playing drums and percussion instruments in different bands.

One Friday night in 1980, a young woman approached Irvin's band. She asked for help finding a drummer for a pop band she was forming. Looking back on this experience, the normally shy Irvin related: "They all pointed to me and she came up and talked to me. And there was this woman and it was like 'Wow!'...I never talked to women and here was this woman! "21 This auspicious meeting between Irvin and Lisa Rockwood, an 18-year-old California native, resulted in their marriage two years later. In addition to playing the electric guitar with her band, Lisa was also studying at the
University of New Mexico, where she graduated with a Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration in 1982.

Shortly after their marriage, Lisa learned to weave from Irvin. Although not Hispanic—in fact, Lisa is of Jewish-American descent—she quickly became a highly accomplished weaver. Soon she was challenging herself to weave increasingly finer and more intricate designs. She had found her element. Lisa and Irvin immersed themselves in learning about natural dyes, spinning and traditional weaving techniques. Jake was a willing instructor and the couple also read everything they could find on the subject.

In 1980, the Trujillo family held a family meeting in Chimayó; present were Jake and Isabelle, Irvin and Lisa and the Trujillo daughter, Patricia (Pat), and her husband, Marco Oviedo. They discussed their lives' goals and decided to open a business where they not only could produce and sell their creative work but also could strive to be self-sufficient: they gave themselves seven years. Theirs was a fortunate situation because Jake owned the perfect property on which to build a shop and had extensive knowledge about the weaving business. Fortuitously, also, Lisa's last class project at the university was to develop a plan for a business; she designed a business plan for their shop. Centinela Traditional Arts officially opened on the weekend of July 4, 1982. The shop—which derived its name from the historic importance of the site as a sentinel outpost, a lookout for marauding Indians—was located next to the Trujillo orchard which provided a lovely ambience.

Centinela Traditional Arts was initially conceived as one single family business. It soon developed into a multi-faceted family enterprise consisting of four businesses operating out of the same showrooms. Weaving was the family's major product. However, during the shop's early years, Irvin's brother-in-law, Marco Oviedo—who is of European-Spanish descent—displayed
and sold his looms, weaving accessories, carved corbels, vigas, santos, and wooden figurines under the banner of "Oviedo's Wood Carving." His wife, Pat, also sold her handpainted retablos in the shop. Later, Pat diversified the business further by starting Paseo de la Tierra Vieja, a business which provided guided trail rides on burros and donkeys or in a mule-drawn wagon. Pat and Isabelle were instrumental in operating yet another subsidiary business, Miel de Chimayó and Centinela Fruit Stand where their local produce and honey were sold.

Unfortunately, disputes soon arose over basic philosophical differences in goals. These differences manifested themselves as confrontations over the way in which the business was run. For example, one major conflict developed over a new cash register which Lisa and Irvin purchased. Jake had tremendous difficulty learning how to use the cash register and eventually refused to even try. Lisa's desire to use her marketing skills to upgrade the business were pitted against Jake's outdated, but to him more comfortable, way of doing things. To resolve this and other problems, Irvin and Lisa built their own shop next door to Jake's. In 1988, the Oviedos also separated their business from the Trujillos and opened their own shop across the road, now called Oviedo's Carving and Bronze.

Shortly after opening their business, Irvin and Lisa trained others to weave in order to fill the low end of the price range with simpler goods. Farming out the simpler weaving also freed them to work on the more elaborate pieces which they preferred. By 1991, Irvin and Lisa had 13 people working for them and were using about a ton and a half of yarn per year.  

The Centinela Traditional Arts shop initially had three rooms: two for display, one for storage, and a connecting hallway. Over the past few years, Irvin and Lisa have expanded the shop to include three display and two storage
rooms. They also have added postcards, books and woven clothing to their array of merchandise. Their showroom—with its high ceiling, light walls, and track lighting which spotlights large weavings—is reminiscent of an art gallery.

Although they sometimes weave standard Chimayó-style weavings, Lisa's and Irvin's work has moved continually into the fine art sphere. With impeccable craftsmanship, Lisa and Irvin have developed their work into large canvas-like fine art weavings, drawing on historic examples which they reinterpret and to which they add a totally contemporary twist. For the creation of her increasingly more intricate works, Lisa depends upon the chromatic complexities derived from natural dyes.... Frequently she spins yarns as fine as kite string for Saltillo-inspired antecedents. Rather than regarding the demands of such labor as a burden, the artist avows that, for her, the processes of weaving mesh with her inclinations. 24

Her interpretation of historic Saltillo serapes has become her specialty. Lisa's weavings bear titles such as "Hyperactive" (1984), "Devotion" (1987), "Spider Soul" (1988), and "Passion in the Web" (1989). Both Lisa and Irvin not only employ the artistic convention of titling their work but also weave in their signatures, yet another hallmark of their identities as artists.

Irvin's pieces have evolved into bold, highly individualistic and expressive statements. In his "48 Roses to the Vallero Spirit" (1986), Irvin combined older techniques, such as tapestry-woven Vallero stars, with newer applications, such as the pictorial element of an ikat-dyed dove in the center. Some of Irvin's more impressive weavings include "Chimayó, Topical Paradise" (1987), "Buscando la Malinche" (1989), "Rio Grande Fusion" (1990) and "Una Pieza Galáctica" (1991). One particularly striking weaving, "Spider from Mars" (1988), is included in the Smithsonian Institution's 1992 "American Encounters" exhibit at the National Museum of American History. This piece is
named after the David Bowie song that Trujillo was listening to while designing the piece in 1987. In a vibrant blend of maroon, red, yellow, orange and 25 shades of indigo blue, a flock of birds surround a spider that sits directly in the center of the piece, while a number of fish situated along its border scrutinize the scene. The spider, Trujillo says, represents the ancient weaving tradition and the birds are the weavers who protect the tradition. The fish on the sidelines are scholars who want to define, and thus limit, the tradition. Luckily, the strength of the other figures won't allow it.25

Perhaps because of their insider/outsider status in Chimayó, Irvin and Lisa are freer to experiment than most other weavers in the area. The numerous tourists who stop by their shop, and their own personal outside interests, make the Anglo world ever-present in their lives. However, they do not have the security that Jake did in being totally rooted in Chimayó even as he dealt with the outside world. They are pulled by many conflicting forces as they straddle two worlds: Hispanic vs. Anglo, rural vs. urban, fine artist vs. production craftsman, Catholic vs. Jewish, and scholar vs. weaver.

Irvin's challenge also has always been to integrate a great many talents and skills. When asked how he would define his occupation, Irvin revealed his complex personality by stating: "I am an artist, musician, engineer, and weaver." He said he had left "weaver" for last because "it's what holds everything else up...how I make most of my living. Music is what I really want and weaver is what I've got."26 Irvin has built a fully equipped rehearsal studio adjacent to the shop and continues to play locally with different bands. He also has become a sound engineer and has assisted many musicians in recording their work.

Irvin's weavings are infused with musical rhythms while his designs are drawn with the precision of an engineer. The line between personal and professional life is blurred and a certain tension is the natural result. Although he is no longer a painfully shy young man, he is still beset by doubts
and remains exceedingly humble; he still finds it difficult to accept the accolades that are showered on him as one of the best weavers of his day.

Both Irvin and Lisa have won many awards for their weavings. They consciously produce pieces with the goal of winning competitions; success in competitions has helped establish them in the fine arts market. Their larger, finer weavings range in price from $2,000 to $40,000. The highest priced ones have taken Lisa up to a full year to complete. Irvin normally sells pieces ranging in price from $5,000 to $16,000.

The Trujillo family has been featured in several family exhibitions including shows at the following venues: Millicent Rogers Museum (May-June, 1985), San Angelo Museum (December 1988), Roswell Museum and Art Center (March-July, 1990), Bukhara, Uzbekistan in the Soviet Union (June-September 1991), and the Heard Museum (February 1991-January 1992). Individual examples of their work also have been shown extensively and they have been the subject of numerous newspaper and magazine articles, videos, and television programs.

Jake's weavings remain on display in a memorial gallery located in the entryway to Centinela Traditional Arts. There, Adam and Emily, Irvin's and Lisa's children who were born after Jake's death, play and greet customers. Jake would have been proud of his grandchildren, the new generation of Trujillos who are growing up amidst their grandfather's, father's, and mother's weavings, in much the same way that he and his son grew up with weaving as an integral part of their lives.

The Martinez Family:

A dusty dirt road in north central New Mexico takes you past the post office and a small Catholic church to the L-shaped, tin-roofed adobe home of 96-year-old internationally known folk artist and weaver, Agueda Salazar
Martínez. Each fall, her Medanales home is alive with bright red chile *ristras* hanging from the walls, piles of orange pumpkins, plots of colorful cosmos, and kittens basking in the sunlight. Although she is nearing the century mark, Doña Agueda, as she is respectfully known, continues to weave almost daily.

This feisty *anciana* wove for blanket dealers for half a century. During this time she also raised her family. In addition to having 10 children, she has 66 grandchildren, 114 great grandchildren, and 14 great-great grandchildren. When added together, her family numbers 204. Figuring that she has done more than her share towards insuring that the government's taxes are paid, Doña Agueda wittily remarks, "*Ya me duviera de dar una pensión el president por que tengo tan grande familia y todos trabajan*" (The president should give me a pension because I have such a large family and they all work).²⁷

This matriarch of Hispanic weaving is also "the head of the largest family of Hispanic weavers in the state--a clan that numbers 64 active weavers spanning five generations."²⁸ Because it is impossible to do justice to this large family in this limited space, what follows, instead, is a portrait of Doña Agueda and a brief introduction to some of the Martínez women who have particularly distinguished themselves through their weaving: daughters Epifania (Eppie) Archuleta (b. 1922), Georgia Serrano (b. 1925), and Cordelia Coronado (b. 1933); granddaughter Norma Medina (b. 1941); and great granddaughter Delores Medina (b. 1967).

Agueda Martínez was born on March 13, 1898 in Chamita, New Mexico, a small village a few miles from Medanales. Although she is of Hispanic descent, she can also trace part of her ancestry to a great grandfather, Enriquez Córdova, who was a Navajo weaver raised by the Spanish. Doña Agueda is very proud of her Indian heritage but identifies herself as a *Mejicana*. Spanish is
her native language, although she kiddingly says that she can also speak English because she can say "yes" and "no."

While still a teenager, Doña Agueda was taught to weave rag rugs by an elderly neighbor. However, it was not until 1921, after she married Eusebio Martínez, a weaver from Chimayó, that her weaving skills were refined under the tutelage of her compadre Lorenzo Trujillo. From nearby Río Chiquito, Trujillo was a prominent weaver of Chimayó blankets and was godfather to the Martínez' daughter, Epifania.

Eusebio Martínez' ancestry and weaving tradition in Chimayó date back to the 17th century. Although the Martínez are not directly related to the Ortega and Trujillo weaving families of Chimayó, they, like so many families in northern New Mexico, are related through compadrazgo and marriage. The Martínez family is related to the Trujillos through the marriage of Manuel Trujillo and Antonia (Toñita) Martínez Trujillo, a marriage which took place back in the mid-19th century.

In 1924 the Martínez moved to the village of Medanales off Highway 84 on the road between Española and Chama. Weaving became an important source of income for Doña Agueda and her husband, especially as their family grew to include 10 children. Weaving became the means by which they could augment their limited income from subsistence farming. As a young couple, the industrious Martínez worked their farm--and sometimes even neighbors' farms--during summer days. At night, they wove by kerosene lamp into the wee hours of the morning. One of their children's first memories was the sound of the loom beater beating in the middle of the night. In winter, weaving became their primary occupation. As their children grew, they helped with weaving-related tasks such as carding and spinning, gathering
dye plants, and filling bobbins with yarn for the shuttles. When they were
tall enough, they joined their parents at the loom.

The family's weavings were marketed through blanket dealers,
primarily to tourists, and found their way into homes across the country.
Doña Agueda continued to weave for blanket dealers for 10 more years after
the death of her husband in 1962. Then, because of her initiative and weaving
mastery, she made the transition from working for others to selling directly
from her home.

In Doña Agueda's kitchen today is one of her three handmade treadle
looms. Over the years, its location has permitted her to weave while still
meeting the daily demands of kitchen and family. Adjacent to the kitchen is a
room with two large looms. One loom is over 100 years old and is used to weave
the larger pieces. To weave, Doña Agueda stands at her loom, shifting her
weight from treadle to treadle. Complex, concentric diamonds, hourglasses,
and chevrons slowly take form as she rhythmically manipulates the dozens of
colored threads across her loom. Although she can no longer weave the long
hours that she once did, she is noted for saying, "There are times that I weave
until 12:00 at night. As they say, from sunrise 'til sundown.... Until then you'll
find me dancing on the loom."29

Doña Agueda's weaving is based on several centuries-old weaving
design formats. She draws upon a large repertoire of Saltillo, Río Grande, and
Chimayó weaving motifs. Laying claim to her Indian ancestry, she sometimes
also weaves Navajo designs. However, she has placed her personal stamp on
her creations. Her weaving designs are not drawn beforehand but spring
forth from her mind as if from an endless reservoir of images. Doña Agueda's
weavings reflect her unique personality: determined, independent and
confident. After having produced thousands of blankets in more than 70 years
of weaving, Doña Agueda confidently juxtaposes colors and designs in a daring and original manner. Much of her work is recognizable because of the vitality and boldness of the variegated colors in her diamond motifs.

Surrounding Doña Agueda in her weaving room are not only the tools of her trade and piles of colorful skeins of yarn, but also an array of personal memorabilia ranging from a large depiction of the Virgin Mary to a major league baseball cap. The amazing variety of artifacts and images in this room reflects both Doña Agueda's roots and her continuing awareness of the outside world despite the isolation of the rural village in which she has spent most of her life. Here is a tough individual, a hardy woman of dry wit and humor, a woman whose lively conversations are punctuated by dichos and cuentos (sayings and tales) meant to guide and entertain her listeners. For example, she expressed her views on widows remarrying by saying: El que viuda y se vuelve a casar, algo le debía al diablo, y le debe de pagar (A person who is widowed and remarries must have owed the devil something and must pay up).30

During the past 20 years, Doña Agueda's artistic talents have attracted much public recognition. In 1975, New Mexico awarded her the prestigious Governor's Award for Excellence in the Arts. Even more critical to her growing reputation was her role in a documentary about her life that was nominated for an Academy Award. The 1977 film entitled "Agueda Martínez, Our People, Our Country" catapulted her into national prominence. Suddenly she was in great demand and everyone wanted her to attend a showing of the film. In typical fashion, she questioned, "Why? They've already seen the face on the film--why do they want to see it in person, too? I don't have the time to go everywhere just so people can look at me. I've got work to do." 31

Another distinction came in 1980 when she was selected as the first
Feria Artesana honoree. The Feria was an annual Hispanic arts and crafts fair held in Albuquerque. Since then her work has been shown in numerous fairs and markets and has been included in exhibits and collections nationwide. Most recently, one of her rag rugs with tapestry design was selected as the official poster image for the 1992 Festival of American Folklife sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution. In 1993, the National Women's Caucus for Art selected Doña Agueda as their first Hispanic honoree for outstanding achievement in the visual arts; her daughter, Eppie, represented her mother and accepted the award at the organization's annual conference in Seattle, Washington.

The continuity of Doña Agueda's craft is assured by her many descendants who are successful weavers. In her family, it is the women who have distinguished themselves in weaving, dispelling an old myth that it is the men who are the Hispanic weavers. Three of her daughters have received national recognition for their weaving. Eppie Archuleta was even awarded the highest honor bestowed on a folk artist: a 1985 National Heritage Fellowship presented by the National Endowment for the Arts.

Living in Capulín in southern Colorado, Eppie has taken her family's weaving tradition one step further and established the San Luis Valley Wool Mill where she prepares much of the yarn used by the rest of her family. In 1991, like her mother before her, Eppie received a Governor's Award for her weaving, this time from the state of Colorado. This strong, feisty, but warm and loving woman loves a challenge. When told that it was impossible to weave a portrait, she promptly wove one of the Archbishop of New Mexico. She has since woven many other "pictorials" and, on her nine-foot wide loom, has produced some of the largest pieces attempted by any Hispanic weaver. There is also general agreement that her work as an educator has played a seminal
role in the revival of traditional weaving throughout the Hispanic communities of southern Colorado. She has taught in the San Luis vocational schools and Artes del Valle crafts cooperative, and has conducted formal apprenticeship programs in traditional spinning, dyeing and weaving.\textsuperscript{3,3}

In 1986, Doña Agueda accompanied Eppie, granddaughter Norma, and great granddaughter Delores, to Washington, D. C. where the four generations demonstrated carding, spinning, dyeing and weaving at the Festival of American Folklife. Doña Agueda also tended the plot of chile peppers which had been planted from the seeds she had sent the Smithsonian and which were growing beside their booth. Many thousands of people stopped to watch the family members weave and learn about this centuries-old folk art tradition.

In 1992, another daughter, Cordelia Coronado, was selected to represent New Mexico's Hispanic weavers at the same festival. Cordelia has distinguished herself as a "weaver, farmer, shop owner, mother, school board candidate, ditch commissioner, carpenter, community activist, and [was the] Medanales postmaster" for over 30 years.\textsuperscript{32} She sells many of her own and her family's work--especially pieces produced by her daughters Marcella and Teresa--in her weaving shop, La Lanzadera, where she has also taught weaving classes to over 500 students during the past 15 years. This diminutive but dynamic woman has a philosophy about teaching that transcends the transmission of weaving skills. She says,

The most rewarding part in teaching is to share not only the knowledge of weaving, but also the therapeutic values that they pick up. I get a lot of nurses, doctors, lawyers, and therapists, that come for therapy here and I don't really say, 'Well, this is therapy.' But you automatically feel very, very serene, very at home, quiet. Weaving doesn't give them time to think about other problems. And they have something to show for it at the end and they're very happy with it.\textsuperscript{3,4}
With a deep spirituality, Cordelia also believes that people need to be strong, make themselves available to others, and share whatever they know or whatever has been given to them.

One of Doña Agueda's daughters, Louisa García, has been living with her for the past few years. During this time she has started to weave, producing pieces quite similar to her mother's. Another daughter, Georgia Serrano, lives next door and has been weaving since the late 1970s when she and her husband, Abrán, returned to Medanales after spending 24 years living in Utah. For years, Georgia has woven almost exclusively for the Ortegas, producing some of their finest Chimayó blankets. Georgia sometimes weaves pieces for family use and has woven some rag rugs, not unlike her mother's, with intricate tapestry designs. During the 1980s, Georgia also worked for a weaving concern owned by the Kozikowskis. Their European-derived weavings are noted for pictorial designs with variegated shading. The Serranos also have 12 children, many of whom earn spending money through their weaving.

Eppie Archuleta's daughter, Norma Medina, and her granddaughter, Delores Medina, are perhaps the best weavers in the third and fourth generations of Martínez weavers working today. Although she has mastered all of the styles of weaving regarded as Hispanic, Norma specializes in a style she calls "contemporary." These consist of pictorial tapestries depicting landscapes, churches and still-lifes. She dyes her own colors and blends them so delicately that, seen from a distance, many of her weavings appear to be artists' canvases. On the other hand, Delores prefers to work in the most traditional of styles, excelling in weavings with alternating banded stripes and tapestry, weavings which are called colonias by the family and are reminiscent of those produced by her grandmother Agueda.
In addition to teaching her own children to weave, Doña Agueda introduced dozens of Hispanic women to weaving during the 1960s and 1970s through a government-subsidized program (HELP). As an instructor and mentor, she played a major role in keeping the weaving tradition alive at a time when few were aware of its significance. In 1983, the ever-pragmatic anciana had the following to say regarding the teaching of Hispanic weaving to non-Hispanics:

*Pues, yo soy de opinión que todo el que quiera aprender, tiene uno que ayudarle. Si es americano, mejicano, indio, lo que sea. Todos estamos obligados hacer la vida, según la habilidad de la criatura.*

(Well, I am of the opinion that one must help all who wish to learn. Whether he/she is American, Mexican, Indian, or whatever. We are all obligated to make a living to the best of our ability).³⁷

Doña Agueda continues to practice a folk art which is intimately connected with the rhythms of the daily and seasonal cycles. Her life has been remarkably prolific—acres and acres of chiles, hundreds of descendants, and thousands of weavings. Although she has received national recognition as a premier folk artist, she continues to be nourished as much by her life as a farmer, member of her nearby church, and head of a large family, as by her craft. As she approaches the century mark, Doña Agueda's own words best describe the intimate and vital connection her craft has to her life: "*Pues, lo único que yo pienso es que mientras que yo me pueda mover, yo voy a tejer*" (Well, the only thing I can say is that as long as I can move, I will continue to weave).³⁸
Footnotes

1 This paper is the basis for a chapter in a book tentatively titled "Hispanic Weavers of Northern New Mexico: 1880-1990. The book, to be published by UNM Press, is being co-authored by Dr. Suzanne Baizerman, Director, Goldstein Gallery, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota. I am indebted to her for her contributions to this paper.

2 A full size and price list may be obtained by writing to Ortega's Weaving Shop, P. O. Box 325, Chimayo, New Mexico 87522.


4 David Ortega, personal interview with Helen Lucero, July 5, 1983.


11 David Ortega, personal interview with Helen Lucero, July 5, 1983.

12 Leopolo Trujillo, personal interview with Helen Lucero, 1985. Mr. Trujillo, the proprietor of the Marco Polo Shop and Chimayó Trading Post in Española, takes photographs of Chimayó weavings to India and has them replicated. He sells the finished products in his shop.


16 Ibid.


19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.

22 Irvin Trujillo, personal interview with Helen Lucero, September 20, 1983.

23 Ibid.


37 Agueda Martínez, personal interview with Helen Lucero, May 12, 1983.

38 Ibid
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61. Eppie Archuleta in front of her very large Navajo-style weaving, 1988, photo provided by Norma Medina
62. Portrait of Archbishop Robert Sanchez by Eppie Archuleta, ca. 1985, photo by Helen Lucero
63. Eppie, Delores, Agueda, and Norma in front of Agueda's house, 1992, photo by Blair Clark
64. Cordelia Coronado at her loom, 1992, photo by Miguel Gandert
65. Navajo-style weaving by Cordelia Coronado, 1984, photo by Helen Lucero
66. Different style weavings on display at La Lanzadera, 1992, photo by Miguel Gandert
67. Marcela, Teresa, Cordelia, and baby at La Lanzadera, 1992, photo by Miguel Gandert
68. Agueda Martínez and Louisa García, 1992, photo by Miguel Gandert
69. Georgia Serrano at her loom, 1992, photo by Miguel Gandert
70. Black Chimayó weaving by Georgia Serrano, 1983, photo by Helen Lucero
71. Tan rag rug with tapestry design by Georgia Serrano, 1983, 1992 photo by Miguel Gandert
72. Norma Medina at her loom, 1992, photo by Miguel Gandert
73. Delores, Ashley and Norma Medina in front of Norma's still life weaving, 1992, photo by Miguel Gandert
74. Landscape with cross weaving by Norma Medina, 1985, photo by Sue Baizerman
75. Landscape with Pedernal mountain weaving by Norma Medina, ca. 1985, 1992 photo by Helen Lucero at Los Colores Museum
76. Ranchos de Taos church weaving by Norma Medina, 1984, photo by Helen Lucero
77. Landscape with clouds and cross weaving by Norma Medina, ca. 1990, 1992 photo by Helen Lucero at Los Colores Museum
78. Rag Rug with tapestry designs by Delores Medina, ca. 1990, 1992 photo by Helen Lucero at Los Colores Museum
79. Agueda Martínez beside her loom, 1992, photo by Miguel Gandert
80. Golden-colored photo of Agueda Martínez weaving, 1992, photo by Miguel Gandert