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As Rendered by Lino Sánchez y Tapia**

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EUROPEAN DRESS IN TEXAS, 1830: As Rendered by Lino Sánchez y Tapia

By Richard E. Ahlborn

INTRODUCTION:

It is an interesting fact that the pictorial record of the people who occupied that vast heartland of the American West between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains lagged far behind the initial exploration and influx of whites into the region. Few pictures of the indigenous Indians or the white trappers, traders, farmers, missionaries, soldiers or officials who entered this region are known to have been executed prior to the decade of the 1830's. Yet that decade brought a flurry of artistic activity. It witnessed the creation of a goodly number of pictures which enable us to visualize the appearance of the peoples of the region — from the Upper Missouri to the Rio Grande — much more clearly than do contemporary descriptions. The contributions of George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, and Alfred Jacob Miller during the decade of the 1830's are well-known. None of them, however, travelled into the southern Great Plains that sweep across Texas.

Unknown until recently are the watercolors by the shadowy Mexican artist, Lino Sánchez y Tapia, of Matamores, which depict the dress and accoutrements of both Indians and Mexicans in Texas about 1830. Texas had been partially explored by Cabeza de Vaca before 1530; and Spanish missions and presidios began to be established in East Texas after 1690. Yet the earliest known series of pictures to depict the dress of many different Indian tribes, as well as of some of the non-Indian peoples who entered Texas from below the Rio Grande in historic times, appears in the works of Lino Sánchez in the middle years of the Mexican Regime — barely a decade before the Mexican War. As pioneer pictorial documents these watercolors are of unique historical interest. Not only do they document the persistence of traditional costumes among some of the Indian tribes of the region, but they illustrate Spanish, Mexican and American influences upon the dress of other Indians and Mexicans who lived in Texas at that time ♦

John C. Ewers

BACKGROUND

An effective background for commenting on elements of European dress, including horse gear and arms, in Texas in the 1830's was provided by John C. Ewers, Senior Ethnologist at the Smithsonian. His thoughtful introduction and masterful editing of the original, unpublished manuscript and the accompanying renderings of native types at the Gilcrease Institute appeared as *The Indians of Texas in 1830*.¹ In the study, Patricia Reading Leclercq not only provided an excellent translation of the French manuscript by Jean Louis Berlandier, but Ewers brought together contemporary renderings by Lino Sánchez and artifacts collected by Berlandier in Texas between 1827 and 1831, as part of a Mexican border commission.

In 1821 Mexico achieved political independence from Spain, and promptly turned much of her attention to internal affairs, including the determination of her geographic boundaries. By 1826, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lucas Alamán, decided to send an expedition known as *Comisión de Límites* to explore and record the northeast frontier of Mexico.

To supervise the entire study of the region, the Mexican Government selected General Don Manuel Mier y Terán as leader. General Terán, in turn, chose his staff to include, appropriately, an engineer, a medical officer, a mineralogist and, of particular interest to this study, a young sub-lieutenant of artillery, José María Sánchez y Tapia, as cartographer and draftsman.

Minister Alamán, however, reserved the selection of a natural scientist for himself. Alamán wisely sought the advice of his former teacher Auguste-Pyrame De Candolle, the famous Swiss botanist. When approached by Alamán, Candolle did not hesitate to recommend his youthful French student, Jean Louis Berlandier. And so it was that Berlandier, scarcely twenty when he reached Tampico, Mexico, late in 1826, joined the commission

as botanist and zoologist.

As one would expect, the expedition was maintained under military order by General Terán. Data was organized and recorded in diaries kept by the General, Lt. Sánchez, and by the two civilians, the mineralogist Rafael Chovell² and the botanist, Berlandier.

It was the principal charge of the *Comisión de Límites* to determine the border with the United States, then conceived to be somewhere in the Sabin River region in southeast Texas. The commission was also required to gather facts concerning the geography and natural resources of the region, and to collect information on the native population. It was through attention to this latter directive that Berlandier and José Sánchez came to contribute important literary and visual documents to the study of frontier costume, which reflected a direct European influence in the process of inter-cultural contact.

There should be, therefore, great interest for students of costume in the renderings of frontier types of northeast Mexico. Their production and style, however, require some comment preliminary to commentary on costume elements. Ewers points out that all 25 watercolors are signed by Lino Sánchez y Tapia: 18 of Indians, 1 of a *presidio* soldier (Fig. 11), and 6 additional Mexican types illustrated here (Figs. 12-14 and 16-18). Of these 25 renderings by Lino Sánchez, 6 are marked as "after the original by Berlandier;" 9 admit to another source, "d'après l'origl de J. M. S. y Tapia;" and 15 are of native types based on information obtained by Lino Sánchez from Berlandier and José María Sánchez. On the other hand, the ten additional watercolors bearing only Lino's signature, while depicting members of three Indian tribes, include all 7 of the Hispanic-Mexican types in the Berlandier collection at Tulsa.

We are not certain exactly how and when Lino Sánchez produced these renderings, but Ewers makes several cogent observations.

The coincidence of family names of the lieutenant and the illustrator, both paternal and maternal, led him to surmise that Lino "may have been a close relative of José María Sánchez y Tapia, the official artist-cartographer of the Comisión de Límites." Ewers continues to conjecture that probably "Berlandier employed Lino as a scientific illustrator after the death of José," which occurred in Matamoros on August 18, 1834.³ Lino died in 1838, leaving the possibility to paint other types in question.

The accuracy of costume detail would have depended largely on Berlandier and the official draftsman, Lt. José Sánchez; but the stylistic treatment of the subjects was a product of Lino's training and background: early 19th-century Mexico.

Although the record of Lino's artistic schooling is still to be researched, there are clues to his preparation in the watercolors under consideration here. Ewers notes that they are "not true scenes, but rather representations of folk costume in the tradition of European fashion plates." The figures are isolated on small platforms, thin islets of earth floating on a neutral ground of paper. Each figure is posed like a mannequin, static whether striding, turned or frontal. Arms and legs are set so as to expose details of costume and accessories. Anatomy is conventionalized, with no significant variation in tribal or ethnic types. Vegetation is sparse, more of a stage prop than a habitat, but tepees and Spanish architectural forms do appear on five occasions. The watercolor technique itself accounts for an overall softness, and a somewhat limited color range, with earthen browns and a characteristic purple-red.

These fashion-plate aspects of Lino Sánchez' renderings derived directly from the Mexican school of *costumbristas*, painters of regional, ethnic and class costume. In point of fact, the Mexican *costumbrista* was the child of Renaissance curiosity.

By 1700 world-wide exploration, prompted by visions of expanded territory, trade, and Christian teachings, exposed Europeans to the exotic costume of Asia, Africa and the Americas. While much ceremonial dress in Europe remained traditional in form, garb used in parade and court festivities took on a theatrical quality, aping at times even peasant dress. The eighteenth century witnessed a rapid succession in stylistic experiments in costume, as in the other decorative arts. This inquisitive, experimental approach to occasional dress, coupled with the encyclopedic attitude of French rationalism, induced natural scientists to try to record the variety of costume throughout the world.

Mexico was certainly not to be avoided in this universal effort to catalogue costume types. It was in 1825 that a renowned French student of costume, and the new political liberalism, disembarked in Mexico: Claudio Linati de Prevost (1757-1837). Linati, moreover, introduced the European graphic technology of lithography for reproducing images more cheaply.

In the opinion of this writer, the immediate predecessor of Lino Sánchez' renderings of Texas costume types is Linati's magnificent compilation of annotated lithographs, *Civil, Military and Religious Dress of Mexico*, first brought out in French at Brussels in 1828.⁴ Even a brief comparison between the color lithographs of Mexican types by Linati and the watercolors by Lino Sánchez reveals marked similarities: posed, generalized figures with attention to presenting costume detail; small settings with minimum natural features; the tree-stump prop; and a softness common to both media. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that prior to beginning work for Berlandier in 1834 Sánchez knew Linati's *Dress . . . of Mexico*, an immediately acknowledged masterpiece for the Mexican *costumbrista* school.⁵ Several Linati subjects relevant to this study are illustrated here. ♦

NATIVE ASSIMILATION OF EUROPEAN COSTUME ELEMENTS

Figure 1



Ewers has illustrated and commented on the 18 watercolors of Texas Indians rendered by Lino Sánchez, including their dress. Two groups represented by a couple, the Tawakoni and Coco, living at the middle and mouth of the Brazos River, reveal no elements of European dress. And two other tribes, the Tawehash and Karankawa, even more widely separated, bear only shooting equipment as representatives of European influence: the powder horn, bullet pouch and a musket.

However, the introduction of fire arms accounts for a sizeable number of European artifacts assimilated by Amerinds. In addition to the powder horn, leather pouch for shot, wadding, and perhaps even a bullet mold, and the flint-lock musket cited above, there is represented in Sánchez' watercolors a musket case (*funda* in Spanish), and a bandolier-type shoulder strap. The watercolor of a Yamparica Comanche warrior (Fig. 1) also shows a long-pointed spear and battle-ax, whose metallic forms originated in Europe. The blade appears to descend from the broad ax, and Ewers suggests that the metal lance head is a re-worked sabre.⁶ Berlandier himself comments about the European weaponry acquired by the Indians, after noting their traditional use of bow, arrow and cudgel: "To these they have added the gun, the axe, and the lance, whose usefulness they have recognized."⁷

Ewers also remarked on the surprising retention of European horse trappings documented in one of Sánchez' watercolors. An examination of the renderings of a mounted Kickapoo hunter (Fig. 2) reveals that the horse gear "follows the white man's rather than Plains Indian's pattern in its bitted bridle, sophisticated leather riding saddle, and the narrow leather crupper."⁸

It is tempting to conjecture that the shallow form of the saddle and rear-seat position of the Kickapoo, with his legs extended, indicates a European riding style, ultimately of Near Eastern origin. Spain recognized this tournament style of riding preferred in northern Europe as *a la estradiota*, but many Spaniards favored a more forward position, using a deep saddle with central seat and bent legs, known



Figure 2

as riding *a la gineta*. Both the *estradiota* and *gineta* riding styles, and their accompanying equipment, derived from Moorish practice introduced to Spain via north Africa. The extended-leg (*estradiota*) position was revived in Mexico by hard-roping *vaqueros* riding long hours on the vast plains of western and northern Mexico.⁹ However, the Mexican saddle was much heavier and high-ended than the "English style" saddle employed for the hunt in northern Europe. Therefore, along with trade goods, European clothing and arms recorded as coming into native hands from the eastern United States and French New Orleans, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the shallow saddle and extended-leg position employed by the Kickapoo warrior (Fig. 2) was introduced to the Indians of east Texas by contact with Americans or French traders, rather than through Mexican trade.

Turning now from arms and horse trappings to elements of European costume worn by Indians in Texas, we can reinforce the trade pattern suggested above by Berlandier's own comments. After noting that Indians traded their hides and wool textiles for knives, hardware, weapons and spirits at the Mexican frontier fort (*presidio*) of Nacogdoches, the French naturalist states that the same exchanges are as readily made with American traders. Moreover, the women of east Texas tribes (Cherokee, Alabamas, etc.) "use looms . . . copied from those they have seen in the United States, to weave divers parti-colored cotton textiles for their own . . . use."¹⁰ Berlandier then notes that the "highly original costumes" of the tribes (Lipan, Comanche and Tankahua) who have had "dealings with civilized man, . . . wearing peaked caps, uniform coats, and sabres tucked under their arms, but lacking both shirts and trousers." Also of considerable interest is his recording that "A few of the Carissos women [lower Rio Grande] wear old worn-out dresses given them in the [Mexican] villages." Berlandier cites the better appearance of the

[native] peoples recently emigrated from the United States (Cado, Delaware, Cherokee, Savana, Iguane, Kickapoo and Cutchate.)

All of them use some quantity of foreign textiles; [some] with their turbans and red sashes, look like orientals. The dress of the Cherokee women, in particular, resembles that of French peasant girls.¹¹ (Fig. 3)

The most distinctive and specialized piece of European costume to appear on an Indian in the Sánchez watercolors is the long, sleeveless jacket worn by a Tonkawa man (Fig. 4). Ewers suggests that the protective garment is a painted [tanned] hide, "a survival of the *cuera*, the leather jacket worn as defensive armor by . . . Texas tribes prior to 1775."¹² Despite the lack of a front closure, the round neck also recalls this characteristic jerkin used by Mexican presidio soldiers (*Soldados de cuera*).

The *cuera* continues in use on the frontier at least as late as 1835 (Fig. 5), according to reissued military regulations of 1772.¹³ However, the pendant, curved flap of the Indian's jacket brings to mind another element of Mexican dress—the leather apron of the working class (*mandil* or *pechera*) as seen in Linati's water carrier (*aguador*) of 1828 and Lino Sánchez' muleteer (*arriero*,) (Fig. 17) of about 1835. The length of the apron makes it unsuitable for riding, despite Carlos Nebel's depiction of an *arriero* entering Guanajuato; it may have been adapted by the Tonkawa man as a decorative status piece as much as functional riding armor.

Other elements of dress portrayed on Texas Indians by Lino Sánchez betray the impact of traditional, adaptive and even fashionable European costume.¹⁴ Renderings of the Caddo, Yowani, Cherokee, Delaware, Koasati and Shawnee exhibit conservative, as well as high-style, influences from Europe.¹⁵ The Caddos' unfitted long coat and long shirt with open, ruffled neck derive from the 18th century and earlier, but have become something between an undetermined "oriental" and a "non-style" outfit (Fig. 6). The mid- and full-length skirts of Shawnee (Fig. 7) and other women are also "non-style," while the high-waisted dresses of the Aranama and Cherokee women (Fig. 8) reveal

Figure 3



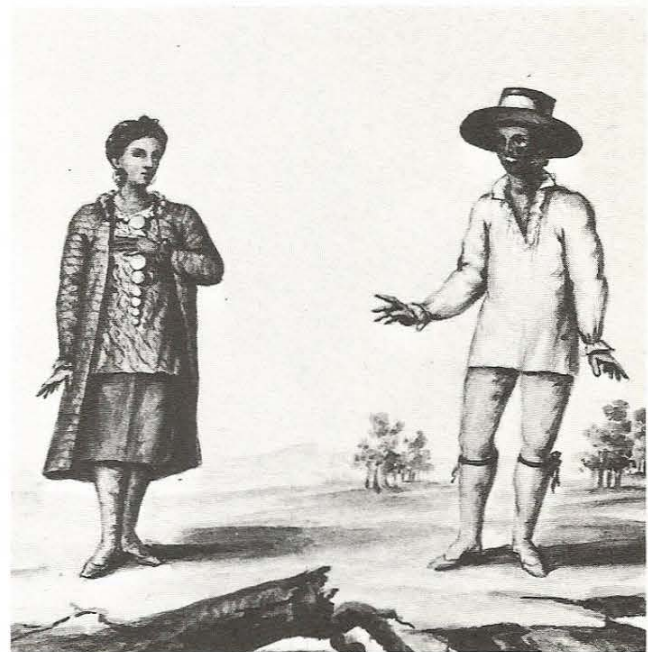
Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



only a slight time-lag from early 19th-century styles in Europe.

Indian men also adopted European dress. The Towani Choctaw man appears to be wearing knee britches, hose and garters! And the leggings of one Koasati man (Fig. 9) even recalls a Spanish Renaissance archangel's boot, with a loose roll at the calf. The great walking coat with capelet of the Delaware man (Fig. 10), and the somewhat reduced version worn by a second Koasati, reflect another lingering 18th-century adaptation, as well as a fashionable form revived in Europe about 1830. In contrast to European women, however, it is the Indian men of Texas who seem to prefer the turban, with a foreknot; one Shawnee sets his off with fanned plumes. The Shawnee couple (Fig. 7) demonstrate that both shoulder and waist sashes are popular, as well as a fitted, long-sleeve blouse with a capelet of the same material. Other men appear in a waist-length shirt, gathered by a sash; the neck may be round, V-ruffled or soft and plain.

While all of these costume elements may claim a legitimate European parentage, the renderings should be viewed with some caution. The artist, Lino Sánchez, was working in a medium that did

not always allow details of construction to be shown. Secondly, Lino probably based many costume features on simple sketches or even verbal descriptions by Berlandier¹⁶ and José Sánchez. Finally, there is the possibility that Lino may not have been fully conversant with European costume, and therefore unable to work from a comparative norm. Nevertheless, the Lino Sánchez renderings clearly establish as fact that considerable assimilation of elements of European dress had been achieved by Texas Indians before 1830.

Hispanic Mexican costume

The dress of culturally non-Indian Mexicans in Texas, as illustrated by Lino Sánchez, presents both military and laboring types. One example of Hispanic costume is shown by Dr. Ewers, and described by Berlandier as a "Mexican presidial soldier"¹⁷ (Fig. 11). For carrying his ingredients of *pinole*, maize ground with sugar and spices, the soldier uses a "leather pouch attached to the saddle." The pouch, which appears on the front, left side of the saddle, is probably hung from the large horn; it displays fringe and an eagle, either stamped or embroidered in fiber on the long, curved flap. As a European form, the pouch recalls a standard ac-

Figure 7



Figure 8



cessory, the scrip (*zurrón* or *coginillo*), carried in Spain by shepherds and pilgrims alike. Its color is dark brown, painted in burnt sienna hues.

Lino Sánchez' watercolor of the presidio soldier specifies other details of equipment. Behind the saddle, there can be seen a gourd canteen, a dark blanket roll, and two fringed items: perhaps a bag and knife sheath. A second and longer fringed leather sheath (*funda*) in the arms of the soldier undoubtedly covers his musket.

Like the pouch (*zurrón*), another piece of leatherwork hangs from the pommel, in front of the rider. The large, curved apron (*armas*) covers his lap and thighs. This body covering was derived from medieval armor, then modified in Mexico, and there reached its 19th-century form on rough western plains and wooded northern hills. It has been recorded in this century in northern Mexico;¹⁸ as a light-weight, loose form, the *armas* is preferable to our heavier western "chaps." The *armas* is colored in a light umber pigment. Below, the shins of the soldier are protected by *botas*, an ornamented square of leather tied above the calf and extending down over the foot. The *botas* are fringed and colored a dark greyish brown.

A traditional form of saddle cover, the *mochila*, is also indicated in Figure 11. The *mochila* is a large, loose piece of tooled leather with cut-outs for pommel and cantle; it generally fits over a second leather pad, the *coraza*, placed directly on the wooden saddle tree (*fuste*). Here, the *mochila* lies between the rider's left leg and sabre. In time, both covering and pad became attached to the saddle tree, with the outer known as saddle leathers or fenders.

Behind the saddle there occurs an equally antique retention in the form of the leather rump cover, an *anquera*. In Figure 11 by Sánchez, the small rump cover (*anquerita*) appears as a greatly reduced version of the kind of medieval horse armor introduced to Mexico in 1519 by Cortés. Nevertheless, Mexican lithographs portray examples of this European jousting armor as an enlarged, even enriched form of status garb used by wealthy



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11

rancheros after 1825. The *anquera* shown in Figure 11, like the saddle cover, is decorated with stamped designs and fringes, but it is a highly simplified version of the deeply cut leather panels, hawkbells and tinklers that decorated the larger rump covers pictured by Linati and Nebel.

At the end of the presidio soldier's leg, a stiff leather sheath, the *tapaderas*, cover the stirrup and, in this case, fall to a point at each side. Many such stirrup covers remained relatively eloquent even in remote ranching regions and military outposts. Figure 11 also reveals a bitted bridle with leather straps and reins, and a woven or wrapped head band (*frontalera*). At this point, it does not seem conjectural to surmise that limited military expenditures and modest personal incomes for equipment took a toll in the appearance of horse trappings (*aperos*) on the frontier, and in fact insured the continued usage of traditional forms.

The uniform of the presidio soldier includes an up-to-date top hat—flared with a medium-wide, stiff brim, and a dark blue jacket set off with a high collar and deep cuffs, both faced in red.¹⁹ The jacket displays three vertical rows of at least four silver buttons, and three small buttons on the side of the collar. The soldier's sideburns are worn full and swept forward, but his spurs are small. In all, the entire appearance of the soldier is stylish, especially with the non-issue chapeau. Clearly, an actual frontier scene is not shown, but the details of costume are appropriate to the time and subject of the better-off frontier soldier of 1830.

The renderings of the soldier and Texas Indians, all illustrated by Ewers, make up two sets of ten each, designated by Berlandier as decades, marked consecutively in the upper right hand corners, Plates 1 through XX. The third decade, Berlandier's XXI-XXX, consists of Indians from central Mexico (Plate XXI: *Mexicanos*), from the Queretaro area north of Mexico City (Plate XXIII: *Otomites*), from the great Isthmus (Plate XXV: *Tehuantepecanos*), and from the southern valley of Oaxaca (Plate XXVI: *Oajaquenos*). Also shown in the third decade are "common people" (*plebes*) from cen-



Figure 12



Figure 13

Figure 14



tral Mexico (Plate XXVII: *Leperos*, lepers), from Guadalajara in the west (Plate XXVII: *Tapatios*), and again, from Querétaro. Although the residence of these peoples lies outside our immediate topic of dress in Texas, several elements of European costume can be cited as evidence of foreign cultural impact being transmitted through Mexico. The *Mexicano* wears pants split up the side, probably of leather, which mark him as a laborer. The Tehuantepecano is attired in similar trousers, and sports the low-crowned, black hat with a wide, rolled brim—the type generally associated with clerics of the early 1800's, *sombrero de teja*. Not surprisingly, this enormous hat reappears on a near-by Oajaqueno; but it is replaced on the man from Guadalajara by a hat with a turned-down brim. This Tapatío also displays a pair of blue trousers which are split all the way up to the waist. Finally, the Querétaro man is distinguished by a pair of black leather boots with turned-down tops.

The paper bearing these remarkable visual documents measures 21.6 by 31.1 centimeters. The fly sheets of laid paper bear the watermark "GIORO MAGNANIE EO" in a rectangle with notched corners.

Coming to the fourth decade of watercolors by Lino Sánchez, we note no reference to their being based on "originals" by another hand. Significantly, it is in this group that we discover traditional Hispanic-Mexican types. Does this group reflect a nationalistic preference of the artist, or extend the catholic interests of Berlandier to non-native borderland types? We are uncertain, but the visual documents are fascinating in themselves.

The outfit that most nearly repeats that of the presidio soldier is a Texas rancher (Fig. 12). The soldier (Fig. 11) and the rancher have common requirements for *tapaderos*, *sabre*, *mochila*, encased musket, *zurrón*, gourd canteen, *anquera*, bitted bridle and the leather apron protecting the legs (*armas*). This time, however, the position of the *armas* is more clearly indicated: the connecting bridge is slit to hook over the horn, and the ends are tied behind the rider, apparently under the

cante. At that point the rendering reveals an undetermined pendant form which could be a knife sheath, canteen cord or leather tie. Also in contrast to the military dress of the soldier, are the rancher's hat and jacket. The somewhat less stylish hat of the *ranchero* has a vertical crown and a softer, up-turned brim. The fringed jacket is less fitted, the neck is round and collar-less, and there are no visible buttons. Large fringed epaulets cover shoulder seams of a jacket of uncertain length. In general, the *ranchero's* outfit closely resembles that of the soldier, with slightly more ornamentation on the leather work of the rancher. His leg guards, saddle cover, *tapaderos* and *anquera* are all richly stamped, or embroidered; and the *zurrón*-type pouch appears to have a long, square flap held by a twisted cord.

The next rider is designated as a rancher from the northeast Mexican states of Tamaulipas and Nuevo Leon (Fig. 13, note 20). He shares many details of costume with his Texan counterpart and with the presidio soldier (Figs. 12 and 11). Spurs are returned to this *ranchero*, possibly an oversight on the Texan, and the length of *tapadera* ends has been greatly lessened to the south. The black hat is broader in crown and brim, and even softer in form, but this may be an economic and social, rather than regional, variation in hat type. The rump cover from Nuevo Leon is larger than the Texas types. *Botas*, *armas*, and *mochila* are repeated by this rancher; but the stylishly short, pull-over jacket (*cotona*) of light brown (buckskin?) is a new element. Its cuffs are small and fitted, and at the open, V-neck, a white shirt is indicated by a soft, turned-back collar.

This rendering (Figure 13) of a rancher's horse equipment provides further data. The bit, shanks and head band of the bridle closely recall that of the soldier. A cinch appears under the stirrup leathers, documenting the use of the single, forward (three-quarter?) rigged saddle.

A more richly attired equestrian figure is that of a *caporal de hacienda*, "a keeper of horned cattle on a great estate;" we might say foreman or

head wrangler (Fig. 14). His garb logically relates to that of the Texas rancher (Fig. 12). The simple Texas rancher and the wrangler of a vast *hacienda* share many pieces of equipment in common, but those of the latter are more elegant. The *caporal's* black hat displays a low, domed crown with a wide, green-lined brim, and heavy band. The long outer garment is a riding or great coat (*redingote*) decorated with serrated edging on the round collar, epaulets and fall-away opening, all worked in a light, tanned leather. Several historical oils, the Alzate map (Fig. 15) and contemporary drawings in the Vinkhuijsen collection of about 1765 document the earlier use of the European great coat in Mexico.²¹ Beneath this large coat, the *caporal* wears a white shirt with a standing collar, and stylish Mexican trousers of the early 1800's, again documented by *costumbristas* like Linati. The high-waisted trousers of heavy blue material are slit up the side to the knee and fitted with 13 unfastened silver buttons. Underneath is the typical white Mexican pants (*calzones*) worn by foremen and laborer alike. The leather *botas* employ a facing, magnificently worked in animal and floral designs.

These designs are repeated in some saddle equipment of the *caporal*: long *tapaderas* and pointed *anquera*. As on the cante of the Texas rancher's saddle (Fig. 12) an undetermined pendant form reappears, but the saddle tree is covered with a circular *mochila* with a lightly stamped edge. A sabre lies over this cover, apparently hung from the horn by a leather sling, and its grip is twist-carved, ending in a bird's head.

An even more dashing figure of the Mexican ranchlands and frontier is the *charro* (Fig. 16), inadequately translated as cowboy. Sportsman would be preferable, especially in reference to his conveyance. The well-attired man and stead is essential to an accurate image of the *charro*. The head band, *armas*, and covers for stirrup, saddle and hind quarters are made of long-haired pelts, perhaps goat. The *armas* is left natural, but the saddle cover is dyed blue grey; in contrast, black



Figure 15

(natural?) hair was employed in the headband, stirrup and rump cover.

The costume of the *charro* repeats those shown for the same period (1825-50) by Linati, Nebel and other *costumbristas*. The low, square-crowned hat is black, set off with silver ornaments. Its wide, turned-down, stiff brim reveals gold braid and green lining. The soft, turned-up collar of a white shirt is held by a blue neckerchief passed through a ring. The short, pull-over jacket (*cotona*) of the charro retains the fringed epaulets already depicted (Figs. 12 and 14) by Lino Sánchez, and is further distinguished by a scooped neck with edging, by an arrow cut-out in the cuff, and by richly patterned, purple-red material. The red, fringed waist sash sets off the slashed green trousers with a wide strip of gold braid. In comparing the construction of the lower trouser leg of the *caporal* (Fig. 14), that of the charro is the same, but his *botas* are much more splendid. They boast a purple-red knee band and shin panels completely covered with white and blue embroidery.

Accordingly, separate fitting merits some mention. Somewhat strangely, the spur shank turns up. Again, the sabre displays a zoomorphic hilt, but the charro's scabbard appears with a stamped case fitted with a rounded, metal guard and a pendant shell of repoussé silver. And a final fitting is a silver edging worked over the cantle of the charro's saddle.

The entire appearance of the charro may seem somewhat over-drawn for even the most style-conscious cowboy, but the writer is convinced by surviving details of such costumes, by numerous visual and literary descriptions of Mexican charros in the 1800's, and by retention and revival of such gear to the present day, that Lino Sánchez was a reliable recorder. Additionally, the verve of this rendering suggests that the subject had special appeal for Lino. He incorporates hills, trees and buildings in the background; he sets the horse in motion with both forefeet off the ground and the tail flowing; and presents the charro turned around in his seat, accenting the entire pose with polychrome details.

Figure 16



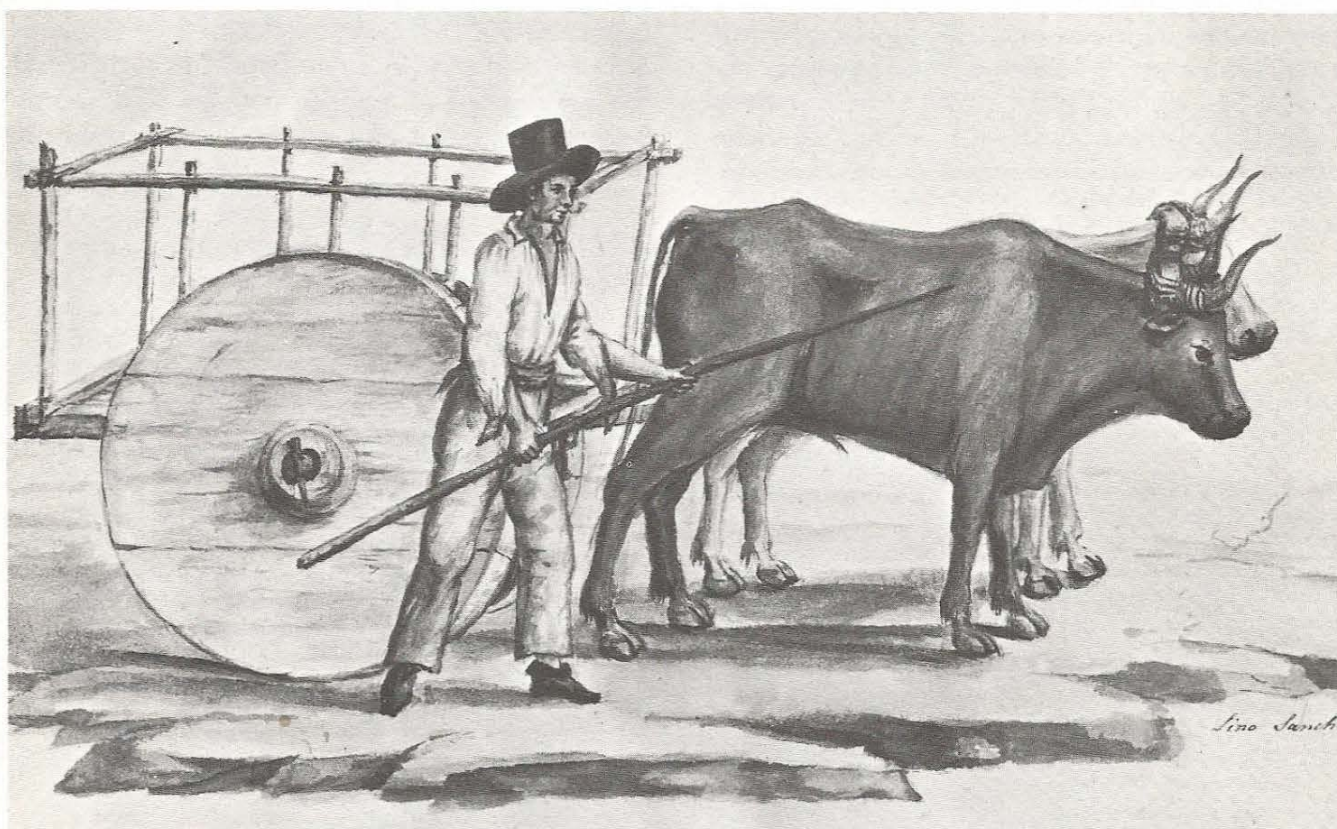


Figure 17

The last two watercolors by Lino Sánchez depict men of less prestigious endeavors, but essential to the settlement and survival of the Mexican nation since colonial times. Both are drovers. Fig. 17 represents one of the characters that enlivens the long history of non-wheeled transportation, the Mexican muleteer, *arriero Mexicano*. In Sánchez' rendition of this rugged and weathered type, his four-legged charge is given equal attention. Halter, rigging, containers, ties, load pads, tension key and rear harness, here colored blue and labelled "ARREA," are detailed, considering the medium. The muleskinner stands off to the right and, perhaps somewhat unwisely, to the rear of the uninterested beast. In the *arriero's* right hand is a tan and blue strap on strings, known as a *tapojo* and employed as quirt and blindfold.²²

The square-crown, wide-brim hat is indicated to be of a soft, black material. The elegant sideburns of the previous equestrians are allowed here to develop into a full, shaggy beard. The open-necked shirt of the drover is white stuff of thin, widely-spaced red stripping, and heavy cuffs. Loose, white pants, the laborer's *calzones*, appear under a kind of leg guard that resemble "chaps," except for their knee-ties and padded look. The seat is open, and the sides are joined at the thigh, above the slit. Next, the leather apron (*mandil* or *pechera*), which was earlier compared to the armor of the Tonkawa man (Fig. 4), is caught at the waist by a strap, again under the arms, and apparently again across the chest with what would seem a needless and insecure strap, and finally by a halter over the shoulders. The halter is of a lighter,

Figure 18



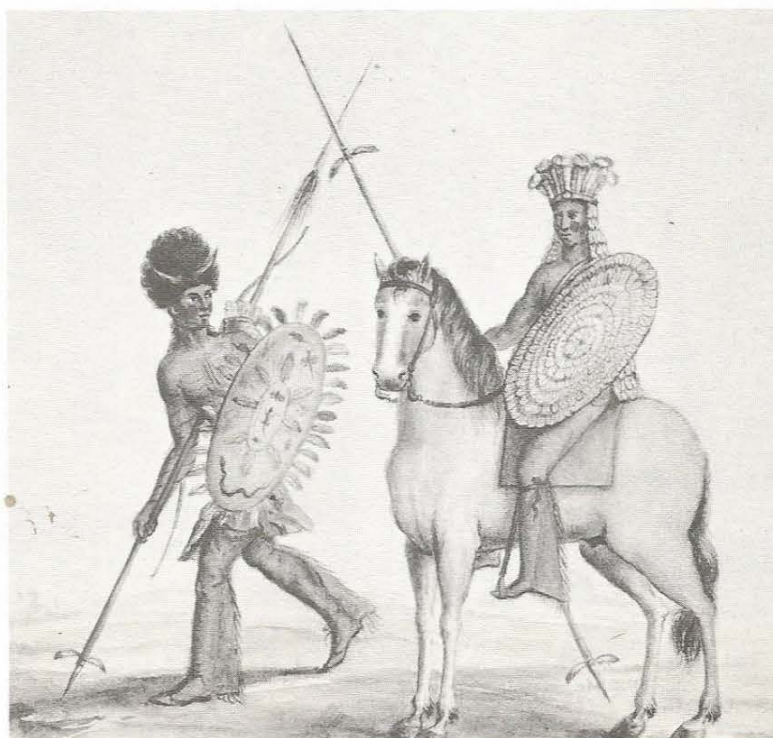
more finished leather. The shins are exposed, and the feet are protected by high-top, soft shoes, but details are insufficient to indicate the kind of closure or construction.

The second drover—the final rendering by Lino Sánchez (Fig. 18)—is in charge of an ox cart at the port of Matamoros. Ewers notes that this port on the Gulf of Mexico was where Lino worked on the renderings for Berlandier, and where the Mexican artist died in 1838. The drovers must have been very familiar sights to Lino, and thereby his interest in both their costume and conveyances. The solid-wheeled, frame-work Mexican freight cart, *carreta*, is recorded since the sixteenth century, and known survivals support the details of hub and frame construction as drawn by Lino.

The *carretero* is the most simply dressed of Lino's non-Indian types. He wears a relatively full-cut shirt with a deep neck and open cuffs, a waist sash, and a pair of tan trousers of undetermined material. This drover displays the same soft, dark shoes as the muleteer, but with the tops turned down. Only the tall black hat, with its square silhouette and medium wide, rolled brim, introduce a dateable element (1810-40) in the otherwise "non-style" attire of this laborer. Although common-

place, he is clearly a step above the peon and servant class in both his status and attire.

Beyond their obvious use to students of costume, the watercolor renderings by Lino Sánchez provide the cultural historian a unique series of social types. As a recorder reared, and probably trained, in Mexico, Lino knew the wide *mestizo* class of men that inhabited his costume studies. In fact none of the non-Indian costume types represent the upper-most class of Mexican society, but rather the middle and laboring classes of the new republic. The presence of these men, as well as Indian allies, on the Mexican frontier also supported claims to territory soon to see armed conflict. Moreover, the elements of costume establish the awareness of many Mexicans to foreign influences, some of which were considered acceptable until called to task in the 1850's and 1910's for political reasons. In short, political, commercial and artistic aspects of Mexican culture in the 1830's are emphasized by elements of European dress in Texas, which in turn reveal the appearance of frontier peoples who shortly became a part of this nation's diverse ethnic heritage. ♦



NOTES

1. Ewers, John C. *The Indians of Texas in 1830* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969). All original documents are preserved in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, under Paul Rossi, Director, who kindly permitted my use of additional watercolor renderings of Mexican types by Lino Sánchez, several published here for the first time.
2. Ewers, p. 6, n. 4, records the Terán diary in the Western American Collection at Yale and the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City; the Chovell diary at Tulane University in New Orleans; and José M. Sánchez translated by Carlos E. Casteñeda, "A Trip to Texas in 1828," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 249-88 (1926), as well as a Spanish version of Sanchez introduced by Jorge Flores (1939).
3. Ewers, p. 154
4. Linati, Claudio. *Trajes Civiles, Militares y Religiosos de México* (1828), introduction by Justino Fernandez and prologue by Manuel Toussaint. (Mexico City, Imprenta Universitaria, 1956). Facsimile issue by IIE. The study by Carlos Nebel (1805-1855), *Viaje Pintoresco y Arqueológico por la República Mexicana [1829-1834]*, Capt. W. Smyth's drawings produced in lithographs by L. M. Lefevre in Alexander Forbes' *History of Upper and Lower California*, F. Lehnert's works printed by Julio Michaud y Tomas in Mexico and Yves' by Lemercler of Paris extended the knowledge of Mexican costume.
5. Fernandez' Linati's *Trajes... de México*, pp. 20-21.
6. Ewers, pp. 49 and 157. This adaptive use of a European sabre by American natives was noted since the 1500's by historians of the Spanish Conquest such as Garcilazo, el Inca. Expert suggestions on the identification of arms was provided by Craddock Goins, Curator in the Smithsonian's Division of Military History.
7. Ewers, p. 53, who adds in note 43 that "even the western tribes of Texas had obtained some French firearms fully eight decades before 1830."
8. Ewers, p. 159.
9. R. B. Cunningham Graham, *Horses of the Conquest* (London, 1930) pp. 8-10. Also research notes by Arthur Woodward, deposited with the Smithsonian's Division of Cultural History in 1967.
10. Ewers, p. 48.
11. Ewers, pp. 50-52.
12. Ewers, p. 158, and note 10, referring to Father Juan Augustín de Morfi who wrote on the area in the 1670's. Also, Nicolas de Lafora's 1766-1768 "Description of the Kingdom of New Mexico" in Lawrence Kinnaid, *The Frontiers of New Spain* (Berkeley, 1958, pp. 93 and 95), states that
 "The [Indian] men cover their bodies with buckskins, imitating to some extent Spanish dress. The inhabitants are also in the habit of taking some of their capes, stockings, and blankets to trade on the outside,"
 and "Indian arms are the bow and arrow, pikes or lances and some guns. Many wear leather jackets."
13. Brinkerhoff, Sidney and Odie Faulk, *Lancers of the King* (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965), from 1834 imprint (p. 67).
14. Identification of European costume elements was greatly assisted by Claudia Kidwell, and Deanna Love of the Smithsonian's Division of Costume and Furnishings, and by these standard sources: Millia Davenport, *The Book of Costume* (New York: Crown, 1948), Blanche Payne, *History of Costume* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), Ruth Turner Wilcox, *The Mode in Hats and Headdress* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), and Marshall B. Davidson, *Life in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950), 2 vols.
15. Ewers, pp. 159-161 and plates 7-12.
16. Ewers, p. 155 shows an Indian probably sketched by Berlandier, which bears so much similarity to Lino's figures that the writer believes that Lino may have copied or colored in a sketch by Berlandier.
17. Ewers, pp. 29-31 and Figure 14 (Figure 11 here).
18. Arthur Woodward: Conversation and photographs, given to the writer at the Smithsonian, 1967, and José Cisneros, *Riders of the Border* (El Paso: University of Texas, 1971), *Southwestern Studies*, Monograph No. 30, p. 17.
19. The presidential uniform and weapons, as given in the Royal Regulations of 1772 and translated by Brinkerhoff and Faulk (pp. 18-23), consist of
 "a short jacket of blue woolen cloth, with small cuffs and a red collar, breeches of blue wool, a cloth cap of the same color, a cartridge pouch, a leather jacket (cuera), and a bandoleer of antelope hide... to be embroidered with the name of the presidio, a black neckerchief, hat, shoes and leggings (botines);" as well as "a broad sword, lance, shield, musket, and pistols;" moreover "the Indian scouts will have a pistol, shield and lance in addition to his bow and quiver of arrows;" finally, "the saddle is... vaguero style, with the corresponding covers, called mochila, saddle pad (coraza), leather leg guards (armas), front mounted saddle bags (coginillos), and enclosed wooden stirrups..."
 Another useful survey of Mexican Military uniforms is Joseph Hefter, *Cronica del traje militar en Mexico del siglo XVI al XX* (Mexico Artes de Mexico, no. 102, 1968).
20. Reproduced by Paul A. Rossi and David C. Hunt, *The Art of the Old West* (New York: Knopf, 1971), p. 275.
21. The "Viceregal Map of New Spain (1.52 by 1.86 meters) by José Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez, 1767, was shown at the San Antonio [Texas], Hemisfair in 1968, and is preserved in the Museo Naval at Madrid; Fig. 133 in Abelardo Carrillo y Gariel, *El traje en la nueva España* (Mexico: INAH, 1959) reproduces from the Vinkhuijzen collection at the New York City Public Library a "Militiaman raised from the inner provinces." The same source demonstrates that the great coat with epaulets was in fashion in Mexico after 1740 (Carrillo's Figs. 51, 68, 80), deriving in part from the long cape with capelet of the 16th century (Carrillo's Figs. 3 and 5). A similar coat is indicated in *Catalogo del Museo del Ejercito* (Madrid, 1956), V, p. 142, as "43,090 — Gaban de guerra de los soldados presidiales."
22. Cisneros, p. 38.

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- 3 "Comparison of Spanish Colonial Chests," *El Palacio*, Santa Fe, N.M., 1961
- 4 *Soldiers and Saints in Old Spain and New*, Joslyn exhibit catalogue, 1966. (Omaha, Nebraska)
- 5 *The Penitente Moradas of Abiquiu*, (Smithsonian Institution, Wash., D.C., 1968)
- 6-7 "Spanish Colonial Silver," (2 articles) *Winterthur Conference Report*, 1969 (Charlottesville, Univ. of Virginia)
- 8 "16th Century Mexican Print," *Winterthur Conference Report*, 1970 (Charlottesville, Univ. of Virginia)



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