PART II

THE SPANIARDS IN ILLINOIS
CHAPTER I

A HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MICHOCAN

At the time of Cortes' entrance into the valley of Mexico and his alliance with the republic of Tlaxcala, Montezuma sent messengers to the Caltzontzin to seek an alliance with the Tarascans. The Tarascans were deeply impressed by such a message from their ancient enemies. They wondered at the power of the strangers which could cause the Aztecs to forget past enmity. Before promising anything, the Caltzontzin sent messengers to appraise the army of the Spaniards. Each day messages came to him of bloodshed and destruction in Mexico and of the great military force of the strangers from the east, and of their guns and horses. All this proved to the Caltzontzin that it would be more expedient to placate the strangers than to fight them.¹

Cortes had already been informed of the existence of a large province seventy leagues from Tenochtitlan (Tenochtitlan) called Michucan. Messengers arrived from the king of that land to Cortes. Through interpreters they said that their king had heard of the Spaniards: "vassals of a great king" and wished to be friendly with them.

Cortes was pleased by their coming. He inquired of them a way to the ocean, and was told that the sea lay south of their land but that they could not lead him there. The messengers from Michoacán stayed with Cortes for three or four days, during which time Cortes had his men skirmish on their horses and discharge their guns, to thoroughly convince the Tarascans. Cortes then made them gifts and sent two Spaniards with them to the court of the Caltzontzin. 2 Bancroft says that these two emissaries brought with them into Michoacán the terrible scourge of the small pox which killed many of the Indians and among them Zuangua; then Caltzontzin, with whom Montezuma had been dealing. 3 According to Beaumont, Zuangua (Siguange) was already dead and Tzintzicha Tangajuan (Tengaxcan) was king. 4

Cervantes de Salazar 5, followed by Herrera. 6

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and Bancroft vary this version slightly. They write of a Spaniard Perillos or Parrillas who, having been sent to Atloltzinco to get tallinas, pursued his course farther into Michoacán. Once there he asked for gold and silver and was given a few ornaments with promise of more. He asked two Indians to return with him to the court of Cortes, where once again they repeated their story. The part of Perillos in the bringing of the two messengers to Cortes was not reported by him. The conquistador writes as if they had come by themselves.

One of the two Spaniards sent by Cortes to accompany the Tarascans to Tzintzuntzan was Montañéz. He was instructed to learn as much as possible about the land and the quantity of gold and silver available. In reward for his task, if well done, he would be granted land and the tributes of a pueblo (an oncomicendi). He and his party travelled for four days before reaching the border town of Taximarca, where they were royally welcomed. Everywhere the two Spaniards, through their interpreters, spoke of the great power of Cortes and the still greater power of their king. They advised that it would be well to make treaties with him. Although the Tarascans had been very friendly with the Spaniards, these kept watch at night, having been

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7 Bancroft, Hubert H., op. cit., pp. 44-45.
told by the Mexica, of the treacherous habits of these Indians. They travelled slowly to the city of Michoacan and their arrival there had been preceded by messages from the governor of Tzimaroa to the Caltzontzin. Outside the city they were met by eight hundred nobles dressed in their festival clothes. Each of these had ten to twelve thousand vessels (1). The head of these spoke for the Caltzontzin, who was not present, welcoming the strangers to the royal city. In the palace of the Caltzontzin they were given luxurious quarters, food and servants. The next morning the ruler interviewed them, asking whence they came and why and what they sought in this land. Although treated with great magnificence, the Spanish ambassadors were carefully guarded by eight hundred armed men. The Tarascans made many sacrifices to their gods, and burned a great deal of incense in a ceremony lasting eighteen days. It was only through the wisdom of some of the old men that Montezuma and his companions were spared from the sacrifices. Shortly after the festival, the nobles began to bring gifts to be taken to Cortes; carved wooden objects, gold, silver, feather works, and finely woven cloth. Eight hundred men were deputed to carry the gifts and the food offerings. The Spaniards travelled back to the court with these men, fearing death all the while. Cortes sent four men to meet them, and he himself met them
at Cuyacan. Again Cortes enquired the route to the ocean and again was told that it was through the land of an enemy and that the Tarascans could not lead him there. He made welcome the brother of the Caltzontzin and the other nobles sent with the Spaniards. Altogether more than a thousand Tarascans had made the pilgrimage. He received the gifts gladly and again had his soldiers exhibit their horses and fire arms to impress the Indians. They were exceedingly frightened and their fear was increased when Cortes showed them the ruin wrought in the once great city of Temixtitlan (Tonoctitlan). At the end of four or five days he returned gifts and the embassy returned home.  

Cortes then sent seventy horsemen with one of his captains, (Cristobal de Olid) and two hundred foot soldiers, all well armed, to explore the province. At the court at Huicacila (Huitzitzila; Tzintzuntzan) they were well received and given food. They demanded and received much gold and silver, cotton cloth and many other things. From here this group passed south to Zacatula and then to Colima.  

Among the head cities which the king ordered to be placed in his crown in 1520 was that of Uihitzil an in Michoacan.

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8 Cortes, Fernando, op. cit., p. 766-792.
9 Cortes, Fernando, op. cit., p. 92. Third letter.
cán. 12

The Caltzontzin himself next visited Cortes, carrying gifts and promising loyalty to the king. For more than two years the Spaniards and the Tarascans remained in harmony. 13

Three accounts of the expedition of Nuño de Guzmán in 1530, by participants, have been published: the first, the letter from Guzmán to the Emperor 14; the second, an account by Pedro de Carreña, one of his soldiers 15; and the third by Alonso de Mata, scribe 16.

In 1530, Nuño de Guzmán with one hundred and fifty horsemen and as many well armed infantrymen, and with twelve pieces of artillery, followed by seven or eight thousand friendly and allied Indians, set out to explore and conquer the province of the Teules Chichimecas (and incidentally to get slaves). A secondary purpose of the expedition was to

oot the Cross in the land of the "unfaithful". On marching into Michoacán, Guzmán records that the Indians were rising against him to kill all the Spaniards they could, and were inspired in this by the Caltzontzin. They were holding sacrifices of Indians and Christians in order to get the support of their gods. Guzmán then passes over the succeeding events with the statement that "I sentenced him /the Caltzontzin/ to burn."\textsuperscript{17} According to Guzmán, the pueblos then quieted and served the king as well as before. His captain, Carranza, does not pass over the event so lightly. He speaks of guards around the Caltzontzin who was held in the posada of Guzman. The Indians, according to Carranza, tried to break into the shelter one night to hang the Caltzontzin, but the guards held them back. Carranza was then sent ahead of the army, but he heard fifteen days later that the Caltzontzin and Don Pedro (Don Pedro Canca or Cuitamangari, son-in-law of the Caltzon-
tzin) and Don Alonso (Don Alonso Eguangari, afterwards governor of the capital of Michoacán\textsuperscript{18}) had been tortured by Guzmán, who wanted to find where their gold was hidden.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{17}Guzmán, Fray do, op. cit., p. 358.
\textsuperscript{18}Beaumont, Fr. Pablo, op. cit., p. 162.
\textsuperscript{19}Carranza, Pedro do, op. cit., p. 349.
The story of this search for the gold and jewels and of the
depth of the Caltzontzin is much more graphically told by
the author of the Relacion de Michoacan. Mixed with the
lust for the wealth of Michoacán, was the search for a way
to pass through Michoacán peacefully and with plenty of
sustenance. The Tarascans apparently refused to furnish
guides to the Spaniards, even through their own realm.
Whatever may be the reason, Guzmán did burn the Caltzontzin,
and later historians have been harsh in their treatment of
this conquistador. This was only the beginning of the
cruelties imposed by Guzmán on the Indians throughout his
journey. Meeting with armed and angered natives, Guzmán
expeditiously suppressed them. On his return to Mexico,
Guzmán was tried for his cruelty, but the main source of
contention in the trial seems to have been that the Crown
received none of the gold that he was supposed to have found.

After destroying many Indians in Jalisco, Guzmán
sacked villages in Michoacán to obtain natives to populate
his land there, and to work for him. The change benefited
him little, however, because the Tarascans could not become
accustomed to the more rigorous climate of Nueva Galicia.

20 Relacion de Michoacan (Morelia: Tip. de Alfonso
Aragon, 1903), pp. 103-114, 117-130.

21 Tello, Fray Antonio, Libre Segundo de la Cronica
Miscelanea . . . (Guadalajara: Imprenta de la Republica
Literaria, 1891), pp. 69-70.
and many died.

In 1534, New Spain was divided into four provinces and bishoprics and Michoacán was one of these. The city of Michoacán was created in the same year in the pueblo of Tzintzuntzan and was for a time the capital and cathedral city of the province. In 1536 the diocese of Michoacán was created by Pope Paul III at the instigation of Emperor Charles V. Its boundaries were to coincide with those of the ancient kingdom of Michoacán. In 1540, the cathedral was moved to Patzcuaro. In 1542, the convent of San Buenaventura was founded in Valladolid (Guayangaro) and in 1580 the cathedral was moved there.

The province of Michoacán as originally set up in 1534 included land:

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26 Codulario de Fuga, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 320-321. Also in "Relación de las Cuatro Provincias en que se divide el Reyno de Nueva España (sin fecha), (Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía, Epoca 4, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1933), p. 386. Also in Beaumont, Fr. Pablo, op. cit. Vol. 2, p. 265. These three are almost identical with the exception of some place names which may be different due to transcription. The name in the first ( ) is from the "Relación" the name in the second ( ) is from Beaumont.
From the pueblo of las Troxos (Troxos) (Torres) it is declared that the names of the pueblos there are: from there to Chitlan (Chila) (Chitlan), subject to Ouma which is in the province of Lochoacan and from there to the pueblo of Charapico and from there to the pueblo of Caycoran and from there to Chimaac (Chimaac) (Chimaac) and from there to Guayacan, and from there to Insigiantapaco (Jantagaxe) (Imingiantapaco) and from there to Cuchar subject to Acroquic (sic) (Ciroquic) and from there to Caacapuro and from there to Occiso Tucantlan (Tucantlan) (Oceanicatlan) and from there to Cingapaco (Cingapaco) (Cingapaco) and from there to Tacambaro (Trincahaxo) (Tzacambaro) and from there to Taximaroa (Taximaroa) (Taximaroa) (sicc) and by the boundaries of Taximaroa (Taximaroa) (Tajimaroa) to the river which leaves from Mataculigo (Mataculigo) (Mataculigo) of Mexico and from Taximaroa (Taximaroa) (Tajimaroa) running along the boundary to the pueblo of Acambaro (Acambaro) (Acambaro) and from there begins the said river and runs by the boundaries of Taximaroa (Taximaroa) (Tajimaroa) and by the same river down to run into the Mar del Sur.

It can be seen that the province of Lochoacan included the provincios of Zacatula and Colima. (See Figure 26)

In 1636 it comprehended the following areas:

1. The present day states of Lochoacan and Colima entirely.

2. Almost all of Guanajuato save the districts of Xichu and Casas Viejas (Victoria e Tturvido).

3. Three cantons of Jalisco - Zapotlan and la Barca.


5. A large part of San Luis Potosí.27

Figure 28.

Map of the provinces of Mexico from the atlas by H. d'Anville (Venise: P. A. Santini, 1779).
Baumont's map, Figure 4, shows the province in the later 1700's.
CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN MICHOACAN

The first brotherhood of the Catholic church to enter Michoacán, as in Mexico, was that of the Franciscans under Fray Martín de la Coruña (Fray Martín de Jesús).\(^1\) Establishing their first church in Tzintzuntzan under the guidance of Santa Ana, in 1525, the Franciscans soon increased their domain to include many more churches. Entering with Martín de Jesus were six (or five) other brothers. These were welcomed by the Indians and the Caltzontzin himself, was one of the first baptized into the Christian faith.\(^2\) They destroyed and burned idols and temples, no doubt, however saving the gold and jewels which adorned the images.

The method of conversion of these Franciscans bespeaks a most efficient system. Through interpreters the priest explained the religion very simply, and explained the zeal with which the Christians worked for converts. They worked especially with the children, because these should be reared in the true faith. Th adults presented a more difficult problem; these would not accept the new faith so readily.


\(^2\) Torquemada, Juan de, De los Veinte i un Libros Rituales i Monarchia Indiana ... (Ladrí: Oficina de Nicolás Rodríguez Franco, 1723) Vol. 3, p. 332.
For them the brothers had Indians paint pictures of various important religious functions; of the ten commandments, the seven sacraments, the articles of the faith. With these beside them, the teaching was easier. The brothers started immediately to discourage and forbid polygamy after baptism. This proceeded with difficulty. Also they tried to dissuade the Indians from bathing so frequently as it was not healthful. They worked untiringly in their mission, establishing visitas at Brongaricuaro, Furechecuaro, Santa Fe and Cucupao.  

Because of the distances in Michoacan, one third of the priests sent from Spain were given to this province.  

The friars were converting many and exhibiting many of the good traits of the Spaniards to the Indians when Guzman made his journey of destruction. For many years thereafter the religious orders labored under difficulties, the Indians refusing to listen to the apostles of such a people. In 1533, Don Vasco de Quiroga was sent as visitador of the Audiencia and in 1537 was made bishop of Michoacan. Under his kindly and just rule the church was once more able to move forward. In 1540 the see was moved to Patzcuaro which became capital of the province. The first convent had been founded in Tzintzuntzan followed by others of the

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4 Torquemada, Juan de, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 533.
Franciscan order in Guayangarco (Valladolid, Morelia), Tarcuato, Uruapan, Zinápécuaro, Zacapá and others from here into Jalisco and Colima. In 1535 the Franciscan Province of San Pedro and San Pablo was founded. This was entirely separate from the province of Mexico and embraced present Jalisco. 5

In 1565 there were appointed two heads of the province, one in Valladolid, and one in Guadalajara. This lasted until 1606 when that of Jalisco was split off from that of Michoacán and given the name of Santiago. 6

In spite of the fact that the Franciscans were the first brotherhood in Michoacán the first chroniclers were not Franciscans but Augustinians.

There were, however, many later Franciscan authors: Pedro Laguna and Laturini Gilberti, authors of grammars and vocabularies, as well as many religious writings in Tarascan; Alonso de la Rúa, Isidro Felix Espinosa; and Pablo Beaumont, chroniclers.

The great rival of the Franciscan brotherhood in Michoacán was that of the Augustinians. In 1537 the Augustinians began the missionization of the Tierraseliente,

5Tello, Fray Antonio, Libro Segundo de la Cronica Miscelánea... (Guadalajara: Imprenta de la Republica Literaria, 1891), p. 225.

with headquarters in San Juan Baptista de Tziripitío (Tziripitío). The friars connected with this first convent were Juan de San Roman and Diego de Chávez. From 1537 to 1550 only two convents and missions had been founded; those of Tziripitío and Tacámbaro. In the latter year Francisco de Villafuerte entered the Tierracaliente. An indomitable worker and organizer, he founded more than five hundred churches in pueblos (this seems to be highly exaggerated); administered land "of two hundred leagues" and a force of more than twenty priests. Fray Juan Baptista de Loya came to assist him and in turn founded many churches in towns such as Tuzantla, Cutzamala, Turicato, Cutzoc, Ario, Urocho, Santa Clara, and Sinagua. Juan Baptista was ultimately sent to Patzcuaro and the southern province was left with Villafuerte. The bishopric of San Nicolás Tolentino de Michoacán had its see in Valladolid.

The first chronicle of Michoacán was written by an Augustinian, Juan Gonzalez de la Fuente. Diego de Basalenco, Alonso de la Vera Cruz, Luis de Escobar were other famous Augustinian authors.

By the end of the eighteenth century there were curates in the following towns in Michoacán: Augustinian in Tziripitío,

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Escobar, Luis de, America Thobaida (Published as a supplement to the Anales del Museo Michoacano, Año primero, pp. 1-193), pp. 62-64 (second pages of this numbering).
Pátzcuaro, Siraguon, Purenuchóquaro, Santa Clara, Caraquaro, Uruapan, Urocho, Aguacana, Churumaco, la Barca, Raculon, Cañara, Chilchota, la Piedad, Angamaquiro, Santa Fe del Rio, Puruandiro, Vango (Guango ?), Guanigueo, Teremanto, and Guimeo; Franciscoan in Patamban, Taroquato, Tinguindin, Xiquilpan, Maquili, Pomaro, Coalecomán, Topoalcatope, Insan-\ndaro, Santa Ana Amatlán, Apatzingán, Tanzitaro, Periven, Parangaritutiro, Terotan, Charapan, Paracho, Pichátaro, Nagauchí (Nahuatzon ?) Charo, Indaparapeo, Zinápócuaro,\nMaravatí, Irimbo, Tlalpujahua, Tzamócoa, Santiago Tzupán,\nZitácuaro, Tuzantla, Purungueo, Cuzamala, Cusco, Caraquaro,\nTuricato, Tecúbaro, Etúcuaro and Tepúbaro; of the\nsecular clergy in Valladolid, Capula, Tzintzuntzan, Santa\nfe de la Laguna and Zacapú.

The first Jesuit to visit Michoacán was Juan Curiel in 1573. The chapter of the Society of Jesus in Pátzcuaro asked him to establish the company there on permanent\nfooting. With an annual grant of eight hundred posces; the\nuse of the church, which had formerly been the cathedral;\nan orchard and land for a college; the Jesuits became\nestablished in Pátzcuaro. The church was very poor at first\nbut later became wealthy through the gifts of patrons.  

8 "Brevísima Descripción del Obispado de Michoacán (Finales\ndel Siglo XVIII)," Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación,\n11:1:130-1, 1940.

Jesuit monasteries in Michoacán in 1575 were located in San Juan Bautista Tirepitico (through arrangement with the Augustinians) San Hieronimo Tacámbaro and in Patzcuaro. A famous Jesuit was Clavigero who wrote from Valladolid.

A convent of Santa Catalina de Siena of Dominican nunns was founded in Valladolid in 1568 (?). Convents of La Merced and the Capuchins were founded in the early 1600's and 1737 respectively. The barefooted Carmelite order founded a convent in Valladolid in 1593. In 1722 the Guaceta says:

It has been determined to found a convent for barefooted Carmelite nuns. Toward this end, D. Carlos de Mondragón, canon of the church, has donated some very large new houses. Only the license of His Majesty, for which they have already applied, is needed.

This was in the city of Valladolid.

One must not underestimate the value of these zealous brothers and fathers in Michoacán. Their works and acts of charity did much to alleviate the suffering caused by their conquering countrymen. They made great efforts

10 Roman y Zamora, Jerónimo, Republica de Indios (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1897), pp. 301-2.
11 Bancroft, Hubert H., op. cit., p. 737.
12 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 710.
13 Ibid., p. 708.
to learn the native languages and Bancroft says that one Franciscan, Miguel de Gemalos, mastered the Tarascan language in eighty days.\textsuperscript{15}

Until the time of Quiroga, the Indians had been treated harshly. Encomenderos exacted too much labor and in addition the tributes were too heavy. Many were the land suits in this first period involving a group of Indians and one Spaniard. The Spaniard was usually given the land. Quiroga worked hard against this, himself taking part in some suits. He worked with the villagers and encouraged them in individual trades and arts: in San Felipe, iron work; Santa Clara, copper work; Capula, wood cutting; Uruapan, lacquer work; Paracho, musical instruments and filagreos of wood; Nario, woven articles and nets; Guanajo, wood cutting and carpentry; Tzintzuntzan, feather mosaics; Tecomendo, tanning hiños and making articles of leather; Santa Fe, agriculture, making candles and ceramics; San Andros, images of pasto of mozie canes; Quiroga (Cucapah), painting of batgas and boxes; Patambar, clay utensils; and in Pátzcuaro, lacquers, cotton and wool cloths, blankets mantas and shawls. Many of these crafts are still carried on today in those pueblos.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15} Bancroft, Hubert H., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 722.

Higher schools were established for Indians and mestizos in Michoacán in 1543. The first college was established in Tihuatná by the Augustinians in 1540. Here came to study Don Antonio Huizimongari, son of the Cal-itzontzin, and many other sons of noble Tarascans to learn the Spanish language and, incidentally, the Catholic religion.  

The Colegio de San Nicolás in Tzintzuntzun was particularly for Spaniards who were in preparation for the priesthood. However, Indians were allowed to send their children there. Of this school Quiroga said in a letter in 1565:

Many years ago, I founded in Michoacán the College of San Nicolás because of the great lack of ministers of the sacraments and divine worship in Michoacán, in order to provide ordained clergy, for truly, if from here the need of priests cannot be supplied, they will never be forthcoming.

In the college of San Nicolás, students of pure Spanish blood are prepared for language priests, as many as can be accommodated and who have the qualities necessary, as well as the required purity of blood.

It was Quiroga who introduced the first bananas from Santo Domingo into Michoacán in Tzintzuntzuntzun.

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20Carriaga, Antonio, op. cit., p. 23.
were of three varieties: (1) called guineo, small thick bananas, (2) called Uruapan, larger and thinner bananas, and (3) called gordos. This last is the variety which was used for bread. It was also Quiroga who planted the first olive trees in Michoacan, in the courtyard of the parish house at Tzintzuntzan in 1542.

The greatest service of the church was the formation of Hospitales and Cofradies. The Hospitales were directed by a rector instructed in Tarascan; by a principal, named by the Indian fathers; and by the regidores. These were charitable organizations supported by the communities. There were wards for sick people in the buildings. A cofradia was much on the same order. Most of the cofradias were supported by fields and stock raised by the community on community land. The revenues from these paid for a priest, the various fiestas and church rites, and for the care of the sick from the pueblo. In some cases the size of the land holdings and the count of stock of the cofradia seems enormous for the size of the pueblo. The charity and benevolence of the cofradias depended to a large extent on the charity of the priest in the village. Certainly it

21 Ibid., pp. 18-19.

can be seen that a priest who desired to do so, could gain much through a cofradía. 23

The Inquisition had little influence on the church in Michoacan. Indians were exempted from it on the grounds that they were not pinto do razón, i.e., not rational enough to be responsible. This was also used as an excuse by the encomenderos for the cruelties inflicted on the Indians. 24

The many activities of the church were of necessity supported by the people. Aside from the large donations given them by the pious Spaniards, these funds were made up by the commoners. Such a large fund was that of Juan de Alvarado. The church and hospital of Tlapíto were for a time supported in magnificence by the gift of the real de minas of Curucupacoo from the encomendero Alvarado. When the silver ran out in the mine, the church was, however, again supported by alms. 25 The Spaniards were required to pay the tithes while the Indians were exempt, but the Indians furnished the bulk of the labor in building the churches, and by a law in 1534 were required to build adequate houses for the clergy to live in comfort. 26

23 See Appendices A to H and Appendix I for additional material on cofradías and hospitales.


25 Escobar, Matías de, op. cit., p. 83.

The Cathedral of Michoacán was built through Indian labor by command of the queen; a third of the money was paid by the Crown, and a third by the people of Michoacán. The other revenues of the church were obtained from the primicias or first fruits, payable to the parish priests; fees for masses, burials, weddings, baptisms and other minor functions; the ownership and revenues accruing from large tracts of land and many head of cattle. In many of the cofradías, the Indians were required to keep the priest supplied with honey, tortillas, bread, water, as well as personal servants.

An impression of poverty was gained by forbidding the use of embroidered or silk clothes on ordinary days; the possession of more than one book; and enforcement of the use of small living quarters for the priests. The Franciscans were ordered to go barefoot but by permit from the superior they could wear sandals. Such men as former more than imitated poverty; they lived it. And it must be said in fairness that there were many such friars, especially in the early days of conversion.

27 Codulario de Iuga (Mexico: José María Sánchez, 1878), Vol. 1, p. 404.
29 See Appendix A to H.
One of the greatest difficulties encountered by the first Franciscans was the procuring of the abandonment of polygamy. A typical case was cited by Torquemada\textsuperscript{31} and translated by Braden\textsuperscript{32} from a letter by Dr. Anguis:

I will tell you of a case of abuse which I found in the diocese of Michoacan, and I found so many cases of it that finally I gave up the idea of trying to discover a remedy. It happened that Pedro and Maria, Indians, were married by the church. Then Pedro became enamored of another woman and in order to rid himself of his wife and wed the other, had only to go to the friar and say that when he was married to Maria by the church he was already married to the other. At once, this was believed, and, without asking for further information the monk dissolved the union and married him to the other woman.

It happened afterward that Pedro became angry and dissatisfied with his latest wife, so appeared again before the same friar and said that the story he had told on the former occasion was not true and that he had practiced deception in what he had said. He asked then that his former wife be returned to him. Meanwhile, however, she had sought the protection of some other men and had married him. At once, not withstanding the admission of deception, with the same readiness as before, the priest accepted the second story, and there was thus created a matrimonial tangle which God alone could untangle, for there was a confusion of five or six marriages, all solemnized by the church.

This is very common and every day such marriages are performed and dissolved, as I have ascertained by repeated personal observation and investigation of many cases . . . . I sought by writing and by word to get the evils corrected, but accomplished nothing, for the friar simply said that the conscience of each one had to be relied upon. Even the protests of the prelates accomplished nothing more than to provoke a derision by the friars.

\textsuperscript{31}Torquemada, Juan de, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. 3, p. 197.

\textsuperscript{32}Braden, Charles S., \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 244-5.
Bradon suggests that it must be remembered that Dr. Anguis was a priest and therefore openly hostile to the friars to whom he attributes the abuse.

The church urged the parents to marry their children young: boys at fourteen years and girls from twelve, and to marry them with children from the same hospital, or if that were impossible, from neighboring barrios.33 This, of course, followed a long standing policy of the Church.

The feast days of the Pueblos were celebrated in fashion both Catholic and native. The discontinuation of bull fighting in the pueblo of Cutzic caused great dissent among the natives.34 Fiestas proceeded by processions and mass were usually held on the titular Saint's day, in Holy Week, and on All Saints Day. The priest was usually paid extra for his services and food was furnished to all from the Bienes de Comunidad (i. e., the communal funds which often were those of the cofradia.

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34 Appendix A.
CHAPTER III

SPANISH GOVERNMENT IN MICHOACAN

I The Encomienda

"The encomienda is a right granted by Royal Grace to the deserving of the Indies to receive and collect for themselves the tributes of the Indians that shall be given them in trust, for their life and the life of one heir, ... with the charge of looking after the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Indians and of dwelling in and defending the Provinces where they are given them in trust end of doing homage and making personal oath to fulfill all this." 

The experience of the more humane Spaniards on the islands had made them determined that the encomienda system should not be spread to the mainland of Mexico. But after Mexico had fallen, it became apparent to Cortes that all he had to offer his soldiers as pay, was the services of the Indians. Cortes yielded to the insistence of his men; he plainly did this under protest as he felt that the Mexican Indians, unlike those of the islands, were capable of governing themselves. To each of his most valued captains and soldiers he allotted Indians of the country to serve them. The emperor sternly forbade the system, having been influenced by the same humanitarians, principally Las Casas, who had influenced Cortes; he ordered the

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Indians given to be released. The Indians were to pay only the service and tributes to the Crown which the other vessels had to pay. Robustious Indians were to be captured and made slaves. The land was to be distributed equitably among the colonists, who were to occupy it for five years before gaining title to it. Cortes wrote a lengthy protest to those royal commands, and said again that the encomienda was a necessity if the Spaniards were to continue to hold the land. Under such pressure Charles recognized the system. As his allotment Cortes claimed the large and fertile valley of Oaxaca.2

Under Nuño de Guzman the encomienda became a cruel organization. He permitted wholesale enslavement. He allotted encomiendas to personal favorites who gambled them. Indian carriers were treated as pack animals and were insufficiently fed.3 The emperor ordered that encomiendas Indians were not to be used as slaves in the mines; and were not to be made to build houses to sell. The working of slaves in the mines was really a minor offence, because, under the Caltzontzin, the mines had been worked by similar slaves, captured in war. Slavery was thus not a new institution to the Tarascans. When tributes were demanded from the Indians,

3Ibid., pp. 106-7.
it was a frequent thing for a Tarasean to offer a slave, if he had no gold. In such a way the institution of slavery was perpetuated in the Spanish rule.

In 1531 began the process of undermining the oncomienda. Titles were to be examined for frauds and those found to be untrue were to be annulled. These vacant estates were to become incorporated in the Crown and divided into corregimientos, under magistrates called corregidores; salaried officers responsible to the Emperor. The Indians in these had legal status as vassals and were to pay tributos. Ousted oncomendores, if worthy, were to be made corregidores; if not, alguacilos or constables. The salary of the corregidor was to be deducted from the tributos. The corregidor was to appoint one Indian alguacil in each town.

Still, the conquerors, and then the Dominicans and Franciscans, agitated for a perpetual oncomienda. In 1546 laws were passed establishing the right of succession of wives and children of oncomendores. Government officials were again forbidden to use Indians in personal service.

Much has been written on the oncomienda system, both for and against. The laws of the kings of Spain were lenient; the enforcement harsh. So great were distances and so

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4Simpson, Lesley Byrd, op. cit., p. 113.
difficult communication that much had been done in Mexico before the crown was informed. How could the ruler in Spain know conditions in Mexico, when reports were so varied and so biased? The encomienda was kind and just if the encomendero were so; but it became cruel and harsh, following his will.

It is, however, doubtful if Spanish rule could have succeeded in Mexico without this institution. The conquerors were generally of the lower classes; victory made these opportunists arrogant and the thought that they could rule as once they had been ruled must have pleased them. Those who had been born to manual labor could now impose it on others and themselves live in ease. They refused to work, preferring, naturally, to profit from Indian labor. Furthermore, had they not taken part in the conquest?

Among the encomiendas granted in Michoacán were:

Acarono⁵ granted to Héctor de Valderrama.
Ácuitzio⁶ granted to Juan de Alvarado.
Angamacutiro⁷ granted to Juan Villaseñor Cervantes.

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⁶Romero Flores, Jesús, Michoacán, Historico y Legendario (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1956) pp. 27-28. Romero Flores does not cite the sources of his material. As there are great differences between this list and the others here integrated it would be interesting to know the origin of his list.

⁷Ibid.
Arán
granted to Juan Infante.

Aranján
granted to Juan Infante.

Araró
granted to Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra.
hold by His Majesty.

Capula
granted to Lucas Carrillo.
hold by His Majesty.

Carácuaro
granted to Cristóbal de Olarte.

Comanja
granted to Juan Infante.

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8Ibid.

9Relación de los Obispados . . . (México: en casa del Editor, 1904), p. 36. This is probably the same pueblo as Aran.

10Romero Flores, Jesús, loc. cit.

11Papeles de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 32. In cases of such disagreement it seems possible that Araro was originally granted as an encomienda to Bocanegra and later reverted to the Crown. As Bocanegra was still encomendero of Acambaro at the time the Papeles were written, either Araro was taken from him during his lifetime or one of the sources is in error.

12Romero Flores, Jesús, loc. cit.

13Relación de los Obispados . . . , op. cit., p. 42. This city falls into the same class as Araro. See footnote 11.

14Papeles de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 77.

15Romero Flores, Jesús, loc. cit.

16Relación de los Obispados . . . op. cit., p. 36.

17Papeles de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 78.
Coguripe granted to Gonzalo Dávalos.  

Cuitzeo granted to Juan Villaseñor Corvantes.

Cuitzeo granted to Antón de Silva.

Cuitzeo granted to Gonzalo López.

Cuitzeo held by His Majesty.

Cuyseo (Cutzio) granted to Gonzalo Ruiz.

Cutzamala granted to Juan de Burgos (later to Francisco Vázquez Coronado, still later to Bernardino de Escambrera, his son-in-law).

Charapan granted to Juan Infante.

Chilchota granted to Juan Infante.

Chilchota held by His Majesty.

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18 Romero Flórez, Jesus, loc. cit. The difference here is unexplainable. According to the Papelos, Dávalos was encomendero of Zacapu.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 76.

22 Relación de los Obispados, op. cit., p. 34. This is one of the cases, itself not conclusive, which shows that the Relación was written at a somewhat later date in the sixteenth century than the Papelos de Nueva España.

23 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 80.


25 Romero Flórez, Jesus, loc. cit.

26 Ibid.

27 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 80.
Chiquimitio held by His Majesty
Chocandiro granted to Alvergo Gallego
Erongarieguaro granted to Joan Infanto
Etiquaro granted to Juan de Alvarado
Guango granted to Joan de Villasenor
(Huango) granted to Juan Villasenor Corvantes
Guaniquoco granted to Juan Villasenor Corvantes

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28 *Relacion de los Obispados*, op. cit., p. 43.
29 *Papeles de Nueva España*, op. cit., p. 77.
30 *Relacion de los Obispados*, op. cit., p. 34.
   The author says later (p. 154) that the pueblo was originally
   granted to Alvergo Gallego at whose death succeeded his wife
   who later married Gonzalo Galvan.
31 *Papeles de Nueva España*, op. cit., p. 76. For this
   discrepancy there is no explanation.
33 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
34 *Papeles de Nueva España*, op. cit., p. 116.
35 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
36 *Relacion de los Obispados*, ..., op. cit., p. 49, 166.
37 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
38 *Papeles de Nueva España*, op. cit., p. 116.
Guanaxo (Aric)

held by His Majesty. 39

La Huacana (Vacana) granted to Juan Pantoja. 41

generated to Juan de Pantoja, at whose
death succeeded Pedro Pantoja. 42

Huriambu

granted to Juan de Alvarado. 43

Indaparapo

granted to Francisco Mortillo. 44

generated to Francisco Mortillo, who died
leaving the encomienda to his son,
Gaspar Mortillo. 45

Irimbo

granted to Juan Velasquez de Salazar. 46

Jacona

held by His Majesty. 47

39 Relación de los Obispos... op. cit., p. 35.
40 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 117.
41 Ibid., p. 294.
42 Relación de los Obispos... op. cit., p. 168.
At the time this report was written Juan Pantoja was dead,
and Pedro, his son, possessed the encomienda. This would
make this report date later than the Papelos.
43 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
44 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 133.
45 Relación de los Obispos... op. cit., p. 167.
Gaspar Mortillo possessed the city at the time this report
was written.
46 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
47 Relación de los Obispos... op. cit., p. 43.
Jasso

hold by His Majesty. 48

Joruco

granted to Anton de Silva. 50

granted to Gonzalo Lopez. 51

Jiquilpan

hold by His Majesty. 52

hold by His Majesty. 53

granted to Juan Infante. 54

Maravatio (Maravatio) granted to Pedro Xuarcez. 55

held by His Majesty. 56

Necotlan

hold by His Majesty. 57

hold by His Majesty. 58

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48 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 302.

49 Ibid., p. 152.

50 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.

51 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 76.

52 Ibid., p. 302.

53 Relación de los Obispados... op. cit., p. 48.

54 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit. The author here states that Juan Infante was granted the pueblos en Lake Patzcuaro to Jiquilpan. It is not known whether he meant Jiquilpan to be included or not.

55 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 150.

56 Relación de los Obispados... op. cit., p. 45.

57 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 165.

58 Relación de los Obispados... op. cit., p. 41.
Nocupotaro granted to Cristobal de Chavez. 59
Numaran granted to Juan Villaseñor Corvantes. 60
Pajacuaran (Pajacoran) held by His Majesty. 61

Pajacuaran granted to Francisco Chavez. 62
Pamacoran granted to Joan Infante. 63
Ponjamillo granted to Juan Villaseñor Corvantes. 64
Ponjamo (half of) granted to Tomás Quesihuchigua, a relative of the Calizotzin. 65
Poribana (Porivan) granted to Francisco de Chauos. 66

Poribana (Porivan) granted to Francisco de Chauos.

granted to Antonio Cacicco on whose death succeeded his wife Doña Marina de Montes do Oca (Montosodoca). 67

Pichataro granted to Tomas Gil. 68

59Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
60Ibid.
61Papeles de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 178.
62Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
63Papeles de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 180.
64Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
65Ibid.
66Papeles de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 179.
67Relacion de los Obispados ... op. cit., p. 48, 173.
68Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
Puruanárdio granted to Juan Villaseñor Corvantes. 69

Pungarabato granted to Herodoro de Baza. 71

granted to Pedro de Baza on whose death succeeded his son Hernando de Baza. 72

Purumigueuaro granted to Joan Infante. 73

Senguio granted to Juan Vélezquez de Salazar. 74

Sinagua hold by His Majesty. 75

hold by His Majesty. 76

Sivina granted to Joan Infante. 77

Tacambro granted to Cristóbal de Cánate, on whose death the encomienda passed to his son Hernando de Cánate. 78

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69 Ibid.
70 Relación de los Obispados op. cit., p. 166.
71 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 181.
72 Relación de los Obispados op. cit., p. 49.
73 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 161.
74 Romero Flores, Jesús, loc. cit.
75 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 52.
76 Relación de los Obispados op. cit., p. 48.
77 Ibid., p. 36.
78 Ibid., p. 164.
Tecucuarco

granted to Cristóbal de Ñato. 79
granted to Cristóbal de Ñato. 80

Teimeo

granted to Lucas Carrillo. 81
granted to Juan de Pantoja. 82

(Taymoo)

granted to the son of Francisco Rodríguez
and Lazar Davila. 83

half granted to Pedro Davila Quiñones; other
half held by His Majesty. 84

Tencitaro

half granted to Domingo de Lechina; other
half held by His Majesty. 85

half granted to Domingo de Lechina; other
half held by His Majesty. 86

Tarecuato

granted to Francisco Chavez. 87
granted to Francisco de Chauco. 88

79 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 252.
80 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 252.
84 Relación de los Obispados • • op. cit., p. 45.
85 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 254.
86 Relación de los Obispados • • op. cit., p. 58.
87 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
88 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 254.
Tarimoaro

granted to Da. Marina de Montes de Oca. 69

generated to Cristóbal de Valderrama at whose
deth it passed to his daughter, who married
Diego Arias de Sotelo. 90

generated to a daughter of the Caltzontzin. 91

Taximaroa

granted to Gonzalo de Salazar. 92

generated to Juan de Pantoja. 93

generated to Juan Velezquez de Salazar. 94

Toromondo (Tromondo) held by His Majesty. 95

granted to Juan de Alvarado. 96

Tinguindin (Teguandin) held by His Majesty. 97

held by His Majesty. 98

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69 Relacion de los Obispados ... op. cit., p. 48.
Da. Marina was the widow of Antonio Caicedo.

90 Ibid., p. 160.

91 Romoero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.

92 Papeles de Nueva Espana, op. cit., p. 250.

93 Romoero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.

94 Relacion de los Obispados ... op. cit., p. 45.

95 Papeles de Nueva Espana, op. cit., p. 251.

96 Romoero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.

97 Papeles de Nueva Espana, op. cit., p. 254.

98 Relacion de los Obispados ... op. cit., p. 43.
Tiropitio granted to Joan de Alvarado.\textsuperscript{99}
hold by His Majesty.\textsuperscript{100}
granted to Juan de Alvarado.\textsuperscript{101}
granted to Juan de Alvarado.\textsuperscript{102}

Tlazazalca (Tlaçazalca) held by His Majesty.\textsuperscript{103}
hold by His Majesty.\textsuperscript{104}
granted to Nicolás Horte.\textsuperscript{105}

Turicato
granted to Antonio de Oliver and Diego Hernández Loio.\textsuperscript{106}
half granted to Diogo Fernández, nephew of a conqueror; other half held by His Majesty.\textsuperscript{107}
granted to Francisco Rodríguez Caraoro.\textsuperscript{108}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{99}Papeles de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 251.
\footnote{100}Relación de los Obispados . . . op. cit., p. 41.
\footnote{101}Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
\footnote{102}Escobar, Matías de, America Thobaída (published as a supplement to the Anales del Museo Michoacano, Año primero, pp. 1-193), p. 83.
\footnote{103}Papeles de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 253.
\footnote{104}Relación de los Obispados . . . op. cit., p. 44.
\footnote{105}Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
\footnote{106}Papeles de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 256.
\footnote{107}Relación de los Obispados . . . op. cit., p. 39. The word \textit{Hicto}, in Spanish, means nephew. It must be from this that the author of the Papeles got his last name "Hicto". On p. 178, the author of the Relación also calls him Diego Hernández, Hicto.
\footnote{108}Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
\end{footnotes}
Fuzantla  
hold by His Majesty.  

Ucaroc (Ucaroc)  
hold by His Majesty.  
hold by His Majesty.  

Undampoo  
granted to Juan de Partoje.  

Uruapan (Huruara)  
granted to Francisco de Villegas.  
granted to Francisco de Villegas at whose death the encomienda passed to his son, Pedro de Villegas.  
granted to Juan Infante.  

Xaracuaro  
granted to Juan Infante.  

Zacapú (Zacapo)  
granted to Gonzalo Daualos.  
granted to Hernando de Xerez at whose death succeeded his son-in-law, Gonzalo de Avalos.

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109 Relacion de los Obispos ... op. cit., p. 46.
110 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 254.
111 Relacion de los Obispos ... op. cit., p. 46.
112 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
113 Ibid.
114 Papelos de Nueva España, op. cit., p. 302.
115 Relacion de los Obispos ... op. cit., p. 155.
116 Romero Flores, Jesus, loc. cit.
117 Ibid., op. cit., p. 302.
118 Ibid., p. 79.
119 Relacion de los Obispos ... op. cit., p. 177.
There can be no doubt that Gonzalo Daualos and Gonzalo de Avalos are the same person.
granted to Juan de Carvallar.\textsuperscript{120}  
Zinapécuaro (Cinapoquaro) held by His Majesty.\textsuperscript{121}  
hold by His Majesty.\textsuperscript{122}  
Zirandaro (Sirandaro) granted to Bonauidos.\textsuperscript{123}  
hold by His Majesty.\textsuperscript{124}  
Zirosto (Xirosto) granted to Francisco de Villegas.\textsuperscript{125}  
granted to Francisco de Villegas, at whose death succeeded his third son, Francisco de Villegas.\textsuperscript{126}

\textbf{II THE CIVIL CONGREGATION}

In order to govern the Indians more easily it was determined to congregate some of the pueblos. A survey was made, sites for congregation indicated and the people brought together, occasionally not in the appointed places inasmuch as some of the judges were subject to bribery. The old houses were burned in order that the Indians might the more

\textsuperscript{120} Romero Flores, Jesus, \textit{loc. cit.}
\textsuperscript{121} Papelos de Nueva España, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{122} Relación de los Obispados \textit{\ldots op. cit.}, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{123} Papelos de Nueva España, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 191.
\textsuperscript{124} Relación de los Obispados \textit{\ldots op. cit.}, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{125} Papelos de Nueva España, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 310.
\textsuperscript{126} Relación de los Obispados, \textit{\ldots op. cit.}, p. 155.
readily forgot their homes. Large numbers of the Indians died as a result of the moving; others ran away. Among the congregations listed in the Remo de Indios of the national archive of Mexico, these were in Michoacan:

Taimoc and Zinayocuaro
February 16, 1593
Tajimarca
October 23, 1593
Sabina or Sevina
May 6, 1593
Acambaro
December 12, 1593
Tinguindin, Tazcuascaro,
Poriban, Taracuato and
Chacendirn
December 16, 1593
Tinguindin, Tazcuaro
January, 1594
Jacona
May 6, 1594
Sirandaro
June 9, 1594
Province of Jacona
September 10, 1598. 127

Added to these, from the Remo de Tierras are:

Diligencias sobre la congregacion de los pueblos de Tacancuaro, Santiago Tamangandaro, Jario, Ario, y Etuquero, sujetos a Jacona. 1600.

Autos sobre la congregacion de la Provincia de Michoacan. 1603.

The description and visita of the villages of Tinguambato, San Juan Corundapen, and San Angel, encomienda of

Francisco Villegas, from the *Domo de Tierras*, of the national archive of Mexico, Vol. 64, translated by Simpson, appears here as Appendix K.

In 1598, Don Martin Coron Salcedo congregated the pueblos of Ucarco, Tuxpan, Jungapoo and Tuzantla into those of Huetamco, Tungarabato and Zirandaro.

III THE HOSPITAL - PUEBLO

Don Vasco de Quiroga was a philosopher, a student and an able official. One phase of his philanthropic work in Mexico took the form of the organization of hospitals. The first of these was erected at Santa Fe near Mexico City. The second, at Atamatehco, known as Santa Fe de la Laguna, was organized in 1535. After he was elected bishop of Michoacán in 1537, Quiroga continued these activities, but none were as important as the first two. Although nominally under the heading of church work, the Hospital-Pueblos\textsuperscript{129} assumed the proportion of communal states and for that reason are included here.

Communal Organization. Houses in the cities were to be built for extended families with orchards near by. In case

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\textsuperscript{128}Romero Flores, Jesus, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

of the death of the head of the family, the land passed to
the married sons or nephews; or if these were lacking,
to an old, married and well Christianized Indian. Hospitals
for charity were located with each group of houses. The
lineage occupying one house consisted of eight, ten or
twelve married persons, patrilineally descended from the
head of the house. The head of the household was the
oldest grandfather and the younger members were expected
to obey him. Girls were to married from twelve years;
boys from fourteen. The negligence of the head of the
household was to be corrected by the rector and residentes
of the hospital.

Each resident of the Hospital was to be taught some
useful trade. In order to continue agricultural knowledge,
the children, after the hours of learning the doctrine,
were taken into the fields near the school where they worked
for two or three hours. The girls learned to weave wool,
linen, silk and cotton.

The adult population was granted two years in the
country. They then returned to continue their city labors.
In the country four or six married couples lived in one
house, practicing agriculture, raising cattle and "birds".
The oldest man again ruled the household. If a couple
wished to prolong the two years they could get license
from the rector and residentes.

Orchards of fruit, and fields of grain were cared for
by the country people in a communal project. The repairing of a house, church or building was also done communally. An effort was made to sow twice as much as would be needed so as to build up a reserve. A minimum reserve was a third over the needed crop.

The fruits of communal labor were distributed communally. The surplus was stored and used for charity to orphans, the poor, widows, old people, sick, crippled and blind persons.

CUSTOMS Clothes were to be "white, clean and honest, without pictures or other curious devices". Unmarried girls might go baredfooted; married women should wear mantas.

The rooster and regidores assigned the six jornadas (days) of labor for both men and women. There were storerooms for surplus food and materials. These could be sold and the proceeds put into a large coffer with three keys; one for the rooster, one for the principal, and the third for the oldest regidor. The money was accounted annually.

Food for the regular religious feasts came from the communal stores, and the families did the actual work of preparation. There were no slaves.

A large infirmary was built with one room for people with contagious diseases; the second for non-contagious. A mayor ono and a dispensaro were in charge.

There was a college for Christian and moral instruction of the Indians.
Elective Officers. The officers were a principal, roector and several residores.

All the people in the Hospital were divided into four groups each of which chose one candidate for principal. The heads of the families elected from among those, by secret ballot, the principal for the next three or six years. In the same manner they elected three or four residores for a single year term. The principal and residores appointed the lesser officials. The council met with two heads of families as jurors every three days.

The roector, a Catholic and Spanish priest was the head of the Hospital. The principal was second in authority. All complaints were listened to and debated upon by the council.

A bad, incorrigibly drunken or lazy person could be expelled by the principal, residores and the roector.

In his plan for the Hospital-Pueblo and in the execution of it, Quiroga had been greatly influenced by Thomas More.

IV THE AUDIENCIA

The audiencias were created to govern the vast territories acquired by Spain. That of Mexico was created November 29, 1527. It consisted of two chambers, a criminal and a civil; a president, eight residores, four alcaldes sol
crime, two fiscales for civil and criminal cases respectively. The colonial audiencias were instructed to guard the royal prerogative and to try all persons accused of usurping the royal jurisdiction. They were to limit the fees charged by the church and lay officials for their services, especially those of the priests for funerals, marriages and baptisms.

The chiefs of provinces, alcaldes mayores and corregidores were responsible to the audiencias in matters of justice, and to the viceries in administrative affairs. In Indian relations they were subject to the executive with appeal to the audiencia. They supervised the repartimientos or poles, forced native labor on public works. Tributes from the Indians were collected by the alcaldes mayores and corregidores.

Most of present Michoacan belonged to the audiencia of Mexico. A portion in the extreme northwest was under the audiencia of Guadalajara.

V LAWS REGARDING THE INDIANS

The laws sent by the rulers are too numerous to repeat.


131 Ibid., p. 23.
and were so frequently altered and so flagrantly disobeyed as to be of little consequence. The phrase *choces no se cumplen* became more and more frequently repeated, much to the irritation of the monarchs. The laws more commonly shelved, as might be expected, were those limiting the *encomenderos* in the avaricious gains from Indian labor.

The Spaniards were not to sell, on penalty of death, horses, mares or mules to the Indians. This was in order that the Indians would never learn horsemanship and challenge the "men on the horse". Arms were not to be sold to Indians for fear that they might fall into the hands of some of the tribes still not subject to Spain. Later the privilege of riding horseback was given to caciques as a reward for faithful service.

By 1590, laws were passed ordering the pueblos and Indians to feed and give beasts of burden (burros?) to the soldiers passing through their land to the port of Acapulco and the Philippines. The soldiers frequently took more than was their right.

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133 Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico, Ramo de Indias. Scattered references.
The New Laws, consisting of fifty-four articles, passed in 1542, were framed under the influence of Las Casas and other reformers. Twenty-three of these were listed by Simpson.

10. Declares that the Indians are free persons and vassals of the Crown, and that it has already been the royal purpose to have them treated as such. The Council of the Indies is therefore commanded to see to the execution of the laws for their benefit and protection.

24. Declares that it is one of the principal duties of the audiencias to inquire into and punish excesses against the Indians.

25. Law suits among the Indians are to be decided summarily and according to their usage and custom.

26. "We order and command that henceforth for no reason of war or for any other, even though it be by title of rebellion or purchase, is any Indian to be made a slave, and we wish them to be treated as vassals of the Crown of Castile, since such they are. No person may make use of any Indian, either as servia or servia, or in any other way, against his will."

27. Those Indians not held legitimately as slaves are to be set at liberty forthwith.

28. The use of Indian carriers is only to be permitted in those places where it cannot be avoided, and then only with their consent and moderately.

30. No free Indian is to be taken to the pearl fisheries against his will, and if the loss of life in pearl fishing cannot be stopped it is to be abandoned.

31. All Indians held in encomienda by the viceroy, their lieutenants, royal officers, prelates, monasteries, hospitals, religious houses, mints, the treasury, etc., are to be at once transferred to the Crown.

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32. Excessively large encomiendas are to be reduced, and the surplus is to be distributed among those first conquerors who have none.

33. Those who have mistreated their Indians are to lose their encomiendas, which are to revert to the Crown.

36. Henceforth no encomienda is to be made to anyone for any reason, and when the present holders of encomiendas die, their Indians will revert to the Crown. The wives, children, and heirs of such encomenderos will be provided for out of the tributes received from the Crown Indians.

36. The Indians removed from the encomiendas are to be well treated and taught in the Holy Catholic Faith as free vassals of the Crown, and this is to be the principal care of the presidents and clerics of the audiencias. Those Indians are to be governed in the manner now prevailing in New Spain for the Indians under the Crown (i.e., the corregimiento).

37. In the distribution of corregimientos the first conquerors are to be given preference.

38. Suits involving the Indians are no longer to be heard in the Indies or before the Council of the Indies, but must be heard before the King himself.

39. In expeditions of discovery no Indians are to be taken, save perhaps three or four to be used as interpreters. One or two religious are to accompany every expedition. Nothing is to be taken from the Indians except in fair trade.

40. The tributes of newly discovered Indians are to be fairly assessed and delivered to the royal treasurer.

43. The Spaniards are to have no authority whatever over newly discovered Indians, and are not to make use of them in any way whatever. They are to have only such use of the Indians' tributes as the governor shall order.

45. Those first conquerors and their heirs having no encomiendas are to be provided for out of the tributes of the Indians to be removed from the encomiendas.

47. Corregimientos are to be given preferentially to those conquerors who were not provided for at first and to their sons.
48. Encomenderos must reside in the province in which their encomiendas are located.

49. The tributes paid to encomenderos and to the Crown are to be fixed at a lower rate than that which prevailed under native rulers.

50. The Indians are to be well treated as free vassals of the Crown, which they are. Anyone mistreating them is to be punished according to the laws of Castile.

51. No encomendero may exact a greater tribute from his Indians than that fixed by the viceroy and the audiencia.

VI COAST GUARD

In the late 1700's, at the time of the Spanish wars with the English, the Indians of the coast were organized into coast guards (guarda costa). Their arms consisted of bows and quivers of arrows. They wore no uniforms, but usually had distinguishing cockades. To keep their arms in good condition they were allowed to keep a part of the tributes. The fact that the coast guard itself was not provided with firearms is an indication of the extremely slow spread of European culture into Liohecan.

VII EDUCATION

The Spaniards by the eighteenth century were subsidizing schools in villages to the extent of allowing the inhabitants to retain part of their tributes to pay a teacher. Unfortunately, the situation and climate of many

135 See Appendices A-F, and L.
of the southern pueblos was so abominable, that teachers were unobtainable at any price. In others the poverty of the people prevented them from supporting even part of a teacher's salary. Such schools as were organized were destined to teach the Indians to read and write Spanish. These were not parochial schools. 136

Higher education was obtainable in the church colleges already discussed.

VIII VISITADORES

Another check on the officials by the Crown and audiencia was through the visitadores, men sent out to examine the records and to talk with the Indians. The first of those sent to Michoacán was Juan de Villasfríor, in 1532, who "visited" the northern pueblos of Taximaroa, Larevatió, Capula, Chocandiro, Jasso, Tornemóndo, Cuitzco and Yurirapundaro. His primary purpose was to learn about events touching upon the Inquisition. 137

In 1533 Don Vasco de Quiroga was named Visitador, which position he held until 1536.

IX REPORTS ON THE NATIVES

In all cases, enquistadores were instructed by the

136 Ibid.

Crown to learn as much as possible about the customs, habits, and languages of the Indians. They were to ascertain and report on geographic features, and natural resources. Unfortunately, in their search for wealth, they neglected such minor points in their reports, at least in any detail. Many never bothered to turn in a formal report.

The Papelos de Nueva España listed "Instructions and reminders of the relations which had to be made, for the description of the Indies, by command of His Majesty, for the good government and enmolding of them."

(1) the governors, corregidores or alcaldes mayores, to whom the viceroy or audiencia and other persons of the government sent these instructions and reminders, should report on the pueblos of Spaniards and Indians, who lived in their jurisdiction. In the report should be put legibly and clearly the names of those reporting. These reports should be sent to the responsible officials of the government so that these could make the relations and send them to the king and the Council of the Indies.

Such printed instructions and reminders should be distributed to the councils or priests of the pueblos of Spaniards and Indians within the jurisdiction of the Spaniards. These were to send the relations they made, as soon as possible, to the governor. The government then was to send persons out to the pueblos who had not contributed.

The reports were to be made in the following form:
(A) "On a piece of paper" should be written the date of the report; the name of the person or persons making it; the name of the governor or other person who had sent the instruction.
(B) They should answer the following questions and state whether they were certain of the fact or doubtful of it.

1. Name of the comarca or province; the meaning of the Indian name of the town in Spanish; why it was thus named.

2. Who discovered and conquered the area and by whose order; the years of each; all that could be found out about it.

3. The average temperature and climate of the province or comarca; amount of rainfall and seasons of it; direction and time of winds.

4. The general terrain; mountains, rivers, springs; fertile and pasture lands; abundance or scarcity of fruits and goods growing there.

5. Numbers of the Indians; if more or less than in past times; reason for this; if they were in pueblos; manner of their living; languages they spoke, whether there were different languages in the province or only one.

6. The height and elevation of the pueblo; at what hours it was in the shade; what days of the year the sun made no shadow at mid-day.

7. The distance from the city where the audiencia resided, or where the governor resided.

8. The distance of each pueblo from its neighboring ones; direction; terrain of the land between them; straight or crooked path and its condition.

9. Name and sobrenombre of each pueblo and why it was thus named, if known; who named it; who founded it; by whose order it was populated; year of foundation; how many people began the population of it; present population.

10. The site of the pueblo; whether high or low; level land or hilly; a plan of the streets of the city and the plazas; location of the monasteries; directions written on the plan.

11. In the pueblos of the Indians only, should be stated: how many lived out of the pueblo; in whose corregimiento or jurisdiction; where was the church located near them; names of the subjects.

12. How far they were from other pueblos of either Indians or Spaniards; in which direction; whether the distances were long or short; the condition of the roads.
13. What the Indian name of the pueblo meant; why it was thus named; language that they spoke in the pueblo.

14. Under whose rule had the pueblo been in pre-Spanish times; to whom they paid tribute; their gods, lives, and good and bad customs.

15. How they were governed; with whom they had been at war; the clothes they had worn and which they wore; the foods they had eaten and those that they ate; whether they had lived more healthfully in the past than in the present and the reason for this.

16. For each pueblo find out the names of the hills, valleys, plains that surrounded them; in their native language.

17. Whether the climate was conducive to health or illness; the reason for this; the illnesses which were common and the native remedies for them.

18. How far or near was the pueblo from some landmark; hill or mountain range; what the natives called it; what direction they lay from it.

19. The principal river or rivers which passed near the pueblo; its current and swiftness; how it arose; if it were used for irrigation or could be used for irrigation.

20. Lakes and springs near the pueblo; anything notable about them.

21. Volcanoes, caves, or other notable features of the natural landscape which were in the neighborhood.

22. Shade trees in the area; the fruits and plant crops; the woods which could be used; which were the best.

23. Cultivated trees and fruit trees in the area; those which were Spanish introduced and those which were native.

24. The grains and seeds and other vegetables and greens used by the people.

25. The plants which had been carried from Spain, such as wheat, barley, "wine and oil"; the quantity in which they were grown; silk in that quantity.

26. Herbs or aromatic plants which the Indians cured
and used; their medicinal virtues; poisonous plants.

27. Wild and domesticated animals and birds of the area; native and Spanish; how they were raised; whether they were increasing.

28. Mines of gold and silver and other metals.

29. Precious stones, jaspers, marbles, and others of esteem.

30. Salt in or near the pueblo; where they got their salt if not near; other things lacking from their diet or clothing which they had to import.

31. Form and building of the houses; material used; where these were obtained.

32. Fortifications, points, and strong places of the pueblo.

33. The diocese of the archbishopric or bishopric or abbey to which each pueblo belonged; how far it was from the head; how far from the cathedral; condition of the roads.

34. The treaties, contracts, and profits, which the Spaniards made with and from the Indians; and in what things and how they paid their tributes.

35. The cathedral church and parochial churches which were in each pueblo; number of confessors; chapels connected with the church; when and by whom founded.

36. Monasteries and convents of friars and nuns of each order; by whom and when founded; number of religious in each; notable things.

37. Hospitals, colleges; public works located in the pueblo; when and by whom they were instituted.

38. If the pueblo were maritime, the condition of the sea near them; whether smooth or tempestuous; dangerous; seasons of calm and tempest.

39. If the coast line were smooth or rocky; dangers of navigation near it.

40. The sides of the sea; how large they were; seasons and time of the greatest tides and currents.
41. Capes, points, creeks, and bays in the neighborhood; names and size of each.

42. Ports and landings along the coast; a plan or map of them.

43. The size and capacity of the ports; approximate leagues of width and length; how many ships they would hold.

44. The fathoms of depth; the cleanliness of the port.

45. Entrance and exits from the port; winds which entered and left it.

46. The conveniences and inconveniences of the port; wood, fresh water, and other things present.

47. Names of the islands along the coast; why they were thus called; a map showing their form and size; whether they had fields, trees, fish, and animals on them; rivers or springs.

48. Sites of depopulated Spanish pueblos; when they were founded and when abandoned; reasons for the exodus.

49. All miscellaneous information on soil, air, sky; precipitation, etc.

50. The relation was to be signed by the author, and sent to the person who had requested it.

If only these instructions had been followed, what grand reports would now be available. The report of the Bachelor Juan Martínez 139 was made in answer to these questions.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I CHANGES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Subsistence. The basis of subsistence continued to be the old maize, beans, cucurbit, and chile complex. The introduction of several plants changed the money economy of Michoacán but altered little the old food economy. Wheat was one of the first plants introduced. It thrived in northern Michoacán and the natives were urged to grow it. Sugar cane and rice in the south were similarly pushed into production. However, as long as the Indians had sufficient maize, beans, and chile they cared little for large fields of cane or rice. Even as late as 1759, many Indian pueblos in southwestern Michoacán would not plant these money crops. Because of this, many complaints of Indian laziness were made by the visitadores. Indian opposition, however, is perfectly understandable in this case when one remembers that the large profits from such crops never found their way into Indian pockets and that the crops, themselves, were unnecessary to the old way of life. Ajonjoli (sesame) although an early introduction, did not achieve importance until the 19th and 20th centuries when the oil expressed from the seeds became important in European industry. Coconuts, bananas, limos, oranges, pomegranites and caramindas
became indispensable to the natives. Cotton, indigo, and other plants continued to be cultivated and gathered. Woven articles of cotton were only slowly and never completely replaced by woolen articles. Molosos (musk melons?) and watermelons became important. Of the various truck crops, the onion probably gained the greatest place. All in all, if one may judge from the early accounts, native fruits and medicinal plants continued more important than the foreign. Copal, a truly native incense, was taken over and used by the Catholic Church.

Domesticated Animals. Sheep and cattle were early introduced into the fertile valleys of Michoacan. Whether or not large herds of these were ever owned by the Indians is difficult to say. Large herds, tended by the Indians, supported the hospitales and epidorias but mention of herds or flocks owned by villagers are few. Archivally, one finds mention of meat furnished by these domesticated animals in the same sentence with that of meat furnished by the hunt or by fishing. Certainly, sheep and cattle products, with the exception of wool and leather, were slow in gaining a place in native economy. This, probably because the Spanish overlords kept such wealth largely to themselves. Wool for mantas or escarpen, and leather for sandals, laharachos, did take a fairly early place of importance. It has been mentioned that horses were not allowed to the Indians although later a few important
Indian officials were privileged to use them. The carrying of burdens remained for a long time an occupation for the Indians. Burros and mules gradually replaced the human back but for a long time this commerce remained wholly in the hands of the Spaniards. To this day, the arrieros are seldom Indian. Poultry and their eggs became most important to the Indian population. Eggs, while certainly of major importance in present-day Mixtecan economy, are rarely mentioned in the early archives. Probably, like the other European animals, the hog was of minor importance in early times, but gradually placed itself deeply into the economy.

The gathering of honey and beeswax persisted. The wax was used to make candles in many small native churches and became a regular tithe in such areas. Beekeeping probably declined as sugar production increased.

In northern Mixtecan in the 16th century, silk raising reached enough importance so that the product was demanded as tribute.

Houses and Architecture. It is difficult to ascertain how much of later Mixtecan architecture was aboriginal and how much was Spanish. The houses of the Sierraclanteo of tezcal construction with straw and palm or cane thatchings were very likely aboriginal. In the northern part of the state, where Spanish contact was greater, adobe houses were the rule. Villages were built in a carefully laid out plan,
with a central plaza. These show decided European influence. In all places, both in the Sierra Caliente and in the north, a great deal of work was lavished on the church and parish houses. The constant care which had formerly been lavished on the old Totonac cuah (temples) was not attached to the important Catholic churches. This applies to maintenance as well as to adornment. With the small churches a different attitude was taken. Churches in poor communities were generally built of adobe with a thatching of tejamanil (or tajamenil)\textsuperscript{1}. The altar was carved indifferently well or very badly by local carpenters. Once built, the Indians were content to let the churches move away in rains. In the reports of visitadores are frequent mentions of churches with no roof, a poor mud floor and with walls gradually disappearing. Houses in small villages were also poorly constructed and allowed to deteriorate rapidly. In the larger towns and the cities were grand churches with perhaps several altars. The church at Santa Ana even boasted a painting which was said to be a Citian. Each community regardless of size was to have a government house and a jail. Many of them did not, however, erect these structures.

Dress and Ornamentation. Early missionaries soon altered the native clothing to make it "decot". Cotton was still

\textsuperscript{1}Tejamanil or tajamenil is a roof in which wooden slabs are placed overlapping each other in the manner of tiles, as a covering for thatch.
woven into most of the garments used, but wool scarves, ponchos and mantas gradually replaced the less serviceable cotton ones. Most interesting, and possibly an addition, were the palmleaf or grass raincoats (capotes) used. These are identical with those used in Japan from time immemorial. Zelia Nuttall suggests that since the time that Masumano's suite returned to Acapulco from Mexico City (1618) occurred during the rainy season, these Japanese probably made the raincoats that they were accustomed to wear. This technique may have been taken over from the Japanese by the local Indians. 2

The same types of personal adornment were used with the exception of the bozotal (lip-plug) and tooth filing.

Arts and Crafts. The arts of the ancient Tarascans were put to good use by the Spaniards. Featherworking, lacquer work, copper work and wood work were highly regarded and encouraged by the Europeans. Spanish and Italian designs, as well as entirely new objects of decoration, were early introduced into Tarascan lacquer work. The three most important centers of lacquer work in Michoacan were Uruapan, Patzcuaro, and Toronto. This art was encouraged by Bishop Quiroga. The painting which thrived in the pueblo of Quiroga, while not true lacquer, was of essentially the

same technique. This is, incidentally, probably closer to the aboriginal art.

Whereas mining had not been one of the primary industries of the Indians, under Spanish rule it became, for a while, the most important. Among the instructions to Nuño de Guzmán for his trip to Jalisco was one regarding mines.

I have heard that in the province of Hocuenan, which is forty leagues from Mexico, there is a mountain which has and from which much silver has been taken. Up to now, I have had no evidence of this. . . . I command you to learn if that land has silver and other metals and to be certain of your information. . . . Likewise, because we are inclined that the mines of gold which are in that land and which have been discovered are very rich, and are the principal advantages which we hold in that land, you must converse with the governor and officials and do what you think best. 3

The Spaniards found the mines in Hocuenan as rich as they had anticipated and opened mining activities immediately. The gold of the Indians had been largely gained by placer methods, although there was possibly some shaft mining. 4 For a while the Spaniards were content with this. Later when the mines were opened, Indian labor was enforced, although encomenderos were not supposed to use their subjects in the mines. 5 The legend of the Mocillo mine was

3 Cedulario do Lusa (Mexico: Jose Maria Sandoval, 1878), Vol. 1, p. 70.
4 See p. 53 of the above text.
recorded by Torquemada\(^6\) and by Beaumont\(^7\). This rich silver mine was said to have been discovered in 1535. It was so rich that the officials were not content with the fifths which the Crown allotted them. The mine was closed and lost and no more was seen of it; some said that a hill had fallen on it and buried it; others that the Indians had hidden it; still others believed that it was the prerogative of God to take and bestow wealth and that it was by His word that the mine was closed. This legend must be added to others of lost mines throughout the world. The mines of Tlalpujahua, Azintzumunan, Charo and Cuamatlan and others had been opened by 1543.\(^8\)

It was a policy of the Spanish mine owners to send their workers to their home pueblos for two months out of the year. The first month was the seeding season, and the second the harvest. The families of the Indian miners were expected to tend the growing crops meanwhile. In this way the miners practically fed themselves as well as extracting the ore. Later some of the miners’ families, no doubt, followed the men to their work and settlements.

\(^6\) Torquemada, Juan de, *De los Veinte y un libros* ... (Madrid: Imprenta Real de Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), Vol. 1, pp. 236-7.


sprang up near the mines. Here poor land was utilized and agricultural pursuits invaded the mountains.

Iron and steel were slow of introduction here, as in the rest of Latin America, because of a fundamental policy of the Spaniards. Those came not to trade with the Indians, as did the English and French to the North, but to exploit and evangelize. Consequently, instead of in general distributing European weapons and tools to the Indians they simply impressed or hired more Indians. Labor was cheap, principally, of course, because of larger populations and was probably cheaper than imported tools. This same applied to the introduction of draft animals. Added to this was the real need which the Spaniards felt to keep the large populations from weapons, animals and knowledge that might some day be turned against them. It has been noted previously that even the coast guards were armed only with bows and arrows.

Archaeologically Tarascan ceramics are most noteworthy and class well with those of their neighbors. The Spaniards, principally Bishop Quiroga, encouraged this industry but attempted to localize it. Towns such as Santa Fe de la Laguna and Fatama soon became famous for their products and these supplied large areas whose inhabitants were turned into other lines of endeavor. This specialization has, of course, come down to the present day.

A listing of villages and their distinctive industries has been given under the discussion of the crafts and poli-
cics of Bishop Quiroga. Many of these trades and arts followed aboriginal village specializations.

II CHANGES IN NON-MATERIAL CULTURE

Government. The system of government imposed by the Spaniards varies little from the encomiendas of the Tarascan empire. The Calixtrenzins had been accustomed to present lands and pueblos to his valiant warriors. The encomienda system, thus, like many of the other feudalistic institutions of the Spaniards, overlaid and coincided fairly closely with the aboriginal customs. In both cases the head of the town and cutlying district was a man responsible to his monarch. The great difference, for the Tarascans, lay in the fact that their aboriginal overlords were of the same race and language as the subjects, whereas the Spaniards were not only unlike them but also considered themselves infinitely superior. For the Teecs, "Chichimecas" and Matlatzincaas who had been already subject to a foreign people, the Tarascans, the change was not so great. The Spaniards, however, were more eager to become wealthy through their Indian subjects than the Tarascans had been.

It has been said that slavery as an institution existed under both regimes. Even the methods of gaining slaves did not vary: prisoners of war and debtors formed the main sources of this sort of labor.

Both governments were supported by tributes. It is
unfortunate that no ancient tribute rolls of the Tarascans exist. They would be valuable for the comparison with later Spanish rolls. But, inasmuch as the Spanish tributes were based somewhat on the earlier ones, it is likely that they varied only slightly in the amounts demanded. Certainly the elaborate system of government of the Tarascans demanded a great amount of revenue. However, in addition to the government subsidies the post-Spanish Indians were burdened with church tithes. In the aboriginal state the religious fees consisted principally of wood and incense for the temples, first fruits, and occasionally a slave for sacrifice. The demands were more exacting under the Catholic church. How the church secured all the lands that it did is most remarkable. Numerous land suits between the church and Indian villages usually resulted in the church gaining the land. By the 18th century the Catholic church owned and obtained revenues from grazing lands and farm lands all over the province.

While thus it has been seen that the plebian Tarascan fared little differently under the Spanish, there can be no doubt that resentment was high. The imposition of a new language, religion, and government seldom meets with the approval of the subjugated people. Diseases were introduced which took heavy toll all over Mexico. The Tarascans resented the interference with their marriage customs,
religious sacrifices and their ceremonial. Many of the conquistadors were crude, rough men and the Indians were not familiar with the type. These encomenderos were, as a rule, not concerned much with the happiness and comfort of their Indians. They were eager to exploit them and to make a fortune in a small time, so that they could leave the rural life and return to the city or to Spain. Many of them did not bother to live on their lands, but left them to the care of an overseer, who was, if possible, even less understanding than the soldier-owner.

In defense of the Spaniards let it be said that the Indians were as well treated and cared for as the serf in Europe at that time. The demands upon them, if anything, were less, probably because they were less able.

Today Tarascan villages are now in Michoacán. Most of the Indians speak Spanish. Only a few speak Tarascan alone. In the southern part of the state, negroes were early introduced as slaves to help in the sugar cane industry. There is no more than an occasional scattered reference to single negroes in northern Michoacán up to the end of the 18th century. These have mixed with the Spaniards and Indians. Even by the 18th century it was impossible to speak of negroes. The common terms were mulattoes and zamboes.
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This Augustinian wrote a linguistic study of Hirinda in the sixteenth century. He also wrote sermons in that tongue and translated the psalms of David.

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This history, used only through later references, contains a slight reference to the author working in Nicasio-

can.


Tezozomoc wrote the Cronica in 1598. The original manuscript contained 28 volumes of which only eight were extant in 1750. Veytia made a copy of the manuscript in 1755. This edition was taken from his copy. The first publication was by Lord Kingsborough in 1848. Tornoux-Campens translated it into French and published the Cronica in two volumes in 1853.

The Codice Ramirez is a sixteenth century document, here published for the first time.

Both of these tomes contain the Mexican version of the mythological migrations of the Mexican tribes.

*Anales del Museo Michoacano, 1887, et seq.* Morelia, Michoacán.

The Anales of the Michoacan Museum were edited by Nicolas Icoen, who wrote many of the articles appearing in them. The Anales also contained reprints of early chronicles and reports of Michoaca-
can.

The first section of this report deals with the aboriginal Tarascans, taken largely from the Relación de Michoacán. The second section contains summaries of Spanish government in Michoacán and particularly with the work of Arríega.


This article attempts to prove a pre-Spanish contact between the Quechua and the Tarascans.

Auñón, Jacinto de, Unpublished manuscript on the history of the Augustinians in Michoacán. 16th century (?).

Escobar mentions this manuscript.


These three volumes are composites of information on Mexico. The material on Michoacán was taken by Bancroft from Beaumont, Torquemada, Herrera and others.


This volume carries very slight and scattered references to the Tarascans.


The bulk of Bancroft's information on the Tarascans occurs in this volume of the series. He uses many sources but principally Beaumont, whose Less he possessed.


The Native Races. Vol. 5. Primitive History.

In this volume, Bancroft records the history of migration of the Tarascans, using as his sources Herrera, Cieza de Léiva, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Doumerc, Torquemada, Alegre, Basalango, and Clavigero.

Bancroft has only been used as a source of information when his bibliographic references could not be had.


This publication could not be had. Diego Basalango was an Augustinian, at one time provincial superior. He was born in Spain in 1577, educated at the University of Salamanca and came to the New World in his youth. In Michoacán he served in churches in Cuitzeo, Tzintzuntzan, and Tiropicio but spent the greater part of his life in Chierca. He died in Chierca in 1631 at the age of 74 years. In addition to classical languages, he learned and wrote grammar in Tarascan and Matlahuasca. He was a poet and an able musician.

Historia de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán, del Orden de R.F. San Agustín, por el P. M. Fr. Diego de Basalango. . . . el año de mil seiscientos y cuarenta y cuatro años. Mexico: por la viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1673.

This was printed in a second edition in La Voz de Mexico, in 1886. Neither edition was available for consultation.

The Historia is divided into three books. The first book describes the state in which the province existed prior to the Spanish arrival; the coming of the first religious; the founding of Tiropicio and of the missions of the Tierra caliente. The second and third books consist of lives of some of the Augustinians and the founding of many missions.


This contains a little material on the modern Tarascans.


These two articles contain little but very pertinent material on marriage and social organization of the Tarascans. He used as his source the Relacion de Michoacan.


The Crónica of Beaumont, written in the latter half of the 16th century was the second crónica by a Franciscan in Michoacan. Using as his sources, Torquemada, Basalenque, La Rea, Bernal Diaz, and others, together with a great deal of first-hand knowledge, Beaumont wrote the most complete report of Michoacan ever written. He has been used as the source for many later reports. The learned brother attempted more than he could complete, however. The first volume begins with the discovery of the New World and the conquests of Cortes. The second tome deals with Michoacan, the natives and the missions of the Franciscans. The third tome was only begun. The whole history ends with the year 1586 and it has been the complaint of later historians that it contains a great deal of material on other sections than Michoacan.

The first printed edition was published by Bustamante in 1625 with the author's name as Fray Manuel de la Vega. In 1656 appeared a paper proving that Vega had only copied the manuscript. A second edition appeared in five volumes in 1873. This is the third edition.


This book was used only through later references.


This book was found most valuable for the section on the influence of the Catholic Church in Michoacán.


The history of Brassur de Bourbourg contains several chapters on Michoacán. In Volume three a general chapter on the province; in Volume four, a history of Michoacán. There is a full description of the funerary rites. Like Bancroft, the Abbe uses many sources.

"Breve Descripcion del Obispado de Michoacón (Finales del Siglo XVIII), Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, 11:1:123-143, January-March, 1940.


This manuscript is here included, in transcription, as Appendix G. pp.

"Ydon de la Jurisdicción de San Juan Huotamo extensa por personas comisionada que fue Jose Ant Calderon". Manuscript in the Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo de Historia, Vol. 73, f.139. 27 hojas.

A transcription of this manuscript appears here as Appendix A. pp.


This is one of the three first-hand reports of the Guzmán expedition. It contains very little actual etnology of Michoacán, but is valuable for its historical information.


This history, written in 1529, is ended with the conquest of Yucatán and Darica, and is of use only in general information on the conquest. The impatience which the author has made it too closed a book to be of much value etnologically or historically.


These three articles contain some information on the musical instruments found in Michoacán.

Cedulario de Luca. See Fuga, Vasco de.

The manuscript of this publication was found by Celica Russell in Spain. This is the first printed edition, although the work had been consulted by other authors. The miscellaneous remarks of Cervantes de Salazar and especially the section on marriage have been used in this report. The material on Michoacán was all second-hand, but as some of the original sources of the author have been lost, the report is valuable.


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This history, written in 1780, includes little of value on Michoacán. Both of the above editions were consulted.

Códex Franciscano, Siglo XVI. Mexico: Imprenta de Francisco Liz de Leon, 1839. This is Vol. 2 of the Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, publicada por Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta.

The Códex contains letters written by the religious from 1533 to 1569. It contains a little information on the Franciscans in Michoacán.

Colección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Oceanía, Segunda de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias por J. Luis Torres de Llanoza. Madrid: Imprenta de Frias y Compañía (and others) 1867-1864.

This collection contains the various reports of the Guzman expeditions in Volumes 13 and 14. While these are of great value historically, for Michoacán, their ethnologic value is negligible.

Cortes' letters contain the first reports of Michoacán as well as descriptions of the first meetings with the Calpixque. The first letter was originally printed in Seville in 1523.

Coruña, Fr. Martín de la, Historia de Michoacán, Costumbres y Religion de sus naturales.


This very important work could only be used through secondary sources.


Not available.


This introductory section contains a summary of the geology of all Mexico.

This is the first publication of this relation which was written prior to 1664. The account is largely one of the personalities involved in the conquest and the tracing of their descendants to his time.


Duran includes the myth of the migration of the Tarascans in his work, written in the 16th century. This edition was published by José A. Ramírez.


This is not the complete manuscript. This edition by Loon ceased when he left Morelia. The manuscript had been carefully guarded in the convent of the Augustinians in Morelia. Later the document was carried to Spain where it is now lodged in the convent of the Escorial. The complete edition, published in Mexico in 1924 was secured from there.

The historical and ethnological material in the *América Thebaisa* is so wraped in euphuistic language and classical allusions as to be almost useless. Even as a history of the Augustinians in Michoacán, it leaves much to be desired. He uses liberally the works of Castilnuevo.
Espinosa, Isidro Felix de, Cronica de la Provincia Franciscana de los SS. Apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán, Mexico: Imprenta de El Tiempo, 1890. 374 pp.

This work by a Franciscan contemporary of Beaumont, published by locm for the first time in 1899, was not available for consultation.

FIGUEROA, Philippe, Arte Tarasco.

This Augustinian wrote an Arte in Tarasco, mentioned by Jacobus.

Gacetas de México, y Noticias de Nueva España, que se Impresionen cada año y comienzen desde 1 de enero hasta el fin de junio de 1722. Documentos para la Historia de México, Segunda Serie, Vol. 4. Mexico: F. -saelente y Comp., 1885. pp. 1-156.

The items in the gacetas are so often of only local and temporary interest as to be of not much value.


"Michoacán," Diccionario Enciclopé didico Histórico-American, XIV, pp. 45-44.


Gilberti, Maturino, Diccionario de la lengua tarasco o de Michoacán, Mexico: Tp. de la Unicica Impresora del Tiempo, 1901. 517 pp.

The first edition of this book was in 1889. This publication by Benefiel is an exact reprint of the original.

Diccionario Tarasco Barceló, Unpublished manuscript.


Gilberti, like Lagunas was a Franciscan. His linguistic efforts in Tarasco have been useful to later students of the language. No two works were not consulted.

Goggin, John H., "An Archaeological and Anthropogeographical Reconnaissance of the Upper Los Capulinesco Basin, Michoacán, Mexico," Unpublished field report, University of New Mexico, Department of Anthropology, 1940.
González de la Fuente, Fr. Juan, Primera Parte de la Cronica Augustiniana de Michoacán, en que se describen y escriben las vidas de nueve varones eremíticos Augustinianos. Guanajuato: D. F. Elencato y Navarrete, 1907.

This was the first chronicle written on Michoacán. It deals principally with the lives of the founders of the Augustinian order. The edition here mentioned is the second. The first edition was made in 1624, and the work was now available for consultation.


Not available.


Like González de la Fuente, Grijalva devoted most of his work to biographies of Augustinians. Not consulted.


Guzmán, Nuño de, Carta a Su Magestad del Presidente de la Audiencia de Mexico, Nuño de Guzmán, en que narra la jornada con que hizo a Michoacán, a Conquistar la provincia de los Cabildos-Tachizcojas que contienen con Nueva Espana (9 de Julio 1580). Colección de documentos inéditos, Vol. 18. Madrid: Jose Maria Perez, 1870. pp. 266-382.

This report contains little of ethnologic interest but is very important historically.


As a general compendium of information on the early history of Spanish America, Horrera has few competitors. His information was second-hand, that on Michoacán coming largely from Torquemada.

Joyce is of little value in a study of Michoacán as his
material is either inaccurate or from some unstudied
source. His greatest weakness is in failing to cite his
bibliographic references.

"Jurisdicion de Acambay". Unpublished manuscript in the
Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Naha de Historia,

This manuscript is here transcribed as Appendix B.

Kelley, Francis Clement, *Blood-Drenched Altars*. Milwaukee:

Kroeber, A. L., *Cultural and Natural Areas of Latin North
America*. University of California Publications in
American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 30. Ethnology:

Lagunes, Juan Bautista de, *Arte y Diccionario con otras
Obras en Lengua Michoacana*. Mexico, 1890.

This fellow Franciscan of Gilberti was likewise a
good recorder of Tarascan. This edition was prepared
by Nicolás Leon. Not available.

Lee, Henry Charles, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Depen-

Lohman, Walter, "Über Tarascische Bilderschriften,
Giebüs, 87:410-413, 1905.

Not available.

Leon, Nicolás, "Anomalies et mutilations dentaires des
Tarasques," International Congress of Americanists

"Anomalías y mutilaciones óseas del sistema
Dentario entre los Tarascos pre-Colombianos," Anales
del Museo Nacional, año tercero, pp. 165-173, 1890.

As indicated by the titles, these two papers cover the
same subject matter.

Arretones para la Historia de la Cirugía en México
desde los Tiempos pre-Colombianos hasta el año de 1573.
Morelia: Jose Roberto Bravo, 1887. 10pp.
This article was republished in four other publications, none of which were available.

"La aritmética entre los Tarascos," Anales del Museo Michoacano, Año primero, pp. 5-9, 1885.


This account was taken directly from an account appended to the Peter Fórce Manuscript on the Relación de Michoacan.


Not available.

"Catalago de la Colección de Antiguiedades Locas y Antaño Conexión de Michoacan existentes en el Museo Nacional," Bolletín del Museo Nacional de Mexico, Vol. 1, segundo época, No. 2, Mexico, 1905.

Not available.


"Cuál era el nombre gentilicio de los Tarascos y al Origen de este último?" Anales del Museo Michoacano, Año primero, pp. 29-32, 1885.


"Etimología de algunos nombres Tarascos de los Lueces de Michoacan y otros Estados," Anales del Museo Michoacano, Año primero, pp. 10-22, 1885.


Not available.


This is an account of the modern Tarascos living around and on the islands of Lake Patzcuaro.

"El Matrimonio entre los Tarascos pre-Colombianos y sus Actuales Uso," Anales del Museo Michoacano, Año segundo, pp. 150-183, 180-186, 1889.

This account was taken directly from the Relación de Lechecano without citing the source.

"Nombres de Animales en Tarasco y Castellano con su Correspondiente Clasificación," Anales del Museo Michoacano, Año segundo, pp. 186-192, 1899.

"Notas sobre los Toces/", Anales del Museo Michoacano, año segundo, p. 26, 1899.


Not available.

"Origen, Estado Actual y geografía del Idioma Tarijina o Matlatzinca en el Estado de Michoacán," Gaceta Oficial del Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, Año primero, 1888.

Not available.

"Palabras Generalmente usadas como Espínicas, en el Estado de Michoacán, y que traen su origen del Nahuatl," Gaceta Oficial del Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, 1888.

Not available.


"Síntesis del idioma Tarasco o de Michoacan y Reglas Generales de su pronunciación y escritura," Anales del Museo Michoacano, año segundo, pp. 159-184, 1887.


This is Leon's interpretation of the Licenci of Juctutacato.


Not available.


This contains in greater detail Leon's interpretation of the Licenci de Juctutacato and of the Jucutacato. Not available.


Licenci de Elizondo. Published by Alfredo Velasco. México: Edición del Libro Imprimo, 1892. 87 plazas.

This contains one picture of Guzmán in Michoacan.


This early history contains very little on Michoacán.


The second volume has a great deal of material on the modern Tarascans.

Macedo, Sebastian, "Descripción de Tancitaro hecha de orden de su corregidor Sebastián Macedo, 27 de Septiembre de 1830." Unpublished manuscript. ll ff.

Méndez, Juan Fernández, "Relación del Obispado de Michoacan hecha por el escribano Juan Fernández Méndez." Unpublished manuscript. 15 ff.

Neither of the above two manuscripts were available.


Not available.


Martínez, El Bachiller Juan, "Descripciones Geográficas de Indias, Siglo XVI, Pasquero," Anales del Museo Michoacano, año segundo, pp. 41-48, 1889.


This book was valuable for the identification of the medicinal plants of Michoacan.


This is one of the three first hand accounts of the Guzmán expedition. Like the other, it is of more historical value than ethnologic.

Medina Isaac, Fr. Juan, wrote a few years in the Tarascal language, printed in 1574.

Not available.


Not available.

Mendieta, Gerónimo de, Historia Geodésica Indígena, Obra Escrita a Fines del siglo XVI. México: Antigua Librería 1870.

This contains little information on Michoacán.


Not available.


Montes de Oca, Pedro, "Descripción de Tlapintic por su Corregidor Pedro de Montes de Oca, 15 de Septiembre de 1560." Unpublished manuscript once in the possession of Joaquín García Icazbalceta.

Not available.

Nota Padrilla, Juan de la, Historia de la Coronación de la Provincia de la Nueva Galicia. Guadalajara: Tip. del Gobierno a cargo de C. Santocorena, 1835. 3 Vols.

This contained a little information on Michoacán.
This contained one unimportant reference to Lienocasán.

McKee, Benito María de, "Disertación sobre una Antigua pintura de los indios Tarascos," Archivo del Museo Lienocasán, año primero, pp. 103-114, 1883. This is a very poor account of an ancient Tarascan picture.


Not available.


This contained a little on ancient Tarascan pottery.


Nuñez, José Corona, Breve historia de la lengua de los ancitaras del idioma Tarasco cuyo escrito no ha sido leído. Universidad Lienocasana, revista de cultura popular 17. Morelia, 1940, pp. 49-54. His notes were taken almost entirely from those of Serra y_.


This paper is a discussion of the common design of three concentric circles.


This contains the elements on ruin costs of the coastal Mexican peoples.

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This is more of an archaeological study than a history.

Cvico y Valdés, Gonzalo Fernandez de, HISTORIA GENERAL y NÁUTICA de las Indias, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar del Océano. Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1851. 4 Vols.

Volume 3 of this set contains all the information on Michoacán. The first edition of this book was made by the author in 1855 and 1867. This edition contained only the first 19 books. All of his information on Michoacán was, of course, secondary.


This anonymous document of the midle of the sixteenth century was one of the two accounts available of 16th century cities and tributes of Michoacán.

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Tomo IV Relaciones Seculares de la Diócesis de Oaxaca. Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Casa, 1905.


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Not available.
These volumes have been greatly used in the formation of Appendix I.


Pimentel, Francisco, "Memoria sobre las causas que han originado la situación actual de las relaciones de México con las de Mexico de lecciones de revoluciones. Mexico: Imprenta de Andrade y Escalante, 1864. 505 pp.


This contained mythological material on the Mixtiltecos, "Archaeologic Explorations in Michoacan," American Anthropologist, 9th series 6:79-84, 1893.


This report was written from 1584 on into the 17th century. Ponce was a Franciscan visitor. Although this edition is labeled the first, the report was first published in the Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España, Vols. 37-38, in 1872.


Prescott wrote very little on the Tarascans. The history originally appeared in 1843.


This manuscript is here included as Appendix D.

Puga, Vasco de, Pro visiones, Cedulas, Instrucciones de su Magestad, ordenanzas de diversas y audiencia para la buena Exposicion de los negocios y administración de justicia y gobernación de esta Nueva Española para el buen tratamiento y conservación de los índios desde el año de 1540 hasta este presente de 1578. Mexico: Jose Maria Sandoval, 1878. Vol. 1, 304 pp., Vol. 2, 482 pp.

The original manuscript consisted of 218 leaves in folio. Puga was cido in Mexico from 1540 to 1578. The Cedulario does not embrace all of the laws received in Mexico during that period but lacks much that is found in other books. The first edition was printed in Mexico in 1563. This work is referred to in footnotes as the Cedulario de Puga, under which title it is more familiarly known.

Ramirez, Juan, Becabulario del Idioma Tarasco. Unpublished manuscript mentioned by Escobar.

Escobar says that this vocabulary was better than that of Gilberti. Its author also wrote many sermons in Tarascan. Not available.

la Roa, Fray Alonso de, Chronicle or the Order of Our Angelica Father St. Francis, Province of San Pedro and San Pablo de Mochoacan, in New Spain. Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Caldeon, 1643.

From the point of history and geography this chronicle is more valuable than either those of Basalenque, Escobar, or de la Puente. The first book deals with the geography of the province and the origin of the Tarascans, their customs and civilization. The second includes the rounding of the pueblos and convents of the Franciscans; the third deals with the lives of the most distinguished brothers.

La Roa was commissioned by Francisco Ocaña to be the first chronicler of the order of the Franciscans. His chronica was used only through the many references to it by Beaumont and others.
Relación de las Ceremonias y ritos y población y gobernación de los Indios de la Provincia de Michoacán, hechos al Tilmo, servido Don Antonio de Londoza, Virrey y Gobernador de esta Nueva España, por S.M. Morelia: Tip. de Alfonso Aragon, 1903. 501 pp.

This is the best single source on the Tarascans. It was written sometime during the period 1530 and 1550. The Morelia edition consulted contains the original watercolor illustrations. The document is included in the Foner Force collection in the Library of Congress.

The book is referred to throughout this thesis, following common procedure, as the Relación de Michoacán.


Relación de los Obispados de Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Caxaca y otros lugares en siglo XVI. Mexico: en casa del Editor, 1904.

The manuscript of this publication was held in the collection of Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta. This is the first edition, published by Luis Garcia Pimentel, son of Icazbalceta.

Rodriguez, Diego, Arto del Idioma Tarasco. Unpublished manuscript mentioned by Escobar.

Roman y Zamora, Jeronimo, Republica de Indias, Idolatrias y Gobierno en Mexico y Foro antes de la Conquista. Madrid: Victoriano Suarez, 1897.

This edition is a faithful copy of the edition of 1575 with an addenda of the notes which appeared in the chronicle of Roman y Zamora printed in 1589.


This bibliography, while far from complete, contains material on early chronicles and unpublished manuscripts.


This properly falls into the class of fiction, being enlargements of the author on the legentary history of the Tarascans.


Sahagún includes only a few notices of the Tarascans of Michoacán.


This manuscript is here included in transcription as Appendix 0.


This contained a little on modern Tarascans.

Tello, Fray Antonio, Libro Segundo de la Cronica Miscelanea, en que se trata de la Conquista Espiritual y Temporal de la Santa Provincia de Xalisco en el Nuevo Rincón de la Galicia y Nueva Vizcaya y descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico. Guadalajara: Imprenta de la Republica Litoral, 1891. 886 pp.

This work was written between 1550 and 1551. It actually contains little on Michoacán.


This contained various short comments of the land and inhabitants of Michoacán.


Trasierra, Sebastián de, "Crónicas del pueblo de Tecambaro y anexos (Michoacán) hecho por el párroco S. Agustín Fr. Sebastián de Trasierra en Febrero de 1571." Manuscript in possession of Joaquín García Icazbalceta.

Not available.


Material taken by Francisco V. Scholes from the Archivo General de Indias.


Not available.


Ximénez, Francisco, *Cuatro Libros de la Naturalza y Virtudes Medicinales de las Plantas y Animales de la Nueva España Extracto de las obras del Dr. Francisco Ximénez, Religioso de la Orden Dominico ahora por primera Vez*. Morelia: Imp. y Lit. en la Escuela de Artes, 1848.

Francisco Ximénez, a Dominican round in 1605 a compendium of the works of Dr. Francisco Hernández from which he published in Mexico in 1615, this work. Ximénez added to the original material such knowledge of natural history as he possessed.
The author, Francisco Hernández had a degree in medicine from the University of Salamanca. His work in the New World carried him in travels into Michoacán where he nearly died from eating the latex of the plant called chupiri. Five years went into the preparation of the 16 tome work finished in 1575. Broken hearted because it was not published, Hernández died in the Indies in 1587.

The volume contains descriptions of many plants of Michoacán.

Ydea del Estado en que se hallava la Alcaldía Mayor de Xiquilpan en el año de 1769. Manuscript in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Ramo de Historia, Vol. 73, 28 pp.

This manuscript is transcribed to form Appendix H of this paper.

Zarate y Men, Juan, "Descripción Topográfica del Partido de Motines del Oro." Manuscript in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Ramo de Historia, Vol. 73. 11. ff.

This manuscript forms Appendix F of this paper.


This paper is a discussion of the Utopia planned by Thomas More compared with the one of Cuirugia in Michoacán. The first hospital-pueblo was founded at Santa Fe, near Mexico City. The second at Atamateco in Michoacán which he likewise called Santa Fe.