

Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O. S. A.

(1507-1584)

**A Study of His Life and His Contribution
to the Religious and Intellectual Affairs of Early Mexico**
(continuation and end) *)

SOURCES

Manuscript materials **)

Archive of the Spanish Embassy to the Holy See, Rome.

1. Letter of Philip II to his ambassador, Juan de Zúñiga, El Escorial, July 4, 1570. Leg. 2, fol. 290.
2. Letter to Philip II to his ambassador, Conde de Olivares, Lisbon, Feb. 4, 1583. Leg. 7, fol. 200.
3. Decree of the Augustinian General, Gregorio Elparensis, forbidding interference in Mexico by the Provincial of Castile, Madrid, Oct. 19, 1588. Notarized for the Council of the Indies by Juan de Ledesma and Juan de Gutierre, Madrid, May 7, 1589. Leg 35, fol. 51.
4. Letter of the Provincial and Definitors of Mexico to the Augustinian General, Mexico City, June 2, 1590. Two copies, both autographs. Leg. 35, fol. 52 and fols. 53-54.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville.

1. Letter of Jerónimo de San Esteban and Agustín de Coruña to the King of Spain, Mexico City, Feb. 1, 1552. Mexico 280.
2. Instruction sent by the bishops of Mexico to the provincials

*) See *Augustiniana*, V (1955), 52-124, 241-267, 362-399; VII (1957), 149-195.

**) Some few of these materials have been edited in whole or in part, but since they were studied in the original and some differences have been noted between the original and the edited copy, they will be included in the manuscript sources. Where an edited copy is known it will be cited in parentheses.

- of the mendicant orders, Oct. 29, 1555. Autographed by the the notary Pedro de Peñas. Mexico 280.
3. Letter of the provincials of the three mendicant orders to Philip II, Jan. 30, 1558. Written by Alonso de la Vera Cruz and autographed by him and the Franciscan and Dominican Provincials. Mexico 281.
 4. Letter of eleven Augustinians to Philip II, Mexico City, Nov. 26, 1562. Mexico 280. (Edited by RICARD, *Etudes et documents*, « Un document sur les Augustins », pp. 119-154.)
 5. Report by the Visitor to Mexico Pedro de Herrera to Philip II, ca. the beginning of 1563. Mexico 280. (Edited in part by RICARD, *Ibid.*)
 6. Letter of the Visitor Pedro de Herrera to Philip II, Mexico City, April 15, 1563. Mexico 280. (Edited in part by RICARD, *ibid.*)
 7. Letter of eight Augustinians to Philip II, Mexico City, Aug. 23, 1567. Mexico 280. (Edited by CUEVAS, *Historia de la Iglesia*, II, 73.)
 8. Letter of Philip II to the Augustinian General, Madrid, Oct. 27, 1571. Indiferente general, leg. 2869, Vol. 1, fol. 23. (Edited by BOLAÑO E ISLA, *Contribución al estudio biobibliográfico de Fray Alonso*, appendix, no. 12.)
 9. Letter of Philip II to the Augustinian Provincial of Castile, Madrid, Oct. 27, 1571. Indiferente general, leg. 2869, Vol. 1, fol. 23v.
 10. Royal permission for Vera Cruz to return to Mexico, Feb. 10, 1572. Indiferente general, leg. 2869, Vol. 1, fol. 31.
 11. Letter of Vera Cruz to Juan de Ovando, President of the Council of the Indies, Tiripetío, Feb. 20, 1574. Mexico 282.
 12. Letter of Diego de Salamanca to Philip II, Madrid. Note on the back written at the royal court in Madrid bears the date, May 3, 1575. The letter must have been written not long before that date. Mexico 283.
 13. Letter of Vera Cruz to Juan de Ovando, President of the Council of the Indies, Tiripetía, March 1, 1574. Mexico 282.
 14. Letter of Vera Cruz to Juan de Ovando, President of the Council of the Indies, Mexico City, March 15, 1575. Mexico 283. (Edited by CUEVAS, *Historia de la Iglesia*, II, 159.)
 15. Letter of Vera Cruz to Juan de Ovando, President of the Council of the Indies, Mexico City, May 31, 1575. Mexico 283.
 16. Letter of Vera Cruz to Philip II, Oct. 15, 1577. Mexico 283.
 17. Letter of Pedro Suárez de Escobar, Provincial of Mexico, to Philip II, Oct. 8, 1581. Mexico 285.
 18. Petition of Diego de Soria to Philip II, Nov. 7, 1581. Mexico 285.
 19. Petition of seven Mexican Augustinians to Philip II, Nov. 10, 1582. Mexico 285.

Bibliotheca Angelica, Rome.

MS 958. Statistics about Mexico and biographical notes on Mexican Augustinians, written by Agustín de Carvajal, ca. 1595. (Cf. the complete description given in the Introduction.)

General Archive of the Augustinian Order, Rome.

Dd series, *Regesta Priorum Generalium*. Volumes 18 to 49 (1539-1594) have been employed in this study.

Library of the Escorial Monastery.

MS iii-K-6, containing two works of Vera Cruz, *Relectio de decimis* and *Apologia pro religiosis trium ordinum mendicantium, habitantibus in nova Hispania, in partibus indiarum maris Oceani et pro indigenis*, plus four letters. xiii plus 354 folios. (Cf. the descriptions given in the Introduction and in chapter vi.)

National Archive, Madrid.

1. Conclusions drawn from the *Relectio de decimis* of Vera Cruz with censures composed by Alonso de Montúfar, Archbishop of Mexico City, and Bartolomé de Ledesma. Folios 3 to 19. Introductory appeal to the Inquisitor General by Archbishop Montúfar. Folios 1 to 2v. Mexico City, Jan. 31, 1558. Papeles de Inquisición, Leg. 4427, no. 5.
2. Petition by G (Gonzalo ?) de Alarcón, priest of the Archdiocese of Mexico, to the Inquisitor General, Mexico City, 1560. Papeles de Inquisición, Leg. 4442, no. 41.

National Library, Paris.

MS 325 of the Fondo español. 360 folios of manuscript materials, some originals and some copies, probably the property of Alonso de la Vera Cruz. (Cf. the description in the Introduction.) The following parts have been employed.

1. Autographed notice sent by the Viceroy Martín Enríquez to the provincial and priors of the Augustinian Order, Mexico City, July 5, 1575. Fols. 113-120.
2. Recommendations made by the royal visitor Valderrama concerning conditions in Mexico. Undated. Fols. 224-225. (CUEVAS, *Historia de la Iglesia*, II, 180, gives the date of this report as 1565.) This MS is a copy.
3. Printed copy of the Brief of Pius V, Rome, July 13, 1568, supporting Rodrigo de Solís in the reform of the Augustinians of Aragon, Madrid, Nov. 2, 1568. Fols. 226-227.
4. Autographed letter of Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacán, to Diego de Chávez, Prior of Yuriria, Michoacán, Aug. 6, 1559. Folios 228-231. (Imperfect copy edited by

- N. LEÓN, *Don Vasco de Quiroga*, pp. 192-210.) Marginal notes have been written by Vera Cruz. Fol. 231 contains an autographed note by Diego de Chávez.
5. Autographed letter of the same to the same, Michoacán, July 21, 1559. Fols. 232-233v. (Imperfect copy edited by LEÓN, *ibid.*, pp. 180-192.) Marginal notes have been written by Vera Cruz. Fol. 233v contains a note by the notary, Juan de Benavides, July 22, 1559.
 6. Memorandum of the things to be presented to the King by the Provincials of the three mendicant orders, Francisco de Bustamante, O. F. M., Pedro de la Peña, O. P., and Agustín de Coruña, O. S. A. Undated. (ca. January, 1562) Fols. 244-244v.
 7. Memorandum of the articles to be presented by Juan de Córdova to the Council of the Indies in the name of all the religious in the Indies. Undated. (ca. 1560) It is written in the hand of Vera Cruz, perhaps drafted by him. Fols. 259-259v.
 8. Memorandum of the articles to be presented by Hortuño de Ibarra to the King, the Council of the Indies, and the Pope. Autographed by the three Provincials, Pedro de la Peña, O. P., Francisco de Toral, O. F. M., and Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O. S. A. Undated. (ca. 1559-1560) Fols. 267-267v.
 9. Appeal made by the religious of the three mendicant orders for their privileges and against the new orders of the King. Undated. (ca. 1574) Fols. 290-294v.
 10. The same memoranda as numbers 7 and 8 above, with some small changes. There are some additions at the end written in the hand of Vera Cruz. Undated. Fols. 303-304.
 11. Advice for the government of Mexico given by Vera Cruz in Madrid to the Marqués de Falces, Gastón de Peralta, new Viceroy to Mexico. Undated. Written in the hand of Vera Cruz, perhaps his original draft. (Another extant copy of this manuscript bears the date 1566. Cf. CASTAÑEDA and DABBS, *Guide to the Latin American Manuscripts in the U. of Texas Library*.) Fols. 318-322v.
 12. Petition to the Viceroy of Mexico in defense of the privileges of religious. Autographed by the three Provincials, Francisco de Bustamante, O. F. M., Pedro de la Peña, O. P., and Agustín de Coruña, O. S. A. Undated (ca. 1561) Fol. 325.
 13. Review and approval of the *Diálogos de doctrina christiana* of Maturino Gilberti, written and autographed by Vera Cruz. The first part bears also the autograph of Diego de Chávez. Undated, Fols. 327-328.
 14. Instruction sent by the Provincial, Alonso de la Vera Cruz, to the members of the Mexican Province about the Bulla

de Santa Cruzada. Undated. (ca. 1575) Autographed by Vera Cruz. Fols. 329-329v.

15. Testimonial made to the King by the local officials of México, Tescuco (Tetzco) and Tlacuba on behalf of the Indians. Forty-two reasons for not paying tithes. Undated. (ca. 1555-1560) Fols. 340-341v.
16. Testimonial made to the King by Alvaro Ruiz in the name of the local officials of Tezcucó (Tetzco), México and Tlacuba on behalf of the Indians. Undated. (ca. 1555-1560) Fols. 342-345v.
17. Copy of the reply of Juan de la Peña to the Viceroy Gastón de Peralta in defense of the Augustinians who go to visit the town of Guazalingo, Meztitlan, July 10, 1567. Fols. 354-358. Fol. 356 contains the text of the mandate of the Viceroy, Mexico, Feb. 1, 1567.

Vatican Archives.

1. Brief of Julius III appointing Alonso de la Vera Cruz to the see of León in Nicaragua. June 28, 1552. Armadio 41, Tom. 64, no. 440.
2. Brief of Clement VIII confirming the separation of the Province of Mexico from that of Castile, July 24, 1592, at Rome. Archivium Brevium, Vol. 193, fols. 173-175. Fol. 174 contains the supplication by the Augustinian General Andrea Fivizzani.

Vatican Library.

Letter of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini to Camillo Caetano, Apostolic Nuntio in Spain, at the request of the General of the Augustinians. Rome, Feb. 12, 1594. Biblioteca Barberini, Lat. 5835, parte seconda, pp. 20-21.

Published Materials

Analecta Augustiniana. Acts and decrees of the General Chapters. Vol. IX (Rome, 1921-1922), pp. 419-430. Milan, 1564. The decree separating the Province of Mexico from Castile is found on p. 428.

Vol. X (Rome, 1923-1924), pp. 40-42. Bologna, 1581.

Ibid., pp. 129-132. Rome, 1582.

Ibid., pp. 153-167. Rome, 1592.

BOLAÑO E ISLA, Amancio. *Contribución al estudio biobibliográfico de Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz*. Mexico City, 1947. Prologue by Agustín Millares Carlo.

The appendix of documents contains the following:

- No. 2. Letter of Vera Cruz to Emperor Charles V, Mexico City, March 20, 1553. (Taken from A. G. I., Mexico 280.)
- No. 3. Acts whereby Vera Cruz was incorporated into the University of Mexico, Mexico City, Casas de la Audiencia, July 21, 1553. (Taken from Archivo General de la Nación, *Universidad*, libro 2, fol. 84v.)
- No. 4. Record of the classes and hours taught by Vera Cruz in the University, 1553-1557. (Taken from *ibid.*, fol. 2.)
- No. 6. Record of the salary paid to Vera Cruz at the University, 1555-1557. (Taken from *ibid.*, fols. 39, 40, 42, 44.)
- No. 7. Latin letter dedicated to Vera Cruz by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, included in the 1556 edition of the *Speculum coniugiorum*.
- No. 8. Dedication to Thomas of Villanova composed by Vera Cruz for the 1557 edition of his *Physica speculatio*.
- No. 10. Letter of Juan de Benavente and four witnesses to Philip II in defense of Vera Cruz, Mexico City, April 6, 1562. (Taken from A. G. I., 59-6-13.)
- No. 13. Notarized letter of Vera Cruz to his publisher in Salamanca, Simón de Portunaris, Mexico City, July 11, 1581. (Taken from México, Archivo de Notarías, Protocolo de Antonio Alonso, 1581, fols. mlxxxvi-mlxxxvi versus.)
- No. 14. Dedication to Vera Cruz composed by Andrés de Tordehumos for his *Apologia theologica*, Mexico City, 1581.

Bullarium Romanum, Magnum, Editio Taurinensis. 24 Vols. Turin, 1857-1872.

Vol. VII, pp. 277-279. *In Principis Apostolorum Sede*, issued by Pius IV, Rome, Feb. 17, 1564.

Vol. VII, pp. 558-560. *Exponi nobis nuper*, issued by Pius V, Rome, March 24, 1567.

Cartas de Indias. Madrid, 1877.

- 1. Letter of Vera Cruz to Prince Maximilian about a successor to the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, Oct. 1. 1549. Pp. 88-89.
- 2. Letter of Francisco de Toral, O. F. M., to Philip II registering complaints against the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, especially Archbishop Montúfar, Feb. 20, 1559. Pp. 138-140.
- 3. Letter to Philip II by the Provincials of the three mendicant orders, Domingo de Santa María, O. P., Francisco de Toral, O. F. M., and Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O. S. A., Tlaxcala, May 1, 1559. Pp. 141-143.
- 4. Letter of the same to the same, complaining of the bishops of Mexico City and Michoacán. Here the Dominican Provincial is Pedro de la Peña. Mexico City, March 1, 1560. Pp. 144-146.

5. Letter of the Provincial Agustín de Coruña to Philip II, explaining the financial situation of the Augustinians, Mexico City, July 10, 1561. Pp. 152-155.

Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía sacados del Archivo de Indias. Edited by Luis Torres de Mendoza. 42 Vols. Madrid, 1864-1884. Vol. 33 contains a chronological index of Vols. 1 to 32.

1. Letter of four Augustinians and six laymen to the King of Spain about education. One of the signers is Vera Cruz. Mexico City, Dec. 15, 1537. Vol. XLI, pp. 145-148.
2. Opposition of the religious of Mexico to the « New Laws » of 1544. Testimonial of the Franciscans, Mexico City, May 15, 1544. Vol. VII, pp. 526-532.
3. Report by Archbishop Montúfar to the Emperor Charles V, on the first council of Mexico, 1555. Mexico City, Nov. 1, 1555. Vol. III, pp. 520-530.
4. Report by Archbishop Montúfar to the Council of the Indies on tithes and other matters. May 5, 1556. Vol. IV, pp. 491-530.

Constitutiones ordinis fratrum eremitarum Sancti Augustini. Issued by the General Jerome Seripando. Rome, 1551, apud Antonium Bladum. Introductions by Seripando and Cardinal Marcello Cervino.
Fol. lvi versus contains an index of the provinces.

CUEVAS, S. J., Mariano. *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México.* Mexico City, 1914.

1. Payments made from the royal treasury to the Augustinian order. Records of the treasurer, Fernando de Portugal. March 11, 1553, to Dec. 31, 1563. Pp. 277-279.
2. Letter of Luis de Anguis to Philip II, concerning trouble between the Augustinians and Bishop Quiroga, and other matters. Mexico City, Feb. 20, 1561. Pp. 250-267.
3. Letter of the Viceroy Luis de Velasco, the first, to the General of the Augustinians about the Visitor Pedro de Herrera, Mexico City, Jan. 20, 1564. Pp. 275-276.
4. Letter of Vera Cruz to Juan de Ovando, President of the Council of the Indies, Mexico City, Oct. 20, 1574. Pp. 304-307.

— *Historia de la Iglesia en México.* 5 Vols. El Paso, Texas, 1928.

1. Letter of Alonso de la Vera Cruz, Provincial, to the King of Spain, Mexico City, July 30, 1548. Vol. I, p. 251. (Taken from A. G. I., Mexico 280.)

2. Letter of Vera Cruz to Philip II, Nov. 1, 1582. Vol. II, pp. 502-503. (Taken from A. G. I., 60-2-21.)
3. Testimony in favor of the Augustinians written by the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to his successor. Undated. Vol. II, p. 169, note 14. (Taken from *Documentos inéditos*, VI, 500-501. This probably refers to one of the two large collections of documents published in Madrid. Cf. chap. II, note 45.)

GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA, Joaquín. *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*. 2 Vols. Mexico City, 1858-1866.

1. Text of the « New Laws » of 1542-1543. Vol. II, pp. 204-227. A description and history of these laws is found in the same volume, pp. xxxviii-xl.
2. Letter of Jerónimo de Mendieta to Francisco de Bustamante, Jan. 1. 1562, in defense of the rights of the religious. Vol. II, pp. 515-544. Cf. also pp. lviii-lxi.
3. Petition of Bartolomé de las Casas to the Council of the Indies, presented by three friars, among whom is Alonso de la Vera Cruz. Ca. 1563. Vol. II, pp. 595-598. Cf. also p. lxii.
4. Charges made by Vera Cruz against Pizarro, contained in an autographed note added to the last will and testament of Bartolomé de las Casas, Madrid, Aug. 14, 1566. Vol. II, pp. 509-514. The note of Vera Cruz is found on p. 512. (The reading given by García Icazbalceta has been checked with the original in FE 325, fol. 299.)

— *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México*. 5 Vols. in two tomes. Mexico City, 1886-1892.

The following are from Vol. I, *Cartas de religiosos, 1539-1594*.

1. Letter of Jerónimo de San Esteban to Thomas of Villanova, Acapichtla, Oct., 9, 1539. Pp. 194-195.
2. Letter of Juan de San Román to Juan de Ovando, Michoacán, March 16, 1571. Pp. 105-107.

The following are from Vol. II, *Códice franciscano, siglo XVI — Cartas de religiosos, 1533-1573*.

1. Letter of the three Provincials, Pedro de la Peña, O. P., Francisco de Bustamante, O. F. M., and Agustín de Coruña, O. S. A., to Philip II. Ca. 1561-1562. Pp. 248-250. Cf. also p. xxi.
2. Letter of the same to the same, written about the same time. Pp. 251-253. Cf. also p. xxi.

The following is from Vol. IV, *Códice Mendieta — Documentos franciscanos*.

Report sent to the King by the three mendicant orders on the question of tithes, 1557. Pp. 1-18.

GRIJALVA, Juan de. *Crónica de la orden de N. S. P. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España, 1533-1592*. Mexico City, 1624. Reprint, Mexico City, 1924.

1. Royal order declaring that the religious do not need episcopal permission for the building of monasteries, Valladolid, April 9, 1557. Edad II, chap. xvi, p. 91.
2. Royal order defending the Augustinians against the Bishop of Michoacán, Madrid, July 11, 1562. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
3. Royal order commanding Vera Cruz to appear at court on matters touching the service of the King, Madrid, Aug. 4, 1561. Edad II, chap. xviii, p. 95.
4. Royal order commanding the publication and observance of the Brief of Pius V of 1567, Calapagar, Jan. 15, 1568. Edad III, chap. xxvi, p. 147.
5. Constitutions of the Colegio de San Pablo in Mexico City. Edad III, chap. xxxii, pp. 154-155. (A discussion of the authorship of these constitutions is found in chap. VII of the present study.)
6. Counsel given by Alonso de la Vera Cruz to his students in theology. Edad III, chap. xxxiii.

PINTA Y LLORENTE, O. S. A., Manuel de la. *Archivo Agustiniiano*, XLV (May-Aug., 1951), 254-256.

Letter of Martín de Rada to Vera Cruz, Provincial, Burney (Brunei), Borneo, April 25, 1578. (Taken from FE 325, fols. 33-34.)

PLAZA Y JAÉN, Cristóbal B. de la. *Crónica de la real y pontificia Universidad de México, siglo XVII*. Edited with notes and appendix by Nicolás Rangel. 2 Vols. Mexico City, 1931. It contains various references to Alonso de la Vera Cruz.

PUGA, Vasco de. *Provisiones, cédulas, instrucciones para el gobierno de la Nueva España*. Mexico City, 1563. Reprint, Ediciones cultura hispánica, Vol. III, Madrid, 1945.

1. Royal order forbidding tithes, Monzon, Aug. 2, 1533. Fols. 88-88v.
2. Royal order about the advisability of collecting tithes, Toledo, Feb. 20, 1534. Fol. 92v.
3. Royal order initiating the collecting of tithes, Valladolid, Aug. 8, 1544. Fol. 149.
4. Royal order giving the bishops supervision over the building of monasteries, Madrid, March 17, 1553. Fols. 147-147v.

5. Royal order regarding the founding of monasteries, Valladolid, Aug. 18, 1556. Fol. 193.
6. Royal order forbidding the bishops to place clerics in villages where the religious are located, Valladolid, March 30, 1557. Fols. 193-193v.
7. Royal order suspending Archbishop Montúfar's decree on tithes, Valladolid, April 10, 1557. Fols. 194v-195.

Revista Agustiniana (now *Ciudad de Dios*). Vol. I. Valladolid, 1881. Pp. 55-56.

Letter of Martín de Rada to Vera Cruz, Provincial, Manila, June 3, 1576. (Taken from FE 325, fol. 35.)

RICARD, Robert, « Un document inédit sur les Augustins de la Province du Mexique en 1563 », *Etudes et documents pour l'histoire missionnaire de l'Espagne et du Portugal*. Louvain, 1930. Pp. 119-154. It contains two lists of the Augustinians in Mexico, one of which indicates the languages they spoke. (Taken from the notes of Sicardo, MS 4349, Archivo Nacional, Madrid. Cf. the description of this MS in the Introduction to this study.)

« Quatre lettres de Fr. Alonso de Montúfar, second archevêque de Mexico », *ibid.*, pp. 66-118.

1. Letter of Montúfar to the Council of the Indies, on the question of tithes, Mexico City, Dec. 15, 1554. Pp. 78-88.
2. Letter of Montúfar to Philip II, charging Vera Cruz with heresy, June 20, 1558. Pp. 92-102.
3. Letter of same to the same ; further condemnation of Vera Cruz, Aug. 15, 1558. Pp. 103-111.

SAN ANTONIO, Juan Francisco de. *Crónicas de la apostólica provincia de S. Gregorio de religiosos descalzos de N. S. P. Francisco en las islas Philipinas, China, Japón, etc.* Part I. Sampaloc (outside Manila), 1738.

Letter of Vera Cruz to the Bishop of Manila, Domingo de Salazar, containing a lengthy exposition of the privileges of religious, Mexico City, Feb. 12, 1583. Bk. III, chap. viii, pp. 568-585.

SANTIAGO VELA, O. S. A., Gregorio de. *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la orden de S. Agustín*. Vols. I to VI published at Madrid, 1913-1922. Vol. VII was published posthumously at El Escorial, 1925. Vol. VIII was edited by Julian Zarco Cuevas, El Escorial, 1931. Vol. IV, comprising the letters K to L, has never appeared. Vol. I, pp. vii-xxvi, contains an introduction on Augustinian sources. Vol. VIII,

pp. 155-174, contains an excellent essay on the sources for the life and works of Vera Cruz.

Copy of the profession form of Alonso de la Vera Cruz, Mexico City, June 20, 1537. Vol. VIII, p. 156, note 2. (Taken from CARREÑO, *Joyas literarias de siglo XVII*, p. 254. The Book of Professions from which this is taken is today preserved in the library of the University of Texas.)

— *Archivo histórico hispano-americano*. Published in Madrid. In this review there are many fine articles dealing with the history of the Augustinian Order in Mexico, written by Santiago Vela, especially between the years 1918 and 1922. One of his chief sources was the MS of Sicardo, 4349, Archivo Nacional, Madrid. (Cf. the description of this MS, and the note on the above review, in the Introduction to this study.) The more important items taken from Sicardo are the following:

1. Acts and decrees, dealing with the reform called the « Observance », sent to Mexico by the chapter held at Dueñas, 1540. Vol. XIV (July-Aug., 1920), pp. 69-78.
2. Letter of Francisco Serrano, Provincial of Castile, to Vera Cruz, Vicar-Provincial, Medina del Campo, April 14, 1550. Vol. XVI (Sept-Oct., 1921), pp. 216-219.
3. Declaration made by the Viceroy, Luis de Velasco, in defense of the Augustinians, Aug. 20, 1555. Vol. XV (May-June, 1921), pp. 335-336.
4. Letter written by Vera Cruz at Madrid, Dec. 23, 1565. Vol. XIV (Nov.-Dec., 1920), p. 302.
5. Acts of the provincial chapters in Mexico, between 1572 and 1593, concerning studies. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-113.
6. Notes on the foundation of the Colegio de San Pablo in Mexico City, especially from the acts of the provincial chapter of 1578, and the difinitory meetings of 1577 and 1579. Vol. XIII (March-April, 1920), pp. 198-200.

VERA CRUZ, Alonso de la. *Dialectica resolutio cum textu Aristotelis*. Published in Mexico City, 1554, by Joannes Paulus Brissensis. Reprinted in facsimile in *Ediciones cultura hispanica*, Madrid, 1945. The reprint is the copy that has been employed in this study.

Fol. 2 contains a Latin letter by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar.

Fol. 2v contains an introduction by Vera Cruz stating his purpose in writing a course in philosophy.

— *Speculum coniugiorum*. Published in Mexico City, 1556, by Joannes Paulus Brissensis. Re-edited at Salamanca, 1562,

and Alcalá, 1572. Reprinted at Milan, 1599. This last edition is the one that has been employed here. (Cf. the descriptions given in chap. iii and chap. vi.)

Appendix ad speculum coniugiorum. A revision according to the decrees of the Council of Trent. First published separately at Madrid, 1571. Then incorporated with the text in the edition of Alcalá, 1572. (Cf. the same references as above for full descriptions.)

— *Additiones constitutionum novae impressionis.* Mexico, 1559. A publication of 28 pages issued by Vera Cruz as Provincial. He says in the introduction that his purpose was to bring the Mexican edition of the Constitutions of 1556 up to date with those issued at Rome in 1551. The only known copy is found in the New York Public Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANTOLÍN, O. S. A., Guillermo. *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la real biblioteca del Escorial.* 5 Vols. Madrid, 1910-1923.

BASALENQUE, Diego. *Historia de la provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán.* 3 Books in one vol. Composed in 1644. Published in 1673. Reprint, Mexico City, 1886. This last edition is the one that has been employed here.

BAYLE, S. J., Constantino. *El clero secular y la evangelización de América.* Madrid, 1950.

BELL, Aubrey F. G. *Luis de León — un estudio del renacimiento español.* Barcelona, 1927. Originally printed at Oxford, 1925.

BERISTÁIN-DE SOUZA, José Mariano. *Biblioteca hispanoamericana septentrional.* 3 Vols. Mexico City, 1816-1821. 2nd edition, Amecameca, 1863. 3rd edition, Mexico City, 1947.

BLANCO, O. S. A., Antonio. *Biblioteca bibliográfico-agustiniana del colegio de Valladolid.* Valladolid, 1909.

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APPENDIX I

The Works of Alonso de la Vera Cruz

The following will be simply a list of the works of Vera Cruz, given for the convenience of the reader. There are a number of critical bibliographical studies, especially those of J. GARCÍA ICAZ-BALCETA, *Bibliografía* (new edition by A. Millares Carlo); SANTIAGO VELA, *BIA*, Vol. VIII; J. T. MEDINA, *La imprenta en México*, Vol. I; E. R. WAGNER, *Nueva bibliografía*.

PUBLISHED WORKS

Dialectica resolutio cum textu Aristotelis, Mexico City, 1554. Printed by Joannes Paulus Brissensis. It was thrice revised by Vera Cruz and published at Salamanca in the years 1562, 1569, 1572. A modern reprint in facsimile has been done at Madrid in Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1945.

Recognitio summularum cum textu Petri Hispani et Aristotelis, Mexico City, 1554. Printed by Joannes Paulus Brissensis. It was thrice revised by Vera Cruz and published at Salamanca in the years 1562, 1569, 1573. A fifth edition was published posthumously at Salamanca in 1595.

Speculum coniugiorum, Mexico City, 1556. Printed by Joannes Paulus Brissensis. It was twice revised by Vera Cruz and published at Salamanca in 1562, and Alcalá in 1572. A fourth edition was published posthumously at Milan, 1599.

Appendix ad speculum coniugiorum, a revision according to the decrees of the Council of Trent, Madrid (Mantuae Carpentanorum), 1571. It was incorporated with the text of the *Speculum* in the edition of Alcalá, 1572.

Physica speculatio, Mexico City, 1557. Printed by Joannes Paulus Brissensis. It was thrice revised by Vera Cruz and published at Salamanca in the years 1562, 1569, 1573.

Additiones constitutionum novae impressionis, Mexico City, 1559. An addition to the Constitutions published in Mexico in 1556. The introduction is by Vera Cruz.

Confirmatio et nova concessio privilegiorum omnium ordinum mendicantium, Motu proprio issued by Pius V at Rome, June 15, 1567. Published under the direction of Vera Cruz at Seville, 1568, apud Joannem Gutierrez. (Cf. chap. vi on this.)

Bulla confirmationis et novae concessionis privilegiorum, Mexico City, June 4, 1568. Printed by Antonio de Spinosa. This contains the Brief of Pius V, March 24, 1567; the Motu proprio of June 15, 1567; and a royal order given at El Escorial, Sept. 21, 1567. This publication was prepared by Vera Cruz in Spain. (Cf. chap. vi on this.)

Tabula privilegiorum quae Ss. Papa Pius V concessit fratribus mendicantibus, Mexico City, 1568. Printed by Antonio de Spinosa. The fact that this is found with the above work, *Bulla confirmationis*, indicates that it was probably written by Vera Cruz. (Cf. chap. vi, and WAGNER, *op. cit.*, p. 237.)

Counsel Given to His Students of Theology, published in Grijalva, *op. cit.*, Edad III, chap. xxxiii.

Treatise on Privileges Sent to Bishop Salazar of Manila, written at Mexico City, Feb. 12, 1583. It is published in several chronicles. The one employed here is that of Juan Francisco de San Antonio, *op. cit.*, Part I, Bk. III, chap. viii, pp. 568-585.

UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Relectio de decimis. MS Escorial iii K 6, fols. 1-78.

Apologia pro religiosis. MS Escorial iii K 6, fols. 79-354. (Cf. chap. vi on this and the preceeding work.)

Reply Sent to Juan de Salcedo, Canon of the Cathedral of Mexico, written at Tiripetío, April 6, 1574. It concerns the power of major superiors in the Indies to dispense from the age required for ordination to the priesthood. García Icazbalceta, *Biografía*, I, 71, says that this is a brief and ambiguous tract, found in a codex belonging to Sr. Agreda.

Commentaria in epistolas S. Pauli, to be found in an MS of the library of S. Pablo, Mexico.

Commentarium in secundum Magistri Sententiarum librum, to be found in the same place.

Contra Catharinum, in obsequium Cardinalis Cajetani, cited by Vera Cruz in a list at the end of the second edition of his *Speculum coniugiorum*. (Cf. SANTIAGO VELA, *BIA*, VIII, 173.)

Contra judicium astrologiam, cited by Vera Cruz in the same place.

Relectio de dominio infidelium et iusto bello. (Cf. chap. iii on this.)

Relectio de libris canonicis, to be found in a MS of the library of S. Pablo, Mexico.

A chronicle or collection of documents concerning the history of the Augustinians in Mexico. This work is cited by Grijalva, *op. cit.* (2nd. print.), Edad II, chap. xiii, p. 254; chap. xxiii, p. 339; Edad III, chap. xxiii, p. 444; and by E. GARCÍA, *op. cit.*, chap. v, pp. 16, 17; chap. lxii, p. 190.

DOUBTFUL WORKS

Regula beatissimi patris nostri Augustini, Mexico City, 1556. Printed by Joannes Paulus Brissensis. (This and the following two works were published at the same time, and are attributed to Vera Cruz. Cf. WAGNER, *op. cit.*, p. 153. He cites CATALINA GARCÍA, *Escritores de Guadalajara*.)

Constitutiones fratrum heremitarum sancti patris nostri Augustini. Ordinarium sacri ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini episcopi et regularis observantiae, nunc denuo correctum sicque non secundum morem antiquum ceremonie fiant sed secundum choros altos.

A defense of Luis de León. (Cf. *BIA*, VIII, 172.)

An edition of the sermons of St. Thomas of Villanova. (Cf. BASALENQUE, *op. cit.*, Part I, chap. viii, p. 188.) Uceda, in his Latin edition of the sermons of St. Thomas (Alcalá, 1572), attributes the original preparation of the text to Vera Cruz.

A Grammar of the Tarascan language. (Cf. SANTIAGO VELA, *BIA*, VIII, 173.)

Ossinger, *Bibliotheca augustiniana*, p. 279, speaks of a *Tractatus de coelo*, but that is probably nothing other than a part of the *Physica speculatio*.

Petrus Loy, *Additiones ad Anastasim Augustinianum* (the *Anastasis* is the work of Thomas Gratianus, Antwerp, 1613), p. 71, speaks of a book by Vera Cruz called *De praestanda administratione Sacramentorum Indiis* and says it was printed in Mexico. This work of Loy is found in a seventeenth century MS of the Augustinian Archives of Ghent.

APPENDIX II

Some unpublished Letters and other Materials

Extracts from the *Regesta Patrum Generalium*

The following three extracts, taken from the general archives of the Augustinian Order in Rome, concern various aspects of the question of the separation of the Mexican province from the province of Castile. This question is studied in chapter four.

I

Directive given by the General, Jerome Seripando, obliging the Augustinians in Mexico to continue under obedience to the provincial of Castile. Sent from Pamplona, Nov. 27, 1541. *Dd* 19, fol. 102v.

Ven. Vicario et Patribus Indiae.

Ven. Vicarium ac Patres Indiae, seu Novae Hispaniae, publicis

literis monuimus, ut cum Provinciale Capitulum Provinciae nostrae Hispaniae, quae ex Bethica et Castella tunc una erat facta, celebrari contingeret, eo ipso die et ipsi semper Capitulum suum congregarent, in quo quicumque in vicarium electus fuisset, nostra auctoritate confirmatus, ex nunc prout ex tunc, officium suum exerceret, donec Ven. Provinciali Hispaniae aliter disponere visum esset. Confirmavimus item conventiones quasdam in suis preteritis Capitulis factas inter ipsos et Magnificos Deputatos Confraternitatis Sanctissimi Nominis Jesu, quae est in ecclesia nostra Civitatis Mexicensis. Concessimus, insuper, vicario, qui electus esset, ut ducentas literas Confraternitatis, nostra auctoritate confectas, distribuere posset amicis et devotis Religionis.

II

Decree issued by the General, Christopher of Padua, on the advice of Philip II of Spain, withdrawing the decree by which the province of Mexico had been separated from the province of Castile. Rome, June 29, 1565. *Dd* 30, fols. 44v-45.

Quoniam 16a februarii 1565 divisimus Provinciam Mexicanam a Provincia Castellae, ad maiorem illorum fratrum tranquillitatem, Serms. Rex Hispaniarum semel atque iterum nobis significavit huiusmodi divisionem a Maiestate sua minime probari. Propterea, ne eius voluntati repugnare videremur, in omnibus obsequentes, sub tali verborum forma respondimus:

Serme. Rex — Maiestatis vestrae literas, quibus divisionem Provinciae Indiarum ab Hispania fieri nullo pacto sibi probari mihi significat, accepi. Id enim naturalibus regionis illius catholicae fidei novellis plantationibus obfuturum magis quam profuturum iudicat. Cuius rei rationes meas, quae ad hoc agendum me potissimum induxerunt, Maiestatem Vestram, ut sperabam, minime movere video, quin potius, si hoc fieret, multa inde incommoda sequutura existimat. Idipsum quod Maiestas Vestra recte sentit, sapientissimum quoque Indiarum Consilium sentire asserit. Cum autem iudicium meum cum Maiestatis Vestrae, divino plane iudicio, et eorum etiam quorum Consilio tot regna moderantur, conferendum nulla ratione certo sciam, neque ei repugnari debeo.

Quo circa, quae hucusque per me super hoc negocio decreta sunt, cum Maiestati Vestrae non probentur, mihi quoque placere minime possunt, neque debent. Ea, igitur, omnia irrita esse volo ac in integrum, ut antea erant, restituenda censeo. Nihil enim aliud, quandiu universo ordini meo praeero, pro muneris mei ratione, quaerendum mihi aut curandum est, quam ut fratres mei maiorum suorum instituta sequantur, et quae meliora sunt ac ad salutem facilius conducunt, amplectantur. Quod autem reliquum est Maiestatem Vestram supplex oro, ut me, ordinemque meum sui deditissimum commendatum habere dignetur. Quem clementissimus Deus, tanquam illum a cuius salute tot regnorum salus pendet, incolumem servet, rebus-

que suis faveat ac dexteræ suæ potentia tueatur et augeat. Valeat Maiestas Vestra. Datum Romæ die 29 Iunii 1565.

III

Decree of the general chapter of 1592 whereby the province of Mexico was definitively separated from that of Castile. The General was Andrea Fivizzani. Rome, May 28, 1592. *Dd* 48, fol. 196.

Ex consensu Patrum Diffinitorii, fuerunt confirmata omnia instituta ab Illmo. Cardinale Elpareense, facta dum munia Generalis obiret, et Hispanas Provincias visitaret, circa divisionem Provinciae Mexicanæ a Provincia Castellæ et a quacumque alia; et denuo, si opus esset, divisserunt et separarunt, ac concesserunt, ut non obediant Vicariis Commissariis, nisi ad tempus et pro expressis causis missis, et Provinciali Castellæ imposuerunt perpetuum silentium, ut nullo modo audeat in futurum se intromittere in Regimen aut gubernationem Provinciae præfatae Mexicanæ, sub poena excommunicationis, privationis ab officio et omnium graduum.

Letters taken from the Archivo General de Indias in Seville

IV

Autographed letter sent by the provincials of the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian orders to Philip II, to complain of abuses suffered at the hands of the bishops of Mexico. Mexico City, Jan. 30, 1558. This letter is written in the hand of Vera Cruz. Cf. chapter six. A. G. I. Mexico 281.

Porque servimos a dios en estas partes y a v. mag. en este nuevo mundo atendiedo (sic) con inmensos trabajos en defender a estos pobres naturales y azerlos christianos y morir de noche y dia en esto, en lugar de ayuda y favor, que nos avian de dar los prelados por ser los que llevamos la carga que ellos tienen, nos traten en publico de la manera que v. mg. vera en esos papeles que el padre comissario general y el padre fray juan de san roman, que alla esta, mostraran a v. mg. Suplicamos a v. mg. luego lo mande remediar, porque si asi va, bastara para que todos los religiosos desaparen la obra.

fray francisco de toral
(provincial)

fray diego de s. maria
(provincial)

fray alonso de la vera cruz
(provincial)

V

Report sent by Alonso de la Vera Cruz to Juan de Ovando, President of the Council of the Indies. This letter is written by

another friar, but autographed by Vera Cruz. Tiripetío, Feb. 20, 1574. Cf. chapter seven. A. G. I. Mexico 282.

Despues que legamos en salvamento al puerto desta nueva españa, he escripto dos a V. S. Ill.ma en dos navios que an salido. Yo quedo en esta provincia de Mechoacan a donde vine lo uno para cobrar las fuerças que en la enfermedd me faltaron, que aun con propria mano escribir no puedo, lo segundo por ayudar en las confesiones de los yndios y predicacion.

El padre fray diego de herrera que vino de las philipinas, como tengo escripto a v. s. Ill.ma, a de yr en esta flota. El qual dara exactissima quenta y razon de todo lo que alla ay. Es persona aquien v. s. pueda dar mucho credito y servirsé (de él) en lo que fuere servido, porque aca en la orden tal extima tiene.

fray alonso de la vera cruz

VI

Autographed letter written by Alonso de la Vera Cruz to Philip II, concerning the Santa Cruzada and the Philippine missions. Vera Cruz was then provincial. Mexico City, Oct. 15, 1577. Cf. chapter seven. A. G. I. Mexico 283.

Dos de v. m. he recebido en esta flota que vino este anno de 77. En la una mando v. m. que yo y todos los de nuestra orden de santo augustin tengamos cuidado en lo que toca a la santa cruzada, y para que se entable y asiente asi, se ha echo de nuestra parte todo lo possible y se hara en lo futuro como v. m. lo manda y sus capellanes deben hazer y no aver falta de nuestra parte para la buena expedition, como lo dira el comissario general el arçobispo de mexico. Solo se presume no avia tan buena la expedition a causa de la gran pestilencia que a mas de anno que anda, y aun no cessa, y es grande la multitud de gente de los indios que faltan.

En la segunda v. m. responde a la que yo scrivi sobre los excessos de las philippinas por no guardar las instruciones santas de v. mg., y que ahora se manda de nuevo al governador conde se guarden, y que tanga cuidado de enviar religiosos como asta aqui harase lo que manda v. m., aunque ahora, como van los padres de la orden de san francisco, no sera tanto menester por lo mucho que ellos haran y muchos que de alla pueden prover (sic) por ser tantos, pero todavia no dexare de enviar si otra cosa v. m. no manda, y si dentro a la tierra firme de la china se entra, es menester mucha gente venga y de todas tres ordenes.

fray alonso de la vera cruz