



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

“The rupture generation” : nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City, 1774-1882

Segovia Liga, A.

Citation

Segovia Liga, A. (2017, June 27). *“The rupture generation” : nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City, 1774-1882*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/50194>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/50194>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/50194> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Segovia-Liga, A.

Title: "The rupture generation" : nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City, 1774-1882

Issue Date: 2017-06-27

Chapter 4

Nahua Intellectuals at the Dawn of the Nineteenth Century in Mexico City

Introduction

The Nahua intellectual tradition during the colonial era in Mexico thrived throughout the period of the Spanish conquest, in spite of the restrictions and oppression that characterized this colonial system. As several scholars have already analyzed,³⁰⁶ the works produced by indigenous intellectuals in the American territories colonized by the Spaniards (i.e. Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin,³⁰⁷ Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in Mexico, and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala for the territory of Peru,³⁰⁸ among many others) usually, but not exclusively, had the purpose of legitimizing their position within the colonial establishment by praising both their noble lineage and history or documenting the way the Spanish conquest had disrupted their societies. Thus, the content of these indigenous intellectuals' works always included vital information that contributed to the permanence, conservation, continuation and construction of both their individual and collective identity. The content of these works also reflected the experiences, and the political and cultural backgrounds in which these indigenous intellectuals lived and produced their work. Hence, the work produced by indigenous intellectuals in the nineteenth-century Mexico reflected the political changes and the social

³⁰⁶ For instance and only to mention a few of the most influential works on this matter, see the works of Susan Schroeder, *Chimalpahin and the Kingdoms of Chalco*; as well as Susan Schroeder, *The Conquest All Over Again*; or the collective works compiled in *Annals of His Time*; and Susan Schroeder, *Chimalpahin's Conquest: A Nahua Historian's Rewriting of Francisco Lopez de Gomara's La conquista de Mexico* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2010); as well as Amber Brian, Bradley Benton and Pablo García Loaeza, *The Native Conquistador*; José Rubén Romero Galván, *Los privilegios perdidos: Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, su tiempo, su nobleza y su Crónica mexicana* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2003).

³⁰⁷ See Ernst Mengin, *Diferentes historias originales de los reynos de Culhuacán, y México, y de otras provincias* (Berlin: Baessler Archive, 1944). About this work see José Rubén Romero Galván, "Posible esquema de las Historias originales de Chimalpahin," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, número 1 (1976): 73-78. See also Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, *Relaciones originales de Chalco Amaquemecan*, Silvia Rendón, trans., (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965). See also Domingo Chimalpahin, *Diario* (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2001); Domingo Chimalpahin, *Memorial Breve acerca de la fundación de la ciudad de Culhuacan*; Víctor M. Castillo, ed., (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1991); and Domingo Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones y el memorial de Culhuacan*, 2 vols., Rafael Tena, trans., (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998).

³⁰⁸ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Caracas: Biblioteca de Aracuco, 1980).

circumstances in which the indigenous population lived during this period of time in the capital of New Spain.³⁰⁹

Indigenous intellectual activity continued to thrive within colonial institutions during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For instance in 1724,³¹⁰ the religious and civil authorities in New Spain founded the *Convento de Corpus Christi para Indias Caciccas*,³¹¹ and in 1785 the *Real Academia de las Nobles Artes de San Carlos*, which mirrored the *Academia de las Nobles Artes* in Spain. The foundation of these two institutions demonstrates that during the last decades of the eighteenth century Mexico City continued having a vibrant intellectual life in which Indigenous Peoples participated.

Despite either the lack of resources or little interest that colonial authorities had in preserving the institutions that worked for the benefit of Indigenous Peoples, these organizations continued working at least until the first decades of the nineteenth century. In many cases, the same Indigenous Peoples remained in charge of keeping these institutions open and working efficiently, such as in the case of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in Mexico City. These indigenous communities supported these types of institutions either through making pecuniary donations or by providing labor or other services when required. Hence, both literacy and the educational system continued being an effective way in which Indigenous Peoples in general, and several Nahua intellectuals in particular, found to continue their various intellectual activities.

Nevertheless, both the cultural and educational developments in New Spain received influences from the political background and various events that occurred in the Iberian Peninsula and in Europe. Consequently, the intellectual production of Nahua intellectuals in the colony of New Spain did not disassociate itself from all these affairs. In this context, several specific historical events occurred in Spain that influenced and changed the status of the indigenous communities in the American territories. In summary terms, the following events deeply influenced the works and even the political positions of several indigenous intellectuals in New Spain:

- a) The Bourbon Reforms at the beginning of the eighteenth century.
- b) The expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish territories in 1767.
- c) The Courts and the subsequent Constitutions of Cadiz in 1810.
- d) The French occupation of Spain under the French forces on February 1810.

³⁰⁹ For an interesting debate and comparison about how intellectual elites formed by Indigenous People in the Andes and in Mexico functioned, see Ramos and Yannakakis, *Indigenous Intellectuals*.

³¹⁰ Tovar Esquivel Enrique e Itzel Landa Juárez, "Entierros en el templo de monjas caciccas de Corpus Christi de la Ciudad de México," *Boletín de Monumentos Históricos*, núm. 9 (2007): 16-28.

³¹¹ Arturo Rocha Cortés, "El convento de Corpus Christi de México para Indias caciccas, 1724. Documentos para servir en la restauración de la iglesia," *Boletín de Monumentos Históricos*, núm.1 (2004): 17-39.

- e) The issuing of the Spanish Constitution of Cadiz in 1812.
- f) The consummation of the Independence of Mexico from Spain in 1821.

These historical events transformed the Indigenous Peoples' position in later colonial society, and these events even impacted upon the way in which they administrated their collective property and educational institutions.

The main purpose of this chapter is to offer the names and biographical sketches of only a few Nahua intellectuals who thrived at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth-century in Mexico City. Therefore, the biographical information for these Nahua intellectuals will give evidence to their active role within the political spheres of the time. This information will confirm the argument that both Indigenous Peoples and their communities actively participated, along with other politicians and social leaders from other *castas*, in the higher level political discussions of their time, instead of their usual characterization in the historical literature as amorphous and apolitical “mobs” during the period of independence of 1810.³¹² These Nahua intellectuals participated in diverse political forums where they exposed their ideas, interests and even promoted their own agenda, which reveals a clear example of what scholars call an expression political identity.³¹³

Due to the cultural and socio-economic plurality in Mexico, the interests of these Nahua intellectuals, both as members of a specific class and individually, were beyond the simple labels of the Conservative or the liberal discourses.³¹⁴ Hence, this chapter aims to consider that the political participation of indigenous communities during nineteenth-century Mexico was the direct result of a strong intellectual tradition. For this reason, before we embark upon a biographical review of several Nahua intellectuals, I consider it essential to mention and briefly describe the governmental realms in which these intellectuals most frequently acted. The Spanish colonial regime created a series of organizations in order to better administrate the indigenous populations of the Central Valley of Mexico, among them were the *repúblicas de indios*, the *parcialidades*, *cabildos*, *cofradías*, and *cajas de comunidad*, among several others. These mentioned organizations contributed to help organize the social, economic and cultural life of

³¹² In this sense, this is one of the major criticisms that I find in the work of Miguel León Portilla and Alicia Mayer entitled *Los indígenas en la Independencia y en la Revolución Mexicana* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas-Fideicomiso Teixidor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2010) in which the image of the Indigenous Peoples who participated in key historical processes of Mexican history are reduced too simply to vague descriptions using terms such as “people” or “mobs.” About this discussion see, Jaime Rodríguez O., *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles I* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, Instituto Mora, 2012), 226-227, with especial attention to the work of William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979).

³¹³ Leonie Huddy, “From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory,” *Political Psychology* 22, No. 1 (Mar., 2001): 127-156.

³¹⁴ Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles I*, 27.

Indigenous Peoples during the colonial era. Consequently, early nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City had a close relationship and extensive knowledge about these governmental structures and institutions.

4.1 An Overview on Indigenous Political Participation during the Spanish Colonial Era in Mexico City

There is no doubt that the period of the Spanish conquest and the subsequent period of colonization highly deteriorated Mesoamerican communities by suppressing their history, identity and styles of life. In substitution for the existing Mesoamerican social system, the Spanish administration created a series of institutions that sought to contribute to the process of colonization of both the human and natural resources of the recently subjugated Mesoamerican people. Nevertheless, the process of colonization in the Valley of Mexico relied on the creation of a series of governmental institutions which administrated the indigenous population of the region. The political system established by the colonial regime founded diverse administrative institutions, such as *ayuntamientos*, *cabeceras*, *tribunales*, *municipios*, etc., in which Indigenous Peoples actively participated. Through these said institutions indigenous communities in general negotiated their presence and exerted influence upon the colonial system.

This colonial system was not optimum by any means, and for obvious reasons it did not provide indigenous communities with complete sovereignty over their own affairs. Nevertheless, this colonial system included the political participation of indigenous leaders, and offered institutions where commoners also found a place to channel their concerns, complaints and petitions.³¹⁵ There are several cases in which Indigenous Peoples denounced, either through civil or religious courts, different crimes committed against them, such as their mistreatment by either their local priests or Spanish authorities.³¹⁶ There is also evidence concerning Indigenous Peoples' petitions to gain financial aid in order to attend educational institutions in the capital of

³¹⁵ *El intendente de Yucatán representa al virrey para que se sirva de mandar para las cajas generales de esta capital que suplan los cientos de los cuatro jóvenes destinados a la Real Academia de San Carlos descontándose algunos caudales de aquella provincia*, 1806, AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 6002, Expediente 027, Colegios, 16 fojas.

³¹⁶ The cases currently housed in different archives in Mexico vary. Nevertheless, we can have a glimpse about this tradition of litigation by reviewing a few of the following cases. To mention only a few of them: *Expediente formado por una denuncia que hace el P. Fray Alonso Polonio, del convento de Tepeaca, por denuncia de una mujer contra un sacerdote llamado José Tenorio, por solicitante*, 2 de enero de 1800, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, inquisición, Inquisición 61, Volumen 1468, Expediente 9, fs. 106-108; *Denuncia contra un sacerdote cuyo nombre no conoce la persona que la hace. Hacienda de La Purísima Concepción de Ocuila*, 1741, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, Inquisición, Inquisición 61, Volumen 793, Expediente 3, fs. 13-19; *Sobre algunas diligencias que se han practicado con María Rita Viveros, respecto a la denuncia que hizo contra un sacerdote por solicitante, Jalapa*, 1772, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, Inquisición, Inquisición 61, Volumen 1137, Expediente 22, fs. 241-242. As we can see through these three examples, Indigenous People in their towns continued to denounce perceived abuses to the corresponding institutions, complaining about diverse transgressions committed by local authorities against the members of the community until the nineteenth century. These examples demonstrate that people in general, especially in indigenous communities, often used the legal authorities to channel their demands and complaints.

the New Spain. In this sense, the high political participation of indigenous communities within the colonial system was not a rarity, but a norm.

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the access that different Indigenous Peoples had to the colonial system and its institutions was not equal. The colonial authorities determined the participation of both indigenous communities and individuals based on their place of origin, town of residence, their community or individual economic activities, as well as their relationship with the metropolis. For instance, the relationship that several of the Indigenous Peoples called “*indios del norte*” had with the metropolis and their use of these institutions did not remain as effective as the correspondence that Nahua people who lived in Tacuba could exert on these colonial institutions. A clear example of this situation is the relatively high accessibility that Nahua people from the Valley of Mexico had to educational institutions from the metropolis, in comparison to their counterparts from the northern or southern provinces.

Colonial institutions such as the *Tribunal de Indios* and the *Juzgado General de Indios* worked as mediating institutions that sought to alleviate the problems that concerned indigenous communities in New Spain.³¹⁷ Hence, colonial Spanish institutions, as well as their tribunals, were not invisible or unknown for indigenous communities. The social complexity of Mesoamerican societies and their local legal traditions deeply influenced indigenous societies under the colonial system to adopt and use some of the Spanish institutions in the sake of their own benefit. In diverse regions, these indigenous communities developed a strong and solid institutional life based on the *República de Indios*³¹⁸ system and in the Valley of Mexico through the system of *parcialidades*, which counted upon their own indigenous authorities. These indigenous authorities had a relevant presence in the political life of Mexico City since they worked as mediators between the inhabitants of the indigenous *parcialidades* and the colonial authorities. Contrary to what we might think, the primary sources produced by the representatives of these communities were not characterized by having an anti-monarchical discourse.

On the contrary, the documentation available reinforces the hypothesis that nineteenth-century indigenous communities in Mexico City in general trusted the colonial institutions and

³¹⁷ There are some cases in which Indigenous Peoples from places far from the metropolis traveled to the capital to denounce or make demands, and in many of the cases, these individuals were received by the Spanish authorities in the capital of New Spain as we will see in the case of the people from Sandía Pueblo, New Mexico, and their relation with Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma (*Destitución de Tierras, tercera sala, Don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, 1829-1841*, AGN, México Independiente, Poderes Judiciales, Tribunal Superior de Justicia, Caja 0158) or the case when the Indigenous Peoples from northern Mexico, in the present day United States of America, visited Emperor Maximilian in Mexico City on January 21, 1865: *Orden superma para que por los fondos del Ayuntamiento se eorguen los gastos que ocasione la permanencia en esta ciudad de los indios comisionados de las tribus Mascoguas y Kicapús*, 21 de enero de 1865, AHDF, Sección Hacienda General, Volumen 2109, Expediente 170, 5 fojas.

³¹⁸ Peter Gerhard, “Congregaciones de indios en la Nueva España antes de 1570,” in *Los pueblos de indios y las comunidades*, Bernardo García Martínez, ed., (México: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1991), 30-79.

the way they worked, and displayed a high respect for the Cortes and the constitution that was issued in Cadiz during the invasion of Spain by the French. This indigenous recognition of the royal institutions can be explained based on the fact that these colonial institutions were relatively efficient. They also allowed the indigenous communities to have a direct representative who guarded the interests of their communities, or at least, the interests of the leaders of their own communities. In this sense, the social division of indigenous communities also influenced the way their indigenous affairs were resolved within these communities. This was the specific case of Nahua communities in Mexico City at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

In order to demonstrate evidence of this previous statement, I will briefly describe a series of institutions and legal instances in which Indigenous Peoples politically participated in the affairs that concerned their communities in the region of Mexico City. By doing so, we will see evidence of indigenous political participation and the semi-autonomous character that these societies enjoyed before the Bourbon Reforms and the issuing of the Constitution of Cadiz.

4.1.1 The *Parcialidades*

In the capital of New Spain, Nahua communities displayed their political influence and collective power through the exercise of government in their *parcialidades*. This political and territorial organization determined the life and social organization of the newly conquered territories and their inhabitants after the sixteenth century.³¹⁹

After the conquest of Tenochtitlan and its surroundings, the Spaniards organized the territory of former Mexico-Tenochtitlan into four *parcialidades de indios*: San Juan Moyotlan, San Sebastián Atzacualco, San Pablo Teopan y Santa María Cuepopan.³²⁰ These *parcialidades* remained as a political framework that worked within and between Spanish religious congregations and civil authorities. These *parcialidades* remained responsible for the recollection of tribute, political participation of indigenous authorities and the creation of *municipios* and *cabeceras*.³²¹

Simultaneously to the creation of the *pueblos de indios*, there were also political institutions such as territorial *municipios* with their corresponding *cabildos*, all having their own

³¹⁹ Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 32.

³²⁰ See Rosendo Rovisa Margado, “Las cuatro parcialidades de México Tenochtitlan: Espacialidad prehispánica, construcción virreinal y prácticas judiciales en la Real Audiencia de la Nueva España” (PhD Diss. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2014), 57-58. In this dissertation Rovira Morgado demonstrates that the geopolitical construction of the *parcialidades de indios* in Mexico City after the conquest of Mexico-Tenochtitlan was mostly based on Spanish political regulations both from civil and religious authorities, instead of having a heavy influence on the original indigenous *traza* of the city.

³²¹ See Delfina López Sarrelangue, “Las tierras comunales indígenas de la Nueva España en el siglo XVI,” *Estudios de historia novohispana* 1(1966): 131-148

alcaldes, *regidores* and *alguaciles*; and the larger of them, were called *cabeceras*, each also represented by the *gobernador indio*,³²² which allowed for the appointment of local indigenous authorities and institutions which saw to the re-organization and control over indigenous communal property in Mexico City.³²³ The members of these *parcialidades* had the right to elect their representative, who was also an indigenous member of the community.³²⁴ This indigenous representative served as the legitimate representative of the corresponding *parcialidad* or *parcialidades* before the local *cabildo* and the Spanish *ayuntamiento*.³²⁵

Throughout the period of the Spanish colony in New Spain, the *parcialidades de indios* efficiently worked not only organizing and recollecting tribute for the Spanish colonial authorities, but they also served in creating a stable geo-political organization that allowed the permanence and administration of indigenous communal property in Mexico City. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the political liberalism that prevailed in Spain deeply affected these *parcialidades de indios* in Mexico.³²⁶

4.1.2 Indigenous *Cabildos*, *Cajas de Comunidades* and *Cofradías*

Before the issuing of the Constitution of 1812, in Mexico City, the governor, or representative, of the *parcialidades de indios* presided over the Indian *cabildo* and also had to appear before the Spanish *Ayuntamiento*, a reason why the colonial authorities required that any “*indio*” governor of the *parcialidades* had to be able to speak both an indigenous language and Spanish. The *cabildos* were Spanish-indigenous institutions made up of offices with Spanish titles held by elected indigenous nobles.”³²⁷ The indigenous *cabildos* were a very complex political government organization that counted upon the service of *alcaldes*, *alguaciles*, *regidores* and *mayordomos*.³²⁸ These indigenous *cabildo* authorities, working along with the Spanish ones in Mexico City, were responsible for organizing the recollection of both indigenous tribute and the *repartimiento* or “tribute labor” needed in public works within the city.³²⁹

³²² William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 5-6.

³²³ José Miranda, *El tributo indígena en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVI* (México: El Colegio de México, 1952), 29.

³²⁴ *Que estas parcialidades se junten y hagan su elección de gobernador libremente*, noviembre 24 de 1664, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Real Audiencia, Indios (58), Contenedor 14, Volumen 24, Expediente 477.

³²⁵ *Relación de los individuos que han sido cojidos por leva y estan reclamados, unos por sus parcialidades de indios, y otros por sus mujeres y madres*, document without date, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales/ Indiferente Virreinal, Cajas 4000-4999, Caja 4205, Expediente 13.

³²⁶ Andrés Lira, *Comunidades indígenas frente a la Ciudad de México*, 46.

³²⁷ William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 23.

³²⁸ See, Lara Semboloni Capitán, *La construcción de la autoridad virreinal en nueva España, 1535-1595* (México: El Colegio de México, 2014).

³²⁹ William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 33.

The Indigenous *cabildo* developed along with the concept of the *República de Indios* in colonial government practice.³³⁰ Each *República de Indios* counted with a *cabildo*, which had its own indigenous representatives who received the titles of *alcaldes*, *regidores*, *alguaciles*, and a host of other lesser indigenous officials. Both the *república de indios* and the *cabildos* did not work homogeneously in every region conquered by the Spaniards, but their existence and various operations depended on the geography, economy and social background both of the local Spanish regime, as well as the composition of the indigenous population. Throughout the period the Spanish regime, the *cabildos indios* suffered constant attacks and rejection from both Spanish authorities and civilians due to the level of autonomy and the knowledge about politics and litigation that the *cabildos* provided for their Indigenous Peoples.³³¹ However, during the nineteenth century in the Valley of Mexico the *cabildos indios* did stand as a solid institution represented by Indigenous Peoples.

Within the *cabildos* there also existed special *cajas de comunidad* and occasionally religious confraternities which held communal lands and livestock attached to a specific community called *cofradías*. Both the *cajas de comunidad* and the *cofradías* were corporative societies that existed from the beginning of the Spanish colonial regime.³³² Both organizations relied upon on the paternalistic system developed by colonial administrations, putting in the hands of Indigenous Peoples the responsibility for their own collective welfare. In general terms and summarizing the complexity of their internal organization due to the purpose of this research, indigenous authorities administrated the funds of the *cajas de comunidad* in order to use them to take care of the welfare of the population and their communities' public expenses, while the proceeds of the *cofradías*' funds managed the religious obligations of the community.

The *cajas de comunidad* remained similar to cooperative societies of prevention, supported by the contributions made by the same members of the community. These contributions could be offered in the form of labor, products, manufactured goods, cattle and/or money.³³³ Indigenous leaders and authorities administrated the savings of these *cajas* or the *haciendas de comunidad* (properties that belonged to indigenous communities), whose proceeds also constituted a part of the funds held in these *cajas de comunidades*. Although the administration of the *cajas de comunidades* sought to prevent the misuse of the revenue of the *cajas*, there was always place for corruption and bad administration.

Nevertheless, these *cajas* indeed provided indigenous communities with a level of political and economic participation within the colonial system since Spanish authorities seldom

³³⁰ Gudrun Lenkersdorf, *República de Indios. Pueblos mayas en Chiapas, siglo XVI* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, 2001), 17.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

³³² See Nancy Farris, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 262-263.

³³³ Guadalupe Nava Oteo, "Cajas de bienes de comunidades indígenas," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, N°. 2 (1971): 349-359, 349.

depended on these indigenous revenues. Based on the evidence, the revenues of these *caja de comunidades* depended on the region and the economic situation of the indigenous communities that administrated them. Hence, these revenues also determined and exemplified the level of political participation that the indigenous community had within the colonial system.

Throughout the entire colonial period, the *cajas de comunidades* did not experience any dramatic changes. However, in 1786 the *Real Ordenanza de Intendentes* stipulated that the upper level colonial administration of these *cajas* would be transferred from the hands of the viceroy to the *Junta Superior de la Real Hacienda* which could access these indigenous funds at will for other colonial necessities, such as colonial defense (see Chapter 5). This major change in the administration of the savings of the *cajas* provoked several misunderstandings and confusion in the field of jurisdictions, which angered the leaders of the indigenous communities who later had trouble gaining access to their own revenues and goods.

Similarly, the *cofradías* also remained as an ostensibly religious institution in which Indigenous Peoples provided social welfare or diverse types of public aid and services to the members of their own communities.³³⁴ There were several types of *cofradías*: the guild, the religious, military and simple *cofradías*.³³⁵ *Cofradías* in general had a secular character, but proceeded within the religious sphere of control.³³⁶ The *cofradía* members usually focused on organizing the festivities corresponding to the patron saint of the community or other religious gatherings concerning the community. However, the chores of the *cofradía* members were not limit to the religious realm, but they also assisted the community with resources that helped to maintain local hospitals or schools for the benefit of Indigenous Peoples.³³⁷

In summary, these *cofradías* and *hermandades* remained mostly as urban corporations that allowed their representatives, as well as the peoples from their communities, to have a high level of political participation in the affairs that concerned them since the Indigenous People elected the representatives of these societies.³³⁸ Similarly, these indigenous corporate institutions also helped indigenous communities to mitigate their economic needs during harsh times when epidemics or shortages affected the population.³³⁹ In other words, these corporations generated

³³⁴ Héctor Martínez Domínguez, “Las cofradías en la Nueva España,” *Primer Anuario* (Xalapa: Centro de Estudios Históricos, Universidad Veracruzana, 1977), 45-71.

³³⁵ See Charles Victor Heath, “The Inevitable Bandstand: The State Band of Oaxaca and the Politics of Sound” (PhD diss. Tulane University, 2007).

³³⁶ Dagman Bethcloff, “La formación de una sociedad intercultural: las cofradías en el Michoacán colonial,” *Historia Mexicana* 2, número 43 (1993):251–63. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25138898>.

³³⁷ See Alicia Bazarte Martínez, *Las cofradías de españoles en la Ciudad de México (1526-1860)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma Metropolitana, 1989).

³³⁸ Ana María Martínez de Sánchez, “Hermandades y cofradías. Su regulación jurídica en la sociedad indiana,” in *Derecho y administración pública en las Indias hispánicas II*, Feliciano Barrios coord., (Castila-La Mancha: Ediciones de la Universidad, 2002), 1035-1064.

³³⁹ For instance, the *Hospital real de los Naturales de la Nueva España* indeed had a *cofradía* which organized certain religious events concerning the sake of the hospital. See *Respuesta del Bachiller Francisco Dionisio Dean, capellán mayor del Hospital Real de Naturales, a la pretensión de los indios de la Cofradía del*

revenue that provided indigenous communities with a series of services and aids that otherwise would be hard to get from the Spanish authorities. These elements defined the semi-autonomous character of these corporations.

A lot of the revenues and resources collected and distributed by the officials who administered the *cajas de comunidades* went to the creation and maintenance of schools, and the payment of school professors in their towns. These revenues also served to assist the indigenous communities in case of epidemics, droughts, shortages or other mishaps. This does not mean that the institutions that received aid from the *caja de comunidades* remained completely independent from the colonial regime. For instance, the *Real Hospital de los Naturales*, one of the indigenous' peoples most important institutions in Mexico City, received diverse funds from the King, since it was a royal institution; however, the resources provided by organized indigenous communities kept the hospital functioning throughout the colonial period.³⁴⁰ It is documented that indigenous communities collaborated in the maintenance of the hospital by providing a *media*, an equivalent to a half a *fánega*, of corn out of each hundred *fánega* or bushels of corn that a *pueblo* produced. These communities also paid a tax of one *medio real* per person annually and another *medio* from the *caja de comunidad*,³⁴¹ which provided indigenous communities with the right to receive medical attention at the hospital and free legal representation in the *Juzgado General de Indios*.³⁴² For instance, at the time of its foundation,³⁴³ the hospital counted upon a pharmacy, and in the mid-seventeenth century it also counted on a theater and a coliseum.³⁴⁴ In mid-seventeenth century, most of the resources that supported the hospital came from the *haciendas* and other productive collective properties that indigenous leaders from the diverse *parcialidades* administrated.³⁴⁵

mencionado hospital para que el bachiller Pascual de los Reyes predique su sermón en Cuaresma, 1731, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Indiferente Virreinal, Cajas 4000-4999, Caja 4775, Expediente 024 (Hospitales Caja 4775), 2 fojas.

³⁴⁰ For more about the problems, both social and economic, that the hospital faced, especially during the late seventeenth century, see Verónica Ramírez Ortega, *El Real Colegio de Cirugía de la Nueva España 1768-1833. La profesionalización e institucionalización de la enseñanza de la cirugía* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Comisión de Estudios Históricos de la Escuela Médico Militar, Patronato del Hospital de Jesús, Facultad de Medicina, 2010), 49.

³⁴¹ *Decreto del Congreso que suprime las contribuciones del medio real de Ministros, media Real de Hospital Real y medio de Cajas de Comunidad, haciéndose cargo la Regencia del sostenimiento del Hospital de Naturales*, 1822, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, Real Hacienda, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Volumen 1871, Expediente 46.

³⁴² Verónica Ramírez Ortega, *El Real Colegio de Cirugía de Nueva España, 1768-1833*, 49.

³⁴³ Justino Fernández, "Hospital Real de los Indios de la Ciudad de México," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* I, núm. 3 (1939): 25-47.

³⁴⁴ Carmen Venegas Ramírez, "La asistencia hospitalaria para indios en la Nueva España," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, Volumen 19 (1973): 227-240.

³⁴⁵ *Superior orden para que los gobernadores de las parcialidades de San Juan y Santiago pongan en ejercicio el cobro del medio real del hospital y lo entreguen al Hospital Real de los Naturales de México*, 1817, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Regio Patronato Indiano, Hospitales (054), Contenedor 22, Volumen 53, Expediente 19, fojas 392-408.

Similarly, educational institutions focused on the education of Indigenous Peoples received both human and pecuniary support from indigenous communities. In several cases, the resources collected by the community served to provide them with local *escuelas de primeras letras*, or first letter schools, where most indigenous children learned the basic rudiments of literacy.

As we reviewed in the previous chapter, the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, in Mexico City, exemplified how colonial authorities and indigenous corporations worked in favor of the education of Indigenous Peoples. For the optimal performance of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* indigenous communities provided both pecuniary resources and labor for the support of these institutions when necessary. For instance, in a document written by Indigenous Peoples in 1830 they openly defended the exclusivity of funds from the *Colegio de San Gregorio* to benefit only indigenous students. The Nahuatl intellectuals who wrote this text not only claimed that the principal Indigenous Peoples from Tacuba founded this college, but also that the properties that they used for the maintenance of the school must work for the unique interest of indigenous students:

[...] pues a la vez que no alcancen los fondos de los otros colegios para sus precisas urgencias, ha de ocurrirse necesariamente a los de S. Gregorio, quedando desde hoy sujetos los propietarios a positivas escaseces contra la mente de los fundadores de su seminario, que fueron los indios principales de Tacuba, quienes acaso con privaciones de su mismo alimento establecieron esta casa, para exclusiva educación de sus descendientes, que fomentó D. Juan Echeverría levantándoles su iglesia, y cediéndoles después generosamente la hacienda de S. José Acolman con el preciso objeto de su ilustración y sustento.³⁴⁶

The content of the document demonstrates the sense of belonging that the indigenous communities from Tacuba had towards the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, which they considered “their college.”

The resources for supporting these types of institutions also originated in *haciendas* and properties that generated assets. In Mexico City, indigenous communities administrated these haciendas under the territorial division of their *parcialidades*.

4.1.3 Indigenous Participation through Educational Institutions

During the mid-eighteenth century important schools such as the University of Mexico, the *Academia de San Carlos* and the *Colegio de San Gregorio* as we have seen above already accepted indigenous students. However, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* remained as the only

³⁴⁶ *Ya les pesa a ciertos hombres que se ilustren los indios*, (México: Imprenta del Ciudadano Alejandro Valdés, 1830), AGN, Ramo Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 47, fojas 292-293.

“indigenous college” by definition. At the end of the eighteenth century in a joint effort between the Spanish colonial authorities and leaders of indigenous communities, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* remained open, despite its constant ups and downs in finances, programs and personnel. Most of the resources that made the *Colegio de San Gregorio* able to offer both the financial aid and the grants to indigenous students came from the efforts of the *parcialidades*. These contributions represented the revenues of the rents of their *haciendas* or other productive properties, as well as the contributions made by the members of the *parcialidades*.

Despite the collective efforts in attempting to keep the *Colegio de San Gregorio* open and working, this institution did not completely satisfy the needs that the indigenous population had for gaining access to higher education. In this sense, the representatives of indigenous communities did not stop their own efforts at creating new schools. Hence, several indigenous leaders in Mexico City continued pressuring and litigating in order to found another college for the education of Indigenous Peoples, which would be called *Colegio de San Carlos Borromeo* under the sponsorship of the Jesuit order.³⁴⁷ Similarly to the initial goal of the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*, the *Colegio de San Carlos Borromeo* intended to form an indigenous elite capable of occupying the higher level clergy positions. Nevertheless, the project of founding a college with such pretensions alarmed both civil and religious authorities in New Spain, making this ambitious project unrealizable.³⁴⁸

In mid-seventeenth century, as we have seen above, these collective efforts for having schools or other avenues to provide higher education or positions to noble indigenous women, materialized in the foundation of the Convent of Corpus Christi for *indias cacicas*. The main goal of this convent focused on providing high religious training and appropriate spiritual guidance to the daughters of indigenous noble families or *caciques*. This probably was the major effort that both colonial authorities and indigenous leaders made in providing noble indigenous women with a higher social status based on religious education.

Within this context, by the end of the eighteenth century virtually no schools remained segregated in Mexico City. As a matter of fact, the *Academia de las Nobles Artes* de San Carlos’ authorities made clear that by royal disposition the *Academia* remained open to accept indigenous students. The Statutes for the Academy clearly expressed about the disciples stating that: “En la sala de principio de admitirán indistintamente todos quantos se presenten, ya sea con el fin de estudiar completamente qualquiera de las tres Artes, o la del Gravado, o ya sea con el

³⁴⁷ See, Margarita Menegus Bornemann, “El Colegio de San Carlos Borromeo: un proyecto para la creación de un clero indígena en el siglo XVIII,” in *México, universidad y sociedad. El vínculo crítico*, Hugo Casanova y Claudio Lozano, Barcelona, eds. (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona-Publicacions; Edicions; 2004), 289-301.

³⁴⁸ *Remitiendo dos reales despachos de 17 de este mes el 1o. sobre el establecimiento de un colegio seminario para la enseñanza de los niños indios con el nombre de San Carlos, y el 2o. sobre el informe actual del colegio*, 20 de febrero de 1801, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Gobierno Virreinal, Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados (100), Reales Cédulas Originales, Volumen 182, Expediente 15.

ánimo de adquirir solo el dibujo para aprender después con mas perfección qualquiera officio.”³⁴⁹
And about providing financial assistance to students who needed it, and receiving indigenous students the statutes also expressed that:

1. Para que no se malogren muchos jóvenes de talento, que abandonan el estudio de las Artes por no tener mas medios para subsistir que su trabajo corporal, es mi voluntad [del rey] que la Academia elija por ahora quatro discipulos [de cada ramo], y dos de Medallas, con la pensión anual que baste a su manutención, para que puedan emplear todo su tiempo en el estudio de las referidas Artes.
2. Las calidades esenciales que han de tener los que se elijan para estas pensiones, son la de Españoles, naturales de aquellos o de estos reynos, con inclusion precisa y perpetura de quatro Indios puros de Nueva España que quiean aplicarse a qualquiera de las Artes del Instituto de la Academia, teniendo todos la pobreza y la particular habilidad unidas: de suerte que por ser muy pobre, si no es bien habil, si no es muy pobre tampoco podrá tenerla.³⁵⁰

Four of the mentioned scholarships for indigenous students with limited resources were especially applied for those Indigenous People who did not reside in Mexico City.³⁵¹ Consequently and congruently with this acceptance, there are records that demonstrate that the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán*, the *Colegio de San Pablo* and the University also had several indigenous students enrolled.³⁵²

At the end of the seventeenth century the University of Mexico officially open its doors to Indigenous Peoples, but still excluded people from other *castas* such as *chinos*, *mulatos*, *negros* or *esclavos*, and those related with past relatives trialed by the Inquisition or either accused of committing crimes against the faith. As the Constitutions of the University referred: “[...] y se declara, que los Indios, como Vasallos libres de su Magestad, pueden, y deben ser admitidos a matricula, y grados.”³⁵³ However, it is important to emphasize that the real possibilities that Indigenous Peoples had to attend to the University of Mexico remained limited, so mostly *indios caciques* or *hijos de indios nobles* did indeed seize this opportunity as their economic, social and geographical conditions allowed them. On the contrary, the commoners

³⁴⁹ “Estatuto 18: Discípulos,” in *Estatutos de la Real Academia de San Carlos de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta de Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1785), 35.

³⁵⁰ “Estatuto 19: Discípulos pensionados,” *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁵¹ *El intendente de Yucatán representa al virrey para que se sirva de mandar para las cajas generales de esta capital que suplan los cientos de los quatro jóvenes destinados a la Real Academia de San Carlos descontándose algunos caudales de aquella provincia*, 1806, AGN, Indiferente virreinal, Caja 6002, Expediente 027, Colegios, 16 fojas.

³⁵² Menegus Bornemann and Aguirre Salvador, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la universidad en Nueva España*, 82-83.

³⁵³ “Constitución CCXXXVI; Que personas no se han de admitir a grados, ni a cursar en esta Universidad,” in *Constituciones de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de México. Segunda Edición, dedicada al rey nuestro señor don Carlos III* (México: Imprenta de D. Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1775).

had a hard time gaining access to the University of Mexico or other colleges that provided higher education.

As we have seen above, both the number and origins of indigenous students who attended higher education institutions remains unclear. This is the result of a nineteenth-century policy that dictated that institutions such as the University of Mexico no longer had the obligation to record the origin of the majority of its enrolled students, unless the authorities of these institutions considered it necessary to check the background of the aspiring pupil. This measure, as expressed in the Constitutions of the University, aimed to keep the “good morals” of the students and the prestige of the institution. In this sense, holding the status of “Indian” did not represent an obstacle to gain admittance into one of these institutions. On the contrary, the documentation available demonstrates that most of the students enrolled in the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, emphasized their indigenous origins, especially if they considered themselves as “caciques” and this was mostly based on the indigenous funding sources for the institution.

Similarly, several students enrolled in the *Academia de San Carlos* openly described their indigenous origins if they pursued the financial aid offered by the *Academia*. An example of this is a request that Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, one of the Nahua intellectuals that this study focuses on, wrote to the authorities of the *Academia* asking for a letter in which the school testifies that Ixtolinque remained as a boarding student based on his condition as an Indian: “Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque [...] dice: que hallándose mi padre en la Corte de Madrid peleando el cacicazgo, me pide le mande una certificación de estar pensionado en esta Real Academia.”³⁵⁴ For instance, other students submitted their records of baptism in order to gain access to one of the four grants offered by the *Academia* for indigenous students. In this sense, the case of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque presents an interesting aspect of this financial aid system, since earlier documents demonstrate that Patiño Ixtolinque belonged to the *castizo casta*, being born from a Spanish father and *mestizo* mother,³⁵⁵ while later he claimed that he descended from the indigenous noble Ixtolinque family. In any case, due to its submission of proof of his indigenous origins Patiño Ixtolinque successfully received the financial aid offered by the *Academia* to Indian students.

It is interesting to emphasize that gaining access to higher education remained a privilege not only among the indigenous population, but also among all the inhabitants of New Spain as a whole. However, indigenous students asking for grants or financial aid to different scholarly institutions in many cases reinforced their status as “caciques.” Either way, the status of being

³⁵⁴ *Solicitud de Pedro Patiño Estolinque sobre que se de certificación de ser pensionado en el reamo de escultura*, 1791, ARASC-FAUNAM, GAVETA 2.1784-1785-1786 [números del 49 al 246], documento 7.

³⁵⁵ *Copia certificada de la fe de bautismo de don Pedro Patiño Estolinque [sic]. Bachiller Rafael Tiburcio Sandoval y Austria; Theodoro Antonio Barragán; Pascual Pérez (Rúbricas)*, septiembre 6 de 1788, ARASC-FAUNAM, 387, GAVETA 2.1784-1785-1786 [números del 49 al 24]. In the following document Pedro Patiño appears as “indio cacique.” *Escultura. Pedro Patiño Estolinque [sic]* ARASC-FAUNAM, 384, Legajo conteniendo los documentos números 385, 386 y 387. 1788; GAVETA 2.1784-1785-1786 [números del 49 al 246].

“cacique” did not mean that the solicitors enjoyed a privileged economic situation, but rather they enjoyed a higher social status in comparison to their “non-cacique” counterparts.

4.2 The “Rupture Generation:” Biographical Sketches of Early Nineteenth Century Nahua Intellectuals

Based on the basic theoretical guidelines provided by scholars such as Karl Mannheim, José Ortega y Gasset and Frederick Skinner we can state that the following Nahua intellectuals shared a series of social and ethnic characteristics that made them part of a special cohort. Thus, the following biographical sketches demonstrate the social, ethnic, educational and temporal affinities that the members of this generation unit shared. As we can see, these four members of this generational unit, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan Rodríguez Puebla, Faustino Chimalpopoca and Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma, emerged from similar social and economic backgrounds. Comparably, their education, ethnic identity and social strata shaped the positions that these individuals had towards specific problems that concerned them and affected their social units.

Based on the conceptual premises regarding the definition of the terms “generations” and “cohort” (see Chapter 2 of this work), it is possible to summarize the following:

- a) Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, and Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia belonged to a specific group of Nahua intellectuals who ethnically recognized themselves as *indios* or as *mexicanos*. Since ethnicity is a cultural construction that individuals construct themselves, the ethnic identification of this group should not get confused with the concepts involved in the colonial term of *casta*.
- b) These indigenous individuals studied in a school that worked within the structures of the Spanish colonial regime in New Spain. In the case of Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma there is no available documentation that refers to his educational background; nevertheless, Mendoza y Moctezuma produced and appeared as an essential presence in a series of documents in which he displayed his knowledge about the educational and legal system in New Spain, which allowed him to have a preeminent role in vital disputes that concerned indigenous communities and their educational institutions.
- c) These indigenous individuals received their education under the Spanish colonial regime and experienced the political and cultural transformations that occurred in the early nineteenth-century New Spain including the French invasion of Spain, the Bourbon Reforms, the Constitution of Cadiz and the independence of New Spain which led to the long process of confiscation of communal indigenous properties.
- d) These intellectuals left behind documents that gave witness to their activities as social representatives, politicians, interpreters or historians. All of these documents also give us

evidence of the sense of ethnic belonging that these intellectuals expressed by identifying themselves as a separate group, with their own characteristics, as opposed to the rest of the Spanish or Mexican citizens.

- e) These intellectuals expressed in the documentation they created a sense of collective ethnic identity and this resulted in their high involvement in political affairs that sought either to favor or defend the rights of the groups to which they claimed to belong.
- f) Based on the documentation produced by the members of this generation unit, these intellectuals did not identify themselves with the dominant political sphere, even though each one of them worked within it for a limited period of time.

These basic characteristics also delimit both the geographical and historical space of actions, and the immediate problems which they faced during the turbulent early decades of the nineteenth-century Mexico.

Thus, the following biographical information about these intellectuals is presented in a chronological manner, following the years in which these individuals were born and tracing their lives and actions individually and as a group. Thus, the first person that I will present information about is Pedro Patiño Ixtolique, followed by the biography of Juan Rodríguez, continuing with Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, and finally with the life of Faustino Chimalpopoca.

4.2.1 Pedro Antonio Patiño Ixtolinque (1774-1834)

According to a copy of his baptismal certificate, Pedro Antonio Patiño Ixtolinque was born on May 31, 1774 in San Pedro Ecatingo, in what is today the *Estado de México*, in the municipality of Chalco.³⁵⁶ Registered as a *castizo*, reportedly with a Spanish father and *mestizo* mother, a copy of his baptismal record provided to the *Academia de San Carlos* testifies that his father was named José Leandro Patiño, while his mother's name was Vicenta Anastacia:

Pedro Antonio Castizo.

En la iglesia parroquial de San Pedro Ecatingo en cinco de junio de mil setecientos setenta y cuatro, yo el párroco bauticé solemnemente a un niño de seis días y le nombré Pedro Antonio, es hijo legítimo de José Leandro Patiño y de Vicenta Anatasia, mestiza, feligreses ambos de esta parroquia. Fueron sus padrinos Rosa Ansure, viuda, y su hijo José Pérez, y les advertí su obligación, y parentesco, y yo firmé= Bachiller Don Antonio Garcilaso de la Vega= La cual

³⁵⁶ Jean Charlotte, *Mexican Art and the Academy of San Carlos, 1785-1915*, 55.

partida va fiel y legalmente sacada, y concuerda con su original a que me remito, siendo testigos a la ver sacar y cotejar.³⁵⁷

Even though the name that Patiño Ixtolinque provided for his mother remains relatively coherent since her entire name could have been Vicenta Anastacia Pérez, the name of his father remains unclear in the documentation. The names that Patiño Ixtolinque later provided for his father, either as José Leandro Patiño or as Pedro Patiño Istolinc, seem unbridgeable; especially if we consider that the last name “Ixtolinque” is the one that tied the former sculptor with the noble indigenous family named Ixtolinque from Coyoacan. This discrepancy has raised doubts and led to various hypotheses among those who have inquired about the origins of Patiño Ixtolinque. Abelardo Carrillo y Gabriel (1895-1976), a Mexican art historian, proposed that Patiño Ixtolinque had manipulated his last name, and thus his origins, with the intention of gaining for himself the financial aid that the *Academia* offered to indigenous students:

[Carrillo y Gabriel reconciled] this move with the act of baptism, advanced the theory that this was a false racial claim, a subterfuge prompted by economic need and contrived with the backing of the child’s teacher, who was also his protector. However, pure Indians were alone exempted from some of the formalities, an exemption which proved a substantial advantage, and Patiño could hardly have applied as an Indian without exciting jealousy and gossip unless he was already known as an Indian by his teachers and fellow students.³⁵⁸

Even though the previous documents could raise questions about the noble origins of Patiño Ixtolinque, it seems that he did not face any problems with this issue during his professional life since he apparently was never asked to offer an explanation of how to reconcile these conflicting pieces of information.

In any case, the legitimacy or veracity about his noble origins or his family’s claim to a connection to the *cacicazgo* in Coyoacan does not demean either his work or his position towards issues that concerned the indigenous populations. The case of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque provides current historians with a very interesting example of individual ethnic construction. This case demonstrates the complexity of ethnicity in nineteenth-century Mexico by being a far more intricate phenomenon rather than being solely a racial or a “*casta*” issue.

Continuing with the biographical data, the documentation reveals that Pedro Patiño entered the *Academia de San Carlos* as an aspiring sculptor in 1788, when he was only 14 years old receiving one of the grants that the *Academia* offered to indigenous students.³⁵⁹ In 1791

³⁵⁷ *Acta de ingreso de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque a la Academia de San Carlos en el ramo de escultura*, 1788, ARASC-FAUNAM.

³⁵⁸ Jean Charlot, *Mexican Art and the Academy of San Carlos*, 55.

³⁵⁹ *Acta de ingreso de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque a la Academia de San Carlos en el ramo de escultura*, 1788.

Patiño wrote a petition to the authorities of the *Academia* asking for an official document, or a certified letter, in which the authorities acknowledge him as “pensioner student of the Academia,” which confirmed that he continued receiving a royal stipend to succeed in his studies at the academy. According to Ixtolinque, this cited request followed a petition made by his father, whose name he did not provide in this document, who at that time was in Madrid, Spain, fighting for his right to maintain his claim to his “cacicazgo” in Coyoacán. In this document Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque expressed: “Pedro Patiño Estolinque, pensionado de esta Real Academia en la escultura puesto a las plantas de Vgd. con el mayor respecto dice: Que hallándose mi padre en la corte de Madrid pleiteando el cacicazgo me pide le mande una certificación de estar pensionado en esta Real Academia.”³⁶⁰

As a student of the *Academia de San Carlos* Patiño Ixtolinque excelled in his performance, so much so that he became one of the four students that the authorities of the *Academia* selected to go to the *Academia de San Carlos* in Madrid, Spain, in the year of 1793 in order to perfect their artistic techniques and getting influenced by the Spanish intellectual vanguard:

En vista de las Reales ordenes de 20 de noviembre y 25 de diciembre del año próximo anterior, que V. E. se sirvió [¿?] en oficio de 15 de febrero y 25 de marzo último, sobre que de esta Academia se remitan a Madrid seis pensionados para perfeccionar en sus respectivas profesiones, bajo la dirección de D. [¿?] de Acuña, en los términos que precise el Reglamento formado por él mismo aprobado por S. M. acordó la Junta Directiva celebrada el día 16 de mayo inmediato, proceder a la elección de los jóvenes que debían destinarse para el efecto; y después de haberse tratado el asunto nombró por la pintura a José María Guerrero, y José María Vázquez: por la escultura a natural José López y Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque [...]³⁶¹

However, these students offered diverse superficial reasons for not being able to go to Spain. Nevertheless, the authorities of the academy continued being highly interested in sending these students to Europe, so they appointed the same students as beneficiaries of the same grant the following year after the first proposition was offered to them. Again, the student offered various reasons for having to reject this grant a second time. Some of them argued that they had families and it would be impossible for them to leave them behind. Although this grant covered the cost of their transportation and their stay in Madrid for the period of six years, other students argued that the expenses for the trip and their stay in Spain would be too high for them to

³⁶⁰ *Solicitud de Pedro Patiño Estolinque sobre que se de certificación de ser pensionado en el ramo de escultura*, 1791.

³⁶¹ *Sobre mantener pensionados en Madrid Pintura: José María Guerrero y José María Vázquez. Escultura: Manuel José López y Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque. Arquitectura: José Gutiérrez y Joaquín Heredia*, 1793, ARASC-FAUNAM, 776, GAVETA 7. 1793 [números del 764 al 821], documento 15.

cover.³⁶² Similarly, the students José López and Patiño Ixtolinque likewise declined the invitation, but this time they argued that they would be set on unfavorable terms with the Spaniard Cosme de Acuña, the former director of painting at the *Academia de San Carlos* in New Spain (1787-1790), and at that time the man sent back to Spain to be responsible for the exchange program between Spain and Mexico.³⁶³ It seems that Cosme de Acuña had become a very unpopular character while he worked at the *Academia de San Carlos*, which eventually provided both López and Patiño Ixtolinque with enough negative arguments against Cosme's character and his probable bias against them to successfully refuse the offer of the grant a second time.

Two years later, in 1795, Cosme de Acuña again offered the same opportunity to Patiño Ixtolinque and López to go and study in Spain, once again they rejected the offer for a third time. The reasons why these students turned down this third opportunity remains unclear; although I consider that the latent entry of French troops, led by Napoleon Bonaparte, into the Spanish territories of Cataluña, Navarra and the Basque Country provided a climate of uncertainty to these students, who instead decided to remain safely in the stability of New Spain.

In 1791 Manuel Tolsá arrived in Mexico to teach at the *Academia*. By 1793, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque appears in the documents as one of the three students studying under Manuel Tolsá.³⁶⁴ Pedro Patiño was held in high appreciation for his skills and abilities in sculpting, which was not a minor consideration considering the fact that he was one of the favorite students of Manuel Tolsá who described Patiño as one of his best students by praising Patiño's dedication and perfection in his artistic executions.³⁶⁵ Along with his mentor, Pedro Patiño collaborated in the construction of the *Altar Mayor del Sagrario Metropolitano* in the cathedral of Mexico City.³⁶⁶ With the tutoring support from Tolsá, Pedro Patiño also sculpted other works throughout New Spain. For instance, he authored the sculpture of San Pedro and a series of representations of angels that currently stand at the interior of the cathedral of the city of Puebla de los Angeles, in Puebla, Mexico.³⁶⁷ Similarly, Patiño collaborated in sculpting other religious representations that currently stand at the temples of San Felipe Neri, also known as "La Profesa," Santo Domingo, Santa Teresa, among several others.

³⁶² María Concepción García Sáiz and Carmen Rodríguez Tembleque, "Historia de un intento fallido: la Academia Madrileña para pensionados mexicanos," *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial* (Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, 1987), 5-18.

³⁶³ See José Manuel Arnáiz, "Cosme de Acuña y la influencia de la escuela madrileña de finales del S. XVIII en América," *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, núm. 73 (1991): 135-177.

³⁶⁴ *Expediente que contiene la cuenta de los gastos erogados en el adorno de la sala de consiliarios y la cuenta de lo gastado para habilitar de útiles y herramientas a los tres pensionados de escultura, José Manuel López. Juan de la Cruz Fortis y Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, abril de 1793, ARASC-FAUNAM, 10091, documento 24.

³⁶⁵ *El Arte y la Ciencia. Revista mensual de Bellas Artes e Ingeniería III*, núm. 1 (abril, 1901): 7.

³⁶⁶ Manuel Gustavo Revilla, *Visión y sentido de la plástica mexicana* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006), 56-57.

³⁶⁷ José Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, "La escultura académica hasta la consumación de la Independencia," *Historia del Arte Mexicano* 9, 1289-1301 (México: SALVAT, 1986), 1294.

Patiño Ixtolinque also excelled at drawing, and during all of these years, he continued to draw mostly male nudes and sketches of allegorical themes. By being Tolsá's student, Pedro Patiño developed a style influenced by the baroque trends and the guidelines of the Italian sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini, who in turn also influenced Tolsá's works.³⁶⁸ During this period of time, Patiño Ixtolinque occupied himself as an assistant of Tolsá and also produced an important number of drawings, mainly male nudes.³⁶⁹

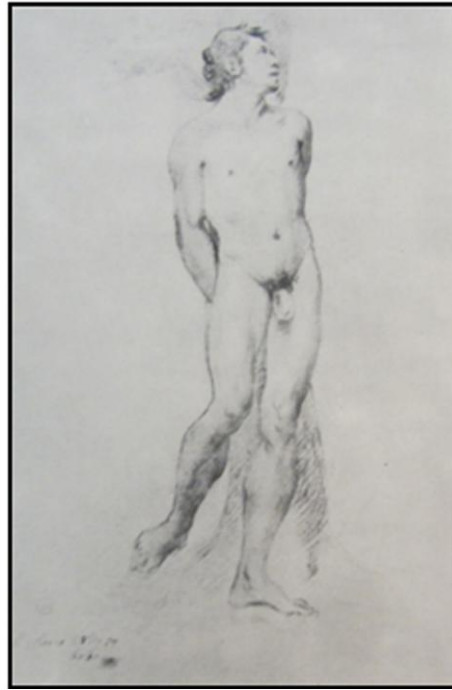


Figure 1. *Desnudo masculino de frente*. Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, 1799. Image taken from *El desnudo en el siglo XIX* (1986).

In terms of his personal life, in 1808 Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque married Doña María Benedicta Benita, and in his marriage license Patiño Ixtolinque claimed that his father received the name of Pedro Patiño Istolinc, while his mother's name he claimed was María Vicenta Pérez:

En nueve de junio del año del S. de mil ochocientos ocho [...] estando presentes los contrayentes en este sagro. les hice la monicion acostumbrada y no habiendo de ella resultado impedto. algo. Les asisti a la celebraci3n del matrimonio [...] Lo hicieron legmo y verdadero D. Pedro Patiño Ystolinque, Yndio casique natural de la Provincia de Chalco vecino desta ciudad, hijo legmo. De D. Jose Patiño Istolinc y de Da. Vicenta Peres= y Do. Maria Benedicta Benita, española natural de

³⁶⁸ *El Arte y la Ciencia*, 9.

³⁶⁹ Clara Bergellini et al., *Guía que permite captar lo bello: yesos y dibujos de la Academia de San Carlos, 1778-1916* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1989), 29.

Mixcoac y vecina de esta ciudad hija legítima de D. Antonio Songinos Benites y de D. Ana Maria Maga [...].³⁷⁰

According to his will, Pedro Patiño married three times. The first marriage he contracted with María Benedicta, but the name of his second wife it is not mentioned in the extant documentation. In 1814 Pedro Patiño married for a third time with doña Francisca Carrisosa, who apparently came from an affluent family since Patiño Ixtolinque motioned that when they were married Ms. Carrisosa brought to the marriage the assets that “belonged to her personal use,” but that Ms. Carrisosa also came to the marriage with the assets, such as tools, furniture and clothing, that she had inherited after both her father and her uncle died.³⁷¹

Years later, in 1814, we find Patiño Ixtolinque, along with Manuel Terán, as members of the *Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México* both being responsible for the commission to provide maintenance for the hospitals and hospices in the city and its surrounding areas.³⁷² On January 1, 1814, Pedro Patiño appeared to take office and an oath as one of the *regidores* of the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City.³⁷³ During this period of time, similarly to what both Chimalpopoca and Mendoza y Moctezuma did years later, he appeared in several documents as a proxy or legal representative of several of the indigenous *parcialidades* in Mexico City.³⁷⁴ Likewise, just as in the later cases in which Chimalpopoca and Mendoza y Moctezuma appeared as representatives of *parcialidades*, Patiño Ixtolinque defended several of these corporate organizations against land speculators that emerged in nineteenth-century Mexico.

³⁷⁰ *Acta de matrimonio de Pedro Patiño Istolinc y de Doña María Benedicta Benita*, 9 de junio de 1808, FamilySearch Org., in *Libro de matrimonios de indios y demás castas del Sagrario de la Catedral de la Ciudad de México*,” microfilm: Volume 21, reel 3526.

³⁷¹ Manuel Carrera Stampa, “Memoria testamentaria del escultor Patiño Ixtolinque” *Historia Mexicana* 5, núm. 3 (Jan.-Mar., 1956): 429.

³⁷² *Cuidar a los hospitales, hospicios, casas de expósitos y demás establecimientos de beneficencia*, 1 de enero de 1814, AHDF, Ayuntamiento; Actas de Cabildo, 133A, Documento 339, fojas 2-3.

³⁷³ *Composición del Ayuntamiento*, 1 de enero de 1814, AHDF, Ayuntamiento, Actas de Cabildo, 133A.

³⁷⁴ *El gobernador de distrito acompaña la representación que hace a las cámaras don Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque como apoderado de las parcialidades contraídas a que se suspenda el reglamento formado para repartir los bienes de ellas*, 1827, AGN, México Independiente, Justicia y Negocios Eclesiásticos, Justicia, Volumen 47, Expediente 50.



Figure 2. *Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, attributed to Martín Soriano, 1874. Imagen from *El desnudo en el siglo XIX*.³⁷⁵

It is not until the year of 1816 that the professional career of Patiño Ixtolinque successfully continued since the Board of Governors of the *Academia* granted him with the status of “*académico de mérito*” after his presentation of his sculpture entitled *King Wamba* at his qualifying exam to earn the title which would grant him the ability to serve as a professor of sculpture.³⁷⁶ The fact that Patiño Ixtolinque had chosen this historical episode to display his abilities as sculptor in clay is not a coincidence. In presenting *King Wamba* as the work to gain his position as an “*académico de mérito*,” Patiño Ixtolinque made a strong statement about the political situation that New Spain experienced at that time (for a more in-depth discussion of this work and its political significance see Chapter 5 of this work).

³⁷⁵ Image taken from *El desnudo en el siglo XIX: dibujos de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, julio-septiembre de 1986* (México: Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas, 1986).

³⁷⁶ *Nombramiento de Patiño Ixtolinque como académico de Mérito*, agosto de 1816, AHASC, Planero XI, Gaveta 2, inventario 08-712116, fojas 195-198.



Figure 3. King Wamba Renounces the Royal Crown and He is Threatened by One of his Voters, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, 1817. The name in Spanish of this work is *El Rey Wamba rehusa la corona y es amenazado por uno de sus electores*.³⁷⁷

During the period of insurgency in Mexico, around the year 1818, some authors place Patiño Ixtolinque as member of the guerrilla group led by Vicente Guerrero, operating away from his profession as sculptor. Although it may be possible that he served briefly in the armed insurgent forces; there appears to be no information that corroborates this statement.³⁷⁸ It seems though, that one of Patiño Ixtolinque's sons also named Pedro, indeed joined the armed forces in México around the year of 1861 and became a Lieutenant Colonel of the Infantry in 1876, probably by graduating from the Military College in Mexico City.³⁷⁹ Also, on October of 1900 the daughter of this Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Loreto Patiño Ixtolinque, appeared before the Chamber of Deputies in Mexico City claiming an economic pension for the services that her father, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, the younger, provided to the nation:

[...] la señorita Loreto Patiño Ixtolinque, en que pide se le pensione como recompensa de los servicios que prestó a la República su finado padre el Teniente Coronel de Infantería José Patiño Ixtolinque.

³⁷⁷ This work of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque is currently housed at the *Academia de San Carlos*, in Mexico City. This piece was recently displayed in the exhibition "Yo, El Rey," hosted by the Museo Nacional de Arte (MUNAL) in Mexico City. The exhibition was open to the public from July 1 to August 18, 2015. I took the current image from: <http://mundodelmuseo.com/ficha.php?id=509>.

³⁷⁸ See, *El desnudo en el siglo XIX: dibujos de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, 23. Also see, Germán Vergara Soriano, *Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque. Biografía del escultor insurgente* (México: Editorial IZ-Editorial IM, 2016); see also Hugo Arturo Cardosa Vargas, "Mexiquenses insignes: un artista neoclásico: Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, n/d, n/p, <http://www.liceus.com/cgi-bin/ac/pu/Pedro%20Pati%C3%B1o%20Ixtolinque.pdf>.

³⁷⁹ *Patiño Yxtolinque Teniente Coronel de Infantería*, 1889, AGN, Dirección de la Deuda Pública.

Como está arreglada la ley la solicitud del peticionario y a una de las Comisiones de Guerra corresponde conocer sobre el particular, los que suscriben tienen la honra de proponer a la aprobación de esta Ilustrada Asamblea.³⁸⁰

It is possible that some authors may have confused Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque senior with Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque junior, who indeed had a military career. Nevertheless, this fact does not deny the possible support or close relationship that Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque senior had with Vicente Guerrero before Guerrero became President of the Mexican Republic in 1829. This personal relationship can be demonstrated by a manifesto, published in 1829, in which Pedro Patiño directly addressed President Guerrero asking for his help in internal issues related to the administration of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and the education of Indigenous Peoples.³⁸¹

On March 1, 1822, the newly established Mexican Congress created a special commission in order to honor “the memory of the first defenders of the country.” This commission organized a *requiem* mass to pray for the victims of the independence wars. The commission also proposed the exhumation of the cadavers of Hidalgo, Allende, Morelos, Matamoros, Bravo, Aldama, Mina and O’Donoju. Accordingly, the corresponding authorities in Mexico City organized the festivities, which included a ceremonial parade to receive the bodies of the heroes. The hearse that would transport the bodies, the decreed, should be adorned accordingly, so the authorities appointed Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque to create a sculptural representation of the concept of immortality to adorn the vehicle, for which he received the amount of 500 pesos paid in advance.³⁸² Unfortunately, there are no visual records surviving about Patiño’s sculpture entitled *Immortality*, but a reporter wrote for the *Gaceta del Supremo Gobierno* that the hearse remained decorated with several Greek and Roman motifs, including a Phrygian cap, which represented the concept of liberty, and that sculptural work also included an eagle, which symbolized the Mexican territory. The ornaments of the hearse also included a life-sized statue of a figure in a flying position, which represented for the sculptor immortality.³⁸³

The career of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque quickly rose after independence, and he occupied the position of Director of the *Academia de San Carlos* in Mexico City in January 27 of 1826 in substitution of Rafael Gimeno y Planes, a position that he held until his death in 1834.³⁸⁴ While

³⁸⁰ *Diario de los debates de la Cámara de Diputados. Vigésima Legislatura constitucional de la Unión, Tomo I Correspondiente a las sesiones ordinarias de la XX Legislatura Constituciones, durante el primer periodo del primer año* (México: Imprenta Central, 1901), 280. Sesión del día 26 de octubre de 1900.

³⁸¹ *Representación al excelentísimo señor presidente Don Vicente Guerrero a favor de la educación de los indios, 1829*, impreso, AGN, Ramo Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 44, fojas 285-287.

³⁸² María del Carmen Vázquez Mantecón, “Las reliquias y sus héroes,” 51.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁸⁴ See Carrera Stampa, “Memoria Testamentaria del escultor Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque,” 428. In this article, Carrera Stampa erroneously dated the year of Patiño’s death in 1835.

occupying the position of director, in 1827 Patiño Ixtolinque finished the altarpiece of the *altar mayor* from the Cathedral in Mexico City.³⁸⁵

In 1833, Patiño Ixtolinque decided to write his last will and testament, probably in consideration of his advanced age. In this document he stated that he had several children with all of his three previous wives:

Que he sido casado tres veces. De las dos primeras, tuve una hija en cada una de ellas. De la primera, que vivió veinte y cuatro años, habiéndose casado, al mes murió de la peste de la cólera; por de contado, no pudo dejar sucesor. De la segunda, la que tuve, murió a los ocho meses de nacido. [...] Me casó con doña Francisca Carrisosa en año de 14 y hemos tenido ocho hijos, dos muertos y seis vivos, que son: Pedro, Francisco, Vicenta, Juana, y otro Pedro, y José María; este tiene año y ocho meses, y el primero diez y ocho años.³⁸⁶

Based on his will we currently know that Pedro Patiño held several important properties as part of his assets both in Mexico City and in the region currently known as the State of Mexico:

[...] En la Resurreccion Tultengo, junto a Jamaica, hay una casa nueva de mamposetería y adobe, al sitio le llaman Tlapac. Pasado el puente de la asequia que va para el Guarda de la Magdalena, hay otro pedazo que le compré a don Cayetano Escalante, vecino de dicho pueblo, y éste podrá dar razón de los dos sitios, y si no los vecinos, que saben bien que lo compré y pertenece a mí.³⁸⁷

This same document also stated that Pedro Patiño kept material for his work as a sculptor both at the *Academia* and also at his workshop in Ecatzingo:

En la Academia, todo lo que se encuentra en mi oficina es mío (y al Estado de México los mármoles negros, las piedras que están afuera del recinto y cantería, las dos estatuas, el molde del señor Morelos, y el cobre, que se compone de cinco cañones chicos de a cuatro, y uno grande quebrado), madera y otros muebles que están en los otros cuartos que están en el patio. Lo que está en Ecatzingo, todo lo que está en unas listas que Vicenta me tiene dado, y otra, que dejo en poder del que cuida la casa, que se llama Tlaxhala; ésta tiene su solar [...] ³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ *El desnudo en el siglo XIX: dibujos de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, 24.

³⁸⁶ Carrera Stampa, "Memoria Testamentaria," 428.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

It is interesting to mention that the “molde del señor Morelos” mentioned by Patiño, referred to a death mask that Patiño made on the face of José María Morelos y Pavón,³⁸⁹ who was executed in 1815 by the Spanish authorities for treason in Ecatepec, State of Mexico. Years later, in 1899 there a news report exists that confirmed that Pedro Patiño Carrisosa, son of Patiño Ixtolinque, had the dead mask in his possession.³⁹⁰

Although he drew up his will in 1833, Patiño Ixtolinque continued serving as the director of the *Academia* until the year of 1834 when he died of unknown causes.³⁹¹ This information can be corroborated with the general legal power of attorney that Patiño Ixtolinque’s widow requested in September of 1834, granting all the power to administer the assets of the family to Don Vicente Fragoso.³⁹²

4.2.2 Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla (1798-1848)

Juan Jose Antonio Luis Gonzaga Rodriguez Puebla was born on November 24, 1798 in Mexico City,³⁹³ to a very modest indigenous family, the son of José Simón and María Gertrudis.³⁹⁴ It is noted that on his baptismal certificate that his full legal name was Juan Jose Antonio Luis Gonzaga Rodriguez Puebla, and the clergyman who baptized him assigned Rodríguez Puebla the *casta* designation of “Indio,” followed by the phrase “free” or “gratis” which may suggest that the family was too poor to pay for the registration of the baptism.³⁹⁵

³⁸⁹ Vázquez Mantecón, “Las reliquias y sus héroes,” 53.

³⁹⁰ Ana Lidia García Peña y Yussel Arellano Navarrete, “Debates patrióticos en torno a reliquias y mascarillas de Morelos,” in *El Caudillo del Sur: forjador de la nación mexicana*, coord. Jorge Olvera García, René García Castro and Lidia García Peña, 246-277 (Toluca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 2015), 255-256.

³⁹¹ *El Secretario de la Academia Nacional sobre haber nombrado la Junta de Gobierno Director de aquel establecimiento a Don Manuel Arauz ¿?cante por el fallecimiento de Don Pedro Patiño*, 1834, AGN-Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 6, Expediente 31, fojas 165-167.

³⁹² *Poder General*, 1 de septiembre de 1834, AHN, notario, Antonio Pintos; Notaría, 532; fojas 69r-70r.

³⁹³ *Acta de bautismo de Juan José Antonio Luis Gonzaga Rodríguez Puebla*, 25 de noviembre de 1798, Registro Parroquial de Santa Catarina Virgen y Mártir (Centro), Mexico City, Bautismo Número 146, Vol. 55, folio 151v.

³⁹⁴ Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos* (México: Oficina tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1884), 908.

³⁹⁵ See *Acta del bautismo de Juan Jose Antonio Luis Gonzaga Rodriguez Puebla*.

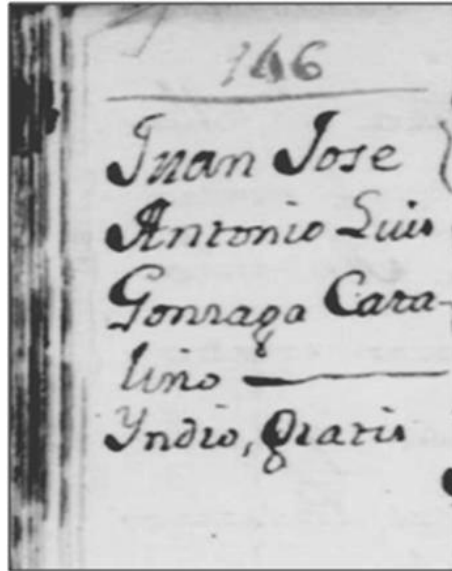


Figure 4. Certificate of Baptism for Juan Rodríguez from Santa Catarina Church in Mexico City. Image taken from: Santa Catarina Virgen y Mártir Church digitalized by Family Search Org.³⁹⁶

In his early years, Rodríguez Puebla and his brother, as Mr. Chimalpopoca, a fellow classmate of the two brothers later stated, attended the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. About his early years as student of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, Mr. Chimalpopoca referred to the fact that the Rodríguez Puebla brothers received the nickname of “aguadores” due to the fact that their father exercised this humble profession.³⁹⁷

Juan Rodríguez eventually received one of the royal grants to continue his studies at *Colegio de San Ildefonso* where he studied Philosophy, Theology and Civil Law. While studying Law at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, Juan Rodríguez carried out his professional practices at the legal dispatch of Licenciado Don José María Jáuregui where Rodríguez Puebla worked from the year of 1814 until he graduated from the *colegio* in 1824.³⁹⁸

While he was still a student at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, Rodríguez Puebla published a series of political pamphlets under the pseudonym of “the Constitutional Indian,” o “*el indio constitucional*.” The contents of these pamphlets focused on informing the indigenous population about the benefits that the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812 offered this sector of the population. Politically important pamphlets for their time, these works will be analyzed later on this study (See Chapter 5).

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ María Teresa Sepúlveda, “Colegio de San Gregorio,” *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1992), 39.

³⁹⁸ Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos*, 909.



Figure 5. “Aguador,” by Claudio Linati, *Costumes civils, militaires et religieux du Mexique*, Brussels, 1828.

In 1826, the Mexican Congress elected Juan Rodríguez Puebla to the position of Minister of the Second Hall of the Supreme Tribunal of the State of Durango (*Ministro de la Segunda Sala of the Supremo Tribunal de Justicia*); and he also occupied the position of Deputy Representative for various Mexican states in the National Congress in Mexico City. In 1826 he also worked as the Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction at the national level (*Ministerio de Justicia e Instrucción Pública*).³⁹⁹

In 1828, the then director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, Juan Francisco Calzada, died suddenly and the position of *rector* became available. Due to his successful career as a politician, and probably also because of his knowledge of the newly established political system in Mexico, Rodríguez Puebla became the favorite candidate among the members of the Board of Governors of the school to occupy the position of director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. However, several prominent Indigenous People did not agree with the members of the board’s selection of Rodríguez Puebla as their candidate due to several reasons. One of the arguments that the opponents of Rodríguez Puebla’s candidacy argued that he tried to reform the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in a dramatic way that did not follow the original purpose of the school; others pointed out that Rodríguez Puebla, by not being a clergyman, could not hold the position of director of the school properly. It is probable that his possible candidacy turned into a bitter

³⁹⁹ *La Comisión de Puntos Constitucionales de la Cámara de Diputados preguntando la opinión del Gobierno*, 27 de marzo de 1844, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 9, fojas 19-26.

struggle between Rodríguez Puebla's supporters, represented by the board of governors, and the indigenous leaders who opposed Rodríguez Puebla's candidacy.

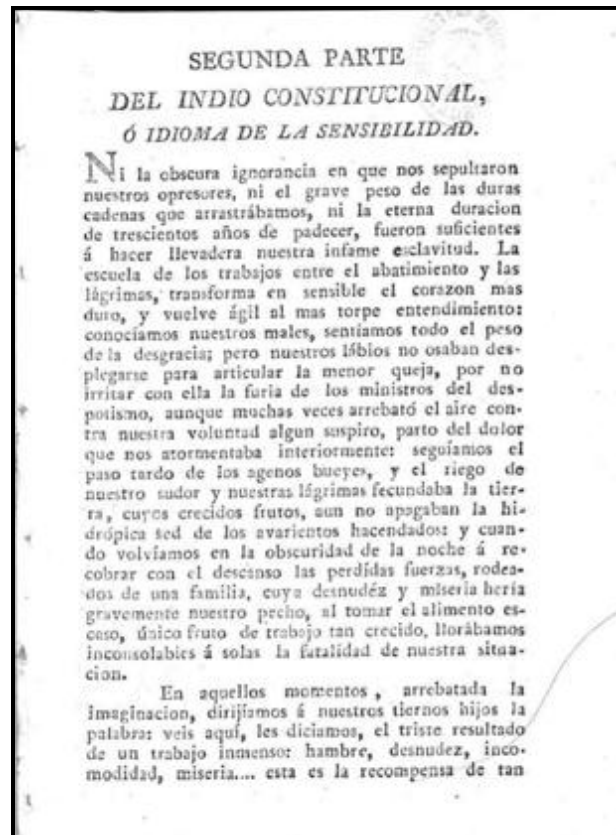


Figure 6. *El Indio Constitucional*, pamphlet authored by Juan Rodríguez Puebla in 1812. Image taken from Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.⁴⁰⁰

This conflict, as I will later revisit, took place in the legal arena and triggered a series of public discussions from both the supporters and the detractors of Rodríguez Puebla. The members of both factions wrote several letters and complaints in favor and against the idea that Rodríguez should serve as the director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. In several of the letters that expressed the inconformity that the indigenous representatives of the school had against accepting Rodríguez Puebla as the rector appeared the names of Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma.

Regardless of the insistent complaints and efforts that several indigenous leaders, including Chimalpopoca, Ixtolinque and Mendoza y Moctezuma, continued in order to keep

⁴⁰⁰ Biblioteca Digital Memoria de Madrid:
http://www.memoriademadrid.es/buscadore.php?accion=VerFicha&id=21453&num_id=3&num_total=7

Rodríguez Puebla out of the management of the *colegio*, the Board of Governors finally decided to grant Rodríguez Puebla the title of director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in 1829.⁴⁰¹ It is interesting to see how this conflict about appointing the new director of the *colegio* brought together, probably for the first time, Patiño Ixtolinque, Mendoza y Moctezuma and Chimalpopoca in a common cause to refute what they called “the imposition” of Rodríguez Puebla as rector of the school by arguing that he did not hold a religious position, a requirement necessary in the school’s by-laws for someone to become rector of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*.⁴⁰²

From 1829 onward, Rodríguez Puebla served as the director (*rector*) of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, where he became the first professor to hold the cathedra, or professorship, of Philosophy between the years of 1831 to 1833:⁴⁰³

[Yo, José María Iturralde] certifico que el Licenciado Don Juan Rodríguez Puebla estuvo sirviendo la primera cátedra de filosofía que hubo en dicho establecimiento, desde el 18 de octubre de 1831, hasta el último de febrero de 1833 en que dejó la cátedra porque estuvo por incompatible su desempeño con el encargo de Diputado que tenía que servir.⁴⁰⁴

Under his direction, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* added the *bienes* (resources) from the *Hospital de Naturales*, in order to provide with these additional resources financing several new scholarships so that two indigenous students from each state could study at *San Gregorio*, as well as adding funds for the creation of a new library for the school:

A don Juan se le debió el arreglo de todos los fondos del Colegio [y se le debió a él que] fuera cedido a San Gregorio en propiedad definitiva, por decreto de 21 de octubre de 1843, el antes llamado Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo [también se le] debió la rica y escogida biblioteca reunida o formada con los libros cedidos por los Sres. Torres Torrija, D. Pablo de la Llave, Guadalajara, Soriano, Fonseca, Olaguíbel, Pedraza, Otero, Trigueroz, Ramírez, Parra, Baranda y otros [...]⁴⁰⁵

Under Rodríguez Puebla’s administration, which lasted until 1848, the school adopted certain reforms that effectively resulted in turning the institution into a competitive college. During his term as rector of the *colegio* he sought to keep the school supplied with the most

⁴⁰¹ *Carta de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, 1829, AGN, Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 48.

⁴⁰² *Sobre el nombramiento de don Juan Rodríguez Puebla para Rector del Colegio de San Gregorio, y de don Manuel Ortiz de la Torre para vocal de la Junta Directiva del mismo colegio*, 1829, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública Volumen 1, Expediente 44/45, foja 322.

⁴⁰³ “Comunicado [continuación de uno previo],” *El Mosquito Mexicano*, número 63, 17 de octubre de 1834.

⁴⁰⁴ *Constancia*, 26 de septiembre de 1845, AGN, Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, 2a. parte, Volumen 28, Expediente 19, 1 foja.

⁴⁰⁵ Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos*, 909.

innovative academic material. In a document with date of June of 1848, Juan Rodríguez asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs to allow the *Colegio de San Gregorio* to receive the 23 European literary and scientific newspapers to which the school had already subscribed.⁴⁰⁶ It is interesting to note that Rodríguez Puebla mentioned that the school stopped receiving the academic material during the North American military occupation that occurred in 1847 and that according to the same author, some of the North American troops remained in some important institutions and buildings of the city, which made it difficult for the authorities of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* gain access to this printed material:

El N. Colegio de San Gregorio está suscrito a veintitrés periódicos científicos y literarios, los mejores que se publican en Francia e Inglaterra desde el bloqueo se suspendió la remisión y el atraso presenta hoy la dificultad del desembolso, que aunque no es grande, el establecimiento no puede hacerlo a causa del mal estado de las rentas de fincas urbanas que se han hallado vacías, u ocupadas por americanos o inquilinos que por las circunstancias no han podido ser puntuales.⁴⁰⁷

Additionally, Rodríguez Puebla asked the Minister for \$250.00 pesos to cover the costs of the subscriptions corresponding to the years of 1847 and 1848 in order to keep the intellectual material at the library of the school current.

There are also testimonies testifying that during the period of the co-called Mexican-American War (1846-1848), Juan Rodríguez Puebla defended the *Colegio de San Gregorio* against the U. S. troops that invaded the capital. According to a speech read after the death of Rodríguez Puebla, the then director of the school encouraged the students to defend the school's building against the possible occupation that it might suffer at the hands of the North American troops: “! Qué de veces se le vio arengando a sus alumnos durante el asedio de la capital por los norteamericanos, para que se supiesen defender la patria [...]”⁴⁰⁸

After this period of time, there is documentation that gives evidence that Rodríguez Puebla remained active in both the political and cultural life of Mexico until his death on October 31, 1848. For instance, Rodríguez Puebla also occupied the position of Minister of Foreign

⁴⁰⁶ *Solicitud de periódicos por el Rector de San Gregorio, Rodríguez Puebla*, 1848, AGN-Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 3. Expediente 10, fs. 61-63.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos*, 910.

Relations (*Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores*) in 1831,⁴⁰⁹ and on December 13 of 1838 Rodríguez Puebla appeared as the Government Secretary (*Secretario de Gobernación*).⁴¹⁰

In terms of his personal life, Juan Rodríguez Puebla married Dolores Zozaya in 1845, and they procreated a son, José Gabriel Rodríguez. Shortly after the birth of his young son, in October of 1848 Juan Rodríguez decided to write his last will and testament, probably out of consideration of an illness, in order to avoid leaving his young son and his wife in a precarious condition. According to his will, Rodríguez Puebla arranged to donate both his personal library and the payment for a debt of \$500 pesos which he believed he owed to the current students of the college. Apparently, *San Gregorio*'s students had collected the said amount in order to spend it during the War with Texas; nevertheless, the school did not use these funds, and this is probably the reason why may have used the funds for something else, and spent the money that had remained in the coffers of the institution: "8º. Ytem. Cedo y dono a la biblioteca del *Colegio de San Gregorio* lo que pueda yo alcanzar en la en su contra y mando a mi albacea entregue quinientos pesos a los Colegiales, que resulten a su favor de lo que dejaron para la guerra de Texas y que no se invirtió en ellas=." ⁴¹¹

Similarly, in his will Rodríguez Puebla also stated that he owned several books, writings and furniture that he left inside the rooms that he occupied at the school. Nevertheless, he did not express his desire either to donate this material to the school, or to bequeath it to his child or to other members of his family: "[...] declaro por mis bienes los libros, muebles, y demás que escritos en los cuartos que ocupo en el *Colegio de San Gregorio* de donde soy Rector, los Naranjos y Cipreses que hay en el mismo, eceptuandose las macetas en que están un corral [...]." ⁴¹²

Rodríguez Puebla died on October 31, 1848,⁴¹³ apparently from a long and painful illness which was not specified in the documentation.⁴¹⁴ At the time of his death, his son José Gabriel was only one year old, so as a gesture of solidarity the Board of Governors of the *Colegio de San*

⁴⁰⁹ *Decretos y circulares*, 17 de diciembre de 1838, .AGN, Gobernación sin sección, Caja 134, Expediente 7, 1 foja, documento impreso.

⁴¹⁰ Luis G. Ortiz Molina, *Prontuario de acuerdos, bandos, circulares, decretos, leyes, reglamentos y demás posiciones vigentes de la Secretaría de Gobernación y sus dependencias. Adicionadas con las de otros departamentos que por el asuntos relacionan con el ramo* (México: Imprenta del Gobierno Federal, 1908), 222.

⁴¹¹ *Testamento de Don Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla*, 30 de octubre de 1848, AHN, Notario Ramón de la Cueva, Notaría 169, Volumen 1009, fojas 867v-869r, f. 868v.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, f. 868r.

⁴¹³ Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos*, 910.

⁴¹⁴ Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Diccionario universal de historia y geografía*, vol. 3 (México: Imprenta de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1855), 248.

Gregorio decided to look after the orphan child by providing him with a monthly grant of 25 pesos, until he could be able to gain a grant to study at the *Colegio de San Gregorio*.⁴¹⁵

Due to his professional life, Juan Rodríguez Puebla left behind an important number of bureaucratic documents in which, even though he did not openly expressed his opinions about certain affairs, he indeed followed a pattern in the political decisions in which he participated. Without a doubt, his most valuable contribution to indigenous intellectuality and education resides in both the political pamphlets that he published during his youth under the pseudonym of the “*Indio Constitucional*,” and the reforms that he made to the curriculum of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* when he served as its director.

4.2.3 Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma (?-1864-1866?)

The available documentation provides limited information about the life and work of Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma. During his life, he declared himself to be an “*indio cacique*” or “*cacique principal*,” probably from the Pueblo of Santa Ana Sochuca (or Xochuca), in the current State of Mexico, near Ixtapa de la Sal.⁴¹⁶ Despite his last name, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma does not appear to be related with the noble family of the Cano-Montezuma. However, the documentation does state that his father was Don Juan Antonio y Moctezuma, and his mother Dionisia Casilda Pichardo.⁴¹⁷ According to his testament, Francisco de Mendoza married for the first time with Doña Josefa García with whom he had several children:

Doña María Francisca, que fallecio en su infancia a la edad de dos años; a Don Ambrosio Agustin, que fallecio en la misma edad; otras dos niñas cuatas que murieron el mismo dia de nacidas; a Sor Maria de la Concepcion, actual religiosa profesa del convento de la Nueva Enseñanza de Yndias, que en el siglo se llamó Doña Paula Francisca; y a Don Jose Agustin Mendoza Moctezuma Garcia, que en el dia tiene veinte y cuatro años y está casado con Doña Maria Eduvige de Jesus Vazquez, de cuyo matrimonio tienen por hijo suyo y nieto mio a Don Miguel Agustin Mendoza Moctezuma y Vazquez de edad de año y cuatro meses.⁴¹⁸

Francisco Mendoza’s first wife, Doña Josefa García, had probably died at some point, although Francisco de Mendoza did not mention the fact of her death in surviving documentation. Nevertheless, Mendoza later stated that he married for a second time with Doña

⁴¹⁵ *La junta Directiva participa haber fallecido el Rector del Colegio de San Gregorio don Juan Rodríguez Puebla y recuerda a favor de un hijo que deja huérfano los servicios de su padre*, 1848, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 3, Expediente 13, fojas 73-85.

⁴¹⁶ *Escritura*, 12 de octubre de 1839, AHN, Notario, Antonio Pintos; Notaría, 532; Volumen 3567; fojas 765v-767r, f. 765v-766r.

⁴¹⁷ *Testamento de Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, 26 de febrero de 1834, AHN, Notario: Antonio Pintos; Notaría: 532; Fojas: 13v.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

María Rita Gonzalez, who apparently disappeared around the year of 1830.⁴¹⁹ Despite the little information existing about Mendoza y Moctezuma's early background, the above mentioned document demonstrates the special pride that Mendoza y Moctezuma had for his unmarried daughter, Paula Francisca, who later became Sor María de la Concepción, a nun who professed at the *Convento de la Nueva Enseñanza de Indias*, in Mexico City, an institution reserved for the religious education of "*indias cacicas*."

Similarly, there is little information about his parents' background, nor any extant documentation about his specific education.⁴²⁰ Nevertheless, a document written in 1829 by José Cervantes, an official at the Ministry of Relations, referred to the complaints that a group of Indigenous People had against the appointment of Rodríguez Puebla as the rector of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. This document mentioned that Mendoza y Moctezuma worked as an organist at the Loreto Church, adjacent to the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, which also suggests that he probably studied at this school as it would be strange for the *colegio* to hire an organist who had not studied in the institution.⁴²¹

Besides this piece of information, the early life of Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma remains unknown since there is no documentation about him before the end of the eighteenth century, when he started appearing as one of the complainants against the appointment of Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla as *Rector of the Colegio de San Gregorio*. After this episode, Mendoza y Moctezuma continued writing documents against the imposition of liberal reforms that affected the collective property of the said school. Later on in 1828, his name constantly appeared in diverse legal documentation as a representative or *apoderado* of the indigenous *parcialiades* in Mexico City, or as even a representative of Indigenous People from distant areas from the capital. The documents that Mendoza y Moctezuma wrote as legal representative of diverse indigenous populations displayed the vast knowledge that Mendoza y Moctezuma had about legal issues regarding communal land. Moreover, these documents demonstrated the figure of authority that he represented for indigenous communities, with which he had a close relationship that remained evident in several documents. For instance, in Francisco Mendoza's last will and testament, he clarified that, in case of his death, his heirs would need to claim debts owed to him by several individuals that he legally represented at that time:

Una acción a la mitad de los frutos que rindiere cuando se gane el punto que tiene pendiente en el Juzgado de Testamento , capellanías y obras pias de este Arzobispado Don Jose Antonio Piedra, vecino del pueblo de Tepecuacuilco, contra Doña Josefa Orduña y Doña Micaela Meana, sobre sucesión a una capellanía que dejó fundada Doña Gertrudis de Sosa, vecina que fue del mismo pueblo de Tepecuacuilco; cuya sucesión me hizo en remuneración de mis

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ *Sobre el nombramiento de don Juan Rodríguez Puebla para rector del Colegio de San Gregorio*, foja. 325v.

agencias practicadas y por practicar en dicho negocio y en cuyo escrito se haya favorable y en el que he gestionado como apoderado de dicho Piedra impendiendo gastos y demás tramites y agencias del negocio [...]⁴²²

He also stated that an important number of indigenous communities had been represented by him as he recollected:

[... también] declaro que mis dependencias pasivas son las que siguen= Al común de Sihuatecutla ocho pesos; que dejaron en mi poder, a los de Azulaque y Azcapuzalco, de la Doctrina de Ycatiopa, once pesos que también dejaron en mi poder; al Bachiller Don Jose Mariano Ramos del Fierro, vecino de Metepec, cien pesos que igualmente tengo en mi poder de su pertenencia; a Don Felipe Martinez, vecino de esta capital, ciento treinta pesos: al Licenciado Don Agustin Diaz le debo un pico o resto de veinte y cinco o treinta pesos; y al ex Alcalde segundo del Ylustre Ayuntamiento de Xixipilco Don N. Martinez, seis pesos; todo lo cual se pagara del cuerpo de mis bienes y se recaudarán las deudas activas.⁴²³

The date and circumstances of Mendoza y Moctezuma's death are similarly unknown due to the lack of primary sources. Nevertheless, he left behind a draft of his will in which he confirmed that he continued offering legal services to several representatives of indigenous communities before the Mexican authorities. In this unofficial will he mentioned that he also left behind several books that he bequeathed to his son:

Los muebles y libros que se hallaren en la de mi morada. Tres caballos de sillas con sus avios dos de ellos; ropa y demás que les consta a mis albaceas. Lo mismo que las dependencias activas de que tiene noticia mi hijo Don Jose Agustin y son las que sigue= En el comun de Yndigenas del Pueblo de San Juan Xochaca debe cuatrocientos pesos de diligencias y agencias judiciales y actos personales en su defensa= El de Tepalzingo por igual razón ochenta pesos; esto lo saben mi hijo Don Jose Agustin y Don Romualdo Tepepa, vecino de Cuautla de Amilpas: y también el citado mi hijo sabe las demás dependencias activas de que ahora no hago recuerdo=⁴²⁴

In the same will Mendoza y Moctezuma made an account about his possessions, which reinforced his claim of being either as an "*indio cacique*" or at least an affluent individual:

⁴²² *Testamento de Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma.*

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

[...] mis bienes [son] dos casas entre soladas ubicadas en esta ciudad, la una en la calle que nombran de las Ynditas, mirando su frente al oriente, marcada con el numero trece, en cuya finca vive actualmente mi hijo Don Jose Agustin; y la otra situada en el predio nombrado Analpa detrás de la Parroquia de Santa Maria la Redonda. Un sitio ¿eriazó? Para labrar, ubicado en dicho predio de Analpa, lindando con mi referida casa el cual tengo contrato [foja 25r] en venta [...] cuyo sitio se compone de cuarenta y nueve varas de longitud y setenta de latitud.⁴²⁵

The favorable economic conditions in which Mendoza y Moctezuma may have lived resulted in the opportunity that his family had to gain access for one of his daughters into the *Convento de la Enseñanza*, since the indigenous women who had access to this cloister necessarily needed to prove their noble origins, or at least their “honorable” means of living.

Around the year of 1850, Mendoza y Moctezuma remained active as social leader for diverse indigenous communities serving as their legal representative, a position that Patiño Ixtolinque and Chimalpopoca also constantly played.⁴²⁶ Mendoza y Moctezuma displayed special pride and a high sense of responsibility in serving as the legal representative of Indigenous People not only in Mexico City and its surrounding areas, but also by representing indigenous communities far away from the capital, such indigenous *pueblos* in the region of New Mexico.⁴²⁷ In most of the documents in which he served as legal representative and the “voice” of Indigenous People before the governmental authorities, he displayed an energetic tone against the prevalent corruption that emerged from the civil authorities after certain laws were passed that jeopardized indigenous communal properties. In an interesting document from 1841 in which Mendoza y Moctezuma legally represented the people from New Mexico, he displayed his extensive knowledge about this particular case and the legal instances that his clients had previously approached in order to resolve this situation:

[Yo, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma]digo que: estos naturales después de haber sido destituidos de sus tierra de que se les había despojado a virtud de enérgicas [...] al S del Supremo Gobierno han sufrido un nuevo despojo que les causó el Señor Diputado actual de el Nuevo Mejico Don Vicente Sánchez Vergara quien tuvo la astucia antes de [...] de cubrirse con el nombre de esta respetada Tribunal en el que se hizo algunas representaciones y [...] providencias que se [...] sobre ellos y solicitando a mi partes [foja 320v] tuvo a la vista dichas actuaciones desde[...] te consecuencia los derechos que se convengan [...] efecto

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ *Ya les pesa a ciertos hombres que se ilustren los indios*, Imprenta del Ciudadano Valdés, 1830, AGN-Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 47, páginas 292-293; *Carta de don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, 1833, AGN- Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 49, fojas 297-304v.

⁴²⁷ *Varios vecinos del Pueblo de Sandía en el territorio de Nuevo México sobre tierras de su propiedad*, 1829, AGN, México independiente, Justicia y Negocios Eclesiásticos, Justicia 88289, Volumen 48, Expediente 4.

han venido a pie desde el estado de Nuevo Mejico con mil trabajos doy de los principales ¿del? Pueblo que ha recomendado con particular efica[¿cia?] al superior gobierno para que se les patrocine [¿?] a V. E. se sirva mandar que se les entreguen [¿?] antecedentes por el termino del derecho, que se [¿?] cede de justicia para U.⁴²⁸

As we can see in the following segment, Mendoza y Moctezuma seriously assumed his position as a “voice” for those who did not have the means to be heard by the civil authorities:

[...] que la clase que represento cansada de sufrir desaires y escarnios ajenos del gobierno paternal que substituyó al tirano de los capetos de nuebo [sic] ha querido por mi conducto esforzar sus clamores, con la única esperanza de que alguna vez serán atendidos los miserables Yndios. Ni el esfuerzo de la pluma más valiente, ni el eco de la voz más sonora, ni las frases de la más delicada retorica, podrán jamas, no solo bosquejar; pero ni aun delinear groseramente, los padecimientos y persecuciones que se ha desatado a mis partes de la manera más irregular e inusitada hasta ahora.⁴²⁹

Even though documentation about the life of Mendoza y Moctezuma currently remains limited, it is important to recognize his labor as defender, legal representative and as an active advocate of indigenous communities. All of these characteristics, as well as his leadership, made of him a clear example of a nineteenth century Nahua intellectual.

4.2.3 Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca (1805-1882)

Without a doubt, Faustino Chimalpopoca developed a prolific trajectory as an intellectual, an activity that he successfully developed along with a highly politicized career which began in the early part of nineteenth-century and continued beyond the middle of the century. Due to the several transcriptions and copies that Chimalpopoca made of several indigenous documents, his works and his name are relatively well know among scholars interested in studying nineteenth-century Mexico or indigenous studies. Probably his most famous work is the document called the *Codex Chimalpopoca*, a transcription that Mr. Chimalpopoca made of the *Annals of Cuautitlán* text, currently archived at the Historical Archive of the National Museum of Anthropology, in Mexico City, though the original document's whereabouts remain unknown.

In spite of Chimalpopoca's vast documental production, an accurate biography about him is still needed. In this quest, María Teresa Sepúlveda y Herrera provides important biographical

⁴²⁸ *Ocurso de Don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma como apoderado del pueblo de los Dolores sobre restitución de tierras*, marzo 1841, AGN, México independiente, Poderes judiciales, Tribunal Superior de Justicia, Caja 0158,n/e (no file number), fs.-320r-320v.

⁴²⁹ *Carta de don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, f-297r.

information about the life and work of Chimalpopoca based on the documents archived in the *Archivo Histórico de la Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, in Mexico City.⁴³⁰ Based on the information provided by Sepúlveda and other primary sources, we know that Faustino José Galicia Chimalpopoca was born in 1805 in San Pedro Tlahuac, Mexico City,⁴³¹ and that his parents were Alejo Andrés Galicia and Petronila Bernarda Fernández Luna.⁴³² His father, Alejo Andrés Chimalpopoca Galicia also wrote historical documents about the history of the Nahua people and the population of the Valley of Mexico. It is probable that Faustino Chimalpopoca had learned from his father the way to copy and to transcribe historical documents.⁴³³

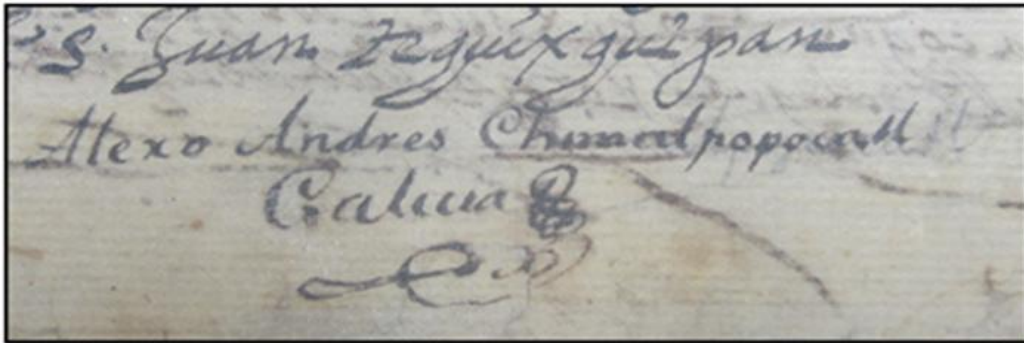


Figure 7. Signature of Alejo Andrés Chimalpopocatl Galicia, father of Faustino Chimalpopoca. Detail from a document archived in the AHMNAH, Mexico City. Picture taken by the author.

Despite the minimum information about his early life, we know that Faustino Chimalpopoca studied at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* thanks to the fact that he received an imperial scholarship that allowed him to remain in this school as a boarding student.⁴³⁴ He graduated from this institution as a lawyer between the years of 1821 and 1823, and the Emperor Agustín de Iturbide appeared as his godfather for the graduation ceremony, no doubt covering the expenses for his graduation.⁴³⁵

On November 9 of 1834, Chimalpopoca married Francisca Ocoy Romero Rincón Gallardo y Castel de Oro. Chimalpopoca's marriage certificate indicates that: "[...] Faustino Galicia, soltero de veinte y nueve años de esas, hijo legítimo de D. Alejo Andrés Galicia y de

⁴³⁰ Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca*, 133.

⁴³¹ *Acta de matrimonio de Faustino Galicia*, 9 de noviembre de 1834, México, accessed 18 April 2016: Registro Parroquial del Sagrario Metropolitano, fs. 46, from: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKHH-D4Y5>

⁴³² *Acta de bautismo de Maria De La Concepcion Felicitas Genara Abundia Galicia Ocoy*, 11 Jul 1841, accessed 18 April 2016: Registro Parroquial de Asunción, Mexico Distrito Federal, from <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:N81X-6BR>

⁴³³ *Manuscrito en Lengua Mexicana*, BMNAH, Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca, Vol. 256, BCA.

⁴³⁴ *Petición de Faustino Chimalpopoca a la Emperatriz Carlota*, julio 1, 1865, AGN-México independiente, Gobernación y Relaciones Exteriores, Segundo Imperio, 55068, Caja 40.

⁴³⁵ Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo*, 12.

Doña Petronila Luna, difunta, originario de San Pedro Tlahuac y vecino de esta capital desde la edad de trece años [...]”⁴³⁶ Chimalpopoca’s first child received the name of José Agustín Cesario de Padua Galicia, who was born on August of 1837.⁴³⁷ Faustino Chimalpopoca’s second son named José Joaquín Luis Lauro Agustín Galicia y Osoy was born on August 18, 1839.⁴³⁸ His third child, a daughter, who was born on July 10, 1841, received the name of María Agustina de la Concepción Felicitas Genara Abundia Galicia Osoy.⁴³⁹ Faustino Chimalpopoca also had another daughter named Petra Josefa Galicia, born on April 29, 1844,⁴⁴⁰ and a son Pedro Pablo Fernando, who was born on July 29 1851,⁴⁴¹ as well as another daughter named Concepción Felicitas Prágedis Chimalpopoca Osoy, who was born on July 21, 1854.⁴⁴² It is interesting to note that in registering this last child, Mr. Chimalpopoca used for the first time his complete last name as “Chimalpopoca y Galicia,” and not simply “Galicia” as he appeared in his other children’s’ baptismal records. Throughout his life, he declared himself being a direct descendant of the *tlatoani* Chimalpopoca, or at least a direct descendant from this noble family, which gave him a noble status.⁴⁴³

According to the extant documentation we currently know that while Chimalpopoca studied at the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, Juan Rodríguez Puebla and his brother Francisco were his classmates. In 1865 Faustino Chimalpopoca wrote about the Rodríguez Puebla brothers:

El verdadero Colegio de San Gregorio en 1810 en que estuvieron los alumnos Don Juan y Don Francisco Rodríguez Puebla y el que suscribe, conocidos los dos primeros con el nombre de aguadores y el tercero con el nombre de ardilla,

⁴³⁶ *Acta de matrimonio de Faustino Galicia and Francisca Osoy*, 09 Nov 1834, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:JHLS-Q2V>

⁴³⁷ *Acta de bautismo de Jose Agustin Cesario Antonio De Padua Galicia*, 27 Aug 1837, Parroquia de Sanra Cruz y Soledad, Mexico, Distrito Federal accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:J9R3-2Y3>

⁴³⁸ *Acta de bautismo de Jose Joaquin Luis Lauro Agustin Galicia*, 19 Aug 1839, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NRGV-96R>

⁴³⁹ *Acta de bautismo de Maria De La Concepcion Felicitas Genara Abundia Galicia Osoy*, 11 Jul 1841, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:N81X-6BR>

⁴⁴⁰ *Acta de bautismo de Petra Josefa Galicia*, 29 Apr 1844, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NBQN-TPD>

⁴⁴¹ *Acta de bautismo de Pablo Pedro Fernando Chimalpopoca y Galicia*, 29 de junio de 1851, Registro Parroquial De Asunción del Sagrario Metropolitano, Mexico Distrito Federal, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKZF-W84S>

⁴⁴² *Acta de bautismo de Concepcion Felicitas Pragedis Chimalpopoca Osoy*, 21 Jul 1854, Registros Parroquiales de Asunción, Mexico, Distrito Federal, accessed 2 January 2015: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:N81Y-5JM>

⁴⁴³ See Baruc Martínez Díaz, “Introducción,” in *Vocabulario Correcto conforma a los mejores gramáticos en el mexicano o diálogos familiares que enseñan la lengua sin necesidad de maestro, por el Licenciado Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia* (México: Huey Kalmekak Kuitlahuak, 2006).

vestidos los tres de calzones cortos de gamuza amarilla, de camisa de manta y manda azul.⁴⁴⁴

In reference to his professional title, Faustino Chimalpopoca used to write the abbreviation for the term *licenciado* “Lic.” right before his signature in official documentation, which attests to the fact that he received a degree in Law. Chimalpopoca’s knowledge about law and the way the governmental institutions worked can be confirmed through his prolific bureaucratic work that he achieved as a lawyer and defender and representative of the indigenous *parcialidades de indios* or as a legal defender of specific Indigenous Peoples who were dispossessed of their lands.

Chimalpopoca taught several classes as a professor at his *alma mater* around the years of 1850’s, while at the same time serving as a *regidor* of the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City, where he remained in office until 1853. According to the sources, he resigned this position due to his necessity of finding a new job since the classes that he taught in the *Colegio de San Gregorio* were cancelled. In this above mentioned document Chimalpopoca Galicia did not specify the classes that he taught at the *colegio*, but we can guess that these were probably Nahuatl, Otomi language or history.⁴⁴⁵ Chimalpopoca also remained as a professor of both Nahuatl language and Otomi at the University of Mexico⁴⁴⁶ between the years of 1858 and 1865.⁴⁴⁷

Later on, he joined the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (SMGE) between the years of 1852 and 1854, where he played a vital role in the revision, gathering, and analysis of historical documents written in indigenous languages. Later on, in 1856 he became a member of the *Comisión del Idioma Mexicano*, whose central mission focused on studying and promoting the Nahuatl language, under the sponsorship of the SMGE.⁴⁴⁸ Similarly, he briefly occupied the office of Minister of the Interior (*Ministerio de Gobernación*) in 1858;⁴⁴⁹ and throughout all of this time, he also remained as an active member of the Lancastrian education Company (*Compañía Lancasteriana*).⁴⁵⁰ In 1863, Chimalpopoca wrote a historical account or an official

⁴⁴⁴ *Colegio de San Gregorio*, 6 de julio de 1865, BMNAH, Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca, Colección Antigua, NC 25.

⁴⁴⁵ *El gobernador del Distrito consulta sobre las renunciaciones de los regidores, Don Luis Muñoz, Don Juan Bustillo, Don Faustino Galicia y Don Rafael Lamadrid; y propone para llenar estas vacantes a Don José Fraflita, Don Joaquín Anzomena, Don Miguel Cervantes Estanillo y Don Ignacio Algara*, 11 de octubre de 1853, AGN- GD10 Ayuntamiento, año de 1853, Volumen 31, fojas 319-327.

⁴⁴⁶ *Como por el nuevo plan de la universidad*, 28 de abril de 1858, Periódico *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*.

⁴⁴⁷ Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca*, 13.

⁴⁴⁸ “Comisión del idioma mexicano,” 28 de octubre de 1856, *Boletín de la SMGE*, Tomo IV, Número 7(México: Imprenta de Vicente García Torres, 1853), 323-324.

⁴⁴⁹ “Parte Oficial. Ministerio de Gobernación. Primera plana,” 24 de febrero de 1858, *Periódico El Siglo Diez y Nueve*.

⁴⁵⁰ “Remitidos. Compañía Lancasteriana,” 2 de agosto de 1851, *Periódico El Siglo XIX*.

history of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*,⁴⁵¹ the educational institution to which he returned as a professor around the year of 1873.⁴⁵²

According to Sepúlveda y Herrera, while Juan Rodríguez Puebla served as rector of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, in 1845 he assigned Faustino Chimalpopoca the mission of copying and translating the text entitled *Nombre de Dios Durango: Dos documentos en náhuatl relativos a su fundación*.⁴⁵³ Eventually, José Fernando Ramírez (1804-1871) purchased this document copy made by Chimalpopoca around the year 1849, which allowed Faustino Chimalpopoca to continue to work collectively with the scholar José Fernando Ramírez as he transcribed, translated, interpreted and re-drew several historical documents originally written in the Nahuatl language.

During the period of the French Intervention in Mexico (1864-1867), as an active member of the SMGE, Chimalpopoca initially opposed the idea of a foreign interference led by France. A collective letter published in the *Siglo Diez y Nueve* Mexican newspaper showed Mr. Chimalpopoca as one of the supporters of the following official statement:

Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística-Como en la sesión de 23 del próximo pasado, de que ya di conocimiento al ministerio del digno cargo de usted, se dispuso que se fuera dando publicidad a las firmas de los socios, según fueran estos suscribiendo la protesta contra la intervención extranjera, tengo el honor de cumplir con dicho acuerdo, acompañando a usted lista de ellas para dicho fin y conocimiento del supremo gobierno.⁴⁵⁴

However, years later during the period of the French intervention, Mr. Chimalpopoca later oddly appeared as one of the most fervent supporters of Austrian emperor Maximilian of Habsburg. On October 3, 1863, a commission of Mexican conservatives visited Maximilian of Habsburg at the Miramare Castle, near Trieste, in Italy, in order to officially offer him the crown as the second Emperor of Mexico. This historical event remains well documented and it is considered as one of the pivotal factors that encouraged the French Intervention in Mexico. Although, the name of the members of the Mexican delegation that carried out this historical visit to Italy had appeared in different documents and historical secondary sources, none of these sources mention Mr. Chimalpopoca as a member of this commission that visited the Miramare

⁴⁵¹ Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, *Historia del Colegio de San Gregorio*, 18 de septiembre de 1863, BMNAH, Documentos Históricos de Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, Colección Antigua, NC 25.

⁴⁵² “Un plantel ejemplar. El Colegio de San Gregorio,” 12 de febrero de 1873, *Periódico El Siglo XIX*.

⁴⁵³ Robert Hayward Barlow, George T. Smisor, *Nombre de Dios, Durango: Two Documents in Náhuatl Concerning Its Foundation: Memorial of the Indians Concerning Their Services, C. 1563; Agreement of the Mexicans and Michoacanos, 1585* (New York: AMS Press, 1992), xxiii.

⁴⁵⁴ “Ministerio de Justicia, fomento e instrucción pública,” 9 de mayo de 1863, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*.

Castle.⁴⁵⁵ Nevertheless, Mr. Chimalpopoca confirmed that he personally took part in this delegation, and he wrote his own account about this visit by providing specific details about his encounter with the Austrian emperor. Faustino Chimalpopoca thus described in a later document his role in these events, described his stay in Trieste in detail:

El 1o. de este mes en la noche llegamos a Trieste todos los individuos de la comisión. En el embarcadero del camino de fierro encontramos a los gentiles hombres del Archiduque que Fernando Maximiliano, Conde de Bombelle y Marques de Coris. Estos señores nos condujeron en los carruajes que tenían preparados por orden de S. P. F al hotel de la Ville, en donde se nos ha tratado con mucho decoro y distinción [...] El día siguiente tuve la honra de ser recibido por el príncipe, quien se había ya dignado fijar el día 3 para nuestra recepción.⁴⁵⁶

As if that were not enough evidence to confirm that Mr. Chimalpopoca attended the meetings between the Mexican commission and Maximilian of Habsburg, he also wrote about the role that he played as a key member of this commission and the impression that he caused to the European nobility present in the Miramare Castle:

[...] En segundo, pasó el archiduque mismo a las habitaciones de S. A. y la archiduquesa que [?] al estandarte al salón acompañado de su camarera mayor la Condesa de Lubron y de su dama de honor la princesa de Auerperg hecha por mí la presentación de los señores de la comisión, la señora Archiduquesa les fue dirigiendo la palabra en español no siendo aventurado ni lisonjero asegurar que desde ese momento se ganó los corazones de todos los mejicanos que la escuchaban.⁴⁵⁷

By considering the political importance of this trip and the mission that the Mexican commission had, it is not adventurous to affirm that Mr. Chimalpopoca sent a very powerful political message to the Emperor: Mexico's Indigenous Peoples, the original owners of the land, endorsed the French intervention.

Based on this premise, it is not surprising that Maximilian showed special interest in Mr. Chimalpopoca from the very first moment that he met him. For instance, in the same document, Mr. Chimalpopoca mentioned that the Emperor Maximilian personally asked Mr. Chimalpopoca

⁴⁵⁵ There is a source that asserts that Faustino Chimalpopoca indeed visited Maximilian of Habsburg in the Miramare Castle, and this is found in the book *De Miramar a México: Viaje del Emperador Maximiliano y de la Emperatriz Carlota, desde su Palacio de Miramar cerca de Trieste, hasta la capital del imperio mexicano, con una relación de los festejos públicos con que fueron obsequiados en Veracruz, Córdoba, Orizaba, Puebla, México, y en las demás poblaciones del tránsito*, (Orizaba: Imprenta de J. Bernardo Aburto, 1864), 83.

⁴⁵⁶ *Llamamiento a los mexicanos por Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia*, 25 de julio de 1863, s/f, AHMNAH, Colección Archivo del Emperador Maximiliano de Habsburgo, Viena, Rollo7.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid. The underlining is mine.

to stay with him four days more out of the original Mexican commission's schedule: "Terminada la primera parte de nuestra comisión, el Archiduque despidió a esta el 5; pero al mismo tiempo me invitó a permanecer a su lado por cuatro días más, con los señores Velázquez de León, Aguilar e Hidalgo."⁴⁵⁸

Consequently, we can affirm that the relationship that existed between Emperor Maximilian and Mr. Chimalpopoca began in earnest when they both met in Europe. Once in Mexico, Maximilian of Habsburg rewarded Mr. Chimalpopoca by making him a member of his Mexican court, his personal translator, interpreter, historian, and also by appointing him as his personal instructor of the Nahuatl language.

Once Maximilian of Habsburg arrived in Mexico and began organizing his cabinet, as a way to recognize his trajectory as lawyer, and also based on his vast experience in the field, Emperor Maximilian also appointed Chimalpopoca as the president of the *Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas* on April 27 of 1866. The official order and appointment letter stated:

S M el emperador atendiendo a la aptitud y circunstancia que concurre en el Lic. D. Faustino Chimalpopoca h atendido a bien nombrarlo para el empleo de Presidente de la Junta Protectora de las clases menesterosas con el sueldo anual de mil y quinientos pesos= Por tanto mana el Emperador que se tenga por tal presidente al respetado Lic. D. Faustino Chimalpopoca; y tomada razón de este despacho en las oficinas respectivas, y previos los además requisitos de estilo, se ponga al interesado en posesión del mencionado empleo y se le abone el sueldo referido.⁴⁵⁹

The *Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas* served as a paternalistic-type of review board interested in protecting, defending and providing some social benefits to the so-called dispossessed classes, mostly made up of the Indigenous Peoples who struggled living under the political liberalism instituted in Mexico after 1821. The privileged position that Chimalpopoca occupied throughout this period allowed him to leave behind a considerable amount of bureaucratic archive material with vital information about the life of indigenous communities in Mexico City during the middle part of the nineteenth century which chronicles their struggles facing the anti-corporative political system of the post-independence period.

In this sense, Mr. M. Felix Eloin, a formal advisor of Maximilian of Habsburg in Mexico, captured the importance that Faustino Chimalpopoca had for the consolidation of the French intervention in Mexico. In one of his reports, Eloin referred to Chimalpopoca when he stated that: "Sus afecciones por el imperio, su origen indígena y sus conocimientos en el idioma

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., pages without numbers.

⁴⁵⁹ *Nombramiento de Faustino Chimalpopoca como presidente de la Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas*, 28 de abril de 1866, AGN-GD- Despachos, Volumen 1, foja 150-150v, f-150r.

mexicano, le facilitaría mucho atraerse a los habitantes de la Sierra de Querétaro y hacerles defender efectivamente al imperio.”⁴⁶⁰

As the documentation demonstrates, the relationship that existed between Mr. Chimalpopoca and Emperor Maximilian remained close from the time they both met at Miramar, and it continued until the death of the emperor in Queretaro, Mexico. About this, José Luis Blasio, private secretary of Maximilian during his reign in Mexico, wrote in his private diary several notes about Faustino Chimalpopoca, along with several episodes in which he described the respect and admiration that Emperor Maximilian had towards Chimalpopoca’s knowledge about the indigenous past of Mexico and “its antiquities.” For instance, Blasio recorded a visit that Maximilian of Habsburg and a few members of his court made to the archaeological site of Teotihuacan shortly after the Emperor had established himself in Mexico City. According to Blasio, on this trip Chimalpopoca served both as their guide and interpreter:

We [Emperor Maximilian and those who traveled with him] spent the night at San Juan Teotihuacan, in the best house in the town, where on the following day the Emperor visited the famous pyramids of the Sun and the Moon. *Señor* Chimalpopoca deciphered the Aztec hieroglyphics on the pyramids.⁴⁶¹

Later in 1865, and probably based on the good relationship that existed between Mr. Chimalpopoca and the new monarchs, Chimalpopoca asked the empress Charlotte of Belgium for a grant for his son Pablo Fernando to study as “interned student” of Latin at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso* or another imperial college:

Yo tengo un hijo varoncito llamado Pablo Fernando, de edad de catorce años, el cual se halla actualmente como estudiante gramática latina en el colegio de San Ildefonso de esta capital, pero con el carácter de alumno externo. Esta circunstancia hace que no pueda adelantar todo lo que puede, al paso que mi escasez no me permite absolutamente poder pagar la colegiatura de dieciséis pesos mensuales para colocarlo de alumno interno en el expreso establecimiento.⁴⁶²

According to this request, Chimalpopoca’s son was indeed already a student of Latin at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, but he attended as an “external student,” which meant that he did not live at the *colegio*. The situation of this petition occurred most probably because having this status of a boarding, or “interned” student required important economic resources from the student’s family in order to cover the expenses generated by the student. Hence this request

⁴⁶⁰ *Los traidores pintados por sí mismos. Libro secreto de Maximiliano en que aparece la idea que tenía de sus servidores* (México: Imprenta de Eduardo Dublán, 1900), 14.

⁴⁶¹ José Luis Blasio, *Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico. Memoirs of his Private Secretary*; trans. Robert Hammond Murray (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), 51-52.

⁴⁶² *Solicitud de beca*, julio 1 de 1865, AGN, Segundo Imperio, Caja 38, Expediente 36.

demonstrates that the purchasing power of Chimalpopoca family was not very prosperous, or at least not prosperous enough to have a member of the family serve as “an internal student” in one of the most prestigious colleges in Mexico at that time. Unfortunately, the answer from the Empress is unknown as no documentation has survived concerning her disposition in the case.

For the period after the French Intervention, little information about Chimalpopoca remains. Nevertheless, it is clear that the reinstalled regime led by the liberal President Benito Juárez persecuted him, and condemned him to spend two years in prison since his name appeared in the *Monitor Republicano* newspaper within a list that included several others who collaborated with the French Intervention, or who had worked or served in the imperial court of the emperor. In the list entitled “Relación de los presos de esta capital a quienes se ha conmutado la pena impuesta por la ley de 25 de enero de 1862 [...]” the name of Chimalpopoca appears with a brief description of his duties as member of the imperial court: “Galicia Chimalpopoca Faustino. Notable y comisario imperial.”⁴⁶³

Still, after the year of 1868 there is no record about Mr. Chimalpopoca, either serving as a notary, or as tutor. Nonetheless, we can hypothesize that Faustino Chimalpopoca may have continued working as a legal advisor in minor cases or as private tutor due to his academic experience. About this time period in his life, some authors state that he lived hiding in his hometown of Tlahuac, staying hidden under the basement of his house.⁴⁶⁴ However, I was unable to trace this information to its source due to the lack of the survival of accurate documentation. These authors also stated that Chimalpopoca probably sold several important documents and archival material from his personal library to particular individuals, as well as several of his document collections in order to survive during his difficult times after his fall from grace during the Juárez regime. This may explain that fact why there are some of his manuscripts currently housed in archives throughout the United States and Europe.

It is not until the year of 1873 that Chimalpopoca reappeared again in the historical records as a history professor of the *Colegio Restaurado de San Gregorio*, working on a campus that this institution apparently opened in Tlahuac, outside of Mexico City.⁴⁶⁵ It is in this year of 1873 that Sepúlveda y Herrera located one of the latest documents produced by Chimalpopoca. The said manuscript is the copy of the original papers of the town of Santa María Nativitas, from Texcoco, which Chimalpopoca made and whose original document dated from the year of 1539.⁴⁶⁶

Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca died some day in early April of 1882, without a written or notarized will, a fact that is attested to in a brief notice in the *Diario del Hogar* which

⁴⁶³ “Parte Oficial,” martes 10 de septiembre de 1867, *El Monitor Republicano*, 2.

⁴⁶⁴ Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca*, 15.

⁴⁶⁵ “Un plantel ejemplar: Colegio de San Gregorio,” 12 de febrero de 1873, *Periódico EL Siglo XIX*.

⁴⁶⁶ Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca*, 15.

published an announcement from the Civil Judge Licenciado Esteban Calva, which asked any person who believed that they had some rights over the assets of Mr. Chimalpopoca to give evidence to the effect within a period of 30 days.⁴⁶⁷ Little else is known about Chimalpopoca's personal life, including the causes of his death and what happened with what had remained of his once great library. Nor do the records attest to whether or not his children continued with his legacy. Nevertheless, his prolific work has contributed to what we currently know about several indigenous manuscripts and indigenous communities during nineteenth-century Mexico.

As I have been emphasizing throughout this study, nineteenth-century Mexican Nahua intellectuals resulted from an inherited tradition rooted in the Mesoamerican tradition, which continued through a complex colonial educational system (see Chapter 3). During the period of the Spanish colonial era, these intellectuals found places to practice and exercise their intellectual opinions as well as to create an impact in their communities (see Chapter 2).

The works of various Nahua intellectuals such as Ixtolinque, Mendoza y Moctezuma, Rodríguez Puebla and Chimalpopoca, inserted into various spheres of indigenous social life during the last years of the colonial regime in New Spain. As we can see, these intellectuals exercised their agency through institutions such as hospitals, schools, or by representing Indigenous People from their own communities. In this sense, it is indispensable to keep in mind that the political participation that indigenous intellectuals performed within these spheres discussed above did not represent a new phenomenon, but rather the continuation of their own intellectual tradition.

4.3 Conclusion to Chapter 4

The lives and works of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, Faustino Chimalpopoca, and Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma remained linked to their common social and cultural background. Similarly, the institutional education that they received through their attendance in colonial cloisters made them a special group of educated Indigenous People. In this sense, it is important to mention that while studying under the Spanish educational system, these Nahua individuals had access to the works, theories and ideas from all over Europe, and in general most of the intellectual creations of the “the old world” were accessible to them. As I will explore in the following chapters of this work, these indigenous students read the political and European humanistic theories from classical Greece and Rome, as well as philosophical positions prevalent in Europe at that time of their own educations.

Additionally, the ethnic bond that these intellectuals shared both influenced and conducted them to project their agency towards common interests and in the defense of shared projects, as we will review in the next chapter of this work. The available documentation also

⁴⁶⁷ “Convocatoria,” 14 de abril de 1882, *Diario del Hogar*, Tomo I, Número 163, 4.

reveals that these intellectuals relied on and their works became influenced by a strong ethnic identity that resulted from the political transformations issued by the Cortes of 1810 and the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812. This statement does not imply that this ethnic identity did not develop before or did not emerge in earlier times; however, these above mentioned political measures as well as the social changes that resulted from them reveal that the term “*indio*” used by these intellectuals became a word with profound political and social connotations that provided them with a shared sense of belonging.

These intellectuals by coming from similar economic, social and ethnic backgrounds willingly united in the defense of similar causes that affected them both individually and collectively. Thus, during the early years of the nineteenth century we will find documentation in which these individuals became involved on at least two greater trends: the defense of Indigenous People to gain access to education; and ensuring the capability of indigenous communities to manage, own and administrate their own collective properties.

This generation unit of intellectuals also presented characteristics related to the region to which they belonged, and to their own social stratum, as well as to the access that they had to other social spheres, such as to institutions of justice, education and government. Thus, it is after 1812 that most of the documentation produced by these intellectuals demonstrates that they remained involved as legal representatives of indigenous communities or *parcialidades* before the Mexican authorities, helping their indigenous counterparts to deal with a new liberal governmental and economic system based on individual property. In other words, it is only after 1812 that these intellectuals acted collectively towards the defense of their indigenous corporate interests. This collective endeavor did not only refer to the interest that these Nahua intellectuals had in issues that concerned their own communities, but this also reveals the level of collective consciousness and identity that these intellectuals had developed throughout their lives.