

Faculty Development Research Grant Proposal for Summer 2003

Dr. E. Kalé Haywood
Assistant Professor, Department of History
Elmhurst College
10 March 2003

The “Two Majesties” Divide: The Breakdown of Cathedral-Crown Relations in the Archdiocese of Mexico and the Diocese of Durango, 1760-1822

I. Project Summary

Using the Bishopric of Michoacán, located in west-central Mexico, as a socio-economic microcosm of late-colonial Mexico, my research examines the development and causes of the split between the clergy and crown which led to Mexican independence from Spain in 1822. I argue that some church leaders belonging to the diocesan cathedral chapter, rather than serving as a united front of royalist support, were instrumental in ushering the members of their flock away from Spain and urging them towards independence, while others accepted the crown’s increased economic and political control of Spanish American diocesan affairs. My work seeks to define those characteristics that created this heterogeneity of thought and action among chapter members. My dissertation research concentrated solely on one diocese, that of Michoacán, thus making more than a general comparative analysis impossible.

A Faculty Research Grant would enable me extend the focus of my dissertation to a new context. This coming summer I propose to travel to Seville, Spain, and work in the Archive of the Indies (AGI). Using the resources of the AGI, I will extend my analysis to include the Archbishopric of Mexico and the Bishopric of Durango and examine the church-crown conflict at the viceroyalty-wide level. I will begin by building local profiles of the Mexican and Durangense cathedral chapters and then examine their faltering relationship with the crown of Spain. In particular, my work seeks to test the tripartite theory I have developed to explain Michoacano chapter homogeneity in two new chapter settings. Does a unique blend of family background, ecclesiastical service, and intellectual talent account for diversity in Mexico and Durango, and does the relationship between these bishoprics and royal officials disintegrate at the same rate or for the same reasons as in the Michoacano case? I will present my conclusions in two invited presentations this coming fall and submit a article to a peer-reviewed journal in my field in the spring of 2004.

II. Narrative

1. Current Situation

In the mid-eighteenth century the Spanish crown, in an attempt to bolster its floundering economic and political position on the European stage, sought to redefine its centuries-old relationship with its American colonies. To this end, royal officials authorized a series of legislative acts, collectively known as the Bourbon Reforms, aimed at bringing

Spain's New World colonies under tighter Spanish control. Instituted in the 1760s, by 1810 the Bourbon Reforms had driven an insurmountable wedge between Spain and the Americas.

A mature literature analyzes the breakdown of the crown-colony relationship. Historians have explored political reform,¹ discussed economic indicators,² and outlined the growth of industry and agriculture.³ They have also evaluated the military,⁴ studied race and class,⁵ and described the cultural and educational atmosphere which dominated the late colonial period.⁶ However, in the Mexican case, none of these provided the spark that, in the words of historian Nancy Farriss, “ignited the whole kingdom with the speed of a wind-born plague.”⁷ Rather, on 16 September 1810, Michoacano parish priest Miguel de Hidalgo rang his local church bell and called his parishioners to arms against Spain. The

¹Jacques A. Barbier, *Reform and Politics in Bourbon Chile, 1755-1796* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980); Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687-1808* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977); J. R. Fisher, *Government and Society in Colonial Peru: The Intendant System, 1784-1814* (London: University of London, Althone Press, 1970).

²Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícola en México, 1708-1810* (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1969); Claude Morín, *Michoacán en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII: crecimiento y desigualdad en una economía colonial* (Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979).

³D. A. Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: León, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971); J. R. Fisher, *Silver Mines and Silver Miners in Colonial Peru, 1776-1824* (Liverpool: Center for Latin-American Studies: University of Liverpool, 1977); John E. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs, Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983); Susan Migden Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778-1810: Family and Commerce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

⁴Christian I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760-1810* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977); Allan J. Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986); Lyle N. McAlister, *The “Fuero Militar” in New Spain, 1764-1800* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957).

⁵John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978); Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780-1826* (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, 1976); Margaret Chowning, *Wealth and Power in Provincial Mexico: Michoacán from the Late Colony to the Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

⁶John Tate Lanning, *The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956); Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico: Seventeenth-Century Persons, Places, and Practices* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1959).

⁷N. M. Farriss, *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821* (London: Althone Press, 1968), pp. 197-98.

role of the parish clergy in the independence movement, particular that of churchmen working in the critical Diocese of Michoacán, is well-documented.⁸ However, historians tend to view the “upper clergy” as an exclusive, inflexible royalist bloc socio-economically opposed to the “lower clergy” and fail to capture the extraordinary range of personality within the ecclesiastical elite, hence neglecting the crucial function played by the upper clergy in the wars for independence.⁹ My research fills this lacunae as I examine the growing divide between the Michoacano cathedral chapter and the Spanish crown, the development of a Creole national identity among chapter members, and the dissemination of body’s increasing discontent with royal authority into the Diocese of Michoacán.¹⁰

In late-colonial Spanish America a cathedral chapter was the most powerful and prestigious corporate body within the secular church. Filled with a complement of twenty-seven clerics appointed by the crown, each diocesan chapter was the ecclesiastical institution charged with administering the diocese and cathedral in conjunction with the bishop. Although the bishop was the ultimate authority in the diocese, the chapter served as the diocesan prelate’s permanent council, and its responsibilities included enforcing administrative regulations, overseeing economic policies (particularly those involved in the collection and distribution of the tithes), and maintaining the complex socio-political traditions governing the bishopric and cathedral.¹¹ Prebends were also charged with preserving the institutional history and customs of the cathedral church, and they brought years of ecclesiastic and managerial experience to bear in this effort.

As the Bourbon Reforms worked to circumscribe cathedral activities to the purely spiritual sphere and the chapter lost traditional economic and political privileges, ecclesiastical ill-will towards royal officials emanated from the diocesan headquarters. While some chapter members remained loyal to the crown, others openly campaigned for Mexican independence from Spain. Indeed, Michoacano prebends evinced a startling

⁸Farriss, *Crown and Clergy*; David Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán 1749-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Oscar Mazín Gómez, *El cabildo catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán* (Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1996); William Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1996).

⁹Members of the upper secular clergy were the ecclesiastical elite of the secular church and included bishops, cathedral chapter members, and wealthy parish priests. All other secular churchmen, making up nearly eighty percent of the secular church, were referred to as the lower secular clergy.

¹⁰Elisabeth Kalé Haywood, “A Climate of Confrontation: The Cathedral Chapter in the Diocese of Michoacán, 1770-1795.” Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001.

¹¹Church law also defined the body, and the cathedral chapter’s ultimate authority derived from the diocesan bull of erection. The bull outlined the number of posts and ranks within the chapter, ordered the division and allocation of the diocesan tithes, and laid out the basic powers and functions of the body. In reality, however, the chapter’s authority and influence far exceeded the limits established by the bull. John Frederick Schwaller, *The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), introduction.

variety of responses to the independence movement. What accounts the tremendous heterogeneity of political thought in an institution long considered an elite bastion of royalist support? I argue that crown promotion policies themselves selected for diverse traits among prospective cathedral chapter appointees. Namely, I argue that royal officials unwittingly adopted selection criteria, based on a unique combination of family connections, educational background, ecclesiastical service, and intellectual or administrative talent, that, rather than promoting the socio-economic elite to the chapter, allowed a diverse pool of applicants access to the church's upper echelons.

I conclude that as the eighteenth century drew to a close, and the crown evinced less and less interest in the chapter's pleas to maintain its traditional autonomy, Michoacano prebends found themselves in the awkward position of being unwilling to accept increasing royal authority yet having no defense against encroaching crown legislation. As the chapter's united front of loyalty to the crown began to crack, their individual differences and diversity began to flower. While some prebends remained loyal to Spain, others considered the once drastic chasm separating them from alliance with the independence movement as a fairly reasonable leap.

2. Project Plan

During the summer of 2003, I propose to examine ecclesiastical promotional records located in the Archive of the Indies in Seville, Spain, in order to extend this paradigm beyond the Bishopric of Michoacán. I plan to analyze the internal makeup of the cathedral chapters of the Archdiocese of Mexico and the Diocese of Durango, the highest and lowest-ranking bishoprics in New Spain (modern Mexico), examine the development of the chapter-crown divide instigated by the Bourbon Reforms, and trace the fifty-year breakdown between the upper secular church and royal authority at the viceroyalty-wide level. Questions to be considered include:

- How diverse were the Mexican and Duranguense cathedral chapters?
- What accounts for diversity/lack of diversity? Do patterns of national origin (Spanish vs. Spanish American), educational background, pre-chapter career patterns, and advancement within Mexico and Durango follow those of the Michoacano cathedral chapter?
- Are the categories of family background, ecclesiastical service, and intellectual and administrative talent able to promote diversity within the Mexico and Durango chapters?
- Do the cathedral chapters in Mexico and Durango suffer from intense internal discord due to the actions of a handful of erring priests as in the Michoacano case? Are these chapters facing divisive internal struggles even as the crown seeks to limit cathedral autonomy?

Before these questions may be addressed, I will need to create a complete list of all ecclesiastics promoted to the Mexican and Duranguense cathedral chapters between 1760 and 1822; I expect the finalized list to include 200-250 appointees. Using the promotion papers of the Council of the Indies, notations made by the Royal Father Confessor, portfolios of clerics considered for promotion based on technical merit, letters written by

clerics seeking special consideration and/or chapter advancement, and complaints lodged with royal officials and criminal cases brought against straying ecclesiastics, I will then build a bibliographic profile of each chapter appointee. At this stage, comparative analysis becomes possible. I will be able to calculate the average number of years an ecclesiastic would spend in each cathedral chapter, the rate of promotion through the various chapter ranks, the relative weight of educational field of study vs. degree received, and measure the discrimination of American Creole clerics against the rapid advancement of privileged Spanish ecclesiastics. In the final analysis it will be possible to determine if the cathedral chapter in the Diocese of Michoacán is unique in its disintegrating relationship with the Spanish crown, or if the Archdiocese of Mexico and the Diocese of Durango also follow the pattern set by the bishopric long-considered the “cradle of Mexican independence.”¹²

3. Faculty Expertise

This proposal expands the research project I began with my dissertation “A Climate of Confrontation: The Cathedral Chapter in the Diocese of Michoacán, 1770-1795,” completed for the History Department at Stanford University in June 2003. My coursework allowed me to develop an indepth interpretation of European and Latin American historiography, while my thesis focused on the co-evolution of Colonial Latin American socio-cultural patterns and state institutions in the Diocese of Michoacán. Through intensive work in the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral de Morelia, the Archivo Casa de Morelos, the Archivo de Notarías de Morelia (all located in Morelia, Mexico), the microfilm collection of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City, Utah), and the General Archive of the Nation (Seville, Spain), I am able to read and interpret eighteenth-century royal and ecclesiastical documents with ease. I have presented my work at a series of national and local conferences in the past three years; I am currently writing an article extending the theoretical and biographical framework proposed in the first chapter of my dissertation, and I anticipate that the work completed in the upcoming summer will form the core of a second article that builds upon the twin themes of forced ecclesiastical submission to the state and the formation of Mexican national identity.

4. Plans for Evaluation and Dissemination

The scholarly result of the proposal under review will be threefold. First, I will discuss my findings in a refereed panel presentation at the XI Conference of Mexican, United States, and Canadian Historians, to be held in Monterrey, Mexico, in October 2003. In addition, I have been invited to present my analysis at Northern Illinois University in the fall of 2003, and I envision sharing my conclusions with the Elmhurst College community through our faculty speaker series and/or at the 2004 Faculty Women’s Caucus Research Symposium. Second, I plan to submit my work to a peer-reviewed journals in my field such as the *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Journal of Church and State*, and/or *The Americas* in the spring of 2004. Third, with this project I move beyond the dissertation phase and into beginning a book-length project. The proposed comparative analysis of the Archdiocese of Mexico

¹²Agustín García Alcaráz, *La cuna ideológica de la independencia* (Morelia, Mexico: Fimax Publicistas, 1971).

and the Diocese of Durango extends my paradigm beyond the central geographic locations covered in my thesis and therefore allows me to offer a viceroyalty-wide study, rather than a simple regional analysis.

III. Timeline

If awarded this grant I would not teach at Elmhurst College during the summer of 2003 but would spend ten weeks working in the Archivo de las Indias (AGI) in Seville, Spain. As I have previously spent a month working in the AGI, I am already familiar with the archive's policies and procedures and am well acquainted with the document collections I plan to review. I budget two weeks to complete a survey of royal promotion records and compile a list of ecclesiastics appointed to the cathedral chapters of Mexico and Durango, four weeks to build bibliographic profiles of chapter appointees, two weeks to determine how crown promotion patterns were modified over the latter half of the eighteenth century, and two weeks to examine unique problems occurring in the individual chapters (such as the struggle between prelate and chapter, economic loyalty to the crown, and criminal scandals involving chapter members). After returning to Elmhurst College in the fall, I would begin a focused analysis of my data, and, as noted above, would present at least two conference papers in the fall, complete an article for a peer-reviewed journal in the spring, and continue the on-going process of integrating new findings into my book-length manuscript.

IV. Budget

Travel (roundtrip airfare from Chicago to Seville, travel to and from airports, inter-airport transportation)	\$1400.00
Room and Board in Seville (1 June-15 August 2003)	\$1800.00
Duplication costs (microfilm, xeroxed copies, paper supplies)	\$300.00
Total:	\$3500.00

V. Current and Previous Grants

\$ 700.00 travel grant from the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs/Dean of the Faculty, Elmhurst College, 2002.

\$ 300.00 travel grant from the Faculty Development Committee at Elmhurst College, 2002 (funding refused).

\$ 3,200.00 grant from the Faculty Development Committee, Elmhurst College, 2002, to attend the Bradley Seminar in Berlin and Prague.

VI. Publications and Presentations

1. Dissertation

“A Climate of Confrontation: The Cathedral Chapter in the Diocese of Michoacán, 1770-1795” (June 2001).

2. Publications

“Cabildo and Crown: Promotional Patterns of the Michoacano Cathedral Chapter, 1720-1822,” article in progress. Submission to *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* planned for August 2003.

Review of *Daily Life in Colonial Mexico: The Journey of Friar Ilarione da Bergamo, 1761-1768*. Edited by Robert Ryal Miller and William J. Orr. Translated from the Italian by William J. Orr. The American Exploration and Travel Series, vol. 78. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000. Review forthcoming in *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

3. Presentations

“An Institution Under Siege: The Socio-political Transformation of the Cathedral Chapter of Michoacán, 1720-1822,” to be presented at the XI Conference of Mexican, United States, and Canadian Historians, Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico, October 2003. Refereed presentation.

“Cabildo and Crown: Promotional Patterns of the Michoacano Cathedral Chapter, 1700-1830,” presented at "Families Crossing Frontiers" Conference, Brigham Young University, October 2001.

“Individualism and Confrontation: The Michoacano Cathedral Chapter on the Eve of Independence,” presented at the Twelfth Annual Joseph Vález Latin American Studies Conference: Salvation and Sovereignty, Church and State in the Americas, at Baylor University, March 2000.

“A Microcosm of Individuality: The Michoacano Cathedral Chapter, 1760-1810,” presented at the Conference on Latin American History, a branch of the American Historical Association, Boston, January 2000.