

University of Nevada, Reno

**Reformed Piety and the Renaissance of Print Culture in 18<sup>th</sup>- Century Mexico City**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Art in History

by

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## **Abstract**

During the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mexico City experienced an increase in the publication of religious devotional works that emphasized a reformed religion. The increase in these devotional publications indicates that officials were encouraging a shift from Baroque Tridentine Catholicism, in which value was placed on exterior magnificence and outward gestures, to a reformed piety that was more focused on the individual's internal spirituality. Both Tridentine Catholicism and reformed Catholicism saw internal prayer as an intrinsic part of religiosity. However, reformed Catholicism placed greater emphasis on the individual's role in religion outside of the community at large. Thus, the 18<sup>th</sup> century, marked an increase in devotionals that were written for the devout in general, rather than written for the use of a specific priest and parish, convent, or *cofradía*. The increase in publications was representative of a renaissance in print culture that naturally correlated to an increase in readership, due to an official focus on education and increased literacy, and demand for these types of publications. Not only does the increase correlate to an increase in literate individuals such as *criollos* and *peninsulares*, but it also indicates the development of new readers including women and children. The heightened production and availability of small religious devotionals to the urban public, thus aided in the popularization of individual piety; in turn, the publication of such texts fueled the print boom.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

In 1767, on the Calle de Tiburcio, in Mexico City, Br. D. Joseph Antonio de Hogal printed a small, pocket-sized manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript was a *Modo de examinar*, a didactic tool that provided the reader with spiritual exercises to examine his conscience. Such self reflection was a Catholic tradition recommended for both the clergy and laity in an effort to correct specific imperfections and faults and to avoid sinful behavior. The manuscript suggested that the faithful perform the exercises twice daily. The fact that this manual was for individuals signified a transition from communal piety, representative of Baroque Tridentine Catholicism, to a reformed, “new” piety that focused on the internalization of religiosity.

During the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mexico City experienced an increase in the publication of religious devotional works that emphasized a reformed religion such as this “Modo de Examinar.” The increase in these devotional publications indicates that officials were encouraging a shift from Baroque Tridentine Catholicism, in which value was placed on exterior magnificence and outward gestures, to a reformed piety that was more focused on the individual’s internal spirituality. Both Tridentine Catholicism and reformed Catholicism saw internal prayer as an intrinsic part of religiosity. However, reformed Catholicism placed greater emphasis on the individual’s role in religion outside of the community at large. Thus, the 18<sup>th</sup> century, marked an increase in devotionals that were written for the devout in general, rather than

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<sup>1</sup> *Modo de examinar*. (Mexico City: Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1767). Lilly Library, Indiana University Bloomington, BX 2170. N7 N9, Box 10, no. 23.

written for the use of a specific priest and parish, convent, or *cofradía*. The increase in publications was representative of a renaissance in print culture that naturally correlated to an increase in readership, due to an official focus on education and increased literacy, and demand for these types of publications. Not only does the increase correlate to an increase in literate individuals such as *criollos* and *peninsulares*, but it also indicates the development of new readers including women and children. The heightened production and availability of small religious devotionals to the urban public, thus aided in the popularization of individual piety; in turn, the publication of such texts fueled the print boom.

### **Reformed Piety in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Mexico.**

The 18<sup>th</sup> century signified a shift in monarchical rule in the Spanish colonies from the Hapsburg dynasty, that had ruled the colonies from their inception (1521), to the Bourbon dynasty. The Bourbon goals varied greatly from those of the Hapsburgs. Whereas the Hapsburg regime worked together with the Catholic Church in the process of colonization, the Bourbon dynasty, through a series of reforms and decrees beginning in 1749, attempted to subordinate and isolate the Church in an effort to create a more corporate, secular, form of religion, as well as a new, stronger form of royal absolutism. In 1749, the Bourbons called for the secularization of the Catholic Church. By 1750, “the transfer of parishes from regular orders to secular clergy intensified bringing local

churches under the direct control of bishops and royal authority.”<sup>2</sup> The Bourbon’s justified the secularization because they believed that by submitting local parishes to the secular hierarchy of the Crown, the Crown’s authority would be extended which would, in turn, result in the elimination of one of the major restraints of royal absolutism within the colony.<sup>3</sup> In addition to these reforms and decrees, the Bourbon authorities promoted a renewed emphasis on education of both Natives and Spaniards populations in the colonies, as well as an emphasis on “modern” behavior that inevitably resulted in a reassessment of popular religious beliefs.<sup>4</sup>

During this time, the reformed clergy incorporated aspects of the new policies into Church practices, encouraging a more individual and austere form of piety.<sup>5</sup> This call for a return of “true religion” aided in the institution of a cultural shift that placed the individual at both the starting point and center of knowledge.<sup>6</sup> Reformers in both the Church and the State believed that the “new” piety was dependent upon the written word alone. Now an individual was able to access God directly and “the true Christian was the man who demonstrated the now supreme Christian virtue of stoic moderation that signaled His interior mortification of the senses.”<sup>7</sup> Because the reformers believed that it was through the written word that an individual was able to access God, it was no longer

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<sup>2</sup> Curcio-Nagy, Linda. *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 109.

<sup>3</sup> Fariss, Nancy M. *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821*. (London: Athlone Press, 1968), 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>5</sup> Voekel, Pamela. *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002,) 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

necessary for the Church to be the sole mediator between the individual soul and God.<sup>8</sup> The shift towards an “enlightened” Catholicism diminished the ornate liturgy, asceticism, and popular devotion that had been defined Tridentine Catholicism.”<sup>9</sup> This new “enlightened” Catholicism then called for the education of both priests and parishioners in the new emphasis.

Through a series of reforms that coincided and complemented this emphasis on new piety, the Bourbons attempted to modify the way in which colonists practiced religiosity. Traditionally, inhabitants demonstrated their piety publicly through various community endeavors and devotions; however, under Bourbon rule, reforms specifically directed at the religious and social mores of the population were instituted. Festivals, *cofradías*, devotions to the saints, and funerals came under the scrutiny of Bourbon officials. In the mid to late 18th century, “festivals and traditions came under review because of the excessive exuberance or supposed superstition in what amounted to be a Bourbon moral crusade that had its greatest impact on the capital.”<sup>10</sup> These decrees were part of the Bourbon social policy that found it necessary to educate the population in more modern forms of behavior.<sup>11</sup>

The participation in festivals and processions was the most obvious and pervasive form of public piety. Festivals throughout the colonial period were funded by the population of each the town. The festivals were celebrations of holy days and special

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>9</sup> Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacan, 1749-1810*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 5.

<sup>10</sup> Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals*, 108.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

days devoted to the saints and were often times expensive and vibrant displays of devotion that enabled the town members to take a reprieve from the hard, rigid routine of daily life.<sup>12</sup> Festivals were also a form of local religion specific to the town; each parish had its own devotions and practices, as well as means of support.<sup>13</sup> Under Bourbon officials, a new ideology impacted festivals and, initially, religious prelates sought to regulate them. Beginning in 1769, Archbishop Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana prohibited celebrations that could be regarded as superstitious by both ecclesiastical officials Bourbon authorities under the pretext that they could be found to be linked to idolatry.<sup>14</sup> Archbishop Lorenzana believed that these festivals were tainted by religious deviation of the native population and thus sought to eradicate such celebrations.<sup>15</sup> Further restrictions were placed on festivals two years later with the meeting of the Fourth Provincial Council. The Council forbade banquets, and restricted the celebration of new fiestas as well as other celebrations that held no place in the orthodox tradition during the Easter and Christmas seasons.<sup>16</sup> Restrictions on festivals, however, did not stop there. In 1789, the royal government stepped in to limit the festivals being held throughout the parishes as well.<sup>17</sup> The government went beyond the Fourth Provincial Council's call for no new festivals by actually reducing the number of festivals already in existence.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Taylor, William B. *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in 18th-Century Mexico*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 250.

<sup>13</sup> Curcio, *The Great Festivals*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates*, 252.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>16</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates*, 252.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

Public piety in colonial Mexico was also seen in the veneration of images and devotion to the saints. Traditionally, holy objects and relics of saints were housed in places of worship as a means to transform them into representations of the kingdom of heaven.<sup>19</sup> Although the veneration of images was continually scrutinized by the Catholic Church and the Crown throughout the colonial period, due to its suspected connection to idolatry, the devotion to the saints was less troubling because saints were viewed as “a conventional, ubiquitous part of local practice of religion and the design of the colonial world.”<sup>20</sup> In colonial Mexico, saints were not only a way for the people to communicate with God, but they also protected the interests of the believers; and, by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the devotion to the saints was an integral part of society. Towns, as well as convents and *cofradías*, had designated patron saints who were praised and celebrated. Baptized Catholics also had special relationships to the saints under whom they were baptized. It was not uncommon for lay people in rural parishes to “discover” other saints that they then would incorporate into their lives in ways that “combined instruction, invention, and prior experience of the divine.”<sup>21</sup> The devotion to the saints was one that cut through the ethnically and economically diverse population in colonial Mexico, although it varied locally in terms of patron saints and local religious practice.

Due to the fact that the devotion to the saints was so diverse in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the reformed bishops and priests attempted to weaken devotions to the numerous local saints and focus the emphasis on Jesus Christ. This marked a shift in religiosity and

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

public piety because before this time the devotion to Jesus Christ was not prevalent in public piety except during Semana Santa. The devotion to Mary, on the other hand, was pervasive at all levels of society. The devotion to Mary was both personal and communal; Mary represented redemption and came to symbolize liberation among the Indian population.<sup>22</sup> However, in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, attempts were made to stifle the devotion to Mary and the numerous additional saints and instead place the emphasis on God (the father) and Jesus Christ. According to new officials, there was no spiritual need for the continued reliance of the numerous saints and relics that had accumulated throughout the centuries of colonization.<sup>23</sup>

Public piety was also made manifest in burials. Funerals, for the class of society who could afford them, were similar to other types of religious ceremonies in that they tended to focus on radiating an “external magnificence” as a way of showing devotion to God and the Church.<sup>24</sup> Traditionally, Catholics viewed church burials as a way to be closer to God, a reminder for their loved ones to pray for their souls, a way to procure the advocacy of the saints for whom the church was built, and as a manner to escape the numerous devils that encompassed burial sites outside of church grounds.<sup>25</sup> Where a person was buried was representative of social status, those of higher economic standing were buried within church grounds whereas the poor were buried outside of the church. However, the ornate nature of funerals and the importance of being buried within church grounds began to diminish with the onset of the Bourbon reforms and the new religious

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<sup>22</sup> Voekel, *Alone Before God*, 221.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>25</sup> The Spanish King, Alfonso the Wise. Voekel, *Alone Before God*, 17.

ideas.<sup>26</sup> The Bourbon reforms and enlightened Catholicism promoted self autonomy, the rise of the individual, which coincided with the collapse of hierarchical society.<sup>27</sup> Thus the reform movement broke down the traditional social order by undermining displays of social rank that the church had supported.<sup>28</sup>

Cofradías became increasingly popular throughout the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Cofradías, also known as brotherhoods or confraternities, were organizations that gave their members a collective identity as well as a sense of spiritual security.<sup>29</sup> Parish priests encouraged the growth of cofradías as a means to promote the liturgy and augment public devotion; and, often, cofradías provided the Church with increased income by funding celebrations and festivals dedicated to the saints (especially the patron saint of a town), the festivities taking place during Holy Week, as well as monthly payments to the Church for membership.<sup>30</sup>

Due to the fact that cofradías contributed revenue to parishes, the Bourbon government implemented laws in 1750 to procure some of that revenue. The civil authorities began to request that parish priests submit reports on how many cofradías were in existence and their income, as well as whether or not the cofradías constitutions were formalized in accordance with the law.<sup>31</sup> Then, in the 1770s and 1780s, officials reviewed the accounts of cofradías as well as insisted that confraternities demonstrate

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Nesvig, Martin Austin. *Local Religion in Colonial Mexico*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006). Chapter 7, Brian Larkin, "Confraternities and Community," 193.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>29</sup> Gibson, *Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 127.

<sup>30</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates*, 305; Gibson, *Aztecs*, 127.

<sup>31</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates*, 308.

their official titles or charters, or face dissolution.<sup>32</sup> Official's effectively suppressed cofradías, confiscated their properties and sold them under the claim that they were functioning illegally.<sup>33</sup> By 1791, a rescript had circulated that prohibited cofradías or any similar type organization from meeting without the presence of a royal official.<sup>34</sup> These prohibitive measures reflected new goals to regulate not only the Church but also other social aspects of life in Mexico.<sup>35</sup>

With the advent of these reforms, the Catholic population no longer had to depend on the corporate forms of public devotion. Communal piety, including participation in festivals and cofradías, was now discouraged by both the civil and religious authorities, while private worship in the home was encouraged. Devotions to the saints and the veneration of images in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were linked to the internalization of piety within the household. Advancing technical progress throughout the era created a boom in printed religious images depicting the saints. Printed religious images thus facilitated an internal examination of an individual's conscience, and could be readily purchased for home display.<sup>36</sup> Placement of religious images were concentrated in the most intimate and private areas of the house, such as the private chapels, the living rooms, and the bedrooms.<sup>37</sup> Such specifications allude to the concept of privacy.<sup>38</sup> Pious exercises performed daily constructed a religious consciousness; images in the home served as

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<sup>32</sup> Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals*, 109.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>34</sup> Brading, *Church and State*, 131.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>36</sup> Lopez, Rosalva Loreto, "Familial Religiosity and Images in the Home: 18th-Century Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico," *Journal of Family History* 22:1 (January 1997): 35.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>38</sup> Jagodzinski, Cecile M., *Privacy and Print*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 13.

constant reminders of religious responsibility.<sup>39</sup> The act of looking at a painting was directly linked to “precise forms of actions...that were essential to the structure of colonial Mexican spirituality and domestic religiosity.”<sup>40</sup> These actions included the reading and contemplation of religious texts, meditation and prayers.<sup>41</sup>

### **Education in Colonial Mexico.**

Increased literacy and the growth of print culture clearly played a role in the efforts to encourage a reformed piety. The push for education, which resulted in a more literate public, was an integral part of Bourbon policy. In the late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, education and the development of an intellectual movement was concentrated in universities and particular branches of the church; however, with the influx of new ideas during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, intellectual circles began to grow outside of such institutions.<sup>42</sup> The authorities aimed to educate the masses as a way to socially engineer Mexican society to an idealized, Europeanized ideology, an ideology influenced by Enlightenment thought which emphasized “reason, science, practicality, and simple clarity of expression.”<sup>43</sup> The ultimate result was a population that was more literate and thus more capable of participating in individual learning and individual piety.

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<sup>39</sup> Lopez, “Familial Religiosity,” 27.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>42</sup> Lockhart, James. *Early Latin America: A History of colonial Spanish America and Brazil*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 344.

<sup>43</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates*, 175. Lockhart, *Early Latin America*, 344.

From the time the Spanish arrived in the New World, hispanization through education had been a primary goal. Serious efforts were made to educate the Native population in both language and Christianity. Initially, “Spanish language training was regarded as an adjunct of Christian education, and schools were maintained in the ecclesiastical *doctrinas*.”<sup>44</sup> However, few Native Americans were actually formally educated. Formal education was limited to the Indian nobility, sons of *principales* and *caciques*.<sup>45</sup> In the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, these educational facilities, such as the Colegio de Santiago at Tlatelolco, declined because of the demographic collapse of the Native American population and increased apathy and neglect on the part of Spanish officials after the danger of indigenous rebellion subsided.<sup>46</sup> Efforts to teach the Spanish language, however, continued. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, a royal law was implemented that required curates in Mexico to educate their parishioners in Spanish; this, however, was never fully implemented.<sup>47</sup>

Education and schooling for Spanish children differed from that of Indian children. Due to the fact that *criollos* and *peninsulares* “wanted to raise their children in the religious and intellectual traditions of Europe... colonists established schools, seminaries, and university in the New World.”<sup>48</sup> *Criollos* and *peninsulares* needed their

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<sup>44</sup> Gibson, *Aztecs*, 147. Following a royal decree of 1770, secular teachers were introduced. At this time, the funding for education also shifted away from the Church. Education expenses, including teachers’ salaries, were to be funded by the community. Gibson, *Aztecs*, 215.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>46</sup> Gibson, *Aztecs*, 382; Once danger of rebellion passed, “educating Indians and mestizos was perceived as not only unwarranted but socially undesirable. Meyer, Michael C., William L. Sherman, and Susan M. Deeds, *The Course Of Mexican History*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 212.

<sup>47</sup> Gibson, *Aztecs*, 149.

<sup>48</sup> Burkholder, Mark A. and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 234.

children to be sufficiently educated to be able to aid their family businesses. Primary schools existed in Spanish communities regardless of size, as well as other advanced educational institutions.<sup>49</sup> Again, it was the Church who initially funded such institutions. In Spanish communities, schools were to transmit and protect the intellectual authority Spain and Western Europe more generally.<sup>50</sup> The institutions were private, and thus costly, making them outside the means of the vast majority of the population.<sup>51</sup>

Although education was mainly emphasized for men and boys in New Spain, women were not completely overlooked by the educational system, although their opportunities were limited.<sup>52</sup> By 1534, female teachers arrived in the New World and opened a school for Indian girls. The curriculum for girls, however, was dramatically different than that for boys. Instead of subjects such as theology, philosophy, logic and Latin, girls were taught how to be good housewives as dictated by Spanish custom.<sup>53</sup> Soon, though, nuns of varying orders established convents and learning institutions to continue the education of women.<sup>54</sup> By joining an Order, an individual secured her education as well as social mobility.<sup>55</sup> Women outside of convent life were often socially dependent on men; nuns, however, had a level of autonomy.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Meyer, *The Course*, 212.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 212

<sup>51</sup> Whereas, the education of the Indian population is most often identified with the Franciscans, the Augustinians and Jesuits were the primary founders and instructors of schools for criollos. *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>53</sup> Gibson, *Aztecs*, 382; Meyer, *The Course*, 212.

<sup>54</sup> Meyer, *The Course*, 212,

<sup>55</sup> Arenal, Electa and Stacey Schlauf. *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in Their Own Works*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 356.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 337.

During the majority of the colonial period the Church had a monopoly on education; however, when the Bourbons came to rule the colonies the motivations and necessities of education in the colonies changed. By the 1750s, the Bourbons consistently emphasized the importance of education for society, especially for the improvement of average Indians.<sup>57</sup> From 1754 to 1810, authorities implemented an education policy designed to further modernize the colony; the state promoted higher education in scientific training and research, as well as began to offer free primary schooling in the effort to transform society at large into productive subjects of the Crown.<sup>58</sup> The officials engaged in “a renewed interest in a kind of social engineering through education.”<sup>59</sup>

With these changes, a larger portion of the population theoretically had access to schooling. All villages were to set up Spanish language schools for boys and girls of all castes.<sup>60</sup> The policy appeared to yield results because in 1754, Archbishop Manuel Rubio y Salinas “claimed that 228 parish schools were founded in his jurisdiction.”<sup>61</sup> Priests and schoolmasters alike were to work side by side to carry out the Crown’s new priority on Spanish language instruction as a way to improve the citizenry (including the Native Americans) and make them more beneficial to the state.<sup>62</sup> This push for education led to the development of what Cañizares-Esguerra calls the “criollo intelligentsia” due to the “rarefied environment characterized by rapid institutional and cultural change brought

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>58</sup> Vaughn, Mary Kay. “Primary Education and Literacy in Nineteenth-Century Mexico,” *Latin American Research Review*. 25: 1, (1990), 33.

<sup>59</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates*, 175.

<sup>60</sup> Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals*, 107.

<sup>61</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates*, 175.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 334.

about by the Bourbon reforms, which challenged the Church's monopoly of knowledge."<sup>63</sup> With the promotion of schooling came a greater enthusiasm for reading and the written word as well as an increase in the number of individuals who could read which would now include more women and children.<sup>64</sup> This increase in readership prompts a boom print culture.

### **Publication, Print Culture and Religious Reform.**

From the time of its inception (both in Mexico and in Western Europe) printing presses were originally used for the reproduction of sacred texts.<sup>65</sup> The first modern press campaigns began with Martin Luther's attack on the Catholic Church with his posting of his *95 Theses* which made accusations against the Church's use of indulgences on the doors of an Augustinian Church in Wittenberg, Germany.<sup>66</sup> The results of Martin Luther's actions were twofold: (1) the Protestant Reformation and (2) the renaissance of print and print culture. The Protestant attack on the Catholic Church was widely spread through the production of printed works.

As a consequence of Protestant publications, the Catholic Church began their own campaign of censorship of certain published texts in Catholic countries. On the last day of the year in 1545, the Council of Trent convened in direct response to the Protestant

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>65</sup> Martin, Henri-Jean. *The History and Power of Writing*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 369.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

Reformation.<sup>67</sup> In its first session, the Council designated the Catholic Church as “the interpreter of the book and the guardian of a custom.”<sup>68</sup> Catholicism was, and still is, a religion of tradition and of the book; text has always been an essential element of the Catholic religion.<sup>69</sup> Thus the Church’s duty was to protect the diffusion of dogma.<sup>70</sup> To do so, the Inquisition played an extensive role in the censorship of immoral and heretical books.<sup>71</sup> The Inquisition drew up indexes and placed ports of Catholic countries under surveillance in the effort to eliminate “bad” books from entering.<sup>72</sup> This control and regulation of books coincided with the Church’s “sponsorship of edifying devotional tracts and learned works of orthodox theology.”<sup>73</sup>

Print was a valuable resource for Tridentine Catholicism as an evangelical tool that allowed for the publication of devotionals such as sermons and other didactic and pastoral texts.<sup>74</sup> Increased printing resulted in greater public access to books, pamphlets, and images that contributed to morally awaken the population at large.<sup>75</sup> Printing and the publication of a variety of works encompassed intertwined political, economic and religious elements of society at large.

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<sup>67</sup> The Council met for purposes of “praise and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; for the increase and exaltation of the Christian faith and religion; for the extirpation of the Clergy and the Christian people; for the depression and extinction of the enemies of the Christian name, -- to decree and declare that sacred and general council of Trent to begin.” Waterworth, *The Council of Trent, The First Session*, 12.

<sup>68</sup> Martin, *The History*, 269.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

<sup>71</sup> Crick, Julie and Alexandra Walsham. *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Chapter 1. Walsham and Crick, “Introduction: Script, Print and History,” 25.

<sup>72</sup> Martin, *The History*, 270-71.

<sup>73</sup> Walsham and Crick, *The Uses*. Chapter 1. Walsham and Crick, “Introduction: Script, Print and History,” 25.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

Although during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries Europe experienced a dramatic print boom, Mexico's experience of such a boom during this time was limited in nature. The first printing press was brought to Mexico in 1539 explicitly to aid missionaries in the Christianization process. The main publications of early colonial printing presses were instructional religious tracts, catechisms, and dictionaries containing translations of Amerindian languages.<sup>76</sup> The printing press in Mexico was highly controlled by the state and the Church, throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in the publication of mostly religious texts. The politics behind the printing and distribution of books in colonial Spanish America were complex. Only a limited number of printing presses existed and censorship was strict. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, this began to change. In conjunction with their efforts to modernize the colony, the Bourbons ordered the Inquisition to ease censorship; this greatly expanded the Mexican book trade. With a larger portion of society having access to schooling, which in turn positively affected literacy rates, and the increase of works available through the book trade, the result was a growth of readership in New Spain. Although Mexican intellectuals published newspapers and periodicals, religious works continued to dominate publications.

### **Theory, Methodology, and Sources.**

This study seeks to examine small religious devotionals to uncover the trends and patterns connected to reformed piety. It also seeks to explain what practices constituted

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<sup>76</sup> Calvo, Hortensia. "The State of the Discipline: The Politics of Print." *Book History* 6 (2003), pp. 277-305, 278.

reformed piety; as well as whether the printing and distribution of these pocket-sized manuals was an additional means to popularize reformed piety.<sup>77</sup> Over 400 devotional exercises, novenas, and triduos, form the backbone of this thesis. The majority of these documents are located at the Lilly Library, Indiana University Bloomington; however, I also consulted supplemental documents from the University of California Berkeley's Bancroft Library and Stanford University's Cecil H. Green Library. What initially makes these religious documents unique is their small size. Ranging from approximately 10 to 15 centimeters in length, they are compact enough to keep in your pocket. Tracking publication data demonstrates a dramatic increase in devotionals published from the mid to late 18th century and into the early 19th century. The majority of these libritos were written by priests, bishops, and archbishops and appear to have been distributed and redistributed sometimes under decree. Thus, it appears that these books were not only a way for individuals to experience interior piety, but were also a means for the clergy to regulate Catholic religion and encourage "new" piety within their parishes. The books were a didactic tool for priests, and parishioners alike, that sought to centralize certain beliefs and negate elements of unorthodox piety.

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<sup>77</sup> Jose Toribio Medina's *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios espanoles de America y Oceania* is a valuable resource for this project due to the fact that Medina provides the first history of the printing press in Latin America as well as a prolific bibliography of the works printed within the first presses. Medina's work will be utilized as a cross reference to demonstrate that the sample under analysis is not unique but rather representative of print culture in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Medina, Jose Toribio. *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios espanoles de America y Oceania*. (Argentina: Talleres del Museo de la Plata. 1892). Although Medina's work is indispensable to the understanding of the production of printed works in Mexico City, the bibliography provided, by nature, minimizes "social, cultural and intellectual contexts that are crucial for explaining the growth of a popular press." Stevens, Kevin. "Vincenzo Girardone and the Popular Press in 19<sup>th</sup>- Century Milan, A Case Study (1570)," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*. 26:3 (Autumn, 1995)," 624.

Although the vast majority of these documents were printed with the appropriate licenses and dedicated to particular bishops or archbishops, there is little information available regarding the distribution of these texts. It is safe to assume, however, because of the nature of the publishing business, that there was a market and demand for a product if the work was printed or reprinted.<sup>78</sup> It is also safe to assume that, “if model sermons for preachers existed in enormous numbers, and could be used again and again, then printing’s importance in popularizing orthodox religion is relativised.”<sup>79</sup> Through an inventory of the primary sources, it is apparent that print culture was an urban phenomenon. Printing presses were located only in main urban centers such as Mexico City and Puebla de los Angeles. For the purposes of this study, only those that were printed in Mexico City are under analysis.<sup>80</sup> It should be noted that Mexico City and its environs were the most successful areas of Bourbon educational reform.

In this study, I will classify the text according to subject, designated audience, author, publisher or publishing house, and publication date. I will tabulate, not only the number and frequency of publication of the devotionals, but, whether or not there was an increase over time. Devotionals will then be categorized (1) by those that were written for communal purposes, such as sermons, and (2) those that were produced for the individual or for specific groups including women and children who represented a new readership. I will then categorize the devotionals thematically. I will analyze those

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<sup>78</sup> Edwards, Mark U. Jr. *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*. Berkeley: (University of California Press, 1994), 8.

<sup>79</sup> Walsham and Crick, *The Uses*. Chapter 3. David D’Avray, “Printing, mass communication, and religious reformation,” 51.

<sup>80</sup> Although some of these devotionals specify parishes outside of the urban center itself, the mass majority do not.

dedicated to a specific saint and ascertain what religious practices they encouraged. For those written for the individual, I will examine the focus of the devotional, the language utilized, and if the devotional was a specific type of prayer, meditation or didactic tool for the reader.

I will also investigate the type of religiosity that was encouraged. For those that are written for a specific group of people, I will explore their content to determine whether they were written as a guide, a learning tool, or as a means for the author to demonstrate his knowledge. I will also analyze the devotionals to determine the type of religiosity that was encouraged throughout the century to ascertain whether or not the same saints were continually at the center of these devotionals or if there was an emphasis on God and Jesus, as is characteristic of enlightened piety. Finally, I will examine the actual instructions set forth to the reader. This, along with the aforementioned analysis, will allow me to explain and describe the works in my efforts to determine their historical significance. Through the examination of these devotionals, I will look for signs of both “new” piety and Baroque piety in effort to analyze ongoing trends connected to religiosity in this time period.

This study will incorporate history of the book because it is integral to view these libritos not only as a category of literature (religious devotionals) but rather as a process.<sup>81</sup> To analyze these works as a process is to “think about the reception, the composition, the material existence, and the cultural production of what is called *the*

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

*book.*<sup>82</sup> Studies of *the book* and book culture attempt to find links between readers and authors in an attempt to place a relationship between the two.<sup>83</sup> The devotional booklets under analysis were printed in the vernacular and were part of the renaissance of a popular press in Mexico. In Kevin Steven's article concerning the popular press in 16<sup>th</sup> century Milan, he notes that " 'popular printing' signifies production of those materials read by a wide audience, from the highly educated to the functionally literate, with a variety of tastes."<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, popular texts tended to be written in the vernacular and presented in a simple manner.<sup>85</sup> Because these texts were simple in nature they fell within the budget of a larger demographic of customers.<sup>86</sup> Also, the increase in printed material indicated an increase in literacy that sustains the book trade and the production and publication of printed works.<sup>87</sup> The printing press "created a sociological revolution" that, in turn, changed the way "people thought about and imagined themselves."<sup>88</sup> The increase of works accessible to the private citizen promoted a sense of personal autonomy that allowed people to practice religious devotions in the privacy of their own home.<sup>89</sup> Whereas, initially people had to depend on communal structures and parish priests to provide them the opportunity and outlet to partake in religious devotions, the growth of print culture, increased publication and accessibility of the printed word, as well as literacy enabled people the opportunity to partake in individual piety.

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<sup>82</sup> Howsam, Leslie. *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 3.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>84</sup> Stevens, "Vincenzo Girardone," 640.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 640.

<sup>86</sup> "Printed on low quality paper and in a cheap binding." Stevens, "Vincenzo Girardone," 640.

<sup>87</sup> Black, Jeremy. *Culture and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997). John Feather, "The Power of Print: Word and Image in 18th-Century England," 66.

<sup>88</sup> Jagodinski, *Privacy and Print*, 6,7.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

The popular press and production of printed texts relates directly to the literate population. Unfortunately, to date, no studies have been published on the literacy rates of the population in Mexico City during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. What is known, is that the Bourbons instituted an “official focus on education” of all those residing in the capital and outlying areas.<sup>90</sup> Literacy among the Indian population developed in a similar manner as instruction; literacy, depended on accessibility to instruction, and thus, social rank.<sup>91</sup> The majority of the native population, however, even with the implementation of Bourbon policy toward education, remained illiterate throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>92</sup> It is safe to assume that the criollo population, however, had higher literacy rates than Indians and mestizos because of the availability and accessibility to schools and education. Therefore, the majority of people who purchased and utilized these devotionals were no doubt criollos and peninsulares due to perceived social means and literacy rates. Also, the fact that there was an increase in publications specifically written for women and children during this time indicates a rise in their literacy.

### **Literature Review.**

Although religion in the colonial period was an integral aspect of life in New Spain, as a topic of scholarly interest, it has not received a commensurate amount of

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<sup>90</sup> Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals*, 100.

<sup>91</sup> Gibson, *Aztecs*, 149.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

scholarship. Works focusing on 18<sup>th</sup>-century religion are especially limited. William Taylor's work *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth Century Mexico* is the most well-rounded interpretation of the conflict in attitudes and policies regarding the Church, the State, and the lay people in 18<sup>th</sup> century Mexico. Taylor seeks to "discern the religious situation of parish priests and their congregations at the end of the colonial period and explain their role, if any, in insurrection and the push for independence from Spain."<sup>93</sup> Nancy M. Fariss' work *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821* and D. A. Brading's *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico* are also important works that focus on religion during the Bourbon era. In *Crown and Clergy*, Fariss traces Crown policy from the Hapsburg regime and the patronato and vicariato systems to the Bourbon dynasty with the implementation of the Caroline program as a way to illuminate the changing policies between the two that resulted and culminated in the hegemonic struggles between the Church and Crown.<sup>94</sup> Brading's work complements Fariss' in that he, too, traces the issues arising between the regular and secular orders and the Crown and Church. However, Brading also attempts to assess how the Baroque culture of late Tridentine Catholicism served to create an arena within religion that united the intellectual elite with the masses both in terms of devotion and aesthetics; he specifically highlights the transition between Tridentine Catholicism and a new more

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<sup>93</sup> Schoeder, Susan. "Review: Magistrates of the Sacred." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*. 67 (March 1999), 199, 258.

<sup>94</sup> Fariss pays special attention to the rivalry and the relationship between the regular orders and the secular orders that arose due to specific policies of the Crown. Whereas, initially the regular orders (Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Jesuits) had been granted special exemptions and powers in the early colonial period in effort to aid them in their task of evangelization, as time passed these exemptions and powers began to take on more serious political and judicial undertones giving the Church power that the Bourbon Crown saw as a threat to their royal absolutism.

individual form of Catholicism. Brading notes that the Bourbon attack on the Church upset the balance between Church and State and resulted in a weakening of Tridentine spirituality in the colonies.<sup>95</sup>

Pamela Voekel's work *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico* was the first book published that looked directly at Tridentine Catholicism and "enlightened Catholicism," during the latter 18<sup>th</sup> century in Veracruz. She finds that religious ceremonies, including funerals, during the Baroque period focused on radiating "external magnificence" as a way to show one's devotion to God and the Church.<sup>96</sup> This, however, began to change in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century due to the influence of enlightened thought on Mexican society. Voekel maintains that with the influence of the Protestant reformation and the Enlightenment, a "new" piety came to Mexico between the years of 1767 and 1827 that stressed the individual and refuted the ornate gatherings and expenditures to the Church.<sup>97</sup> New piety meant that it was no longer necessary for the Church alone to mediate between the individual soul and God. Voekel concludes that "In Mexico, the enlightened did not remove themselves from divine sanctification, as Taylor, Farriss, Gruzinski, Hale, and Franco suggest, rather, they employed a different definition of it, and to different ends."<sup>98</sup>

Rosalva Loreto Lopez takes a different methodological approach to examine the role of individual religiosity. Lopez provides a material and household cultural analysis

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<sup>95</sup> Brading also claims that the repudiation of Baroque Catholicism by the Crown and Jansenists led to a growing fissure between popular religion and the educated opinion. Brading, *Church and State*, 167-169.

<sup>96</sup> Voekel, *Alone Before God*, 25.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

in her article, “Familial Religiosity and Images in the Home: Eighteenth-Century Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico.” She examines home altars and the internalization of piety in 18th-century Puebla de los Angeles. She argues that “the acts of seeing and looking at paintings were linked to precise forms of action (contemplation, reading of religious texts, prayer and meditation) that were essential to the structure of colonial Mexican spirituality and domestic religiosity.”<sup>99</sup> By focusing on the home (spatial orientation and placement of images), Lopez finds that as the 18<sup>th</sup> century came to a close, individuals utilized the private spaces of the home to perform individual, internal, piety.

Brian Larkin takes yet another approach to the subject of the growing influence of individual religiosity in his essay, “Confraternities and Community: The Decline of the Communal Quest for Salvation in 18th-Century Mexico City.” Larkin analyzes the attack on confraternities throughout the second half of the 18th century and connects it to the new religious ideology that focused greater concentration on the individual rather than the community. Larkin notes that confraternities were “the highest expression of [the] concept of Christian community.”<sup>100</sup> However, with the placement of reformed bishops and archbishops into Mexican society and Bourbon decrees that negatively affected the economics of the brotherhoods, the number of *cofradías* rapidly declined, leaving only those that the state mandated. Whereas, *cofradías* were originally established as “a way to ensure salvation through a set of mutual religious obligations

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<sup>99</sup> Lopez, “Familial Religiosity,” 27.

<sup>100</sup> Nesvig, *Local Religion*, 192. In Brian Larkin’s essay, “Confraternities.”

that bound individual Catholics together in a devotional community,” a collective identity, reformed ideology exalted the individual and the internalization of piety.<sup>101</sup>

In the historiography of colonial Mexico, scholarship on 18<sup>th</sup> century religion and Bourbon Reforms is limited. Few studies have focused on the cultural and institutional changes occurring in the official discourse of Catholicism and the nature of religiosity during this period. In addition, although studies have been written that look at the Bourbon Reforms in general terms or include them as a side note, few studies attempt to trace the specific effects that the reforms, as well as the onset of enlightened thought, had on society at large.<sup>102</sup> This void in the historiography is also true of print culture.

Print culture in 18<sup>th</sup> century-Mexico has yet to be a focus of scholarly analysis. Certain methodological considerations must therefore be made in an effort to understand print culture. The majority of studies examine the introduction of the printing press to New Spain in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the growth and censorship of print throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In “The State of the Discipline: The Politics of Print,” Hortensia Calvo provides an extensive overview of the history of print in Latin America as well as a historiography of the current literature and studies. Calvo notes that, by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the preoccupation with evangelization of the Amerindians dissipated and was replaced with the necessity of educating European settlers and criollos.<sup>103</sup> This information is reflected by tracing the types of published works originating in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries; and,

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<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>102</sup> Recently studies on the Bourbon era have begun to take a more cultural turn and thus scholars are attempting to negotiate the effects of the reforms and dynast on society and societal views. See Viqueria-Alban, *Propriety and Permissiveness* (2004); Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, (2004), and Katzew, *Casta Painting* (2004).

<sup>103</sup> Calvo, “The State,” 278, 279.

Calvo finds that, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, “religious works and official publications such as printed sermons for funeral and religious celebrations, hagiographies, chronicles of religious orders, royal decrees, and other legal provisions, as well as officially sanctioned histories of the New World, chronicles of local events, and works on military topics predominated, [and] reflect[ed] the social and political uses of printing among urban elites.”<sup>104</sup> In Magdalena Chocano Mena’s “Colonial Printing and Metropolitan Books: Printed Texts and the Shaping of Scholarly Culture in New Spain, 1539-1700,” she addresses how “printing allowed [for] the standardization and duplication of texts.”<sup>105</sup> Western scholars have depicted the printing press “as having generated radical change for scholarly culture because it opened manifold possibilities for the circulation of knowledge and information.”<sup>106</sup> The historiography of New Spain still needs to address this claim. Mena, attempts this, arguing against a renaissance in print culture similar to that which occurred in Europe under the premise that the introduction of the printing press in Mexico did not correlate to a period of religious dissension. In this project, parts of Mena’s argument will be challenged in that I argue that a renaissance in print did occur, although at a later date than that of Europe and outside of the scope of Mena’s article. The print renaissance in Mexico, too, was linked to religious reform and resulted in a radical change in intellectual culture and created a mass communication movement. In her work, Mena notes that printed texts reached a limited population of literate colonists. Her research, however, supports the idea that readership was growing as were

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<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 279.

<sup>105</sup> Chocano Mena, Magdalena. “Colonial Print and Metropolitan Books: Printed Texts and the Shaping of Scholarly Culture in New Spain, 1539-1700,” *Latin American Historical Review*. 6:1 (Winter 1997), 69.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

the number of intellectuals and scholars in the New Spain and that this is “visible” through the increase in printed works throughout these two centuries.<sup>107</sup>

David Brading’s *First America*, and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra’s *How to Write the History of the New World*, examine the cultural developments and growth of an intellectual class in colonial Latin America. “By the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, Spain [and its colonies] had acquired a reputation for intellectual retardation.”<sup>108</sup> The overall perception of the New World was that no important or intellectual works came out of the colonies.<sup>109</sup> Brading and Cañizares-Esguerra seek to overturn this myth. Taken together, the works provide an argument for the growth of a creole intellectual class culminating in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The authors demonstrate the development of a learned and nationalistic, Mexican, class on the eve of revolution. The works also give a greater explanation of the impact of the Enlightenment in the Spanish American colonies. Torre Revello’s *El libro, la imprenta*, is also integral because Revello provides a basic history of local printing, the circulation of imported books, and the rise of newspapers in 18<sup>th</sup> century Latin America. Additionally, Jose Luis Martinez’s *El Libro en Hispanoamerica* is among notable published works that focuses on key moments in print history and Julie Greer Johnson’s *The Book in the Americas* also provides insight into the history of print. A survey of history of the book *Introducción a la Historia del Libro y de las Bibliotecas*, by Agustín Millares Carlo which looks at the establishment and development of printing in Latin

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<sup>107</sup> “Most of whom were bureaucrats and members of religious institutions,” *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>108</sup> Brading, *First America*, 423.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 428, 429

America while also including a history of libraries also provides general information to this project.<sup>110</sup>

An analysis of these booklets will contribute to the scholarship in a multitude of ways. This study will address the changing concepts of internal piety in colonial Mexico City. It will examine what internal piety actually looked like and how this piety was constituted from an official perception. This study will analyze 18<sup>th</sup> century religiosity through the lens of the written word and thus, as a natural consequence, raise questions about literacy, readership, and the development of a criollo intellectual class. At a very basic level, this study will also add to the history of print culture because the content and publication of these primary sources have not been researched in-depth. The history of print has centered on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in Mexico; no studies have focused on the 18<sup>th</sup> century. During this time, the printing industry in Mexico was growing rapidly; and, there were many changing policies in terms of censorship and an increased impact of Enlightenment thought. This is integral to this study because the 18<sup>th</sup> century represents the renaissance of print culture in New Spain. I posit that this boom in print culture, similar to European counterparts, was fueled by a new form of piety.

This thesis will examine the authorship and publication of numerous religious devotionals through the 18<sup>th</sup> century in conjunction with a growing readership and literate population. Chapter two examines the publishing boom that occurred in New Spain in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as well as the increase in education and literacy. Chapter three specifically examines the libritos that encouraged interior piety after 1750. The fourth

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<sup>110</sup> Calvo, "The State," 284, 285.

chapter focuses on libritos in which new audiences were identified—women and children who represented a new readership.

From prayers, to novenas and triduos and guides for self reflection, these booklets encouraged individuals to connect with God and the saints without the intermediary of a priest. The pocket-size and specified devotional nature of these books allowed parishioners to interact with God in the privacy of their own homes. No longer was it necessary for people to solely participate in public acts and communal devotions (such as festivals and processions) to prove their piety. By reading these devotional materials, believers were able to remain within the privacy of their homes to practice and participate in the Catholic faith through individual religiosity and the internalization of piety.

## Chapter 2: Education, Literacy, and the Renaissance of Print Culture

As a type of communication the book represents a form of canonized knowledge.

<sup>111</sup> The printing press and the popularization of the press enabled individual access to such knowledge. With printing, the book “more than ever appeared as a symbolic object whose very possession conferred ownership of learning and ideologies.”<sup>112</sup> Mass production and public access to the book, alongside of an education that provided a foundation for reading, created a mass communication movement that changed the shape of society. No longer did people have to rely on authorities, whether civil or religious, to read to them or to enable their participation in communal activities and devotions. If they had received an education, individuals were able to read for themselves and participate in a new type of learning, a learning in which they could teach themselves. Inhabitants could stay up to date on events and ideas that were being published as well as practice of their religion within the privacy of their own homes. In addition, with reading and access to the book came the concept of the private self different than before.

At the dawn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Bourbon dynasty came to rule Spain and her colonies and, under their influence and the influence of the Enlightenment, Mexico began a profound social, cultural, economic and political transition. Most historians agree that during this period, “Mexico entered a period of rapid change linked to the development of the modern state, penetration of the market, and a process of secularization.”<sup>113</sup> An

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<sup>111</sup> Martin, *History and Power*, 302.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>113</sup> Vaughn, “Primary Education,” 32.

integral part of this change was a new emphasis on education and the resulting intellectual movement. With the Bourbons focus on education and the growth of a Creole intellectual class, the 18<sup>th</sup> century defined the development of a more literate population in Mexico.<sup>114</sup> Directly linked to the influence of education and increase in literacy, as well as the “modernizing” nation, was a boom in printed materials. The increased availability and accessibility of printed works, and the productivity of publishing houses allowed for the distribution of a variety of knowledge to a larger audience. Thus education, literacy and print culture moved hand in hand in the 18<sup>th</sup> century to redefine intellectual milieu of the capital.

### **Early Colonial Foundation.**

Although the 18<sup>th</sup> century marked dramatic changes in terms of educational policy, literacy and printing, the foundations for those changes were laid in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. From the onset of colonization, the Spanish crown was concerned with educating both the native and the Spanish populations that resided within the colonies in Spanish culture and Christianity. The first educators to come to the colonies were members of the regular, monastic, orders of the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jesuits. These religious orders were primarily responsible for the cultural and intellectual achievements of the Spanish colony.<sup>115</sup> That being said, the majority of children throughout the colony, whether Spanish or Indian, were not educated; though criollos, by and large, were better educated than Native Americans. Thus, although the monastic

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<sup>114</sup> Curcio, *Great Festivals*, 100.

<sup>115</sup> Meyers, *The Course*, 209. Whereas, “the Franciscans [were] most identified with early education of Indians...the Jesuits and Augustinians were foremost in instructing criollos.” *Ibid.*, 212.

orders provided religious instruction, they did not succeed in educating the general population.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century serious attempts at Indian education were made in effort to “bring the Indian into the new social order.”<sup>116</sup> Education for the Native population was limited to the sons of nobility who were 10 to 12 years of age.<sup>117</sup> The most famous native educational institutions was the the Colegio de Santa Cruz Tlatelolco, inaugurated on January 6, 1536.<sup>118</sup> The Colegio was the first of its kind in America, and was ran by the Franciscans who instructed the boys in liberal arts including Latin, philosophy, logic, and theology.<sup>119</sup> Initially the college was a boarding school for the boys, however, later non-resident students also attended classes.<sup>120</sup> The school reached its peak in 1573; however, shortly thereafter the college started its decline. By 1595, the Colegio was converted from a liberal arts college to an elementary school for the Indian children of the city.<sup>121</sup> The demise of the school was due to: the decimation of the Indian population due to several epidemics throughout the century, and the continual actions of careless administrators who were careless and did not pay attention to certain problems within the school.<sup>122</sup> By the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, due to the neglect by Spaniards of formal Indian teaching, there was an obvious decline in the education of the Indian population

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<sup>116</sup> Estarellas, Juan. “The College of Tlatelolco and the Problem of Higher Education for Indians in 16<sup>th</sup> Century Mexico.” *History of Education Society*. 2:4 (December 1962), 234.

<sup>117</sup> Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 382.

<sup>118</sup> Estarellas, “The College of Tlatelolco,” 235.

<sup>119</sup> Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 382.

<sup>120</sup> Estarellas, “The College of Tlatelolco,” 236.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 240, 241.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

and of educational institutions in Mexico City.<sup>123</sup> Even though education declined, religious orders continued to play a part in education throughout the colonial period.

Among the most influential religious orders, in terms of education was the Company of Jesus. The Jesuits arrived in New Spain in 1572, and immediately set out to aid in the process of education and Christianization of the native peoples.<sup>124</sup> By the end of the 1570s, “through preaching, ministering to the needy, and missionary work, but above all through gaining a near monopoly on secondary education in New Spain, members of the Jesuit society achieved a position of prestige and influence within all strata of society.”<sup>125</sup> In many respects, Jesuit education in Mexico conformed to the Spanish adaptation of the principles of Ignatius Loyola.<sup>126</sup> The Jesuits utilized typical texts, such as colloquies and grammar manuals that contained dialogues as models for their teachings.<sup>127</sup> Education was primarily centered on Christian content and had a religious purpose; in fact religion was to pervade all levels of schooling, and provide a foundation for the progress in virtue and self-denial.<sup>128</sup> Once the order was established, “certain Jesuit attitudes and activities became institutionalized in such a way as to continue to reinforce, although they did not introduce, this essentially Christian, but specifically Spanish, set of cultural, social, and political assumptions or beliefs.”<sup>129</sup> This made the Jesuit *colegios* attractive to prominent colonial families; the Jesuits thus played

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<sup>123</sup> Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 382.

<sup>124</sup> Liss, “Jesuit,” 449

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 449.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 452. “Ignatius Loyola had, in the fourth part of his Constitutions of the Order, not only stated the value of formal education but also set down a guide to the purpose of curriculum, subject matter, and methods to be followed in Jesuit schools.” *Ibid.*, 449, 450.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 451.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 450, 456.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 457.

an integral role in the secondary education of the criollo population.<sup>130</sup> Up until their expulsion in 1767, the Jesuits dominated higher education with the exception of the royal and pontifical universities.<sup>131</sup>

Although educational institutions, in general, declined in number during the early colonial period, ecclesiastics, civil authorities, and settlers pushed for the creation of universities.<sup>132</sup> In 1545, Viceroy Antonio Mendoza requested that a university be opened in Mexico where “both natives and creoles could orient themselves in ‘the things of our holy Catholic faith and in the remaining faculties.’”<sup>133</sup> Although the university would not be built during Mendoza’s reign, in 1551, Charles V and the Queen Mother declared “with a solemn declaration that their motives were ‘to honor and favour our Indies and to dissipate the clouds of ignorance,’ ...[and they] authorized the two pioneer American Universities by declaring that ‘we create, found and constitute in the City of Lima of the Kingdom of Peru, and in the City of Mexico of New Spain, schools and universities’ with the privileges, exemptions, and limitations of the University of Salamanca.”<sup>134</sup> By 1553, the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, was inaugurated, and became the first active university in the New World.<sup>135</sup> The creation and establishment of the University of Mexico gave opportunities for Spaniards who traveled to New Spain, as well as Native

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<sup>130</sup> Burkholder, *Colonial Latin America*, 234.

<sup>131</sup> Lanning, John Tate, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*. (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1940,) 22.

<sup>132</sup> Burkholder, *Colonial Latin America*, 234.

<sup>133</sup> Lanning, *Academic Culture*, 16. He “was so eager to Hispanize the natives and to bring the educational amenities to the viceroyalty that he made a donation of some cattle ranches to the proposed university as a symbol of his hope and faith.” *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

elites, to have a professional or literary career.<sup>136</sup> The student body of the University was composed “solely of males, most of whom came from ambitious middle- and well-to-do creole families...[although] by law the Indians, particularly Indian nobles, were permitted entry” into the University, few actually attended.<sup>137</sup> As far as attendance by other castes, “the 1775 edition of the constitutions of the University of Mexico still excluded the Negro, mulatto, “Chino Moreno,” or any descendent slaves.”<sup>138</sup> The University’s curriculum focused on the “seven columns,” or seven academic chairs, including scripture, canons, theology, art (metaphysics, logic, physics), decretals, rhetoric, and law, as well as the basics of the Latin language.<sup>139</sup>

In addition to the establishment of colegios and universities, in 1539 the first printing press was brought to New Spain for the production of religious material to aid in the religious conversion of the native population.<sup>140</sup> The press was to support the preservation and the expansion of Spanish Culture in the colonies.<sup>141</sup> In general, the history of the printing press is recognized as generating change for scholarly culture due to the manner in which it opened up the possibilities for the circulation of, and mass communication of, information and knowledge.<sup>142</sup> The printing press, by its nature, aided in the construction of an intellectual class and culture.<sup>143</sup> In colonial Mexico, the evolution of printing was shaped by the coexistence of ecclesiastical and civil

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<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>137</sup> Burkholder, *Colonial Latin America*, 235.

<sup>138</sup> Lanning, *Academic Culture*, 40.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 18. The University of Mexico, as well as other universities within the Spanish colonies, proliferated throughout the colonial period. By the end of the period, “well over 20 institutions had conferred nearly 150,000 university degrees.” Burkholder, *Colonial Latin America*, 234.

<sup>140</sup> Lanning, *Academic Culture.*, 71.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

bureaucracies, and the prevalence and power of religious institutions and Christianity. In the colony.<sup>144</sup> The institution of printing, from its inception, was highly centralized and therefore, it makes sense that the first viceroy (Mendoza) and the first archbishop (Juan de Zumarraga) would be advocates of printing.<sup>145</sup>

Colonial education institutions and the university helped create a literate or an intellectual sector composed primarily of clerics, attorneys, criollos and peninsulares, and elite natives and mestizos. The book trade during the early colonial period reflected the intellectual revolution within New Spain. Due to the fact that publishing houses were small in number and the cost of printing was rather high due to expensive materials and mechanical working parts, the book trade in Mexico initially consisted of a high number of books printed imported from Spain. The initial development of colonial intellectual life was dependent on European books that provided “the necessary framework of references and authorities to which a colonial scholar could appeal in order to validate his own intellectual constructions.”<sup>146</sup> Although, European books initially surpassed the number of works being printed in Mexico, this would begin to change in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when publishing houses became more prominent and the cost of materials reduced.

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<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 71. Torre Villar, Ernesto de la, *Breve Historia del Libro en Mexico*. (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autonma de Mexico, 1999,) 46. A topic of debate throughout the scholarship of print in the New World was what was the first printed work in the New World? It has been determined that the first book printed in Mexico was the *Escala spiritual de San Juan Clímaco*, translated by Juan Estrada, of the cloister Fray Juan de la Magdalena, printed sometime between 1536 and 1537 by Esteban Martin. The first established printer and printing house in Mexico, however, was Juan Pablos Lombardo, who was commissioned by Juan Cromberger in Sevilla. He was commissioned to go to Mexico, with official licenses, to print and publish all the necessary books of Christian doctrine and books on all types of sciences. Juan Pablos was sent to Mexico “con oficiales e imprenta de todo el aparejo necesario para imprimir libros de doctrina Cristiana, de todos maneras de ciencias.” Torre Villar, *Breve Historia*, 46.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

Between 1539 and 1600, religious works, royal decrees, and rules for *cofradías* dominated Spanish vernacular printing in the colony.<sup>147</sup> Print was praised by Tridentine clergymen who deemed the printing press as a valuable evangelical tool.<sup>148</sup> The printed text was essential in “establishing and reproducing a canon for those who preached in the vernacular.”<sup>149</sup> While, originally religious texts in New Spain were printed in Spanish with a side by side translation in Nahuatl, the 17<sup>th</sup> century signified the Hispanization of the press; and the decline of works written in both languages.<sup>150</sup> For the most part, the reasons for the Hispanization of the press are similar to the reasons for the decline in education during this same period. Hispanization occurred for several reasons including the massive decline of the Native population due to several epidemics, the migration of large numbers of Indians to urban areas which resulted in a more numerous *mestizo* population, and the consolidation of creole-peninsular regions in the colony.<sup>151</sup> The one distinctly different reason for the Hispanization of the press, however, may “have been related to the rise of a local intellectual sector firmly interested in promoting itself before a public conversant with Spanish.”<sup>152</sup>

In the early colonial period, censorship, as well as the exorbitant costs of printing, played a key role in the extent to which the printing press, and the book trade more generally, were able to influence colonists. Censorship allowed authorities to control

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<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>148</sup> Walsham, *The Uses of Script*, 25.

<sup>149</sup> Mena, “Colonial Printing,” 71.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

printed texts that promoted particular agendas within the colony.<sup>153</sup> Whereas, it was the job of secular officials to approve a particular work to be licensed for print, it was the job of the Inquisition to expurgate works without such licenses, or works listed in the index. In Mexico, as in Spain, the Inquisition played a major role in censorship; due to the fact that printing allowed the duplication and standardization of texts, which on the one hand facilitated both scientific communication but on the other was troublesome to the religious sphere.<sup>154</sup>

The Inquisition was guided by Tridentine policy. In 1545, the Council of Trent clarified the essential nature of text in the faith. The Council reaffirmed that the Catholic religion was both a religion of the book and a religion of tradition. The Church thus, “considered it logical that it be designated by the supreme Power as the interpreter of the book and the guardian of a custom.”<sup>155</sup> It was up to the Church to thereby determine what texts were or were not acceptable to be available to the populace. In effort to do this, the Inquisition took on the active role of being the authorities of repressive censorship.<sup>156</sup> After the Council of Trent, the Church, through the Inquisition and Indexes, continued its efforts to control the production and distribution of works considered heretical and immoral.<sup>157</sup> In conjunction with these attempts of censorship,

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<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>155</sup> Matin, *The History and Power*, 269.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

<sup>157</sup> Walsham, *Uses of Script*, 25. To clarify, censorship was established as a way to defend the faith, not “to prevent the circulation of indecent works.” Schons, Dorothy. *New World Studies Book II: Book Censorship in New Spain*. Austin: Edwards Brothers Inc. 1949.

the Church sponsored the production and distribution of approved learned works of orthodoxy and devotional tracts.<sup>158</sup>

In Mexico, the Inquisition was given the power to prohibit the circulation of books that were not specifically included in the Index.<sup>159</sup> However, it was the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Spain that had the last word on what books could be circulated in Mexico.<sup>160</sup> Inquisitors censored books that they thought could harm the faithful by reading them; it was their obligation to control the incoming of printed works that wither undermined or attacked the religious culture of the colony.<sup>161</sup> This task fell mainly on the Veracruz commissaries who were responsible for the close examination of goods entering the port of San Juan de Ulúa. These commissaries checked the passports of sailors and passengers as well as searched through the luggage of all those entering the port, looking for and confiscating prohibited books.<sup>162</sup> Books found by the commissaries were confiscated, inventories made, and then works were sent to the *aduana* (custom house) where they were examined before returning them to their owners.<sup>163</sup> Although the inquisitors of the Holy Office were supposed thorough and vehement in their searches, it is undoubtedly true that there were times when censorship waned.<sup>164</sup> Further, the fact that many “new editions of books were published, sometimes of books listed in the Index for expurgation, proved that the Inquisition did not interfere with intellectual life as much

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<sup>158</sup> Walsham, *Uses of Script*, 25.

<sup>159</sup> Mena, “Colonial Printing,” 85.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 86, 87, and Greenleaf, Richard E. *The Mexican Inquisition of the Sixteenth Century*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 182.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>164</sup> Schon, *Book Censorship*, xviii.

as has been supposed.”<sup>165</sup> Contraband also played a significant part in books that were traded and read throughout the colony. Although “censorship and constant surveillance of the texts printed and traded in the colony involved intellectuals in the pursuit of strict doctrinal position and the protection of elite knowledge,” censorship in the colony was not uniform.<sup>166</sup> Colonial institutions and intellectuals modified and adapted censorship standards in accordance with the beliefs of the time.<sup>167</sup> Inquisitorial administrative documents and book lists reveal that, even in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the colonists of New Spain read many books, including both books that were permitted by the Inquisition as well as those that were not.<sup>168</sup>

### **18<sup>th</sup> century Boom: Education, Literacy, and Printing.**

The 18<sup>th</sup> century represented a time of great change in New Spain. Not only did it herald the arrival of Bourbon rule in the colony, but migration patterns to the capital increased. The current historiography of demographic trends in Mexico City pay most attention to the role of “famines, epidemics, and insurgency in driving the rural population to the city in sudden spurts and little to the continuous and predictable movement of certain peoples into the cities as part of their life and career choices or to the qualities of the larger city that made them notably attractive destinations.”<sup>169</sup> Mexico City was the center of higher education in New Spain, and it attracted migrants in pursuit

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<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, xviii.

<sup>166</sup> Mena, “Colonial Printing,” 89.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>168</sup> Greenleaf, *The Mexican Inquisition*, 183.

<sup>169</sup> Robinson, David, J. *Migration in Colonial Spanish America*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 193-194.

of intellectual training and careers.<sup>170</sup> Mexico City also was the seat of power and commerce in the colony as well as the largest population center. It offered advantages and cultural and social possibilities for people that more rural areas could not; these advantages enjoyed by the capital are illustrative of the aspirations and desires of the colonial elite.<sup>171</sup>

Reformers implemented new ideas and policies in the capital and its environs. The Bourbons ruled Mexico with a clear idea of how they wanted to mold the population. The term “urbanidad,” or civility, was used by new officials “to explain their social policies, implying that they had some clear criteria to determine what was culturally acceptable.”<sup>172</sup> Highly influenced by the Enlightenment, the Bourbon’s re-instituted an official focus on education. Whereas schooling during the early colonial period waned, the influx of Enlightenment thought during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century caused education to once again flourish.<sup>173</sup>

Recent studies identify the origins of modern Mexican primary education during the period of Bourbon reforms (1754-1810) due to the enthusiasm placed on education spawned by the Enlightenment.<sup>174</sup> It was during this period that the first steps were made to introduce free primary schooling in the effort to modernize society.<sup>175</sup> Numerous educational facilities were built primarily in urban areas; but, under Bourbon decree all villages were to establish schools that championed the Spanish language as a way to

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<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>172</sup> Curcio, *Great Festivals*, 108.

<sup>173</sup> Vaughn, “Primary Education,” 31.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

continue efforts of hispanization, assimilation and modernization.<sup>176</sup> Indian communities were included in these actions. The state provided many of these communities with schools that taught them Spanish; also, the state took control over their resources in order to integrate them into the larger colonial society and increase Indian consumption of Spanish market goods.<sup>177</sup>

In the latter half of the 1700s, education was, theoretically, free and available to all peoples that resided within the colonies. Children were taught by both the church and secular teachers regardless of their race, caste, or class.<sup>178</sup> Schooling was characterized by the “significant interpenetration between religious and public powers in primary education.”<sup>179</sup> Both the Church and the State aided in the emergence of a more modern and open society that emerged at the end of the century and into the next.<sup>180</sup>

The State’s education program was facilitated by the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 because after the expulsion, the state further promoted scientific training and research to prepare students for more “useful” careers.<sup>181</sup> Both ecclesiastic and civil authorities found it important to emphasize education to promote more modern forms of behavior.<sup>182</sup> This is not to say, however, that the reformers altered the religious content of the curriculum. The religious content stayed intact under the belief that religious instruction both saved souls and molded colonists into pious and loyal citizens.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Curcio, *Great Festivals*, 109.

<sup>177</sup> Vaughn, “Primary Education,” 33, 34.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>182</sup> Curcio, *Great Festivals*, 107, 108.

<sup>183</sup> Vaughn, “Primary Education,” 34.

Following a royal decree of 1770, secular teachers (*maestros de escuela*) were introduced in schools. These teachers created new expenses for communities because now the community itself would be responsible for the teachers' salaries. If the community funds could not pay those salaries, then special levies were imposed upon the families of the children that entered the schools.<sup>184</sup>

The creation of civil schools shifted the financial burden from the parishes to the towns.<sup>185</sup> Whereas, throughout the colonial period, clerics played a role in propagating and employing state policy, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish Crown urged town councils to become involved in opening up free educational facilities alongside of the religious orders and parishes.<sup>186</sup> Private associations who were made up of clerics and lay people prominent in society sponsored schools for those who could not afford them.<sup>187</sup> It is important to note, however, that although the Crown left these schools functioning in the hands of such associations, the Crown maintained ultimate supervision.<sup>188</sup> The Crown's "educational policy was linked to subordinating corporate institutions as the state sought to direct modernization;" this is evidence of not only the influence of Enlightenment thought, but also, the goal of royal absolutism by the Bourbon state.<sup>189</sup> Under the influence of the Enlightenment, education and reading were the keys to creating a modernized and improved society.<sup>190</sup> Schooling in Mexico City,

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<sup>184</sup> Gibson, *Aztecs*, 215.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>186</sup> Vaughn, "Primary Education," 33, 34.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

both promoted and responded to a growing enthusiasm and interest for the written word.<sup>191</sup>

Recent scholarship has argued that the Enlightenment indeed impacted and influenced scholars in Latin America in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, Mexican intellectuals were participating not only in the reading and discussion of European Enlightenment figures, but also their own form of Enlightenment, that was prevalent in religious sermons and the development of a patriotic epistemology. The Enlightenment, in Spain and Mexico, was both “revolutionary in the political and social sense,” as well as “ardently supported in circles that were politically and social conservative’.”<sup>192</sup>

Although it has been argued otherwise, Spain readily responded to the Enlightenment. This is evident through the acknowledgement of Spain’s revival of science, the organization of institutes and academies, and the publication of many books that contain the overall spirit of the Enlightenment.<sup>193</sup> This is evidenced in Mexico by the increase in educational facilities, the introduction of scientific research and training into the curriculum, the numerous degrees conferred by the University of Mexico, and the increase in printed works for a larger reading public. Another major component of the shift in ideology and curriculum spawned by the Enlightenment “was ‘a shift to Descartes and Newton as the start of the Enlightenment’ and away from blind faith in the influence of Rousseau, Voltaire, and the French generation of 1789 as ‘the sole basis of the

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<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>192</sup> Whitaker, Arthur P. *Latin America and the Enlightenment*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Ithaca: Great Seal Books. 1942,) 5, 6.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

awakening that led to the Latin American wars of independence.”<sup>194</sup> Further, those intimately involved with the Spanish American Enlightenment, the criollo intelligentsia, were preoccupied with preserving control over the construction and validation of philosophical and historical knowledge about the Americas.<sup>195</sup>

Within this atmosphere of a heightened emphasis on education and the modernization of society, dynamic intellectual sector came to fruition in New Spain. Notable individuals wrote and published works that sought to establish Mexico and Spanish America more generally within the sphere of Enlightenment thought, while at the same time discrediting European claims about the history and nature of the inhabitants of Mexico. The works of the Spanish American Enlightenment were similar to and differed from those of their European counterparts. They shared the belief that the Enlightenment indicated changes in traditional attitudes and thought.<sup>196</sup> However, Spanish American intellectuals also charged their work with a patriotic tone. Many sought to prove the existence and intellectual validity of native sources as a key to Mexican history and to refute the European vision of the Americas as backwards.<sup>197</sup> These “patriotic” intellectuals included Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren (1696-1763), Francisco Javier Clavijero (1731-1787), Antonio de León y Gama, and José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez. Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, a professor and cleric of the University of Mexico, published his *Biblioteca Mexicana* in Mexico City in 1755. In the prologue his work, Eguiara defended the cultural accomplishments of Mexican Indians, by citing the works

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<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. Whitaker is quoting Tanning.

<sup>195</sup> Canizares-Esguerra, *How to Write*, 320.

<sup>196</sup> Temple, José Antonio. *Alzate y Ramírez and the Gazetas de Literatura de Mexico: 1768-1795*. Dissertation. New Orleans: Tulane University. 1986, 2.

<sup>197</sup> Brading, *First America*, 455.

of Torquemada, Sahagun, Kircher, and Nieremberg.<sup>198</sup> Throughout the *Biblioteca Mexicana*, Eguiara also adamantly defended the mental faculties of the criollos. In his effort to provide examples of the “brilliance and erudition that could be encountered in Mexico,” Eguiara cited Siguenza y Góngora and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, as well as the “emergence of a Mexican tradition of inquiry into Indian history.”<sup>199</sup> Another work that was aimed at defending both the historical status and the contemporary character of the Mexican people was the *Historia Antigua de México* (1780-1781) written by Francisco Javier Clavijero, a Mexican Jesuit who was exiled to Italy.<sup>200</sup> Clavijero’s commitment to New Spain and its inhabitants as well as education and higher learning was obvious, because of its content and the not only because of what the work says but also because of the fact that Clavijero wrote and published this work while in exile. Antonio León y Gama and José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez were also notable intellectuals of the Spanish American Enlightenment.

Antonio León y Gama was an expert in mathematics, astronomy and topography as well as Mexican antiquities and Nahuatl.<sup>201</sup> He was known for his interpretive scholarship of native doctrines and aimed to prove that foreigners were not capable of decoding Amerindian scripts due to the fact that they only held a superficial knowledge of America.<sup>202</sup> León y Gama was a middling bureaucrat who was part of the petit bourgeois class. Although he wrote several texts, few of them were actually published due to the chilly reception they received; thus resulting in León y Gama’s lack of

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<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

<sup>200</sup> Clavijero was exiled in 1767 with the mass expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish Americas.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 462.

<sup>202</sup> Canizares-Esguerra, *How to Write*, 271.

international recognition.<sup>203</sup> José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez, on the other hand, was a wealthy member of the secular clergy who enjoyed much international recognition mostly due to his *Gacetas de literatura de México*, a journal he launched in 1788 with the intention of publicly scrutinizing foreign accounts of New Spain.<sup>204</sup>

The *Gacetas de literatura* appeared from January 1788 to June 1795.<sup>205</sup> The journals covered a variety of subjects including medicine, chemistry, physics, philosophy, agriculture, geography, botany, zoology, mining, education, and history.<sup>206</sup> In these writings, Alzate y Ramírez's presented "a constant and unshakable belief in the improvement of his society through the systematic destruction of ignorance and the practical application of scientific knowledge."<sup>207</sup> The *Gacetas de literatura* and the contributions of Alzate y Ramírez represented the pursuit of scientific journalism that was directly linked to the spread of Enlightenment thought throughout the colony. In addition to the *Gacetas de literatura* another journal, the first journal printed in New Spain, the *Gaceta de México*, was also a vehicle to showcase intellectual pursuits and debates. It began as a journal that described "a world in which the Mexican elite appeared immersed in a cycle of theatrical devotion in which new churches and convents were being consecrated, images paraded through the streets, and devotion to *Our Lady of Guadalupe* grew more fervid," with its first issues edited by Juan Ignacio María de

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<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

<sup>204</sup> Alzate y Ramírez "is perhaps the best known of of a small group of enlightened Mexicans whose works during the latter half of the century contributed to the spread of new knowledge and the modernization of thought in the colony of New Spain." *Ibid.*, 282.

<sup>205</sup> Temple, *José Antonio Alzate*, 1.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

Castorena Ursúa y Goyenche in 1722. However, by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, it had become a major intellectual force in the capital.<sup>208</sup>

In particular, the journal detailed the great debate between León y Gama and Alzate y Ramírez that was triggered by the discovery of Aztec artifacts in the central plaza of Mexico City, including the “solar stone,” or Aztec calendar stone.<sup>209</sup> The debate arose when excavations for public works took place under Viceroy Juan Vicente de Guemes Pacheco de Padilla, second count of Revillagigedo in the first few years of the 1790s in Mexico City.<sup>210</sup> The participants in the debate were attempting to critique Eurocentric epistemologies, especially in relation to how the colony was represented by such epistemologies.<sup>211</sup> In December of 1790, Alzate y Ramírez published an article in his *Gacetas de literatura* on the discovery of the stones in the central plaza, theorizing that the stones were from the Great temple of Tenochtitlan.<sup>212</sup> By August 1791, his article received a reply from Ocelotl Tecuihuitzintli in the *Gaceta de México*, dismissing Alzate y Ramírez’s claim, yet stating that the stones were a calendar that “would outlast and dwarf the followers of Newton and Descartes who speculated on vortices and gravitation while denying the glorious past of the American continent.”<sup>213</sup> León y Gama also responded to Alzate y Ramírez’s claims in his *Descripción Histórica de las dos piedras* published in both January and May of 1792. This work was an in-depth study

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<sup>208</sup> Brading, *First America*, 375.

<sup>209</sup> Canizares-Esguerra, *How to Write*, 267.

<sup>210</sup> These public works were part of the Bourbon reforms and the effort of the Bourbon dynasty to modernize the capital.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 271. This statement clearly demonstrates the knowledge of such European thinkers and the Spanish American Enlightenment attitude towards its European counterparts.

that depicted immense research and the author's familiarity with indigenous works. León y Gama argued that the confusion of the meanings of, and interpretations of, the stones was due to the Europeans attempts at formulating a linear series out of the wheels that were not linear in nature but rather cyclical (apparent due to the fact that the wheels did not have clear beginnings or ends).<sup>214</sup> Unlike Alzate y Ramírez who took a less scholarly approach to the stones by refraining from speculation, León y Gama aimed to interpret the stones to produce one of the most sophisticated texts to come out of the Atlantic world during this time.<sup>215</sup> The debate between the two eventually petered out and the end result was that although these men approached the topic of the origins of the stones differently, both reached the similar conclusion that the native sources were both important and respectable. Both Alzate y Ramírez and León y Gama "deployed the new art of reading of the Enlightenment...this art of reading was characterized by a skeptical probing of the internal consistency of texts and the search for alternative, nonliterary forms of evidence."<sup>216</sup> The debate, too, typified the nature of the Spanish American Enlightenment in that it was a debate that took place entirely in the public sphere of published journals.<sup>217</sup>

In addition to the publication of scientific journals and debates, this period also saw the publication of Mexico's first newspapers and its first novel. In October of 1812, José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, also known as "El Pensador," The Thinker, began to publish a weekly newspaper in Mexico City titled *El Pensador Mexicano*, that consisted

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<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 299.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 299.

of articles focusing on Mexican culture, politics, and morals.<sup>218</sup> The newspaper was titled as such because Lizardi signed his writings as anonymous or as “El Pensador.” Between the years of 1815 and 1816 Fernández de Lizardi also wrote the first Mexican novel, *El Periquillo Sarniento*. In the novel, Lizardi addressed the state of the Mexican literary production, chiding that it was merely an imitation of Spanish literary tradition.<sup>219</sup> He encouraged production of new national literature. The appearance of the novel is linked to both the growth of the print industry and a burgeoning literate class that was receptive to the new commodity.<sup>220</sup> The book itself was a reflection of intellectual sentiments of the time illustrated by “Lizardi’s affinity with the Mexican people and the novel’s nationalistic message.”<sup>221</sup> Whereas Europeans had resurrected the Black Legend’s view of the Americas, the intellectuals and patriots of Mexico sought to prove their place in the intellectual and modern realm. The period of the Mexican Enlightenment and Bourbon rule thus promulgated a fundamental shift in mentality within the colonies.<sup>222</sup> There was an increase in intellectual fervor that is apparent in the increased production of printed materials. The production of periodicals and pamphlets in conjunction with cheaper

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<sup>218</sup> Vogeley, Nancy. *Lizardi and the Birth of the Novel in Spanish America*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida) 2001, 30.

<sup>219</sup> Foster, David William and Daniel Altamiranda. *Writer’s of the Spanish Colonial Period*. (New York: Garland Publishing, inc.) 1997. In the essay “The Values of Liberalism in El Periquillo Sarniento,” written by Edmund Cros, 410. Fernández de Lizardi was, previous to his publications, a student at the Colegio de San Ildenfonso although there is no record that he ever completed his schooling. Vogeley, *Lizardi and the Birth*, 21.

<sup>220</sup> Vogeley, *Lizardi and the Birth*, 21.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>222</sup> Vaughn, “Primary Education,” 38. Anne Staples, who wrote “La lectura y los lectores en los primeros años de vida independiente,” in *Semenario de Historia de la Educacion en Mexico, Historia de la Lectura en Mexico* (MC: Colegio de Mexico and Edicion Ermitano). 117, “concludes that a fundamental change in mentality occurred during this period...”

printing techniques made the written word more readily available to a larger portion of society.<sup>223</sup>

Although the Inquisition maintained the legal power of censorship throughout the colonial period in Mexico, censorship and the Inquisition were not invisible to the Bourbon reforms and the continual clashes between the various religious orders. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, censorship was a point of contention between the church and state. Whereas the Crown had control over the initial printing licenses, the Inquisition reserved the power to censure any work even after the Crown's approval for publication.<sup>224</sup> This power of the Inquisition was in direct conflict with the Bourbon dynasty's ideology of royal absolutism. The Inquisition and their influence on censorship then, similar to the power of the Church more generally, was negatively affected by the Bourbon reforms and decreased dramatically in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Although political, scientific, and literary discussion were hallmarks of the Mexican Enlightenment, scholars, in New Spain, devoted most of their attention and talents to writing religious literature.<sup>225</sup> Many of the texts cultivated were printed sermons, at least initially, related to funeral commemorations and religious celebrations. Texts that dealt with saints and contained biographical elements were part of the scholarly movement in Mexico.<sup>226</sup> "Latin citations in Spanish sermons authorized the preacher's speech and reinforced his status as a scholar before the Christian people."<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Vaughn, "Primary Education," 38, 39.

<sup>224</sup> Nesvig, Martin Austin. "Heretical Plagues" and the Censorship Cordons: Colonial Mexico and the Transatlantic Book Trade," *Church History*. 75:1 (March 2006): 13.

<sup>225</sup> Mena, "Colonial Printing," 77.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

In addition, authors composed didactic books that aided in the formation of an intellectual society, and the creation of an original culture independent of Spain. These works also taught the three fundamental arts of reading, writing, and mathematics, and additionally aided in elements of civility.<sup>228</sup>

Religion, scholasticism and intellectualism went hand in hand in colonial Mexico. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the University of Mexico, who held “an exclusive right to degrees in the viceroyalty,” had continuously awarded degrees to attending colonists.<sup>229</sup> By 1775, the University had conferred “29,882 bachelors’ degrees and 1,162 higher degrees;” and from that time, until Independence, another “7,850 bachelors’ and 473 doctors’ and licenciates’ degrees were conferred.”<sup>230</sup> Other theses were published without viceregal licenses that illustrate “all possible philosophies held from 1750 to 1810.”<sup>231</sup> This information is evidence that during the last half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Mexico City was in the process of an “intellectual revolution.”<sup>232</sup> The renaissance of print culture and the popular press aided and made manifest Mexico’s “intellectual revolution.”

Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century over 30 publishing houses functioned in Mexico City; this number is a substantial increase from the mere 10 that were in existence during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>233</sup> Although there were numerous publishing houses, only a handful of these publishers produced the majority of the works printed during the late colonial

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<sup>228</sup> Torre Villar, *Breve Historia*, 59.

<sup>229</sup> Lanning, *Academic Culture*, 53.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>233</sup> Torre Villar, *Breve Historia*, 141-157.

period. Among the most prolific publishers were José Bernardo de Hogal, María de Ribera, the Colegio de San Ildenfonso, the Imprenta de la Biblioteca Mexicana, Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, and José de Jáuregui. All of the aforementioned publishers and their heirs produced a surfeit of printed works throughout the century.<sup>234</sup>

José Bernardo de Hogal arrived in New Spain as an official of the Royal Treasury; he was commissioned to collect interest for the viceregal government. In 1721, having seen the deficiencies of the printing houses in Mexico City, Hogal decided to open a publishing house. By the time of his death in 1741, Bernardo de Hogal was given credit for initiating the resurgence of printing in New Spain. After his death, his legacy was carried on by his wife and heirs, with the Viuda de José Bernardo de Hogal press (1741-1755), the Herederos de la Viuda de Hogal press (1755-1766), and the José Antonio de Hogal press (1766-1787).<sup>235</sup>

In 1748, the Colegio de San Ildenfonso received a printing press that allowed them to produce an immense amount of Jesuit literature until the expulsion of the Jesuits and the transfer of the school from Jesuit hands to those of secular officials in 1767. Around the same time as the establishment of the San Ildenfonso press, Dr. Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren established a press which shared the name of his famous bibliography, the Imprenta de la Biblioteca Mexicana (1753-1757).<sup>236</sup>

The presses Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros and José de Jáuregui played a significant role in the increased production of printed works that occurred during the

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<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 152-155.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 152-155.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 154. Eguiara was previously discussed as an intellectual who was part of the spread of Enlightenment thought in New Spain.

second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, originally a mathematician, astronomer, and surveyor in Spain, came to Mexico City to reunite with his brother Cristóbal who had established a press in 1761. In 1764, after his brother's death, Zúñiga y Ontiveros took over the publishing house. By the end of his life, Zúñiga y Ontiveros was considered one of the most accredited printers in Mexico City of the century.<sup>237</sup> Another printer who received similar acclaim was José de Jáuregui, a member of the clergy who was licensed in theology, and who opened his press in 1766. Unlike Zúñiga y Ontiveros who printed everything from secular material to religious works, Jáuregui's press focused solely on the publication of religious texts. Over the course of the years, Jáuregui extended his press through the acquisition of the *Imprenta de la Biblioteca Mexicana* and the publishing house founded by María de Ribera.<sup>238</sup>

With the increased efforts of education within the colony and the simultaneous boom in printing, reading publics within the colony became differentiated, along with the development of new readership groups. No longer did people have to solely rely on their priests and civil officials for information; "sermons and political speeches were being published to propagate ideas beyond the immediate hearers."<sup>239</sup> The amplified role of the printing press, expanded educational opportunities, and increased literacy in the colonies resulted in an increase in the number of individuals that were exposed to the printed word.<sup>240</sup> Along with the ability to read, came independence from communal structures, a

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<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>240</sup> Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, 8.

sense of personal autonomy and an increased awareness of the private self.<sup>241</sup> “The interactions between reader, text, and author moved from the public forums of church and court to the privacy and solitude of the home and even to personalized private spaces within the home.”<sup>242</sup> Private spaces in the home were areas that people went to relax and reflect on intellectual and spiritual ideation.<sup>243</sup> An increase in available printed materials and increased literacy in the colony awarded the individual the luxury of being able to participate in religious actions such as the reading of religious texts, contemplation, meditation and prayer, in the convenience of their own home. In conjunction with having a great influence on the individual, such as creating a new consciousness of the private self, increased literacy also affected the public sphere. Increased literacy sustains a book trade as well as provides a basis for intellectual movements.<sup>244</sup> The printed word of religious devotionals thus served to aid in the promulgation of new piety.

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<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>244</sup> Black, *Culture and Society*, 66. Essay “The Power of Print: Word and Image in 18<sup>th</sup>–Century England” by John Feather.

### Chapter 3: Religious Devotionals and “New” Piety

Religious devotion characterized through forms of performative piety, which included certain forms of liturgical and penitential piety, came under scrutiny and attack, in conjunction with the implementation of various reforms, in late colonial Mexico City. Reformed bishops, alongside other reformed priests and some laity, assaulted Baroque Catholic tradition that centered on liturgical and performance enactments.<sup>245</sup> Reformers instead attempted to shift Catholic devout behavior away from performative piety and towards a spiritual religiosity in which the devout would contemplate God in his goodness, mercy, and grandeur.<sup>246</sup> This piety, emphasized the intellectual and internal knowledge of God’s word, as the primary way to attain salvation and grace.<sup>247</sup> The importance of individual reading of religious works, in an effort to create a spiritual connection to the divine, was greatly touted for not only for the Catholic clergy and nuns but also for the laity. Spiritual reading in the Catholic tradition was not new; it can be traced back “to the medieval Sacramental notion of the book...Catholics expected *both* words and images, both reason and feeling.”<sup>248</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Mexican Catholics renewed the tradition of reading.<sup>249</sup> The religious devotionals printed throughout the century reflected the dramatic boom in print and print culture, the increased literacy and new readership, and the religious reform and the advocacy of the new piety.

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<sup>245</sup> Larkin, Brian. “Liturgy, Devotion, and Religious Reform in 18<sup>th</sup>- Century Mexico City.” *The Americas*. 60:4 (April 2004), 507.

<sup>246</sup> Larkin, “Liturgy,” 507.

<sup>247</sup> Larkin, “Liturgy,” 518.

<sup>248</sup> Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, 36

<sup>249</sup> Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, 32.

### **Devotionals.**

Two data samples provide the foundation for this thesis. The first set (the complete data sample) consists of 417 devotionals printed from 1686 to 1810. This set of documents provides the basic numerical trends for the types of devotionals published as well as insight into who was printing, writing, or utilizing the documents. The second set is a subset of the first and consists of 73 devotionals of which complete hardcopies were obtained and analyzed for the specific content of what these devotionals say and the type of piety that was presented to the reader. The devotionals consist of four groups: devotionals printed from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to 1750; those printed from 1751, the onset of the Bourbon religious reforms, to 1765; 1766 to 1772, the time of reformed Archbishop Francisco Antonio Lorenzana's reign (r. 1766-1772); and, 1773 to 1810, the reign of Archbishop Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta (r. 1772-1800) to the beginning of the independence movement. The total number of devotionals printed during these time periods were as follows: from 1686 to 1750, eighty-eight devotionals; from 1751 to 1765, thirty five; from 1766 to 1772, thirty nine; and from 1773 to 1815, two hundred and fifty five devotionals. The fact that these printed documents increased in number throughout the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and into the 19<sup>th</sup> century is important in terms of the historical context because this period represents the full force of the Bourbon reforms and the impact of these two powerful archbishops.

Antonio Francisco Lorenzana and Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta, were the two most fervent reformed clergymen to hold powerful positions in Mexico City during the era of religious change. Antonio Francisco Lorenzana, educated at the Jesuit College in

Leon Spain, “displayed great equality in advancing not only the religious, but also the scientific and social interests” of Bourbon Mexico.<sup>250</sup> In 1772, Lorenzana was recalled to Spain to take over as Archbishop of Toledo. It was in that same year that Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta took over the position as Archbishop of Mexico. Núñez de Haro played an even stronger role in the advocacy for Catholic reform in New Spain than Lorenzana. Throughout his reign, he spoke at great lengths about new piety and continually urged the faithful to towards such practice.

The predominant publishing houses in Mexico City printed the devotionals under analysis. Prior to 1750 the majority of works were published by Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, whereas after 1750 the devotionals were printed mainly by the publishing houses of José de Jáuregui and Felipe Zúñiga y Ontivares. Also, it must be noted that the data set includes materials printed at the Real Colegio de S. Ild. from 1754 to 1767, the date of which the Jesuits were expelled and the school was handed over to secular authorities. The vast majority of the works indicate the author or the intended audience/readership; only 32 devotionals in the data set were written anonymously and without clear acknowledgement of readership. The majority of authors were learned theologians who wrote religious devotionals that instructed priests and parishioners regarding the pious behavior and beliefs.

The documents include mainly novenas (often dedicated to a specific saint) and triduos (triduum), as well as a variety of devotional exercises and sermons including

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<sup>250</sup> Herbermann, Charles G. *The Catholic Encyclopedia: an international work of reference on the constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic Church*. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913-1914). vo. 9, 357.

instructions on how to conduct mental prayer and internal practices of piety. The total number of novenas and triduos published throughout the century, within the complete data sample, is one hundred and forty; thirty one of these were printed from 1650 to 1750, eleven from 1751 to 1765, eight from 1766 to 1772, and ninety from 1773 to 1810.<sup>251</sup> Most often these types of devotionals were dedicated to numerous saints. However, these saints were the patrons of Mexico City as well as the more predominant saints within the Catholic Church. The remaining 277 devotionals cover a variety of subjects relating to the prayer, meditations, and the Sacraments. In general, religious devotionals encompassed a variety of pious practices and prayers that were performed either in the privacy of the home or in Church.<sup>252</sup> The practice of devotionals was meant to illustrate the faithfuls surrender of will to the demands of God's service.<sup>253</sup> Such acts of piety enabled the devout to find expression and life through the emotional connection formed in accordance with the devotion.<sup>254</sup> Devotions, regardless of type/genre were, by their nature, simple in form which made them readable to many.<sup>255</sup>

A novena consists of a series of private or public devotions that span a nine-day, or a nine-week period in which a devotion was either practiced for nine consecutive days or one day a week for a duration of nine weeks. The term novena has its origin in the

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<sup>251</sup> The complete data sample includes both the devotionals I have copies of, as well as those that I categorized at the Lilly Library.

<sup>252</sup> *The Catholic Encyclopedia Dictionary: Containing 8500 articles on the beliefs, devotions, rites, symbolism, tradition and history of the church; her laws, organizations, dioceses, missions, institutions, religious orders, saints; her part in promoting art, science, education and social welfare.* (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1941), 293.

<sup>253</sup> *The Catholic Encyclopedia Dictionary*, 293.

<sup>254</sup> Herbermann, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vo. 11, 275.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

Latin word novem (nine).<sup>256</sup> The number nine in Catholic tradition signified the grief and suffering of Mary during the nine months she carried Jesus in the womb. In general, four kinds of novenas existed: novenas of preparation, prayer, mourning, and indulgenced novenas.<sup>257</sup> Novenas were generally dedicated to God, the Virgin Mary, or to a specific saint. They consist of prayers and orations that were conducted across the nine day (or week) period. Interestingly, although the novena was permitted and often recommended by ecclesiastical authorities of the Church, to this day, the novena has no proper place in the liturgy of the Church.<sup>258</sup> In the Catholic tradition, novenas began to gain popularity in the seventeenth century.<sup>259</sup> In Mexico, the novenas popularity grew rapidly in the eighteenth century because they were more available and more individuals could read and afford the small booklets.

Novenas dedicated to the Virgin Mary were common throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Her popularity in such devotionals, is exemplified in the *Novena de Nuestra Señora la Santissima Virgen María de Dolores, con la corona de su Santísimo Hijo Jesus Crucificado*.<sup>260</sup> The *Novena* opens with a letter of enslavement, “Esclavitud,” to the Holy Virgin which was a basic statement of gratitude to Mary in honor of her chastity, piety, and pureness, and for being the Mother of God, and the Mother of sinners.<sup>261</sup> Included in the letter was the mentioning of Jesus Christ, who died on the cross to redeem and save

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<sup>256</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 380

<sup>257</sup> Catholic Online.

<sup>258</sup> Catholic Online

<sup>259</sup> Herbermann, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vo. 11, 275.

<sup>260</sup> *Novena of Our Lady the Holy Virgin Mary of Sorrows, with the Crown of her Holy Son Jesus Crucificado*. (Mexico City: Herederos del Lic. D. Joseph de Jauregui, 1784). This particular work was a reprint of a previous Novena and within this data sample it appears again as a reprint in 1795 by Zúñiga y Ontivares.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

the souls of the devout; and, in addition, appreciation is given to Mary for being the Mother of Jesus and for enduring sorrows over his wounds and death.<sup>262</sup> The *Novena* continues with a brief explanation of how to practice the novena, followed by nine days of prayers.

The author set no specific time for the novena; it could be completed whenever the reader deemed appropriate.<sup>263</sup> He also explained that the reader must begin the *Novena* ready to “learn the prayer with pleasant eyes of which to consider and be open to the presence of Our Lady Mary, the Sovereign Queen of Heaven.”<sup>264</sup> On the first day, the devout must give Confession and receive Holy Communion, and after, depending on the advice given by a confessor, the devout should take Communion frequently while practicing the *Novena*, a reader should reflect on “Our Lady of Sorrows” and, in a sense, represent her through pious behaviors each day that the novena is prayed.<sup>265</sup> The prayers that follow in the *Novena* speak graciously of Mary, Jesus, and God. They gave thanks to Jesus for enduring his death on the cross as well as to Mary for the sorrows she endured and to God for his mercy.

The *Novena* concluded with prayers said to the five wounds of Jesus Christ and a final prayer to the Holy Mother recognizing Jesus for redeeming his followers from moral sin and Mary for her precious “Gifts of contrition, patience, and chastity.”<sup>266</sup>

Throughout the work, Mary is venerated for her virginal and maternal heart that enabled

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<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>263</sup> Often times novenas specify dates, months, or festivals, around which the novena is to be completed.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.* It must be noted that on the last page of the *Novena* there is a handwritten name, Maria Josefa Caxillo y Romero, suggesting the devotional belonged to this woman.

her Son to shed his blood for redemption of His followers. Although the veneration of Mary was popular throughout the colonial period, this particular *Novena* is a typical representation of Mary in terms of reformed piety. Reformed piety emphasized Mary's role as a mother of pure body and heart as a way to set an example for how pious women in the late colonial period should conduct themselves in the home and in public.

The triduo, similarly, consisted of a three-day time period that was set aside for special devotion and prayer in relation to some feast or solemnity; triduos, also, were observed either privately or publicly.<sup>267</sup> The triduo was most commonly associated with Holy Week and the passion of Christ and the triduum Paschal, Holy Thursday with the Mass of the Lord's supper and "conclud[ing] with Vespers on Easter Sunday recalling the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ, along with His institution of the Holy Eucharist and Holy Orders."<sup>268</sup> The *Triduo Devoto, en Honra, y Adoracion del Altissimo Misterio de la Encarnacion del Hijo de Dios en las Purissimas entrañas de Maria Santissim Señora, y amparo de Recadores*, is representative of the triduos that make up this data set.<sup>269</sup> The *Triduo* states that it was to be performed beginning on March 22. Because of the nature of triduos more generally, it is safe to assume that this day fell within the Holy week in 1778, the year it was published.

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<sup>267</sup> Addis, William E. and Thomas Arnold. *A Catholic Dictionary: containing some account of the doctrine, discipline, rites, ceremonies, councils, and religious orders of the Catholic Church*. (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1928), 736.

<sup>268</sup> Ball, Ann. *Encyclopedia of Catholic Devotions and Practices*. (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division, 2003), 623.

<sup>269</sup> *Triduo Devoto, en Honra, y Adoracion del Altissimo Misterio de la Encarnacion del Hijo de Dios en las Purissimas entrañas de Maria Santissim Señora, y amparo de Recadores*. (Mexico City: los Herederos del Lic. D. Joseph de Juaregui, 1778).

Similar to the *Novena*, this *Triduo* opens with an explanation of the motive of the devotional, followed by prayers for each of the three days the *Triduo* is to be practiced. It explains that the devotional was performed in effort to gain the favor of Mary as an intercessor with God and outlined three requirements of those who partook in the devotion. First, the devout were required to remember the favors of Mary and show piety through a remorseful, or repentant, and contrite soul, and to first be diligent about giving a good Confession, and maintaining a “firm purpose” so as not to offend God.<sup>270</sup> Next, the devout must “receive Communion with as much devotion and zeal as possible.”<sup>271</sup> And finally, each day the devout must “make the sign of the cross, observing and internally concentrating, and pondering the day through meditation.”<sup>272</sup> The instructions emphasized internal reflection and individual religious meditation more than public devotional action. The devotional continues with prayers that give thanks to Mary for the “gifts” she provides and reveres her for her pureness, virginity, chastity, and maternal instincts. In addition to novenas and triduos, the data set includes other works that vary the number of days a devotion was to be done; for example, there are septenarios (seven days), trecenas (13 days), and quindenias (15 days).

A variety of prayers and orations as well as other devotional exercises also comprised a large portion of the devotionals within the sample. The devotional exercise, such as an Examination of Conscience, was meant to be performed either in the morning, the evening, or both as a way to reflect upon sins and behavior, show remorse and

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<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*

promise to sin no more. The Examination of Conscience was a recommended practice for the clergy and laity in order to overcome specific imperfections and faults.<sup>273</sup> It was necessary for an individual to prepare for the sacrament of reconciliation by conducting an Examination of Conscience.<sup>274</sup> It was a self-examination that aided in determining an individual's spiritual and religious state before God, especially his faults and sins.<sup>275</sup> The self-examination was usually performed during the day, also known as a "particular examine," in which the focus was either on a particular predominant fault, a virtue that was necessary to obtain, or a duty connected with an individual's vocation.<sup>276</sup> The examination could also begin at night before going to sleep ("general examine") when individuals took into account the failings that occurred against God, others, and themselves on that day.<sup>277</sup>

Particular religious orders also directed the publication of a number of the devotionals; although other religious orders published works, those written by or for the Company of Jesus were the most prolific. The Company of Jesus stands out with 57 works printed throughout the 1700s. Interestingly enough, 41 of these works were published after 1767, the date of the Jesuit expulsion. The expulsion of the Jesuits was designed to not only remove priests from the colony but also to eliminate all the contributions of the Company of Jesus, including their published devotionals works and didactic tracts. Nevertheless, the publication of devotionals written by members of the

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<sup>273</sup> Ball, *Encyclopedia of Catholic*, 143.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

Company of Jesus represented not only their longstanding contributions to the Capital, but also the fact that, regardless of the Crown's attempt to get rid of Jesuit influence in colonial society, their works continued to be reprinted in Mexico City. The numerous publications of works written by, or for members of the Company of Jesus, were representative of their continued contribution to religiosity in New Spain even after they were expelled. Their ideas, consequently, influenced colonial readers throughout the period.

The devotionals by the Company of Jesus, post 1767, are all reprints of previous works. Due to the fact that the Crown granted licenses to publishers to print works, none of those documents carry a license. This thus show the limited power of the Crown to control the production and distribution of the works published in New Spain. The fact that works written by Jesuits were continually reprinted, even after their expulsion, suggests that these devotionals were popular with those who purchased the works, most likely criollos. The majority of the works reprinted after 1767, were novenas or similar types of devotions that were to be performed over a specific number of days (22) and Spiritual Exercises (7). Taken as a whole, the works were didactic and teach the devout how to conduct prayers and behave piously. The basic themes of these works emphasized the reformed piety promoted by the Crown and secular clergy. This is not necessarily shocking due to the fact that the Jesuits, although expelled by the Crown, were some of the first in the colony to promote Enlightenment thought at their higher educational facilities.

Themes emphasized by the Jesuits include, the purity and chastity of the Virgin Mary as well as her role as an intercessor with God, individual piety, and the knowledge of basic Catholic liturgy, more generally. The *Novena de Desagravios de Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas*, reprinted in 1789, by los Herederos del Lic. D. Joseph de Juaregui, is interesting because it was reprinted for the use of religious women of the Convento de Santa Monica in Puebla.<sup>278</sup> The work was a reprint of a work published in 1656 entitled “Altar de su Iglesia las Augustinas Recoletas de la Ciudad de Pamplona en el Reyno de Navarra.”<sup>279</sup> The *Novena* venerates Mary as the Queen of Heaven, Reyna del Cielo, and shows gratitude to Mary because she blesses the children of God.

The Jesuits also published a *Modo de Examinar la Conciencia* in 1767.<sup>280</sup> However, this devotional was published three additional times, in 1773, 1784, and again in 1794. This devotional illustrated the emphasis and importance Jesuits placed on individual piety as well as reflects ideals of reformed piety. This manual explains the proper manner to prepare, begin, and finish the *Mental Oración*; “to bring to light, for the benefit of Spiritual Souls, the devotion and expenses of the various Ecclesiastics of the Archbishop, JHS.”<sup>281</sup> This was a self-examination that aided individuals as they sought

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<sup>278</sup> Vallarta, Joseph. *Novena de Desagravios de Nuestra Señora de las Marvillas*. (Mexico City: Joseph de Jáuregui, 1789). Other devotionals that were authored by Jesuits and used in convents are: Quiroga, Domingo de. *Novena en honra de la Soberana Imagen de Christo*. (Mexico City: Oficina de la Calle de S. Bernardo, 1784), written for the Convent of Sr. S. Joseph de la Antigua Fundacion de Sta. Teresa de Religiosas; *El dia diez de cada mes en honra de San Francisco de Borja*. (Mexico City: Real y mas Antigua Colegio de S. Ildefonso, 1768), written for the Convento Real de Jesus Maria; and, Mercado, Pedro. *Modo de Ofrecer el Rosario a la Purissima Concepcion de N. Señora la Virgen Maria*. (Mexico City: Nuevo Rezado de Dona Maria de Rivera en el Empedradillo, 1770), also written for the Convento Real de Jesus Maria.

<sup>279</sup> Vallarta, *Novena de Desagravios*.

<sup>280</sup> *Modo de Examinar la Conciencia*. (Mexico City: Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1767).

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*

to determine their spiritual state before God, especially in relation to their faults and sins.<sup>282</sup> The exercises were to be performed on a daily basis to aid in pious development. These exercises emphasized an individual's role in creating a close relationship with God. The manual thanked God for his eternal love and acknowledged that such eternal love and liberation from eternal punishment was made possible at the cost of the Lord's "Blood, Life, Passion, and Death" ("Sangre, Vida, Passion, y Muerte").<sup>283</sup> The manual clarified that the Lord's divine presence combined with an individual's "humility, attention, and reverence of soul and body" that led to forgiveness.<sup>284</sup> Without the divine presence of God a person was doomed. The emphasis on internal reflection and an individuals' knowledge of God as well as the humility of believer's soul and body were characteristics of new piety.

The works contributed by the Company of Jesus additionally placed great emphasis on individuals conducting numerous traditional Catholic liturgical prayers, such as Ave Marías and Our Fathers in conjunction with the orations of the devotionals. This emphasis demonstrated the continual importance of knowledge of basic Catholic liturgy. It must also be noted that from 1773 to 1810 four devotionals specify the secular clergy; previous to this time, none of the devotionals carried this specification.

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<sup>282</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 143.

<sup>283</sup> *Modo de Examinar*.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*

### **Religious Devotionals and New Piety.**

In the data set, the number of devotionals published during the Archbishopsrics of Lorenzana and Núñez de Haro more than tripled compared to those printed the previous one hundred years. The dramatic increase in devotionals published during this era directly reflects the push for religious reform within Mexico. The majority of this increase occurred in the last third of the century which is exactly the time that religious reform, new piety, was greatly advocated. More specifically, was an increase in the publication of devotionals that encompassed the basic ideology of reform. During this time, there was an increase of devotionals published for the devout. These devotionals indicated the individual aspect of new piety, as well as the growth of a more educated and thus literate population congruent with the Bourbon's emphasis on education. Religious devotionals, whether they were novenas, prayers, meditations, or other basic religious exercises were no longer public in the Church under the guidance of a priest, but were rather extended to pious individuals that could practice such forms of religiosity in the privacy of their own homes.

Many of the works in the sample clarify whether the devotional was written for the use of a particular member of the clergy or the devout more generally. The number of works that specify this increased in number similarly to the increase in printing rates across the century. From 1686 to 1750, only three works specified that they were printed for the devout whereas 22 specify a priest, convent, or *cofradía*, resulting in an approximate ratio of one out of seven works were published for the devout. From 1751 to 1810, however, there was an increase in devotionals that were published for the devout

in comparison to those published for a specific priest, *cofradía*, or convent with fifty two works published for the devout and eighty three published for a specific person or group, resulting in a ratio closer to one out of every one and one half. During the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the spatial layout of homes, too, began to change thus making the individual practice of religious prayer and meditation more conducive to the home setting. Home altars suggest that “Catholic teachings were applied to their decoration and that spiritual activities occurred in these locations.”<sup>285</sup> The practice of religious devotion through the reading of prayers and meditations in the privacy of the household indicates a growing personal autonomy of religiosity.<sup>286</sup>

### **Cofradías.**

Devotionals for the intended audience of a confraternity also give insight to ideals of religious reform and the impact and influence of the Bourbon reforms more generally. Prior to the Bourbon’s reign, confraternities were affluent throughout Mexico; there were approximately 85 *cofradías* in the capital throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>287</sup> Confraternities were founded as a way to support members of the clergy through income secured from masses and fiestas as well as to promote Catholic liturgy; they also served as vehicle to increase the general participation in public religious devotions.<sup>288</sup> With

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<sup>285</sup> Lopez, “Familial Religiosity in the Home,” 29.

<sup>286</sup> Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, 2.

<sup>287</sup> Curcio, *Great Festivals*, 108.

<sup>288</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates*, 305.

these basic intentions, it is not surprising that during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, confraternities were targeted by the Bourbon state.

Although the data set does not contain a prolific number of devotionals written specifically for *cofradías*, what is interesting about the ones that were printed is that previous to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century the *cofradías* prevalent were diverse, whereas by the last third of the century only a single *cofradía* is part of the data set. This is indicative of the Bourbon's attempt to take control over *cofradías* beginning with decreed reforms in the 1750s that sought to confiscate the funds held by confraternities.<sup>289</sup> Bourbons targeted *cofradías* for reform due to the fact that confraternities, regardless of the ethnicity of its members and whether or not the confraternity was located in rural or urban areas, controlled the administration of substantial amount of resources.<sup>290</sup> Throughout the 1770s and 1780s, reforms placed on confraternities continued; *cofradías* accounts were reviewed by officials and officials began to demand *cofradías* maintained and had proof of official titles or charters.<sup>291</sup> If *cofradías* were unable or refused to obtain and demonstrate these charters, their properties were confiscated and sold by the Bourbon state.

That being said it is not necessarily surprising that devotionals specific to *cofradías* are represented in the data sample and that those that are prevalent become streamlined to one *cofradia* in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is known that confraternities

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<sup>289</sup> Curcio, *Great Festivals*, 109.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

participated in liturgical forms of piety as well as group readings.<sup>292</sup> Thus, it is safe to assume that these devotionals are representative of the religiosity in which *cofradías* participated. Previous to Lorenzana and Núñez de Haro, there are three devotionals printed for the use of different confraternities (*Cofradía del Señor*, *Piadosa Cofradía*, and the *Cofrades that visit our Lady of Carmen*), whereas after 1766 there are three devotionals printed for the use of one particular *cofradía* (*Archi Cofradía de Nuestra Señora Del Rosario de Santo Domingo de San Tomas*).<sup>293</sup> The fact that no other confraternities enter the data sample in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century points to the position confraternities maintained in late colonial society.

### **Individual Piety and the Knowledge of God.**

During the late 18<sup>th</sup> century reform-minded ecclesiastical and civil authorities sought to eliminate Baroque Catholicism from colonial Mexican society; they aimed to rid Mexican piety of what they viewed as excess and superstition.<sup>294</sup> The new religious thought emphasized the individual's role in religiosity rather than the participation in grand communal religious acts. New piety was advocated by reformers as a piety that was focused on spiritual divinity. It was not a form of piety that resided in physical

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<sup>292</sup> Stevens, "Vincenzo Girardone," 649.

<sup>293</sup> The devotionals printed before 1766 are: Santa Teresa, Luis de. *Novena de la Sacratissima V. del Carmen*. (Mexico City: Bernardo de Hogal, 1714); *Novena a Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados*. (Mexico City: Biblioteca Mexicana, 1759); and *Devocion a la milagrosa imagen del Santissimo Christo*. (Mexico City: Biblioteca Mexicana, 1766). Those printed after 1766 are: Moxica, Manuel Antonio. *Quindena que en honra de la major Reyna*. (Mexico City: Zúñiga y Ontivares, 1777); *Novena para disponerse a la Soberana Emperatriz*. (Mexico City: José de Jáuregui, 1789); and Santo Tomas, Alonso de. *Devotissimo Ofrecimiento del Rosario de Nstra Señora*. (Mexico City: José de Jáuregui, 1789).

<sup>294</sup> Larkin, "Liturgy," 494.

objects nor was it one that believers could create mystical “unions” through liturgical actions.<sup>295</sup>

This new piety “proffered an internal, individual, and direct spirituality that exalted moderation, reason, and discipline above all other Christian virtues.”<sup>296</sup> New piety was based on having knowledge of God; such knowledge of God was gained by having knowledge of the self.<sup>297</sup> This is radically different than the path to God in the Baroque tradition. Whereas Baroque Catholicism emphasized exterior magnificence, often times through communal activities as a way to gain God’s majesty, new piety stressed the interior disposition of the devout as a component of salvation.<sup>298</sup> An individual’s relationship with God and the knowledge and importance of Scripture were thus emphasized rather than the way in which physical actions towards God were conducted. In the effort to spread the ideology of new piety, the printing press was a powerful tool that promoted the reform agenda.<sup>299</sup> Religious devotionals and books “were at the starting points for prayer,” and religious images such as “scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary became the substance of devotion and the measure against which to judge oneself.”<sup>300</sup> In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the increase in locally printed materials made available, and the development of new readership due to the Bourbon

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<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 508.

<sup>296</sup> Voekel, *Alone Before God*, 44.

<sup>297</sup> Voekel, *Alone Before God*, 46, 47.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>300</sup> Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, 31

push for education, books, visual images, and the imagination more generally, became associated with prayer life of the Catholic.<sup>301</sup>

Numerous types of religious devotionals were published that aided the individual in the knowledge of the self and thus God through prayer and meditation. Often these devotionals were instructional by nature and presupposed reflection, inwardness, and silence.<sup>302</sup> The *Breves Meditaciones sobre los Quatro Novisimos Repartidas por los Dias Del Mes*, is a didactic devotional that explained how to start and finish *la Oracion Mental*, or mental prayer, as well as provided a corresponding *Jaculatoria* for each day of the month.<sup>303</sup> This devotional was a translation from an Italian work to Castellano (Spanish) by P. Juan Pedro Pinamonte, for the use of novices, or those who had been recently admitted into a religious order.<sup>304</sup> Although this text was translated for the use of novices of the Church, the form of religiosity expected from these novices parallels that the type of religiosity new piety expected of lay people. The devotion consists of 31 brief prayers to be said throughout the month, as well as an introduction to the meditations that outline how the reader is to partake in the devotional and a final *Coloquio* to complete the exercise.<sup>305</sup> The introduction to the *Breves Meditaciones* is to aid in the eternal salvation of the reader. In preparation for the *Breves Meditaciones* the

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<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>302</sup> Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, 30.

<sup>303</sup> Pinamonte, Juan Pedro. *Breves Meditaciones sobre los Quatro Novisimos Repartidas por los Dias Del Mes*. (Mexico City: Don Felipe Zúñiga y Ontivares, 1792). A *Jaculatoria* is defined as an “very brief and fervent oration.” [www.wordreference.com/definition/jaculatoria](http://www.wordreference.com/definition/jaculatoria).

<sup>304</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia Dictionary*, 686. It must be noted here that translations were not uncommon during the time period. Translations were regarded as representations of scholarly knowledge of the translator.

<sup>305</sup> Pinamonte, *Breves Meditaciones*. A *coloquio* is defined as a “literature composition in the form of dialogue.” [www.wordreference.com/definition/coloquio](http://www.wordreference.com/definition/coloquio).

reader was first, to “come in the presence of God with an Act of Faith;” they must be “present with humility,” and offer all of their affection and devotion to God.<sup>306</sup> Secondly, the devout had to attentively ponder the words in each of the points that follow, they must examine how they live each hour of their life, and they must reflect on their lives noting their many errors.<sup>307</sup> The text makes clear that this should all be done while in a state of meditation. Finally, the reader must dislike with true sorrow their past life, firmly propose to practice the meditation in effort to gain greater knowledge and appreciation of God, and finish the Coloquio at the end of the meditation through a conversation with one of the following, “the Holy Trinity, Jesus Christ, the Pure Virgin, the Angel de la Guarda, or with the Saints their Defenders (*Abogados*); repeating the Acts of Love for God, of humility, of resignation, of proposals, and of petitions of which thanks are necessary.”<sup>308</sup>

The *Meditaciones* then begins with brief prayers for each day of the month that make reference to salvation, death, life, Judgment of the Soul, penitence, Universal Judgment and the resurrection, the conscience, condemnation, and redemption. Devotionals similar to the *Breves Meditaciones* were reprinted continuously throughout the century; “traditional texts were ceaselessly revised, adapted, translated, and changed in their physical aspect to bring them into line with the spirit of the times and make them appeal to a specific public.”<sup>309</sup> In the hardcopy data sample, 59 of the 73 manuals specifically state that they were reprinted. Although due to the available sources, it is impossible to know where or when these devotionals were originally published, it is safe

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<sup>306</sup> Pinamonte, *Breves Meditaciones*.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>309</sup> Martin, *History and Power*, 313.

to assume that these texts maintained a level of popular appeal due to the fact that they were reprinted.

### **Physical Gestures and Prayer.**

Although, 18<sup>th</sup>-century Mexico City, liturgical devotions infused religious practice, these devotions were practiced by patrons differently at the beginning of the century than at the end of the century.<sup>310</sup> Generally, “liturgical piety refers to symbolic enactments (or directives for others to enact) that recalled the life and death of Christ or the saints and thus forged mystical ‘unions’ with them.”<sup>311</sup> Liturgical devotions were based on the belief that there was a true presence of divinity.<sup>312</sup> Earlier in the century, liturgical devotions were characterized by the performer’s imitation of the holy figure in effort to accrue the spiritual merit needed for salvation.<sup>313</sup> Religious performance was utilized by the devout and approved by the clergy as a way to attain salvation and grace; reformers, especially during the last third of the century, emphasized a reformed piety of that was based on an intellectual understanding of God.<sup>314</sup> Novenas and devotional

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<sup>310</sup> Larkin, “Liturgy,” 507.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 495.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, 518. An example of this notion of divinity is seen in the way that nuns, women mystics, and saints partook in a piety which aimed at the symbolic bond between their physical gesture with the “life and passion of Christ.”<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, 497.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 495, 496.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 518.

exercises published in the first half of the century often instructed believers to fast, scourge themselves, and pray with their arms extended in the form of a cross.<sup>315</sup>

However, during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of reformed archbishops, bishops and clergy, the emphasis on the physical gesture of the performer of such exercises diminished. It must be understood that liturgical acts of devotion often times are performative, however the level of performative action could vary greatly. Liturgical actions could simply be a person making the sign of the cross before or after prayer or mass, but they could also be as flamboyant an act as self-flagellation. Whereas, making the sign of the cross was never shunned by the Church because it is not an overtly performative action, self-flagellation, considered penitential piety, was linked to the type of performative piety that was attacked by the reformed Church and clergy. Religious practice by an individual in a spiritual and internal manner became a central aspect of this new form of piety and stressed divinity. Instead, Novenas and Devotional Exercises began to emphasize liturgical prayers such as Holy Mary's and Our Father's, with no specific request of gesture except for that of bowing ones head, kneeling, and making the sign of the cross gestures that continue to hold a

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<sup>315</sup>*Ibid.*, 499. Penitential piety was evident in Catholic society previous to reform so much that flagellant confraternities were founded and devotional exercises and treatises were published in Mexico City that promoted physical acts of punishment. "Although it is not known how widely colonial Mexicans practiced penitential devotions, pious literature regularly recommended them, thus suggesting that Mexicans employed these symbolic gestures with some frequency." Larkin, "Liturgy," 498, 499. During the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century due to the influence of reformed clergy and implementation of religious reform, penitential piety came under attack. "In 1771 Mexico's Fourth Provincial Council, presided over by Mexican archbishop and later Spanish Cardinal Francisco Antonio Lorezana, noted that 'moderation edifies the faithful' and that carriages and other hoopla constituted a scandal." Voekel, *Alone Before God*, 49.

place in Catholic tradition today.<sup>316</sup> In the *Corona Breve que en Reverencia de las doce Estrellas, que oronan á la Virgen Maria*, brief instructions were given to the parishioner regarding the positioning of their physical body while conducting the devotion.<sup>317</sup> The instructions state to “drop to their knees before an Image of the Holy Mary, followed by making the sign of the cross.”<sup>318</sup> The devotion continues with an *Act of Contrition* and three individual prayers to the Virgin Mary separated by instructions to repeat one Our Father, and four Hail Mary’s with a Gloria Patri (Glory Be), signifying that the faithful must have a basic knowledge of traditional Catholic liturgy to complete the devotion.<sup>319</sup> Nowhere does this devotional suggest any type of physical movement or positioning of the body except for kneeling and making the sign of the cross; such stillness of the body is a characteristic of reformed piety. In addition, this devotion instructs the reader to place themselves in front of an image of the Holy Mary, suggesting that this exercise could be done in the privacy of one’s home, another characteristic of new piety. Although emphasis was turned away from the physical, what had not diminished was the deep and intimate understanding patrons had of Catholic liturgy.

New piety encouraged the body to be still and the faithful to internally maintain their focus on God. The reformed clergy began to emphasize a shift in Catholic discourse

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<sup>316</sup>Liturgical acts of devotion often times are performative, however the level of performative action could vary greatly. Liturgical actions could simply be a person making the sign of the cross before or after prayer or mass, but they could also be a quite flamboyant act such as self-flagellation.<sup>316</sup> Whereas, making the sign of the cross was not ever shunned by the Church because it is not an overtly performative action, self-flagellation, considered penitential piety, was linked to the type of performative piety that was attacked by the reformed Church and clergy.

<sup>317</sup> *Corona Breve que en Reverencia de las doce Estrellas, que oronan á la Virgen Maria*. (Mexico City: Joseph Bernardo de Hoyal, 1767). Reprinted in 1777 by José de Jáuregui.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*

relating to a “changing conception of divinity;” in which emphasis was placed on spiritual divinity rather than physical divinity.<sup>320</sup> Archbishop Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta was a major proponent of attention during mass; in fact, the Archbishop condemned “acts of worship without interior attention...as ‘absolutely worthless.’ Interior attention to the meaning of prayers and sacraments was the one necessary requirement for ‘true and spiritual’ religion.”<sup>321</sup>

The cognitive nature of new piety and spiritual divinity necessitated a delegitimization of liturgical enactments and performative piety.<sup>322</sup> Although it is true that the pious continued to conduct religious directives, such as donating gifts of objects and money and acts of charity to confraternities, religious orders, and churches, as well as requesting masses to be said for the well being of a person’s soul or the soul of their deceased family members, throughout the century, the number of such directives began to decrease.<sup>323</sup> Núñez de Haro rather urged parishioners to imagine God as “truth, wisdom, and justice...for these ideas are the most spiritual and the most distant from corporeal ideas,” in place of physical notions of the divine.<sup>324</sup> Núñez de Haro believed that corporeal forms of worship were unworthy of God and the only type of worship that was appealing to Him was spiritual worship.<sup>325</sup> The archbishop went so far as to state that “external (performative) worship...was empty and meaningless...[it] offended God.”<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Larkin, “Liturgy,” 507, 514, 520.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, 514.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, 510.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, 496. “They used numbers...and days...to forge links between the masses they ordered for the benefit of their souls on the one hand and Christ, the Trinity, or a range of saintly intercessors on the other.”

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, 508.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, 508.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, 508.

Spiritual piety, on the other hand, was how one came to know God and truly love Him because spiritual piety required a faith that was born in a believer's heart and was purified of excess, superstition, and error.<sup>327</sup> For Núñez de Haro, as well as other reformed ecclesiastics and laity "to know God was to love Him."<sup>328</sup>

### **Saints.**

During this period, there was an increase in devotionals that either specifically focused on God or Jesus Christ, or that at least emphasized their roles within the Catholic tradition alongside of a saint. Those devotionals printed specifically for a saint also were streamlined to either the patron saints of Mexico, St. Joseph and Our Lady of Guadalupe, patron saints of a specific congregation, or those saints that held a predominant role in the universal Catholic tradition. St. Joseph, in particular, was (and continues to be) the patron saint of Mexico City.<sup>329</sup> In the *Semana Devota y Dia Diez y Nueve, para solicitar el patrocinio del santísimo Patriarcha Señor San Joseph*, the significance of patronage to San Joseph is outlined.<sup>330</sup> The devotion begins with a warning to those who do not give patronage to San Joseph, by state that if a person does not give patronage to San Joseph then they will be punished and doomed in the hour of death. It is clear then that the

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<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, 509, 510.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, 510.

<sup>329</sup> Images depicting the Holy Family, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Joseph, were continuously seen throughout the colonial period. In Charlene Villaseñor Black's book, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph*, Villaseñor Black studies how images of the Holy Family reflected religious thinking throughout the period. Villaseñor Black, Charlene. *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2006.

<sup>330</sup> *Semana Devota y Dia Diez y Nueve, para solicitar el patrocinio del santísimo Patriarcha Señor San Joseph*, published with the necessary licenses. (Mexico City: Oficina de la calle de Santo Domingo y esquina de Tacuba, 1802). This devotional was written for the P. Fr. Joseph Francisco Valdés.

devout must honor San Joseph, to honor God.<sup>331</sup> The Holy Patriarch, San Joseph, offers seven favor and graces to those who turn to him for his protection. These seven favors are gained through the practice of the seven Orations written in this devotional to be said across a seven day period.<sup>332</sup> The daily prayers begin on Sunday with a the first and most general privilege asking that through the inspiration of San Joseph's purity and chastity, to be uplifted to Jesus. Starting on Monday, the devotional begins to list the privileges day by day, followed by a prayer explaining in better detail the privilege. These privileges include: Monday, the second privilege, "to reach God our Lord to gain his aid to be free from sin and regain his friendship;" Tuesday, the third privilege, "To gain the true devotion unto the Holy Mary;" Wednesday, the fourth privilege, "To gain a good death and to be free from the ascension of the devil;" Thursday, the fifth privilege, "that the demons have to hear the Name of Joseph;" Friday, the sixth privilege, "to ask of God the temporal remedy of the necessities;" and Saturday, the seventh privilege, "to obtain the succession of those married to God." All of these privileges maintain the purity of Joseph and encourage the reader to feel a close connection to God.<sup>333</sup>

The Bourbon Monarchy attempted to streamline the devotion to the saints because of the immense diversity of saints that parishioners venerated. By streamlining the saints to focus primarily on the Patron Saints of Mexico, rather than the numerous individual saints, the Bourbons further generated control over colonists and could more easily manipulate the type of religiosity performed within the capital. It must be noted that

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<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.* In addition to the seven daily prayers, the devotion also contains an Act of Contrition dedicated to Jesus and the Patriarch, and an Oration to the Holy Mary, the pure Spouse of Joseph.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*

although devotions to Mary continued to be prolific throughout the century, the role of Mary that was emphasized was not that of a redeemer, but rather that of an intercessor between a believer and God; Jesus Christ, or God, held the position of redeemer.

### **Devotionals with Indulgences.**

In the complete data sample 52 devotionals offered indulgences to all of those who participated in the specific devotion or exercise. Of those 85 percent, or 44 of the devotionals, were printed in the last third of the century. An indulgence is defined as “the remission of temporal punishment due to sin after its guilt has been forgiven, which the Church grants from the treasury of the merits of Christ and His saints.”<sup>334</sup> Twenty four of the devotionals were endorsed by Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta. By offering concessions of indulgences for participation, either private or public, that devotion serves to increase the confidence that the faithful have towards the exercise; parishioners are thus more likely to partake in an exercise if they receive an indulgence by doing so. Devotionals that contain indulgence decrees are representative of new piety in that an indulgence decree places the responsibility of participating in a religious devotional, or living a more pious life in general, in the hands of an individual. Individuals were now able to conduct religious acts outside of the Church environment and still gain indulgences, and hence salvation, for their individual participation.

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<sup>334</sup> *The Catholic Encyclopedia Dictionary*. New York: The Gilmary Society. 1941, 478.

All of the indulgence decrees in the manuals read similarly. The indulgences offered in these devotionals are partial indulgences that remit only a piece of the punishment designated for the sin. Thus, if by participating in a devotional that offers 80 days of indulgences, the temporal punishment for 80 days are remitted. The decrees are located either at the very beginning on the inset of the cover page or at the very end of the devotional on the back page and tend to be italicized so as to draw the reader's attention. The majority of devotionals that contain decrees begin with whose authority under which the concession was granted to further justify the weight that the indulgence carries. The decree offers specific information about the indulgence; for example in the manual *Método Breve y Facil de cumplir los Christianos*, Pope Benedict XIII offered 100 years of Indulgences to those who partook in the Acts of the devotion once a day and who were able to complete the following monthly: confession, communion, and prayer.<sup>335</sup> The decree continues stating that this plenary Indulgence was applicable to time in purgatory and after death. This particular document also contains an additional decree by the Archbishop of Mexico, Núñez de Haro who granted concessions of 80 days of Indulgences "to all of the people that completed the devotion of the Acts of faith, Hope and Charity, for each time and each one, praying to God for the exaltation of our Holy faith and of the Holy Church."<sup>336</sup> This decree was made official by Núñez de Haro on the

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<sup>335</sup> *Método Breve y Facil de cumplir los Christianos con la obligacion que tienen de hacer los Actos de Fe, Esperanza y Caridad, así en la hora de la muerte, como repitidos veces en la vida.* (Mexico City: Felipe Zúñiga y Ontivares, 1793).

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*

third of July, 1772 and this is representative of those found in other manuals in the data set.<sup>337</sup>

It is interesting that the number of devotionals decreed is as high as it is, because secondary literature regarding the Catholic Church states that the Church did not formally recommend certain devotions, most notably novenas, by offering indulgences, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>338</sup> However, in this data set 20 of the 52 devotions that were decreed and offered concession of indulgences were novenas, and seven of these were decreed by Núñez de Haro. Indulgence decrees are connected to new piety in that responsibility for salvation and forgiveness of temporal punishment was placed on the individual and the individual acts of religiosity they conducted.

### **Jesus, the Redeemer.**

A thematic essential of new piety found in many of these devotionals is the increased centrality of God and Jesus Christ, especially in terms of their role as Redeemers.<sup>339</sup> The most overriding theme in the works printed after the 1750s, is Jesus Christ as the Redeemer, a defining characteristic of the new piety. Although, as previously mentioned, there are many booklets dedicated to specific saints, the saints represented are those that played a specific part in Catholic tradition, and the importance and emphasis is still placed on God and Jesus Christ; according to the authors, God is the

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<sup>337</sup> Although the majority of these manuals do not contain two separate decrees, one from a Pope and one from an Archbishop, but rather usually contain only one or the other.

<sup>338</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vo. 11, 144.

<sup>339</sup> This is interesting because previous to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Mary often held the role of Redeemer.

one true Redeemer and Jesus Christ died on the cross so that humanity's sins would be forgiven.

In this data set, devotionals specific to Jesus and His role as Redeemer first appeared in 1764. From 1766 to 1810 the number continues to increase dramatically with nine more works. The total number of works specifically dedicated to Jesus as the Redeemer from 1764 to 1810 is 19.<sup>340</sup> Although this number may at first appear to be small, taking into consideration the data set totals 417 devotionals, it is significant in that there is an obvious increase in such works published during the time of religious reform in which Jesus became a central focus of religiosity. An example of a devotional exercise that focused on Jesus as the Redeemer and is representative of new piety is the exercise titled *El Santo Entierro de Jesu-Christo Nuestro Redemptor*.<sup>341</sup> Two of these exercises appear in the data set, one printed in 1771 by D. Joseph de Juaregui and the other printed in 1774 by D. Felipe de Zuñiga.<sup>342</sup> Both of these exercises contain the same material with the only difference being the picture on the first page.<sup>343</sup> The manual begins with an explanation of the "Distribución de este Santo Exercicio."<sup>344</sup> This opening statement explains when and how to participate in the exercise. This particular exercise is

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<sup>340</sup> This number does not include the numerous devotionals that reference Jesus as the Redeemer in their text. This number is solely those that are specific to Jesus Christ.

<sup>341</sup> *El Santo Entierro de Jesu-Christo Nuestro Redemptor, que en espíritu acompañan las Almas devotas, ofreciendo al Señor por Sepulcro sus corazones*. (Mexico City: José de Jáuregui, 1774). Reprinted in Mexico City by Zuñiga y Ontivares in 1774. "The Holy burial of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, who in spirit accompanies the devout souls, offering their hearts to the tomb of the Lord."

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.* The significance of this devotional being printed by two different publishers pertains to the popularity of the devotional. Because both publishers printed the work it is clear that there was a greater distribution of the work making it accessible to a larger portion of the population.

<sup>343</sup> The manual printed in 1771, has a picture of Mary illuminated with the cross of Jesus behind her, and that printed in 1774, has a picture of two guards with the hill of Jesus' crucifixion behind them, signified by three crosses.

<sup>344</sup> Distribution of the Holy Exercise.

communal in nature calling devotees to gather together during an unoccupied time Sunday evening to accompany each other in the worship of the body of Our Lord, Jesus Christ; it does not clarify where the devout are to gather, whether they were to gather at Church or in their homes.<sup>345</sup> The devout were then to drop to their knees and before an image of the Sorrowful Mother they were to pray an Act of Contrition, invoke the Holy Ghost, and pray for the time period of half an hour. The exercise continues with a series of prayers that speak to the adoration and veneration of Jesus as the Redeemer.

An example of a devotion to Jesus as the Redeemer that is individualistic in nature is the *Ternario, y dolorosos Ejercicios, a las melancolicas horas, sudor de sangre, y Agnias de Nuestro Redentor Jesus en el Huerto de Gethsemani*.<sup>346</sup> This work opens with a dedication to Jesus explaining the participant's humility and love for Jesus and asking Jesus to know him or her.<sup>347</sup> The manual continues by going through meditations and prayers to Jesus that are meant to be completed across a three-day period. The orations within the work reflect on the "grief and agony: of Jesus, the Sovereign Lord, and how through the shedding of His blood and His endurance of "mortal agony."<sup>348</sup> In this fashion, Christ redeemed the souls of His believers. The prayers make it clear that the redemption of a believer's soul was gained through the grace of Jesus, by the blood He shed during His Passion. The tone of the prayers is humble in nature, continuously

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<sup>345</sup> The exercise was prepared for Br. D. Manuel Cayetano Parrales y Guerrero a secular priest of the Archbishopric.

<sup>346</sup> Abreu, Juan de. *Ternario, y dolorosos Ejercicios, a las melancolicas horas, sudor de sangre, y Agnias de Nuestro Redentor Jesus en el Huerto de Gethsemani*. (Mexico City: Zúñiga y Ontivares, 1779). "Ternary, and painful exercises, for the melancholy hour, sweat of blood, and agony of Our Redeemer Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane." This devotional can also be conducted in a Church setting.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*

praising Jesus and the Holy Father, the Eternal God. It is not surprising that God is mentioned and praised alongside of Jesus in these manuals. Many of the devotionals in the data emphasize the benign and omnipotent nature of God.

All of the devotionals dedicated to Jesus as the Redeemer contain similar sentiments and are written with a certain tone; these refer to the overall feeling of the devotional.<sup>349</sup> The voice of the devotionals offer their heart to Jesus and beg for forgiveness while lamenting their sins. They are written, to an extent, from the voice of a sinner who is aware that he or she lives a life of sin and thus without the redemption of Jesus would be unworthy of God who is amicable, powerful, and forgiving. Mary also appears in many of these works as the mother of the child, Jesus. Her role in the works dedicated to Jesus as the Redeemer does not exceed that of Jesus or downplay the importance of the redemption Jesus enabled by his death or the omnipotent power of God.

### **Conclusion.**

This chapter illustrated that, as the century progressed, the intended audience of the manuals changed as well as the themes. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, more devotionals were produced for individual use rather than for the use of a community-based religious

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<sup>349</sup> Religious devotionals that have these characteristics in the subset are as follows: *Cinco Circunstancias de una Buena Confession, y Metodo de Examinar para ella la Conciencia*. (Mexico City: Joseph de Jáuregui, 1791); *Consejos Espirituales dados por un religioso a una Alma deseosa de unirse con Dios*. (Mexico City: Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1767); Espindola, Nicolas de. *Exercicios de Desagravios de Christo Señor Nuestro en la Cruz*. (Mexico City: Joseph de Jáuregui); Parrales y Guerrero, Manuel Cayetano. *Piadoso, y Devoto Exercicio Para desagraviar a la Magestad de Jesus-Christo*. (Mexico City: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontivares, 1776); Parrales y Guerrero, Manuel Cayetano. *El Santo Entierro de Jesus-Christo Nuestro Redentor*. (Mexico City: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontivares, 1774); and, *Ternario, y Dolorosos Exercicios, A las melancolicas horas, sudor de Sangre, y Agonias de Nuestro Redentor Jesus*. (Mexico City: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontivares, 1779);

organizations. The chapter showed that from 1686 to 1750 only three works specified an individual use and 22 specified the use of a particular priest (parish), convent, or *cofradía* resulting in a ratio of one to seven. From 1751 to 1810, however, this ratio grew dramatically with 52 works published for individual use and 83 published for a communal-based organization, a ratio of one to one and a half. The closing of the gap in this ratio signifies the increased emphasis on individual religiosity during the period, a key component of new piety. Also, themes indicative of new piety were evident, including the shift from penitential piety to spiritual piety, the emphasis of individual piety and the knowledge of God, the streamlining of the veneration of the saints, the appearance of indulgenced novenas and devotionals, and the emphasis of Jesus as the Redeemer. Clearly, these pocket-sized religious devotionals aided in the propagation of new piety in late colonial Mexico City. In the last third of the century, devotionals were published to encourage the new piety to new—women and children.

## Chapter 4: New Readership

The devotional *Practica para alcanzar lo que se pide a Dios por San Francisco de Sales, Obispo, y Principe de Genova*, was published in 1774, at the Imprenta de la Bibliotechca Mexicana del Lic. D. Joseph de Jáuregui, and contains four main parts which are different types of exercises and prayers devoted to San Francisco de Sales, God, and women who are pregnant.<sup>350</sup> The first, second, and third parts do not necessarily appear out of the ordinary and promote ideas that coincide with new piety, including humbleness and humility, the Power of God, the Redemption of Jesus, and Mary as the Pure Virgin. The fourth section, on the other hand, strikes a new chord because it is a prayer for women who are pregnant. The *Practica* points to a new readership of women, outside of the convent, aspects of reformed piety, and a change in colonial ideology geared towards both women and the heightened importance of their role as mothers as well as children.

Throughout the colonial period, women, in general, were viewed as having a more natural capacity for piety and religiosity; however, their role as being the moral teachers or educators of loyal, pious citizens of colonial society was emphasized to a greater degree as Enlightenment thought and the emphasis of royal absolutism seen through the implementation of Bourbon reforms peaked. Going hand in hand with the idea that women were to be the moral educators of young society, the role of children and the attention geared towards children and their education greatly increased at the same time. “The Bourbon monarchs instituted self-proclaimed social policies, including

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<sup>350</sup> *Practica para alcanzar lo que se pide a Dios por San Francisco de Sales, Obispo, y Principe de Genova*. (Mexico City: Joseph de Jáuregui, 1774).

educational reforms, the implementation of programs to raise children as producers for the state, jurisdictional changes giving royal courts more legal sway over domestic matters such as marriage, and policies on foundlings and wet nursing.”<sup>351</sup>

The historical record of both women and children during the colonial period is incomplete. Due to the fact that these two subjects were considered part of colonial life, records of their role in daily life are minimal in comparison to men. In addition, often times when women and children enter the historical record, they do so in such a way that does not speak to the average citizen. Inquisitorial records, criminal or judicial records, and wills, reveal only certain aspects of the lives of a small percentage of these colonial inhabitants. That being said, cultural historians are continually seeking to access additional sources in effort to gain a more thorough view of the lives of women and children. The documents under analysis in this data sample add to the historical record for the late colonial period. The fact that several documents are written for the specific use of women and children indicates increased readership by these groups as well as the recognition of their pertinent role as colonial subjects, especially in regards to reformed piety.

Throughout the colonial period, both the number of women in New Spain and their intricate role in society increased, culminating in the last half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the recognition by the Bourbon state that women played a major role in the grooming of young citizens (children). The ideal demeanor of women in colonial Mexican society was “submissive obedience to family superiors, sexual purity

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<sup>351</sup> Premo, Bianca. *Children of the Father King: youth, authority, and legal minority in colonial Lima*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 138, 139.

and fidelity, and discreet self-enclosure.”<sup>352</sup> Further, women were expected to develop a sense of shame, be cognizant of her reputation and moral duty, and adopt a specific demeanor in social appearances.<sup>353</sup> Although the overall perception of how a woman was to behave or her place in society (as homemaker and mother) did not change drastically throughout the period, the importance of her role increased as the Bourbon authorities sought to modernize New Spain while at the same time nurture the ideal of royal absolutism through the creation of loyal subjects. Women in late colonial society thus received greater consideration and recognition by the Crown as citizens than they had previously.

Eighteenth century Mexico City experienced an unprecedented population boom that fueled the rapid urbanization of the city.<sup>354</sup> During the second half of the century Mexico City’s population increased by a third.<sup>355</sup> The female population in the capital during this time was approximately 130,000.<sup>356</sup> Previous to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, women were seldom educated and those that were educated were generally elite women who sought a vocation within the Church by becoming a nun in one of Mexico’s convents.<sup>357</sup> However, by this time, the “Intellectual Revolution of the Enlightenment reached New

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<sup>352</sup> Stern, Steve. *The History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 17.

<sup>353</sup> Stern, *History of Gender*, 14. “These appearances included a submissive posture of obedience, support, and acceptance in household relations with husbands, fathers, and elders; a fierce regard for sexual propriety—virginity by daughters, fidelity by wives, abstinence by widows; and a respect for social place and decorum whose female version emphasized a sense of self-enclosure and discretion that shielded women and their families from dangerous gossip, quarrels, and sexual entanglements.” Stern, *History of Gender*, 14, 15.

<sup>354</sup> Arrom, Silvia Marina. *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 6.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>357</sup> By the end of the colonial period, 23 convents existed in Mexico City.

Spain...with its doctrine of natural rights, questioning of authority, secular emphasis, and desire for social progress.”<sup>358</sup> Coinciding with this “Intellectual Revolution” was the Bourbon’s campaign for modernization which sought to utilize enlightened theories in the effort to strengthen the State, consolidate administration within the colony, and educate colonial citizens in the effort to increase the wealth of New Spain.<sup>359</sup> As part of this goal of modernization the Bourbons passed numerous reforms that served to expand the role of women in the colony. Included within this legislation was the expansion of female education and the abolition of guild restrictions pertaining to women’s work.<sup>360</sup> The education of women is directly related to women as new readership that is consequently demonstrated by the publication of devotionals that either include women in their readership base or are written primarily for the use of women.

Although during the early colonial period, women were not considered to be part of, or for that matter be an integral piece of, national and social development, by the late colonial period, Bourbon officials sought to include women in this realm, not to improve their status per se, but rather because female cooperation was seen as essential to prosperity and progress within the colony.<sup>361</sup> In effort to mobilize women into this sphere and, in turn, produce colonial subjects that would supplement the Crowns needs, the elementary education of women of all classes came to the forefront of Bourbon policy. The end all reason for this push for female education was that enlightened Bourbon reformers believed that “economic and political development demanded a

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<sup>358</sup> Arrom, *Women of Mexico*, 5.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

transformation in values: reason and knowledge must replace superstition; habits of work; saving, and initiative must supplant aristocratic leisure; civic concern must conquer indifference.”<sup>362</sup> Women thus played a pivotal role in these processes due to the fact that they were primarily responsible for raising children up to a certain age; motherhood now was perceived as a civic function.<sup>363</sup> This emphasis of women as educated mothers, who would instill within their children proper etiquette in terms of moral behaviors, is indicative of Enlightenment thought.

The Bourbon’s policy for the education of women grew in conjunction with their push for the education of all peoples including the poor.<sup>364</sup> Although Bourbon reformers sought the education of all women “to prepare responsible mothers, thrifty housewives, and useful companions for men,” a woman’s status influenced the Bourbon’s conception of the ideal education.<sup>365</sup> Bourbon officials insisted on the education of poor women specifically under the pretext that education would provide them both work discipline and an awareness of their civic duty in terms of their new public economic roles.<sup>366</sup> The education of women of elite status, on the other hand, was primarily geared towards their role as mothers because they were not expected to enter the work force. Although the Bourbon reformers pushed for the education of all women, the type and extent of education available to women was not equal to the schooling opportunities for men.

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<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>364</sup> A royal decree for a public educational system appears in Mexico City both in 1768 and 1786. Lowery-Timmons, Jason J. *From Humility to Action: The shifting roles of nuns in Bourbon Mexico City, 1700-1821*. (The University of Texas at Austin, 2002), 71.

<sup>365</sup> Arrom, *Women of Mexico*, 16.

<sup>366</sup> Lowery-Timmons, *From Humility*, 71.

Women were only offered an elementary education; to have access to schooling above an elementary level women had to commit themselves to God and undertake the vocation of a nun.<sup>367</sup> In the year of 1786, the Crown issued numerous decrees in effort to further provide education for women and children. Parishes and convents were ordered to open free primary schools for youths and by 1802, “approximately 3,100 girls were enrolled in 70 convent parish, municipal, and private schools.”<sup>368</sup> The elementary curriculum was general at best; girls were taught courses on the basic principles of history and politics, reading and writing, and arithmetic, as well as aspects of “enlightened domesticity” and “devotion to the faith.”<sup>369</sup> Christian doctrine was essential to a woman’s education because one of the main purposes of educating women was to promote their spiritual development as well as aid them in the development of a knowledgeable citizenry.<sup>370</sup> The woman’s role of raising children who were loyal to both the State and the Church was the primary motive for the education of women during the late colonial period. In conjunction with increased emphasis on the role of mothers and the focus on schooling, a change in attitudes and policies towards children evolved during this same time; in the effort to secure the empire, it was necessary to cultivate young subjects whose allegiance was to the colonial order.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> To join a convent was not an option for the majority of women. Most convents only accepted elite women with a dowry.

<sup>368</sup> Arrom, *Women of Mexico*, 18. Also, it is likely that multiple other women were educated by private tutors or amigas. The demand for convents and parishes to establish free schooling came at the wake of a massive migration movement into the capital as rural migrants attempted to escape famine.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*, 19. Enlightened domesticity included skills such as cooking, sewing, and other housework chores. Lowery-Timmons, *From Humility*, 71.

<sup>370</sup> Arrom, *Women of Mexico*, 16.

<sup>371</sup> Hecht, Tobias. *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin America History and Society*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002). 11, 54. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera. “Model Children and Models for Children in Early Mexico.” 52-71.

During the time of the Bourbons reign and the influence of Enlightenment thought, “social expectations of children underwent important changes as thinkers and policy makers began to conceive of children as future citizens.”<sup>372</sup> Enlightenment thought fueled changing conceptions of a wide array of ideology; the concepts of children and childhood more generally are included in these changes. During the period of the Enlightenment in Western Europe as well as in Spanish America, Enlightenment thought served to elevate the importance of childhood and education during childhood because it was believed that it was during this stage of development that social practice and values became imprinted in the minds of human beings.<sup>373</sup> It is due to this line of thinking that the Bourbons continuously wrote and published edicts on children and education, especially during the last third of the century. In the Spanish colonies, similar to the roles of mothers and motherhood more generally, child-rearing and childhood became integral

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<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>373</sup> Hecht, *Minor Omissions*, 130. Bianca Premo, “Youth, Crime, and Law in Lima,” 114-138. The study of childhood and children has a relatively short historiography. It was not until the 1960s, with the publication of Philippe Ariès *Centuries of Childhood*, that studies attempting to examine children entered the scholarship. Although Ariès did not study the experience of children but rather the idea of childhood through the way in which children were depicted in European medieval art, his study opened an avenue for historians, as well as other scholars including sociologists and anthropologists, to study childhood. *Ibid.*, 54. To this day, the history of childhood and children is not dominated by a certain discipline or methodology, and the history itself remains underdeveloped. In terms of the history of childhood and children for Latin America specifically, the scholarship remains in its infancy. That being said, the works that have been published for Latin America generally differ from those of their European and North American counterparts. Whereas European and North American histories focus primarily on aspects of parenting, works published on Latin America attempt to analyze children through the lens of education and welfare. *Ibid.*, 6. Although there are a limited amount of works published on the subject, as a subfield, histories of childhood and children continues to grow because historians “now understand that children in the past were central to the reproduction of class and the transmission of culture, important elements in the maintenance of political stability, and a significant source of labor for their families and communities.” Hawes, Joseph M. and N. Ray Hiner. *Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective*. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 2. The history of childhood and children aids in the cultural understanding of the social norms at various points of time in the past. Gonzalez, Ordina and Bianca Premo. *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 3.

to the efforts of the Bourbon dynasty to create a loyal citizenry and establish social and cultural boundaries within their colonies in regard to their goal of royal absolutism.<sup>374</sup>

Throughout the last few of decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish and Mexican moral authorities set out rules that outlined how to properly raise children and described how children were to engage in the world around them.<sup>375</sup> They did so through the publication of several guides that outlined guidelines for parents (mothers) as well as the reiterations of such ideas through pastoral letters and edicts by religious authorities.<sup>376</sup> In 1790 and 1791, royal edicts were published in Madrid, soon thereafter making their way to Spanish America, that captured a rebirth in political sentiments on patriarchal rule and childhood.<sup>377</sup> These edicts incorporated Enlightenment thoughts on the “revived tradition of Spanish royal paternalism,” as well as the increased emphasis on education.<sup>378</sup> The Enlightenment philosophies contained in these edicts came to be known as the “new politics of the child.”<sup>379</sup> The Bourbon social reforms enacted during this period tackled several issues directly associated with children; such as a child’s education, the control of their domestic life by secular authority, and their economic utility.<sup>380</sup> Bourbon reforms promoted patriarchal social control in both private (the home and familial life) and public (secular) forms.<sup>381</sup> The goal of such a patriarchy was to breed economically productive

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<sup>374</sup> Gonzalez, *Raising an Empire*, 7.

<sup>375</sup> Hecht, *Minor Omissions*, 53.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>377</sup> Premo, *Children of the Father*, 137.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*, 140. Included in these reforms was the 1786 Royal Pragmatic of Marriage.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

and “useful” children who would, in their mature state, benefit the Spanish state.<sup>382</sup>

Intrinsic to this process was the role of religion, or rather the role of reformed piety, more specifically.

From the time the Spanish arrived in New Spain children played an integral role in religious conversion and adaptation to the new colonial system.<sup>383</sup> Children were targeted by the Church as “the most promising element for evangelization,” and thus the Church began to educate them in Christianity and the Spanish culture.<sup>384</sup> Similarly, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, officials held a similar view of children being the key to the creation of a modernized, economically wealthy society with loyal citizenry. It is thus not surprising that religious devotionals emphasizing new piety, which stressed the individual’s responsibility in terms of their religiosity as well as the behavior of a loyal and modest subject, among other things, enter the data sample in the late colonial period.

In addition to the changing conceptions of the role of lay women, the State’s policies and attitudes about nuns and life in the convent also changed during the period of the Bourbon reforms. Convents were first established in New Spain beginning in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>385</sup> In general, women’s convents “represented an understanding of assumed gender qualities that made women repositories of a special form of spirituality, regarded as desirable in the building of a new society.”<sup>386</sup> The life of a nun, for the majority of the colonial period, was privileged. Nuns living in cloisters were generally

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<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>383</sup> Hawes, *Children in Historical*, 423.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, 423.

<sup>385</sup> Lavrin, Asunción. *Brides of Christ: Conventual life in Colonial Mexico*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 1.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

wealthy women of Spanish descent whose dowries could afford them the spiritual, as well as socioeconomic, prestigious life in a convent. In addition to the socioeconomic qualifications a woman needed to join a convent (wealthy and Spanish), a woman also had to be able to live a disciplined life of chastity, and be devoted to her own salvation as well as the salvation of others through her prayers.<sup>387</sup> For those that joined, convents offered a venue for education and religious gratification. During the last third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the life of nuns and wealth of convents in the capital came under the watch of the Bourbon Crown. In 1774, the Crown ordered that nuns more strictly observe their religious Rules.<sup>388</sup> The Bourbon government also desired that women devoted to the Church provide services that would benefit society rather than, simply, ascetic spiritualism.<sup>389</sup> Included in such services were education and nursing. Officials included nuns, as well as secular women and children, in their plans to modernize society and make society in the capital productive.<sup>390</sup>

### **Devotionals to Women.**

Devotionals written for the specific use of women, or that mention women, appear in greater numbers in the data sample nearing the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Women during this period began to be recognized more for the diverse roles they played in society; whether they were religious women of the Church, mothers who aided in the moral shaping of their children, or poor women who were to join the

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<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>388</sup> Lowery-Timmons, *From Humility*, 51. Brading, *Church and State*, 100-102.

<sup>389</sup> Lowery-Timmons, *From Humility*, 52.

<sup>390</sup> Lowery-Timmons, *From Humility*, 76.

work force to help provide economic prosperity in New Spain, the conception of women was no longer one-dimensional.

The ideology of reformed piety emphasized by the Enlightened Bourbon State and reformed ecclesiasts within New Spain reiterated the necessity of individual participation in religious devotionals. Through the increased emphasis and availability of education a larger population of women were literate. The publication of devotionals written for the utilization of women thus shows that there was a literate population of women who were participating in reformed piety in Mexico City.

Although throughout the history of women's roles in Mexico, women were expected to be more spiritual, pious, and morally capable than men, by the late colonial period this religious obligation for women to not only behave in such a manner but to also instill within their children the same moral behaviors became linked to the prosperity of the Spanish colonial empire. The religious devotionals dedicated to women reveal many of the aforementioned sentiments and illustrate both the role of women as well as how they were conceived of and expected to behave throughout the period of Enlightenment thought and royal absolutism that characterized the Bourbon's reign.

These devotionals contain many similarities in how women are represented, as well as unique differences that bring a well-rounded examination of a woman's place in society. The three documents that are analyzed are a *Practica para alcanzar lo que se pide a Dios por San Francisco de Sales, Obispo, y Principe de Genova*, written specifically for mothers and expectant mothers, an *Espiritual Exercicio, con que Pueden las Señoras Religiosas renovar sus Votos*, written for the use of nuns in a Carmelite

convent, and a *Triduo Sagrado: Ejercicio Devoto que Jesus Christo Señor Nuestro*, which references women in its discussion pertaining specifically to Lent. Together, these three documents aid in demonstrating the official perception of women in society, women as new readership, and women's relevance to reformed piety.

All three of the documents under examination share overriding themes regarding the separate, albeit integral, roles of God, Jesus, and Mary in the Catholic Faith. In each of these devotionals God's role as the powerful and eternal sovereign is evident. According to the definition of God set forth by the Vatican Council, there is only one true God who maintains "eternal power and divinity."<sup>391</sup> These works all center around God as "un solo Dios verdadero," or the one true God.<sup>392</sup> References to God and His omnipotent powers infuse the pages of the devotions, asking God for his Holy Will, His blessings, and His forgiveness. Reformed piety, emphasized by Bourbon officials and religious ecclesiasts, focused greater attention on the role of God (and Jesus) and the importance of having an individual knowledge of God and thus oneself through meditation and prayer. Although the works under analysis vary in type, they all serve to bring women closer to God through a deep understanding of His powerful nature, as they seek to access the "treasures of God" through pious behavior and forgiveness for their sins.

In the case of the *Practicar para alcanzar*, written specifically for mothers and expectant mothers, the devotional commences with a request for the "treasures of God," written in the first voice in a plural context stating,

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<sup>391</sup> *Catholic Dictionary*, 386.

<sup>392</sup> Vega y Mendoza, Joseph de la. *Espiritual Ejercicio, con que Pueden las Señoras Religiosas renovar sus Votos*. (Mexico City: Imprenta nueva de la Calle de S. Bernardo, 1785).

“We turn to God for his kindness and omnipotence, asking him to free us from our wrong doings. To obtain from God that which is suitable and ardently wished, victory over temptation and success in our ventures. To be free from danger or affliction (illness): the knowledge (the light) to choose a particular state of life: the conversion of sin: health and proper conservation: to be a beloved person and other similar favors from heaven.”<sup>393</sup>

These “treasures of God” run parallel to the seven virtues listed by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 13:1-13.<sup>394</sup> In the Catholic religion, the seven virtues counter the seven deadly sins; these virtues are Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice. Each of the “treasures of God” can be matched to a virtue as follows: “to obtain from God that which is suitably and ardently wished,” is Hope; “victory over temptation and success in our ventures,” is Temperance; “to be free from danger and affliction,” is Justice; “the knowledge to choose a particular state of life,” is Prudence; “The conversion of sin,” is Faith; “health and proper conversation,” is Fortitude; and “to be a beloved person,” is Charity.<sup>395</sup> The seven virtues are representative of how the Bourbon government and the Church prescribed women to live virtuous and pious lives rather than lives of sin. The virtues have been personalized so that they become a didactic tool for a daily life full of pious devotion. The *Practica* thus provides women the knowledge of orthodox Catholicism while at the same time tying such knowledge into a woman’s quotidian existence.

It is important that this initial section of the devotional is written in the plural voice because it signifies that all women were to strive to live virtuous and pious lives.

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<sup>393</sup> *Practica para alcanzar.*

<sup>394</sup> “The Seven Deadly Sins: A Convenient Guide to Eternal Damnation, [www.web.cn.edu/kwheeler/documents/Seven\\_Deadly\\_Sins.pdf](http://www.web.cn.edu/kwheeler/documents/Seven_Deadly_Sins.pdf).

<sup>395</sup> *Practica para alcanzar.*

Women were to abide by this form of religiosity and live their lives in service to God. God was to be recognized as an all powerful divinity whose power permeated all aspects of life. His role as an omnipotent God is thus fortified by the knowledge a humble women has of His power.<sup>396</sup>

The *Espiritual Exercicio*, written for the Carmelite nuns to renew their Vows, also, references the treasures of God, although in this instance the knowledge of God's treasures is what led these women to their vocation.<sup>397</sup> They yearn for the perfection of their souls, and participate in religious practices and exercises as a way to gain access to such spiritual excellence. The idea of the treasures of God found throughout these works thus encompasses the true nature of God, and are obtained through certain behaviors. These include having a deep understanding of and knowledge of God, asking for and relying on God to give answers and forgiveness, practicing religious exercises and devotionals through prayer and meditation, believing in the Holy Trinity, having faith and trust in Jesus as a Redeemer, relying on the aid of the Virgin Mary in domestic life especially in regards to motherhood, and behaving with humility (acting in a humble manner) with the knowledge that they (women) are unworthy followers of God and the Lord Jesus Christ.

It is not surprising that Jesus, in addition to God, is another central focus of the devotionals published for the readership of women, as it was a main characteristic of reformed piety. It is also not surprising that devotionals written for women specifically include this as their focus because a woman's role was to instill piety in her children and

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<sup>396</sup> In the documents, the term often used for humbleness is humility.

<sup>397</sup> Vega y Mendoza, *Espiritual Exercicio*.

be the matron of a pious and spiritually well functioning home. The publication of devotionals teaching about and supporting the concept of Jesus as the Redeemer for women thus influenced the greater citizenry in the private sphere of the home in addition to the emphasis provided in the public sphere (mass, edicts, etc.).

The depiction of Jesus as he endured the events leading to his crucifixion and the crucifixion itself are themes of His redemptive qualities. Whereas most often in these devotionals God is depicted as the all powerful, eternal Father (full of forgiveness and mercy for His followers), Jesus is most often referred to as “dulcisimo Jesus,” or “Jesus Redemptor mio.” In the works, Orations, or prayers, that speak directly to Jesus as the Redeemer are most often concerned with the salvation of the soul. In the case of the *Triduo Sagrado: Ejercicio Devoto que Jesus Christo Señor Nuestro*, taken as a whole, focuses on the redemption and salvation of Jesus. Specifically, the intercessors between Jesus and the devotee are St. Gertrude and Mary.<sup>398</sup> St. Gertrude is presented as the “Esposa de Jesus” or “la gloriosa Santa Esposa,” and Mary is referred to as “la Virgen Maria.”<sup>399</sup> Although both St. Gertrude and Mary play an integral role as those who, in a sense, intervene on the behalf of the devout, the basis of this exercise is the salvation which was gained through redemption. To achieve redemption and to complete the exercise correctly, the believer was required to partake in both Confession and the Sacrament of Communion for all three days of the Triduo.<sup>400</sup> This particular exercise was to be completed during *Carnestolendas* (Lent), particularly the three days before

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<sup>398</sup> *Triduo Sagrado: Ejercicio Devoto que Jesus Christo Señor Nuestro*. (Mexico City: Herederos de Joseph de Jáuregui, 1778).

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*

Easter (Good Friday to Easter Sunday) when Christ rose from the dead; reformed piety emphasized the idea that through His death on the Cross, Jesus provided salvation and redemption for the innately sinful souls of His followers and those that believed He was the Messiah. The concept of redemption characterizes the entire work. For example, the *Act of Contrition* opens with a brief story of the divine and beloved Pelican. It states that this Pelican breaks open its own chest with its beak to feed its sons with its own blood. This reference, although no longer used in Catholic liturgy, is of the Redemption provided by Jesus. Through the shedding of His own blood, He redeems and feeds His children.<sup>401</sup> In addition to such references of redemption, throughout the remainder of the work, the believer laments the sins she committed and continually seeks forgiveness for any offenses against the Lord.

Jesus also plays a large role in the devotional dedicated to mothers and expectant mothers. As aforementioned this particular devotional contains four main parts, one of which is a *Decenario*; the *Decenario* solely speaks to Jesus. Listed in the *Decenario* are 10 prayers to be said to Jesus, each one commencing with an Ave Maria. The first and second prayers, not surprisingly, address Jesus as the Redeemer and refer to the salvation of the soul that Jesus gave His blood and life for, as well as ask for Jesus' good judgment in the hour of death.<sup>402</sup> The *Decenario* continues with prayers that dedicate the Faithfull's heart to Jesus, apologizes for sins, and expresses sentiments of humility.<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.* "Pelican amoroso, verdadero Pelican divino, que te rompes el pecho para alimentar á tus hijos con tu Sangre."

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.* "Jesus Redemptor mio, imprimid en mii Alma un grande cuyado de mi Salvacion, pues es tan preciosa, que no escusasteir vuestro Sangre, y vuestra Vida, por recuperla...Jesus mio, despertad en mi Alma el cuyado de mi Salvacion; pues debo mortar bien puesto, y dar cuenta en vuestro severo Juyzio..."

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.*

The prayers state that there are no greater wishes than to be blessed with the Divine Grace of Jesus and his Holy will; they ask Jesus to give them strength against temptations so as not to offend Him, and ask that Jesus help them in avoiding occasions that risk sin.<sup>404</sup> The prayers are designed to fortify the reader against temptation and ask Him to free them of all violent passion. The final two prayers devoted to Jesus again seek Jesus' aid in acting with humility and promise to be devoted to His Holy Mother, Mary the Mother of Salvation, and to partake in the consumption of the Divine Body of Holy Communion.<sup>405</sup> In general, the prayers give insight into the specific types of pious behaviors and attitudes sought by the Church and State from women as well as their children. The didactic teachings of what Jesus represented and how faith in Jesus was to transpire is obvious through the reading and analysis of these prayers. The picture gleaned of Jesus was that promoted by reformed piety: Jesus as the primary Redeemer, as kind, as aiding in salvation, and as providing relief from temptation and the practice of bad customs. The emphasis on Jesus in reformed piety was formulated to reduce the population's devotion to numerous Saints that did not necessarily play a key role in the orthodox Catholic Faith. Jesus, instead, was to take the place of these Saints in the prayers and practices of parishioners. It is clear through the 10 short prayers to Jesus in this *Decenario* that Jesus' role and general importance to the Faith was indeed emphasized for the individual prayers of expectant mothers.

In the *Espiritual Exercicio*, written for the nuns of the Carmelite Order to renew their vows, the description of Jesus' works and role is similar to both the picture of Jesus

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<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*

painted in the *Triduo* and that described in the *Practica*.<sup>406</sup> The *Espiritual Exercicio*, addresses Jesus in two separate prayers, the first as “Hermano mío,” and the second by His name.<sup>407</sup> In the prayer specifically devoted to “mi Dulcísimo Jesus,” the oration opens with the acknowledgement that Jesus was “imprisoned, dragged, exhausted, slapped, wounded, flogged, crowned, sentenced to Holy Crucifixion, and died for my love,” all for the good of “my” soul and “my” love.<sup>408</sup> The prayer continues asking for the grace, mercy, and forgiveness of Jesus. To do so, the penitent had to attend Mass regularly and receive Holy Communion as a way to gain indulgences in order to redeem their soul in purgatory. The oration continues by addressing the wounds of Jesus individually.

The prayers that address the wounds in the right and the left hand are striking in that the prayer for the right hand offers Faith to the Church and all its Ministries, while specifically recognizing the secular Church, and the prayer for the left hand bestows honor and Faith to the State, Viceroys, Governors, Alcaldes, and Ministries of Justice and recognizes them as the protectors against all enemies. Due to the fact that during this period the Bourbon state stressed royal absolutism, it seems appropriate that reliance and faith in the government and governing bodies would be included parallel to the Church.<sup>409</sup> Prayers to the wounds of Jesus’ Holy Feet (Santisimos Pies) follow. These ask the Lord for freedom from all the evil in the soul including, heresy, rifts, seditions,

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<sup>406</sup> In the *Triduo*, the depiction of Jesus was that of the wounds he endured and his crucifixion, while in the *Practica*, the work was more didactic in order to lay out the terms of pious behavior.

<sup>407</sup> Vega y Mendoza, *Espiritual Exercicio*.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, “O Bien de mi almo, preso, arrastrado, fatigado, abofeteado, herido, azotado, Coronado, sentenciado, Crucificado, y muerto por mi amore.”

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*

hostility, enmity, hate, turbulence, war, and all other general sins.<sup>410</sup> It is clear by this passage that religiosity and loyalty to the state were viewed in conjunction, and carried great weight in the capital. In addition to asking for freedom from evils such as heresy, hate, and war, the devotion to Jesus continues to shed light on what was considered proper etiquette highlighting traits such as meekness, patience, and humility.

The oration also includes a verse to Jesus in which he is referred to as the “Sovereign Son of God” and “my Brother.”<sup>411</sup> This verse, further details what was meant by humility and meekness especially in regards to women. The verse asks for freedom from maledictions, gossip and lies and asks that grace be given so as to speak His praise.<sup>412</sup> Through these devotions, it is clear that Jesus was perceived and conceptualized as being personable. Jesus aided in the stresses of daily life. Reformed piety emphasized Jesus as central to redemption and salvation and promoted reverence to Him in such a fashion that he was accessible to the population. By promoting Jesus in this manner, especially to women, reformers insured the centrality of His devotion for future generations.

In addition to the emphasis placed on God and Jesus, Mary often times played a key role in devotions published for female readers. Throughout the colonial period the figure of Mary was revered by many and held a prominent role in popular devotion. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the role of Mary was streamlined by religious authorities to symbolize

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<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.* “Liberanos de Heregias, Cismas, Sediciones, Enemidades, Rencores, Odios, Guerros, Tumultos, y todos generos de pecados.”

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.* “Soberano Dios Hijo, mi Hermano.”

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid.* “Librame...de malidiciones, murmuraciones, mentiras; y dame gracia para emplear mis labios, y lengua.”

specifically “the Virgin and mother, [and] the ideal of domestic life.”<sup>413</sup> Mary was venerated “as an intermediary with God...[and] served as an irreplaceable model for familial religiosity.”<sup>414</sup> In the devotionals those characteristics of Mary are prevalent. For example, in the *Triduo Sagrado*, Mary is recognized as an intermediary who presents to God the wishes of His followers and she appeases Him when He is offended.<sup>415</sup> The characterization of Mary the Virgin, mother, and ideals of domestic life, is best represented, in the *Practica para alcanzar* dedicated to mothers. In this devotional the Virgin Mary is only mentioned in the final prayer meant only for the use of pregnant women because she is recognized as the unique Patroness for women bearing children.<sup>416</sup> Mary provides protection for both the pregnant woman and the child that she bears. The believer praises and honors the Virgin Mary for the infinite merits of the birth of her Son, for the hearts for whom she has provided homes (those that venerate her and that she protects), and for the Sacred breasts that gave milk to Jesus.<sup>417</sup> In addition, Mary is recognized for her maternal nature that provides incomparable sweetness and for giving birth to her son Jesus who provides mercy for his followers.

The *Practica para Alcanzar*, is unique in that the devotional provides an additional lens into the growing importance placed on women and children. As aforementioned, the devotional is broken up into four main sections, ending with a prayer to be said particularly by pregnant women. The sections that proceed the *Oracion para las mugeres preñadas*, are an introduction to the devotional of San Francisco de Sales

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<sup>413</sup> Lopez, “Familial Religiosity,” 39.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>415</sup> *Triduo Sagrada*.

<sup>416</sup> *Practica para alcanzar*.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*

and a *Decenario* of Ave Maria's that are to be said in preparation for the Novena that follows<sup>418</sup>. The purpose of the devotional is outlined in the introduction (*Advertencia*), and as a result it is clear why this work includes a specific prayer for pregnant women as well as it is obvious that this devotional was written for both mothers and expectant mothers.<sup>419</sup> The *Advertencia de San Francisco de Sales* depicts a benevolent God, asking for his freedom and forgiveness of wrongdoings. In addition, believers seek freedom from illness and ask to have the capability to choose a healthy and proper state of life.<sup>420</sup> The text states why it is necessary to perform the Novena to San Francisco de Sales. It is designed in effort to increase God's powerful intercession for the religiosity, health, and well being of a child who is entering adolescence at the age of seven.<sup>421</sup> The text explains that a child of seven years, who has been blind since birth, can go to the Lord, God, and ask his Divine Majesty to heal him of his blindness and hence regain his vision with the completion of the Novena.<sup>422</sup> Thus the novena for a child, in honor of San Francisco de Sales as a means to reach God; it is an instructional book for mothers or expectant mothers detailing the necessary points of religiosity and piety for children, and how, as they enter adolescence, they too can find their own vision of God. The *Advertencia* specifies the age of seven because at seven, a child entered the stage of adolescence, meaning that they were now held morally accountable for their actions, whereas before this age a child was still considered to be in the phase of infancy and

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<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*

early childhood, where the parents were responsible for their actions.<sup>423</sup> The *Advertencia* ends with a recommendation that this Novena be practiced as many times as was necessary to reach the “Supreme and Sovereign Majesty.”<sup>424</sup> Its use provided aid for the conversion of Heretics and reduction of sins, it aided in providing peace between enemies, patience over adversity, victory over temptation, the improvement of the spirit, and Eternal Salvation.

In addition to this *Advertencia*, the devotional concludes with an Oration specifically for the use of pregnant women. This prayer addresses God, the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Angels. Jesus is mentioned only briefly as the Son; this is conspicuous since typically when Mary is addressed with respect to her role as a mother, Jesus is mentioned by name as her child.<sup>425</sup> His absence, barring the brief reference aforementioned is also conspicuous in that the prayer speaks to God as a Father. The fact that Jesus was the son of God and Mary was his pure mother, renders it interesting that he receives only a brief nod in this final prayer.<sup>426</sup> The Oration is meek in tone, in the sense that thanks are given to God in a humble manner. The voice of the prayer addresses pregnancy as a compliment given to her by God and that through the continual assistance of the Holy Hand of God, her frailty will be lifted to receive her fruit (the fruit of God, her child).<sup>427</sup> The Oration promises God the Baptism of her child in the Lord’s Church so that the child can receive Redemption. In return, she offers, dedicates, and devotes to

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<sup>423</sup> Gonzalez, *Raising an Empire*, 2. A child was considered to be in adolescence from seven to 12 (for boys) or 14 (for girls) the age of which they were able to marry.

<sup>424</sup> *Practica para alcanzar*.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>426</sup> Jesus is mentioned throughout the *Decenario* and *Novena* as the Redeemer and Savior.

<sup>427</sup> *Practica para alcanzar*.

Him all of her obedience to His commandments, love and His service, and the service of His love.<sup>428</sup> In the prayer, Mary is referred to as the specific Patron, who grants a unique honor to women who receive her maternal protection. The conclusion of this prayer calls on the Holy Angels of God, asking them to guard, defend, and govern the mother and child.<sup>429</sup>

Themes with respect to the roles of God, Jesus, and Mary are prevalent in these works as well as are themes of how a woman should act (with humility, obedience, purity and fidelity, and piety). The themes represented in these works for women are significant because they show how society viewed women and what their roles were during the time period. The values that women were expected to uphold were the Bourbons ideal values of loyal subjects. Women were to be the moral educators of young society as well as those who morally influenced the family more generally. These devotionals outlined and dictated to women how women were to behave in order to live a pious and virtuous life.

### **Devotionals to Children.**

By nature, religious devotionals were didactic tools utilized by parishes, convents, and colegios to teach children model Christian behavior and provide them with a basic understanding of Catholic liturgy and the Catholic Faith more generally. Previous to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century an extremely limited number of children were educated outside the home, hence these devotionals are also representative of children as new readership in Mexico City. Included in the Bourbon priorities of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century were social

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<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*

reforms concerning the education of the poor and policies towards foundlings. The secularization of and re-opening of the doors to the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola de México is representative of the Bourbons goal to educate all citizens of the capital including orphan girls and widows. The Colegio de San Ignacio was originally founded in 1734 by Basque immigrants in the capital and was a Jesuit college until the expulsion of the Company of Jesus in 1767.<sup>430</sup> After the Jesuits were expelled the colegio, reopened its doors as a secular colegio that educated young girls between the ages of five and 10.<sup>431</sup> The goal of the school was to create mature and socially responsible young women who had a basic knowledge of God and the Virgin Mary and hence, would become morally capable Christians.<sup>432</sup> The school taught the girls to memorize Orations and to read works and prayers that contained Christian ideas, Catechisms and Ejercicios Especiales.<sup>433</sup> In addition, starting in the years of 1768 and 1769 music was added to the curriculum.

The *Devocion que Practican las Niñas del Real Colegio de S. Ignacio de Loyola de México*, encapsulates the instruction provided by the colegio.<sup>434</sup> The devotion is a catechism that contains three prayers addressed to the “Amabilísimo Dios, y Señor de mi Corazon, dulcísimo Jesus Sacramentado” (Loving God, and Lord of my heart, sweet Jesus), the “Purísima María, Virgen concebida sin pecado original” (Pure Mary, Virgin conceived without original sin), and the “Espíritus Angélicos, Cortesanos todos de la

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<sup>430</sup> *Las Vizcaínas: [los Vascos en México y su Colegio de las Vizcaínas]*. (México, D. F.: Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola. Intergración Editorial, 2006), 33.

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid.*, 58, 59.

<sup>433</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>434</sup> *Devocion que Practican las Niñas del Real Colegio de S. Ignacio de Loyola de México*. (Mexico City: Mariano Zúñiga y Ontivares, 1802).

Santa Sion” (Spritual Angels, courtiers of the Holy Zion).<sup>435</sup> In each of these prayers, a question is posed to one of the figures followed by an answer that serves as a lens into the piety recommended for girls.

The first and longest of the three Orations is dedicated to God and Jesus and opens with the question: “is it possible that the more vile and despicable creatures find you, Divine Person, unattainable when they raise their eyes from the ground? Their carnal eyes, set to do bad, have the audacity to direct their looks at His Majesty God, King of Heaven and Earth, Sovereign creator of all things.”<sup>436</sup> This question is basically asking God if He will forgive those who have sinned when they realize their mistakes and look to Him for guidance. The response is that, although these people are “undeserving of happiness and joy” due to their cruel nature, God, the “loving Father of unfortunate Sons,” will receive them with open arms.<sup>437</sup> The Oration then continues, in the first person, expressing gratitude for God and how, because of God and His mercy and forgiveness, the devout are encouraged with the confidence to live. The devout also apologizes for “offending a God so loving,” and asks for God’s grace and the privilege to not offend the Lord but rather to love Him and “remain in His service until death.”<sup>438</sup> The Oration then turns to Jesus in recognition of the company Jesus provides; even in times when the devout did not “contemplate” Him, Jesus remained, accepting them without doubt.<sup>439</sup> The prayer also makes clear that the devout want to “live a life that merits [His, Jesus’] esteem and acceptance, because [they] see in [Him] all kindness and

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<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>438</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*

love...” and hope through the veneration of their hearts and living a life that does not “speak in violation of the faith,” they will live with God and Jesus for eternity.<sup>440</sup> The prayer to God and Jesus dictates that in order to go to Heaven one must have full faith in the Lord and His Son and live a pious existence that seeks the comfort and the forgiveness of God and Jesus when they have done wrong.<sup>441</sup> Both God and Jesus in this passage represent trust, forgiveness, and redemption.

The next prayer in the *Devoción* is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The question asked of Mary is: “are you deaf to the pitiful outcries that I call upon you and invoke in you? Have you forgotten the outcries of motherhood that you were willing to accept at the foot of the cross?”<sup>442</sup> The answer is “no, merciful Mother that comforts and consoles [the] imagination with pleasant ideas.”<sup>443</sup> This illustrates the importance of Mary’s role as the Mother of the Son of God and her importance in terms of representing and aiding mothers and motherhood in general. The prayer continues by showing gratification to the Virgin Mary for her comfort and affection and recognizes Mary as an intercessor between God and the devout. The oration states that “it appears to me that you intercede with His Divine Majesty to forgive us of the little appreciation that we have...” and shows appreciation to Mary and the role she plays in as the Holy Mother of Jesus in Redemption and Salvation.<sup>444</sup> This prayer to Mary centers around her role as the intercessor who facilitates the redemption process by “receiving the souls of His Slaves and presenting

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<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>442</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid.*

them to God so that they can rest eternally.”<sup>445</sup> Mary’s role as a mother and an intercessor was promoted by Bourbon and religious officials as a part of reformed piety. This prayer that was meant to be read by young impressionable girls thus promotes religious ideology of new piety.

The final prayer of the *Devoción* is dedicated to the Spiritual Angels and San Ignacio de Loyola, and is dramatically shorter in length than the previous two prayers. This oration also differs from those dedicated to God and Jesus, and Mary in that it does not open with a question. Instead this piece of the devotion offers a list that describes how the devout (written in the first person, plural context, i.e. us (nos)), are benefitted by the Angels and San Ignatio de Loyola.<sup>446</sup> Included in the list are statements such as, “you yearn for the good of our spirit,” and “you hear our pleas, accept our wishes, and attend to our outcries.”<sup>447</sup> The prayer then states that with the acknowledgement that “the Holy Church is increasing more and more, the Ecclesiastic prelates are governing happily (felizmente); our Catholic Kings are enjoying the tranquil peace; sins are being forgiven by God; the souls of Purgatory are being seen before the pleasant Divinity; and ultimately our great Patronage entreats us to the graces necessary in order to obtain eternal life.”<sup>448</sup> This final section is representative of how the Church and State (mentioned directly with acknowledgement of the Catholic Kings) wanted people to perceive the benefits of leading a moral and pious existence. While the form religiosity was to take and the practice of piety was dictated in the first two prayers; this final prayer illustrates the

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<sup>445</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>446</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>448</sup> *Ibid.*

benefits of such religiosity, benefits of peace during one's lifetime on earth as well as eternal peace in the hour of death. This devotional thus shows how girls were taught the benefits of being a pious and loyal citizen to both the Church and the State.

Throughout the colonial period nuns often times served as teachers of young girls. Beginning in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, certain convents in Mexico City boarded girls whose families paid for their education and housing.<sup>449</sup> Due to the expense of such education only girls of wealthy families were housed and educated by convents that offered such facilities. The benefits of having convents that educated secular girls thus were twofold: girls of wealthy status received a core elementary education and tenets of the Catholic Faith and the convents received additional income for their order. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, the additional funds received by such convents came under scrutiny by the Bourbon Crown. Charles III (1759-1788) ordered the majority of convents who housed secular girls (and women who were most often times servants of the nuns) to dismiss them under the pretext that communication between the secular population and nuns was detrimental to the women's religious practice.<sup>450</sup> Although the majority of convents that had offered such education was forced to cease their educational practices, two convents, the Convent of Jesús María and the Company of Mary convent, Pilar, received special permission to continue their education of girls.

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<sup>449</sup> Lowery-Timmons, *From Humility*, 72.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

In 1775, Charles III gave permission to the Convent of Jesús María to continue to educate young girls outside of the cloister.<sup>451</sup> The Convent of Jesús María was granted this permission most likely due to the fact that the convent was directly linked to the Crown through royal patronage.<sup>452</sup> Although during this time the Crown had called for an increase in free education for the youth of Mexico, the education offered by the sisters was for those girls whose families could afford to pay.<sup>453</sup>

It appears that in 1770, before the order that declared that girls were only to be educated outside of the cloister, the *Modo de Ofrecer el Rosario a la Purissima Concepcion de N. Señora la Virgen Maria*, an excerpt from the book *Rosal ameno, y devote*, was reprinted for the use of the Convento Real de Jesús María.<sup>454</sup> The work consists of a preparatory oration followed by 15 brief prayers and an explanation of why this devotional was written. The *Modo* was written for the celebration of Mary, the fiesta of “Pure Conception,” that was to take place on the first Monday of the month of January.<sup>455</sup> Taken as a whole, the work exalts the Immaculate Conception of Mary and celebrates her purity and her role in sanctifying grace from God.<sup>456</sup> The Immaculate Conception is thus the idea that Mary was created and conceived without original sin;

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<sup>451</sup> *Ibid.*, 73. By 1796, the education program in New Spain continued to gain momentum and Charles IV “revoked the order that nuns in Mexico City could not offer education to young girls within the cloister.” With this the convents in Mexico City were once again open to girls of local elite families. *Ibid.*, 74, 75.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>453</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>454</sup> Mercado, Pedro. *Modo de Ofrecer el Rosario a la Purissima Concepcion de N. Señora la Virgen Maria*. (Mexico City: Nuevo Rezado de Dona Maria de Rivera en el Empedradillo, 1770). Bx 2170 n.7 n.9, Box 22, no. 10.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>456</sup> On December 8, 1854, Mary was defined by Pius IX in his Constitution *Ineffabilis Deus*, as the Blessed Virgin who, “in the first instance of her conception, by a singular privilege and grace granted by God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Savior of the human race, was preserved exempt from all stain of original sin.” [www.newadvent.org/Cathen/07674d.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/Cathen/07674d.htm).

original sin was excluded from her soul. This particular devotional to the Purissima Virgen María, is a method to offer the Rosary to the Pure Conception of “Our Lady the Virgin Mary.” The rosary explained in the *Modo de Ofrecer* is not the traditional rosary consisting of numerous Our Father’s and Hail Mary’s said while meditating on the five mysteries of the three parts of the rosary (Joyful, Sorrowful, and Glorious); this rosary rather, is to be said purely to the Virgin Mary and consists of 15 brief prayers that all revolve around the Immaculate Conception.<sup>457</sup> The preparatory oration recognizes Mary as the queen of the children of Adam who was born free from original sin which thus enabled her purity for the conception of Jesus. The prayer then continues with various prayers to Mary that venerate her purity and the mystery of her pure conception. Thanks are also given to Mary for her selfless act of agreeing to carry the Son of God in her womb.

The most striking of the 15 prayers in this *Modo de Ofrecer* is the prayer that is directed at both Mary and the Holy Trinity (God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit). What makes this prayer particularly interesting is that Mary’s conception is referenced in the same breath as the Trinity. The document states “Privileged Creature (Mary), between all the creatures, blessed, and exalted to the Holy Trinity, for the particular gifts; with each of the three Divine persons enriched and adorned in your Conception your selected soul, the Father like His daughter, the Son like His Mother, and the Holy Spirit like His Spouse...”<sup>458</sup> This is striking because Mary, who plays a significant role in the Catholic

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<sup>457</sup> Mercado, *Modo de Ofrecer*. The traditional rosary begins with the Annunciation, which is when the Angel Gabriel tells Mary of God’s wish to involve Mary in the incarnation of Jesus, if she gave her consent. [www.ewtn.com/Devotionals/prayers/rosary/annunciation.htm](http://www.ewtn.com/Devotionals/prayers/rosary/annunciation.htm).

<sup>458</sup> Mercado, *Modo de Ofrecer*.

Faith although is not considered part of the Holy Trinity, is spoken about as though she is the right hand of the three Holy entities of the Trinity. One of the characteristics of reformed piety in Bourbon Mexico was the clarification that Mary was not the third entity of the Trinity. Because Mary was so popularly venerated in colonial Mexico, popular or local religion often confused Mary's place in the Catholic Faith in regards to God and Jesus, and placed her in the Trinity, taking the spot of the Holy Ghost. Reformers thus sought to clarify Mary's position. This prayer clarifies her place without reducing her role in the Faith as unimportant; it states that although Mary is not part of the Trinity she is the Daughter of God, the Mother of Jesus, and the Spouse of the Holy Spirit.<sup>459</sup> This devotional aids in further illustrating the religiosity and behaviors taught to young girls. The religiosity taught is that of reformed piety signified through the clarification in Mary's role in the Catholic Faith and the behaviors emphasized are those of purity and chastity, an ideal woman loyal to both the Church and the Crown.

The devotionals written for women and children demonstrate not only the ideal compartments of women and children in late colonial society, but also the growth of new readership and the efforts that were made at producing religious and didactic material that would aid in the production of ideal citizens. Reformers wanted believers to live virtuous and humble lives and to conduct themselves with humility and loyalty to both the Church and the Crown. The importance for women to be maternal and pure of heart, in a sense mimicking the Virgin Mary, is the most prolific theme seen throughout the works published for both women and young girls. The devotional works published for the new

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<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*

readership thus served as a guide for the religiosity emphasized by reformed piety and as a guide of how women and young girls were to conduct themselves as ideal citizens.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis analyzed the increase in the publication of religious devotionals in 18<sup>th</sup>- century Mexico City. These publications indicated a shift from Baroque Catholicism, with its emphasis on exterior magnificence and outward gestures, to a reformed piety that focused on internal spirituality. In addition, they also represented a renaissance in print culture that correlated to increased demand due to a growth in readership, resulting from a renewed educational policy implemented by the Bourbon dynasty. The heightened production and availability of these texts aided in the popularization of individual piety; in turn, the publication of such texts fueled the print boom. Specific religious devotionals that appear in the data sample also demonstrate the development of new readership in Mexico City. Devotionals published for the use of women and children enter the sample in the last third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The appearance of such works coincide with changing attitudes about the roles of women and children that stem from Enlightenment thought and the ideals of the Bourbon goals of royal absolutism.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century brought several changes to Mexico, many of which were related to the ascension of the Bourbon dynasty and the numerous reforms and policies instituted that affected the economic, political, social, and religious situation in Mexico. Under Bourbon rule, “the Spanish Crown sought to preserve the empire, reassert monarchical authority, and increase the royal treasury through a variety of administrative and

economic measures that have been referred to collectively as the Bourbon Reforms.”<sup>460</sup> Over time the reforms affected the economic, political, social, and religious aspects of life in colonial Mexico.<sup>461</sup> In addition to governmental decrees and efforts made to modernize society there was also the growth of a criollo intellectual class that, too, sought to aid in the modernization process.<sup>462</sup> Commensurate with social developments, which included increased production of printed works available to the public and increased literacy rates due to the creation of hundreds of schools throughout the period, the Church and religiosity, more generally, were both affected by the Bourbon reforms.

Throughout the colonial period religion played a key part in the lives of all colonial subjects. From the onset of colonization, the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church played an integral role in the lives of those inhabiting New Spain; religion and the Catholic Church, specifically, permeated every aspect of colonial life. The Church not only affected the religious lives of those residing in the colony, but also was the main provider of education and social interaction within the community. However, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the reign of the Bourbons, Church and State relations became strained.

At the heart of the ruling Bourbon philosophy was royal absolutism. Royal absolutism, by its nature, did not allow room for the Crown and Catholic Church to co-reside with equal authority. The Crown was to have absolute authority of New Spain thus redefining the Church’s role in society as one that was subordinate to that of the Crown. By the mid 1700s, the Bourbon Crown issued a series of decrees that were

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<sup>460</sup> Curcio, *Great Festivals*, 11.

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>462</sup> Governmental officials, reformed clergy, and members of the criollo intelligista were cognizant of Enlightenment thought.

implemented to both secularize the Church and regulate and control parish administration. In 1749, the Bourbons had called for the secularization of the regular orders to extend their influence and control over the Church and by 1767, the Crown expelled the Jesuits from Spain and all of its colonies. Throughout the remainder of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Church continued to be plagued by numerous decrees enacted to further weaken its authority. Among the goals of Bourbon authorities was to institute a type of reformed piety within the colonies. To do this, influenced by Enlightenment thought, Bourbon officials and reformed Archbishops and clergy implemented reformed piety, which among other things, emphasized the importance of the individual's role in devotion rather than the participation in grand communal religious acts.

The Bourbon reforms “challenged the Church’s monopoly on knowledge,” which led to the secularization of the Church and the limiting of the powers of the clergy.<sup>463</sup> This, in turn, led to the de-regulation of censorship in the colonies as well as a secular commitment to education. Education became a central focus throughout Bourbon reign and thus was an intrinsic part of Bourbon social policy. Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century efforts were made to establish Spanish language primary schools for all children (Spanish, Indian, and *casta*). Secular officials, both religious and non-religious, emphasized the education of the colonists as “the natural complement to a more ‘modern,’ efficient New Spain<sup>464</sup>.” In terms of religion, “new peninsular bishops and archbishops tended to emphasize education, religious instruction, moral living, and a

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<sup>463</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write*, 267.

<sup>464</sup> Curcio-Nagy, *Great Festivals*, 107.

quiet, modest form of religiosity<sup>465</sup>.” With the implementation of Spanish language schools and the increased interest and push for a more educated people in general, naturally, came the increase in a literate population and a larger readership of printed materials. The increased value and role of education, and the push for educating all members of the populous led to both an increase in readership among the population and a renaissance of print culture. Whereas printing was not necessarily new to the colony, the role of printing in 18<sup>th</sup> century Mexico was intricate; while on the one hand printing aided in the increased efforts for education which resulted in increased literacy rates throughout the colony, on the other hand, a boom in printing was spawned by this increase in education and literacy.

The growth of print culture aided the emphasis on new piety because individuals could obtain publications of religious devotionals and conduct them in the privacy of their home, rather than rely on community-based religious activities including mass and religious festivals.<sup>466</sup> The increased number of religious devotionals printed in the last half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, contained many characteristics that signified this shift from external devotion to interior piety. The growing emphasis on education for both priest and parishioner resulting in the growth of a criollo intellectual class, the secularization of

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<sup>465</sup> *Ibid.*, 107-08.

<sup>466</sup> Printing, as a movement, “was used to reach an audience far larger than any previous movement reached and one that could not have been reached as quickly and effectively before printing’s invention.”<sup>466</sup> Whereas, Western Europe generally felt this affect of printing and the printing press in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Mexico was not affected at such a level until the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. During the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, printing in Mexico became a mass communication movement. Increased production of religious and devotional material alongside of the nascent publication of periodicals and newspapers aided in the process of modernization in the colony. Whereas, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, most liturgical works were imported, mainly due to cost effectiveness and accessibility to printing houses, by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Mexico experienced a dramatic increase in the production of such works with the popularization of the press. Also, during this time, periodicals, such as the *Gacetas*, began to be published and distributed.

the Church towards a more individualistic form of religion implemented by reformed clergy.

Throughout the period reformers were concerned with eliminating, or at least drastically reducing the influence and old of performative piety within Mexico City. Religious reformers thus initiated a program that aimed at the “deligitimization of performative, or activity-based, and liturgical piety as a means of religious engagement and expression.”<sup>467</sup> This program to reduce the level of exterior magnificence and ornate expenditures placed on the Catholic religion was based on the principle that reformers “considered divinity radically spiritual and distinct from the material World.”<sup>468</sup> Whereas, previously it was thought that the divine could be materially accessed through physical pious endeavors, reformers viewed divinity as solely being spiritual and thus disparate from the physical world.<sup>469</sup> In effort to implement their ideology reformers tried to demarcate “the real presence of divinity to ecclesiastically controlled performances and objects.”<sup>470</sup> Religious reform not only aimed to control public activities and spaces but also attempted to influence the literal practice and understanding of Catholic worship in general.<sup>471</sup> Reformers disparaged performative and liturgical piety and emphasized spiritual piety and worship. The religion proposed by such reformers,

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<sup>467</sup> Larkin, “Liturgy,” 495.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*, 507.

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid.*, 518.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibid.*, 508.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*, 495.

including Núñez de Haro himself, was a religion that was “governed by the intellect and understanding,” rather than symbolic outward gestures and exterior exuberance.<sup>472</sup>

The religious devotionals analyzed in this thesis demonstrate that, as the century progressed, the themes and audience of the manuals changed. This change in audience shows that there was a reduced number of devotionals published for the specific use of certain priests (parishes) and *cofradías* and an increase in devotionals published for the use of all persons of the Catholic faith; the books were produced for individual use rather than for the use of a community-based religious organization. Thematic shifts that became much more central to these devotionals included the shift from penitential piety to spiritual piety, increased emphasis on God and having an individual knowledge of God, the streamlining of the veneration of the saints, the production of indulgenced devotionals, and the increased importance of Jesus Christ’s role as the Redeemer. It is these types of changes and transitions in the intended audience and themes that illustrate the shifting nature of piety during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

These religious devotionals demonstrated the development of two new readership groups in Mexico City, women and children. In late colonial New Spain, the conception of and role of women and children gained increased attention from Bourbon authorities. During this period, women began to be conceptualized as the moral educators of their offspring who, through their duties as mothers and pious citizens, instilled such behaviors in their young. Similarly, children began to be recognized as the future citizens of the Spanish colonies who would, depending on how they were raised, either be loyal to the

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<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, 510.

Crown or rebel against it in their mature state. Devotionals printed for the utilization of women and children thus shared similar characteristics in the manner of which they addressed religiosity and the types of behavior they dictated. The devotionals emphasized faith in a powerful and omnipotent God, the Redemption of Jesus, and the intercession of Mary, as well as dictated behaviors of humility and trust in the Church in conjunction with the Crown.

The onset of the Bourbon dynasty, the Reforms, and the Enlightenment, changed the shape of Mexico, religiously, intellectually, and ideologically. The religious devotionals analyzed in this study provide an additional, untapped, source to further understand these changes than have previously been utilized in the historiography of the late colonial period. This study adds to the historiography of Mexico City in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by demonstrating a shift in religiosity from a Baroque Catholic tradition to an emphasis on reformed piety and the centrality of the individual and interior piety, an increase in education and literacy among the Mexican population which was promulgated by Bourbon Reforms and the print boom, and a change in the conceptualization of the roles of both women and children in Mexican society.

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