

The Church in Poverty: Bishops,
Bourbons, and Tithes in Spanish
Honduras, 1700-1821

by Gene Alan Müller

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TITHES IN SPANISH HONDURAS, 1700-1821

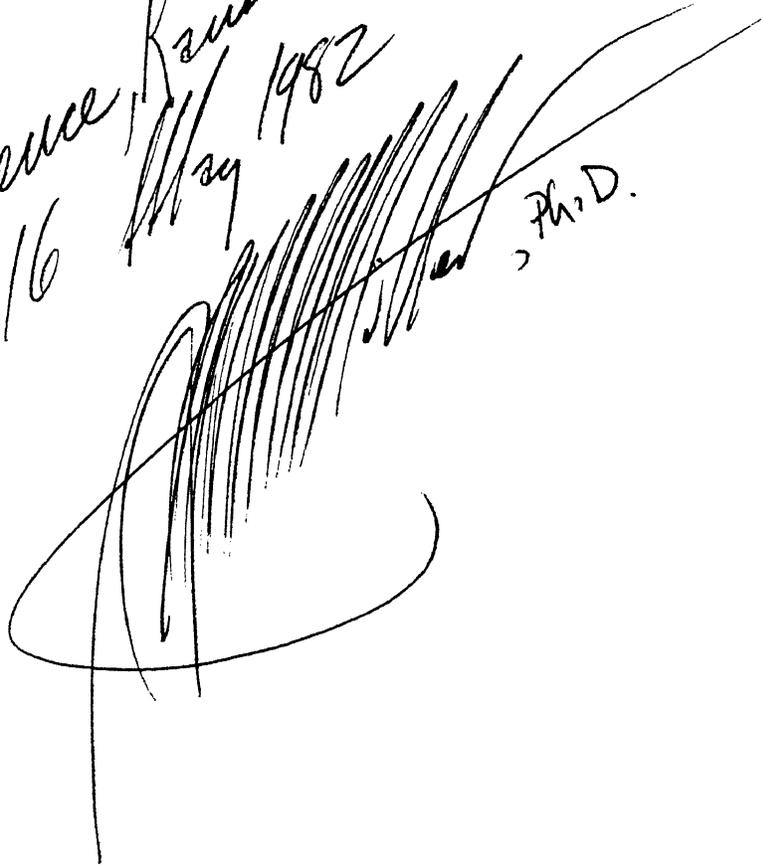
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GENE ALAN MÜLLER

1981

For: Dr. Robert L. Moore,

In appreciation for 14 years
of assistance and advice at the
University of Kansas.

Lawrence Kansas
16 May 1982

 , Ph.D.

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IN SPANISH HONDURAS, 1700-1821

by

Gene Alan Müller
A.B., Midland Lutheran College, 1965
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THE CHURCH IN POVERTY
BISHOPS, BOURBONS, AND TITHES
IN SPANISH HONDURAS, 1700-1821

[ABSTRACT]

Gene Alan Müller, Ph.D.

University of Kansas, 1981

The opening phrase of the title succinctly states the economic situation of the Church in eighteenth century Honduras. This study comprises an analysis of episcopal leadership, the relationship between royal authorities and the Church, tithe administration, collection, and distribution in theory and practice, and the origins of anti-clerical Liberalism in Honduras at the close of the Bourbon era. Appendices provide a revised list of bishops who served the diocese and tithe yields for Comayagua [Honduras], Guatemala, León [Nicaragua], Chiapas, New Spain [Mexico], Chile, and Havana [Cuba]. A glossary of Spanish colonial terms is included.

Although colonial Honduras was too poor to attract ambitious Spanish clerics, the bishops appointed to serve Comayagua were, as a group, estimable men. Five of the appointees, including the reknowned Antonio de San Miguel, were transferred to more prestigious and lucrative positions. In contrast to the traditional Liberal historical interpretation which claimed that the Church and clergy contributed nothing to the economic progress of Central America, this study shows that the bishops sought to increase tithe income by promoting agricultural production. They also introduced the collection of the first fruits in order to improve the economic condition of the lower clergy.

Cattlemen, burdened with increasing royal taxation for defense expenditures and local costs, attacked the Church and clergy and resisted obligatory contributions by employing anti-clerical Liberal arguments.

Tithe income was not solely used for ecclesiastical purposes. By the middle of the reign of Charles III forty per cent of the tithe revenues was designated for the treasury of the civil government. This amount rose to sixty per cent by 1821, the date of Independence.

This study is based primarily upon original colonial documents in Honduras and Guatemala. Other materials consulted include various books, journals, dissertations, theses, and papers from private and public libraries in Central America, Mexico, and the United States.

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Dr. Robert L. Gilmore provided me a broad perspective of the interrelationships of institutions in the colonial period in numerous classes. He patiently tutored me in paleography over several years and instructed me how to use archival documents carefully and resourcefully. Using his vast knowledge of the colonial and contemporary Church in Colombia he carefully questioned my translations and conclusions in the preliminary drafts. Without doubt, his expertise has helped me sharpen my understanding of Church-State relationships in the Spanish empire during the Bourbon period. His encouragement and numerous examples of hospitality in Lawrence were appreciated.

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I have appreciated the assistance of the staff of the Tulane University Library, the University of Arizona Library, the Arizona State University Library, and the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Ralph Lee Woodward, Tulane University, shared ideas and several articles on colonial Central America. Herbert Klein, Columbia University, shared tithe data for Chiapas for certain years. Miles Wortman, fellow researcher in the Guatemalan archives, shared some documents on the colonial period. Mario Rodríguez, University of Southern California, shared materials on the 1813 Consipración de Belen pertaining to the involvement of Dr. Tomás Ruíz. Dr. Cheryl Martin, University of Texas at El Paso, Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., El Paso, Texas, Dr. James Morris, University of New Mexico, and Dr. Steve Ropp, New Mexico State University, generously shared ideas, articles, and books on the colonial Church and on Honduras.

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In Nicaragua Jorge Eduardo Arellano included a revised version of my article on Dr. Tomás Ruiz retitled "La formación de un revolucionario centroamericano en el siglo XIX" in his compilation of essays on the Nicaraguan Indian priest in Boletín Nicaraguense de Bibliografía y Documentación, No. 17, 1977, published by the Banco Central de Nicaragua.

In El Salvador the director and staff of the Biblioteca Nacional assisted me in gaining access to publications pertaining to the colonial period and discussed boundary disputes between El Salvador and Honduras with me. I later discovered the importance of Church documents for understanding this controversial topic.

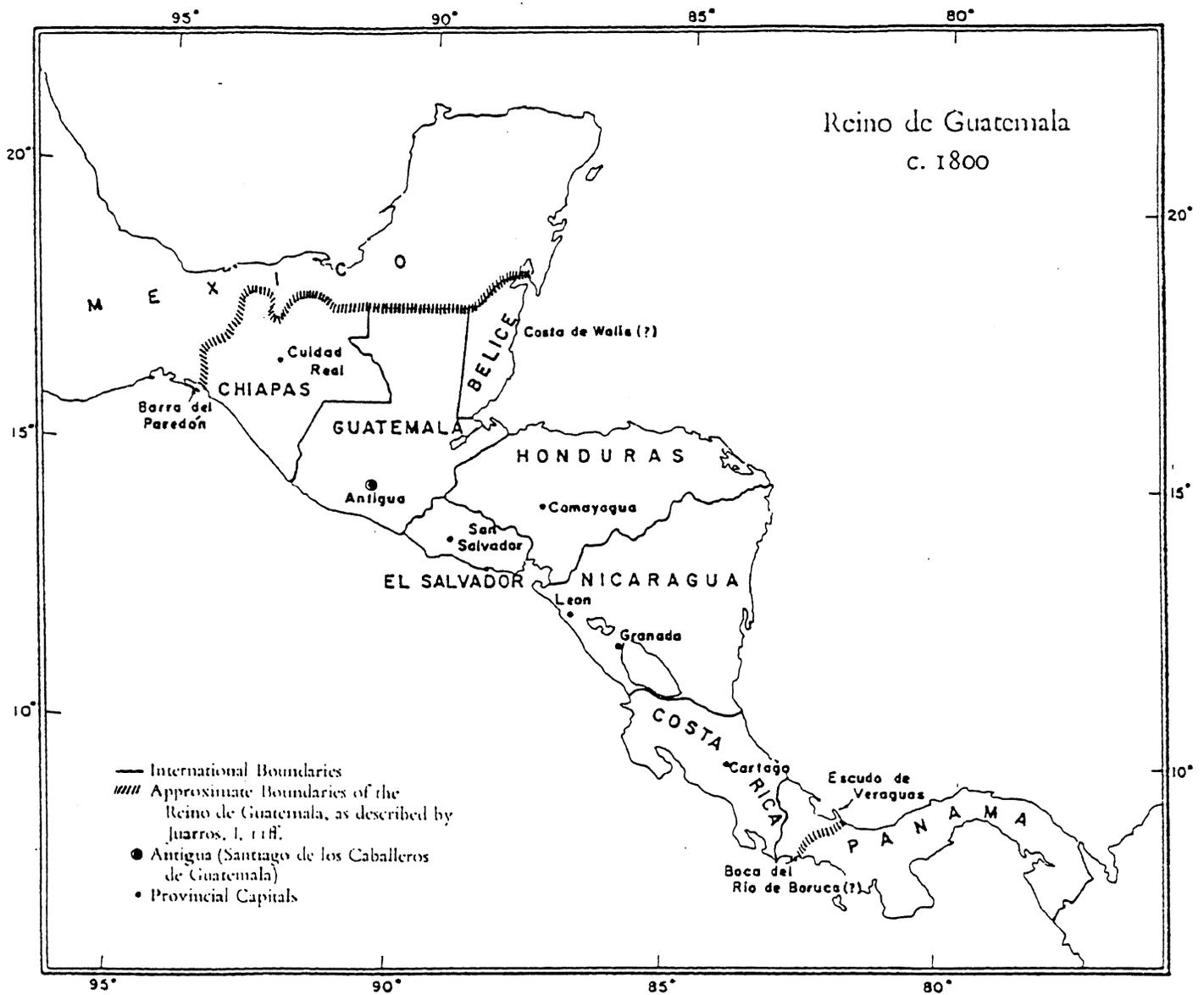
In Mexico City Roberto Heredia Correa assisted me in acquiring 100 rolls of microfilm on Honduran archival documents for the University of Kansas Libraries from the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. In Monterrey I am indebted to the personnel of the Library of the Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey for resources on colonial Mexico and Guatemala.

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Map of Central America. (Reino de Guatemala.)

Source: Sidney David Markman,
Colonial Architecture of Antigua
 Guatemala (Philadelphia: The
 American Philosophical Society,
 1966), p. 227

Chapter I

HONDURAS IN THE KINGDOM OF GUATEMALA: STRUCTURE OF CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY

Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, died on November 1, 1700. His designated heir, Philip V, although threatened for a dozen years by the War of the Spanish Succession, eventually established himself as the first of five Bourbon monarchs who ruled Spain and the overseas empire for nearly a century and a quarter. These Bourbon kings were Philip V (1700-1746), Ferdinand VI (1746-1759), Charles III (1759-1788), Charles IV (1788-1808), and Ferdinand VII (1808; 1814-1833). The Spanish Bourbon monarchs introduced the French concept of a centralized government and attempted to modify Hapsburg institutions in Spain and in the Spanish empire. Considerable literature is available on Bourbon reorganization of administration, the economic system, and relations between Church and state, especially in the richest American dominions of New Spain and Peru.¹ However, until recently, little attention has been given by historians to Bourbon policies in relatively poor and isolated regions such as Honduras, a province in the Audiencia district of Guatemala.²

This study focuses on some religious aspects of Bourbon policies in Honduras. It is not a study of Bourbon policies per se. Rather it is an investigation of Church structure, Church leadership, and tithe income in the bishopric of Honduras during the Bourbon period, 1700-1821. This study provides a window to an understanding of Honduras during the Bourbon period from the point of view of Church-related issues and depicts themes and trends in colonial Honduran history which flow into the

national period. It also provides a new framework with which to compare the institution of the Church in other bishoprics in the Captaincy-General of Guatemala and more distant regions of the Spanish colonial empire. The view from the nadir, it is hoped, will assist students of the colonial Church in the Spanish empire to understand the institution and the province of Honduras in its totality.

The Audiencia of Guatemala, after many jurisdictional and boundary changes, was established in 1570 in Guatemala City (now Antigua). During the Bourbon period the Audiencia district included what today comprises the modern republics of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and the Mexican state of Chiapas. Colonial documents frequently refer to the Audiencia district as the Reino de Guatemala (Kingdom of Guatemala), and it was, of course, one of the American kingdoms of the Spanish overseas empire. Because the president of the Audiencia was invariably designated as Captain-General of Guatemala, the Audiencia district was often referred to as the Captaincy-General of Guatemala. The Viceroyalty of New Spain and its officials held nominal jurisdiction over the Kingdom of Guatemala, but in reality the Kingdom operated as an autonomous Spanish imperial dominion.³

The Audiencia, often translated as high court or jurisdiction of the same, functioned as a judicial body, the highest court of appeals in the Kingdom.⁴ Members of the Audiencia, most of whom were peninsular Spaniards, included four judges (oidores) and the president (presidente). The president served as Captain-General, governor, and vice-patron, and thus exercised military, administrative, and Church patronage powers. In joint session the judges and the president could function in a

legislative capacity.⁵ Much of the Audiencia's routine business was handled by the fiscal and the asesor general, professional legal experts who reviewed legal cases and made recommendations to the judges and the president. The only significant change in this administrative pattern in the Bourbon period was the attempted application of the intendencia (intendancy) system to the Kingdom of Guatemala in 1785-1787.⁶ This was the structure which residents of Honduras had to confront when disputes could not be resolved on a provincial level.

Corregidores, alcaldes mayores, and gobernadores held coordinate positions in jurisdictions called corregimientos, alcaldías mayores, and gobiernos, respectively. Corregidores functioned where there were sizeable numbers of Indians, alcaldes mayores functioned where there were significant numbers of Spaniards who did not enjoy separate government during the conquest, and gobernadores functioned in offices created before the establishment of the Audiencia of Guatemala. Corregidores, frequently chosen by the president of the Audiencia, were paid a small salary and in addition could impose a levy upon local Indian communities. Gobernadores and alcaldes mayores were normally chosen by the crown and were paid a somewhat higher salary. These offices allowed these men to exercise certain prerogatives in local jurisdictions, to control local militia, to make policy decisions at the provincial level, to intervene in municipal affairs, and to act as courts of appeal from the alcaldes of the municipios.⁷

By the advent of the Bourbon period the original number of corregimientos in the Kingdom of Guatemala had been reduced from nineteen to only two, both of which were in the province of Guatemala.⁸

Some of the later *alcaldías mayores* were comprised of earlier *corregimientos*. Tegucigalpa, among others, constituted an *alcaldía mayor* for much of the colonial period.⁹ The four *gobiernos* included Comayagua (Honduras), León (Nicaragua), Costa Rica, and Soconusco until 1786 when a major reorganization took place. Four *intendencias* were established under Charles III to include Honduras (Comayagua plus Tegucigalpa), Nicaragua (León, Nicoya, and two former *corregimientos*), San Salvador (elevated from the status of *alcaldía mayor*), and Chiapas (Ciudad Real plus Soconusco). Costa Rica, Sonsonate, and nine provinces of present-day Guatemala were not integrated into the *intendancy* system in the Bourbon era. Where the *intendancy* system was activated, the intendentes and the sub-delegados de intendentes appropriated most of the functions and power of the older offices, even at the municipal level.¹⁰

Local government in the Kingdom of Guatemala reflected a structure found in other parts of the Spanish empire during the Bourbon period. Municipal corporations (cabildos or ayuntamientos) were staffed by councilmen (regidores). In the larger cities such as the capital of Guatemala (30,000 inhabitants) the *regidores* numbered twelve. Smaller towns had two; some had none. Originally the *regidores* were selected by most of the main property owners in the municipio but gradually only a few families retained nearly exclusive dominance of the positions by purchase or by clan control. *Regidores* usually were long-term residents of the *municipios* they controlled. It was at this level of government that creoles had the greatest representation. From time to time the municipal corporation used its prerogative to correspond directly with the Audiencia in Guatemala or with the crown in Spain. Frequently they espoused concerns which promoted their own self-interests regardless of

the impact upon the wider community. The regidores also selected the administrative officials and two alcaldes who exercised first instance jurisdiction over most law suits.¹¹

The controlled Indian communities also had similar, but simpler versions of this structure of government. Indian leaders were not hesitant to use their prerogatives to send petitions to the Audiencia or to the crown for the preservation of their rights or time honored customs. As racial and cultural blending proceeded many of the original Indian spokesmen lost control of municipal decision making.¹²

Between 1,000,000 and 1,250,000 people inhabited the Kingdom of Guatemala at the end of the Bourbon period. In the mountain-plateau region of the western part of the Kingdom, population density was the greatest. Somewhat less population settled in the Nicaraguan depression across Nicaragua from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean along Lakes Managua and Nicaragua toward the San Juan River. In the highlands of Honduras and Costa Rica, population was very sparse and substantially less than at the time of the Spanish conquest. Few people lived where the climate was hot and humid.¹³ The population of Honduras constituted approximately 100,000 persons or roughly one-tenth of the Kingdom's inhabitants.¹⁴

Of the diverse population groups in the Kingdom of Guatemala, 40,000 families of Spaniards dominated the economic, political, and social structure. Approximately two-thirds of the inhabitants were descendants of Maya Indians who spoke no Spanish. Ladinos or castas comprised approximately one-fourth of the population. This category included Indians who lived like Spaniards. It also included various mixed-blood groups: mestizos (Indian-European), pardos (Indian-African)

and mulattoes (African-European). Those of pure African descent were exceptionally few.¹⁵

Economically the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Guatemala depended upon subsistence agriculture or production of food items for exchange at local markets. With the exception of the production of cacao and indigo in the colonial period the economy of the region was not dynamic.¹⁶ Basic crops included maize and the kidney bean, both of which were borrowed from the Indian culture. Wheat, introduced by Spaniards as a cultural food, could be grown only in cooler regions. Sugar cane slowly replaced the collection of wild honey. Along the Pacific Coast rice was introduced and was distributed to the urban centers in the interior. Some fruits were grown, including bananas, apples, quinces, peaches, oranges, and limes.¹⁷

In each province of the Kingdom there were important stock raising estates. Cattle were prized for their meat and hides, and especially, for the fact that they could transport themselves to market.¹⁸ Sheep, swine, horses, and mules were bred in areas where the Spaniards lived. Chickens were imported which increased poultry raising in the Kingdom.¹⁹

Non-edible crops included cotton, which gained importance as local populations adopted European dress habits. Others were henequen, tobacco, sarsaparilla, tree gums and resins, and balsam. Agricultural produce and livestock, of course, were the only items subject to the ecclesiastical tithe, a tax as high as ten per cent, of which eighty-nine per cent was normally allocated for the support of the bishopric and eleven per cent was normally reserved for the crown, i.e. the local coffers of the royal treasury.²⁰

Agricultural wealth in the Kingdom of Guatemala heavily overshadowed the importance of mining activity during the Bourbon period.²¹ Furthermore, compared to the impressive amounts of silver and gold shipped to Spain from the mines of New Spain and Peru, mineral production in the region was trivial.²² The initial gold discoveries dissipated before the end of the sixteenth century. Silver mining replaced gold extraction, but was important only on a small scale.²³ After 1733 a mint operated in the capital of Guatemala, but a chronic shortage of currency always existed in the Kingdom which stifled the possibility for a dynamic money economy.²⁴

Labor depended upon African slaves or upon masses of Indians.²⁵ As "freed" men after the termination of the encomienda system, the Indians were obligated to pay tributo (tribute) and had to obey orders for compulsory services when labor was in demand.²⁶ Persons of mixed blood often worked as servants or artisans for very low wages in the urban centers.²⁷

Four bishoprics comprised the structural divisions of the colonial Church in the Kingdom of Guatemala during the Bourbon period. The bishopric of Guatemala, which was elevated to an archbishopric in 1742, paralleled the boundaries of the civil jurisdiction of the province of Guatemala and the alcaldía mayor of San Salvador.²⁸ The bishopric of Guatemala enjoyed the greatest tithe income within the Kingdom,²⁹ the most impressive buildings, and the largest number of ecclesiastical personnel.³⁰ The bishopric of León coincided with the territorial boundaries of Nicaragua and Costa Rica.³¹ Livestock and agricultural production helped this area produce the second greatest tithe income in the Kingdom of Guatemala.³² Chiapas and Honduras, whose ecclesiastical jurisdictions corresponded with the civil boundaries of each

province,³³ produced tithe incomes much inferior to those of Guatemala and León. Chiapas, much smaller than Honduras in geographical size, ranked third in tithe totals collected in the Kingdom of Guatemala until the 1760s³⁴ when Honduras gradually increased the amounts collected in tithe revenue.³⁵ When the size of the tithe collecting areas of Chiapas and Honduras are taken into account, Honduras ranked last in proportionate tithe income in the Bourbon period in the Kingdom of Guatemala. Since the Kingdom of Guatemala ranked as one of the poorest political divisions within the Spanish empire during the Bourbon period, few bishoprics ranked below Honduras in terms of revenue, prestige, and influence. The economy of Honduras was agrarian with a village market focus. The limited cash flow in the economy derived from the sale of livestock in the Kingdom of Guatemala and from the highly variable yet small yield of silver mining.³⁶

Each of the bishops in the four bishoprics of the Kingdom of Guatemala had the prerogative of exercising the principal administrative and religious authority in the Church within his jurisdiction. The coordinate structure meant that in most matters each bishop was responsible for affairs in his own diocese and would not usually attempt to interfere in affairs in another jurisdiction. A bishop's autonomy, however, was much greater in religious matters than in administrative ones. It also meant that none of the bishops enjoying higher tithe incomes, of which each was entitled to receive approximately twenty-five per cent of the total collected, was obligated to share financially with the impoverished bishops of Honduras and Chiapas.³⁷ In reality, however, Spanish civil authorities in the Kingdom of Guatemala and the

peninsula tried to institute economic development programs whose effects would include making impoverished bishoprics self-supporting to end their right to call on the crown for provision of supplementary income.³⁸

In the case of Honduras, territory had been added from the Alcaldía Mayor of San Salvador in the seventeenth century and again in the eighteenth century for the supposed purpose of increasing tithe revenues and consequently episcopal income.³⁹ In addition tithe revenue from an absent bishop's share was transferred from Nicaraguan accounts to the bishop of Comayagua on at least one occasion in the Bourbon era.⁴⁰ Funds were not appropriated from Chiapas accounts because Chiapas was in no position to help. Also funds were transferred from Guatemalan civil and ecclesiastical sources in desperate attempts to support Honduran bishops.⁴¹ Under conditions of poor tithe collections and episcopal poverty, Honduras was susceptible to increased influence from the (arch)bishop and the Audiencia of Guatemala.⁴²

The cathedral chapter of Honduras during the Bourbon period included the basic positions of the dignidades, plus two prebendas de oposición, the penitenciario and the doctoral.⁴³ Frequently, not all the posts were filled.⁴⁴ The crown-approved appointments of the dignidades included the posts of deán, arcediano, chantre, maestre escuela, and tesorero.⁴⁵

The regular clergy in the province of Honduras was limited to the members of the Franciscan and Mercedarian Orders and the hospital friars of San Juan de Dios.⁴⁶ In the early seventeenth century and again in the early eighteenth century the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was invited to establish itself in Honduras, but refused on the grounds that Honduras was too impoverished.⁴⁷

During part of the eighteenth century, regular clergy served as doctrineros in pre-secularized Indian parishes called doctrinas. Administration was organized through the religious orders in Guatemala which had conventos (friaries) in Honduras.⁴⁸ It appears that the regular clergy was employed throughout the colonial period to staff local churches in the isolated areas of Honduras. It was not uncommon to have regular clergy assigned to remote areas begging to be transferred to more attractive areas.⁴⁹ At the end of the eighteenth century the doctrinas were gradually changed into curatos (parishes), thereby signifying that the areas were placed under the authority of the secular bishop of Comayagua.⁵⁰ Both regular and secular priests in the lower clergy could serve in curatos. Priests served approximately 145 churches in thirty-nine curatos in Honduras by the end of the Bourbon period.⁵¹ The bishopric of Guatemala, which included the rich area of San Salvador, operated 424 churches or approximately sixty per cent of the total in the Kingdom of Guatemala.⁵² Chiapas had 102 churches, but most of these served tribute-paying Indians who were exempt from the tithes.⁵³ The bishopric of León, which included Nicaragua and Costa Rica, served eighty-eight churches.⁵⁴

The lower clergy did not benefit from the tithe distribution in the bishopric of Honduras during the colonial period.⁵⁵ The members of the regular orders were excluded de jure from receiving part of the tithe revenue. The secular priests in the lower clergy were entitled to a share of the tithe income, but were excluded de facto despite promises of reform during the Bourbon period.⁵⁶ Tithe revenue was distributed for the benefit of the bishops (twenty-five per cent or minimum salary),

the cathedral chapter (twenty-five per cent or minimum salary), the hospital, seminary, and fábrica (church maintenance) (approximately thirty-nine per cent), and the crown (slightly more than eleven per cent, but at times was redonated to the Honduran Church).⁵⁷ Additional deductions for the eighteenth century wars⁵⁸ and the consolidation order⁵⁹ were subtracted at various times before distribution of the rest of the tithe income was made. More details are provided in Chapter VI and in the tithe charts located in the appendices of this study.

If the lower clergy did not receive income from the tithe revenues, how were they able to survive? Obviously, survival would depend upon at least six legal sources of financial support. These included the sínodo, clerical fees, gifts from parishioners, capellanías, funds from cofradía accounts, and the primicia. There is some evidence that an undetermined number of clergy in Honduras engaged in commercial activities, but this was officially discouraged. Doubtless, some of the Honduran clergy supplemented their income through family contributions, but accurate records are scarce.⁶⁰

In some doctrinas or curacies clergy were qualified to receive a royal stipend called the sínodo. Under the terms of the Real Patronato, wherever Church personnel could not be supported by a significant levy upon the local population, the crown was obligated to subsidize personnel expenses.⁶¹ The sínodo was a royal payment derived from the coffers of the local royal treasury, either in Honduras or Guatemala, and was approximately 183 pesos, equivalent to ten per cent of the basic annual minimum salary of a bishop.⁶²

For performing clerical duties of baptism, marriage, and funerals, members of the lower clergy were entitled to collect fees.

The fees were published in a diocesan and government approved list which was called the arancel.⁶³ Fees were levied in accordance with the type of service desired. Collection of clerical fees was necessary for survival if the local priest did not share in the tithe distribution.⁶⁴ However, throughout the colonial period and especially at the end of the Bourbon period and the early national period, Indian communities and Liberal anti-clericals accelerated their criticism of the clerical fee collection system.⁶⁵

Gifts of food, clothing, and shelter were doubtless provided to members of the lower clergy, but documentation relating to contributions "in kind" is rare.⁶⁶ Some members of the clergy in Honduras had access to income derived from capellanías, but studies of this aspect of clerical income for the region are incomplete. Doubtless, a study of the effects of the early nineteenth century Consolidation Order will shed light on this topic.⁶⁷

Funds derived from supervision of cofradías (brotherhoods) provided a lucrative source of financial support for some local parish priests in Honduras. Since the structure of the cofradías involved heirs of the founders of the pious foundations, community participants, and the local priest, conflicts over economic control deepened and increased with the passing of time. By the end of the Bourbon period control of the Cofradía de Colama brought the emerging cattle raising Herrera family into bitter disputes with the local parish priest. Many of these factions were interrelated by blood, but became separated by competing economic interests. These differences became exacerbated during years of economic crisis which certainly characterized the last years of the Bourbon era and the early national period of Honduras.⁶⁸

Collection of the primicia (first fruits) became an important source of income for some members of the lower clergy. In addition it was guaranteed to become a source of bitter controversy in an impoverished bishopric. Essentially the right to collect the primicia meant that the local priest was entitled to the best and the biggest agricultural or livestock item at harvest or calving time. In some cases a monetary payment could be substituted. Although the custom was accepted for centuries in Spain and in parts of the Spanish empire,⁶⁹ this practice was not introduced into Honduras until the late eighteenth century by the reforming Bishop Antonio de San Miguel Iglesias.⁷⁰ The practice was continued by Bishop Fernando Cadiñanos.⁷¹ Most frequently it was applied in the cattle raising areas of Honduras and it was there that it was bitterly denounced and resisted as an illegal double tithe. The Figueroa and Morazán families challenged the legality of the collection of the primicia before the judges of the Audiencia of Guatemala. They lost their court-fight, but were determined to win, nonetheless, in challenging the prerogatives of the lower clergy and Church authorities in Comayagua. In addition, resentment of the cattle raising interests in Honduras toward royal officials in Guatemala and Spain increasingly stiffened. It would appear, then, to be no mere coincidence that these same anti-clerical cattle-raising families produced Liberal leaders such as Dionisio de Herrera and Francisco Morazán who were responsible for dismantling an already impoverished and weakened Church structure in the initial years of the national history of Honduras.⁷²

Chapter I

Notes

¹Some general studies of the Bourbon period include Peggy Liss, American Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713-1826 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1982); Jacques Barbier, "Toward a New Chronology: The Depositaria de Indias of Cádiz, 1722-1789," Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv, 6:4 (1980), 335-353; Mark A. Burkholder and D.S. Chandler, From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audencias, 1687-1808 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977); Mark A. Burkholder, "The Council of the Indies in the Late Eighteenth Century: A New Perspective," Hispanic American Historical Review, 56 (August, 1976), 404-423; Arnold Bauer, "The Church and Spanish American Agrarian Structure," The Americas, 28:1 (1971), 78-98; Alberto de la Hera, El regalismo borbónico en su proyección indiana (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, S.A., 1963); Frank Jay Moreno, "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach," Western Political Quarterly, XX (June, 1967), 308-320; Magaly Sarfatti, ed., Spanish Bureaucratic-Patrimonialism in America (Berkeley: University of California International Studies, 1966). Useful works on New Spain and Peru include Stanley J. Stein, "Bureaucracy and Business in the Spanish Empire, 1759-1804: Failure of a Bourbon Reform in Mexico and Peru," HAHR, 61:1 (1981), 2-28; Paul Ganster, "Social Origins and Career Patterns of the Upper Levels of the Secular Clergy in Eighteenth Century Peru and Mexico," Paper presented at the 92nd Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Dallas, Texas, December 28-30, 1977. Studies of New Spain during the Bourbon period have comprised important advancements in the understanding of the era. Some contributions include Felix Almaráz, Crossroad of Empire: The Church and State on the Rio Grande Frontier of Coahuila and Texas, 1700-1821 (San Antonio, Texas: Center for Archaeological Research, The University of Texas at San Antonio, 1979); Peggy Liss, "Mexico en el siglo XVIII: algunos problemas e interpretaciones cambiantes," Historia Mexicana, 27:2 (1977), 273-315; Doris Ladd, The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780-1826 (Austin, Texas: Institute of Latin American Studies, The University of Texas Press, 1976); Susan Linda Swan, "Climate, Crops, and Livestock: Some aspects of Colonial Mexican Agriculture," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Washington State University, 1977); Eric Julian Van Young, "Rural Life in Eighteenth Century Mexico: The Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1978); John Mark Tutino, "Creole Mexico: Spanish Elites, Haciendas, and Indian Towns, 1750-1810," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1976); Michael P. Costeloe, "A Capellanía in Mexico, 1665-1799: A Case History," The Catholic Historical Review (hereinafter cited as CHR), LXII:4 (October, 1976), 604-617; Church Wealth in Mexico: A Study of the 'Juzgado de Capellanías' in the Archbishopric of Mexico, 1800-1856 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier, "Dowries and Wills: A view of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640-1790," HAHR, 59:2 (May, 1979), 280-304; Asunción Lavrin, "The Role of

the Nunneries in the Economy of New Spain in the Eighteenth Century," HAHR, 40:4 (November, 1966), 371-393; James D. Riley, "The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico, 1670-1767," The Americas, XXXIII (October, 1976), 226-266; Enrique Florescano, ed., Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones en América Latina (Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores, 1975); Florescano, Origen y desarrollo de los problemas agrarios de Mexico, 1500-1821 (Colección Problemas de Mexico; Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1976); Florescano, Precios de maíz y crisis agrícola, 1708-1810 (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1969); Francis Joseph Brooks, "Parish and Cofradía in Eighteenth Century Mexico," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1976); William B. Taylor, "The Valley of Oaxaca: A Study of Colonial Land Distribution," (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1969); Robert McCarty Kiernan, "Franciscan beginnings of the Arizona-Sonora Desert, 1767-1770," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1973); Ann Miriam Gallagher, "The Family Background of the Nuns of Two 'Monasterios' in Colonial Mexico: Santa Clara, Querétaro, and Corpus Christi, Mexico City, 1724-1822," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1972); Brian R. Hamnett, Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico, 1750-1821 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); David A. Brading, Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). Consult the introduction, pp. 1-13, in Jan Bazant, Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856-1875 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Harold Bradley Benedict, "The Distribution of Expropriated Jesuit Properties in Mexico, with Special Reference to Chihuahua, 1767-1790," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1970); Nancy M. Farriss, Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821: The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege (London: The Athlone Press, 1968); Gene Alan Müller, "The Status of the Clergy and the Condition of Church Wealth in Mexico: 1800-1850," (M.A. Thesis, University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1969). Works on Peru include Kendall Walker Brown, "The Economic and Fiscal Structure of Eighteenth Century Arequipa," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Duke University, 1979); Mary A.Y. Gallagher, "Imperial Reform and the Struggle for Regional Self Determination: Bishops, Intendants, and Creole Elites in Arequipa, Peru, 1784-1816," (Ph.D. Dissertation, City University of New York, 1978); J.R. Fisher, Silver Mines and Silver Miners in Colonial Peru, 1776-1824 (Liverpool, 1977); Margaret E. Crahan, "Church-State Conflict in Colonial Peru: Bourbon Regalism under the Last of the Hapsburgs," CHR, LXII:2 (1976), 224-244; James S. Saeger, "Clerical Politics in Eighteenth Century Peru: The Trial of José de Antequero," Journal of Church and State, 17 (1975), 81-86; Jay Frederick Lehnertz, "Lands of the Infidels: The Franciscans in the Central Montaña of Peru, 1709-1824," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974); Paul Ganster, "A Social History of the Secular Clergy of Lima during the Middle Decades of the Eighteenth Century," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974); Maria Consuelo Sparks, "The Role of the Clergy during the Struggle for Independence in Peru," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1972); Antonine Tibesar, "The Lima Pastors, 1750-1820: Their Origins and Studies as Taken from their Autobiographies," The Americas, XXVII:1 (July, 1971), 39-56; Leona Ruth Auld, "Discontent with the Spanish System of Control in Upper Peru, 1730-1809," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1963).

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²Studies of the Bourbon era in Central America include Miles Wortman, Government and Society in Central America, 1680-1840 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Wortman, "Bourbon Reforms in Central America, 1750-1786," The Americas, 32:2 (1975), 222-238; Mario Rodríguez, The Cádiz Experiment in Central America, 1808 to 1826 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Christopher Hayden Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala, 1541-1773: The Socio-demographic History of a Spanish American Colonial City," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1976); Gene Alan Müller, "La formación de un revolucionario del siglo XIX: El Doctor Tomás Ruíz de Centroamérica," Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano [Managua, Nicaragua], 32:154 (1977), 22-32; W.E. Meneray, "The Kingdom of Guatemala during the Reign of Charles III, 1759-1788," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1975); Severo Martínez Pelaez, La patria del criollo, ensayo de interpretación de la realidad colonial guatemalteca (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1973); Murdo MacLeod, Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic history, 1520-1720 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Robert Howard Claxton, "Lorenzo Montúfar: Central American Liberal," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Tulane University, 1970) [contains Montúfar's interpretation of the colonial period]; Carlos Meléndez, La Ilustración en el Antiguo Reino de Guatemala (San José, Costa Rica: EDUCA, 1970); Constantino Láscaris, Historia de las ideas en Centroamérica (San José, Costa Rica: EDUCA, 1970), chapter V and part of chapter VI; Ricardo Blanco Segura, Historia eclesiástica de Costa Rica (San José, Costa Rica: Ed. Costa Rica, 1967.)

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³For older, but still useful sources, consult Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Central America (3 vols.; San Francisco: The History Company, 1882-1887); J. Antonio Villacorta Calderón, Historia de la Capitanía General de Guatemala (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1938; Pedro Cortés y Larraz, Descripción geográfico-moral de la diócesis

de Goathemala (2 vols.; Guatemala: Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, 1958); Francisco de Paula García Peláez, Memorias para la historia del antiguo reino de Guatemala (3 vols.; Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1943-44); Antonio Batres Jauregui, La América Central ante la historia (3 vols.; Guatemala: Tipografía Sánchez y De Guise, 1920); Domingo Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala (2 vols.; Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1936); Antonio de Alcedo, Diccionario geográfico-histórico de las Indias occidentales ó América (5 vols.; Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel González, 1786-1789).

⁴Consult John L. Phelan, "Authority and Flexibility in the Spanish Imperial Bureaucracy," Administrative Sciences Quarterly, 5 (June, 1960), 47-65; Mark A. Burkholder and D.S. Chandler, From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687-1808 (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1977); Sarfatti, Spanish Bureaucratic Patrimonialism in America, section on Audiencias.

⁵Sarfatti, Spanish Bureaucratic Patrimonialism in America, section on legislative functions; Moreno, "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach," 308-320. Real acuerdo and real orden are examples.

⁶Lillian Estelle Fisher, The Intendant System in Spanish America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929); John Lynch, Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810. The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata (London: The Athlone Press); Gisela Morazzari de Pérez Enciso, La intendencia en España y en América (Caracas: Imprenta Universitaria, 1966); J.R. Fisher, Government and Society in Colonial Peru. The Intendancy System, 1784-1814 (London: The Athlone Press, 1970). For information on the intendancy system in colonial Central America consult Samayoa Guevara, Implantación del Régimen de Intendencias en el Reino de Guatemala. Provincial records in the Archivo de Centro America, formerly the Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala, contain local information on the intendants in colonial Central America. Some documents for Honduras are located in the Archivo Nacional de Honduras in Tegucigalpa.

⁷MacLeod, Spanish Central America, 314-317; Parker, The Central American Republics, p. 59.

⁸MacLeod, Spanish Central America, 318-319; Parker, The Central American Republics, p. 60.

⁹Rómulo E. Durón, Bosquejo histórico de Honduras. 2^a ed. (Tegucigalpa: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1956) provides an explanation of the designation and the jurisdiction of the alcaldía mayor of Tegucigalpa at the various periods in Honduran history.

¹⁰Samayoa Guevara, Implantación del Régimen de Intendencias en el Reino de Guatemala remains the best explanation of the intendancy system in colonial Central America.

¹¹José María Ots Capedquí, "Apuntes para la historia del municipio hispanoamericano del período colonial," Anuario de la historia del derecho español, I (1924), 93-157.

Constantino Bayle, Los cabildos seculares en la América española (Madrid: Sapiencia, S.A. de Ediciones, 1952); Parker, The Central American Republics, p. 59.

¹²Parker, The Central American Republics, pp. 59-60.

¹³Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, I, pp. 15-66, 69-74. Parker correctly points out that between 1570 and 1821 Europeans "numbered in the low tens of thousands" (p. 57) and that the vast remainder of the population was comprised of Indians, meztizos, mulattoes, or sambos. More than half the population was always Indian.

¹⁴Carl L. Johannessen, Savannas of Interior Honduras, Ibero-Americana No. 46 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 30, provides a chart of population statistics between 1524 and 1961. Juarros stated that the population of Honduras was 93,501 in 1791 while Governor Anguiano believed the correct number was 128,363 in 1804. Marure lists the population of Honduras in 1821 as 137,069. Alejandro Marure, Bosquejo histórico de las revoluciones de Centro América. Desde 1811 hasta 1834. (2 vols.; Guatemala: Tipografía de "El Progreso", 1877-1878), I, p. 148

¹⁵Parker, The Central American Republics, p. 57; MacLeod, Spanish Central America, 105-106, 162-163, 190, 363-365.

¹⁶Manuel Rubio Sánchez, "El añil o xiquilite," Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia [Guatemala] (hereinafter cited as ASGHG), 26 (1952), 313-349; Rubio Sánchez, "El Cacao," ASGHG, 31 (1958), 81-129.

¹⁷Jesus B. Membreño, Monografía del departamento de Copán, 2^a ed., (Tegucigalpa: Talleres Tipográficos Nacionales, 1942), pp. 15, 35. Fernando F. Figueroa, Monografía del Olancho (Tegucigalpa: Talleres Tipográficos Nacionales, 1935), p. 37.

¹⁸MacLeod, Spanish Central America, 61, 214-215; Johannessen, Savannas of Interior Honduras, 36-39. These two studies are important contributions in explaining relationships between land, food supply, and population in the region.

¹⁹MacLeod, Spanish Central America, p. 302.

²⁰MacLeod, Spanish Central America, pp. 38, 61, 123, 199, 246, 247.

²¹Parker, The Central American Republics, p. 65; MacLeod, Spanish Central America, 227-228, 274-275, 302-304. That agriculture was more important than mining activities is not surprising. The same held true for New Spain. See also Johannessen, Savannas of Interior Honduras, for the discussion of the topic in various sections, pp. 36-39, for example.

²²Parker, The Central American Republics, 65, 148-150, 256-263.

²³Parker, The Central American Republics, 65; MacLeod, Spanish Central America, 60-61, 110-111. West, "The Mining Economy of Honduras during the Colonial Period," 767-777.

²⁴MacLeod, Spanish Central America, see especially his chapter "The Currency Crisis," pp. 280-287 and pp. 321, 383, 436. The documents are replete with complaints about the shortage of currency, especially in materials pertaining to Honduras.

²⁵MacLeod, Spanish Central America, pp. 292-295 (Indians), pp. 105, 111, 149-150, 184-185, 190-191, 363-364 (Black slaves).

²⁶"the economic exigencies of the colonial system led to the development of institutions which exploited the Indians despite royal attempts at protective legislation. Even where the evangelizing impulse was predominant, the institutions of tutelage were designed to pacify the Indians, and few channels were open to them to state their needs." Arlene Eisen, "The Indians of Colonial Spanish America," in Sarfatti, Spanish Bureaucratic-Patrimonialism in America, p. 101. For a recent discussion of Indian tribute see Mark Van Aken, "The Lingering Death of Indian Tribute in Ecuador," HAHR, 61:3 (August, 1981), 429-459.

²⁷Parker, The Central American Republics, pp. 191-193, 202, 212-213, 290.

²⁸The ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions are discussed in detail by the works cited in footnote 3. An example is J. Antonio Villacorta Calderón, Historia de la Capitanía General de Guatemala, pp. 53-75. The importance of this topic is emphasized in treatises dealing with boundary disputes in which Church records at the parish level were carefully used to support the arguments of a particular country. One of many examples is Antonio R. Vallejo, Historia documentada de los límites entre la República de Honduras y las de Nicaragua, El Salvador, y Guatemala, (2 tomos; New York: Honduras, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, 1938).

²⁹See the tithe revenue reported for selected years in the appendices of this study, Tithe Income of Guatemala.

³⁰This becomes obvious upon perusal of Cortés y Larraz, Descripción geográfico-moral de la diócesis de Goathemala. Tomo 1 y 2.

³¹For dependable data and interpretation regarding the bishopric of León, which included Nicaragua and Costa Rica, consult Sofonías Salvatierra, Contribución a la historia de Centroamérica: monografías documentales (2 vols.; Managua, Nicaragua: Tipografía Progreso, 1939). This writer has consulted the tithe documents for León in the Archivo de Centro América in Guatemala and has found that Salvatierra's data is loyal to the documents. For Costa Rica see Luis Felipe González, El gobierno eclesiástico en Costa Rica durante el régimen colonial (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1957);

Ricardo Blanco Segura, Historia eclesiástica de Costa Rica del descubrimiento a la erección de la diócesis, 1502-1850 (San Jose: Editorial Costa Rica, 1967).

³²Consult tithe income chart for the bishopric of León in the appendices of this study.

³³In regard to Chiapas, Lorenzo Montúfar was the Guatemalan official in the government of Justo Rufino Barrios who authorized the transfer of Chiapas to the Republic of Mexico in the negotiations over boundary disputes between the two countries. Although Chiapas had been a part of the Kingdom of Guatemala, in commercial relations it was strongly tied to Mexico before and after Independence. Oil discoveries in Chiapas in the twentieth century has added controversy to the dimensions of this topic. A study of the bishops in Chiapas can be located in Vicente de P. Andrade, Noticias biográficas de los Ilmos. Sres. Obispos de Chiapas, 2^a ed., (Mexico: Imprenta Guadalupana, 1907). Two general works dealing with the jurisdiction of Honduras include Antonio R. Vallejo, Compendio de la historia social y política de Honduras, 2^a ed., (Tegucigalpa: Tipografía Nacional, 1926); Howard I. Blutstein, et al., Area Handbook for Honduras (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971).

³⁴See the appendices for tithe data pertaining to Chiapas.

³⁵Consult the tithe data for Honduras in appendices.

³⁶MacLeod, Spanish Central America, p. 214; Alastair White, El Salvador (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1973). On p. 49 White states "All the trade from the north coast of Honduras to El Salvador had to pass through Guatemala, and was controlled by the powerful merchants of that city. Their collective monopoly raised the price of imports; but it seems they exercised a significant control over exports, too. In the case of indigo there apparently was a battle for political influence between the hacendados, with their monopoly of production, and the Guatemalan merchants, with their monopsony of purchase; while in the case of cattle there is no doubt about the way they organized the monopsony. They would buy cattle only at periodical fairs, and would select a site for the fair, near Guatemala City, which was arid, and would even burn off the existing pasture. Then the drovers, who had brought their beasts from El Salvador or from as far as Honduras and Nicaragua, would be in no position to hold out for a higher price but would have to sell." Footnote 113 he states that the aforementioned procedure was abolished by the authorities by the end of the eighteenth century. The Gazeta de Guatemala, Num. 6 (Lunes, 20 Marzo 1797), fol. 47, stated that a cattle fair was held in the Pueblo de Jalpatagua, province of Escuintla, in January of 1797. There were 3,975 cattle from the haciendas of the Intendency of Comayagua and 10,159 cattle from the Intendency of León, Nicaragua. Of this total of 14,134 cattle, 114 were consumed by the herders during the drive (8/10 of 1 per cent), 186 strayed during the drive (1.31 per cent), 2,627 died of sickness (18.59 per cent), 1,593 cattle were tired and unable to continue and were sold on the way to Guatemala (11.27 per cent), and 8,614 arrived at the fair for sale (60.95 per cent). 8,000 cattle were supposed to last Guatemala City for six months.

³⁷"[The bishopric of] Sonora was dependent upon the royal treasury for its financial means, and had severe difficulty attracting bishops and secular clergy. It was too poor to support a cathedral chapter. The problem of the poor distribution of the secular clergy in the colonial period, as well as in the nineteenth century, might have been resolved if the Church had been a monolithic centralized institution. It was not. Tithes could be distributed and used only in the diocese from which they were collected. Wealthy dioceses, such as Mexico and Puebla, did not share with the diocese of Sonora, Yucatan, and Chiapas, because neither the bishops nor any other ecclesiastical official had the authority to distribute revenue on an equitable basis throughout the viceroyalty of New Spain. The Church organization was based on a hierarchical system under which there was no degree of centralized authority except in matters pertaining to doctrine. Each bishop was, for the most part, autonomous in his diocese." From Müller, "The Status of the Clergy and the Condition of Church Wealth in Mexico: 1800-1850," pp. 15-16. Local income paid for local expenses in the municipio, province, and diocese including royal expenditures in those jurisdictions. Modern redistribution practices including moving income from wealthier jurisdictions to poorer ones were not a part of the political or religious system. It did occur as a boon, as an act of generosity on the part of the crown, but not as a matter of ordinary practice under law. The old system still obtains in the Catholic Church. For example, there are diocesan programs such as the Call to Share program of the Archdiocese of Kansas City, Kansas, but they are based on a call on the generosity of the faithful of the diocese and are not funded by a levy on parish revenues.

³⁸The attitude of Philip V may be found in a document of 1778-1781 which repeats the 1738-40 royal policy. Consult Archivo de Centro America/ Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (hereinafter cited as AGGG) Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2316.

³⁹This topic will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II in relation to the episcopacy of Antonio López de Guadalupe Portillo and in Chapter VI in regard to the tithe system in the bishopric of Comayagua during the Bourbon period.

⁴⁰This issue will be dealt with in Chapter II in relation to Bishop López de Guadalupe assuming his position. These were considered royal funds since they originated from vacantes mayores.

⁴¹This case will be discussed in Chapter IV. It involved Bishop Vicente de Navas.

⁴²Of course, Honduran officials often welcomed the assistance provided local officials by authorities in Guatemala. Certainly, several of the Honduran bishops of the Bourbon period solicited the intervention of Guatemalan officials.

⁴³Bishop Isidoro Rodríguez Lorenzo requested the addition of the penitenciario and the doctoral on April 30, 1767. For further explanation consult Antonio Ybot Leon, La iglesia y los eclesiásticos

españoles en la empresa de Indias. Vols. XVI and XVII of Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, Historia de America y de los pueblos americanos (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1963), II, p. 206.

⁴⁴Frequently not all the cathedral chapter posts were filled in the bishopric of Comayagua. The vacancies can be seen in the royal share of the tithe income which is contained in a chart in Chapter VII.

⁴⁵For job descriptions of these positions consult Ybot León, La iglesia, II, pp. 204-205.

⁴⁶For an introduction to the Franciscan and Mercedarian Orders in Central America consult Eleanor B. Adams, "A Bio-Bibliography of Franciscan Authors in Colonial Central America," The Americas, 8 (1952), 431-471, and 9 (1952), 37-86; Marion A. Habig, "The Franciscan Provinces of Spanish North America," The Americas, 1 (1944-1945), 330-33; José Castro Seone, "La expansión de la Merced en la América Colonial," Revista de Indias, IV;13 (Julio-Septiembre, 1943), 405-440. Various articles pertaining to the Franciscans and Mercedarians have appeared in newspapers, journals, and pamphlets in Central America, but an appropriate study and interpretation of the Orders in Honduras remains to be done.

⁴⁷This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II in relation to the episcopacy of López de Guadalupe.

⁴⁸The doctrinas were served by the regular clergy, called doctrineros. These were pre-secularized Indian parishes. These were administered from Guatemala.

⁴⁹The regular clergy, according to numerous documents in Guatemala, were anxious to be reassigned from their duties in Honduras. The work was difficult, frustrating, lonely, and unrewarding in a financial context.

⁵⁰Curatos were parishes under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese.

⁵¹Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, I, pp. 69-74.

⁵²Ibid.; For an in depth description consult Cortés y Larráz, Descripción geográfico-moral de la diócesis de Goathemala.

⁵³Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, I, pp. 69-74.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵According to the attorney general of the Audiencia of Guatemala in 1797, "the lower clergy [of Honduras] do not get any share of the tithes because of an ill-advised distribution system." AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470, Fol. 28ff

⁵⁶The regular clergy received the sínodo, often 183 pesos or one-tenth of the annual salary of a bishop (1,838 pesos) in an undeveloped area, plus any contributions provided by the local Indian population.

⁵⁷For exact legislation consult the Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias. 2nd ed., (2 vols.; Madrid, 1756). For tithe distribution practices it is useful to consult annual tithe charts in individual dioceses. An in depth explanation is found in Ybot León, La iglesia, II, p. 226. Useful also are the following: Clarence H. Haring, The Spanish Empire in America (First Harbinger Books Edition; New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1963), p. 265; Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Mexico (6 vols.; San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1883-1888), III, p. 698; J. Lloyd Mecham, Church and State in Latin America, rev. ed., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 25. Mecham states that there were slight variations in the system of distribution throughout the colonial period. In Panama four ninths of fifty per cent of the tithe revenues were assigned to pay the salaries of the parish priests in the seventeenth century.

⁵⁸As consequence of a real cédula of Aranjuez dated May 19, 1783, the Bourbon crown demanded the collection of a six per cent subsidio from the salary of each ecclesiastic in the Indies. The crown did complain, however, that some of its instructions were not being carried out. The crown demanded access to more complete financial records on the condition of ecclesiastical finances in each diocese. It was lamented that twenty-nine of the forty-two bishoprics had not submitted reports. "Only the archbishops of Mexico, Manila, and Guatemala plus the bishops of Nicaragua, Comayagua, Chiapa, Concepción de Chile, Guamanga, Oaxaca, Mérida, Yucatañ, Santiago de Chile, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and Santa Marta have sent in the reports of the status of ecclesiastical income in each diocese." AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2319. This writer speculates that Antonio de San Miguel Iglesias, the reforming bishop of Comayagua who initiated the collection of the first fruits, sent Charles III and his ministers a detailed and forthright assessment of conditions in Comayagua. Royal officials in Spain, perhaps, remembered the insights of San Miguel's report and kept him in mind for the lucrative promotion to the diocese of Michoacán a few years later. This aforementioned document also reminded the bishops and the cathedral chapters of Nicaragua, Comayagua, and Chiapas that the subsidio was not to be deducted from the royal two-ninths. "The royal ninths belonged to the crown and not to the Church or to Jesus Christ!" The fiscal of the Audiencia of Guatemala handed down an opinion clearly in harmony with Bourbon attitudes on July 6, 1792. "In conclusion, the spirit of each subsidio is that the clergy contribute to His Majesty, not that His Majesty contributes to himself! The intention of the SS.PP. [subsidios patrióticos ?] in the concession of the four million ducats has been to aid with this entire amount the urgencias of the crown. When this is doubted, one is not able to doubt that the royal intention of Ferdinand VI in excusing fifty per cent of this contribution, was that the clergy completely contribute the other fifty per cent." AGGG, Sig. A3. 27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2319.

⁵⁹The application of the Consolidation Order to the Indies meant that Bourbon crown intended to use the funds obtained to amortize the Spanish national debt. The national debt had ballooned because of attempts to finance foreign wars through issuance of nine sets of government bonds called vales reales which yielded one-fourth of one per cent per year. In 1798 the Consolidation Order was put into effect in the peninsula which meant that the Spanish Church was to sell its holdings and loan the funds to the Bourbon crown. The money borrowed would yield interest at the rate of three per cent per year and would be secured by a general lien on the crown's revenues. The crown assumed four points: that pious funds were equivalent of land holdings, that ambitious farmers would immediately purchase the land, that economic enterprise was financed by private secular banking groups, and that a very small percentage of pious funds consisted of censos and depósitos, that is, amounts of capital invested in land. These assumptions were invalid in the case of New Spain where the Consolidation Order, applied in December, 1804, called in most mortgages for immediate redemption. The effect was that property owners were hard hit with monumental debt payments and with mountains of paper work. Entrepreneurs in the upper class were caught in the crunch in at least three ways. They could be benefactors or founders of pious funds, they could act as fiadores or co-signers on notes, and many of them had heavily borrowed from Church credit available at five per cent interest. The reaction of the agricultural interests in Michoacán and the formidable arguments of bishop-elect Manuel Abad y Queipo are well known to students of colonial Latin American history. Not as well known is the fact that the ayuntamiento of Santiago, Chile imposed its opposition to the Consolidation upon Spanish authorities there so that in Chile the Order was never promulgated. Under pressure of nearly unanimous opposition, Spanish authorities in Chile escaped further criticism locally by the traditional response of "obedezco pero no cumplo." Summarized from Ladd, The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780-1826, pp. 98-102. The specific studies on this topic are few, but excellent in quality. See also Brian R. Hamnett, "The Appropriation of Mexican Church Wealth by the Spanish Bourbon Government: The Consolidation of 'Vales Reales', 1805-1809," Journal of Latin American Studies, I:2 (November, 1969), 85-113; Hamnett, "The Counter Revolution of Morillo and the Insurgent Clerics of New Granada, 1815-1820," The Americas, 32:4 (1976), 597-617; Asunción Lavrin, "The Execution of the Law of Consolidation in New Spain," HAHR, 53:1 (October, 1972), 367-387; Romero Flores Caballero, "La consolidación de Vales Reales en la economía, la sociedad y la política novahispana," Historia Mexicana, 18:71 (1969), 334-378; Susan B. Liberti, "Notas sobre la consolidación de vales reales en Rio de la Plata," Investigaciones y ensayos [Argentina], 6/7 (1969), 295-322; Geoffrey A. Cabat, "The Consolidation of 1804 in Guatemala," The Americas, XXVIII:1 (July, 1971), 20-38; The Tribunal de Cuentas on October 16, 1807 indicated that 56,631 pesos, 3 3/4 reales had been deposited in the Comayagua Consolidation accounts. Other records seem to indicate that a minimum of 126,012 pesos were subject to the Consolidation Order in Honduras. This was small compared to Mexico, but such an amount drained from Honduras would have further damaged the fragile economy, already capital poor. The borrowers of Church capital in Honduras appears to be a Who's Who among agricultural, commercial,

and mining entrepreneurs. This writer plans to complete research on this topic in 1982. It is this writer's speculation that one of the effects of the Consolidation Order of 1804 in Honduras was the further depletion of local investment capital so badly needed for economic development. The capital was Church capital for the benefit of some of the clergy, but at least it was capital available for Honduras. Distant European wars, then, affected even the most remote areas of the Spanish empire through economic consequences. Explanation of the effects of the Consolidation Order in Honduras may complement the findings of two useful dissertations on Honduras. Consult Charles Abbey Brand, "The Background of Capitalistic Underdevelopment: Honduras to 1913" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1972; Gene Sheldon Yeager, "The Honduran Foreign Debt, 1825-1953" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Tulane University, 1975). Another perspective is provided by Earl J. Hamilton, "Monetary problems in Spain and Spanish America, 1751-1800," Journal of Economic History, IV:4 (May, 1944), 21-48.

⁶⁰ Family connections and contributions appear to have been important for several clerics in Honduras in the Bourbon period. One example is the Honduran cleric, Pedro Martir de Celaya, who was related to the Celaya [Zelaya] family and to the Herrera family. See "Testamento y codicilos de Don Pedro Martir de Celaya," Revista del Archivo y de la Biblioteca Nacional [Honduras], III:21-22 (25 de Septiembre de 1907), 658-666; III:23-24 (25 de Octubre de 1907), 710-720; IV:1-2 (25 de Noviembre de 1907), 6-11. Family connections did not mean that relations among relatives were cordial. Celaya indicated that Juan Jacinto Herrera, father of Dionisio, Justo, and Próspero Herrera, owed him furniture, slaves, silver, and several ranches, for his share of a purchase of the estate of Baltazar de Madariaga, but had not delivered the goods or titles. Celaya died December 5, 1797.

⁶¹ Ybot León, La iglesia, II, p. 165. Bishops were to have no other income than the tithes.

⁶² Documents in Guatemala indicate that the priests considered this amount insufficient.

⁶³ For examples of fees charged, the following is included:

Baptism: 4 reales for Indians, includes derechos de sacristán
 9 reales for Ladinos, includes derechos de sacristán
 Priest: Miguel Martín Ramírez, May 16, 1786, Tegucigalpa
 Source: AGGA, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 139, Exp. 1545

Marriage: 16 pesos, 3 reales for Juan Antonio Figueroa
 Priest: Joseph María Zepeda, July 15, 1796, Cedros
 Source: AGGA, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470, Fol. 71

Funeral: 16 pesos for burial of Doña Paula Zelaya

1 peso, 4 reales	2 posas
5 pesos	vigilia
5 pesos	misa
1 peso	capa
<hr/> 28 pesos, 4 reales	<hr/> basic funeral
23 pesos, 2 reales	misas y rezas
<hr/> 51 pesos, 6 reales	<hr/> total

Priest: Joseph María Zepeda, July, 1796 ?, Cedros ?
Source: AGGA, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470, Fol.72

⁶⁴Many Hondurans evidently did not clearly understand the nature of clerical finances during this period.

⁶⁵An example of this criticism can be found in AGGG, Sig. Al.11.32, Leg. 139, Exp. 1545, 1785-1786, Quejas de los Indios de Texiguat contra su cura Dⁿ Miguel Martín Ramírez; AGGG, Sig. Al.11.31, Leg. 139, Exp. 1542.

⁶⁶Bishop Francisco de Molina in a document dated August 13, 1749, imposed a fine of 100 pesos upon Joseph Valle, parish priest of Tegucigalpa, for engaging in prohibited commercial activities. Doubtless, alternatives to begging by the clergy had their drawbacks. AGGG, Sig. Al.11.31, Leg. 139, Exp. 1544.

⁶⁷Documents for a study of this nature are available in the Archivo de Centro América in Guatemala and in the Archivo Nacional in Tegucigalpa.

⁶⁸In addition to the example of the cofradía de Colama, there was the activity surrounding the cofradía de las Animas. Consult AGGG, Sig. Al.11.2, Leg. 128, Exp. 1474.

⁶⁹The contribution of the first fruits is found in the Old Testament of the Bible; Leviticus 23:10-14, Deuteronomy 26:1-11, Num. 28:13.

⁷⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470, Fol. 3 v.

⁷¹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470, Fol. 3 v. This is a document comprised of several folios and contains the names of important cattlemen. Juan Antonio Figueroa, José de Figueroa, Eusebio Morazán, Juan Francisco Valdés, José Thome, Esteban Rivera, Francisco Travieso and others comprise some of the group of complaining cattlemen.

⁷²For information on Dionisio de Herrera see José Reina Valenzuela, El Procer Dionisio de Herrera: estudio biográfico (Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Biblioteca de Geografía e Historia de Honduras, 1965). For perspectives on Francisco Morazán consult Mary Wilhelmine Williams, "The Ecclesiastical Policy of Francisco Morazán and other Central American Liberals," HAHR, III (May, 1920), 119-143; Robert Stoner Chamberlain, Francisco Morazán, Champion of Central American Federation (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1950); Ricardo Dueñas, Biografía del General Francisco Morazán (San Salvador: Departamento Editorial del Ministerio de Educación, 1961)

Chapter II

EPISCOPAL LEADERSHIP IN THE BISHOPRIC OF COMAYAGUA

DURING THE REIGNS OF PHILIP V AND FERDINAND VI

PART A: LEADERSHIP DURING THE REIGN OF PHILIP V

During the Bourbon period (1700-1821) eleven of the thirteen appointed bishops served the bishopric of Comayagua, an ecclesiastical jurisdiction which approximately paralleled the civil boundaries of the province of Honduras. Each of the prelates was charged with episcopal functions. These functions included providing proper secular ecclesiastical government, adequate teaching authority, ordination of new personnel in the ranks of the secular clergy, sanctification of parishioners, and the creation of new parishes. Individual bishops could place more emphasis on some functions than on others, but few could escape preoccupation with the persisting impoverished condition of the diocese.¹

Upon the death of Fray Alonso Vargas y Abarca on May 10, 1697, the episcopal office of the diocese of Comayagua fell vacant.² Approximately three years lapsed before the successor took possession of the diocese. The successor was Fray Juan Pérez Carpintero of the Premonstratensian Order of Canons Regular.³ His acceptance of the episcopal office of Comayagua in May, 1700,⁴ preceded the death of Charles II by only five months.⁵ By circumstance the episcopacy of Pérez Carpintero embodied the transition from Hapsburg to Bourbon control of the royal patronage in Honduras, since he was the last Bishop of Comayagua appointed during the reign of Hapsburg Charles II and the first to serve the diocese after the accession of Philip V.⁶

Personal merit and achievement accounted for the nomination of Fray Pérez Carpintero, since his family possessed neither wealth nor titles. As a young man he traveled approximately fifty miles from his birthplace in Brihuega in the bishopric of Guadalajara, Spain, to enter as a novice the Convento de San Norberto in Madrid. After taking holy orders he achieved some distinction as a theologian and as an adept polemicist in matters of canon law.⁷ At the time he was considered for an episcopal appointment he had attained the position of general of his order.⁸ It was probably his intellectual and administrative abilities which presented him as an attractive candidate. Doubtless, his proximity to the royal court also proved to be an asset.

In a letter of June 5, 1700, to the municipal corporation of Brihuega, he thanked the town officials for sending him a congratulatory letter upon Charles II's confirmation of his appointment to the episcopal office of Comayagua. His letter was filled with elated phrases expressing his pleasure and honor in being able to serve the King as a "son of Spain."⁹ By the time Pérez Carpintero took his oath in Guatemala on January 18, 1703,¹⁰ the difficulties of his task probably cooled his optimism and enthusiasm. In the subsequent two decades the notorious shortage of Comayagua's diocesan revenues and the stark imposition of administrative control from the Audiencia in Guatemala limited his prerogatives and accented the reality of his dependency.

Bishop Pérez Carpintero not only had to prepare for his future episcopal duties, he also had to resolve problems which had been neglected since the death of Bishop Vargas y Abarca in 1697. Upon his arrival in Santiago de Los Caballeros de Guatemala (now Antigua) on January 17, 1703,¹¹ the fiscal of the Audiencia was preparing a judicial decision which

instructed the Bishop to reprimand and curtail the alleged excesses of the clergy of Trujillo and Olancho. The action of the Audiencia was spurred by a complaint submitted by the *teniente del gobernador* (governor's deputy) in Trujillo.¹²

The governor's deputy had attempted to attract more settlers to the town of Piedras Blancas near Trujillo in order to strengthen the defense of the port city. The local priests had refused to help the official convince the mulatto families to reside with the families already settled in the area. Furthermore, the official argued that they had encouraged the mulattoes to live near Sonaguera, three leagues distant from Piedras Blancas, where they could flee to the hills in case of emergency. This uncooperative attitude on the part of the clergy prompted the deputy to complain that they were "looking out for their own welfare rather than serving the King."¹³ The clergy further antagonized the official by refusing to say mass and administer sacraments in the town of Piedras Blancas. Because the priests were paid from royal treasury funds and were pastors of their parishes only by virtue of the royal patronage, the official argued that they had an obligation to cooperate in the execution of royal defense policy. The refusal of the clergy to contribute funds belonging to the local *cofradías* to the caja de guerra (defense coffers) prompted the deputy to conclude that the clergy "do not understand politics"¹⁴ and angrily demanded that an order be sent from the Audiencia in Guatemala instructing "the aforementioned priests to abstain from thwarting the royal jurisdiction of defense."¹⁵

The deputy concluded his complaint with an embittered denunciation of the local clergy.

As yet I am not submitting to the tyranny which the clergy inflicts upon the royal jurisdiction. Either this situation arises from the inexperience of the clergy or you should consider [as they contend] that they are not vassals of the King.¹⁶

On February 3, 1703, the judges of the Audiencia in Guatemala responded forcefully by instructing the clergy not to embarrass the governor's deputy and to confine themselves within the proper limits. At the same time they ordered a document prepared for the Bishop pointing out the excesses of the clergy of Trujillo and Olancho which would "serve in correcting and restraining"¹⁷ them.

Following this initial welcome, the new Bishop turned to carrying out his daily episcopal duties. Within two years of assuming the position, Bishop Pérez Carpintero began the construction of a new cathedral. In view of the poverty of Honduras this was a bold decision. The only available ecclesiastical resources were the administrative and persuasive talents of the Bishop and the few members of the cathedral chapter.

On October 3, 1705, the Bishop and the cathedral chapter sent a report to the Audiencia which described the deplorable condition of the cathedral. Included was a statement that wood beams installed during the episcopacy of Bishop Vargas y Abarca had rotted and the structure was in danger of collapsing. From 1700 through 1705 mass could not be celebrated in the main chapel because of the impending collapse of the building. According to a master stone cutter summoned by Bishop Pérez Carpintero from another province, at least 10,000 pesos were necessary to restore the chapel. The Bishop and the cathedral chapter lamented, however, that no local means to finance this project existed. The only local revenue came from

tributes, half annates, payments of one month's salary for ecclesiastical appointments, tithes, sales taxes, and the quinto real [a twenty per cent tax on minerals], since shipping and commerce have been lacking. The vacant encomiendas which existed are now assigned to private persons and to the forts of Granada and of the Golfo Dulce.¹⁸

No evidence of the Audiencia's support has come to light. However, fourteen of Comayagua's most prominent residents pledged 28,600 pesos in that same year to underwrite the project.¹⁹ Others offered labor and materials and the use of mules and wagons resulting in a ten-year cathedral construction project estimated by some sources to have cost 130,000 pesos.²⁰ It was dedicated by Bishop Pérez Carpintero on December 7, 1715, although work on the portico was unfinished and some decorative details were incomplete.²¹

At about the same time Bishop Pérez Carpintero was preparing to celebrate the major accomplishment of his episcopacy the Governor of Honduras, Enrique Logman, was accused of engaging in illegal commerce with the British and had fled from the Kingdom of Guatemala. Joseph Rodezno, a judge of the Audiencia in Guatemala who had been commissioned as a juez pesquisidor (special investigative judge) to conduct Governor Logman's residencia (judicial hearing) at the end of his term of office, then assumed the governorship from 1715 to 1717. When Rodezno's investigation indicated that the governor's deputy in San Pedro Sula had also been active in illegal commerce with the British, the accused official sought and obtained ecclesiastical immunity from Bishop Pérez Carpintero. This challenge to the judicial prerogative of the Audiencia of Guatemala was ill-advised, however. Governor Rodezno, who still enjoyed his judicial functions, declared that the ecclesiastical protection granted by the Bishop would not be recognized. The Bishop

responded by excommunicating the Governor. After appeals to the Bishop were ignored Rodezno counter-responded by appealing to the Audiencia in Guatemala.²²

In a Real provisión (royal provision of supplication) of September 16, 1719, President Francisco Rodríguez de Rivas instructed the Bishop to lift all censures against Judge Rodezno and absolve everybody who was publicly excommunicated "without doing the contrary under any pretext."²³ In the fiscal's opinion the deputy in San Pedro Sula had "engaged in commerce with foreigners and enemies of the crown"²⁴ and therefore could not be protected by ecclesiastical immunity because his crime was against the crown. President Rodríguez de Rivas sharply criticized the Bishop's refusal to consider the appeals of the judge. Furthermore, the fiscal emphasized that the current appeal of Judge Rodezno was now under the jurisdiction of the Real Auxilio de la Fuerza which was firmly supported by the President and the judges of the Audiencia of the Audiencia as well as by the principal ecclesiastical judges of the diocese of Guatemala.²⁵ The Bishop's efforts to influence matters of state were thus rebuffed.

The final years of Bishop Pérez Carpintero's two decades of service were nearly salaryless. Some years the Bishop and the members of the cathedral chapter could not be paid by the caja real (local royal treasury) of Comayagua. Non-payment was not due to ill-will of the local treasury officials, but rather to the emptiness of the local coffers.²⁶

The Bishop and the members of the cathedral chapter reported their plight to the crown, which attempted to resolve the problem through a real cedula (royal decree) dated at Aranjuez, April 21, 1725.

The royal decree instructed the treasury officials in Comayagua to pay "the ecclesiastical salaries before making payment of any kind to the treasury of Guatemala."²⁷ The contador (chief accountant) of the treasury of Comayagua finally responded to this royal decree in a report to the Audiencia of Guatemala six months later on January 24, 1726. He emphasized that the resources of the treasury of Comayagua were nearly depleted,

since annual receipts are less than expenditures as is amply demonstrated by the report and the figures remitted by Captain Antonio Alonso Cortés.²⁸

The only way that the treasury officials of Comayagua could comply with the royal decree was to collect the quinto real on precious metals mined in the province of Honduras. It seemed to the officials

to be most convenient that the gold and silver which the mines of Corpus and Tegucigalpa produce and the rest [of the funds] from this province should be deposited in these coffers [in Comayagua] which will serve as their principal depository for current capital. Accordingly, all [the funds] from the mentioned accounts which might have been sent to the royal treasury [in Guatemala] for the last eight years should be reintegrated into this treasury [of Comayagua]. The miners of Tegucigalpa should inevitably come to pay the quinto real on the silver they extract. We would be responsible for remitting the remainder, or having it available for that which you order us [to carry out]. We expect that as always you will provide the most appropriate solution for the relief of this treasury and for compliance with the cited royal decree.²⁹

Philip V's proposed solution to the financial problems of the Bishop and the cathedral chapter was unfeasible because it did not take into consideration the limited revenue potential of the treasury of Comayagua. On the other hand, treasury officials seized upon the opportunity to gain control of the distribution of important mineral tax revenues from the mines of Corpus and Tegucigalpa in 1726. In the meantime, however, the issue of paying the Bishop's previous years' salaries became an irrelevant question. The Bishop died May 12, 1724.³⁰

Not even in death was the Bishop's name liberated from the onerous problem of ecclesiastical poverty. Instead the Bishop's death provoked a scandalous round of bitter recrimination among some members of the cathedral chapter over the disposition of the Bishop's estate. Juan de la Joya, secretary of the cathedral chapter, accused Roque Pérez Carpintero, chantre, of being the "public usurper of the Bishop's property."³¹ Some members of the chapter believed that the Bishop's estate consisted of 650 pesos and that it had been given to the chantre for safekeeping. A quarrel erupted in the ranks of the cathedral chapter probably because some members were anxious to receive the additional income which could be gained by investing the 650 pesos in an appropriate obra pía (pious work).

Roque Pérez Carpintero strongly protested that the accusations levied by the secretary of the cathedral chapter in a petition to the Audiencia in Guatemala were unfair. The chantre argued that he had been falsely accused and demanded the "necessary documents which would serve to restore his good reputation."³² He added that he had no idea what had happened to the 650 pesos. On August 3, 1724, the Audiencia acted upon the decision prepared by the fiscal on July 4, 1724. President Francisco Rodríguez de Rivas and the judges of the Audiencia ordered that a dispatch be sent immediately to the cathedral chapter of Comayagua. The dispatch instructed the members of the cathedral chapter to refrain from slandering the good name of Roque Pérez Carpintero and to deposit the disputed estate fund in a separate account in the treasury of Comayagua, if it were later discovered. Finally, the cathedral chapter was urged "to live in conformity and brotherhood"³³ and to avoid all issues that would promote discord.

Philip V named Fray Antonio López de Guadalupe Portillo to the episcopal office of Comayagua within a year of the death of Bishop Pérez Carpintero. Despite the timing of the royal appointment and the papal confirmation, the diocese suffered a vacancy of more than five years until 1729 when the Bishop-elect took possession of his office. During the twelve years of his episcopacy López de Guadalupe attempted to satisfy the spiritual needs of his impoverished bishopric. His episcopacy was characterized by improvements in education, reform in the discipline of the clergy, building of new Church structures, and cooperation with Bourbon economic interests to improve the financial status of the secular Church.

Fray Antonio López de Guadalupe Portillo was born in Guadalajara, New Spain, on May 11, 1679. In his youth he studied at the Jesuit Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso in Mexico City. After becoming a member of the Franciscan Order he distinguished himself as a teacher and scholar. Twice he was sent to serve as a representative of his order to the Vatican. Pope Benedict XIII recognized the friar's achievements and potential by naming him domestic prelate in the pontifical household.³⁴

Details of his activity previous to his arrival at the seat of the Audiencia in Guatemala in 1729 are vague. Evidence suggests, however, that the economic crisis of the secular Church in Honduras may have accounted for his delay in assuming office. On May 11, 1727, Bishop-elect of León (Nicaragua), Fray Dionisio de Villavincencio, signed the necessary documents in Seville, Spain, so that the Bishop-elect of Comayagua could secure the benefits of a royal decree issued by Philip V on April 1, 1727. The royal decree provided that two-thirds of the Bishop's salary from the vacant see of León (Nicaragua) would be given to López

de Guadalupe. The designated amount was the tithe revenue belonging to the episcopal share from the date of the death of Bishop Fray José Giron de Alvarado in 1726 until the promulgation of the royal decree. Bishop-elect Villavincencio was not signing over his own revenues, but those of Fray Andrés Quiles Galindo. Bishop-elect Quiles Galindo had been appointed to the see of León (Nicaragua) in 1727, but died in Seville before he could take possession.³⁵ It is uncertain if these funds were received by the Honduran Bishop-elect.

On April 28, 1729, Bishop-elect López de Guadalupe arrived in Guatemala to present his credentials to the Audiencia and to take the oath to observe the laws of the royal patronage. Upon taking this political oath the Bishop received authorization to take possession of his diocese by virtue of a royal decree dated at El Pardo on January 30, 1726.³⁶ Two weeks after celebrating his fiftieth birthday on May 11, 1729, the Bishop terminated his month's stay in Guatemala and set out for Gracias and Comayagua.³⁷ Records of the royal treasury show only 141 pesos, 2 reales in the Bishop's account in November, 1729.³⁸ This sum probably constituted the Bishop's personal funds after completing his journey from Spain to Comayagua.

Upon arrival the Bishop found serious personnel deficiencies and inattention to Church doctrine. A few conditions were precipitated by the immediate economic crisis of the secular Church in Honduras, but most were the consequence of the enduring economic dependency which the province had suffered since the Spanish conquest.

The Bishop noted that a serious shortage of diocesan clergy existed and that current personnel were poorly trained and poorly disciplined. Perhaps recalling his own thorough training by the Jesuits

in Mexico City, the Bishop contacted the Provincial of the Society of Jesus to investigate the possibility of founding a Jesuit school in Comayagua. The Jesuits were courteous, but not responsive. When the Jesuits were informed that ecclesiastical resources were not only lacking for the initial construction of a school, but for the continued support of the institution as well, they declined to act on the Bishop's request.³⁹

Jesuit disinterest in establishing an educational institution in the impoverished diocese did not diminish the Bishop's determination. Convinced that local educational facilities would increase the number and improve the quality of future candidates for the priesthood, he sought to revitalize the near-defunct Colegio Seminario de San Agustín in Comayagua. The Colegio Seminario had been founded by Bishop Vargas y Abarca but neither he nor his successor, Bishop Pérez Carpintero, had provided a constitution for the school. On November 3, 1732, the Bishop promulgated a constitution for the school and by April of the following year had expanded the existing structure.⁴⁰ It is probable that building funds were received from the local citizens and from the diocesan clergy.

A partial solution to the personnel problem, the Bishop suggested to the King, was the establishment of a chair of philosophy at the Colegio Seminario. Because no chair of philosophy existed in Comayagua, he explained that those who wished to study for the priesthood went to other provinces and never returned to Honduras. Philip V sought the advice of the Audiencia of Guatemala in regard to the Bishop's request for a funded chair of philosophy by means of a royal decree of October 15, 1734. The Audiencia quickly agreed. The Audiencia bluntly admitted

that those students of the province of Honduras who did not have the financial resources to study in Guatemala could hardly acquire the instruction needed for ordination. In any case only the students of the Colegio Seminario would become the future diocesan priests.

Students who could afford the cost of education have moved to the capital of the Kingdom. Influenced by the attractions of the city and by the lower cost of living, they flee the wilderness of Honduras and establish themselves in Guatemala. It is necessary, nonetheless, to have educated priests who will banish ignorance from the vast territory where large numbers of the inhabitants live. The need is evident to provide for the establishment of the chair of philosophy which will contribute to the spiritual welfare and public utility of that bishopric. Likewise the shortage of well-trained clergy who are so urgently needed will cease.⁴¹

The financial necessities of establishing a chair of philosophy did not escape the attention of the crown. It had been suggested that this position be funded from the 995 tostones which the crown would save by turning the administration of the tithes over to the Church. The crown promptly rejected this idea of subsidizing the position with royal revenues from the vacancies in the secular Church in Guatemala.⁴² The crown's alternative was to fund the position from two ecclesiastical foundations or pensions which had been left vacant by the death of two nuns, Isabel de Madariaga and Josefa de Solórzano, of the Convento de la Concepción de Guatemala. The pensions yielded a total of 540 pesos annually. On November 7, 1738, Philip V approved the establishment of the chair of philosophy in the Colegio Seminario de San Agustín and stipulated that the position would be funded with 200 pesos from the two vacant ecclesiastical pensions in Guatemala. Payment was to be made through the royal treasury in Guatemala.⁴³ Thus, the Bourbon crown responded to the needs of the Colegio Seminario of Comayagua, but provided no royal revenues. Funds from pious

foundations formerly assigned for the support of members of a female religious order in an adjacent diocese were appropriated to support an educational position in Honduras. Efforts to establish positions in theology, music, and mathematics were made by the Bishop in the mid-1730s, but it is unknown if additional financial assistance was sought from the crown.⁴⁴

During the first half of his episcopacy López de Guadalupe conducted several pastoral visits. The prelate provided energetic leadership and attempted enforcement of the decrees of the Third Mexican Council.⁴⁵ While conducting a diocesan visit to Tegucigalpa on December 11, 1730, the prelate issued a pastoral letter to all diocesan clergy and their respective parishioners.⁴⁶ In the letter the Bishop specified the clergy's functions and the parishioners' responsibilities during the season of Lent and Easter of 1731. Demanding compliance with the pastoral instructions the prelate carefully detailed penalties to effect enforcement.⁴⁷

The Bishop considered that he was strongly obligated to comply with the spirit and the letter of the Laws of the Indies and the decrees of the Third Mexican Council. Citing St. Bernard's twelfth century exhortation to Pope Eugene III, "Episcopal negligence allows insolent clergy to disturb the total Church,"⁴⁸ he committed himself to accepting complete responsibility for imposing appropriate clerical discipline in his diocese. He urged the clergy to be attentive in the vigilant and propitious administration of the sacraments.

Therefore, if the timely distribution of the sacraments is the only dessert and food with which souls survive, the most efficacious medicine which heals them, and the most vivid and clear light which guides them home . . .

who doubts that the Holy Trinity will surely inquire if they perish for lack of food, if they do not get well for the lack of medicine, or if they fall for the lack of light.⁴⁹

To reenforce his simile the Bishop reminded the clergy that the Old Testament prophet Ezekiel held the shepherds responsible for the loss of the flocks.⁵⁰

Thus, prefacing his remarks with the authority of a Church father, an easily understood simile, and a reference to an Old Testament prophet, the Bishop proceeded to detail the duties of the clergy as decreed by the Third Mexican Council⁵¹ and accepted by the crown in the Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias. The clergy were instructed to record the names of all Spaniards, mestizos, Blacks, and mulattoes, including slaves, of their parish in one notebook and the names of Indians in another. At the side of each name the marital status and occupation of each parishioner were to be noted. On Septuagesima Sunday the clergy were to begin admonishing the Indians to come to confession so that they would be prepared to receive communion during Holy Week and Easter. All other parishioners were to be so advised starting with the first Sunday in Lent. The names of those parishioners who had not confessed and who had not communed were to be announced after mass on the Sunday following Easter and warned of the grave offense that had been committed against God. If by the second Sunday after Easter, the negligent parishioners still had not confessed and communed, they were to be publicly censured. If any of the censured were attending Church service that day, they were to be thrown out of the church as unworthy. Spaniards who sought to confess and commune thereafter were to be fined two pesos before receiving absolution, "and mestizos, Blacks, or mulattoes were responsible for only one-half the fine. The other

one-half of the fine had to be paid by the masters who were blamed for the negligence of their servants."⁵² On the third Sunday after Easter the negligent were to incur excomuni3n cum participartibus. If by the fourth Sunday after Easter there still existed some who had not confessed and communed, the priest was directed to issue the censure of anathema which only the Bishop could absolve.⁵³

To impose strict compliance with the above instructions, the clergy, under threat of a twenty-five peso fine, were expected to remit sealed copies of the notebooks to the cathedral chapter by Pentecost Sunday. By this measure not only the number and marital status of the parishioners of the bishopric would be known, but also the number of those who had communed and of those who had only confessed. This action, of course, readily disclosed the names of those parishioners who had done neither. Resident members of the regular orders in the diocese were urged to assist the secular priests by being present mornings and afternoons in the churches every Sunday during Lent. To avoid confusion between those who had and those who had not confessed, cedulas (small slips of paper) were to be distributed to those who had confessed. The cedulas were then collected before communion was received so that none who had not confessed would be able to commune. In the interim all cedulas were to be kept in a strongbox so that abuse of this procedure could be prevented.⁵⁴

Bishop L3pez de Guadalupe's pastoral commitment was complemented by his ambitious efforts to improve the building and furnishing needs of the Church in the bishopric of Comayagua. In the city of Comayagua he directed the completion of construction on the cathedral which was initiated by Bishop P3rez Carpintero. In addition he added

retables, statues, paintings, and ornaments, many of which have survived to the present day. He directed the construction of the Templo de la Caridad and the Convento de San Francisco in Comayagua and the adjoining church in Tegucigalpa. Several other buildings in the bishopric were also completed during his episcopacy.⁵⁵

Construction was initiated on the Palacio Episcopal which now houses the Archivo Eclesiástico and the Museo de Arte Religioso. A new Casa Capitular was provided and furnished with a small library. The old Casa Episcopal was used as a school where elementary subjects, domestic arts, and music were taught on a limited scale to the daughters of poor families. Since no nunneries existed in the city of Comayagua, nor in the rest of the diocese, a group of women called the Beatas de Nuestra Señora del Carmen supervised the school. The Hospital de la Resurrección which dated from the episcopacy of Fray Juan Merlo de la Fuente (1647-1665), was repaired and expanded, and its administration was transferred to the hospital friars of the Order of San Juan de Dios. Although the hospital offered only limited services, the Bishop at least seemed to have secured pledges of continued support from some of the leading citizens of the community.⁵⁶

In letters to Philip V the Bishop reported the economic hardships he had to endure in the diocese as well as his administrative achievements. His correspondence demonstrated the long-range planning he made for improving the basis of financial support of the secular Church in Honduras. Concurrently, a tone emerges in his letters which hints at a desire for transfer to a more prosperous and perhaps prestigious assignment. By early 1732 he organized a plan in cooperation with the members of the cathedral chapter to draw the crown's attention

to the economic crisis of the Honduran Church. He also proposed economic reforms which, in his view, would benefit both the Church and the crown. Later in the year the Bishop journeyed to Guatemala on the pretext of recovering his health, but he doubtless pursued matters of diocesan business at the same time.

A letter dated December 1, 1738, which was repeated in the response of Philip V's royal decree dated at El Pardo on March 18, 1740, portrays the attitude of the Bishop in his last years of service.

The Bishop of the Cathedral of Comayagua . . . informs me among other things that the episcopal office only received the low stipend of 1800 pesos. This situation has not permitted him to recover even a small part of the expenses which he suffered in traveling by sea and land to arrive at that city. To this fact he adds that the numerous hardships of that province, and high prices which are charged for clothing, force the Bishops of Comayagua to live in extreme poverty. In regard to the aforementioned low income only 500 pesos are added to it from the amount contributed by the clergy to the Bishops of that diocese each year. The mentioned delays in payment of salary which he suffered would be tolerable if at least the hope existed that after twelve years of governing the bishopric his miseries would cease.⁵⁷

Philip V responded to the Bishop's report by granting him a one-time gratuity of 1000 pesos

in order that this assistance from my compassion may achieve some relief for your hardships. Continue working with greater effort in the duties of your pastoral ministry encouraged by my royal mercy.⁵⁸

This ayuda de costa was to be paid by the local royal treasury in Comayagua with the first 1000 pesos received from whatever source. It is unknown if this amount was actually delivered.

By August, 1739, the Bishop learned of the crown's approval to establish and fund the chair of philosophy at the Colegio Seminario in Comayagua. He immediately submitted the name of José Simón de Zelaya to the Audiencia in Guatemala which approved the nomination. In the

same month the Audiencia completed the majority of the documents which would interpret and enforce the royal decree issued by Philip V on November 7, 1738, at San Lorenzo. This document contained Philip V's decision to grant the Church of Comayagua the right to administer and collect the tithes of the diocese.⁵⁹ Undoubtedly, the existence of the first standardized tithe distribution chart in the diocese of Comayagua in 1742 is the result of the Bishop's administrative planning.⁶⁰ It is important to observe that the Bourbon crown did not impose this reform to achieve compliance with imperial objectives. It was the Bishop who pressured the Bourbon crown to approve the implementation of an economic procedural reform which proposed to improve the financial condition of the secular Church in Honduras, and consequently the salaries of ecclesiastical personnel. Administration of the tithe collection by the Church was not a new practice in the Spanish empire,⁶¹ but its implementation in Honduras was an example of Bourbon response to local initiative rather than an instance of arbitrary imposition of royal policy. The crown was undoubtedly disposed to respond favorably to the Bishop's proposal since the reform also sought to terminate ecclesiastical dependence on royal revenues.

Bishop López de Guadalupe appears to have played a role in persuading the Bourbon crown to approve the cession of additional territory to the jurisdiction of his diocese between the years 1725 and 1742, but unfortunately only the result and not the complete process has been located in the documents. It is known, however, that during his episcopacy the valuable territory located between the Goascorán River and the region of Choluteca was transferred to the province of Honduras from the jurisdiction of the Alcaldía Mayor of San Salvador.⁶²

In 1672 the territory known as Choluteca or Jerez de la Choluteca had been separated from the Alcaldía Mayor of San Salvador to serve more adequately the spiritual needs of the region and to provide the diocese of Honduras additional tithe income. The additional income was needed to pay the Bishop's minimum annual guaranteed salary of 500,000 maravedis.⁶³ If cession of the territory between Nacaome and Goascorán to the province of Honduras were granted for similar reasons, the Bourbons would not have been innovative. Instead, they would have been following precedents established by the Spanish Hapsburgs in the Kingdom of Guatemala in the late seventeenth century.⁶⁴ In each case permission was obtained from the bishop of Guatemala for the transfer since his jurisdiction extended to the territory of the Alcaldía Mayor of San Salvador. To an extent twentieth century border conflicts between Honduras and El Salvador are related to efforts to terminate Church dependence on royal revenues in the bishopric of Honduras in the late Hapsburg and the early Bourbon period.⁶⁵

According to Colonel Francisco de Parga, Governor of the Province of Comayagua, the second eighteenth century Bishop of Honduras died on Saturday, January 6, 1742. On the following day Bishop López de Guadalupe was entombed in the Cathedral of Comayagua and appropriate measures were taken to proceed with an inventory of the former prelate's estate.⁶⁶

A vacancy of three years and ten months in the episcopal office followed the death of López de Guadalupe. During this period diocesan leadership was assumed by the capable Juan Francisco de Navarro, dean of the cathedral chapter. As provisor, vicario general, and gobernador of the bishopric he governed the secular ecclesiastical affairs and

fulfilled the functions of the chief ecclesiastical judge of the bishopric. The influence of the previous Bishop remained strong during this period as exemplified by the dean's instructions to the parish clergy of Tegucigalpa on February 4, 1743. These instructions focused on two aspects of ecclesiastical discipline: urging the teaching of basic Christian doctrine and prohibiting clerical activity in commerce.⁶⁷

Citing section 24, chapter 4 of the reforms promulgated by the Council of Trent and an Apostolic Brief issued by Pope Benedict XIII, the dean urged the diocesan clergy to fulfill diligently their obligation to teach the fundamentals of the faith every Sunday.

If one or several parishioners are found, children or adults, who unable to learn the Christian Doctrine because of their youth or rusticity, the priest will assume the responsibility to instruct them. Concepts such as there is one God, and that he rewards good and punishes evil should be taught. Those concepts such as the Trinity and incarnation which are necessary to be able to obtain the remission of sins should be taught as well. Instruct them about the love of God and in the hope they should have in His infinite mercy.⁶⁸

This admonishment was not restricted to the secular clergy. Benedict XIII had also urged all regular clergy of minor and major orders who were not assigned to a specific benefice to attend the vespers service and the celebration of the mass on holy days appropriately attired in surplice and hood.⁶⁹

The instructions prohibiting clerical participation in commerce were more explicit and severe. Citing a Papal Brief of Clement IX dated June 17, 1696, as his source of authority, the dean warned all regular and secular clergy to abstain from commercial activities. Such activities were considered "unworthy, indecent, and noxious." Any cleric apprehended violating these regulations became liable to excommunication,

deprivation of present and future clerical rights, privileges, and offices, and the loss of all personal property. No cleric could receive absolution unless all profits received from commercial endeavors were ceded to the Ordinario (Ordinary) of the diocese, or in the bishop's absence, to the vicar general. Furthermore, the warning not only applied to clerical activity in commerce, but also to any activity which aroused suspicion. To assure that the clergy would set a good example for the parishioners of the diocese, the dean ordered that no secular or regular clergy could travel to the Caribbean ports of San Pedro Sula, Ulua, Olancho el Nuevo, or Trujillo, without the necessary license from the provisor, vicario general, and gobernador of the diocese. Existence of considerable documentation relating to investigations of suspected clerical activity in commerce in the port regions indicates the frequency of non-compliance. Doubtless, the near starvation levels of Church income for some clerics made commercial activity a means of survival.⁷⁰

While diocesan leadership was competently assumed by the dean of the cathedral chapter in the interim, the nomination of Abbot Francisco de Molina of the monastery of Saint Basil in Madrid, Spain, was nevertheless presented to Pope Benedict XIV.⁷¹ At the time of Abbot Molina's nomination to the episcopal office of Comayagua in early 1742, he was serving as chief administrator of his monastery for the third time. Twice he had held the position of general definator of Castile in his order. His title of maestro de teología reflected the high esteem accorded him by his order.⁷²

On March 20, 1742, the papal bulls approving the presentation of Abbot Molina were prepared in Rome.⁷³ More than a year passed before Philip V issued the royal decree confirming the episcopal appointment.

Before Bishop Molina proceeded to Comayagua, however, he remained in the capital city long enough to participate in the ceremony of investiture of the first Archbishop of Guatemala, Fray Pedro Pardo de Figueroa, on November 14, 1745. Fray José Cubero Ramírez de Arellano, Bishop of Ciudad Real de Chiapas, presided at the ceremony.⁸¹ The celebration marked the only occasion in the eighteenth century when all four prelates of the Kingdom of Guatemala congregated.

Tithe records for the period March 15, 1746, until March 15, 1747, indicate that Bishop Francisco de Molina was alive and in residence in Comayagua.⁸² His signature has been recorded in a few documents pertaining to cofradia records of the cattle raising districts, but no other lengthy documentation of his diocesan activities, including his possible acknowledgment of the founding of the cult to the Virgen de de Suyapa in Tegucigalpa, has been discovered by this writer.⁸³ He died before or during 1750, but the exact date of his death is unknown.⁸⁴

PART B: LEADERSHIP DURING THE REIGN OF FERDINAND VI

In 1750 Ferdinand VI chose Dr. Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco, archdeacon of the cathedral chapter of Guatemala, to succeed Bishop Francisco de Molina.⁸⁵ The Bishop-elect became the third creole to serve the diocese of Comayagua, and the second American-born appointee to fill the position during the Bourbon era.⁸⁶ Rodríguez Rivas was born in the Kingdom of Quito where his father served as corregidor of Riobamba. The family moved to Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala in 1716, when Francisco Rodríguez de Rivas was promoted to the office of governor, captain-general, and president of the Kingdom of Guatemala.⁸⁷ In his youth Rodríguez Rivas studied grammar, philosophy, canon and civil law in Guatemala. When his father completed his tenure of office in late 1724, he accompanied him to Spain. Family wealth provided him the opportunity of completing a doctorate in canon and civil law at the University of Alcalá de Henares.⁸⁸

The return of Rodríguez Rivas to Guatemala was perhaps prompted by family influence and attractive career opportunities. Undoubtedly his credentials from a peninsular university contributed to his subsequent success in obtaining important positions in the cathedral chapter of Guatemala. His years of service in the offices of treasurer, school master, and archdeacon provided him with valuable administrative experience.⁸⁹ In many ways the candidate could present himself as being more knowledgeable of conditions in the Kingdom of Guatemala than could any peninsular candidate. Furthermore, his family name was strongly identified with defense of the Real Patronato. It was President Francisco Rodríguez de Rivas, the candidate's father, who persuaded Philip V to issue the Real Orden of May, 1717, prohibiting the founding of new

conventos of the regular orders in the Indies.⁹⁰ Denial of the social usefulness of the regular orders was a belief as strongly advocated by the son as it had been by his regalist father. Dr. Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco does not emerge as a unique candidate because of his creole birth. Except for the accident of place of birth, his qualifications differed minimally from those of other Bourbon episcopal appointees.

The administrative competencies of Bishop Rodríguez Rivas are adequately portrayed in recommendations to the parish priest of Tegucigalpa, José Simón Zelaya, which were submitted by the Bishop upon completion of a thorough canonical and judicial inspection visit on May 20, 1756.⁹¹ Few details escaped the attention of the Bishop during his review of parish affairs. His instructions, which provide insights into the problems of daily Church affairs in mid-eighteenth century Honduras, comprehended seven broad categories. These included 1) the proper record keeping of vital statistics, 2) the care and protection of Church property, 3) the teaching of Christian doctrine, administration of sacraments, and proper social conduct of the parishioners, 4) the prohibition of regular clergy soliciting without permission of the Bishop, 5) the necessity of urbanizing, civilizing, and Christianizing the Indian population, 6) the maintenance of adequate account records and the practice of economy in all financial transactions of the Church, and 7) the supervision of the *cofradías* by the parish priests and the Ordinary of the diocese.

The Bishop justified his instructions to keep complete, accurate, and legible vital statistics records by affirming that they were "necessary for different ends conducive to the welfare of society, good

administration of justice, and service of both Church and state."⁹²

Baptismal records were to include the social rank of the parents, the date of birth of the child, the name and surname of the godparents, and the day, month, and year of the baptism. All dates were to be recorded in the written form and not indicated by mere Arabic numerals. Marriage and burial records were to be equally complete. Padrones (parish registers) were to include the name and surname of the resident, age, social rank, and marital status of all parishioners, children as well as adults. The Bishop stipulated that the parish record books should always be under the control and supervision of the parish priests. Expressing dissatisfaction with the condition of the confirmation and parish register books of Tegucigalpa, the Bishop ordered that these be remade and that they be adequately bound and lined with sheepskin or vellum. Similarly, the marriage, confirmation, and parish register records of the city of Comayagua were to be rebound to assure their preservation.⁹³

The Church building as well as all articles used in worship were to receive adequate care and protection. The Bishop specifically instructed that a pall be placed over the copón (cibarium) which contained the communion hosts and that a locked cover be installed on the baptismal font. Preparation of a complete inventory of Church property and jewels was recommended. No one was to be permitted to sleep in the church building or in the sacristy. All keys to the church building were to be retained by the parish priest, or the coadjutor, or in his absence, by the most responsible person in the community. The church building should not be unlocked before daybreak, but at the most appropriate hour when the parishioners could enter to say their morning prayers or hear the teaching of the Christian doctrine. Keys used to lock the

closet containing the holy oil used in the sacrament of extreme unction were to be entrusted only to a priest.⁹⁴

The instructions clearly reflect the role and responsibility delegated to the parish priest in teaching Christian doctrine, administering the sacraments, and promoting proper social conduct. According to the prelate, the parish priests were obliged to teach the basic Christian doctrine every Sunday and on holy days. However, the teaching responsibility delegated to the parish priests was not limited to Church services. A list was to be compiled of the names of niños y niñas de la doctrina (orphans). These children were to be taught the Christian doctrine as often as possible so that they could overcome their bad habits. Special attention was to be paid to correcting the defective and corrupted Spanish language used by these children.⁹⁵

All persons seeking to contract marriage were to be examined to assure their knowledge of the Christian doctrine. If such persons were deficient, the priest was obligated to teach them the basic concepts using the printed catechism which the Bishop made available free of charge to all heads of families in the diocese. No person was to be denied the rites of marriage in the Church by any priest because of the person's inability to pay the parochial fees. However, parishioners were expected to pay the parochial fees in normal circumstances. To inform the parishioners of their obligations the priest was instructed to post the fee schedule and an explanation of how the fee was divided among the parish priest, the building and supply account, the cantores (singers), and the sacristán (caretaker). All charges had to correspond with the rates authorized in the diocesan rate book approved by the crown.⁹⁶

According to the Bishop's instructions parish priests were urged to improve church attendance. Numerous parishioners who maintained farms, ranches, and trapiches (sugar mills) in the countryside seldom came to church to hear mass and to learn about the Christian doctrine. To remedy this problem the prelate urged the parish priest to persuade the heads of families who lived not more than two to three leagues distant from the church to attend services every Sunday and each holy day. Those who lived four to five leagues distant should be urged to attend every two to three weeks during the summer and at least once a month in the winter. Those who lived more distant were to be requested to attend as often as they could according to weather conditions, the road conditions, and the work requirements at the farms, ranches, or mills.⁹⁷

The priests were instructed to arrange for the baptism of newborn babies to avoid excessive delay. Babies born in towns were to receive the sacrament of baptism within one week. Those born at farms, ranches, and mills were to be baptized as soon as river and road conditions permitted. Ill and weak infants were to receive baptism immediately so that no child died without having received the sacrament.⁹⁸

Concern was expressed that large numbers of people were intermixing prayers with dancing, drinking, and scandalous disorder throughout the nights on the pretext that they were expressing devotion and saying prayers to saints. These incidents of alleged social misconduct were hereafter strictly prohibited by the prelate, who delegated enforcement to the local parish priests.⁹⁹

Disorders at death watches in Tegucigalpa were also criticized by the Bishop. One of the practices which contributed to the problem-

was allowing the doors of the houses of the deceased to remain open all night. This custom permitted all categories of persons to enter freely. The prelate demanded that the doors be promptly closed at 8:00 p.m. and that no one be permitted to enter out of mere curiosity to see the corpse nor to entertain himself by gossiping with the mourners.¹⁰⁰

The Bishop was intolerant of members of the regular clergy who solicited contributions from parishioners, especially from the Indians, within the bishopric of Comayagua. This strong feeling probably resulted from the influence of his father, Francisco Rodríguez de Rivas. According to J. Antonio Villacorta C.,

the president concerned himself with ending the plethora of friars who burdened the Kingdom [of Guatemala] in the secular sphere. Moreover, to build sumptuous churches and immense conventos [the friars] exploited the Indians, who were obligated to work for small salaries. Towns were burdened with contributions in order to provide these salaries.¹⁰¹

Regular clergy from outside the bishopric of Comayagua who acted as solicitors were required to present a written license stamped with the minor seal of the Ordinary of the diocese. Any member of the regular orders attempting to ask for funds without first securing this permission was subject to arrest, incarceration of his person, and embargo of his property. The Bishop insisted that any and all such cases be brought to his attention immediately. Religious of the Franciscan and Mercedarian Orders were specifically included in the regulations. Licenses granting the former the status of solicitors for the holy places of Jerusalem and the latter the right to solicit for the redemption of captives would not be recognized. Nor would licenses granted by the Audinecia be accepted since Bishop Diego Rodríguez Rivas considered that the prerogative of examining solicitors and granting

licenses pertained to the rights of the ordinary of the diocese. Those negligent in enforcing this order were warned that they would be subject to a fine of 200 pesos, equivalent to many priests' annual stipend. Money collected through these fines would be used to provide clothing for poor widows, orphans, and other underprivileged persons of the parish served by the priest.¹⁰²

One section of the episcopal instructions suggests that the Bishop considered that the Indians and other elements of the rural population had to be village or town dwellers and partially Europeanized before Church personnel could successfully Christianize them. The prelate noted that numerous unmarried persons inhabited the hills and valleys outside the towns of the jurisdiction of the parish districts of Tegucigalpa. These people survived on wild fruit, honey, and occasionally stolen cattle. They lived in huts assembled with tree branches and palm leaves which allowed them to wander like vagabonds with no permanent home. Rodríguez Rivas deplored the fact that they had no knowledge of the basic Christian doctrine, had never heard mass, and had never received the sacraments. In his view their only examples were the brutes and wild animals which he believed contributed to their disorderliness and sinfulness.¹⁰³

What most irritated the Bishop about effect of dispersed population was that these people's request for pastoral services constituted an excessive demand on the personnel resources of the diocese. When a priest had to travel great distances, often risking his life, occasionally he could not return in time to say mass and administer the sacraments to parishioners in his assigned benefice.¹⁰⁴

To reduce the demands on the time and energy of the parish priests the Bishop instructed José Simón Zelaya to compile a list of names of all persons living outside the urban areas of the jurisdiction of the parish district. Next he was to persuade these inhabitants to move permanently to the towns. Convinced of disorder and idleness in which Indians and other rural inhabitants lived apart from human society, the Bishop urged the parish priest to call upon the aid of the jueces reales (royal judicial officials) if it became necessary to force the Indians and other rural inhabitants to reside in towns.¹⁰⁵

The Bishop's instructions concerning the administration of parish finances in Tegucigalpa emphasized economy, accuracy, and periodic auditing of all accounts. The intervention of the Bishop in resolving the stalemate in the rebuilding of the parish church, the present-day cathedral, was one of his most successful efforts. General supervision of the project was delegated to José Simón Zelaya. Entrusting building funds to José Valle and Agustín Jiménez, the Bishop warned that he personally reserved the right to audit all accounts, particularly those showing the expenditure of tithe revenues. In addition the Bishop insisted on maintaining detailed accounts of contributions of labor and materials so that all contributions to the project could be acknowledged.¹⁰⁶

Recommendations for economy and accuracy in financial affairs also applied to the administrator of the church building and supply account and to the parish priest. Rodríguez Rivas stated that the administrator had paid too high a price for the supplies of wine, candle wax, and incense. He was urged to buy in quantity at the lowest possible price in the future. No extraordinary expenditures by the administrator could be authorized without previous written permission of the Bishop.

The parish priest was advised to keep a daily cuadrante (account chart) in which the parochial fees were tallied. At the end of the month the funds collected were to be divided among the parish priest, the church building and supply fund, the sacristán, and others. The division was to be effected according to the rates and procedures authorized by the arancel eclesiástico and by no other method. Uncollected balances were to be entered into the accounts as resagos and were to be divided when collected.¹⁰⁷

Administrative control of the cofradías, which provoked so much of the subsequent criticism of the Church's influence in Honduras by the politician Dionisio de Herrera and the Liberal historian Lorenzo Montúfar, originated in the 1756 episcopal instructions. According to the instructions the prelate retained general supervisory powers over the cofradías. The task of enforcement of the administrative controls, on the other hand, was delegated to the local parish priest. In each parish an accounting of all assets and capital of the brotherhoods was to be conducted. When profits were realized, they were not to be spent, but added to the principal. Mayordomos (administrators) and other officers of the cofradías were restrained from making any expenditure which did not have the approval of the parish priest and the Bishop. All account entries were to be appropriately designated as either credits or debits, and each entry required the signature of the mayordomo and officers of the brotherhood as well as the approval of the parish priest. The local parish priest was also responsible for safeguarding the records as well as preventing irregularities in the accounts and the loss of brotherhood property. To avoid fraud the priest was to deny approval and confirmation of any elected administrator "who was not bondable and of known good character and legitimacy."¹⁰⁸ The prelate insisted that new account books be made

for the Cofradía de San Benito, the Cofradía de Santa Veracruz de la Concepción of Comayaguela," and the Cofradía de Jesús. To preserve these records it was recommended that they be bound in sheepskin or vellum.¹⁰⁹

Control of financial expenditures frequently meant control of social conduct of the members of the cofradías. The Bishop's instructions limited in detail the prerogatives of the administrators and other officers of the brotherhood. They were prohibited from sponsoring private candlelight ceremonies to saints as well as parties with loud music, noise making, dancing, and night suppers. No funds from cofradía accounts could be spent for food and drinks to be consumed at fiestas not approved by the local priest and the Bishop.¹¹⁰

On holy days recognized by the Bishop, food and drink could be purchased with funds from the cofradía accounts, but only when the mayordomo and officers of the cofradía complied with detailed regulations. To prevent the abuse of any concession to the mayordomos, the priest was instructed to confer with the Indians who comprised the brotherhoods to decide what amount of money should be allotted for food and drinks. Usually only one or two steers were authorized to be slaughtered to serve members and invited guests. Rodríguez Rivas permitted the preparation of only one type of drink called chilate, which was a mixture of sweet chocolate and fermented corn. Consumption of chilate at the homes of mayordomos in the parish district of Tegucigalpa was restricted to the local magistrates, municipal councilmen, members of the cofradía, and invited guests.¹¹¹

According to the Bishop most mayordomos inflated the cost of consumable inventory of the cofradías and therefore he was justified in

regulating them further. It was the prelate's experience that mayordomos frequently defrauded the accounts by buying poor quality supplies. Two locks were ordered placed on the storage chest which contained the worship supplies. One key was entrusted to the parish priest and the other to the administrator. Bishop Rodríguez Rivas was adamant in demanding that only cera de castilla (high quality wax) be purchased and not the cera de la tierra (resin based wax). The latter type of candle often emitted sparks which presented a fire danger in the churches. Furthermore, the cheap candles created a black smoke which stained like pitch and tar, thereby ruining the appearance of the church altars. The parish priest was informed that he was responsible for remitting a complete auditing of the cost of wax and incense supplies to the Bishop each year. In this way the prelate could assure that economy and honesty were practiced.¹¹²

Approximately twelve years after his initial appointment to the diocese of Comayagua, Bishop Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco was promoted to the bishopric of Guadalajara, New Spain, by Charles III.¹¹³ This transfer of March 25, 1762, was tantamount to a lucrative promotion since Guadalajara's tithe revenue of at least 140,000 per year was twenty times the Comayagua tithe yield of 7000 pesos.¹¹⁴ Documents from the years of the Bishop's tenure in Comayagua provide some indications of the impoverished condition of the diocese, but complaints of insufficient episcopal income are notably absent. In contrast with the previous and subsequent Bishop's experiences, Rodríguez Rivas appears to have been insulated from the compromises of ecclesiastical poverty in Honduras by a cushion of sizeable personal wealth.

Evidence of this wealth is adequately demonstrated by his establishment of an obra pía equivalent to twice the total tithe revenue

of the diocese of Comayagua for the year 1760.¹¹⁵ The founding of the fund occurred on May 14, 1763, in Guatemala when the Bishop was about to begin the second part of his journey to his new diocese in Guadalajara. The purpose of the pious fund was to provide 14,000 pesos for the funding and administration of six perpetual scholarships for students who would commit themselves to serving as future parish priests in the diocese of Comayagua. According to Rodríguez Rivas, education provided a key to the financial and cultural improvement of the inhabitants of the diocese of Comayagua. Although he acknowledged the past efforts to improve educational standards in the diocese by Bishops Vargas y Abarca and López de Guadalupe Portillo, he concluded that providing educational opportunities for youth in the diocese had been difficult since there existed "neither means nor methods to remedy the poverty of the people of the bishopric"¹¹⁶ of Honduras. The Colegio Seminario of Comayagua had been successful in separating the few that attended from the "vida natural." However, the Colegio had not been able to achieve its cultural goals because few Spaniards and teachers lived in Comayagua. Furthermore, the necessary material resources were unavailable. All these conditions contributed to a serious lack of well-trained clergy to serve in the parish churches.¹¹⁷

The Bishop concluded that it was advisable to send students to the Colegio de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Guatemala. However, the Bishop was also aware that the policy of sending Honduran students to Guatemala to obtain an education and hoping that they would return to Honduras was unproductive. In the diocese of Comayagua salaries were low, the cost of living was high, the possibility of career advancement was negligible, and life was much more strenuous than in

Guatemala. Most students refused to return to the diocese of Comayagua and established

their home in this archbishopric [of Guatemala) putting their private interests and personal convenience before the common good and public utility of the bishopric of Comayagua.¹¹⁸

The loss of some of the best minds and talent to the capital city perpetuated the dominance of Guatemala and prolonged the dependency of the province of Honduras.

Having assessed his and previous prelates' unsuccessful efforts to resolve the problem of the shortage of well-educated parish priests, he proposed a new solution. Bishop Rodríguez Rivas was genuinely interested in improving the cultural and financial welfare of his former diocese, but was concurrently convinced that good intentions accomplished very little. His alternative was the founding of a formal scholarship program by which the recipients would be contractually, and thus, legally, obligated to return to serve in the diocese of Comayagua.¹¹⁹

The terms of the pious fund defined in detail the goals sought. Each of the six scholarships was endowed with a principal of 2000 pesos so that each student would be provided 100 pesos annually. Patronage of the scholarships would be delegated to future bishops of Comayagua, or in their absence, to the deans and the cathedral chapters. Announcements of the scholarship opportunities were to be displayed throughout the diocese including Comayagua, Choluteca, and Olancho el Viejo.¹²⁰

Eligibility for application was restricted to boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen. Furthermore, each applicant was required to provide information relating to his legitimacy, social rank, ability, inclination to enter the priesthood, good habits, and financial need.

In no case was a scholarship to be awarded to an applicant who was able to pay his own expenses at the Colegio in Guatemala. In case the qualifications of two applicants were equal, the scholarship was to be awarded to an applicant who demonstrated the most financial need. No applicant was to be considered nor was he to accept the award if a commitment was not made to enter the priesthood to serve in the diocese of Comayagua.¹²¹

Permission was solicited from the Archbishop of Guatemala to admit each of the students holding a scholarship to the Colegio. Students were allowed to remain at the Colegio until the age of twenty-four, and no longer, so that other poor students from the diocese would have an opportunity to receive the benefits of the scholarships. Future bishops of Comayagua were assigned the responsibility of ensuring that students who were ordained returned to the diocese in compliance with the benefactor's wishes to provide competent persons for the priesthood. Any scholarship holder who sought to excuse himself from the residency requirement was obligated to refund a sum equivalent to the amount he had received under the scholarship terms.¹²²

Rodríguez Rivas entrusted the sum of 14,000 pesos to Dr. Juan José González Batres, rector of the Colegio de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción. The rector was obligated to invest 12,000 pesos of the total amount in real estate to provide 600 pesos annually for the six scholarships. The remaining 2,000 pesos were to be handled similarly so that the rector and the administrator of the Colegio would each receive a stipend of 50 pesos annually.¹²³

Planning for the survival of the principal of the pious work in perpetuity, the Bishop stipulated that the principal was never to be

loaned at interest*, not even for the shortest time and with the greatest security. The only way that the 14,000 pesos could be properly protected was that

it be invested in certain and secure possessions of this city of [Santiago de los Caballeros de] Guatemala, and not outside of it. It should not have any previous lien or special general mortgage so that in this way not only the principal but also the interest may be maintained intact.¹²⁴

Despite the poverty and isolation of Honduras, the bishopric did experience competent leadership at mid-eighteenth century in the person of Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco. The Bishop understood very well the scope and complexity of the multifaceted problems confronting the ecclesiastical organization. In contrast to assessments presented by some Liberal authors, the Honduran experience shows that bishops planned and worked diligently to improve conditions in colonial Central America.

*usura, i.e. very high interest on loans to merchants or speculators.

Chapter II

Notes

¹This section differs from previously published lists of bishops of Comayagua in several ways. Some sources include Miguel Anselmo Álvarez de Abreu as a successor to Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco and José Antonio de Isabella as a successor to Antonio de San Miguel Iglesias. These two nominees never took possession of episcopal duties in Comayagua and therefore should be deleted from any accurate history of the colonial Church in Honduras. Also some sources have been confused about the name of the last colonial bishop, Manuel Julian Rodríguez del Barranco. Some have attached Almazán to his name, but as noted in Chapter IV, Almazán was his place of birth in Spain. Effort has been made to construct the history of the bishops from documents available in Comayagua, Tegucigalpa, and Guatemala City. These documents include appointment papers, tithe records, reports to the Audiencia, reports to the Bourbon crown, court litigation, records of cofradías, and many others. Nonetheless, many unanswered questions remain. Those who have preserved the historical heritage of Honduras and those who have interested themselves in divulging historical materials through newspaper articles, journals, and monographs have made important contributions. The writer who has interested himself in the topic of the colonial bishops in Honduras in recent years has been José Reina Valenzuela. Hopefully other researchers in Honduras will continue investigation of its rich and important colonial heritage. For a perspective of colonial Comayagua consult José Reina Valenzuela, Comayagua antañona: 1537-1821, Colección "Leon Alvarado", no. 3 (Tegucigalpa: Biblioteca de la Academia Hondureña de Geografía e Historia, Imprenta La República, 1968); Reina Valenzuela, "Notas a la lista de Obispos 'Que ha habido en Comayagua por Antonio de Alcedo'," Anales del Archivo Nacional [Honduras], Fasc. No.3 (Julio, 1968), 7-9. Page 6 reproduces the names of twenty bishops listed by Antonio Alcedo; after several years of searching for the following reference, it was finally catalogued by the University of Arizona, Tucson, Library in February, 1980. The entries for the bishops are very brief and at times are incomplete. Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi: sive summorum pontificum S.R.E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series: e documentis tabularii praesertim vaticani collecte, digesta, edita (Patavii: Typis et sumptibus Domus Editorialis "Il Messagero di S. Antonio", 1952). This reference consists of eight oversized volumes. Vol. I, 1198-1431; Vol. II, 1431-1503; Vol. III, 1503-1592; Vols. IV-VII, 1592-1846; The basic Central American work originally published in the nineteenth century is Domingo Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala (2 vols.; Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1936); See also Robert F. Schwaller, "The Episcopal Succession in

Spanish America, 1800-1850," The Americas, XXIV (January, 1968), 207-271. This work contains a number of errors in regard to Honduras; For a discussion of episcopal functions in the Catholic Church consult The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church (15 vols.; New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), II, pp. 581-589. There is a newer edition; it is more condensed than the 1913 publication; in the Spanish American context see Antonio Ybot León, La iglesia y los eclesiásticos españoles en la empresa de Indias. Vols. XVI-XVII of Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, Historia de América y de los Pueblos Americanos (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1963), II, pp. 154-159; Jurisdictional issues are discussed in Antonio R. Vallejo, Historia documentada de los límites entre la República de Honduras y las de Nicaragua, El Salvador, y Guatemala (2 tomos; New York: Honduras, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, 1938).

²Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, II, p. 130.

³Antonio Preja y Serrada, Brihuega y su partido (Guadalajara, Spain, 1916), pp. 392-393, cited in "Personajes, cartas, armas y documentos referentes a Honduras," Revista del Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Honduras (hereinafter cited as RABNH), XXX (Mayo y Junio de 1952), 480.

⁴Ibid.; the papal bulls for the Bishop's canonical appointment were dated January 3, 1700. Reina Valenzuela, Comayagua antañona, p. 75, fn. 1.

⁵Charles II of Spain died November 1, 1700.

⁶Two other candidates were nominated by Charles II before the episcopal office was accepted by Fray Juan Pérez Carpintero. Fray Pedro de los Reyes Rios de la Madrid, a Benedictine from Sevilla, was transferred to the diocese of Yucatán on March 11, 1700 and took possession in 1702. More information can be located in José Bravo Ugarte, Diócesis y obispos de la iglesia mexicana, 1519-1965 (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1965), p. 95; Moisés González Navarro, Raza y tierra: La guerra de casta y el henequén (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1970), p. 25. Fray Angel Maldonado, a Benedictine from Ocaña, was transferred to the diocese of Oaxaca in 1700 and took possession on July 20, 1702. Further information on Bishop Maldonado can be found in Bravo Ugarte, Diócesis y obispos de la iglesia mexicana, p. 74; Brian Hamnett, Politics and Trade in S. Mex., 1750-1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 14-15; William B. Taylor, Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 166; María Cristina Zilberman, "Idolatrias de Oaxaca en el siglo XVIII," XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Sevilla, 1966), Vol. 2, 111-123. According to Ybot León, La iglesia, II, p. 149, "Si las personas propuestas eran dos y la primera no respondía la aceptación de la Mitra en el plazo de ocho días, la presentación se hacía de la segunda desde 29 de octubre de 1652."

⁷Preja y Serrada, Brihuega y su partido, pp. 392-393 cited in "Personajes, cartas, armas y documentos referentes a Honduras," RABNH, XXX (Mayo y Junio de 1952), 480.

⁸Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, II, p. 130.

⁹Preja y Serrada, Brihuega y su partido, pp. 392-393 cited in "Personajes, cartas, armas y documentos referentes a Honduras," RABNH, XXX (Mayo y Junio de 1952), 480.

¹⁰Archivo de Centro America, Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (hereinafter cited as AGGG), Sig. Al.11, Leg. 390, Exp. 3683, Fol. 1 v. Bishop Juan Pérez Carpintero was in Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala, present-day Antigua, Guatemala, on January 17, 1703. Thus, he could not have taken personal possession of his office in Comayagua on the next day. It would appear that the prelate took his oath (juramento) on January 18, 1703 to comply with the laws of the Real Patronato. Citing the Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias, Leyes complementarias, ley última, título vii, libro I, Ybot León in La iglesia, II, pp. 149-150, provides an adequate explanation of the procedures of assuming office. "Además del juramento canónico de la Fe establecido de antiguo por la Iglesia para los destinados a la consagración episcopal, Felipe IV estableció en 15 de Marzo de 1629 una especie de juramento político. Después de haber aceptado la Mitra para que se le destinaba y antes de hacer su propuesta o presentación al Papa, se exigía al interesado solemne juramento ante notario y testigos de no contravenir en tiempo alguno, ni de ninguna manera, el Real Patronato, ni estorbar el uso de la Real jurisdicción concedido en él a la Corona, ni la de los dos novenos reservados al Rey de los diezmos de la Iglesia de Indias; antes al contrario, que ayudaría a los ministros a quienes correspondiese hacer las recaudaciones, con el peso de su autoridad episcopal. Una vez prestado este juramento y entregado testimonio de él al Secretario encargado de tramitar la presentación y pagados los derechos causados por tal diligencia, se hacía la propuesta a Roma a través del Embajador de España. Los Virreyes y demás autoridades de Indias recibieron instrucciones en el sentido de pedir certificación de este juramento a los Obispos llegados a sus diócesis por vez primera intromisión del Estado en la legítima posesión de un Obispo. Si los candidatos residían en Indias el juramento se efectuaba ante las autoridades de Ultramar, enviando el testimonio al Consejo en la misma forma, sin cuyo documento no se hacía la presentación a Roma. Este acuerdo ponía en manos del Estado, al menos teóricamente, la facultad de anular de hecho la designación pontificia del Prelado, ya que pretendía poder impedir a éste su toma de posesión por defecto de un trámite de carácter puramente político, o si se quiere, burocrático. No se dió el caso de que tan grave exceso llegara a practicarse." See also Rafael Gómez Hoyos, La iglesia de América en las Leyes de Indias (Madrid: Gráficas Orbe, 1961), pp. 179-181.

¹¹AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 390, Exp. 3683, Fol. 1 v.

¹²AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 390, Exp. 3683, Fol. 1 r.

¹³AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 390, Exp. 3683, Fol. 1 v.

¹⁴AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 390, Exp. 3683, Fol. 2 r.

¹⁵AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 390, Exp. 3683, Fol. 2.

¹⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 390, Exp. 3683, Fol. 2 v.

¹⁷AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 390, Exp. 3683, Fol. 2.

¹⁸AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 2025, Exp. 14,038, Fols. 1-2. The fort at Golfo Dulce refers to Omoa.

¹⁹José Reina Valenzuela, Construcción y organización de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Comayagua, Colección "León Alvarado" no. 2 (Tegucigalpa: Biblioteca de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Honduras, 1965), p. 15.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 19.

²²AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1583, Fol. 304.

²³AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1583, Fol. 305.

²⁴AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1583, Fol. 304 r, 304 v.

²⁵AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 1583, Fol. 304 v.

²⁶AGGG, Sig. A3.9, Leg. 155, Exp. 3016, Fol. 1.

²⁷AGGG, Sig. A3.9, Leg. 155, Exp. 3016, Fol. 1.

²⁸AGGG, Sig. A3.9, Leg. 155, Exp. 3016, Fol. 1 v.

²⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.9, Leg. 155, Exp. 3016, Fol. 10 and 11. The Guatemalan treasury officials were not favorably disposed to the proposal of the treasury officials of Comayagua. The latter were informed by the authority of an "orden de Su Majestad de 19 de junio de 1723 en que se firmó mandar se remiticien 49,749 tostones, 3 reales, y 18 maravedis. . . se ha tenido presente de que los envios se hagan en oro y plata labrada y en pasta porque no salga la poca moneda que hay en este Reino y haga falta a las premias y indispensables pagas de los presidios que lo defienden y expresadamente a la provincia de Honduras para que se remita todo el oro y plata proveido de quintas a que desde que le contraje a esta Caja Matriz. 25 de octubre de 1725.

³⁰Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, II, p. 130.

³¹AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1584, Fol. 296.

³²AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1584, Fol. 296 v.

³³AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1584, Fol. 296 v, 297 r.

³⁴Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, II, p. 130.

³⁵Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Central America (3 vols.; San Francisco: The History Company, 1882-1887), III, 712-713. Bancroft asserts "Two prominent bishops of Honduras may be mentioned: Antonio Guadalupe López Portillo, a native of Guadalajara and delegate to the general council held at Rome in 1723 [Figueroa, Vindicias, MS., 75] and Francisco Molina who was elected in 1743; but of the events of their administrations no records exist. The Suffragan sees of Honduras and Chiapas present little additional material for history during this half century, the proceedings of the church and regular orders being one uninterrupted continuance of labors, which year by year became less arduous and were less carefully attended to." Despite the previous statement see AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4790, Fol. 174; Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, II, p. 138.

³⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 4607, Fol. 199.

³⁷"Noticias sacadas de la Gazeta de Mexico de 1729, publicada en la Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVIII por el Doctor Nicolás León, Mexico, 1903," Revista de la Universidad [Honduras], Año VI:3 (15 de marzo de 1914), 138. This account errs in stating that the Bishop arrived in Guatemala on May 8, 1729. It also states that the Bishop departed Guatemala on May 24, 1729.

³⁸AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 56, loose insert.

³⁹"Noticias históricas sacadas de la Gaceta de Mexico de 1729, publicadas en la Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVIII por el Doctor Nicolás León, Mexico, 1903," Revista de la Universidad, Año VI:3, 139.

⁴⁰Reina Valenzuela, Comayagua antañona, p. 93.

⁴¹AGGG, Sig. Al.28, Leg. 4669, Exp. 40,074; Felipe Martínez Castillo, Capítulos sobre el Colegio Tridentino de Comayagua y la educación colonial en Honduras (Tegucigalpa: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras, 1968), p. 45. "Fundación de una cátedra en el Colegio Seminario de la ciudad de Comayagua," Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno (hereinafter cited as BAGG, Año I:4 (julio de 1936), 396; also reprinted in RABNH, XV:2 (31 de agosto de 1936), 68-71.

⁴²"Fundación de una cátedra en el Colegio Seminario de la ciudad de Comayagua," BAGG, Año I:4 (julio de 1936), 396-397.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Legajo seminario, Archivo Eclesiástico de Comayagua (hereinafter cited as AEC), cited in Valenzuela, Comayagua antañona, p. 93.

⁴⁵The Third Mexican Council of 1585 is discussed in Stafford Poole, "Church Law on the Ordination of Indians and Castas in New Spain," Hispanic American Historical Review (hereinafter cited as HAHR), 61:4 (November, 1981), 637-650, esp. 643 ff. The third council established the code of ecclesiastical law for the Church in New Spain. The first and second were convened by the second archbishop, Alonso de Montúfar. The third was presided over by Pedro Moya de Contreras, the third archbishop. The fourth council was called by the twenty-fourth archbishop, Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, 1770. The Catholic Encyclopedia, X, p. 269

⁴⁶"Pastoral dirigida por el Ilmo. y Revmo. Obispo de Comayagua Guadalupe a su clero y grey para que los primeros conozcan a sus ovejas y éstos que cumplan con el precepto pascual, diciembre 11 de 1730," RABNH, XXV:1 & 2 (julio y agosto de 1946), 1-6. This text was originally taken from the Libro de Bautismos de Tegucigalpa del mes de junio de 1730," pp. 13-15.

⁴⁷For a comparison in New Spain councilt Charles Gibson, The Aztecs under Spanish Rule, A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), pp. 114-118.

⁴⁸The reference is to a section of Bernard's classical treatise De Consideratione which he wrote for the guidance of Pope Eugene III when the latter became Pope in February, 1145.

⁴⁹"Pastoral dirigida por el Ilmo. y Revmo. Obispo de Comayagua Guadalupe a su clero y grey para que los primeros conozcan a sus ovejas y éstos cumplan con el precepto pascual, diciembre 11 de 1730," RABNH, XXV:1 & 2 (julio y agosto de 1946), 2.

⁵⁰The Bibliocal reference is Ezekiel 34: 1-16.

⁵¹According to Mariano Cuevas in Historia de la iglesia en Mexico (5 vols.; Mexico: Editorial Patria, 1946-1947), II, p. 112, the code of the Third Mexican Council "obligó también en Guatemala y sus sufragáneos, aún después de haberse erigido en Arzobispado." Cuevas provides a general discussion of the codes of the Third Mexican Council which first convened on February 1, 1584 on pp. 103-112.

⁵²"Pastoral dirigida por el Ilmo. y Revmo. Obispo de Comayagua Guadalupe a su clero y grey para que los primeros conozcan a sus ovejas y éstos cumplan con el precepto pascual, diciembre 11 de 1730," RABNH, XXV:1 & 2 (julio y agosto de 1946), 3.

⁵³Ibid., 2-4.

⁵⁴Ibid., 4-5.

⁵⁵José Reina Valenzuela, "Influencia franciscana en el desarrollo de nuestra cultura," RABNH, XXXIV: (abril, mayo y junio de 1956), 16. The cover mistakenly carries the date 1957. Reina Valenzuela, Tegucigalpa (Comayagua: Imprenta Atenea, 1957), p. 13. Francisco Lagos h., "Inscripciones lapidarias e históricas de Comayagua," RABNH, XXIII; 7 and 8 (enero y febrero de 1945).

⁵⁶Ibid., Reina Valenzuela, Comayagua antañona, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁷AGGG, Sig. A3.17, Leg. 1663, Exp. 26955.

⁵⁸AGGG, Sig. A3.17, Leg. 1663, Exp. 26955.

⁵⁹"Fundación de una cátedra en el Colegio Seminario de la ciudad de Comayagua," BAGG, Año I:4 (julio de 1936), 396-397.

⁶⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 1761, Exp. 28284.

⁶¹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465. In Guatemala and León (Nicaragua) the Church had administered the tithe system for several years when Bishop López de Guadalupe secured the concession for Comayagua.

⁶²Rodolfo Barón Castro, La población de El Salvador (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1942), p. 24; Carlos Meléndez Chaverri, El presbítero y doctor don José Matías Delgado en la forja de la nacionalidad centroamericana (San Salvador: Ministerio de Educación, 1961), p. 28. A document dealing with cofradías comments on the Goascoran issue. Consult AGGG, Al.11.2, Leg. 127, Exp. 1463, Fol. 63 v. "El dicho cura [de Goascoran, Francisco Pérez (Fol. 10 r)] informó que no se encontraba [el] libro de fundación, ni menos testigos imparciales, para seguir información; pero que por dos libros que remita, se venía en conocimiento claro su fundación de ladinos por que desde el año de 1710, que es el más antiguo, se halla que hasta el presente, solo los ladinos la han manejado: comprobándose esto por un despacho de el Yllmo. Sor. Don Fray Juan Baptista Albares de Toledo, Obispo de Guatemala a cuya diócesis pertenecía entonces este curato, su fecha en dicha ciudad a 23 de mayo de 1716, en que nombró su Yllmo. por mayordomo, y por defecto de éste a Josef Barrios de igual calidad. . . Comayagua y diciembre 22 de 1786. Agustin de Medina Valderas."

⁶³"Real cédula agregando al obispado de Comayagua, en la provincia de Honduras, el curato de la villa de la Choluteca, que hasta entonces había pertenecido a la de Guatemala, y comunicado esta resolución al obispo de Guatemala," Revista de la Universidad, Año X: 2 (15 de febrero de 1920), 96-97. The Bishop of Guatemala in a letter of July 20, 1670 was anxious to cede Choluteca to the diocese of Comayagua, and thereby, ease his conscience. He stated that he was unable to attend to the spiritual needs of the region properly and that no Bishop of Guatemala had visited the area since the sixteenth century. He noted that the territory should produce approximately 1000 extra pesos in tithe revenue for the diocese of Comayagua and consequently improve the low salary of the Bishop of Honduras.

⁶⁴Although the Bishop of Guatemala initiated the transfer of territory from his jurisdiction to that of the Bishop of Comayagua, royal approval by Charles II on December 4, 1672 made the change official.

⁶⁵Consult Thomas P. Anderson, The War of the Dispossessed: Honduras and El Salvador, 1969 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), and William H. Durham, Scarcity and Survival in Central America: Ecological Origins of the Soccer War (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979).

⁶⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.24.42, Leg. 4651, Exp. 39735.

⁶⁷"Visita practicada en la parroquial del Real de Minas de Tegucigalpa por el Deán Juan Francisco Navarro, febrero 4 de 1743," RABNH, XIX:7 (31 de enero de 1941), 387. This account is taken from the Libro de Bautismos de Tegucigalpa del 15 de junio de 1730 a 27 de mayo de 1744, pp. 340-341.

⁶⁸Ibid., 386.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid., 386-387.

⁷¹The full text of the papal bulls from Pope Benedict XIV is found in AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 4613, Fols. 345-351.

⁷²Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, II, p. 131.

⁷³AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 4613, Fol. 349.

⁷⁴Ibid., Fol. 351.

⁷⁵Ibid., Fol. 346.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Juarros, I, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, I, p. 208.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 4613, Fols. 345 r, 345 v.

⁸¹Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, I, p. 208.

⁸²AGGG, Sig. Al.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 28284.

⁸³Juan B. Valladares R., La virgen de Suyapa, historia documentada (Tegucigalpa: Talleres Tipo-Litográficos "Aristón", 1946), p. 109.

⁸⁴Hierarchia Catholica medi et recentioris aevi: sive summorum pontificum S.R.E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series: e documentis tabularii praesertim vaticani collecte, digesta, edita. (8 vols.; Patavii: Typis et sumptibus Domus Editorialis "Il Messagero di S. Antonio", 1952-1968), VI (1958), p. 175, states that he died around the end of 1749.

⁸⁵Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, II, p. 131.

⁸⁶The other creole bishop was Juan Merlo de la Fuente, who previously served as Vicar General under Bishop Juan Palafox in Puebla. The Bishop died in 1665. Fray Francisco de Vásquez, Crónica de la provincia del santísimo nombre de Jesús de Guatemala (3 tomos; Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1937-1940), I, p. 206, fn. 1.

⁸⁷Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, I, pp. 190-191; José Antonio Villacorta Calderón, Historia de la Capitanía General de Guatemala (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1942), p. 72.

⁸⁸Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, II, p. 131.

⁸⁹Dr. Rivas held the position of tesorero from 1733-1737, the office of maestrescuela from 1738-1741, and the office of arcediano from 1742-1750. When he accepted the episcopacy of Comayagua, Dr. Francisco José de Palencia took his place as arcediano.

⁹⁰Villacorta Calderón, Historia de la Capitanía General de Guatemala, p. 73.

⁹¹"Acta de la visita canónica y jurídica a la parroquia o curato del Real de Minas de Tegucigalpa el 20 de mayo de 1756, siendo parroco D. José Simón de Zelaya, por el Obispo de Comayagua Dr. Diego Rodríguez de Rivas y Velasco," RABNH, XIV:7 (31 de enero de 1936), 385-387.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid., 386.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵"Acta de la visita canónica y jurídica a la parroquia o curato del Real de Minas de Tegucigalpa el 20 de mayo de 1756, siendo parroco D. José Simón de Zelaya, por el Obispo de Comayagua Dr. Diego Rodríguez de Rivas y Velasco," RABNH, XV:8 (29 de febrero de 1936), 451.

⁹⁶Ibid.

97 "Acta de la visita canónica y jurídica a la parroquia o curator del Real de Minas de Tegucigalpa el 20 de mayo de 1756, siendo parroco D. José Simón de Zelaya, por el Obispo de Comayagua Dr. Diego Rodríguez de Rivas y Velasco," RABNH, XIV:9 (31 de marzo de 1936), 513.

98 Ibid., 514.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.

102 Villacorta Calderón, Historia de la Capitanía General de Guatemala, pp. 72-73.

103 "Acta de la visita canónica y jurídica a la parroquia o curato del Real de Minas de Tegucigalpa el 20 de mayo de 1756, siendo parroco D. José Simón de Zelaya, por el Obispo de Comayagua Dr. Diego Rodríguez de Rivas y Velasco," RABNH, XIV:9 (31 de marzo de 1936), 515.

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

107 "Acta de la visita canónica y jurídica a la parroquia o curato del Real de Minas de Tegucigalpa el 20 de mayo de 1756, siendo parroco D. José Simón de Zelaya, por el Obispo de Comayagua Dr. Diego Rodríguez de Rivas y Velasco," RABNH, XIV:10 (30 de abril de 1936), 577-578.

108 Ibid., 578-579.

109 "Acta de la visita canónica y jurídica a la parroquia o curato del Real de Minas de Tegucigalpa el 20 de mayo de 1756, siendo parroco D. José Simón de Zelaya, por el Obispo de Comayagua Dr. Diego Rodríguez de Rivas y Velasco," RABNH, XV:8 (29 de febrero de 1937), 450.

109 Ibid., 449-450.

110 Ibid., 450.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid., 450-451.

113 Bravo Ugarte, Diócesis y obispos de la iglesia mexicana, p. 53.

¹¹⁴AEC, Cuadrante del año 1760 de la grueza de diezmos; see tithe data for Guadalajara, New Spain, which is included in the appendices at the end of this dissertation.

¹¹⁵The complete text is located in AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fols. 1-7.

¹¹⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fol. 1 r.

¹¹⁷AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fol. 1 r.

¹¹⁸AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fol. 1 v.

¹¹⁹AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fols. 1 v, 2 r.

¹²⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fols. 1 v, 2 r.

¹²¹AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fol. 2 r.

¹²²AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fols. 2 r, 2 v.

¹²³AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fol. 3 v.

¹²⁴AGGG, Sig. Al.32.1, Leg. 4774, Exp. 41219, Fols. 4 r, 4 v.

Chapter III

EPISCOPAL LEADERSHIP IN THE BISHOPRIC OF COMAYAGUA
DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES III

From 1700 until early 1763 only four prelates served the diocese of Comayagua. In contrast, nine bishops were appointed to the office in the second half of the Bourbon period. Two of the nine appointees never took possession of their office and none resided in Comayagua for more than seven years. Seven of the candidates were nominated by Charles III. Five bishops in total, one of whom was appointed by Ferdinand VI, were promoted to more prestigious assignments. Charles III was alone responsible for ordering these transfers and promotions. Charles IV nominated one candidate. The last colonial bishop was nominated twice, once by the Junta Central de Sevilla and again by the Bourbon monarch, Ferdinand VII.

Charles III's first appointee to the diocese, Dr. Miguel Anselmo Alvarez de Abreu obtained a doctorate in canon and civil law at the Universidad de Sevilla and later served as secretary of the bishop of Sevilla.¹ In the Canary Islands he held the positions of canon and dignitary in the cathedral chapter and judge of the Tribunal of the Holy Crusades. He also served as judge of the Apostolic Council prior to his transfer to New Spain. At the time of his appointment to the diocese of Comayagua in 1762, he served as obispo auxiliar (auxiliary bishop) in Puebla, New Spain. It is probable that he never left New Spain, but delayed in Puebla until he had been transferred to the bishopric of Oaxaca in 1764. He took possession by December 26, 1765.²

Charles III's second nominee for the episcopal office of Comayagua was Isidoro Rodríguez Lorenzo, a secular ecclesiastic from Spain. Nominated in 1764³ he probably took possession in late 1765 or early 1766 and resided in Comayagua until mid-1768.⁴ Although his tenure was short his forceful complaints to Charles III of ecclesiastical poverty in Honduras effected a sympathetic and relatively prompt response.

Bishop Rodríguez Lorenzo urged the crown on April 30, 1767, to adjust the tithe distribution procedure and to provide for the establishment and funding of two prebendaries in the cathedral chapter. Unless the crown provided the usual tithe income share for the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, he said, the sick of Comayagua would die. His income of 3,508 pesos was too small a "sum to maintain the decency of his office much less provide free food and medicine for the sick and aid the many poor of his diocese."⁵ The addition of two prebends, the penitenciaro and the doctoral, would help resolve the problem of the lack of assistants. The Bishop explained that upon his arrival only the office of archdeacon was filled. The absence of the other four dignitaries in the cathedral chapter resulted in an excessive work-load for the Bishop and the archdeacon.⁶

In 1768 Charles III granted the Bishop's request to expand the cathedral chapter in a royal decree dated at San Ildefonso on October 5.⁷ At the same time the crown ordered the Audiencia in Guatemala to investigate the financial and personnel problems of the Hospital of San Juan de Dios.⁸ In the interim the Bishop was rescued from further personal hardship by a transfer to the diocese of Santo Domingo in 1767.⁹ He took possession of his new office by 1768.¹⁰

Charles III filled the vacancy by appointing Dr. Antonio Macarulla Minguilla y Aguilanín, a secular ecclesiastic from Benavarre, Huesca, Spain.¹¹ Since the Bishop of Comayagua was already conducting a diocesan visit at the parish church of Manto on March 28, 1770,¹² it is probable that he took possession of his office in late 1769 or early 1770.

Tithe records for 1769 are incomplete, but accounts ending in March for the years 1771, 1772, and 1773 indicate that the Bishop was in residence and collected his share of the revenues.¹³ On October 3, 1772, the Bourbon crown decided to transfer the Bishop to the diocese of Durango in Northern New Spain¹⁴ to replace an appointee who had died before taking office.¹⁵ The prelate remained in Comayagua until March, 1773, to collect his share of the tithe income and then proceeded to Guatemala.¹⁶ During his stay in the capital city of Guatemala the Bishop-elect of Durango undoubtedly conferred with his successor and Bishop-elect of Comayagua, dean Francisco José de Palencia.

Palencia was born in the Canary Islands in the early eighteenth century. Later he obtained a doctorate in canon and civil law from the Universidad de Sevilla which enabled him to practice as an attorney before the royal council and to secure several important ecclesiastical positions in the Indies.¹⁷

In the archbishoprics of Santo Domingo and Guatemala he served as visitor general¹⁸ and held the two highest posts in the cathedral chapter of Guatemala. By 1750 he had obtained the position of archdeacon,¹⁹ and in the following year was appointed juez subdelegado, juez apostólico, and comisario general de la Santa Cruzada.²⁰

During 1751 Palencia's insistence on his prerogatives as archdeacon provoked a quarrel with the dean of the cathedral chapter, José Ortíz de Letona. The archdeacon complained that the dean refused to allow him to take the right side in processions when it was his turn. Despite this alleged infringement of his rights, he remained in the choir to avoid public scandal. He protested to the crown that the dean's action should be censored because it was based on an interpretation of a statute of the Mexican Council which had never been observed in the cathedral of Guatemala. The crown concurred with the point of view expressed by the archdeacon and ordered that the dean cease proscribing the rights of his colleague.²¹

In the 1760s Dr. Palencia not only improved his financial condition, he also gained influential friends. In 1762 he received additional income upon being appointed mayordomo of the Convento de las Monjas de la Imaculada Concepción.²² In October, 1767, the dean took possession for Archbishop Pedro Cortés y Larraz by presenting his royal and papal documents and by taking his oath to observe the laws pertaining to the Real Patronato.²³

Although Palencia attempted to enforce clerical discipline in Guatemala, not all of his efforts were appreciated. Thus, he charged Presbyter Luis Palacios with "disrespect"²⁴ and "excessive drinking of aguardiente"²⁵ and in October, 1772, ordered him to Spain to report to the Bishop of Cádiz for punishment and for cure of his alcoholism. Palacios' late arrival in Omoa delayed the sailing of the ship "El Venturoso" which obligated the dean to apologize to Judge Manuel Fernández Villanueva for his inadequate planning. When the Council of the Indies concluded its review, the President of the Audiencia

of the Casa de Contratación returned Presbyter Luis Palacios to the Kingdom of Guatemala at the expense of the former dean and Bishop-elect of Comayagua.²⁶

Charles III acknowledged the lack of episcopal income in the diocese of Comayagua by granting the Bishop-elect a gratuity of 2000 pesos on June 17, 1773, to help defray expenses of assuming office.²⁷ Before this order arrived in Guatemala, most of the city of Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala was destroyed by an earthquake on July 29, 1773. Despite the loss of his appointment documents in the rain and rubble,²⁸ the Bishop-elect was consecrated by Archbishop Pedro Cortés y Larraz on October 17, 1773.²⁹ Taking possession in early 1774, he collected the episcopal share of the tithe income in March, 1774, and March, 1775. He died in February, 1776.³⁰

Charles III's appointment of Dr. Francisco José de Palencia to the episcopal office of Comayagua in March, 1773, was at most a dubious reward for the aging dean's long ecclesiastical service. Financial hardship doubtless resulted from the honor because the salary of the deanship and the income from the office of mayordomo of the Convento de la Inmaculada Concepción equaled or surpassed the episcopal rents of Comayagua. Furthermore, it was possible that the 2000 pesos allocated by the crown to assist the Bishop in assuming office was delayed or diverted by the necessity of using existing treasury funds to reestablish the capital of the Kingdom of Guatemala.

In attempting to nominate a willing candidate to serve the diocese of Comayagua in 1776, Charles III experienced a number of difficulties. No one appears to have expressed interest in seeking the position nor to have been willing to accept appointment. Charles III

resolved the impasse by arbitrarily, but purposefully, nominating the exceptional Fray Antonio de San Miguel Iglesias. When the Hieronymite intellectual ascetic refused the office a number of times, the appointment was placed in doubt, but the crown lobbied strongly to convince the nominee to reverse his initial refusal.³¹ Despite his understandable reluctance to abandon a well-established, comfortable career in Spain to serve one of the poorest dioceses in the Americas, San Miguel's subsequent service in Comayagua, Honduras, and Michoacán, New Spain, proved him to be perhaps Charles III's most talented and distinguished episcopal appointee in the Indies.

Antonio de San Miguel Iglesias was born in Revilla in the diocese of Santander, Spain, on February 19, 1726. At the age of fifteen he entered the Order of Saint Jerome at the monastery of Santa Catalina de Montecorván. Five years later he received a degree from the Universidad de Salamanca upon successfully defending his thesis. In the subsequent fourteen years he held the chair of philosophy and theology at Sigüenza, Ávila, and Salamanca. Before attaining the position of minister general of his order on April 25, 1768, he held the posts of lecturer, teacher, examiner, and prior of the monastery of Santa Catalina de Montecorván, and ecclesiastical judge of his order. At the date of his appointment by Charles III, Fray San Miguel had a reputation as a distinguished teacher, scholar, and administrator.³²

Having departed from Spain in late 1776, the Bishop-elect was consecrated by the Bishop of Puerto Rico before taking personal possession of his office in Comayagua on February 17, 1777.³³ According to the Mexican historian, Nicolás León, the only "attractions"³⁴ which the new Bishop encountered in his diocese were "very poor inhabitants, bad

roads, uncomfortable and unhealthful climates, very low salaries, and a multitude of uncivilized Indians."³⁵ In seven years of episcopal service from early 1777 to early 1784 San Miguel devoted considerable attention to conducting diocesan visits, resolving medical and economic problems created by the smallpox epidemic of 1781, and formulating a response to the Indians who resisted acculturation.

During one of the prelate's several diocesan visits he demonstrated his acknowledgment of the administrative prerogatives of the royal officials in Guatemala and his compliance with the rights of the Real Patronato. On November 6, 1780, three citizens of the mining camp of San José de Cedros solicited episcopal permission to transfer the statue of Nuestra Señora del Carmen from the local parish church to a building they owned in the mining camp. The Bishop quickly refused and immediately referred the matter to the Audiencia in Guatemala. The prelate expressly stated that he deferred action in recognition of "the prerogatives of the Real Patronato . . . and the rights of the crown."³⁶ On December 29, the fiscal of the Audiencia advised President Matías de Gálvez that the judicial body was not authorized to act on the request from the citizens of Cedros in the province of Honduras. Granting such a license, he explained, was the sole prerogative of the crown and the Consejo de Indias (Council of the Indies). Vice-patrons, attorneys-general, and judges of the Audiencias were explicitly forbidden to grant such permission according to Laws 2 and 43, Title 6, Book I of the Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias. The fiscal warned that any official who did not comply with these regulations would be charged with disobedience in his residencia conducted at the end of his term of office. The Bishop was therefore informed by the Audiencia that

until explicit royal permission was granted no attempt was to be made to establish a new chapel in Cedros "under the penalty of demolition of the building."³⁷

By the time Bishop San Miguel returned to Comayagua from his extensive diocesan visit in 1781, a smallpox epidemic was spreading throughout the bishopric. The Bishop appealed to the Audiencia to authorize the release of more than 5000 pesos which had been allocated to the hospital's share of the tithe revenues since April, 1777.³⁸ These funds had been impounded on the grounds that no hospital existed and no friars of San Juan de Dios resided in Comayagua. The Bishop pleaded that his urgent request was necessitated by

the many calamities and misfortunes which the small-pox epidemic has begun to inflict on this poor and populous city. The economic resources of this episcopal office are so small that the Bishop is unable to help as he would wish.³⁹

Upon receiving this information on February 22, 1781, President Matías de Gálvez acted swiftly. In consideration of the urgency of the matter he ordered that a dispatch be sent to Comayagua in the next mail to authorize release of the impounded funds from the local treasury. A committee comprising the governor, Bishop, first dignitary of the cathedral chapter, and the royal treasury official with the most seniority was to be formed to administer the relief funds.⁴⁰

Consequences of the 1781 smallpox epidemic in Comayagua paralleled the food shortages and high corn prices experienced in the Viceroyalty of New Spain in the late eighteenth century.⁴¹ General neglect of agricultural production in much of the diocese of Comayagua, however, further contributed to the severe impact of the crisis. According to one source, the Bishop imported corn from the diocese of

León (Nicaragua) which cost as much as 88 reales (11 pesos) per fanega.⁴²

This exorbitant price nearly doubled New Spain's eighteenth century high of 48 reales (6 pesos) per fanega experienced during July and August, 1786.⁴³ Wheat and corn were in short supply and at very high prices.

A portion of the funds released by President Matías de Gálvez was doubtlessly allocated by the relief junta to alleviate the grain shortage.⁴⁴

A further consequence of the smallpox epidemic was the high casualty rate suffered by the local Payas Indian reducciones (settlements). Approximately ninety Indians had been settled half a league distant from Comayagua in April, 1780, in compliance with orders from President Matías de Gálvez. Concurrently, the priest assigned to the Templo de la Caridad in Comayagua, Manuel Sebastián de Toves, was delegated the responsibility of permanently settling and indoctrinating the Indians. The Audiencia in Guatemala had authorized 100 pesos to construct four shelters and a provisional church so that the Payas Indians could be easily congregated and Christianized. This plan appeared to function and to be accepted among the Payas until the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic in early 1781. Within the period of fifteen to twenty days twenty-three deaths occurred in the settlement. According to Toves, close living quarters contributed to the rapid spread of the disease as well as to the future reluctance of the Payas to reside so close to Comayagua. The priest agreed to resettle the Payas further up the mountain where they soon cleared the brush and cut down trees to prepare for planting corn and yuca.⁴⁵ He argued that the Payas should be permitted to stay in the new settlement although it was not specifically authorized by the Audiencia because the Payas had become more willing workers. Soon the settlement could

support the city of Comayagua with its corn and before any others supply the needs that regularly occur in the months of May and June . . . the production of the women in making cloth, blankets et cetera do not cease. With their work and aided by the cuartillo (fourth of a real) which the crown provides them only, they lead an average life in ⁴⁶ which they maintain and dress themselves honestly.

Bishop San Miguel supported the actions of Toves by explaining that it was counterproductive to attempt to settle the Payas in a totally unfamiliar environment. He believed that they would permanently reside in the new area because they lived in their accustomed mountainous surrounding, and were actively building shelters, clearing the land, and planting crops. Also, the Payas would probably stay in the area because they were isolated from the corruptive influences of the indomitable Batucos Indians. Perhaps the most important reason for the Payas staying in the settlement was the last one offered by the Bishop. If the Payas attempted to escape, they had to leave through the valley near Comayagua, in which case they would be quickly recaptured.⁴⁷ These views developed by the Bishop on the treatment of Indians in Honduras appear to have been continued in his Indian policies in the bishopric of Michoacán, New Spain.⁴⁸

In the report to President Matías de Gálvez the Bishop related some of the conclusions he and others had reached regarding the Christianizing of the Indians. Priests who had dealt with the Payas Indians had observed that baptized children in the valley of Agalta had been carried into the mountains and had never returned to receive further indoctrination. The pervasive attitude of frustration among the clergy is demonstrated by the recommendation of the parish priest of Silca.

It is my feeling that these Indians should not be baptized unless they leave these regions since it is wasting time and putting them in a worse condition. Clearly it is evident that these Indians are more coerced than willing believers.⁴⁹

In the Bishop's opinion, Indians had to reside in permanent settlements before indoctrination could be effective. These settlements should be located in pacified and secure areas. Accordingly, Indians from older settlements could be placed in new settlements to promote acculturation.⁵⁰ In either case San Miguel appears to suggest that by these measures the Indians could be made productive for the Spanish communities and at the same time assure their own survival. Without being acculturated and integrated into the larger society Indian survival was questionable in the Bishop's view.

San Miguel doubtless was gratified in being able to consecrate the parish church of San Miguel in Tegucigalpa on September, 1782.⁵¹ Construction had lasted more than a quarter-century since 1756 when Bishop Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco delegated the supervision of the building to the parish priest, José Simón de Zelaya.

In the last years of his episcopacy the prelate suffered a serious fall while making a diocesan visit. Although the accident incapacitated him for a time, he subsequently continued to visit parish churches in the diocese.⁵² Undoubtedly, his travels were less extensive and less rigorous than in earlier years.

Charles III transferred San Miguel to the diocese of Michoacán, New Spain, on December 15, 1783.⁵³ Tithe records show that the Bishop collected his share of the revenues in Honduras for the fiscal periods ending in March for the years 1777-1783.⁵⁴ Although he probably resided in Comayagua for several weeks after his documents were prepared in Spain,

the episcopal share for two months and twenty-one days from December 18, 1783 to March 7, 1784 was subtracted from the total sum he collected.⁵⁵ On June 25, 1784, the dean of the cathedral chapter of Michoacán took possession of the diocese for the Bishop-elect. The prelate arrived at the city of Valladolid in the diocese of Michoacán on September 17, 1784.⁵⁶

Episcopal tithe income in the diocese of Michoacán surpassed the episcopal revenues of Comayagua at least eighteen times.⁵⁷ Although the magnitude of his tasks in New Spain contrasted with his experiences in Honduras, problems such as combating the effects of a smallpox epidemic and high corn prices were familiar. As a builder of public works and as a mentor of the renowned Manuel Abad y Queipo, who served in Comayagua and Guatemala from 1779 to 1784,⁵⁸ and as an influence upon Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos, Antonio de San Miguel Iglesias emerges as one of the most salient figures of ecclesiastical, social, and agrarian history of Spanish America in the late Bourbon colonial period.⁵⁹

Charles III chose José Antonio de Isabella to succeed Bishop San Miguel.⁶⁰ Isabella was born March 18, 1729, in Morón, Spain, and died in December, 1785. His appointment on June 27, 1785, preceded his death by a few months and explains why he did not take possession of his office in Honduras.⁶¹ Tithe records verify the fact that the episcopal office of Comayagua was vacant for the fiscal periods ending in March in the years 1785-1788.⁶² In accordance with the regulations governing vacancies in the Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias, the Bishop's share of the tithe revenues for these years reverted to the coffers of the local royal treasury in the city of Comayagua. For

five years, from early 1784 until early 1789, there was no episcopal leadership in the diocese of Comayagua.

Isabella's successor was Fray Fernando de Cadiñanos, a Franciscan, who was born May 29, 1731, in Vitoria, Spain.⁶³ Pope Pius VI issued the papal bulls for his canonical appointment on March 10, 1788⁶⁴ and Charles III provided for his royal appointment in a decree dated at Aranjuez on May 17, 1788.⁶⁵ According to José Antonio Cornejo, Charles III's secretary for affairs relating to New Spain, Bishop-elect Cadiñanos took his oath to obey the laws of the Real Patronato in Madrid immediately following royal confirmation of his appointment.⁶⁶

Fray Cadiñanos was consecrated by the Bishop of Puerto Rico on August 20, 1788, following a stormy and near fatal voyage from Spain.⁶⁷ Several weeks later the Bishop disembarked at Trujillo and proceeded to Comayagua. Although he arrived in Comayagua in early December, 1788, Presbyter Antonio José de Arriaga, archdeacon of the cathedral chapter, took possession of the episcopal office in Cadiñanos' name on January 10, 1789.⁶⁸ This procedure may be explained in part by the fact that the prelate's appointment documents had not yet been presented for the approval of the Audiencia in Guatemala. On January 19, 1789, the prelate granted José Batres, a prominent merchant in Guatemala, the power of attorney to solicit the Audiencia's approval of his papal bulls which accredited him as Bishop.⁶⁹ These documents, however, were not presented to nor approved by the Audiencia as planned. The judicial body requested the fiscal of the Audiencia to investigate the situation and to render an opinion. Upon deciding that the Bishop had taken effective possession of his office, the fiscal advised the governor-intendant of Comayagua to notify the Bishop that he was obligated to

present his appointment papers to the Audiencia for approval as provided in the Laws of the Indies.⁷⁰

Bishop Cadiñanos could not satisfy the immediate procedural demands of the Audiencia because he had turned his immediate attention to diocesan problems. These concerns had been neglected because episcopal leadership had been lacking for five years. On three separate occasions the prelate started his journey to the capital city only to discover that he had to abandon his travel plans to attend to urgent pastoral duties. Parishioners bitterly complained about the lack of spiritual care provided them by the clergy of the diocese. On the other hand, the clergy decried the "unending and insufferable work which they experienced in attempting to administer the sacraments."⁷¹ According to Cadiñanos, this deplorable situation allowed him no time to recuperate from his exhausting and frightful journey from Spain and prompted him to investigate personally conditions in each of the thirty-five parishes of the bishopric.

On May 3, 1789, Bishop Cadiñanos began his diocesan visit in the parish district of Tegucigalpa. The inspection of the diocese required several months of travel over more than 700 leagues of primitive roads. Despite several illnesses en route, the prelate compiled a detailed and pessimistic account of his experiences and findings. The most appalling and painful discovery for the Bishop was that large numbers of parishioners had died without having received the sacraments. According to his account many died without the last rites of the Church

because they did not call the parish priest, others because he did not arrive on time or because it was too late when they called him. Some died without receiving the sacraments because they could not find the parish priest in town because he was busy performing a similar duty elsewhere.⁷²

At first Bishop Cadiñanos was inclined to believe that the clergy were responsible for this situation. He therefore conducted extensive, rigorous, and secret investigations to ascertain if they fulfilled their obligations to administer properly the sacraments and teach the Christian doctrine. However, he did not uncover "the least motive for reprimanding them, nor the least cause for punishing them."⁷³

The prelate firmly believed that the root of this problem was that too few clerics had to serve a vast diocese where large numbers of inhabitants lived outside the population centers. This situation had several other implications beyond the difficulty of providing for the administration of sacraments.

Because the faithful are found so separated from one another and are residing in the most clandestine areas of the mountains and are hidden away from the towns, a type of life originates which is abandoned to idleness and filled with the most abominable vices. Public concubinage is in excessive number. The sins of incest in the most prohibited degree are many. The hatred and abhorrence which they have toward the observance of the divine precepts, both royal and ecclesiastical, are constant. The crass ignorance which they suffer of the principles of the Catholic faith and obligations of their circumstances is notorious. The lack of usefulness which these vassals have to the crown and to the province is well known. And finally since they are used to living in such a miserable condition, I fear that they will die in a state of eternal damnation.⁷⁴

Bishop Cadiñanos informed Charles IV that it was "necessary, useful, and convenient"⁷⁵ to force the majority of the Indians to live in towns like Spaniards.⁷⁶ Because the shortage of ecclesiastical funds precluded any further action on his part, the prelate stated that he was forced to turn to the crown for action. Three royal decrees had been issued by Charles III in 1765, 1769, and 1772 which attempted to investigate and resolve the problem of the shortage of clergy in the diocese, but the Bishop remarked that he was not informed why they had

not been carried out. The prelate seemed to believe that Charles III was a conscientious monarch who was personally concerned about the effectiveness of the Church in the province of Honduras. In this context, he strongly requested Charles IV to give the strictest orders to force compliance with the proposals already set forth by his father, Charles III.⁷⁷

If Charles IV and the Consejo de Indias would follow his suggestions, the Bishop argued, the province of Honduras would be able to escape its "unhappy state of poverty."⁷⁸

Financial obligations and an empty royal treasury in Comayagua will be placed on a different footing, irreligion will be subjugated by the clergy, protracted commerce will assume a different aspect, the lost mechanical arts will be reestablished, and finally as a main point of this argument, the multitude of offenses which are committed against God will be avoided.⁷⁹

It would appear that the Bishop considered that social and religious reforms were prerequisites for economic reform. He believed that his proposals would benefit the crown as well as the province of Honduras. The Consejo de Indias responded to Bishop Cadiñanos' report by ordering the governor-intendant to select towns where the dispersed Indian population, who were as yet neither subjects of the crown nor the Church, could be settled, civilized, Christianized, and made productive for the Spanish community.⁸⁰

The report of the diocesan visit, which was submitted to Charles IV and the Consejo de Indias in 1791, provides a valuable contemporaneous appraisal of the condition of the Church in Honduras at the end of the eighteenth century. In addition, his detailed statistical descriptions comprise the first census of the province of Honduras according to parish district.⁸¹ The crown's response to the prelate's account

eventually led to the 1804 report of the Governor -Intendant Ramón de Anguiano. Governor Anguiano's account contains some of the most useful information relating to demography, economic, and climatic factors affecting agricultural production and mining in Honduras in the late Bourbon period. In contrast to the religious emphasis of Bishop Cadiñanos' 1791 report, the governor's account stresses the economic reasons for the poverty of Honduras. For example, he explained the blighted agricultural production by citing a ten-year drought and partially accounted for the stagnated international commerce by noting that non-subjugated coastal Indians continued to trade with the British. He believed that the lack of a reliable labor force, the lack of specialists in promoting agricultural production, the absence of persons skilled in new mining technologies, and the great lack of investment capital collectively impeded Honduras' economic development and progress.⁸²

When Bishop Cadiñanos fell ill in November, 1793, he was attended by the physician José de Terreros y Arzu and by Fray Pedro Abreu, prior of the hospital of San Juan de Dios. In early February, 1794, Fray Joaquín Atami was brought to Comayagua from the Convento de San Francisco in Guatemala to hear the last confession of the prelate.⁸³ In a document dated November 3, 1799, the attorney-general of the Audiencia listed the episcopal office of Comayagua as having been vacant since February 26, 1794.⁸⁴

Chapter III

NOTES

¹ José Bravo Ugarte, Diócesis y obispos de la iglesia mexicana, 1519-1965 (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1965), p. 75.

² Ibid., Mariano Cuevas, Historia de la iglesia en Mexico (5 vols.,; Mexico: Editorial Patria, 1946-47), III, p. 115, states that he died in 1774. No record of this bishop has been located by this writer in the Archivo de Centro América/ Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (hereinafter cited as AGGG).

³ Domingo Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala (2 vols.; Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1936), II, p. 131.

⁴ The Bishop was paid for the period March, 1767- March, 1768 according to AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2313.

⁵ AGGG, Sig. A1.40, Leg. 1529, Exp. 22292, Fol. 266 v.

⁶ "El rey concede que en la iglesia catedral de Comayagua se establezcan las prebendas penitenciarias y doctoral," Revista del Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Honduras (hereinafter cited as RABNH), XIX:9 (31 de marzo de 1941), 513.

⁷ Ibid., 514.

⁸ AGGG, Sig. A1.40, Leg. 1529, Exp. 22292, Fol. 267.

⁹ The Bishop collected the episcopal share of the tithes for March, 1766- March, 1767 and for March, 1767 -March, 1768. For 1766-1767 consult AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2313; For 1767-1768 see AGGG, A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1563.

¹⁰ Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, Relaciones históricas de Santo Domingo (Ciudad Trujillo, República Dominicana: Editora Montalvo, 1957), III, p. 345. This volume constitutes vol. XIII of Archivo General de la Nación.

¹¹ Bravo Ugarte, Diócesis y obispos de la iglesia mexicana, p. 49.

¹² Archivo Eclesiástico de Comayagua (hereinafter cited as AEC), En santa visita de la iglesia parroquial de Manto a 28 de marzo de 1770.

¹³ AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569, Años 1771, 1772, 1773.

¹⁴ AGGG, Sig. A1.20, Leg. 1042, Fol. 155.

¹⁵He replaced Bishop-elect José Vicente Díaz Bravo who died in 1772. Cuevas, Historia de la iglesia en Mexico, III, p. 117.

¹⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569, Año 1773. Documents which record his arrangements for taking possession in Durango are found in AGGG, Sig. Al.20, Leg. 1042, Fol. 155. For information on his episcopacy in Durango consult José Ignacio Gallegos C., Durango colonial, 1563-1821 (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1960, pp. 420-422; Gallegos C., Historia de la iglesia en Durango, Colección Mexico Heroico, no. 100 (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1969), pp. 243-244. He took possession in Durango on February 16, 1774.

¹⁷Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, II, p. 131.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.29, Leg. 1743, Exp. 28020.

²⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 4595, Fol. 139; AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 4617, Fol. 169 v.

²¹AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 5774, Exp. 48503.

²²AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 2338, Exp. 17540, Fols. 169-178 v.

²³AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4791, Fol. 210, 220, 222, 224 v.

²⁴AGGG, Sig. Al.15, Leg. 414, Exp. 8755.

²⁵AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 1530, Fol. 115.

²⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.15, Leg. 414, Exp. 8755.

²⁷AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 812, Exp. 14914, Fol. 265 v.

²⁸AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 2888, Exp. 42383; AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 1757, Exp. 28223. Palencia stopped receiving the dean's share of the tithes on September 7, 1773.

²⁹Juarros, Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala, I, p. 210; II, p. 131.

³⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569 contains the tithe charts for the years 1773, 1774, 1775. The documents pertaining to his estate are located in AGGG, Sig. Al.43, Leg. 2687, Exp. 22850, Año 1787.

³¹Rafael Heliodoro Valle, "El gran obispo fray Antonio de San Miguel," Anales del museo michoacano, segunda época, no. 3, p. 55 cited in Juan B. Valladares R., La virgen de Suyapa, historia documentada (Tegucigalpa: Talleres Tipo-Lito "Ariston", 1946), p. 127

³²Ibid.; See also Hierarchia Catholica medi et recentioris

aevi: sive summorum pontificum S.R.E. cardinalium ecclesierum antistitum series: e documentis tabularii praesertim vaticani collecte, digesta, edita (Patavii: Typis et sumptibus Domus Editorialis "Il Messagero de S. Antonio", 1958), VI, p. 175. This is a reference set comprised of eight oversized volumes. See footnote, Chapter II, of this dissertation.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., p. 128.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 47, Exp. 443, Fol. 5.

³⁷AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 47, Exp. 443, Fols. 5 v, 6 r.

³⁸AGGG, Sig. Al.1, Leg. 1, Exp. 10, Fol. 1 v.

³⁹AGGG, Sig. Al.1, Leg. 1, Exp. 10, Fol. 1 r.

⁴⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.1, Leg. 1, Exp. 10, Fols. 1 r, 1 v, 2 r. As in most cases the reply of the fiscal is written on the left hand side of the main text.

⁴¹For a broad perspective on this issue in New Spain consult Enrique Florescano, Precios de maíz y crisis agrícola, 1708-1810 (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1969); Florescano, Origen y desarrollo de los problemas agrarios de Mexico, 1500-1821, Colección Problemas de Mexico (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1976).

⁴²Valle, "El gran obispo fray Antonio de San Miguel," Anales del museo michoacano, segunda época, no. 3, 55, cited in Valladares, La virgen de Suyapa, p. 128. According to the Gazeta de Guatemala, VIII: 356 (lunes, 23 de julio de 1804), Fol. 373, a fanega was equal to 11 arrobas and 13 pounds net weight. 1 arroba was equal to 25 pounds, thus 1 fanega was equal to 288 pounds in this region.

⁴³Florescano, Precios de maíz y crisis agrícola, appendice IV, p. 234.

⁴⁴Valle, "El gran obispo fray Antonio de San Miguel," Anales del museo michoacano, segunda época, no. 3, 55, cited in Valladares, La virgen de Suyapa, p. 128, states that the Bishop independently took charge of the relief effort. The archive document shows that the Audiencia released the funds and established a junta in which the Bishop participated.

⁴⁵AGGG, Sig. Al.12, Leg. 50, Exp. 511; See also "Gobierno. Comayagua, 1780. Sobre que el cura de Santa Lucia don Manuel Sebastián Toves a cuidado del catequismo y fundación del pueblo de los indios payas." RABNH, XXVII: 11 & 12 (mayo y junio de 1949), 489-490.

⁴⁶Ibid., 491-492.

⁴⁷Ibid., 490-491.

⁴⁸Florescano, Origen y desarrollo de los problemas agrarios de Mexico, pp. 138-139. " En suma, para Abad y Queipo, San Miguel y más tarde para los liberales, la solución de la miseria, degradación y atraso en que vivían los indios no estaba en la gran hacienda que los explotaba y les robaba sus tierras, sino en los mismos indios y en la legislación que los protegía. Por ello, en lugar de atacar el latifundio, propusieron leyes que al destruir la barrera material (tierras de comunidad) y legal (leyes proteccionistas) que aseguraba al menos su subsistencia, crearía la situación adecuada para que abandonaron sus tradiciones milenarias y se 'incorporaran a la civilización'. La liga entre las ideas de Abad y Queipo con las ideas agrarias y sociales en general, del liberalismo mexicano del siglo xix, es evidente. Sólo el maqueísmo y la demonología que hace presa de nuestros historiadores después de cada triunfo de eso se ha dado en llamar 'nuestra trayectoria revolucionaria' (Independencia, Reforma y Revolución), ha impedido reconocer esa filiación y explicar su significado. Los liberales, por lo demás, no la negaron tan enfáticamente. José María Luis Mora, llamado 'el teórico del liberalismo mexicano', no sólo no vio en Abad y Queipo el sombrío excomulgador de Hidalgo que nos han pintado los historiadores posrevolucionarios, sino que además de incorporar sus escritos en la edición de 1837 de sus Obras Sueltas, reconoció en él a un 'hombre de talento claro, de comprensión vastísima y de profundos conocimientos sobre el estado moral y político del país'. Ibid., p. 139.

⁴⁹"Gobierno. Comayagua, 1780. Sobre que el cura de Santa Lucia don Manuel Sebastian Toves a cuidado del catequismo y fundación del pueblo de los indios payas." RABNH, XXVII: 11 and 12 (mayo y junio de 1949), 490-491.

⁵⁰Ibid., 490.

⁵¹Yanuario Jirón, " Apuntamientos cronológicas de la parroquia de San Miguel de Tegucigalpa y de los señores curas que durante 140 años, la han servido comenzando por el sr. pbro. Br. don José Simón de Zelaya, que la edificó, hasta el que hoy tiene la honra de administrarla," Revista de la Universidad, Año XVI:no.9 (abril, mayo, y junio de 1952), 78.

⁵²A report of San Miguel's condition following his accident is located in AGGG, Sig. Al.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1567, Fols. 12-13. 4 de marzo de 1779. " en el año pasado de 1775, caio malo; y aunque dn Joseph Quiñones que hacía de médico en esta ciudad [Gracias a Dios] le hizo sus operaciones y medicamiento no por eso dejó de permanecer con diversos males y es mayor una tos tan continúa que ha llegado varias ocasiones a expeler sangre, por el esputo, tambien le constan que en muchas veces que ha dormido con bastante (illegible) ha reparado que la mayor parte de la noche se pasa con la continuación de la tos

sin poder dormir como también es que el referido dn Joseph Quiñones, le manda, que en ninguna manera le diese el sol, ni sereno por ser adverso a su accidente."

⁵³Bravo Ugarte, Diócesis y obispos de la iglesia mexicana, p. 71, states that the papal bull was dated December 15, 1783. See also AGGG, Sig. A3.11, Leg. 1306, Exp. 22,251, Fol. 35 v.

⁵⁴1777-1780 AGGG, Sig. A1.11.12, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569
 1781 AGGG, Sig. A1.11, Leg. 143, Exp. 1572
 1782 AGGG, Sig. A1.11, Leg. 143, Exp. 1573, 1577
 1783 AGGG, Sig. A1.11, Leg. 1306, Exp. 22251

⁵⁵AGGG, Sig. A3.11, Leg. 1306, Exp. 22251, Fol. 35 v.

⁵⁶Bravo Ugarte, Diócesis y obispos de la iglesia mexicana, p. 71.

⁵⁷The yield for the bishopric of Comayagua was 18,025 pesos while that of Michoacán was 324,200 pesos.

⁵⁸This writer was unsuccessful in locating materials on Manuel Abad y Queipo in Guatemala and Honduras. However, Troy Floyd contends that Manuel Abad y Queipo served in Honduras from 1779-1784. See his introductory note to the section on Abad y Queipo in The Bourbon Reformers and Spanish Civilization: Builders or Destroyers? (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1966), p. 18. Lillian Estelle Fisher's Champion of Reform: Manuel Abad y Queipo (New York: Library Publishers, 1955), p. 4, states that Abad y Queipo accompanied Archbishop Cayetano Franco y Monroy to the city of Comayagua in the far distant Kingdom of Guatemala. On p.5 she suggests that he served primarily in the capital city of Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción.

⁵⁹For information regarding Bishop San Miguel's episcopacy in Valladolid de Michoacán, Nueva España, consult the following: Valle "El gran obispo fray Antonio de San Miguel," Anales del museo michoacano, segunda época, no. 3, p. 55 cited in Valladares, La virgen de Suyapa, p. 128; Gazeta de Guatemala, Tomo III:123 (junes, 23 de septiembre de 1799), Fol. 107; Ernesto Lemoine, ed., "Un notable escrito postumo del obispo de Michoacán, fray Antonio de San Miguel, sobre la situación social, económica y eclesiástica de la Nueva España, en 1804," Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación [Mexico], segunda serie, Tomo V:1 (enero-marzo de 1964), 5-66. This document is doubtless a more mature and sophisticated analysis of conditions in Michoacán than the report he presented to Charles III when he was in Honduras. In effect, much of his potential was brought to fruition in his new assignment. Enrique Florescano shows his admiration for the talent of San Miguel in several chapters of Origen y desarrollo de los problemas agrarios de Mexico, 1500-1821, some of which have already been cited. Wilbert H. Timmons, professor emeritus of the University of Texas at El Paso, lauded San Miguel's contributions in his study of José María Morelos. "The Bishop of Michoacán at the end of the eighteenth

century was Antonio de San Miguel, one of the most able and enlightened persons in the history of that office. He had a reputation for benevolence, an interest in the public welfare, and a genuine understanding of basic social and economic problems which was rare among those who held high office in those days. His Informe written in 1799 to the king of Spain, which Alexander von Humboldt incorporated into his Ensayo político sobre el reino de la Nueva España, is a classic description of social conditions by a keen and understanding observer." Wilbert H. Timmons, Morelos of Mexico, Priest, Soldier, Statesman (El Paso, Texas: Texas Western Press, 1963), p. 18. Timmons also reproduces the Informe of 1799 on pp. 18-20. See also the reproduction of San Miguel's report in volume 2 of Humboldt's work. An example edition is Alejandro de Humboldt, Ensayo político sobre el reino de la Nueva España (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1966), pp. 70-73.

⁶⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 425.

⁶¹AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 425. See also Hierarchia Catholica, VI (1958), p. 175.

⁶²AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 143, Exp. 1584 for the year 1785.
AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 22, Exp. 2318 for the year 1786.

⁶³AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 418, 425 v.

⁶⁴AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 406.

⁶⁵AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 425.

⁶⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 428.

⁶⁷AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 428.

⁶⁸AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 423.

⁶⁹AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 429 v.

⁷⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fols, 401, 402.

⁷¹AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4797, Fol. 402.

⁷²"El obispo de Comayagua informa a su majestad sobre el estado de su diócesis. Año 1791," Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno [Guatemala], Tomo XI: 1 & 2 (junio de 1946), 82.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid., 82-83.

⁷⁶Ibid., 83.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid., 83, 112.

⁷⁹Ibid., 83.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Charles III requested current census data by means of a royal order dated November 10, 1776. See "Población del reyno de Guatemala. En el año 1778 se formó de real orden un padrón de todos los habitantes de estas provincias por los jueces reales respectivos. Su resumen es el siguiente comprendiendo las personas de todos estados, edades, y condiciones." Gazeta de Guatemala, Tomo VI:256 (lunes, 26 de abril de 1802), Fol. 100. For the Bishop's report see the summary provided in "Idea del obispado de Comayagua," Gazeta de Guatemala, Tomo VI:259 (lunes, 17 de mayo de 1802), Fols. 119-120.

⁸²"Visita hecha a los pueblos de Honduras por el gobernador e intendente don Ramon de Anguiano. Año 1804," BAGG [Guatemala], Tomo XI: 1 y 2 (junio de 1946), Fols. 113-150.

⁸³José Reina Valenzuela, Comayagua antañona: 1537-1821, Colección "León Alvarado", no. 3 (Tegucigalpa: Biblioteca de la Academia Hondureña de Geografía e Historia, Imprenta La República, 1968), p. 123. Reina Valenzuela states that he died March 15, 1794. Hierarchia Catholica, 1958, VI, p. 175, asserts that he died in July, 1794.

Chapter IV

EPISCOPAL LEADERSHIP IN THE BISHOPRIC OF COMAYAGUA
DURING THE REIGNS OF CHARLES IV AND FERDINAND VII
PART A: LEADERSHIP DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES IV

Charles IV nominated Fray Vicente de Navas Sampayo y González to serve the diocese of Comayagua within two months of the death of Bishop Fernando de Cadiñanos in 1794.¹ Navas was born in Mérida, Extremadura, Spain, and was baptized July 12, 1741.² At the time of his appointment the Bishop-elect was about fifty-three years old and had completed approximately twenty-five years of missionary and administrative service in the Dominican Order in the Kingdom of Guatemala.

In the early 1770s while serving as procurador (attorney) of the religious province of San Vicente de Chiapas y Guatemala, he successfully argued against continued secularization of the Indian doctrinas served by his order. Fray Navas informed Charles III that secularization had caused a sharp decline in the status of the Dominican province in the Kingdom of Guatemala. Loss of fees from the Indian doctrinas meant a loss of economic status, which, in turn, contributed to a shortage of religious personnel.

Although one could not say that all areas [i.e. Guatemala, Real de Chiapas, and San Salvador] absolutely lack income, neither could one affirm that among them were two which could support the necessary number of religious personnel without the contribution and help of the Indian parishes.³

After presenting the nomination of Navas to Rome, Charles IV issued a royal decree on April 10, 1795, to provide the Bishop-elect a gratuity of 4000 pesos to defray expenses in assuming office. This

sum was to be deducted from revenues which had reverted to the royal treasury from vacancies in the minor and major ecclesiastical offices in the archbishopric of Guatemala.⁴ By June 1,⁵ 1795, the papal bulls providing for the canonical appointment of Navas were prepared in Rome⁶ and on August 20, 1795, a royal decree was sent to the governor-intendant of Comayagua informing him of the royal appointment.⁷ Bishop-elect Navas appeared before the Consejo de Indias on April 30, 1796, in Madrid to take his oath to obey the laws of the Real Patronato.⁸ By July 26, 1796, he was "residing in Cádiz and was about to sail for his diocese by way of Havana."⁹

More than six years elapsed before Bishop-elect Navas arrived at the port of Trujillo in the province of Honduras. Although some ships were sailing to Caribbean ports during this period, the maritime hostilities between Spain and England may have delayed his travel plans. Spain allied itself with France in the Treaty of San Ildefonso on August 19, 1796, and committed itself again to France in the Treaty of Amiens in March, 1802. In the interim, Cádiz was bombarded by the British and Sir John Jervis and Horatio Nelson defeated the Spanish fleet near Cape St. Vincent in 1796 and 1797.

The effect of the naval war on Bishop-elect Navas' travel plans is obscure, but the war was specifically blamed for the loss of important correspondence he sent to Guatemala in 1795 or 1796. This correspondence granted Juan Bautista Marticorena, a merchant in Guatemala, the power of attorney to handle the financial affairs of Bishop-elect Navas in the interim. In July, 1796, the Bishop-elect contracted an insurance policy in Cádiz on the contents of six trunks he wished to send to Honduras.¹⁰ However, he could not personally pay the insurance

premiums of 8800 pesos. His broker solicited payment through Manuel José Pavón in Guatemala. However, Juan Bautista Marticorena, the Bishop-elect's agent, stated on July 20, 1799, that he could not pay the premium since he never received the documents granting him power of attorney.¹¹

By late 1799 the Audiencia became impatient with Navas' failure to assume office and complained to Charles IV in a real acuerdo dated November 3, 1799. The fiscal reported that the episcopal office of Comayagua had been vacant since February 26, 1794. In his opinion it was inexcusable that Navas continued to remain in Spain. He had been appointed nearly five years before and several ships from Cádiz had arrived in Havana and Veracruz during this time. The situation was considered especially serious because of

the notorious poverty and desolation of that diocese and the distance from other bishoprics and from the capital city. The usual small number of members of the cathedral chapter who comprise the ecclesiastical government is reduced to only two at the present time. . . . The lack of a Bishop will cause irreparable spiritual and temporal damage.¹²

When Navas finally arrived at the port of Trujillo on August 15, 1802,¹³ nearly eight and one-half years had elapsed since the death of Bishop Cadiñanos. His personal explanation for the long delay has not been located. On October 5, 1802, the Audiencia approved the royal and papal documents which certified the prelate's appointment.¹⁴ In the subsequent six and one-half years Bishop Navas experienced many of the same hardships which had confronted previous bishops of Comayagua. Furthermore, ill health and especially acrimonious relations with some members of the cathedral chapter added to his burdens.

After three months of acquainting himself with the diocese, Bishop Navas submitted his first diocesan report to the President of Audiencia, Antonio González Mollinedo y Saravia.¹⁵ He indicated that the major problem confronting the diocese of Comayagua was the shortage of personnel which was caused by the lack of financial support. In the parish of El Sagrario, which was served by the cathedral of Comayagua, one interim priest was assigned to care for 5,379 parishioners. Under these conditions it was impossible for the priest to teach the Christian doctrine and administer the sacraments properly. Furthermore, the parish district extended to the valley of Yojoa which was thirty leagues from Comayagua. When seasonal rains made rivers and marshlands impassable, the priest could not travel to some areas of the parish to administer the sacraments. The prelate suggested dividing the parish duties between the priest of El Sagrario and the treasurer of the cathedral, who served the church of La Caridad. Assigning a coadjutor to each priest would provide personnel to serve the village of San Antonio and the mining camp of Opeteca. Bishop Navas had already developed a realistic attitude toward the nature of the task and the limitations of his human and material resources. Doubtless, he was keenly aware of the improbability of moving Honduras out of its long established state of dependency.

This measure will certainly not suffice so that these vassals of the King will have the spiritual assistance which they need and his majesty wants. But, since the lack of clergy and other circumstances do not permit them to be aided in any other way, my conscience is appeased with having taken this action.¹⁶

In response to directives from President González, Bishop Navas attempted to promote agricultural development in his diocese in 1803

and 1804. The Audiencia probably encouraged the Bishop to follow the suggestions of the Informe de la Sociedad de Madrid sobre la ley agraria which had been published also by the Gazeta de Guatemala.

Fortunate are the people when the parish priests are the fathers and founders in the useful skills of agricultural science! Fortunate are the people when their pastors, after having shown them the road of eternal happiness open their eyes to the sources of abundance, and make known to them that it alone, when it is the fruit of honest and virtuous work, can give the only happiness which is conceded to the earth! Fortunate also are the parish priests, if destined to live in the solitude of the countryside, who find in the promotion of the practical sciences, that charm which so sweetens life in the midst of the great spectacle of nature, and that lifting the heart of man up to his Creator, he is exposed to the virtue which is most delightful, and which is the prime object of his holy ministry.¹⁷

Spiritual and social concerns were normally accepted as traditional roles of the clergy. Now the role of the clergy was expanded to include promoting agricultural and economic development.¹⁸

On September 18, 1803, the prelate issued a circular letter to the diocesan priests which provided useful lessons and documents on promoting the cultivation of wheat. He attempted to dispel the concept that wheat could be produced abundantly only in cold climates. He affirmed that most wheat in Spain was grown in the warmer regions citing Extremadura and Andalucía as examples of wheat-producing areas which suffered hotter and drier weather than did Yoro and Olanchito in the months of August and September. The Bishop urged priests to persuade parishioners on the first opportune feast day to sow wheat during the following April. To encourage a favorable response the Bishop informed the clergy that he would provide wheat seed at his expense to interested farmers.¹⁹

Response from the clergy was mostly favorable. The priest of Tegucigalpa, José León Villalobos, requested four fanegas of wheat seed to supply 29 small growers. Money was requested by the priest of Intibuca so that the Indians could be exempted from other work in the repartimiento system. The priest of Olanchito replied that only a small amount of seed should be sent to start an experimental plot. He thought that the "laziness of the inhabitants there was a major obstacle to any good project."²⁰

Instructed by President González in November, 1803, Bishop Navas replied to the Audiencia on April 4, 1804. He informed Guatemalan authorities he would allocate one-third of the current year's tithe revenues for the promotion of agricultural production despite the limited financial resources of the diocese of Comayagua. New growers would be rewarded from the tithe revenues on a first-come, first-served basis. A reward of twenty-five pesos would be given to any Indian, mestizo, or mulatto who planted and cared for 500 cacao or coffee trees. Those who planted and cared for 1000 and 1500 trees would receive 50 and 100 pesos respectively. No payment would be made, however, unless the appropriate certifications were obtained from the local magistrate and parish priest.²¹ Bishop Navas' report, which was published in the July 23 and July 30, 1804, issues of the Gazeta de Guatemala, was optimistic despite the fact that results of the project had been minimal up to that time.

President González sent an additional directive related to agriculture to Bishop Navas on July 12, 1804. The tenor of this correspondence, however, was much more traditional than that advocated by many members of the new economic societies.

I have taken many measures which I have judged appropriate for the extermination of the locusts, and to avoid the lamentable events which result from it. One of the principal measures lacking is imploring Divine assistance by means of public prayers, which would be opportune to do in all the churches of the Kingdom of Guatemala afflicted by this devourer insect.²²

When the plea of the President was received on August 9, 1804, the Bishop immediately responded by issuing a circular letter. He ordered nine days of private devotion and two days of public prayers. Parish priests were to implement his instructions within three days after they were received. The hour and day of the receipt of the episcopal instructions were to be duly noted on the circular and sent immediately to the next addressee without delay.²³

Juan Francisco Márquez, parish priest of Tegucigalpa, received the Bishop's letter on August 23, 1804. He stated that the beginning of the nine days of private devotion would be announced the next day during the celebration of mass. During the afternoon of the second Sunday the images of María Santísima de Dolores and that of San Miguel from the two churches would be carried in a candlelight procession as well as the images of the two founders of the religious orders in Tegucigalpa. These measures were intended to give thanks for

the special favor with which the Divine Clemency has exempted the Province of Honduras from the ravages the locust is causing in the rest of the Kingdom, and from the other calamities with which Divine Justice finds itself punishing so many other Kingdoms for so long.²⁴

In late August, 1804, the Audiencia forwarded Charles IV's reply to the Bishop's earlier report of embezzlement of Church funds. Navas had discovered in 1803 that dean José Joaquín Beltrán had stolen 13,401 pesos from various Church accounts. These accounts included capellanías, obras pías, fábrica, and testamentos (wills). Instead of focusing on the

problem of the dean's dishonesty, Charles IV attacked the Bishop for his suggestion that the problem be resolved by transferring the dean to another diocese. The Bishop was sharply reminded that the crown possessed the prerogative of the Real Patronato and not the prelate who was an appointee and subordinate of the crown. The royal decree of March 22, 1804, instructed the Bishop to attend to his obligations of reforming the clergy and recovering the embezzled funds. Charles IV added that he expected the Audiencia in Guatemala to assist the Bishop in carrying out the royal decree.²⁵

Bishop Navas admitted that the dean was old and sick and that perhaps a severe punishment should not be imposed. Following the King's instructions the Bishop embargoed the dean's share of the tithe revenues until a sum equivalent to the embezzled amount could be recovered.²⁶ Despite the Bishop's restraint, dean José Joaquín Beltrán and archdeacon José María San Martín resented the embarrassment which the prelate had caused the cathedral chapter. They would get their revenge.

Final instructions on this incident from the Audiencia revealed heated ill-feeling between the Bishop and the members of the cathedral chapter. On October 18, 1804, the Audiencia urged the Bishop to pay special attention to Law 35, Title VII, Book I, of the Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias which stipulated that Bishops and members of the cathedral chapters should maintain peace and harmony and avoid public scandal. In addition all pertinent decrees of the Council of Trent, canon law, and the Laws of the Indies were to be obeyed.²⁷

From early 1805 until mid-1807 Bishop Navas resided in Guatemala. Although he had left Comayagua to recover his health in the capital city, he undoubtedly welcomed the opportunity to escape the hostility

of the dean and archdeacon and the grinding poverty of Honduras. In a letter of March 10, 1805, Antonio Norberto Serrano Polo, the interim governor-intendant, informed the Audiencia of the bleak economic conditions in Comayagua.

[I have received your] dispatch which proposed the allocation of funds for the support of a physician in this city as its inhabitants remain in the most deplorable state of misery. The ecclesiastical arm on the other hand continues to complain about insufficient income. With the exception of your governor-intendant who enjoys 4000 pesos in salary, the income of the employees of the royal treasury is hardly enough to sustain them. Furthermore, the fondo de propios (municipal treasury) is unable to support its respective obligations. The asesor (legal adviser) says that of the 1000 pesos which the crown assigned him last year only 46 pesos were collected. Since the royal treasury could not pay him the 500 pesos due him, he runs around here constantly begging me for his needed pay.²⁸ There is no money here to carry out your proposals.

The conditions described above by the interim governor-intendant indicate the necessity of the prelate's journey to Guatemala to seek medical treatment. However, a change of location did not protect him from the pervasive effects of impoverished conditions in Comayagua. On December 20, 1805, he informed President González of his embarrassing personal circumstances. He resorted to soliciting charity from Juan Rubio y Germán, the contador de diezmos (tithe accountant), who gave him money to help pay his living expenses and medical bills. In correspondence from Comayagua he learned that Joaquín Lindo had deposited only 600 pesos toward his episcopal share of the tithes for 1803. His legitimate share of the tithe income of 28,250 pesos amounted to 7,062 pesos, 4 reales, before deductions. Indicating his pessimistic attitude the Bishop lamented his compromised situation.

I look at the incident as a second disgrace which makes me helpless, not only in taking the measures which my doctor recommends for the treatment of my illnesses, but also in just being able to subsist in this capital.²⁹

Without funds he could not drink the mineral waters of Escuintla which he considered a treatment for his kidney ailment.³⁰ The President, who had become a friend of the Bishop of Comayagua, ordered the fiscal to force Joaquín Lindo to pay the prelate 2000 pesos by the end of the month of January, 1806. Lindo was in Antigua, Guatemala, where he was selling a cattle herd which he had brought from Honduras.

While the Bishop attempted to cure his illness in Guatemala, Comayagua experienced an outbreak of smallpox in March, 1806. Nonetheless, the prelate had already contributed to the defense against the feared disease. On March 6, 1804, he had issued a circular letter to the diocesan clergy which publicized the royal order of September 1, 1803. In this document Charles IV certified the safety of Edward Jenner's smallpox vaccine and urged vassals of the crown to be vaccinated. When the vaccine arrived from Guatemala on May 20, 1806, a local committee was well-prepared. Joseph Hoyle, an English physician residing in Trujillo, had been employed to direct the vaccination campaign in Comayagua.³¹

In July, 1806, the interim governor-intendant, Antonio Norberto Serrano Polo, instigated a campaign to transfer the seat of ecclesiastical and civil government from Comayagua to Tegucigalpa. He enlisted enthusiastic support for his cause from Gaspar Piloña and Andreas José Barrientos, oficiales reales (local royal treasury officials); Fray Manuel Raiser and Fray Juan Nepomuceno Burgos, friars of the Hospital of San Juan de Dios; Jacinto Piloña, factor (business manager of the royal treasury); Joaquín Lindo, escribano real (royal notary); and José Joaquín Beltran, José María San Martín, and Diego Vidaurre, members of the cathedral chapter.

The collective effort of this peninsular and creole faction was designed to discredit Comayagua's economic, environmental, and social suitability to remain the administrative and ecclesiastical capital of Honduras.³²

The lengthy affidavits repeated the claim that the climate was "so deadly for the natives of the city, and it was even more prejudicial for the Europeans and public employees."³³ All were unhappy that they had to remain in the city when both the proprietary governor-intendant and the Bishop had fled to Guatemala to recover their health. They undoubtedly remembered that the governor-intendant had to be "carried out of Comayagua in a chair half-moribund,"³⁴ because of his severe stomach illness in 1804. Serrano Polo claimed that of the inhabitants residing in Comayagua when he assumed office in 1798, two-thirds had died in the following eight years. He complained that the public employees were sick more than half the time and the hospital was of little use since the ill that entered were soon "transferred to eternity."³⁵ Other affidavits blamed smallpox, diphtheria, pneumonia, colic, inflammation of the liver, stomach disorders, rheumatism, fevers, and coughs for many illnesses and deaths. Poor sanitation, poor ventilation, and polluted water also contributed to unhealthy conditions. On the other hand Tegucigalpa was portrayed as the ideal city which had few of these environmental problems.³⁶

Members of the cathedral chapter noted that corn seldom sold for less than 48 reales (6 pesos) per fanega in Comayagua. Corn prices in Tegucigalpa were much lower. The members of the cathedral chapter also emphasized that they would be happy to move to Tegucigalpa where they could use the parish church of San Miguel as the new cathedral. They claimed that the cathedral of Comayagua needed repairs which would cost between 50,000 and 100,000 pesos. The racial composition of

Tegucigalpa's population also justified the transfer in their view. According to the cathedral chapter sixty-six Spanish families resided in Tegucigalpa whereas Serrano Polo had stated that only eight to ten Spanish families lived in Comayagua.³⁷ In the opinion of José Joaquín Beltrán, José María San Martín, and Diego Vidaurre, the Indians, mestizos, and mulattoes who comprised the local population "look upon work with horror."³⁸

Although Bishop Navas presumably returned to Comayagua in mid-1807,³⁹ his activity in Honduras does not appear in the documents until May, 1808. On May 22, 1808, he prepared a document which would announce to "all doctors and licentiates in Sacred Theology and canon law who had successfully completed courses in general studies and were university graduates"⁴⁰ that applications were being accepted for the positions of doctoral and penitenciario in the cathedral chapter of Comayagua.⁴¹ In accordance with a royal decree issued by Philip V at San Ildefonso on September 21, 1725, all candidates or their proxies were required to present themselves within six months to enter the oposición (competition) for the position of prebend. On May 25, 1808, the Bishop sent three copies of an edict announcing the vacancies to the Bishops of León (Nicaragua), Chiapas, and to the Archbishop of Guatemala.⁴² Two candidates responded to the notice of the vacant position. One was Dr. Carlos Castañón, a graduate of the Universidad de Toledo.⁴³ He was immediately chosen as interim governor-intendant of Comayagua to replace Serrano Polo. The other was Dr. Tomás Ruiz, a thirty-one year-old Nicaraguan Indian priest. Although his application was sent from León in the province of Nicaragua on October 23, 1808, it did not arrive in Comayagua until November 30, 1808. Slow mail delivery made the application five days late.⁴⁴

The prelate sought an official ruling on the status of the application from the fiscal of the Audiencia. The attorney-general ruled that the application "arrived within the assigned period."⁴⁵ Dr. Tomás Ruiz, a graduate of the University of San Carlos in Guatemala, had been encouraged to apply for the position by Juan José de Zelaya. Zelaya had been a former cleric of Honduras who held the position of maestrecuela in the cathedral chapter of León (Nicaragua).⁴⁶

Perhaps aware of the strong resentment of Jose María San Martín and other members of the cathedral chapter against Indians, Bishop Navas secretly admitted the candidacy of Dr. Tomás Ruiz.⁴⁷ Furthermore, he extended an invitation to the Nicaraguan Indian priest to stay in the episcopal residence when he arrived in Comayagua in February, 1809.⁴⁸ When Ruiz arrived in Comayagua and the Bishop's actions were known, archdeacon San Martín became enraged.⁴⁹

The members of the cathedral chapter immediately complained to the Audiencia that the candidacy of Tomás Ruiz should not be allowed for several reasons. The document asserted that the Bishop was unjustified in not consulting with the cathedral chapter about an unknown applicant. It was claimed that his documents were not in order and that he did not present himself before the deadline. Furthermore, the archdeacon demanded to review the secret correspondence which had been sent to President González. On April 7, 1809, the President angrily replied that the Bishop had indeed been in contact with the Audiencia and that the judicial body had approved his actions. He was indignant that the cathedral chapter demanded access to the confidential and official correspondence between the Bishop and the Vice Patron. The cathedral chapter, the President reprimanded, would have to take the Vice Patron's word regarding

the contents, because he refused to provide them a copy of Bishop Navas' secret report of the true state of affairs in the Honduran Church.⁵⁰

A month later Bishop Navas was on his deathbed in the episcopal palace of Comayagua. The members of the cathedral chapter felt so much animosity toward the dying prelate that none would attend him during his last hours. According to Manuel Miranda, a Spaniard who resided in Comayagua, "only Padre Ruíz was at his bedside all night"⁵¹ on May 9, 1809.⁵² Dr. Tomás Ruíz alone "was praying a litany" for the prelate when he died.⁵³

The death of Bishop Navas was but the tragic beginning of serious problems for Ruíz. Despite his efforts to obtain a position in the cathedral chapter of Comayagua between 1809 and 1813, he was successfully excluded. Frustrated career advancement eventually prompted Ruíz to lead several dissidents in the famous Conspiración de Belén, a plot to overthrow Spanish colonial rule in Guatemala in 1813.⁵⁴ In terms of the office of bishop, the Ruíz case provided the opportunity for the cathedral chapter to isolate and thwart the goals of Navas. The result was the further decay of leadership of the diocese by a bishop as well as the expansion of the domination of diocesan affairs by the cathedral chapter.

PART B: LEADERSHIP DURING THE REIGN OF FERDINAND VII

The last Bishop of Honduras of the colonial period was appointed during a time characterized by confusion and crisis in the Iberian peninsula. In the Kingdom of Guatemala a similar situation was developing, derivative of the weakness at the command center of the Spanish empire. In the bishopric of Comayagua the members of the cathedral chapter, who had isolated Bishop Navas and nullified much of his program, moved to secure control of the diocese through domination of his successor. Their first goal was the purposeful frustration of the efforts of Dr. Tomás Ruiz to enter the upper levels of the clergy in Honduras.⁵⁵ When promulgated, the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812 threatened to exacerbate the existing stresses within colonial society. Among the effects of the new social contract would be the broadening of the bases of the political process and the expansion of local autonomy within the Kingdom of Guatemala.⁵⁶ In addition to the aforementioned new problems, the centuries old realities of inadequate ecclesiastical administration and dismal Church finances in the bishopric of Honduras persisted. In this unenviable environment the new prelate would confront impressive challenges to his emotional, financial, intellectual, and physical endurance.

Upon receiving the news of the death of the reformist Bishop Vicente de Navas on May 9, 1809, the cathedral chapter of Comayagua promptly notified Spanish authorities in Guatemala and Spain of the vacancy.⁵⁷ The cathedral chapter was not reluctant to communicate directly with Spain without informing Guatemala since communication would allow the members of the upper clergy to appropriate more manipulative

powers over local affairs. Bishop Navas had been independent, reform minded, and bitterly hated. The cathedral chapter sought to control the subsequent Bishop to bend his attitudes in their favor. The upper clergy specifically sought to poison Ruiz' chances of receiving an impartial hearing from the new prelate. Documents regarding Ruiz show conclusively that they were successful. The bishop, in effect, became their pawn.

On September 20, 1809 the Junta Suprema Central Gubernativa de España e Indias in Cádiz appointed Dr. Manuel Julian Rodríguez del Barranco as Bishop-elect.⁵⁸ As soon as this news reached Comayagua, José María San Martín, member of the cathedral chapter, took possession for the new prelate.⁵⁹ On October 31, 1809, Guatemalan authorities were notified by the Junta Central in Cádiz that the documents of Bishop-elect Rodríguez del Barranco had been presented to the Pope in Rome.⁶⁰ The necessary pase was granted by the royal authorities in Guatemala on June 22, 1810.⁶¹ It is not clear if the first papal bulls were actually issued, but following the return of Ferdinand VII to the throne of Spain from French captivity, another set of papal bulls was issued for Bishop-elect Rodríguez del Barranco on April 14, 1817.⁶² In a real cedula dated July 7, 1818 Ferdinand VII ordered that the papal bulls be respected and confirmed the appointment made by the Junta Central of Cádiz.⁶³ By the time these bureaucratic formalities were accomplished, however, Bishop Rodríguez del Barranco had abandoned Honduras for the comforts of Guatemala City.

Manuel Julian Rodríguez del Barranco was born in 1759 in Almazán, Spain.⁶⁴ In his early years he served as presbyter in the diocese of Sigüenza and later obtained the degree of doctor of theology and canon law from the Universidad de Alcalá de Henares.⁶⁵ At the time

of his appointment to the episcopacy in Honduras, he was serving as the canónigo magistral in the cathedral chapter of Santander, Spain.⁶⁶ Documents indicate that he had arrived in Comayagua by December 15, 1810.⁶⁷

In an article published in the Gazeta de Guatemala on July 3, 1811, Bishop Rodríguez del Barranco attempted to outline the problems and stimulate some hopes for the bishopric of Honduras. In the report he complained that Honduras was suffering from a general famine due to recent poor harvests which had prompted him to import grain from Nicaragua. He hastened to add that he had no income and that the collection of funds for the Church was long and difficult. The Bishop encouraged authorities in Guatemala City to investigate the possibility of mineral resources in Honduras to attempt to stimulate economic activity in the region and to rescue Honduras from economic stagnation. His article leaves one with the impression that the new Bishop was woefully unaware of the bleak financial status of the bishopric of Honduras until after his arrival at his new appointment. He nonetheless recognized his inability to change conditions significantly.⁶⁸

Preoccupation with the deteriorating political situation in the Kingdom of Guatemala temporarily overshadowed the gloomy financial concerns of the prelate. In an edict dated November 25, 1811, Bishop Rodríguez del Barranco lashed out against the possible influence of a French visitor in the Kingdom of Guatemala.

A French emissary has profaned the sanctuary of the Kingdom of Guatemala. . .and. . . injected the poisonous pus of independence into the peaceful shores of the Pacific Ocean. . . to arms, my brothers, to arms, may the fire of patriotism and loyalty fall over him . . . A French emissary is a public calamity wherever he is present. He is a declared enemy of

order, of subordination, and of harmony. He is the enemy specifically of the religion of Jesus Christ, because he knows that it alone fortifies the ties of society and consecrates the principles of submission and obedience to all legitimate authority. He is an enemy of those that profess it, because where there are Christian men he knows also that there cannot be revolution . . . The system of this dangerous man is lies and sorrow; to excite in men the natural propensity toward . . . [declaring] independence and to remove the yoke of all legitimate authority; to suffocate in them love for the mother country, preaching that there is no mother country where good government does not exist; to discredit whomever has respected each other from time immemorial; and in a word to introduce turbulence, disunity, and anarchy in America. Because if brotherhood and union exist between Spain and America, then Napoleon will be without daring attributes, and his brother, Joseph, will be the King of Comedy . . . To resist civil authority is the same as resisting God . . . Announce to the faithful in my name that in the bishopric of Comayagua all persons disturbing the public order from that very moment are excommunicated and separated from the communion of the Church.⁶⁹

Bishop Rodríguez del Barranco encountered difficulties adjusting to the new regulations promulgated by the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812. An example of this difficulty is demonstrated by correspondence generated among the Bishop of Honduras, the ayuntamiento of Comayagua, and the Audiencia in Guatemala City from late 1812 through mid-1814 pertaining to the issue of secularization of cemeteries.⁷⁰

The problem originated when cadavers would no longer fit inside the churches of Comayagua and those already buried there created foul odors which pervaded the night air of Comayagua. In addition, some factions were pressuring to have the seat of the bishopric and government moved to Tegucigalpa in order to obtain a more healthy environment. Initially, Bishop Rodríguez del Barranco pledged his financial support for establishment of a new cemetery outside of Comayagua. The prelate changed his mind, however, when he discovered that the Spanish Constitution of 1812 transferred authority over the administration of cemeteries to the

ayuntamiento, the local secular authority. He insisted that a house had to be constructed for a chaplain wherever a cemetery was located and that the cemetery had to be under the authority of a parish priest. The Bishop furthermore refused to bless publicly the new cemetery until the regulations promulgated by Charles III were followed to the letter. This meant, of course, that no one would be buried in it in the meantime. The ayuntamiento insisted that according to the session of the Cortes de Cádiz of October 29, 1813, "any authority or person contravening the laws pertaining to burials would be held personally responsible and would lose his position."⁷¹ The municipal corporation threatened to resort to a recurso de fuerza, i.e., to have the issue removed from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts and place it under the jurisdiction of the civil authorities. On May 6, 1814, the asesor general of the Audiencia of Guatemala, Dr. Yañez, handed down a decision which stated that the municipal corporation of Comayagua did not use common sense and good judgment in threatening to resort to a recurso de fuerza to get its way in the cemetery dispute. The Audiencia official stated that the position of the ayuntamiento was "contrary to the spirit of the sovereign decisions which incessantly recommend intimate harmony and union between both ecclesiastical and civil authorities."⁷²

By mid-June, 1815, financial need and personal defeat led Bishop Rodríguez del Barranco to leave Honduras to establish residence among friendly Church colleagues in Guatemala City.⁷³ Episcopal income, primarily from the tithes, was either lacking or depressingly insufficient. To financial exigency was added the bitter realization that he may have become the puppet of the cathedral chapter in helping exclude Tomás Ruiz.⁷⁴

By his departure he abandoned the affairs of the diocese to the cathedral chapter and its hostile rival, the ayuntamiento. Five years later on May 13, 1820, he died in Guatemala City.⁷⁵ The decay of effective episcopal leadership which began with the long interregnum of 1794-1802 had lasted for a generation.

Chapter IV

NOTES

¹Archivo de Centro América/Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (hereinafter cited as AGGG), Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 125, Exp. 1448, Fol. 5.

²Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi: sive summorum pontificum S.R.E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series: e documentis tabularii praesertim vaticani collecte, digesta, edita (Patavii: Typis et sumptibus Domus Editorialis "Il Messagero di S. Antonio", 1958), VI, p. 175.

³AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 110, Exp. 2414, Fol. 1; his Guatemalan career is described in part in AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 4628, Fol. 228; AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 4638, Fols. 41-43.

⁴AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 592, Exp. 11709, Fol. 386.

⁵Hierarchia Catholica, VI (1958), p. 175.

⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4802, Fols. 7-25 v.

⁷AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4802, Fol. 26.

⁸AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 4802, Fol. 29.

⁹AGGG, Sig. Al.5.7, Leg. 2396, Exp. 18168, Fol. 1.

¹⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.5.7, Leg. 2396, Exp. 18168, Fol. 2, states that these trunks contained "wrought silver from his chapel, ecclesiastical garments, and silk goods for the adornment of his episcopal palace."

¹¹AGGG, Sig. Al.5.7, Leg. 2396, Exp. 18168, Fols. 1-6 v.

¹²AGGG, Sig. Al.28.1, Leg. 4669, Exp. 40056, Fol. 1.

¹³"Entradas y salidas de barcos de Trujillo," Gazeta de Guatemala, Tomo VI:275 (lunes, 6 de septiembre de 1802), Fol. 219. "En 15 de agosto fondeó el bergantín San José, alias El Lince, guardacosta de la Havana, perteneciente a la real hacienda, su capitán don Pedro Benet, conduciendo de pasaje al illmo. Sr. Obispo de Comayagua Don Fray Vicente de Navas con su familia y equipaje."

¹⁴AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 1943, Exp. 30187, Fol. 68 v.

¹⁵He wrote this report on November 10, 1802, under less than ideal conditions. "Aunque me hallo todavía cubierto del polvo que mueven los albañiles, que trabajan la que ha de ser mi habitación, y mi capilla, y con la cabeza continuamente quebrantada a golpes de los carpinteros, no puedo excusarme de molestar la atención de V.S. [Antonio González] como mi respetable Vice-Patrono." AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 48, Exp. 471, Fol. 2.

¹⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 48, Exp. 471, Fol. 2-3 v.

¹⁷Cited in "Fomento de la agricultura en la provincia de Comayagua," Part I, Gazeta de Guatemala, Tomo VIII:356 (lunes, 23 de julio de 1804), Fol. 371.

¹⁸The desired effect was increased agricultural production to curtail costly imports of food. "Continuan viniendo las harinas a Trujillo y Omoa, en la mayor parte de la Havana, procedentes de los Estados Unidos Americanos, y en alguna corta porción de España en nuestros pocos registros anuales de Cádiz, unas y otras a muy altos precios, y muchas veces corrompidas, o mal sanas." Quoted in ibid., p. 369.

¹⁹Ibid., Fols. 371-372.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., Tomo VIII:357 (lunes, 30 de julio de 1804), Fols. 383-384.

²²"Sobre el exterminio de la langosta," Revista de la Universidad, Año VI:11 (15 de noviembre de 1914), 664.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., 665.

²⁵AGGG, Sig. Al.11.32, Leg. 145, Exp. 1599, Fols. 1,1 v.

²⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.11.32, Leg. 145, Exp. 1599, Fols. 8, 8 v.

²⁷AGGG, Sig. Al.11.32, Leg. 145, Exp. 1599, Fol. 15.

²⁸AGGG, Sig. Al.14, Leg. 56, Exp. 654.

²⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2325, Fol. 1.

³⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2325, Fol. 1 v.

³¹José Reina Valenzuela, "La viruela durante la colonia," Actas del XXXIII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, San José,

Costa Rica, I, 853-857; Reina Valenzuela, Bosquejo histórico de la farmacia y la medicina en Honduras (Tegucigalpa: Talleres Tipo-Litográficos "Aristón", 1947), p. 93.

³²"Solicitud del gobierno de Comayagua y demás empleados eclesiásticos seculares para trasladarse la ciudad a esta Real Villa de Tegucigalpa por las causas que dentro expresan," Revista del Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Honduras (hereinafter cited as RABNH), IV:13 y 14 (25 de octubre de 1908), 506-522.

³³Ibid., 506.

³⁴"Visita hecha a los pueblos de Honduras por el gobernador e intendente don Ramón de Anguiano, Año 1804," Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno [Guatemala], Tomo XI:1 y 2 (junio de 1946), 113. "El acaso de sacarme de Comayagua en una silla medio moribundo buscando facultativo y mejor temperamento hasta llegar a esta capital, y Antigua, Guatemala. . . hasta hoy. . . sin estómago ni poder trabajar."

³⁵Solicitud del gobierno de Comayagua y demás empleados eclesiástico seculares para trasladarse la ciudad a esta Real Villa de Tegucigalpa por las causas que dentro expresan," RABNH, IV:13 y 14 (25 de octubre de 1908), 507.

³⁶Ibid., 506-622.

³⁷Ibid., 515-519.

³⁸Ibid., 518.

³⁹José Reina Valenzuela, Comayagua antañona: 1537-1821, Colección "León Alvarado", no. 3 (Tegucigalpa: Biblioteca de la Academia Hondureña de Geografía e Historia, Imprenta La República, 1968), p. 135.

⁴⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 49, Exp. 481 (Ruiz papers), Fol. 1.

⁴¹The doctoral and penitenciario were classified as prebends and ranked below the dean, arcediano, chantre, maestro escuela, and the tesorero, who were dignidades.

⁴²AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 49, Exp. 481, Fol. 2.

⁴³AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 49, Exp. 481, Fols. 9 v-13 v.

⁴⁴AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 49, Exp. 481, Fol. 4.

⁴⁵Ibid., Fol. 5 v.

⁴⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 49, Exp. 488, Fol. 100.

⁴⁷AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 49, Exp. 481, Fol. 19.

⁴⁸AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 49, Exp. 488, Fol. 122 v.

- ⁴⁹AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 49, Exp. 481, Fols. 17 v-19 v.
⁵⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 49, Exp. 481, Fols. 19 v-20 v.
⁵¹AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 49, Exp. 481, Fols. 50 r, 50 v.
⁵²AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 49, Exp. 481, Fol. 50 r.
⁵³AGGG, Sig. Al.11, Leg. 49, Exp. 481, Fol. 23 v.

⁵⁴For information pertaining to the Conspiración de Belén consult Mario Rodríguez, La Conspiración de Belén en nueva perspectiva (Guatemala: Centro Editorial "José de Pineda Ibarra", 1965); The Honduran experience of Dr. Tomás Ruiz which influenced the Nicaraguan Indian priest in participating in the Conspiración de Belén may be found in Gene Alan Müller, "La formación de un revolucionario del siglo XIX: El doctor Tomás Ruiz de Centroamérica," Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano, XXXII:154 (enero-marzo de 1977), 22-32. This article also comprises a chapter in the work on Tomás Ruiz published by Jorge Eduardo Arellano, ed., Boletín Nicaragüense de Bibliografía y Documentación, no. 17 (mayo-junio de 1977). Ruiz receives a scant eleven lines in the polemical work by Jaime Wheelock Román, Raíces indígenas de la lucha anticolonialista en Nicaragua de Gil González a Joaquín Zavala, 1523 a 1881 (Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores, S.A., 1974), p. 76.

⁵⁵See Müller, "La formación de un revolucionario del siglo XIX: El doctor Tomás Ruiz de Centroamérica," Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano, XXXII:154 (enero-marzo de 1977), 22-32.

⁵⁶The most recent study of this topic is Mario Rodríguez, The Cádiz Experiment in Central America, 1808-1826 (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1978).

- ⁵⁷AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 1767, Fol. 392 v.
⁵⁸AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 1767, Fol. 392 v.
⁵⁹AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 2595, Exp. 21258, Fol. 33 v.
⁶⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 2595, Exp. 21258, Fol. 28 v.
⁶¹AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 2595, Exp. 21258, Fol. 28 v.
⁶²AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 1767, Fols. 369-372 v.
⁶³AGGG, Sig. Al.40, Leg. 1767, Fol. 392 v.

⁶⁴AGGG, Al.40, Leg. 1767, Fol. 372 v. The papal bulls issued in Rome state that he was 58 years old at that time. Hierarchia Catholica, 1968, VII, p. 157.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.23, Leg. 2595, Fol. 29 v.

⁶⁷AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 49, Exp. 483, Fol. 18.

⁶⁸Gazeta de Guatemala, Tomo XV:226 (Miercoles, 3 de julio de 1811), Fols. 272-273.

⁶⁹Gazeta de Guatemala, Tomo XV:257 (Jueves, 23 de enero de 1812), Fols. 125-129.

⁷⁰AGGG, Sig. Al.1, Leg. 1, Exp. 27, Fols. 1-4; 40-43.

⁷¹AGGG, Sig. Al.1, Leg. 1, Exp. 27, Fol. 4.

⁷²AGGG, Sig. Al.1, Leg. 1, Exp. 27, Fol. 4.

⁷³AGGG, Sig. Al.11.1, Leg. 49, Exp. 484.

⁷⁴See Müller, "La formación de un revolucionario del siglo XIX: El doctor Tomás Ruiz de Centroamérica," Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano, XXXII:154 (enero-marzo de 1977), 22-32.

⁷⁵Juan B. Valladares R., La virgen de Suyapa, historia documentada (Tegucigalpa: Talleres Tipo-Litográficos "Ariston", 1946, p. 172, fn. 129.

Chapter V

TITHE REGULATIONS IN THE SPANISH EMPIRE

Throughout the colonial period tithes were the principal tax on agricultural production and the major source of annual secular Church income in most dioceses of the Spanish empire. In 1501 the tithes were granted to the Spanish crown by Pope Alexander VI. In return the crown was obligated to Christianize the Indians, build and support churches, and provide adequate ecclesiastical personnel. To fulfill its part of the agreement the crown regranted the use of all except two-ninths of fifty per cent of the tithe income to the secular church. At the same time the crown claimed the New World tithes as exclusive royal property and retained its prerogatives to regulate the administration, collection, and distribution of the agricultural tax revenues.¹

According to the Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias diocesan tithe administration was to remain under royal control until one-fourth of the tithe yield produced more than 500,000 maravedis or 1838 pesos, 1 real, and 30 maravedis for the bishop's annual minimum guaranteed salary. Compliance with this regulation signified that royal treasury officials were to retain exclusive administrative control of tithe collection until the yearly tithe yield exceeded 7352 pesos, 5 reales, and 18 maravedis. This sum was equivalent to four times the bishop's basic salary. Whenever one-fourth of the tithe revenues did not pay the bishop's minimum salary, the local royal treasury officials were to collect the tax on agriculture and deposit the revenue in the local royal treasury. Under these conditions the crown paid all diocesan expenses including

the salaries of the bishop, the members of the cathedral chapter, and other secular Church personnel. Tithe deficits meant that the crown was obligated to support the diocesan Church by supplements from other accounts in the local royal treasury.²

The bishop and the members of the cathedral chapter were to assume administrative control of diocesan tithe collection when tithe receipts exceeded 7352 pesos, 5 reales, and 18 maravedis. Concurrently, royal treasury officials were instructed to continue collecting the crown's share of the tithes. This royal share comprising 11.1 per cent of the total tithe yield was to be credited to a local royal treasury account and thereafter appropriated only in accordance with royal instructions. At times the royal two-ninths were assigned to diocesan building or salary expenses, but these royal revenues were to be deposited first in a royal account before being spent for ecclesiastical purposes. Royal patronage was always unmistakable. In addition, a royal treasury official was assigned supervisory functions. He was to assure that parties which purchased a farm of the tithe collection district did not share in the ultimate distribution of the revenues. This was designed to prevent conflict of interest. Accordingly, at least one fiscal official of the crown was to be present when the bishop and the members of the cathedral chapter auctioned the tithe farms and distributed the tithe revenues.³

The basic system of tithe administration described in the Recopilación was unaltered until the promulgation and attempted enforcement of the Ordenanza de Intendentes for New Spain of December 4, 1786.⁴ Under the provisions of these instructions, José de Gálvez, Minister of the Indies, attempted to impose the reorganization of tithe collecting procedures. A royal tithe committee called the real junta de diezmos was

to administer the tithe system in each diocese. This committee was to include, as before, two canons of the Church called jueces hacedores in the administrative process, but the committee was to be dominated by crown officials. The tithes were adamantly claimed as crown revenues and under this classification were to be audited by a contaduría de diezmos comprised of royal officials. In tithe disputes the jueces hacedores were expected to favor the crown's interests, i.e. the royal jurisdiction, to the exclusion of the Church's interests, i.e. the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁵

Compliance with the regulations set forth in the Ordenanza de Intendentes of 1786 meant that detailed records were to be kept for each parroquia (parish district). Previously, records for jurisdictions smaller than a partido were usually not available.⁶ In New Spain the excusado (tithe revenues from the second largest farm) was to be collected again. These revenues were designated for the cathedral of the diocese.⁷ Furthermore, parish priests and parish churches were to receive a fair share of the tithe revenue as intended by the Recopilación.⁸

Successful implementation of the new instructions implied increased royal control and supervision of the tithe system. Some churchmen undoubtedly viewed the growing concentration of royal control as a threat to the traditional restricted distribution of the tithe revenues and to their vested economic interests. Wealthy dioceses in New Spain successfully opposed enforcement of the Ordenanza de Intendentes of 1786, but appear to have provided much of the detailed statistical information demanded by royal officials. Some dioceses in other areas delayed enforcement of the Ordenanza by arguing that diocesan poverty made its application unwise and uneconomic.⁹ Eventually, some of the least

prosperous bishoprics were most affected by the extension of Bourbon regalism exemplified by the Ordenanza de Intendentes.¹⁰

Royal legislation, custom, and judicial decisions of Audiencias regulated tithe collection in New World dioceses. According to legislation promulgated during the reign of Charles V, all crops subject to the tithe in the archbishopric of Sevilla were likewise as elsewhere taxable in the Indies. In addition, livestock, fowls, animal products, and certain crops indigenous to the Indies were subject to the tithe levy.¹¹

In many cases the tithe was equivalent to a ten per cent tax on agricultural production, but on some items lower rates or special procedures applied. Sugar was taxed at a rate of four or five per cent depending upon quality. This lower tax paralleled the custom followed in the Canary Islands.¹² The annual increase in cattle production was to be subject to a ten per cent rate, but custom provided that tithe collection was to be carried out in accordance with local round-up and sale practices.¹³ Disputes between two parties such as tithe collectors and agricultural producers were to be resolved through litigation in the civil courts. Civil courts were to exercise complete jurisdiction over all suits involving diocesan tithe collection and distribution.¹⁴

Certain categories of production were specifically exempted from tithe payment. Pearls, precious metals, and precious stones were excluded from the tithe levy by papal bulls in 1510 and 1511, but were subject to the twenty per cent royal tax called the quinto real.¹⁵ Personal service, including wages and products of manufacturing, were not taxable under the tithe system. Fish, wild game, and forestry products were also specifically exempted from the tithe obligation. In some dioceses salt was subject to the tithe although it was not an agricultural product. Other dioceses specifically exempted the item from tithe

payment.¹⁶ Royal regulations stipulated that no agricultural product was to pay the tithe twice.¹⁷

It would appear that the Spanish crown sought precedents in the Siete Partidas, a legal code promulgated during the reign of Alfonso X El Sabio, for determining who would pay the tithe in the New World.¹⁸ Tax exemption extended to members of military orders, such as Templars and Hospitalers, and to Cistercian monks, however, was not reiterated in the tithe legislation for the Indies.¹⁹ According to the Recopilación all ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, were to pay the tithe. Nonetheless, clerical tax evasion made it necessary for the crown to attempt to enforce tithe payment by issuing two royal decrees in 1655.²¹ From New Spain to Chile the Jesuits, members of the Society of Jesus, attempted to gain tithe exempt status or at least considerable reductions in the tax rate in the subsequent century. The Jesuits were usually strongly opposed in their efforts by the secular Church and the royal treasury, but achieved partial success in 1750 when they won reduction of their tithe obligation to a levy of only 3.3 per cent.²² In 1766, one year before Charles III's expulsion order, the Jesuits special tithe exemption privileges were revoked.²³ A royal decree exempting certain frontier military personnel was promulgated in the late eighteenth century.²⁴ An interpretation of the decree resulted in a widespread attempt to collect the tithe from Indians whose exemption was not mentioned. The crown quickly corrected this oversight, but not before voluminous appeals from Indian communities were generated. Neither did the crown's action succeed in softening some Churchmen's bitter criticism of military priority and privilege in some parts of the empire.²⁵

The Siete Partidas and the Recopilación agreed that all lay persons were to pay the tithe for the support of the diocesan church and personnel.²⁶ However, the first set of laws did not raise the question of tithe payment by indigenous peoples in an overseas empire and the second set of laws did not clearly resolve every aspect of the issue. Instead, the Recopilación provided that the question of tithe payment by Indians was to be handled in accordance with local custom. As a general rule tithe payment by Indians was limited to crops and livestock introduced from Spain, cajas de comunidad (community treasuries), and tribute paid to caciques, to the crown, and to encomenderos. In both New Spain and Peru the Indian tithe contribution was to be included in the total tribute levy and was never meant to be a duplication of payment.²⁷

Royal regulations restricted the Church in collecting Indian tithes by expressly prohibiting tax farming in this case. Compliance with this regulation meant that unless the membership of the cathedral chapter was at full strength and Indian communities which produced European crops were close at hand, many Indians could avoid paying the tithe. In many dioceses of the Spanish empire the issue of Indian tithe payment was the focus of a power struggle between the regular clergy and the secular clergy over control of the economic benefits of Indian parishes.²⁸

The basic tithe distribution schedule followed in the Spanish empire was established by Charles V in 1541. According to his schedule the tithes were to be separated into two parts. Of the first part, one half was to be assigned to the bishop's salary and the other half was to be assigned to the salaries of the members of the cathedral chapter. The second part, which comprised the remaining fifty per cent of the revenues, was to be divided into nine segments, called novenos. Two-

ninths called novenos reales were reserved for the crown, that is, for the local royal treasury; one and one-half ninths were allocated for the church maintenance and repair fund (noveno y medio de fábrica); and one and one-half ninths were assigned to the hospital (noveno y medio de hospital). The remaining four-ninths (novenos beneficiales) were intended to provide support for the local parish clergy.²⁹

In subsequent years some standardized changes occurred in diocesan tithe distribution schedules, but in some dioceses schedules were made responsive to local conditions. One-half of the four-ninths applied to the support of the parish clergy was used to supplement the income of the members of the cathedral chapter in some dioceses.³⁰ This kind of distribution meant that the parish clergy were at times totally deprived of a share of the tithes.³¹ In most dioceses the tithe income from one of the main agricultural producers was assigned to the support of the cathedral church. This revenue was designated for the fábrica accounts and was called the excusado, the tithe income from the second wealthiest household in some dioceses.³² In Guatemala the excusado receipts were derived from the tithe on an important sugar mill.³³ This amount in some poor dioceses was a fixed percentage, usually five per cent, of the total tithe yield.³⁴

In 1620 and 1651 the crown decreed that the royal share of 11.1 per cent, the novenos reales, was to be taken out before additional special deductions such as the three per cent seminary subsidy was figured.³⁵ These two royal decrees apparently did not change the tithe distribution schedule when the excusado was collected separately nor when it was figured as a fixed percentage.³⁶ In the early nineteenth century an additional ninth, which was named the noveno de consolidación, was

collected before any deduction was made, except in those dioceses where the excusado was a fixed percentage of the total tithe yield.³⁷

Only the bishop was guaranteed a minimum annual salary.³⁸ Members of the cathedral chapter were not assured a basic income, but it appears that they seldom received less than 300 pesos.³⁹ When the tithe yields could not pay the bishop's basic salary, the members of the cathedral chapter were each paid fixed and equal sums.⁴⁰ On the other hand, when tithe yields adequately provided for the bishop's income, the share of each member of the cathedral chapter was determined in accordance with his rank.⁴¹ Assuming that a chapter consisted of six members, the share was to be divided into seventy-four parts. Fifteen parts were to be assigned to the dean; thirteen parts each to the arcediano, chantre, and maestrescuela; and ten parts each to the doctoral and penitenciario.⁴² Tithe distribution schedules were adjusted accordingly to provide an appropriate share for members of lesser rank in larger chapters. The shares assigned to positions which were vacant were not divided by the other members of the cathedral chapter. Revenue resulting from vacantes (vacancies) was to be deposited in the accounts of vacantes mayores in the local royal treasury.⁴³

The share of the tithe income distributed to a bishop or to a member of a cathedral chapter was subject to a number of deductions. Over the years a three per cent deduction for the seminary and a three per cent deduction for the hospital were levied against the salaries of the upper clergy. In the late eighteenth century defense costs prompted the Bourbon crown to impose various war taxes, usually called subsidios eclesiásticos, from salaries derived from the tithe income. These were levies in addition to the traditional appointment and transfer fees

which applied to ecclesiastical salaries. The bishop and the members of the cathedral chapter who received more than 300 pesos annually were subject to the media anata or an equivalent of six months' salary. All other clerics were liable for the mesada which amounted to one month's salary. In time of crisis, the crown expected and usually collected patriotic contributions (donativos patrióticos) from the upper clergy.⁴⁴

Chapter V

NOTES

¹For a thorough history of the practice of tithe and first fruits contributions consult The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church (15 vols.; New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913). Tithes are discussed in volume XIV, pp. 741-742, and first fruits are explained in volume VI, p. 82; access to documents pertaining to the Spanish crown and the Catholic Church are available in Francisco Javier Hernández, Colección de bulas, breves y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de América y Filipinas (2 vols.; Bruselas: Imprenta de Alfredo Vromant, 1879). For documents of the November 16, 1501 grant from the Pope to the Spanish crown see volume I, pp. 20-21; For an explanation of the establishment of the Real Patronato consult Antonio Ybot León, La iglesia y los eclesiásticos españoles en la empresa de Indias. Vols. XVI-XVII of Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, Historia de América y de los pueblos americanos (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1963), II, pp. 141-148. Tithes are explained in I, pp. 314-318; For a more condensed explanation see Clarence H. Haring, The Spanish Empire in America (First Harbinger Books Edition; New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1963), p. 265; Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Mexico (6 vols.; San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1883-1888), III, p. 698; J. Lloyd Mecham, Church and State in Latin America, rev. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 25. Some regional studies which discuss tithe regulations include Woodrow Borah, "The Collection of Tithes in the Bishopric of Oaxaca during the Sixteenth Century," Hispanic American Historical Review (hereinafter cited as HAHR), XXI:3 (August, 1941), 386-409; Borah, "Tithe Collection in the Bishopric of Oaxaca, 1601-1867," HAHR, XXIX:4 (November, 1949), 498-517; Michael Costeloe, "The Administration, Collection, and Distribution of Tithes in the Archbishopric of Mexico, 1800-1860," The Americas, XXIII (July, 1966), 3-27. Studies which do not concentrate on tithe regulations in depth, but provide excellent materials on tithe data and other economic relationships include the chapter on reform and reality in Brian R. Hamnett, Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico: 1750-1821 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Maurice Philip Brungardt, "Tithe Production and Patterns of Economic Change in Central Colombia, 1764-1833", (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1974). An article which combines regulations and a fresh framework for relating tithe data to agricultural production is Marcello Carmagnani, "La producción agropecuaria chilena, 1680-1830," Cahiers des Ameriques Latines, Serie Sciences de L'Homme, no. 3, 1969, 3-21. Use of archive resources is described in Borah, "The Cathedral Archive of Oaxaca," HAHR, XXVIII (November, 1948), 640-645; Costeloe, "Guide to the Chapter Archives of the Archbishopric of Mexico," HAHR, XL (February, 1965), 53-63.

²Ybot León, La iglesia y los eclesiásticos españoles en la empresa de Indias, I, pp. 165-166. This meant that if economic development did not occur, support of the Church material and personnel needs would be a constant drain on royal revenues. In volume I, p. 167, the intent of the crown was that bishops have no other income except the share of the tithes. This meant that the bishops owed their appointments and their economic well-being to the crown, a purposeful intent of the Real Patronato.

³Borah, "The Collection of Tithes in the Bishopric of Oaxaca during the Sixteenth Century," HAHR, XXI:3 (August, 1941), 391.

⁴Borah, "Tithe Collection in the Bishopric of Oaxaca, 1601-1867," HAHR, XXIX:4 (November, 1949), 514-515. The pertinent section pertaining to the tithes in the Ordenanza de Intendentes for New Spain, December 4, 1786, comprises articles 168-208.

⁵Ibid., 515.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., 514.

⁸Ibid., 515.

⁹Ibid., 515-516. Churchmen in New Spain successfully resisted several of the tithe reforms contained in articles 168-208 of the Ordenanza de Intendentes for New Spain.

¹⁰The bishopric of Comayagua, in part, constitutes an example.

¹¹Borah, "The Collection of Tithes in the Bishopric of Oaxaca during the Sixteenth Century," HAHR, XXI:3 (August, 1941), 388-389. For an explanation of the precedents set by Alfonso X El Sabio see Carmagnani, "La producción agropecuaria chilena, 1680-1830," Cahiers des Ameriques Latines, Serie Sciences de L' Homme, no. 3, 1969, 4.

¹²Borah, "The Collection of Tithes in the Bishopric of Oaxaca during the Sixteenth Century," HAHR, XXI:3 (August, 1941), 389.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ybot León, La iglesia y los eclesiásticos españoles en la empresa de Indias, I, p. 167.

¹⁵Borah, "The Collection of Tithes in the Bishopric of Oaxaca during the Sixteenth Century," HAHR, XXI:3 (August, 1941), 388.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., 389.

²⁶Carmagnani, "La producción agropecuaria chilena, 1680-1830," Cahiers des Ameriques Latines, Serie Sciences de L'Homme, no. 3, 1969, 4.

²⁷Borah, "The Collection of Tithes in the Bishopric of Oaxaca during the Sixteenth Century," HAHR, XXI:3 (August, 1941), 390, 399-409; Borah, "Tithe Collection in the Bishopric of Oaxaca, 1601-1867," HAHR, XXIX:4 (November, 1949), 510. An example of continuing interest in the tribute issue is found in Mark Van Aken, "The Lingering death of Indian Tribute in Ecuador," HAHR, LXI:3 (August, 1981), 429-459.

²⁸Borah, "The Collection of Tithes in the Bishopric of Oaxaca during the Sixteenth Century," HAHR, XXI:3 (August, 1941), 398-403. This was evident in Central America as well.

²⁹Ybot Leon, La iglesia y los eclesiásticos españoles en la empresa de Indias, II, p. 316. Borah, "The Collection of Tithes in the Bishopric of Oaxaca during the Sixteenth Century," HAHR, XXI:3 (August, 1941), 390.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹This was the state of the tithe distribution in Honduras during the Bourbon period.

³²Borah, "The Collection of Tithes in the Bishopric of Oaxaca during the Sixteenth Century," HAHR, XXI:3 (August, 1941), 398. Borah, "Tithe Collection in the Bishopric of Oaxaca, 1601-1867," HAHR, XXIX:4 (November, 1949), 502, 504.

³³This reference is used regularly in the case of the archbishopric of Guatemala.

³⁴The excusado in the bishopric of Comayagua was a fixed percentage according to the tithe distribution charts of the Bourbon period.

³⁵In the bishopric of Comayagua, there were disputes over this issue in the late eighteenth century. The crown was forceful in arguing its case and the Church complied.

³⁶This is the impression derived from comparison of the tithe distribution system in Guatemala and Comayagua.

³⁷Such was the case in Comayagua as shown in the tithe charts. See also Costeloe, "The Administration, Collection, and Distribution of Tithes in the Archbishopric of Mexico, 1800-1860," The Americas, XXIII (July, 1966), 24.

³⁸Ybot León, La iglesia y los eclesiásticos españoles en la empresa de Indias, I, p. 165.

³⁹Ibid., p.214, states that the amounts were lower for the sixteenth century; the figure of 300 pesos seems to be the minimum in Honduras in the Bourbon period.

⁴⁰Such was the case in Honduras during the Bourbon period when tithe receipts were low.

⁴¹For further explanation consult Ybot León, La iglesia y los eclesiásticos españoles en la empresa de Indias, I, p. 214.

⁴²Ibid., provides the formula for tithe distribution. The example used herein comes from the 1821 tithe chart for the bishopric of Comayagua which can be located in the appendices.

⁴³Costeloe, "The Administration, Collection, and Distribution of Tithes in the Archbishopric of Mexico, 1800-1860," The Americas, XXIII (July, 1966), 25, provides a list of vacancies, the salaries of which, reverted to the civil treasury.

⁴⁴See AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2319. The tithe charts for the bishopric of Comayagua contain these deductions in the years 1816, 1817, and 1821. Two studies presenting analyses of the tithe question in the European setting are useful for gaining a broader perspective. Consult Catherine Evangeline Boyd, Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy, the Historical Roots of a Modern Problem (Ithaca: New York: Cornell University Press, 1952); Eric J. Evans, The Contentious Tithe: the Tithe Problem and English Agriculture, 1750-1850 (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1976).

Chapter VI

TITHE ADMINISTRATION AND COLLECTION PROCEDURES

IN THE BISHOPRIC OF COMAYAGUA: 1700-1821

During the Bourbon period the bishopric of Comayagua received some of the lowest annual tithe yields of any diocese in the Spanish empire.¹ The corresponding difficulty of securing adequate diocesan revenues from 1700 to 1821 had a number of implications. Local conditions demanded tithe procedures which varied from those of more prosperous bishoprics, although royal decrees regulating Church finances usually applied equally to all regions of the New World. Furthermore, attempts to resolve the problems of ecclesiastical poverty became important factors in the Church's evolving relationships with the Bourbon crown, the Audiencia in Guatemala, and royal officials and agricultural producers in Honduras.

With the exception of thirty-seven years (1741-1778) in the Bourbon period representatives of the Spanish crown administered the tithe system in the bishopric of Comayagua for the entire colonial period. From 1539 until 1741 the crown heavily subsidized the secular Church in Honduras.² Royal officials usually maintained exclusive control of tithe administration when tithe income was supplemented with royal revenues, but after 1717 the Audiencia conceded some minor prerogatives in tithe administration. These prerogatives were expanded and approved by Philip V in 1738 and became effective in 1741, and probably lasted until the end of the fiscal year 1777 (March, 1778). During these years the royal treasury officials in Honduras and Guatemala often limited ecclesiastical

tithe prerogatives. By 1778 a royal tithe committee comprised of royal and ecclesiastical representatives was organized in Comayagua. It assumed control of tithe administration in the name of the Bourbon crown. Supervision of tithe administration by royal officials endured in the bishopric of Comayagua from the late 1770s until Independence was proclaimed in 1821.

In the early eighteenth century tithe income in the bishopric of Comayagua remained insufficient to pay the minimum annual guaranteed salary of the bishops.³ Despite provision in law that in such circumstances local treasury officials would administer, collect, and distribute the tithes, these officials in the early eighteenth century in the bishopric of Comayagua exercised these functions only in part, so that the Church in fact exercised some minor administrative functions of the tithe system.

When Antonio Alonso Cortés, newly appointed contador of the royal treasury and juez oficial real (royal judge) in Comayagua attempted to reimpose absolute civil control of tithe administration in 1717, the dean of the cathedral chapter, Lauriano Simón de Mesa, strongly resisted.⁴ Initially the conflict between royal and ecclesiastical representatives focused on who had the prerogative of supervising the auction of the tithe farms and placing the first signature on documents relating to the remate de diezmos (tithe auction). However, the issue expanded into litigation encompassing broader questions. Did royal officials or ecclesiastical personnel have preference in administering the tithes? What functions did each party have? Did the tithes belong to the crown or to the Church? Did law or custom have the most weight in deciding issues? These questions were presented to the Audiencia in Guatemala

for resolution. The attitudes of the respective royal and ecclesiastical parties in Comayagua are important in understanding the influence of local conditions upon regulations intended to have empire-wide application.⁵

From the point of view of the contador Antonio Alonso Cortés, the cathedral chapter's participation in tithe administration was clearly illegal. He intended to show why the Audiencia should decide in favor of the prerogatives of the royal treasury officials in Comayagua. In his opinion, the cathedral chapter had no right to sell the tithes which belonged to the royal jurisdiction although the Church had been allowed to intervene for several years. The tithes belonged totally to the crown and since royal officials were the administrators of the local royal treasury, the cathedral chapter could not and should not infringe upon the royal jurisdiction. Dereliction of duty by previous royal officials in Comayagua could not be alleged to establish custom and the proprietary rights of the cathedral chapter.⁶

Cortés acknowledged that the Church claimed the tithes as ecclesiastical revenues conceded by the crown. But, he added, in order to secure sufficient diocesan income, the Church could fatten tithe income by funds from the royal treasury. He asserted that according to the Recopilación tithes as well as other treasury accounts were to be administered and distributed by royal officials. This regulation was specifically applicable to the province of Honduras where the tithe revenues did not provide minimal support for the Church and had to be supplemented with royal funds. Because the tithes were like any other branch of the royal treasury, the royal officials should receive preference over ecclesiastical persons in administering the agricultural tax.⁷

Cortés sought to strengthen his argument by citing pertinent laws in the Recopilación pertaining to the status of royal officials. In Law 95, Title 15, Book III, royal officials were granted the right to sign documents immediately after superior ministers of the crown. Law 99 of the same book and title provided that royal officials took preference immediately after presidents and judges of the Audiencias in seating arrangements and in all public functions. Since José de Rodesno Marsolo y Rebolledo served in Comayagua as "oidor y alcalde de corte de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala, Gobernador, y Capitán General de la Provincia [de Honduras] Juez pesquisidor, y de residencia,"⁸ Cortés maintained that he and the senior royal official had the right to sign tithe documents before any ecclesiastical person.⁹

The contador pointed out that in tithe auctions supervised by the Real Junta de Hacienda, dean Lauriano Simón de Mesa served as apoderado (representative) for the cathedral chapter and possessed neither voice nor vote. His view was that the dean only had the right to make requests and represent the cathedral chapter. In Cortés' opinion, it was absurd that an ecclesiastical person who merely attended the meetings of the Junta should have preference over the contador and the tesorero of the local royal treasury who were members of the royal committee.¹⁰

The royal officials rejected the Church's claim that custom and proprietary rights had been established. In their view custom was not legitimately introduced since the previous royal officials possessed no authority to compromise the fueros of a royal tribunal. Recognition of custom could be made legitimate only when the original proprietors

of the rights consented to the establishment of the custom. The Church's claim to the tithes, which were an integral part of the Real Hacienda, was illegitimate since the proprietary rights of the Real Hacienda did not belong to persons but to the oficios (offices). Rights of the royal offices belonged to the crown and the crown had never consented to compromising its prerogatives. Cortés asserted that law was worth more than custom. When there was doubt in some law, custom could interpret it, but no doubt whatsoever existed in this case. The royal official challenged the dean to produce a royal decree demonstrating that the crown had abandoned its rights.¹¹

Three main points comprised the contador's concluding arguments. First, all matters pertaining to the tithes had to be determined by Audiencias and by secular judges. If tithes were subject to the ecclesiastical fuero, the civil courts could not exercise absolute jurisdiction in resolving tithe disputes. Second, the Church's claim was unfounded that its proprietary rights were trampled upon and should be restored. The Church could not legitimately claim as a proprietary right that which was allowed through dereliction of duty by previous royal officials. No proprietary rights were taken away from the Church since the alleged custom was always contrary to the laws. Furthermore, the rights of the royal offices were not private property but public patrimony. No custom could be allowed to stand against the public right. Third, custom could be validly established only when no other law applied. Allowance of such customs would make collection of royal revenues impossible. Although Cortés' predecessors allowed the rights of royal officials to be compromised, he would not recognize its validity nor permit its practice.¹²

From the point of view of dean Lauriano Simón de Mesa, attendance at tithe auctions and accounting of tithe distribution were rights which had always belonged to the cathedral chapters in the Indies. He based this assertion on his belief that royal charters establishing dioceses granted the right to cathedral chapters. Assuming this to be the case, royal treasury officials attended the tithe auctions for only two purposes. First, they were responsible for supervising and the accounting of the royal two-ninths. Second, if the tithes provided insufficient support for the diocesan Church, the royal treasury officials were to collect the tithes and supplement them with adequate royal revenues as stipulated in Laws 23 and 28, Title 16, Book I, of the Recopilación.¹³

The dean claimed that the tithes, excepting the royal two-ninths, were ecclesiastical property by virtue of the original royal redonation of the revenues of the Church. In his opinion, the Audiencia should decide in favor of his signing the tithe auction documents first. The dean, furthermore, attempted to show the inherent inconsistency in the argument of the royal officials. First, he stated that it was accepted that prior to the tithe auction the tithes were ecclesiastical property. If the revenues received provided insufficient diocesan income and if, as the royal officials claimed, the tithes changed from being ecclesiastical property to royal property, then there was a serious problem. If the tithes, indeed, were not solely (except for the royal two-ninths) ecclesiastical property, then the censures and sanctions authorized by canon law and papal bulls obliging reluctant laymen to pay the agricultural tax could certainly not be justified. Ecclesiastical regulations should not be used to resolve a problem which would pertain to the royal jurisdiction and benefit the royal treasury.¹⁴

In an attempt to strengthen his contention that the custom was already legitimized, the dean cited two real provisiones issued by the Audiencia in Guatemala. In a real provisión of September 8, 1715, the Audiencia decided that the governor and royal officials of Honduras should not nullify the tithe auctions for the partidos of San Pedro Sula and Olancho el Viejo without the attendance of the dean. The tithes were to be auctioned to the highest bidder with the attendance of the legitimate representative of the Church. All royal laws and decrees as well as the prevailing customs of the bishopric were to be observed. For the dean, the superior ministers of the Audiencia who possessed substantial "learning, integrity, and justice"¹⁶ would not permit the introduction of custom which infringed upon the royal jurisdiction and good customs. Another real provisión of March 10, 1715, similarly ordered the attendance of a canon of the Church at all tithe auctions. The dean contended that these decisions of the Audiencia clearly demonstrated that the tithes were ecclesiastical property and that the dean had an integral function in tithe administration. On the other hand the royal officials merely attended the tithe auctions, but had no important function in conducting the auction.¹⁷

The dean sought support for his argument on the legitimate introduction of custom by citing Juan de Solórzano's Política Indiana. He claimed that Solórzano stated that custom made law where none existed and annulled the law where it existed allowing, of course, for an appropriate period of proscription. It was certain that the preference of canons of the Church over royal treasury officials was a custom legitimately introduced and approved in all of the Indies. More importantly, the

Audiencia had already witnessed this practice in Guatemala. In the dean's view the Audiencia's approval of the tithe procedure in Guatemala proved the merits of his case.¹⁸

Dean Lauriano Simón de Mesa had three points of rebuttal to the contador's claim that the tithes were temporal property. First, since the tithe was a tax on laymen it was reasonable to expect that secular courts would consider cases affecting persons under the fuero común. Second, the Church recognized the Audiencia as the judicial body which protected the rights of the Real Patronato and provided royal protection for the Church. Third, it could be confirmed that the tithes were spiritual property because of the prevailing custom of auctioning the tithes in the cathedrals of the Kingdom of Guatemala, New Spain, and the rest of the Indies. According to royal law no royal official was to perform any function in churches or holy places.¹⁹

Before the litigation was submitted to the judges of the Audiencia in Guatemala, each party presented additional rejoinders to the other's major argument. Royal officials continued to insist that "although the tithes were redonated to the Churches for their support, the character of secular property was retained."²⁰ In their view Juan de Solórzano's Política Indiana clearly stated that the tithes were secular property. At the same time they accused the dean of misusing Solórzano as a source to prove the opposite point. According to the royal officials, the only reason tithe disputes were handled by the royal courts was because the tithes were secular property. Tithes could be considered ecclesiastical property only if they were donated from ecclesiastical sources by an ecclesiastical person. Allegations that the tithes were ecclesiastical property offended not only the privileges

conceded to royal officials, but also the "Suprema regalia" of the crown and the royal jurisdiction.²¹

The royal officials rejected the dean's claim that the tithe custom followed in Guatemala sanctioned the introduction of the same custom in the province of Honduras. They agreed that the custom of giving preference to the dean in the tithe auctions had validity in Guatemala "because the tithes were neither deposited in the royal treasury, nor were they collected by the royal officials" as was the case in Honduras. According to the contador when he served as a royal official of the contaduría principal in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, preference was always given to royal officials in tithe matters. The same, he argued, should hold true for Honduras.²³

Gradually the dispute revealed the insecurity which the royal officials felt in their positions. A concern for protecting local prestige is adequately demonstrated by the contador's observations.

One is aware of the blow which the dean wants to give to the royal jurisdiction by taking away these and other points of honor and privilege in this province. The royal officials do not enjoy the respect which they deserve as ministers of the crown being in a backwater (retiro) with a limited income, and without the honor, which his majesty wants us to have. We are without the authority which he concedes to us by our titles for the collection of the revenues of the Real Hacienda. With this example the townspeople will know the weakness of our forces for carrying out our obligations and administration.²⁴

For the dean, the royal officials' final rejoinder was "worthless and irrelevant."²⁵ He accused the royal officials of trying to make a criminal case out of a simple civil suit and of complaining unjustifiably about offenses committed against their prerogatives. In his view all ecclesiastics had maintained "very good relations, courtesy,

and respect" with the royal officials and no ecclesiastic had caused them to suffer any humiliation. He firmly stated that the tithe custom in Honduras was legitimate.

It is undeniable that the fact of the immemorial custom favors my case in that the royal officials imply it and concede it tacitly. Since they have had the tithe auctions in their power since the foundation of this royal treasury, they do not allege nor present any evidence in opposition to my rights. Furthermore, since it is certain and undoubtable that the immemorial custom derogates and extinguishes any human law, it follows that if there were any, and there is none, that would favor the pretension of the royal officials, they would be without effect.²⁷

The Audiencia in Guatemala decided the case on April 28, 1717, according to the fiscal's recommendation. The fiscal stated that "in accordance with law on the subject of precedences and ceremonies one should attend to custom which is shown in these proceedings to be in favor of the Church and its ministers."²⁸ The Audiencia did not mention the other questions raised in the dispute.²⁹

Two years later the cathedral chapter brought another suit before the Audiencia. In contrast with earlier litigations the 1719 conflict portrayed serious economic problems as the principal cause of the continuing Church-State conflict in Honduras. The cathedral chapter's attempt to control tithe administration, collection, and distribution resulted from its desperate efforts to secure a regular income. Tithe revenues remained very low in Honduras because of "the lack of grain and other agricultural produce"³⁰ in the province. Meager funds in local treasury accounts concurrently prevented royal officials in Comayagua from supplementing the tithe deficit and paying ecclesiastical salaries on a regular basis. Royal accounts remained low because of the lack of

tax yielding trade and the remission of most provincial tax revenue to the royal treasury in Guatemala.³¹

The Audiencia viewed the tithe system of the diocese of Guatemala as successful and therefore approved the proposal of the cathedral chapter of Comayagua. According to the Audiencia, when royal officials administered the tithes for a five year period, payment of the salaries of the bishop and the members of the cathedral chapter was to be made on an annual basis. Should payment of a tithe installment be missed or should security offered by the tax farmers prove insufficient under this system, the cathedral chapter was to assume administration. The cathedral chapter could also assume administration of the tithes when there were no bidders (postores) or when the bids (posturas) were too low.³²

President Francisco Rodríguez de Rivas and the judges of the Audiencia sought two objectives in approving the new procedure in tithe administration in Honduras. One was to secure prompt payment of salaries for the bishops and the members of the cathedral chapters in Comayagua. The other was to assist the Church in Comayagua in securing adequate revenue so that the Real Hacienda would be relieved of supplementing the tithe revenue in the bishopric of Comayagua. Royal officials were ordered to continue collecting the royal two-ninths and to attend the tithe auctions as provided in Law 19, Title 16, Book I, of the Recopilación. They were warned at the same time not to obstruct the execution of the Audiencia's decision.³³

Minor changes in the tithe administration procedures in 1717 and 1719 had little impact on the problem of ecclesiastical poverty in the bishopric of Comayagua. The Audiencia's 1717 decision granted

The Indians would cry out the announcement (pregón) of the opening of the local tithe auction and call for an initial bid and then higher offers (pujas). For thirty consecutive days the bids were solicited in the main square of the main town (cabecera) of each district, i.e. partido. After completion of each day's call for bids, a notary recorded the amounts of the bids submitted, the names of the bidders, and certified that the proceedings took place in accordance with royal instructions.³⁵

At the end of a month of soliciting bids for the auction of the tithe farms, the royal officials ordered the bids brought to the local royal treasury. Usually the highest bid was accepted after the successful bidder provided sufficient security (fianza) or a qualified co-signer (fiador). In order for tithe farmers and co-signers to participate in the auction, they had to be free of any debts owed to the royal treasury. Conclusion of the tithe auction took place in the cathedral of Comayagua. The justicia mayor, the royal officials, and the representative of the cathedral chapter signed the tithe documents from 1700 through 1717. From 1718 until 1741 the representative of the cathedral chapter signed the documents before the royal officials did. Form, not substance for the most part, was changed.³⁶

At the conclusion of the tithe auction the tax farmers were required to pay an amount equal to the royal two-ninths, about 11.1 per cent, to the local royal treasury. Thereafter the tithe collection was carried out by the tax farmer with the assistance of ecclesiastical censors if necessary. A bid submitted by a tax farmer was equivalent to an estimate of the coming year's tax receipts minus a percentage allowed for expenses and profit. Tax farmers were gambling on the possibility of good harvests. They tried to participate only when

the possibility existed of realizing a profit commensurate with their investment of time and capital. Occasionally poorly remunerated royal officials conspired with tax farmers to allow the tithes in some districts to be sold at a low price so that the tax farmer and the royal official could share in the resulting profits.³⁷

For ecclesiastical personnel in the bishopric of Comayagua the diocesan tithe administration and collection system during the early Bourbon period proved unsatisfactory for several reasons. Ecclesiastical salaries were seldom paid on time. Pleas to the Audiencia produced favorable decisions, but often these decisions could not be fully implemented. Graft, collusion, and corruption pervaded the tithe administration system because local royal officials and citizens were more concerned with securing personal benefits than with increasing royal and ecclesiastical revenues. Ecclesiastical personnel remained frustrated for many years in their attempts to effect policy and procedural changes in the tithe collection and distribution system which might be conducive to improving their economic status. Hope for change appeared in the late 1730s when lobbying efforts by Bishop Antonio López de Guadalupe Portillo succeeded with Philip V.

Transition from administration of the tithes by royal officials to the cathedral chapter had been urged by Bishop López de Guadalupe. The Bourbon crown accepted the validity of the idea not for ecclesiastical reasons but on the basis of its economic benefit to the royal interests. It appears that the interests of the secular Church personnel and the interests of the crown would be served jointly by a change in tithe administration procedures.

A real cédula dated November 7, 1738, described the royal approval of the transition of administration of the tithes to the cathedral chapter. The royal decree explained that according to the Recopilación if the bishop's share of the tithe income was not 500,000 maravedis then the bishop would be paid from any branch of the royal treasury. Previously the tithes were administered by the royal officials because of the lack of ecclesiastical resources. In the opinion of the crown, the drain on royal financial resources could be terminated if the method of conducting tithe auctions were different. Previously the governor and royal officials obstructed those who wanted to bid higher on the tithes. They permitted this practice to continue for the personal gain of their cronies (ahijados). In an effort to avoid a prejudicial abuse of the revenues of the royal treasury and the Church of Comayagua, the crown decided that it was appropriate to have the tithe administration handled by the Church. In such a way Comayagua would have the same system of tithe collections as other bishoprics had in the Indies. In a royal decree of September 13, 1733, the crown had requested information on the condition of affairs pertaining to tithe administration from the Audiencia in Guatemala.³⁸

The Guatemalan officials responded with a letter of November 3, 1734, and with a report from the contador of the royal treasury. The report stated that since the bishopric of Comayagua did not collect 500,000 maravedis the royal treasury had to supply 995 tostones. If the administration of the tithes were placed in the hands of the Church, an interested party, tithe collections would be pursued with greater vigor. The Church would be interested in conducting tithe auctions correctly and thereby avoiding the frequent complaints of fraud and

and I charge the Bishop of the cathedral and the cathedral chapter that each party in the area which corresponds to them, guard, and fulfill the royal will.⁴⁰

The timing of the Bourbon concession provided the Bishop the opportunity in late 1739 to implement changes in the tithe system. Undoubtedly, the existence of the first standardized tithe distribution chart in the diocese of Comayagua in March, 1742, resulted from the Bishop's administrative leadership.⁴¹ The Bourbon crown did not impose this change to achieve compliance with imperial objectives conceived by royal administrators in Spain. On the contrary, it was the Bishop who pressured the Bourbon monarchy to approve the implementation of tithe administration changes in an attempt to improve the financial condition of the secular Church in Honduras. Church administration of tithe collection and distribution was, of course, not a Bourbon innovation in the Spanish empire, but its implementation in Honduras indicated an example of Bourbon response to local initiatives rather than arbitrary imposition of peninsular royal policy. The crown undoubtedly responded favorably to the Bishop's proposal since the concession also sought to terminate Church dependency upon royal revenues.⁴²

Bishop López de Guadalupe probably played an important role in persuading the Bourbon crown to cede additional territory to the jurisdiction of the diocese between the years 1725 and 1742, but unfortunately only the result and not the process has been adequately preserved. It is known, however, that during his episcopacy the valuable agricultural territory between the Goascoran River and the region of Choluteca was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Alcaldía Mayor of San Salvador to the bishopric and province of Honduras. In 1672 the territory known as Choluteca or Jerez de la Choluteca had been separated

from San Salvador to allow the spiritual needs of the region's inhabitants to be served more adequately and to provide additional tithe income for the diocese of Comayagua.⁴³

Subsequent to the 1738 royal decree transferring the administration and collection of tithes from royal officials to the cathedral chapter, the most significant document referring to the issue of the tithes was the Ordenanza de Intendentes. The Ordenanza embodied a multifaceted attempt by the Bourbon monarchy to effect administrative reform within the Spanish empire.⁴⁴

Two significant changes in tithe administration were included in the Ordenanza. The first was the change in tithe collecting districts from partidos to parroquias or curatos. The second stipulated that the new deadline for verifying the tithe accounts and presenting the tithe distribution chart (cuadrante) to royal treasury officials was March 15 of each year.⁴⁵ Complaints were voiced about having to change from collecting by partido to collecting by parish district, but nonetheless, adjustment was made to the new regulation. The Junta de Diezmos pointed out that the main source of tithe revenue in Honduras was cattle production and by March 15 the tithe collection simply could not be completed. Traditionally tithes on cattle production were collected during the months of September, October, and November. Even when collection was delayed until those months, problems still occurred. The rains sometimes stopped and the cattle wandered off to the mountains and tithe collecting was suspended. That was what happened to tithe collecting in the period March 15, 1793, to March 15, 1794.⁴⁶ The difficulty in collecting cattle tithes for the triennium including 1792-1794 affected the total tithe yield. The Junta explained that Honduras was a vast

province, without mail service, and without money. Sufficient time was needed to collect the tithes and to complete the accounting. Cattle were sold at auction during the months of September, October, and November before the greatest amount of the tithes could be collected.⁴⁷ The Junta stated that on December 20, 1794, the Ordenanza de Intendentes made no appreciable improvement in the condition of clerical finances.

And although the Church personnel are generally poor they would be greatly harmed by delays in their payments . . . they have had to borrow money from the fábrica account of the tithe revenues since the March 15 deadline has been imposed. It was hoped that tithe revenues would increase should an extension of the time limit be granted and that no more serious delays would be experienced as been the case in the current triennium.⁴⁸

The response from the Guatemalan authorities on January 7, 1795, indicated a willingness to extend the March 15 deadline to December 15 of each year for collection of tithes on livestock. Some conditions were added to the agreement. One condition was that the entire tithe amount had to be verified in January of the year following the December 15 deadline. In addition the cuadrante and the tithe distribution tables had to be completed and the royal two-ninths had to be deposited in the royal treasury. The agreement was to last for three or four years until the results of the new system could be evaluated. At the end of that time, it would be decided whether the plan should be continued or not.⁴⁹

The Junta released details of the new plan in early 1795 which had been approved by Guatemalan royal treasury officials. It noted that two advantages were sought. First, bidders would show up to purchase the right to collect tithes in each of the curatos of the bishopric of Comayagua and that it would not be necessary to place them in administration, that is, directly collected by the Junta. Second, the value of the tithe yield would rise because if the tax farmers knew that there

was enough time to realize a profit, many more would be willing to participate. It was stated that up to that time no one had been able to enter the tithe farming activities because they needed investment capital, "of which there [was] none in this province [of Honduras],"⁵⁰ to use to establish one's tax farming business.

Fifteen years later tithe collecting regulations in the bishopric of Comayagua reflected the accommodation of the Ordenanza de Intendentes of 1786 to provincial needs. In a document dated January 12, 1810, the Junta de Diezmos issued a public notice of the tithe auction regulations for the parishes of the bishopric of Comayagua which would apply to the period March 15, 1810, to March 15, 1811.

1. The tithe collection year will comprehend the period from March 15 to March 15 and for cattle [the time period] will be according to established custom.
2. The auction will take place in the Sala Capitular of Comayagua and will be for the collection of tithes for a triennium.
3. Considering that up to now the bidders were allowed a very limited time period, and therefore many did not participate in the bidding, payment will not be demanded until after December 15 of each year so that tithe farmers may have adequate time to profit from the tithe yields. The first payment of the coming triennium should be verified after December 15, 1811, the second after December 15, 1812, and the third after December 15, 1813.
4. In each parroquia the bids are to be made before the cura parroco (parish priest) with the understanding that if the tithes are less than 200 pesos, the bidder will not be required to provide any more than a simple contract with a corresponding mortgage or bond held in his credit by the parish priest. Whenever the tithes exceed the value of 200 pesos, the bidder should guarantee the bid amount with a mortgage or bonded security to the satisfaction of the Real Junta de Diezmos, and he or his legal representative and bondsman should appear before a judge in Comayagua.

5. The bidders will not be charged more than one per cent of the total value of the bid in legal fees. These auction fees are assigned for the present to the notary of diezmos.
6. It will be the duty of the bidders to collect the tithes with promptness and according to the fee chart established in the bishopric. The notary will provide a copy of this fee chart to whomever asks for it.
7. The parish of Quesaelica will be bid and auctioned with the exclusion of the tobacco tithe which will be under the administration of a commissioner named by the Junta de Diezmos.
8. Whenever there are bidders for the tithes in the parroquias (and this is the preferred situation authorized by the Ordenanza de Intendentes) whose bids are inadmissible by law, the tithe collection will remain under the direct administration of a designated administrator who will provide the proper financial guarantees. Such administrator should present a certified account in the tithe book in accordance with the rule of the item. For his work he shall enjoy a one-third share of the agricultural yield and seven per cent share of the cattle and horses. However, if the decision of the Junta de Diezmos allows some increase in his share when deemed necessary, it is understood that the administrator is restrained from selling the tithes without a special order, provided that the advantages for selling the tithe produce are submitted in writing.
9. No bid will be accepted and no tithe collection privilege will be farmed out without obliging the annual presentation of certified accounts which are required by the Ordenanza de Intendentes and the tithe regulations. In addition, it is required that the tithe farmers pay the cost of the tithe account book which must be obtained from the Contaduría de Diezmos.
10. In case there are bidders for the entire tithe yield the bid will be accepted as long as the tithes are accounted for by parish district.

[Signed] Castañon, Fiallos, Letona, Rodríguez, Arriaga, José María Rodríguez, Notario sustituto.⁵¹

Concerted efforts by bishops, cathedral chapter personnel, and royal officials in the Kingdom of Guatemala in the Bourbon period to expand the tithe producing regions and to collect payments more efficiently provoked conflicts in Honduras. These bitter conflicts ensnarled bishops, members of the cathedral chapter, minor royal officials, the governor or governor-intendant, tithe farmers, fiadores, those who paid the tithe, including cattlemen and tobacco growers, and those groups from whom tithe collection was at times attempted, including Indians, ladinos, and the military. In Guatemala City, the Captain-General, judges of the Audiencia, and various royal officials were involved in settling disputes, demanding appropriate statistical records, and enforcing royal policy, especially the persistent collection of the royal two-ninths. The interaction of various groups in Honduras and Guatemala in matters pertaining to the tithes provides useful insights into the background of issues relating to an interpretation of Central American history on the eve of Independence.

Chapter VI

NOTES

¹For a comparison of tithe data see the tithe yields for the bishopric of Comayagua in Chapter VII and the tithe data for Guatemala, León (Nicaragua), Chiapas, New Spain, Chile, and Cuba for selected years in the appendices to this study. The bishoprics of Chiapas in the Kingdom of Guatemala and Sonora in Northern New Spain also received low tithe income.

²See tithe revenue amounts for those years in Chapter VII. The crown, of course, provided assistance to the Church and to Church personnel throughout several years of the Bourbon period as explained in the chapters on the bishops and in this section.

³Tithe income had to reach 7,352 pesos, 5 reales, 18 maravedis before an amount equivalent to the bishop's share of 500,000 maravedis would be obtained. 500,000 maravedis equaled slightly more than 1,838 pesos. It is obvious that the crown was interested in removing the ecclesiastical institution from the dependent status.

⁴Conflicts between royal and ecclesiastical authorities regarding control of the tithe system were common in the bishopric of Comayagua during the early years of the eighteenth century. The issue deserves appropriate development. Consult Archivo de Centro América/ Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (hereinafter cited as AGGG), Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464; AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465; AGGG, Sig. A1.24, Leg. 1583, Fols. 78ff.

⁵AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

⁶AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

⁷AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

⁸AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464. See also the listing for José Rodezno, Governor of Honduras, 1715-1717, in David P. Henige, Colonial Governors from the Fifteenth Century to the Present (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), p.302.

¹⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

¹¹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

¹²AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

¹³AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

¹⁴AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

¹⁵AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

¹⁶AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

¹⁷AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

¹⁸AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

¹⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5464.

²⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

²¹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

²²AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

²³AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

²⁴AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

²⁵AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

²⁶AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

²⁷AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

²⁸AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465. The President of the Audiencia in Guatemala was Francisco Rodríguez de Rivas.

²⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

³⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465; AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1583, Fols. 78ff.

³¹AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1583, Fols. 78ff.

³²AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1583, Fols. 78ff.

³³AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1583, Fols. 78ff.

³⁴For background information on the status of Honduras and Central América in the late Hapsburg and early Bourbon period see the useful study of Murdo MacLeod, Spanish Central America: A Socio-economic history, 1520-1720 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); a valuable study of agriculture, especially livestock production, is Carl L. Johannessen, Savannas of Interior Honduras, Ibero-Americana No. 46 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963;

Useful information can be gleaned from the carefully researched works of Troy S. Floyd. Consult Floyd, "Bourbon Palliatives and the Central American Mining Industry, 1765-1800," The Americas, 18:2 (October, 1961), 103-125; Floyd, "The Guatemalan Merchants, the Government, and the Provincianos, 1750-1800," Hispanic American Historical Review, XLI:1 (February, 1961), 90-110; Floyd, "The Indigo Merchant: Promoter of Central American Economic Development, 1750-1808," Business History Review, XXXIX (Winter, 1965), 466-488; Valuable also is Robert C. West, "The Mining Economy of Honduras during the Colonial Period," Actas del XXXIII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas [San José, Costa Rica], 2 (1959), 767-777; For a view of the capital consult Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., Class Privilege and Economic Development, The Consulado de Comercio de Guatemala, 1793-1871 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966); The most recent study of conditions in colonial Central America is Miles Wortman, Government and Society in Central America, 1680-1840 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981). In the early Bourbon period the upper clergy of Comayagua complained that royal officials did not pay on time and often threatened to resort to illicit employment activities, probably engaging in commerce, so that they would be able to survive. This attitude is found in AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1583, Fols. ff.

³⁵AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2304, 30 de diciembre de 1726.

³⁶AGGG, Sig. Al.24, Leg. 1583, Fols. 78ff; AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2305.

³⁷AGGG, SIG. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2305.

³⁸AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2316; AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465.

³⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2316; see also the documents pertaining to the episcopacy of Antonio López de Guadalupe Portillo. AGGG, A3.27, Leg. 1663, Exp. 26955; AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5465; AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2312.

⁴⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2316. The policy decision of Philip V is contained in this 1778-1781 document. The issue under consideration in 1778-1781 was the treatment of the four-ninths of fifty per cent of the tithe revenues.

⁴¹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 1761, Exp. 28284.

⁴²See the Bishop's point of view in AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2316; AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2312.

⁴³AGGG, Sig. Al.24.42, Leg. 4651, Exp. 39734.

⁴⁴See especially AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2318.

⁴⁵AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2318.

⁴⁶AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2318. The members of the cathedral chapter of Comayagua were not convinced of the merits of the changes to be effected by the Ordenanza de Intendentes. They complained that they were already three years behind with the present system and speculated that they would fall further behind in receiving their salaries with the implementation of the new plan. "Lo caro de los viveres en esta ciudad pues una fanega de trigo vale a lo menos diez pesos y una de maiz en cosecha, tres pesos, y a este respecto los demás que no referimos por no molestar a V.S. Los vestuarios son sumamente caros por los subidos precios de las ropas en esta Provincia que es de las más remotas, y retirada de la Capital. Los salarios de los criados que son preciso para el servicio a lo menos, cuatro, pagado a razon de cinquenta pesos cada uno, son doscientos pesos. Y por lo que V.S. paga a los suyos vendrá en conocimiento, si es excesiva esta regulación. Las casas de nuestras moradas estan gravadas con varios principales de capellanías, la del deán con mil pesos, la del arcediano con mil quientos, y la del maestro escuela con mil quinientos, sobre el cinco por ciento que anualmente redita se agrega el reparo de ellas. . . y si a esto se agrega que algún prebendado por enfermedad, no pueda decirlas, llegaría al estado de suma indigencia, y tal vez se hallan precisado a usar del arbitrios indecentes a su dignidad para mantener la vida. Tomase la cuenta a proporción de los víveres y géneros para vestuarios, gravámenes de las casas, y el salario de criados con toda la economía, y parcimonia posible, y se conocería no poderse mantener un prebendado con la cortísima renta de 648 pesos. Y no es posible que entendiendo esto Nuestro Soberano, quiera se ponga en execución la consabida cédula con tan notable rebaja de las rentas, que no alcanzan para el moderado sustento de los ministros. . . esta renta me parece tan tenue que segun el conocimiento práctico que tengo de este País, apenas les alcanzará para comer escasamente, manejándose con economía, y reduciéndose a una muy corta familia, por ser los precios de los abastos subidos a uno de los años de mayor abundancia. Bien conozco que la piedad del Rey no quiere se practiquen sus leyes en donde se originan perjuicios, como nos lo manifiesta en el Artículo 306 de Código de Intendencias." The Guatemalan authorities ruled on February 25, 1791, that the old system would be continued until the situation could be investigated thoroughly.

⁴⁷AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2319; AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2321, "ahora nadie podia entrar en estos arrendamientos no teniendo caudal resagado para anticipar el pago, lo que no hay en esta Provincia."

⁴⁸AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2321.

⁴⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2321.

⁵⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2319.

⁵¹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2328, 12 de enero de 1810.

Chapter VII

SECULAR RESPONSE TO ECCLESIASTICAL LEADERSHIP AND TITHES

IN THE BISHOPRIC OF COMAYAGUA IN THE BOURBON PERIOD

Tithe farming was the usual practice for collecting tithes in the bishopric of Comayagua during the Bourbon period. Interest in tithe farming stemmed from bidders gambling on submitting a bid less than the amount to be collected later in tithes. If all went as planned, a profit could be realized. However, if a loss were incurred, the bidder and his bondsmen were held responsible for full payment. The tithes were, of course, not solely revenue designated for ecclesiastical purposes. They also included the *novenos reales*, the two ninths or 11.1 per cent claimed by the crown and destined for the royal treasury. The 11.1 per cent figure was the minimum which reverted to the crown. The percentage could surge upwards dramatically depending upon the number of vacancies and miscellaneous deductions affecting the total tithe revenues. The crown through the royal treasury officials was dispassionately relentless in enforcing payment of the royal share. For some tithe farmers this action could lead to embarrassment, financial hardship, or even expropriation to settle outstanding debts.

Throughout the Bourbon period a variety of problems with long-ranging consequences relating to the tithe farming business emerged in the bishopric of Honduras. In 1740 Nicolás de Cañadas was obliged to sell 609 of his best cattle from his herd of 2,000 to settle a debt owed from his tithe farming business.¹ In 1805 Manuel Mariano Reyes, a tithe farmer in some of the parishes of the bishopric, died intestate owing

the tithe accounts 6030 pesos.² Doubtless there was an attempt to collect this debt from his estate.

José Lorenzo Milla, a tithe farmer for the curatos of Gracias and Sensenti for the years 1810, 1811, and 1812, became involved in a conflict with the Junta de Diezmos of Comayagua. The bishopric of Guatemala had previously excluded tobacco from tithe farming and had stipulated that the tobacco tithes were to be collected separately by the Junta de Diezmos of Guatemala. Such a procedure was meant to generate revenues exclusively for the benefit of the tithe accounts instead of fattening the profits of the tithe farmers.³

Article 7 of the tithe biddings and collecting instructions promulgated by the Junta de Diezmos on January 12, 1810, specifically excluded tobacco from tithe farming in the curato of Quesaelica. In Quesaelica the Junta de Diezmos would appoint a commissioner to administer the tobacco tithes. A dispute arose when the Junta de Diezmos claimed that they would also appoint a commissioner to administer the tithes affecting tobacco production in Gracias and Sensenti thereby depriving Milla of his profits in his tithe farm.

Milla appealed to the Audiencia in Guatemala through two influential attorneys, Antonio Robles and Francisco Albert. The fiscal as well as President Antonio González concurred completely with Milla's position. Tobacco tithes had been separated from collection by the tithe farmer of Quesaelica, but not for Gracias and Sensenti. Consequently, Milla was entitled by virtue of contract law to his tithe farm which included the tobacco production. The fiscal noted that Milla had taken the risks and therefore deserved the right to profit from his enterprise. If the Junta de Diezmos wanted to exclude curatos other than Quesaelica, then

the Junta had to publish any such exclusions in the instructions prior to the tithe auction.⁴

When the Guatemalan dispatch reached Comayagua, the members of the Junta de Diezmos argued bitterly among themselves. One member, the fiscal of the Junta, was disqualified before a vote on whether to accept the Audiencia's decision was taken. When the remaining four members of the Junta voted, the result was a tie. At this juncture the governor-intendant, Juan Antonio de Tornos, stepped in as president of the Junta to cast the vote to accept the Audiencia's decision. This vote settled nothing because Gaspar Piloña, oficial real, and José María Rodríguez, juez hacedor, opposed the vote outcome. On their own they submitted an appeal to the Audiencia. President José de Bustamante became annoyed by the attitudes of the Junta de Diezmos and the Audiencia again decided in favor of Milla.⁵

Apparently the basis of the dispute was more economic than legal. In question was the control and enjoyment of the tithe revenues on 177,062 pounds of strong tobacco and 36,823 pounds of mild tobacco which was valued at 24,434 pesos, $1\frac{1}{2}$ reales. Ten per cent, a tithe, on this amount was 2,443 pesos, $3\frac{1}{4}$ reales. Expenses deducted from the tithe figure included a seven per cent commission equivalent to 175 pesos, $\frac{1}{4}$ real for the administrator and the cost of the beneficios (storage fee) of the tobacco until it was sacked. When it was sacked at the rate of 5 reales per cwt. then 133 pesos, 6 reales would be deducted, leaving a net amount of 2138 pesos, 5 reales. The official in charge of the Real factoría de tabacos (royal tobacco monopoly) in Los Llanos de Santa Rosa added that a sales tax (alcabala) of 124 pesos, 4 reales would also have to be deducted if Milla were adjudged the legitimate

owner of the tobacco tithe farm. On the other hand if the Church were the legitimate owner, then no sales tax would apply. Milla, therefore, should have received 2,014 pesos, 1 real from the tithe farm business, exclusive of other expenses. If the Junta de Diezmos operated in a manner which contributed to tithe farmers losing confidence in the profit making aspects⁶ of the tax farming system in order to increase the tithe share for the upper clergy, then the action probably indicated the desperate economic condition of the members of the cathedral chapter members. At the time of this dispute the Bishop had already abandoned Honduras for Guatemala City, because he had received insufficient or no payment of his salary.⁷

Mariano Pineda's inability to pay 1,110 pesos for each of the years 1810, 1811, and 1812, a total of 3,330 pesos to the Junta de Diezmos, resulted in a plea from Pineda in 1816 for special consideration. Pineda had presented two letters of credit (libranzas) to Clemente Arriaga, a member of the Junta de Diezmos, in the amount of 1,110 pesos for payment for the tithe farm privilege in the curato of Petoa for 1810. However, one libranza for 500 pesos was worthless, so that only 510 pesos were credited to his debt. Pineda begged the Junta de Diezmos to let him pay 500 pesos each year until the debt was liquidated. He stated that his mineral production was discouraging and that he would sell his finca (farm) and other real estate, but potential bidders who lacked sufficient capital themselves wanted to pay Pineda much less than it was worth. He noted that he had always tried to maintain his good credit history and previously had always paid his debts on time. The Junta de Diezmos and the governor-intendant, Juan Antonio de Tornos, suggested to the Tribunal de Cuentas and the fiscal of the Audiencia that

consideration be given his situation to prevent the ruining of an honorable vecino (citizen). Nonetheless, the official of the Guatemalan Tribunal de Cuentas was clearly unmoved by the emotional plea.⁸

The royal treasury official argued that any special consideration or extension of time was contrary to the laws and a new arrangement would incur the same risks since each subsequent payment could be equally late.

It is painful to see the ruin of an honorable vecino, but this is no reason to have the interested parties, and the Real Hacienda is one of them, be deprived of what justly belongs to them. It is possible at the same time that Pineda might have covered some other private debts with the money he has collected.⁹

Bersueta, the oidor fiscal, resolved the issue on July 29, 1816, by stating that Pineda was wholly responsible for the entire debt which he owed for the tithe farm for the curato of Petoa. Pineda and his fiadores were to be notified that he had received a non-renewable extension of six months after which foreclosure would be executed against his property and the security offered by his bondsmen. The exact resolution of the issue is not known, but if Pineda were unable to pay on time, it is reasonable to conclude that the royal officials in Guatemala would have contributed to his economic ruin, despite support for special consideration from officials and Church personnel in Honduras.¹⁰

The economic difficulty which befell the tithe farmers in the bishopric of Comayagua meant trouble for their fiadores in the early years of the nineteenth century. Complex economic relationships in Central America, including the fluctuating demand for Honduran cattle in Salvadorean and Guatemalan markets,¹¹ contributed to the long term economic depression in the region. In addition, the drain of investment capital from Honduras accelerated by the enforcement of the

Consolidation Order of 1803 further deepened the economic crisis. While investment capital generated by loans from Honduras ecclesiastical sources were very small compared to amounts described in Guatemala and miniscule in relation to the substantial Church wealth in New Spain,¹² investment capital on loan from ecclesiastical sources was nonetheless quite vital for promoting agricultural, commercial, and mining activity in Honduras.¹³

An example of a fiador who encountered serious difficulties was the case of Antonio Tranquilino de la Rosa, a prominent entrepreneur involved in commercial and mining activities in Tegucigalpa. Consolidation records show that he borrowed heavily from various ecclesiastical accounts to finance business activities. By 1818 Francisco San Martín, a tithe farmer in Cantarranas and Ojojona, had defaulted on a portion of his debt owed for the tithe farm for these two curatos. San Martín had bid 7,500 pesos for the tithes in Cantarranas and 3,000 pesos for those of Ojojona. His default prompted the Juzgado de Haceduría to foreclose on his mortgaged real estate and to embargo 1,577 pesos held on deposit in the Casa de Rescate by his fiador Antonio Tranquilino de la Rosa. This amount offered as fianza by Rosa for San Martín's tithe farming venture exceeded the amount needed to guarantee payment of the royal two-ninths on the tithe income from the two curatos.¹⁴

Rosa became indignant at the action freezing his deposit. He cited two main reasons for being displeased with the proceeding of the royal officials in Comayagua. First, when suit was filed against San Martín and his fiadores, the property of the former was already judicially seized. In addition, the fianza provided by José Leandro de la Rosa exceeded the value of the debt. Tranquilino contended that two suits were filed to cover one debt. What the officials of the royal treasury

had done was to separate the novenos reales from the tithes. The oficiales reales claimed that in the case of the novenos reales it was proper to proceed against the more solvent of the fiadores and thus speed up the collection process following such an extraordinary delay. Second, Rosa argued that the goods of the principal debtor should have been confiscated and sold or declared insolvent. Such action would have prevented the action against the fiadores.¹⁵

The fiscal of the Audiencia contradicted Rosa's argument, however. He stated that the terms of the fianza were clearly outlined in the legal contracts and that the documents disproved Rosa's contention. The fiscal stated that Rosa could renounce his responsibilities, but he was contractually liable to satisfy the amounts owing for the novenos reales from the tithes of the curato of Cantarranas. San Martín did not pay this amount and therefore the 1,577 pesos deposited in the Casa de Rescate and offered as a fianza were definitely embargoed. The fiscal also stated that if payments were made annually by San Martín as they should have been and the payment chart written up and shares properly distributed to each interested group, it would have been natural that the debt of the novenos reales would be lowered proportionately and consequently would be less of a responsibility for the fiadores. The Guatemalan official lamented that the procedure in Honduras was administered badly and that the amounts owing for the novenos reales had not been paid to the Real Hacienda. The Real Junta Superior de Hacienda and the Real Junta Superior de Guerra in Guatemala recommended on August 20, 1818, that when payments had been collected from San Martín, the amount of the obligation should be lowered accordingly for the fiadores and the amount embargoed against Rosa's account should then be returned.¹⁶

Economic difficulties confronting the Honduran tithe farmers in the period shortly before Central American Independence help explain the origin of some anti-clerical feelings which in a few short years became integrated into the ideology of Central American Liberals. The most important case in this context involved the Herrera brothers from the cattle raising region of Honduras.

José Justo Herrera and Próspero Herrera engaged in tithe farming ventures in the early nineteenth century in hopes of making money. It is unclear if they ever realized a profit. Nonetheless, documents clearly demonstrate that their bid to collect tithes in the curato of Danlí for the period 1810-1812 resulted in a long term unmitigated financial disaster. When they were unable to pay their obligations the courts embargoed the agricultural and mining property of Justo and Próspero. They then sought assistance from their politically adept brother, Dionisio, who was delegated the power of attorney to broker the economic and legal aspects of the problem. Dionisio discovered by May 8, 1820, that his brothers had been able to pay 3,296 pesos of the total of 5,475 pesos owed for the tithes of Danlí for the years 1810, 1811, and 1812. He also discovered that 237 pesos had not been properly credited to their account by the parish priest of Choluteca, Ramón Lagos, who had inconveniently died in the meantime. The Herrera brothers used important family connections in an attempt to resolve part of the problem with Guatemalan authorities. On September 1, 1817, their first cousin, José Cecilio del Valle, deposited 1,300 pesos in the royal treasury of the capital to pay an amount sufficient to satisfy the novenos reales. Dionisio argued forcefully in an attempt to convince Guatemalan authorities that his brothers intended to pay in full. In his view,

since only 1,997 pesos, 1 real were still owed, the embargoes should be lifted from his brothers' agricultural and mining properties. The tone of the documents indicates an increasing exasperation and resentment toward the ecclesiastical personnel of Comayagua and Choluteca over the fear of the loss of family power, prestige, and property.¹⁷ The Herrera family had already demonstrated considerable anti-clerical sentiment in the conflict with the clergy in Choluteca over control of the Cofradía de Colama.¹⁸ The bitter experience resulting from the financial disaster of tithe farming in the curato of Danlí deepened and solidified the Herrera family's anti-clerical feelings on the eve of Central American Independence.

Not only were the anti-clerical cattle raisers of Choluteca in the Alcaldía Mayor of Tegucigalpa hurt by the problems associated with tithe farming, factions centered in Comayagua were also severely compromised by economic conditions on the eve of Independence. One such person was Joaquín Lindo¹⁹ who had been associated with tithe collecting ventures for several years in Comayagua. Lindo also served as the escribano of the Junta de Diezmos of Comayagua.

Joaquín Lindo found himself confronted with a 12,000 peso debt to the Junta de Diezmos which he was unable to pay. He was supposed to sell his hacienda, but lamented that there were no bidders because of the absence of investment capital in Honduras. His suggested alternative was to pay five per cent interest on his debt, pay one-third at once, and make two payments of 4,000 pesos in 1820 and 1821 respectively. This arrangement was approved by the governor-intendant of Comayagua, José Tinoco, and by the Tribunal de Cuentas in Guatemala on November 3, 1819. On December 20, 1819, however, Lindo was deposed from his position of escribano propietario of the Junta de Diezmos in Comayagua. Lindo

appealed the case in order to seek reinstatement from the Real Junta de Hacienda in Guatemala in mid-1820.²⁰ Probably Independence of Central America arrived before Lindo's case could be resolved one way or the other.

Conflicts pertaining to the collection of the tithe and the first fruits from individual Indians and from Indian *cofradías* generated substantial documentation in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century. Both religious and secular authorities repeatedly and illegally sought to impose payment of the tithe and the first fruits upon the Indians of Honduras. In response to attempts to increase tithe collections or efforts to shift some responsibility for tithe payment from Spanish and ladino groups to politically weak Indian communities, the Indians fearlessly complained to the Audiencia in Guatemala. In each case Audiencia officials supported the position of the Indians.²¹ Indians nonetheless encountered that religious and secular authorities in Honduras either were not properly informed of the decisions of the Audiencia or purposely subverted the intent and letter of the Laws of the Indies contained in the frequently repeated judicial decisions. Many Honduran authorities in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century saw Indians as an economic or labor source to be used for the benefit of the dominant society. The attitude of the Spanish royal officials of the Audiencia of Guatemala was that the Indians of Honduras were entitled to receive the full protection of the Laws of the Indies. The diverse views of provincial and metropolitan authorities regarding the treatment of Indians was but one of the many issues which contributed to the fragmentation of Central American unity. With the achievement of Independence, Indians in Honduras would doubtless be politically vulnerable vis-a-vis local power groups.²²

The clash between cattlemen and the clergy was not so much a dispute over the legality of the tithe as it was over the effort of a progressive eighteenth century Bishop to improve the standard of living for the parish priests of Honduras who did not share in the distribution of diocesan tithe income. Bishop Antonio de San Miguel, who served in Honduras from 1777 until 1783, created the controversy when he authorized several parish priests to collect the primicia from livestock producers in their respective parishes.²³ First fruits were taken offerings to the clergy of the year's harvest or livestock production. For almost a decade some parish priests received offerings of new-born livestock without significant opposition, but in the early 1790s important cattlemen strongly criticized the exaction as a double tithe and increasingly attempted to resist payment. During this period the Spanish crown expected all respectable citizens of the overseas empire to contribute taxes to help finance wars in Europe. If cattlemen were subject to additional royal levies which they viewed as a threat to their property interests, it would have been difficult to challenge the crown's right to impose taxation without appearing disloyal. Challenging the Church, and especially a lone priest who was far from the metropolis, was quite a different matter.

In 1795 Juan Francisco Valdés, Doña Ramona Figueroa, and José de Figueroa led the cattlemen's legal fight against an obligatory payment of the first fruits to the parish priests of Honduras. They were supported by a number of other livestock producers in Honduras, including Eusebio Morazán, the father of Francisco Morazán. In the initial stages the cattlemen presented their detailed arguments to the ecclesiastical court in Comayagua. When they were rebuffed by the cathedral chapter they appealed their case to the Audiencia in Guatemala.²⁴

The livestock producers argued that collection of the primicia was not an established custom and therefore they should not be obligated to make such a contribution to the parish priests. Custom dictated that parishioners offer fruits of the soil, but contributions by livestock producers should not be imposed until approval from the King of Spain was obtained. Furthermore, they argued, ranch owners in the district or, at least, most of it, had always resisted paying the first fruits despite the edicts of Bishop Antonio de San Miguel Iglesias and Bishop Fernando Cadiñanos. One of the cattlemen contended that he was especially concerned with the plight of the poor, small-scale livestock producers. If they had only a few head of livestock, then the first fruits would be especially oppressive. Collection of the first fruits, he lamented, was even more onerous when combined with the collection of the tithes. The poor needed all their money for basic necessities. Although payment of the primicia was repulsive, he stated, the poor did not resist because of the threat of ecclesiastical censures by the parish priest. In addition, these poor cattlemen should not have to pay the primicia because they already paid high clerical fees to the parish priest. When a death occurred in the family, the cattleman complained, the poor were burdened with having to contribute two pesos for burial fees. The document concluded by claiming that the parish priests in his district could maintain themselves nicely without perpetuating the extortion of the first fruits from the poor cattlemen of the province of Honduras.²⁵

The fiscal of the Audiencia in Guatemala refused to be convinced that the cattlemen were sincere in their sudden concern for the welfare of the poor of Honduras. When he issued his judicial opinion in June, 1797, he demonstrated a thorough understanding of local conditions.

In the first place, the first fruits are of little importance. In the second place, they comprise the income of the parish priests. Having the primary responsibility for the salvation of these parishioners who are in their care, they occasionally need a mule to be able to administer the Holy Sacraments in the outlying areas of their parishes. Rather than trying to prevent them from collecting the first fruits, the right of the parish priests to them should be protected. This is the only income they receive. The lower clergy do not get any share of the tithes because of an ill advised distribution system which is perpetuated by the rights claimed by the upper clergy [of Comayagua].²⁶

The court ruling of June, 1797, did not extinguish the controversy. In June, 1798, the parish priest of Cantarranas complained to the cathedral chapter in Comayagua that livestock producers continued to resist paying the first fruits. His plea emphasized the difficulties of trying to fulfill a clerical function without having a decent and dependable income.

This parish has fallen into decadence and the only source of income is from the first fruits on cattle, horses, and mules. Since this income is so small, the parish priest is almost forced to beg from the parishioners. . . one priest is certainly not enough to serve the needs of the parish and there is no money to pay a part-time assistant so that I can administer sacraments outside of town.²⁷

Struggle for control of the economic benefits of *cofradías* in the cattle producing regions of Honduras was a continuation of the dispute regarding the collection of the tithe and the first fruits. This issue also contributed to the growing antagonism between cattlemen and the clergy. Control of a *cofradía* by an administrator who was favorable to the interests of the Church meant that a local parish priest could expect a supplement to his meager income. A hostile administrator on the other hand, could make life difficult. An example of the latter case was the struggle for control of the *Cofradía de Colama* in Choluteca.

In addition, for more than twenty years the struggle was also complicated by a family quarrel which eventually entangled the authorities of Comayagua and Tegucigalpa.

When Juan Jacinto Herrera assumed the position of administrator of the Cofradía de Colama in 1803, he encountered bitter opposition from his brother-in-law, José Antonio Díaz del Valle. Valle had never forgiven Herrera for marrying his sister without his permission in the 1780s. In turn Herrera hated Valle bitterly for trying to exclude his wife from receiving her share of her father's estate. The feud became more heated in January, 1804, when Valle denounced Herrera to the Bishop of Honduras for abandoning his wife and courting a sixteen year old girl by the name of Brígida Mondragón.²⁸

In February, 1804, the local parish priest, Andrés de Molina, complained to Bishop Vicente Navas that Juan Jacinto Herrera was improperly administering the property of the Cofradía de Colama. Medina was more concerned about his financial security and his personal safety than about Valle's and Herrera's long-standing family feud. According to the parish priest, Herrera had sold more than 1,000 pesos of livestock, approximately 2,000 steers, in the short time that he had held his post. He was continuing to send cattle to Nicaragua for auction. Furthermore, Herrera had called the administrators of all the brotherhoods together in the parish without notifying the parish priest. Herrera had taken inventory of all the money and the rural property of the pious funds and threatened to punish other administrators if they gave any money at all to the local parish priests from the brotherhood accounts.²⁹

Medina explained that Herrera had no respect for the Church and the clergy and that he did not care if everyone in Honduras knew

about his adulterous affairs with a young girl. The parish priest even feared that Herrera would hire someone to detain him, beat him, or perhaps even kill him. In his letter to Bishop Navas he pleaded "do not leave your priests in the power of this ferocious tyrant butcher."³⁰ Such was the portrait of the defiant, anti-clerical, Juan Jacinto Herrera, in the eyes of the parish priest of Choluteca, Andrés de Molina.

A letter from Dionisio de Herrera to Vicente Filísola in Guatemala on September 7, 1822, helps portray some of the Honduran's views regarding the Cofradía de Colama.

The value of the Cofradía de Colama, disregarding the amounts owed to it, is not less than 60,000 pesos in my judgment. It was established by my great-grandparents for pious purposes . . . for some time . . . it has caused in Choluteca . . . jealousy, quarrels, and discord. Everyone is interested in its administration and control. Everyone who does not benefit from its funds organizes factions to place it in other hands. This cofradía . . . is the cause of laziness (holgazanería) which affects many families of Choluteca. They live off the production of the cofradía. No one cares for the property of others as [they care for] their own. . . It will never be cared for properly. Its control will always generate divisions and factions which the enemies of order will promote and take advantage of. The government of Comayagua has always wanted to have close control of it. Finally, it will probably produce popular disturbances in the future as it has in the past. To cut off the roots of these evils I consider that there is no choice but to convert these properties to private properties (dominios particulares) and investing the resultant funds in projects [to promote] the public welfare (beneficencia pública) . . . and in others no less useful to religion than to the state.

The opposition of cattlemen in Honduras to the payment of tithes, first fruits, fees for baptism, marriage, and funerals, and clerical influence in the administration of the cofradías appears to be founded mainly in economic self-interest and to a lesser extent in ideological principles. Two cousins, the sons of cattlemen, carried on the traditions

of their fathers. Dionisio de Herrera, son of Juan Jacinto Herrera, became a prominent Liberal leader of Nicaragua and the first President of Honduras in the national period. Francisco Morazán, son of Eusebio Morazán, achieved power as the Liberal President of the Central American Confederation in 1830. ³²

Chapter VII

NOTES

¹Archivo de Centro América/ Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (Hereinafter cited as AGGG), Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2310.

²AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5472.

³AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2328.

⁴AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2328.

⁵AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2228.

⁶AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2228.

⁷AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2228.

⁸Refer to Chapter IV:B for a discussion of the problems of Bishop Rodríguez del Barranco.

⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2329.

¹⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2329.

¹¹Consult Carl L. Johannessen, Savannas of Interior Honduras, Ibero-Americana, No. 46 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); The account provided by Maurice Philip Brungardt, "Tithe Production and Patterns of Economic Change in Central Colombia, 1764-1833 (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, 1974), in regard to the tithe farmers is appropriate at this juncture. He states on pages 23 and 24 that the "tithe production time series represent the amount bid by individual diezmeros for the right to collect tithes, a percentage of all agricultural production. It does not represent what was collected. The bid made by a diezmero legally obligated him to the juez colector to pay the amount within one year. The diezmero was not a rich man. He had a few mules, an adobe or straw-thatched one-room dwelling, and a small plot of land. And although definitely not poor, he knew he could be reduced to such a condition in one fateful season. Default often brought swift and total retribution from the juez that ended with arrest and the embargo of all worldly possessions. What a diezmero collected above and beyond his bid was his to keep, and that difference represented his livelihood and made the risks worthwhile. He was a professional with long experience and made the risks worthwhile. . . . When he won, he put up as surety his money, livestock, land, house, or other possessions or those of friends or of bondsmen. He tried to keep his bid as low as possible, but bidding was competitive, and it did happen sometimes that he overbid and lost money and even more."

¹²Doris Ladd, The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780-1826 (Austin, Texas: Institute of Latin American Studies, The University of Texas Press, 1976), states on p. 103 that New Spain had sent more than 10,000,000 pesos to Spain by 1809. According to a partial document accumulation which this writer has reviewed, the minimum amount of money subject to the Consolidation Order in Honduras was 126,012 pesos by late 1807. Of this amount 56,631 pesos had been actually collected. A major document series comprising 248 separate entries is AGGG, Sig. A3.7, Leg. 170, Exp. 1620. It should not be surprising then that Honduras would face further economic difficulties in the period immediately preceding Independence from the effects of the Consolidation Order. It would be obvious that capital would become scarce in the extreme.

¹³Ibid., Enrique Florescano, Origen y desarrollo de los problemas agrarios de Mexico, 1500-1821 (Colección Problemas de Mexico; Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1976), pp. 147-151. Florescano is not hesitant to attribute direct responsibility to the Consolidation Order for several negative economic, social, and political effects. "Su cobro removió a todos los grupos, provocó una crisis económica, llenó de temor a los novohispanos por el futuro del país, crió disafecciones y aceleró los procesos que se venían gestando... para los medianos y pequeños agricultores la real cédula no podía significar otra cosa más que ruina o pérdida de sus propiedades. . . . Esta situación terrible que padeció la agricultura entre 1805 y 1809 explica en parte el ascenso incontenible de los precios de los productos agrícolas en esos años, que a su vez provocó mayor tensión y descontento en el campo y en las ciudades. La minería, el comercio y las manufacturas, aunque menos afectadas que la agricultura, resintieron sin embargo la reducción del capital circulante por causa de los pagos a las cajas de consolidación." pp. 148-149.

¹⁴AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2330.

¹⁵AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2330. Tranquilino de la Rosa was a heavy borrower of Church capital is later identified in AGGG, Sig. A3.7, Leg. 170, Exp. 1620. In the late nineteenth century some sources state that his house became the presidential residence for Marco Aurelio Soto who imposed a Liberal reform upon Honduras.

¹⁶AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2330.

¹⁷Archivo Nacional de Honduras, Tegucigalpa (hereinafter cited as ANH), Año 1819. Exorto ejecución contra don Justo Herrera por cantidad de 2,416 pesos 7 reales por el diezmo de la Villa de Danli.

¹⁸AGGG, Sig. A1.11.2, Leg. 129, Exp. 1483.

¹⁹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2331. Joaquin Lindo's son was Juan Lindo, one of the few persons in Honduras to study law in Mexico during this era. Later Mallol denounced the joint activities of Joaquin Lindo and Dionisio de Herrera. Joaquin Lindo also supported Dr. Tomás Ruiz against the machinations of the cathedral chapter of

Comayagua shortly after the illness and death of Bishop Vicente de Navas. It also appears that he did not go out of his way to pay the bishop and the upper clergy of Comayagua their salaries from the tithe revenues. The wife of Lindo was a Celaya, probably a relative of the Herrera family. Dionisio de Herrera, Francisco Morazán, and José Cecilio del Valle were cousins.

²⁰AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2332.

²¹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2326, Fols. 2-7.

²²Narciso Mallol, for example, wanted to force the Indians to work in the mines in order to promote mining activity in Tegucigalpa.

²³AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470.

²⁴AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470.

²⁵AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470.

²⁶AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470, Fol. 28ff.

²⁷AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470, Fol. 47ff.

²⁸AGGG, Sig. A1.11.2, Leg. 127, Exp. 1473.

²⁹AGGG, Sig. A1.11.2, Leg. 127, Exp. 1473.

³⁰AGGG, Sig. A1.11.2, Leg. 127, Exp. 1473. "Creo firmamente que V.S.Y. no dejará estos sus hijos en poder de este feróz y tirano carnívero," 12 de febrero de 1804.

³¹Dionisio de Herrera to Vicente de Filísola, 7 septiembre de 1822, ANH, loose document.

³²AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470. Documents pertaining to the tithes do not specifically state what percentage of the revenues were derived from the tax upon livestock production. However, this writer contends that the livestock producers' contributions comprised the majority of the tithe gross amounts each year. It is interesting to note that conflicts between livestock producers and the Church in Honduras of the mid-1970s are reminiscent in some ways of the disputes which occurred two centuries earlier. "The murdered missionaries were not directly engaged in political action or involved in the hunger marches. But their deaths are dramatic proof of the increasing identification of Catholicism in Latin America with the peasants' cause. This is partly due to the influence of 'liberation theology' which uses Marxist economic analysis and argues that an important part of salvation is making common cause with the struggles of the poor. The clergy in Honduras deny any link with Marxism: yet virtually all the priests are known to back the peasants' efforts to get land of their own. Since 90 % of the priests are foreigners (from France, Spain, Canada, the U.S. and Latin America), the nominally Catholic landowners can more freely accuse them of being

Communists, of mobilizing the peasantry and arousing hatred. Said Bishop Jaime Brufau: 'These crimes were the result of a carefully planned attack on the church in Olancho.' Despite the murder indictments, the cattlemen are still riding high in Olancho province, a frontier area where they have long held near feudal control. The peasant leaders' training center in Juticalpa is still closed, and the federal government has ordered all priests, brothers and nuns to leave the area for their own safety. Bishop Nicholas D'Antonio, an American who has worked in Honduras for 29 years, has also fled upon orders from the papal nuncio. No wonder. Wealthy ranchers have offered \$10,000 to anyone who delivers to them the bishop's head." "Blood and Land," Time, 106:7 (August 18, 1975), 36.

Chapter VIII

THE ROLE OF THE BISHOPS, BOURBON POLICY, CHURCH REVENUES
AND THE RISE OF ANTI-CLERICAL LIBERALISM IN SPANISH
HONDURAS, 1700-1821: TOWARD NEW INTERPRETATIONS

Nineteenth century Liberalism's view of the Church and of organized religion in general in its Central American version is best exemplified in the publications of Lorenzo Montúfar. His caustic attack on the historical role of the Church and clergy in Central America is fully developed in his Reseña histórica de Centro América, whose seven volumes appeared from 1878 to 1888. The beginning of publication coincided with the end of conservative dominance and the effort of the Liberal President of Honduras, Marco Aurelio Soto, to end legal obligation to pay tithes for the support of the clergy. Doubtless, Montúfar whose Liberalism had a strong admixture of Positivism intended to undergird the economic, ideological, political, and social structure of Central American Liberalism in the nineteenth century. In recent years the heirs of nineteenth century Liberalism have continued to witness the dissolving of their political regimes with the overthrow of Anastasio Somoza and the process of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Subsequently, events in El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatenala, and Honduras in the 1980s have indicated broad and deep vulnerabilities in the residue of Liberal structures throughout Central America.

Montúfar's version of Central American history, set forth within the framework of the ideologies of Liberalism and Positivism, enjoyed general acceptance in the politically dominant element of the

five countries of Central America. The result was especially damaging to a disinterested, unbiased, comprehensive understanding of Honduras as well as the rest of Central America in the Bourbon period. Yet the bulk of the evidence from the documents indicates that Montúfar's statements and interpretative assertions are respectively incorrect and misleading in numerous cases.

Some of Montúfar's comments concerning the role of the bishops in Central America reflect a misunderstanding of a disinterested interpretation of the contributions and shortcomings of episcopal leadership. To appreciate the character of Montúfar's attitude toward the Church and the clergy of Central America, it is necessary to examine some examples of his conclusions.

Honduras. . . had twenty bishops from 1539 until 1810. If bishops civilized the people, Honduras, with so many bishops, should have arrived at the zenith of civilization. If bishops enriched the people, Honduras, with so many bishops, should have reached the apogee of wealth. In Honduras from 1539 until 1878. . . there have been twenty-four bishops. In San Salvador, since the formation of the diocese. . . there have been three bishops. San Salvador has progressed more than Honduras: therefore the progress of these peoples has been inversely proportional to the number of bishops it has had. In Nicaragua from 1532. . . until 1878. . . there have been thirty-six bishops. In Costa Rica, since the foundation of the diocese until today [1878] there have been two bishops. Costa Rica has progressed more than Nicaragua: therefore the progress of these peoples has been inversely proportional to the number of bishops it has had. The people of Costa Rica is one of the most moral, not only in Central America, but in all America: therefore the morality of our inhabitants is not directly proportional to the number of bishops.³

Not only were the Church and the clergy morally and socially useless in Montúfar's view, they also made no contribution to the economic progress of Central America. This interpretation was compromised

by the assumption in Liberalism that religion was a marginal concern and its manifestation should be, preferably, not visible.

According to the Liberal apologist "the tithes of Honduras amounted to great sums of money"⁴ in the colonial period. In addition, Montúfar argued that all the economists of the world considered the tithe as an archaic contribution destructive of the wealth of nations.⁵ Decrying the 1843 restoration of civil enforcement of tithe payments in Honduras which had been sought by Bishop Francisco de Paula Campoy, Montúfar wrote the following:

Erroneous legislation can cause a century of unhappiness and contribute to the unhappiness of the centuries yet to come. The wealth of Honduras consists of livestock. Take livestock away from Honduras and the country will not survive. The country's only source of livelihood should be protected by the laws. Nevertheless, article 1 of the [1843 legislative] decree. . . restored tithe payments. . . on cattle and horses.⁶

It would appear that the arguments of the Honduran cattlemen in the late Bourbon period were echoed in the historical writings of Lorenzo Montúfar one hundred years later.⁷

Honduras was not a rich diocese in the colonial period even by Central American standards. When the amount of tithe income collected in the bishopric for the period 1700-1821 is compared to tithe revenue totals from other bishoprics in the Spanish empire, Montúfar's exaggerations become apparent.⁸ Honduras' tithe revenues were the lowest of any bishopric in the Kingdom of Guatemala until 1765, when Chiapas assumed last place. Moreover, the ecclesiastical revenues were so low in the diocese of Honduras in the Bourbon period that until 1773 the salaries of the bishops and the members of the cathedral chapter had to be supplemented by royal subsidies. In addition, the crown provided the bishops with financial grants on occasion to help them meet expenses.

It is also fallacious to argue that tithes were totally used for ecclesiastical purposes and had no redeeming social, economic, or political value. At least 11.1 per cent of the tithe income always entered the coffers of the local royal treasury. This procedure was even the case before 1773 when the crown subsidized the salaries of the upper clergy. Whenever a vacancy occurred in the ranks of the upper clergy, the salary assigned for the position was not divided among the other members, but, instead, reverted to the royal treasury. By the end of the eighteenth century the crown called upon Church personnel to contribute six per cent of their salaries to the ecclesiastical subsidy in the 1780s and 1790s.⁹ This was in reality a war or defense tax. In 1806 an additional one-ninth, the *noveno de consolidación*, was deducted from the tithe income total during the reign of Charles IV.¹⁰ The broader economic and social effects of the Consolidation Order in Honduras need further investigation, but preliminary research indicates that *obras pías* and *capellanías* which benefitted the regular and secular clergy and the funds of various *cofradías* were compromised. The Tribunal de Cuentas in Guatemala recorded that 56,631 pesos, 3 3/4 reales had been deposited in the Comayagua Consolidation accounts in a document dated October 16, 1807. However, these partial records indicate that a minimum of 126,012 pesos were subject to the Consolidation Order.¹¹ Among the numerous borrowers of investment capital from ecclesiastical sources appear the names of Antonio Tranquilino de la Rosa, José Leandro de la Rosa, and Joaquín Lindo. Borrowers doubtless had used the borrowed capital to finance agricultural, commercial, and mining enterprises.

In the last forty years of the colonial period at least forty per cent of the tithe revenue of Honduras reverted to the royal treasury.¹² In 1821, the year Central American Independence was achieved, nearly sixty per cent of the tithe income entered the coffers of the civil government.¹³ Responses to the problem of ecclesiastical poverty in Honduras by the Spanish Bourbons and their ministers in Guatemala reflect sincere attempts to terminate ecclesiastical dependency upon royal revenues. In this aspect the Bourbons were successful. During the last years of the reign of Charles III the crown was beginning to benefit financially from the increased, though still very modest, tithe income in Honduras.

Analysis of tithe data for the Bourbon period shows that tithes in the bishopric of Comayagua ranged from less than 2,000 pesos in 1700 to approximately 33,000 pesos in 1821.¹⁴ According to these figures, the bishopric of Comayagua was certainly among the poorest in the Spanish overseas empire. It was the poorest from the point of view of tithe revenues in the Kingdom of Guatemala from 1700 until the 1760s, and the second poorest diocese from the 1760s until 1821 in terms of tithe revenues.¹⁵ The bishopric of Chiapas fell to last place in total tithe income after mid-eighteenth century. Indian tribute payment in Chiapas, however, was doubtless higher than that collected in Honduras in terms of gross amounts.

For the first three decades of the eighteenth century, tithe income in Honduras was insufficient to pay the episcopal share of 500,000 maravedis or slightly more than 1838 pesos, as guaranteed by the Laws of the Indies. In these circumstances tithe income had to be supplemented with revenues which had reverted to the royal

treasury from vacant Church positions in the diocese of Guatemala. This redistribution procedure was not a matter of ordinary practice under law, but an act of generosity on the part of the crown. Royal revenues from the local treasury of Comayagua were especially allocated to rescue the Church personnel from desperate poverty, but frequently these Bourbon attempts to provide assistance were unrealistic. Local royal treasury officials often were without sufficient funds to deal with ordinary obligations, much less provide additional funds to the bishops as ordered by royal directives. In 1753 the bishop was apportioned more than his minimum annual guaranteed salary for the first time, but this amount constituted approximately thirty-three per cent of the total tithe yield instead of the standard twenty-five per cent.¹⁶ Not until 1773 did the bishops enjoy an allocation of the standard twenty-five per cent of the tithe receipts as stipulated in the Recopilación.¹⁷ This meant that in all previous years the episcopal allocation of a higher percentage of the tithe revenues was probably accomplished at the expense of keeping the salaries of the cathedral chapter at a lower level. In several instances bishops did not receive their salaries at all for certain years. If fully compensated, many experienced serious delays in receiving their salaries.

A number of Bourbon policies proved unproductive because the Spanish crown did not adequately understand and could not easily resolve the basic economic problems of the bishopric of Comayagua. Several factors contributed to the perpetuation of Honduran dependency despite royal efforts to the contrary. Three major factors will perhaps suffice as examples.

The "boom and bust" cycle of mining activity in Honduras tended to discourage significant progress in agricultural development. Mining, nonetheless, provided important markets for Honduran agricultural and livestock production throughout the colonial period. Tithe revenue, the main source of income for the upper clergy, varied according to the level of agricultural and livestock production subject to the tithe levy.

Guatemalan merchants monopolized much of the economy of the Kingdom of Guatemala. They often attempted to circumvent Bourbon reform policies to seek economic advantage. Resentment toward Guatemalan merchants and Guatemalan authorities by some Honduran factions increased tensions and undermined cooperation and economic development in the region.

British naval superiority in the Caribbean, including dominance of log-wood enterprises in British Honduras [Belize], control of the Mosquito Coast, and repeated attacks in conjunction with their Indian allies on coastal settlements, proscribed Honduran activity in international commerce in the eighteenth century. Accordingly, most Honduran commercial activity of a legal variety was confined to the limits of the Kingdom of Guatemala.

Other factors should not be discarded. Inflation, which was experienced by much of the Spanish empire in the late eighteenth century, was a factor in assessing the real value of increased tithe revenues. In the Kingdom of Guatemala, two smallpox epidemics, drought, and locust plagues contributed to a scarcity of agricultural and livestock production. The slowly increasing population gradually increased demand on food supplies. Complaints about rising food prices in

Comayagua and the implementation of price controls in Guatemala in 1802 indicate that inflation was deemed a serious problem. It is doubtful that a fifty per cent increase in tithe revenues from the mid-1770s to the early 1820s significantly improved the financial condition of the upper clergy during the course of the Bourbon period.¹⁸

The Bourbon period, 1700-1821, brought to Spain its dedication to a replication of the dreams of Louis XIV of France. Thus, there was a century and a quarter of reorganization for an effective personalist absolutism and the drive to return Spain to major power status. These goals were sought by a realignment of diplomatic ties, a commitment to what is now called economic developmentalism, and an effort to recast the style of society without the disruption of the social order. The modernization drive was destroyed by a series of disasters from 1795 to 1820. In the 1820s Spain was a nation "casi desprovisto de todo" except for the will to survive. All institutions and groupings of people in Spain and its empire were affected by the Bourbon design and its collapse.

Ecclesiastical poverty in Honduras in the Bourbon period had several broad implications for the quality and quantity of influence of the Church as a viable institution. The poverty of the diocese of Comayagua, co-terminus with the province of Honduras, was a direct reflection of both the economic conditions of the general population and of the reluctance to pay taxes or obligatory contributions, such as the tithe or first fruits, which were supposed to provide support for the Church and the diocesan clergy. Although it would be easy to

assume that the bishops appointed to serve the diocese of Comayagua were the inferior clerics of the Spanish peninsular or New World ecclesiastical institution, this assumption is simply not true. Five of the eleven bishops were transferred to the bishoprics of Guadalajara, Oaxaca, Santo Domingo, Durango, and Michoacán. For example Bishop Antonio de San Miguel Iglesias, who was appointed to diocese of Michoacán, New Spain, after serving in Honduras, emerged as one of the most talented episcopal appointees of Charles III. His prolific and perceptive agrarian and social writings, his accomplishments in building major public works, his Indian policy, and his years as the mentor of the reknowned Manuel Abad y Queipo, distinguish him as one of the salient figures of the colonial period in Spanish America. His policies in Honduras and his writings in Michoacán link him to the emergence of anti-clerical Liberalism in Central America. He was the intellectual precursor of Liberalism which was further developed by José María Luís Mora in post-Independence Mexico. While serving in the capacity of Bishop of Comayagua, however, ecclesiastical poverty limited his ability to carry out his functions as he would have desired. Local parish priests were dependent upon parochial fees and contributions from brotherhoods for much of their financial support. The cathedral chapter successfully resisted sharing the tithe income with the parish clergy as directed by the Ordenanza de Intendentes of 1786 on the grounds that the salaries of the upper clergy were insufficient. There were no nuns and no nunneries in the diocese of Comayagua. The few friars of the Franciscan Order who served the Indian parishes of Honduras were subject to their superiors in Guatemala and were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Comayagua. The members

of the Order of La Merced were likewise reduced in number and linked administratively to Guatemala. A hospital existed nominally in Comayagua, but for most of the Bourbon period it was without staff and therefore was not functioning. Attempts to establish educational facilities in Comayagua to train future priest were made, but by mid-eighteenth century even the bishops had abandoned the effort. The Society of Jesus [Jesuits] had refused to establish a school in Comayagua in the 1730s because of lack of funds for its continued support. Charles III's expulsion order of 1767 had no effect in Honduras because no Jesuits existed in the province. For a dozen years Charles III relinquished the royal two-ninths of the tithe revenue in order to subsidize the salaries of two additional members of the cathedral chapter. One office was filled for four of the twelve years and the other was never filled. Members of the cathedral chapter bluntly admitted that no ambitious, qualified cleric would apply for these positions. In their view, there was little or no future for career advancement in the bishopric of Comayagua. Members of the cathedral chapter displayed contentious behavior and were often tempted to feud with civil authorities on questions of finances. Some members of the cathedral chapter misused or embezzled ecclesiastical funds to survive or to attempt to maintain an image of a proper standard of living during the absence of a bishop, which was frequent. Others resorted to petty and discriminatory tactics to establish and maintain a cathedral chapter comprised of close friends or relatives. An atmosphere of incessant insecurity contributed to narrow concerns with economic and career self-interest and a rather constricted vision of institutional purpose and religious mission in Honduras. From 1794

to 1821, the episcopacy of Comayagua was vacant in fact, i.e. no bishop had been nominated or no bishop was in residence, for roughly sixty-six per cent of the time. By default, the dean of the cathedral chapter or the provisor took charge of administration of the diocese. The religious functions of the bishop went unfulfilled and the general functioning of the religious side of the Church lost vigor, because, in fact, a parish priest is the agent of the bishop in his parish to fulfill the functions assigned him as the alter ego of the bishop. The impoverished Church in the bishopric of Comayagua was easily attacked and permanently crippled by the Liberal Reforms imposed by Dionisio de Herrera and Francisco Morazán in the early republican period. These important political leaders espoused views strongly influenced by the attitudes of their cattle-raising families in Honduras.

The deep and broad character of Honduras' dependent status in the Bourbon period continued long after the proclamation of Central American Independence in 1821. It is not difficult to speculate that the Republic of Honduras as well as the Church will continue to encounter similar frustrations in the future because of the economic, political, and social ideologies which local, regional, or foreign powers attempt to impose.

Chapter VIII

NOTES

¹Lorenzo Montúfar, Reseña histórica de Centro América (Guatemala: Tipografía de "El Progreso", 1878-1887). A careful study of Montúfar was done by Robert Howard Claxton, "Lorenzo Montúfar: Central American Liberal" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Tulane University, 1970).

²For information relating to the presidency of Marco Aurelio Soto consult Rómulo E. Durón, Bosquejo histórico de Honduras, 2^a ed. (Tegucigalpa: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1956), pp. 279-88; See also Durón's "Apuntes sobre la iglesia hondureña," Revista de la Universidad, Año XV:8 (enero, febrero, y marzo de 1952), 73-76; Durón, Biografía del Doctor Marco Aurelio Soto (Tegucigalpa, 1944). For a view of anti-clerical activities in another Central American country at the end of the nineteenth century see Charles L. Stansifer, "José Santos Zelaya: A New Look at Nicaragua's 'Liberal' Dictator," Revista/Review Interamericana, VII:3 (Fall, 1977), 475-476.

³Montúfar, Reseña histórica de Centro América, IV, p. 217; II, pp. 16-17.

⁴Ibid., IV, p. 219.

⁵Ibid., II, p. 17, 48-49, 102, 209, 220-221; III, pp. 531, 571-572.

⁶Ibid., II, p. 207.

⁷Carta de don Dionisio de Herrera al Padre Márquez, Tegucigalpa, marzo 27 de 1824, published in Revista de la Universidad, Año IV:6 (15 de junio de 1912), 369, "Las libertades salvadoreñas sobre diezmos, etc., y las que nosotros tomamos sobre cofradías, bonzos, etc. han de acabar de ordenar las cosas y harán rebiar a todos los que se mantienen chupando la sangre de los pueblos." See also Archivo de Centro América/ Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (hereinafter cited as AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5470.

⁸See tithe data for the bishopric of Comayagua in the appendices of this study.

⁹An example of the collection of the subsidio eclesiástico may be found in Archivo Nacional de Honduras (hereinafter cited as ANH) Carga del ramo del subsidio eclesiástico, agosto 26 de 1789.

¹⁰This study shows the noveno de consolidación deducted from the tithes for 1816, but it would appear reasonable that the Consolidation Order applied to pious funds and chaplaincies in Honduras in 1806 would also be applied in the same fashion to the tithes.

¹¹AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 222, Exp. 2330.

¹²Refer to chart titled Tithe Income In The Bishopric of Comayagua: The Crown's Share in the appendices.

¹³Ibid., According to this writer's calculation the exact figure is 58.973 per cent.

¹⁴Refer to chart titled Tithe Income In The Bishopric Of Comayagua in appendices.

¹⁵Compare tithe revenues of the bishopric of Comayagua and the bishopric of Chiapas for the Bourbon period.

¹⁶Refer to chart titled Tithe Income In The Bishopric of Comayagua in appendices.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Maurice Philip Brungardt, "Tithe Production and Patterns of Economic Change in Central Colombia, 1764-1833" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Texas, 1974), 30, makes the following observation: "A growth in tithe production may indicate, among other things, an increase in population that has raised agricultural production, an inflationary change in prices, or the creation of a market for an export commodity like sugar, cacao, tobacco, hides, or livestock, or a shift in the composition of the farm output. Secondly, tithe production may reveal periodic fluctuations in the economy that are related to similar cyclical fluctuations like the weather or the harsh realities of population growth and decline in pre-industrial societies. Thirdly, the tithes may manifest random and accidental fluctuations that are the product of catastrophic events such as wars, revolutions, floods, plagues, or earthquakes."

¹⁹For a perspective from the political science point of view consult James A. Morris and Steve C. Ropp, "Corporatism and Dependent Development: A Honduran Case Study," Latin American Research Review, 12:2 (1977), 27-68; Robert A. White, "Structural Factors in Rural Development: The Church and the Peasant in Honduras" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1976). See also Lynda Schuster, "How a Bank Collapsed and Badly Damaged Honduras' Economy." The Wall Street Journal, LXVIII:102 (Monday, November 23, 1981)., 1 & 14, "Honduras is a good example of how terribly dependent many small, developing nations are on foreign lending." The previous quote is from Michael Conroy, professor of economics, University of Texas, Austin.

GLOSSARY OF SPANISH TERMS

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. ahijados | avored ones; cronies; lackeys |
| 2. alcabala | sales tax |
| 3. alcalde | magistrate; justice of the peace; mayor of a city or chairman of a town council called a cabildo or ayuntamiento |
| 4. alcalde mayor | local administrative and judicial official; governor of a province called a alcaldía mayor; comparable to the office of corregidor; a juez de letras. |
| 5. apoderado | representative; attorney |
| 6. arancel | fee list describing allowable payments for baptismal, marriage, and funeral services; any fee list authorized by the crown and Church. |
| 7. arcediano | archdeacon; a member of the upper clergy; a member of the cathedral chapter |
| 8. asesor | adviser; consultant; usually a legal adviser |
| 9. asesor general | professional legal adviser attached to the Audiencia |
| 10. Audiencia | appellate court with legislative and administrative functions such as reviewing the acts of the Viceroy or Captain-General, the acts of the president of the audiencia; a high court and its territorial jurisdiction. |
| 11. ayuda de costa | financial assistance; funds to help cover costs of assuming office |
| 12. ayuntamiento | municipal corporation sometimes called cabildo. |
| 13. beneficios | usually means benefice; an ecclesiastical living; sometimes refers to an inventory or storage charge. |
| 14. cabildo | municipal corporation; town council |
| 15. cajas de comunidad | community treasury, community funds |

16. caja de guerra defense coffers; royal treasury
defense fund
17. caja real strong box, heavily bound with iron and
provided with three or more different
locks where subtreasury monies were
deposited. Each official real had a
different key.
18. canónigo magistral member of a cathedral chapter in well-
staffed bishoprics
19. cantores singers
20. capellanías a chantry; a private ecclesiastical
benefice with the obligation of ful-
filling stipulated spiritual duties,
usually the saying of masses for the
soul of the deceased benefactor. Funds
invested to support such foundations
were later affected by the Order of
Consolidation of 1804.
21. Casa de Contratación House of Trade located in Sevilla and
later in Cádiz; Board of Trade which
administered economic relations between
Spain and her colonies. "The earliest
institution in Spain created specifi-
cally for the governance of the Ameri-
can empire." Originally planned to be
a private trading house of the crown,
it eventually "emerged as a government
bureau, licensing and supervising all
ships and merchants, passengers and
goods, crews, and equipment, passing to
and from the Indies, and enforcing all
the laws and ordinances relating thereto."
22. Casa de Rescate Royal assay office, depository for silver
and gold
23. castas castes; term for persons of mixed blood
of different races
24. cédulas slips of paper; a real cédula was a
royal decree
25. cera de castilla high quality wax which was clean burn-
ing
26. cera de la tierra resin based wax which emitted black
smoke and sparks

27. cofradías brotherhoods; parish confraternity dedicated to charitable works
28. Consejo de Indias Council of the Indies; council which advised the Hapsburg crown and which had a changed function under the Bourbons
29. contador comptroller; accountant and auditor in the colonial exchequer
30. contador de diezmos tithe accountant
31. contaduría de diezmos general accounting office for tithes
32. Contaduría general de la distribución de la Real Hacienda general accounting office for the Indies, located in Spain
33. contaduría principal main accounting office
34. Contaduría principal de la Casa de Contratación de las Indias general accounting office of the House of Trade
35. conventos a friary where friars resided; a nunnery where nuns lived.
36. copón cibarium
37. corregidores A corregidor was a governor of a province called a corregimiento; provincial official with administrative and judicial authority, subordinate to the captain-general or Viceroy and to the audiencia of his district.
38. corregimientos A corregimiento was a province under the jurisdiction of a corregidor.
39. cuadrante a chart; an account chart
40. cura parroco parish priest
41. curatos a curato was a curacy; a parish district
42. chantre one of the members of the upper clergy in the cathedral chapter.
43. chilate a drink made of sweet chocolate and fermented corn

44. deán dean; most prestigious member of the cathedral chapter
45. dignidades dignitary; usually the members of the upper clergy who comprised the cathedral chapter.
46. doctoral a prebend who held a position with less prestige in the cathedral chapter
47. doctrinas a pre-secularized Indian parish
48. doctrineros priest in charge of an Indian parish
49. dominios particulares pertaining to private property rather than property of corporate organizations
50. donativos patrióticos patriotic contributions
51. encomenderos persons who were granted encomiendas
52. encomiendas an institution which originated in the reconquest of Spain. In the Indies the grant of authority over a group of Indians which carried the obligation to Christianize and protect them in exchange for tribute and/or labor.
53. escribano real royal notary
54. excomunion cum partici-
partibus excommunication
55. excusado tithe revenues from the second largest farm or a percentage of the tithes, eg. five per cent.
56. fábrica Church building and supply account
57. factor business manager for the royal treasury
58. fanega a measurement for grain; in Spain, 1.58 bushels; in Mexico, 2.57 bushels; in Argentina 3.89 bushels.
59. fiador a bondsman; a person who co-signed documents to guarantee payment in case of default
60. fianza the document of financial security
61. finca farm; small agricultural estate

62. fiscal a legal adviser in the Audiencia; a royal official representing the crown with the duty of advising the Audiencia in preparing legislation and making judicial decisions; also a prosecuting attorney in the Audiencia; the official who accepted responsibility for protecting the Indians' rights.
63. fondo de propios municipal treasury
64. fuero the privilege of being tried in a particular tribunal; also the particular tribunal or area of jurisdiction; privilege or exemption given to a community or to a group or class; privileges or charter rights of a regional or corporate character.
65. fuero común the rights which the common citizen enjoyed in the municipality
66. gobernador A gobernador was the administrative and judicial officer in charge of a gobierno. An approximate status of the alcalde mayor and the corregidor. The Captain General was also the Gobernador, the administrator, of the Kingdom.
67. gobierno a gobierno was the jurisdiction administered by a gobernador.
68. holgazanería laziness; a pejorative term frequently used by European officials and clergy who were frustrated with local populations who did not do what the former planned for them.
69. intendencia an administrative jurisdiction established after the French pattern during the reign of Charles III
70. jueces hacedores two canons of the cathedral chapter who participated in the tithe administration; the members of the cathedral chapter who were also members of the Real Junta de Diezmos.
70. jueces reales royal judicial officials
71. juez metropolitano an ecclesiastical judge, usually a member of the cathedral chapter in the archbishopric, eg. Guatemala

72. juez oficial real royal judicial official
73. juez pesquisidor special investigator with judicial powers to settle extraordinary disorders
74. Junta Suprema Central Gubernativa de España e Indias Ad hoc representative body or committee comprised of members from provincial juntas in Spain following the capture of Ferdinand VII and the abdication of the Spanish crown to José, the brother of Napoleon. Appointments made by the Junta Central were usually annulled by Ferdinand VII when he reassumed power in 1814.
75. justicia mayor presiding officer of a cabildo; at times the governor's deputy could serve in this function; may also refer to oidores of the Audiencia
76. Juzgado de Haceruría judicial body comprised of ecclesiastics who were jueces hacedores, that is, members of a cathedral chapter with jurisdiction over the collection and distribution of tithes
77. ladinos a person, usually of indigenous background, who acted and dressed like a European, a latino
78. maestrescuela chancellor of the cathedral chapter; the canon who oversaw the education of young clerics attached to the cathedral
79. maestro de teología theologian; teacher of theology
80. mayordomos terms used for administrators of estates, cofradía, conventos, etc.
81. media anata the payment of one-half a year's salary to the crown for the privilege of receiving an appointment
82. mesada the payment of one month's salary to the crown for the privilege of receiving an appointment
83. municipios district comprising the jurisdiction of the regidores and the ayuntamientos
84. niños y niñas de la doctrina orphans

85. noveno de la consolidación the ninth, 11.1 per cent, which was deducted from the tithe revenues before any funds were distributed to interested parties.
86. noveno y medio de fábrica the one and one-half ninth deducted from the tithe revenue for Church building and supply funds
87. noveno y medio de hospital the one and one-half ninth deducted from the tithe revenue for the support of the hospital
88. novenos after the bishop and the cathedral chapter were provided fifty per cent of the tithe income, the remaining fifty per cent was divided into ninths
89. novenos beneficiales the four-ninths of fifty per cent of the tithe revenues which was supposed to benefit the parish clergy. In Honduras the parish clergy did not enjoy this share of the tithe distribution.
90. novenos reales the two-ninths of fifty per cent of the tithe income which reverted to the royal treasury. This royal claim allowed the crown the right to supervise the entire tithe system and to demand strict accounting of funds.
91. obispo auxiliar auxiliary bishop
92. obras pías pious works; foundations
93. oficiales reales royal treasury officials
94. oficios offices, positions
95. oidor appellate judge; member of an Audiencia (oír = to hear; literally, one who hears.)
96. oposición competitive examinations for positions
97. Ordenanza de Intendentes Ordinance for Intendents, 400 printed pages of administrative code for the colonies which remained in force until the end of the Spanish empire in America
98. Ordinario Ordinary, the bishop, the prelate, leader of the secular or diocesan Church

99.	padrones	parish registers
100.	parroquia	parish district
101.	partido	a jurisdiction which included usually several towns
102.	pase regio	royal authorization for the publication of a papal rescript
103.	penitenciario	member of the cathedral chapter who assisted the bishop with the ministry of confession
104.	peso	1 peso = 4 shillings sterling circa 1780. 1 peso = 2 tostones = 8 reales = 272 maravedis = 27,200 centavos
105.	postor	bidder
106.	posturas	bids
107.	prebendas de oposici6n	prebends which included the penitenciario and the doctrinero
108.	presidente	President of the Audiencia; the Captain-General was also the Gobernador and President of the Audiencia
109.	primicia	first fruits; the contribution of the first, biggest, and best product of the harvest. Also included livestock production.
110.	procurador	attorney
111.	provisor, vicario general, gobernador del cabildo eclesiástico	usually was the dean of the cathedral chapter who administered the diocese in the absence of a bishop
112.	quinto real	royal fifth; twenty per cent tax levied on mineral production
113.	real acuerdo	term used for legislation promulgated by the Audiencia
114.	real auxilio de la fuerza	judicial procedure removing a case from ecclesiastical jurisdiction and placing it under civil jurisdiction
115.	real cédula	royal decree
116.	real factoría de tabacos	royal tobacco monopoly

117. Real Hacienda royal treasury; often used as a generic term
118. Real junta de diezmos royal tithe committee
119. Real junta de hacienda royal treasury committee
120. Real junta superior de guerra royal defense committee or council in the capital city
121. Real orden term used for legislation promulgated by the Audiencia
122. Real Patronato royal patronage of the Church in the Indies involved the rights of presentation and supervision of the Church's administration along with the responsibility to provide material support and protection
123. Real provisión decree issued by an Audiencia with the legal force of a royal cédula
124. Recopilación de las Leyes de las Indias Compilation of decrees issued for the Indies in systematic form. First published in 1680-1681
125. recurso de fuerza transfer of case in the jurisdiction of the Church to the jurisdiction of the civil courts. Same as real auxilio de la fuerza
126. regidores municipal alderman or member of the municipal corporation, ayuntamiento, or cabildo
127. Reino de Guatemala Kingdom of Guatemala
128. remate de diezmos tithe auction; refers to sale of tithe farm districts
129. resagos uncollected amounts of tithe revenue
130. residencia judicial hearing or review of an official's conduct at the end of his term of office
131. sacristán caretaker of the church building
132. Siete Partidas legal code promulgated by Alfonso X el Sabio (1252-1284) of Spain
133. sínodo a royal stipend to help support clergy in missionary activities

134. subdelegado de intendentes deputy of the intendant; an official with judicial and administrative authority in charge of a subdivision of an intendency
135. tesorero treasurer
136. tostones 1 toston = $\frac{1}{2}$ peso
137. trapiche mill; usually a sugar mill
138. Tribunal de Cuentas a tribunal in the capital comprised of the Captain-General, an oidor, and other royal treasury officials which dealt with financial issues at the highest level in the Kingdom
139. tributo tribute; usually paid by Indians in non-secularized doctrinas
140. vacantes vacancies
141. vacantes mayores vacancies created by the absence of highly paid crown appointees; this meant, of course, the availability of royal funds which could be used with wider discretion by authorities
142. vecino a leading, respectable citizen of the municipio, presumably of Spanish descent; the owner of property; when towns were first founded, land was distributed among its first dwellers or vecinos; the status also conferred municipal rights; not all inhabitants of a municipio were vecinos
143. yuca yucca

APPENDICES

APPENDICESBISHOPS AND TITHES: AN EXPLANATION

The appendices of this dissertation consist of charts pertaining to the bishops of Comayagua [Honduras] and to tithe data of the bishoprics of the Kingdom of Guatemala, New Spain, Chile, and Cuba during the Bourbon period.

Chart I consists of the list of eleven bishops who served Comayagua during the period 1700-1821. The list also identifies the prelates as either peninsulares or creoles, regular or secular clergy, the dates between royal appointment and termination of service, and the dates the bishops arrived in Central America to the time of their transfer or death. In this last category the time certain bishops resided in Guatemala is not specified. Refer to Chapters II, III, and IV for specific information. Some bishops did not depart Comayagua until a few weeks after their official transfer which meant that in some cases a new year had already begun. Two bishops, Miguel Anselmo Álvarez de Abreu and José Antonio de Isabella, previously included in some accounts, have been excluded because tithe records show that they never took possession.

The appendices include four sets of tithe charts pertaining to tithe collection and distribution in the bishopric of Comayagua during the Bourbon period. Chart II: A provides total tithe yield amounts for available years in the period 1700-1821. Also included are the amounts allocated to (but, not necessarily received by) the bishops and the percentages these amounts comprised of the total tithe

income for the diocese of Comayagua. The first column allows one to trace the increase in tithe revenues during the Bourbon period. The column comprising the bishop's share indicates the period during which the Church no longer was dependent upon royal revenues for subsistence. This is the first time that such a list for Comayagua has been compiled from archival sources in Guatemala and Honduras. The source of each year's data is specifically identified in the footnotes following this section. The writer has additional detailed information for available years which has not been included in this study because of space limitations.

Chart II: B portrays the crown's share of the tithe income and the percentages which these amounts comprised of the total tithe yields for available years. These figures substantiate that the tithes in Honduras were not designated solely for ecclesiastical purposes. Sixty per cent of the tithe income reverted to the civil treasury in 1821.

Chart II: C provides information regarding the origin of the tithes in the first half of the eighteenth century before the reform in administration and accounting of the tithes was accomplished by Antonio López de Guadalupe Portillo and the Bourbon crown.

Chart II: D provides a detailed view of tithe distribution in 1821, including the collection of the *noveno de consolidación* and the *excusado*. Since this tithe distribution chart or *cuadrante* was assembled after Independence was achieved it will be noticed that the new republic claimed the former royal rights to the crown's share of the tithe revenues.

Chart III contains tithe data from 1553-1820 pertaining to the (arch)bishopric of Guatemala which included the territory of Guatemala and San Salvador. Much of this information has been previously published, but data for some years has not been available previously.

Chart IV provides tithe data for the bishopric of León which included the territory of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The material is derived from two sources: Sofonías Salvatierra and documents from the Archivo de Centro América/ Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (AGGG). The Nicaraguan historian's figures closely parallel amounts this writer has found in the archival documents.

Chart V contains tithe data for the bishopric of Chiapas which was subject to the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Guatemala in the colonial era. Some still incorrectly include Chiapas with Mexico's statistics for this period. This information was gleaned by the author from the Archivo de Centro América/ Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (AGGG) in Guatemala City. Herbert Klein generously provided data for some years. To this writer's knowledge, this material has not been previously available to scholars.

Chart VI includes three sets of tithe data pertaining to New Spain [Mexico] for the Bourbon period. Chart VI: A offers the data published by Alexander von Humboldt. Chart VI: B provides data accumulated by Michael P. Costeloe, Henry George Ward, and Woodrow Borah for the archdiocese of Mexico, Michoacán, and Oaxaca respectively. Chart VI: C contains tithe data for New Spain which has been published previously by Enrique Florescano for the period 1770-1790.

Chart VII provides tithe yields for three bishoprics in Chile for the period 1681-1830 which have been collected and assembled by Marcello Carmagnani. Chart VIII contains tithe data for the period 1789-1799 for the bishopric of Havana [Cuba] which was published in the Gazeta de Guatemala in 1799.

Although these few pages of condensed tithe data have been placed in the appendices section, this writer does not wish to understate their relevance to the development of this study of a bishopric in colonial Central America. First, a significant part of the data included is available to scholars for the first time. Second, this writer has a firm appreciation of the effort and time which previous researchers exerted in sifting through voluminous legajos, recording data carefully, and then compiling useful charts.

I

BISHOPS OF COMAYAGUA

1700-1821

1. Juan Pérez Carpintero
 - a. Peninsular
 - b. Regular: Premonstratensian
 - c. Term: 1700-1724
 - d. Actual service: 1703-May 12, 1724

2. Antonio López de Guadalupe Portillo
 - a. Creole
 - b. Regular: Franciscan
 - c. Term: 1725-1742
 - d. Actual service: April 28, 1729-January 6, 1742

3. Francisco Molina
 - a. Peninsular
 - b. Regular: Order of St. Basil
 - c. Term: 1743-1749 ?
 - d. Actual Service: November 6, 1745-1749 ?

4. Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco
 - a. Creole
 - b. Secular
 - c. Term: 1750-1763
 - d. Actual service: 1751-1763

5. Isidoro Rodríguez Lorenzo
 - a. Peninsular
 - b. Regular: Order of St. Basil
 - c. Term: 1764-1767
 - d. Actual service: 1765-1767

6. Antonio Macaruya Minguilla de Aguilanín
 - a. Peninsular
 - b. Secular
 - c. Term: 1767-1772
 - d. Actual service: 1769-1772

7. Francisco José de Palencia
 - a. Peninsular
 - b. Secular
 - c. Term: 1773-1776
 - d. Actual service: 1773-February, 1776

8. Antonio de San Miguel Iglesias
 - a. Peninsular
 - b. Regular: Hieronymite
 - c. Term: 1776-1783
 - d. Actual service: February 17, 1777-March, 1784

9. Fernando Cadiñanos
 - a. Peninsular
 - b. Regular: Franciscan
 - c. Term: 1788-1794
 - d. Actual service: December, 1788 ?-February 26, 1794

10. Vicente de Navas González Sampayo
 - a. Peninsular
 - b. Regular: Dominican
 - c. Term: 1795-1809
 - d. Actual service: August 15, 1802-May 9, 1809

11. Manuel Julian Rodríguez del Barranco
 - a. Peninsular
 - b. Secular
 - c. Term: 1809-1820
 - d. Actual Service: 1810-May 13, 1820
(consult text for periods bishops resided in Guatemala City after they had assumed the episcopacy)

II:A

TITHE INCOME IN THE BISHOPRIC OF COMAYAGUA

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>GROSS INCOME</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>BISHOP'S SHARE</u>	<u>% GROSS</u>	<u>% NET</u>
1830*	8,441-3-27-11				
1826	7,503-3-22-58	7,128-2-09-56			
	20,395-2-10-51				
1822	18,128-7-24-25	17,222-4-04-34			
	20,835-2-05-08				
1821	18,520-4-09-85	17,594-0-13-86			
1817	32,920-0-17	27,799-0-17	6,597-3-21-25	20.040	23.733
1816	28,718-3-08-50	24,251-2-00	5,745-6-17	20.008	23.692
1805	32,253-0-00	27,235-7-00	6,462-0-08-50	20.035	23.726
1800x	20,266-7-01-16	19,633-4-09-61			
1800y	22,477-3-14-16	21,353-4-15-58			
1799	22,475-0-00	21,351-2-00			
1792	25,909-2-07	23,838-1-05			
1791	19,601-4-20-84	18,621-4-08-80			
1788	19,101-0-00				
1787	19,000-0-00	18,050-0-00	4,062-4-00	21.381	22.506
1786	19,000-0-00	18,050-0-00	4,011-0-28	21.111	22.222
1785	19,000-0-00	18,050-0-00	4,146-2-00	21.822	22.970
1784	18,025-0-00	17,123-6-00	3,903-3-00	21.655	22.795
1783	18,135-0-00	17,228-2-00	4,177-6-17	23.037	24.250
1782	18,025-0-00	17,123-6-00	4,152-4-00	23.037	24.250
1781	17,036-2-00	16,184-3-17			
1780	16,903-6-00	16,058-4-17			
1779	16,903-6-17	16,508-4-33-15	3,894-2-00	23.038	24.250
1778	16,181-2-00	15,372-1-17	3,727-6-17	23.038	24.250
1777a	16,758-3-00	15,920-3-22-10	3,860-6-00	23.038	24.250
1777b	16,353-0-00	15,292-0-17	3,708-3-00	22.677	24.250
1776a	708-2-17	672-7-17	163-2-00	23.052	24.259
1776b	14,952-1-00	14,084-5-00	3,415-4-25-50	22.997	24.250
1775a	1,807-2-00	1,716-6-17	416-2-17	23.093	24.241
1775b	12,635-0-00	12,003-2-00	2,890-7-03	22.872	24.078
1775c	4,362-3-00	3,922-7-17	903-5-00	20.714	24.240

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>GROSS INCOME</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>BISHOP'S SHARE</u>	<u>% GROSS</u>	<u>% NET</u>
1774	12,801-0-00	12,143-4-30-60	3,035-6-33-15	23.715	24.999
1773	12,160-0-00	11,552-0-00	2,870-4-00	23.606	24.849
1772	12,255-4-00	11,642-5-27	3,907-0-23	31.880	33.560
1771	11,650-0-00	11,067-4-00	3,699-2-28	31.754	33.425
1770	10,935-0-00	10,388-2-00	3,452-1-00	31.569	33.231
1769	10,625-0-00	10,093-6-00			
1768	10,010-0-00	9,509-4-00			
1767	10,475-0-00	9,952-0-00	3,294-2-19	31.449	33.102
1766			3,508-0-00		
1760	7,000-0-00	6,650-0-00	2,114-3-15-50	30.206	31.796
1757	6,586-0-00	6,256-5-11-33	2,257-4-07	34.278	36.084
1756	6,234-0-00	5,922-2-16-50	2,036-6-08	32.672	34.392
1755	6,586-0-00	6,256-5-11-33	2,257-4-07	34.278	36.084
1754	6,812-4-00	6,471-7-00	2,235-1-21-33	32.811	34.538
1753	6,137-4-00	5,830-5-00	2,003-5-14	32.646	34.365
1752	4,775-0-00	4,536-2-00	1,838-1-30	38.497	40.532
1746	5,225-0-00	4,963-6-00	1,840-1-30	34.530	36.349
1742	5,150-0-00	4,892-4-00	1,840-1-30	35.733	37.613
1739	4,340-0-00		1,840-1-30	42.402	
1738	5,450-0-00		1,840-1-30	33.766	
1737	4,512-4-00		1,840-1-30	40.781	
1736	2,640-0-00		1,840-1-30	69.706	
1735	3,097-4-00		1,840-1-30	59.410	
1723	2,210-0-00		1,838-1-30	83.181	
1722	2,210-0-00		1,838-1-30	83.181	
1721	2,210-0-00		1,838-1-30	83.181	
1720	2,216-0-00		1,838-1-30	82.953	
1719	2,146-0-00		1,838-1-30	85.6586	
1646	2,150-0-00				

PESOS
 REALES
 MARAVEDIS
 CENIAVOS

TITHE INCOME IN THE BISHOPRIC OF COMAYAGUATHE CROWN'S SHARE

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CROWN'S SHARE</u>	<u>% OF GROSS TITHE INCOME</u>
1821	19,413-7-29-75	58.973
1817	11,314-7-00	39.399
1816	12,804-0-25-50	39.699 (Noveno de consolidación since 1806)
1788	4,975-2-21-50	26.186
1787	8,198-2-23	43.149
1786	8,386-4-00	44.139
1785	8,282-7-00	45.952 (Subsidio eclesiástico until 1788)
1784	9,520-4-00	52.495
1783	6,419-4-13	35.615
1780	3,186-0-00	18.848
1779	3,557-5-17	21.986
1778	2,419-0-00	14.435
1777a	2,369-0-00	14.487
1777b	130-7-00	18.477
1776a	6,154-1-08-50	41.159
1776b	333-6-17	18.471
1775a	2,318-0-17-80	18.346
1775b	724-5-17	16.612
1774	2,290-3-17-48	17.893
1773	2,783-5-05	22.892
1772	2,950-4-19	24.075
1771	2,149-0-27	18.447
1770	2,710-2-30-50	24.786
1767	2,620-6-22	25.020
1760	1,716-0-01-80	24.514
1757	1,558-2-04	23.660
1756	1,469-0-30	23.566
1755	1,558-2-04	23.660
1754	1,615-5-07-75	23.716
1753	1,444-5-07	23.540 (Nov. y medio de hosp. first year)
1752	538-3-22	11.277
1746	1,030-2-22	19.720
1742	2,701-6-06-66	52.462

ORIGIN OF TITHES IN THE BISHOPRIC OF COMAYAGUA: 1715-1746

<u>PARTIDO</u>	<u>1715</u>	<u>1717</u>	<u>1718</u>	<u>1719</u>	
1. REAL DE MINAS DE TEGUCIGALPA		2,551-1-08	247-0-00	1,260-0-00	
2. COMAYAGUA	212-0-00			840-0-00	
3. GRACIAS A DIOS		1,250-0-00		800-0-00	
4. SAN PEDRO SULA		1,550-0-00		650-0-00	
5. OLANCHO VIEJO		1,490-3-22		700-0-00	
6. CHOLUTECA		620-0-00			
7. RIO DE ULUA		339-2-17			
8. OPOA, CERQUIN					
	TOSTONES	212-0-00	7,800-7-23	247-0-00	4,292-0-00
	PESOS	106-0-00	3,900-3-28-50	123-4-00	2,146-0-00
	<u>1720</u>	<u>1721</u>	<u>1722</u>	<u>1723</u>	<u>1724</u>
1.	1,260-0-00		2,409-4-00	1,800-0-00	
2.	840-0-00		800-0-00	1,100-0-00	
3.	870-0-00		950-0-00	800-0-00	
4.	650-0-00	600-0-00	430-0-00	470-0-00	500-0-00
5.	700-0-00	750-0-00	625-0-00	1,400-0-00	
6.			800-0-00	600-0-00	
7.					
8.			128-0-17		
	4,432-0-00	1,350-0-00	5,342-0-00	6,170-0-00	500-0-00
	2,216-0-00	675-0-00	2,671-2-08-50	3,085-0-00	250-0-00

	<u>1727</u>	<u>1728</u>	<u>1729</u>	<u>1730</u>
1.				1,400-0-00
2.				1,600-0-00
3.			683-2-23	692-0-00
4.				546-1-00
5.	921-0-00	450-0-00	610-0-00	400-0-00
6.				550-0-00
7.				
8.				
	921-0-00	450-0-00	1,293-2-23	5,188-0-00
	460-4-00	225-0-00	646-3-11-50	2,594-0-00

	<u>1731</u>	<u>1742</u>	<u>1746</u>
1.	800-0-00	2,000-0-00	2,700-0-00
2.	2,300-0-00	650-0-00	500-0-00
3.	2,000-0-00	650-0-00	312-4-00
4.	700-0-00	500-0-00	700-0-00
5.	1,500-0-00	800-0-00	412-4-00
6.	1,660-0-00	550-0-00	600-0-00
7.			
8.			
	8,960-0-00		
	4,480-0-00	5,150-0-00	5,225-0-00

CUADRANTE DE LA GRUESA DE DIEZMOS
DEL OBISPADO DE COMAYAGUA DEL AÑO 1821

	<u>PESOS</u>	<u>REALES</u>
Gruesa total de la masa	32,920	1/2
Se rebaja del Noveno de consolidación	3,657	6
	<u>29,262</u>	<u>2 1/2</u>
Se reduce la casa del Excusado	1,463	2
Líquido para dividir	<u>27,799</u>	<u>1/2</u>
A la Quarta Episcopal	6,949	6 1/8
A la Capitular	6,949	6 1/8
Los dos Novenos Nacionales	3,088	6 1/2
Noveno y medio de Fábrica	2,316	4 1/2
Noveno y medio de Hospital	2,316	4 1/2
Cuatro Novenos Beneficiales	6,177	4 3/4
	<u>27,799</u>	<u>1/2</u>
Quarta Episcopal. En la Gruesa	6,949	6 1/8
Gastos..... 148 2 1/2		
Colegio..... 204	352	2 1/2
	<u>6,597</u>	<u>3 5/8</u>
Quarta Capitular. En la Gruesa	6,949	6 1/8
Gastos..... 148 2 1/2		
Colegio..... 204	352	2 1/2
	<u>6,597</u>	<u>3 5/8</u>
Hospital. En la Gruesa	2,316	4 1/2
Gastos..... 49 3 1/2		
Colegio..... 68	117	3 1/2
	<u>2,199</u>	<u>1</u>
Fábrica. En la Gruesa.....	2,316	4 1/2
Excusado.....	1,463	2
Gastos.....	49	3 1/2
Colegio.....	111	7 1/2
	<u>161</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>3,618</u>	<u>3 1/2</u>
Novenos En la Gruesa.....	6,177	4 3/4
Benefi- Gastos.....	131	6
ciales Colegio.....	181	2 1/2
Ministros de Erección	882	5
Misas.....	726	4
	<u>1,922</u>	<u>1 1/2</u>
	<u>4,255</u>	<u>3 1/4</u>

Gastos	4 ^a Episcopal	148	2 1/2
	4 ^a Capitular	148	2 1/2
A los Sres Hacedores.. 80	Hospital	49	3 1/2
A los Claveros247 2	Fábrica	49	3 1/2
Al Contador.....200	Novenos Beneficiales	131	6
	<u>527 2</u>	<u>527</u>	<u>2</u>
Colegio Seminario	En la 4 ^a Episcopal	204	
	En la Capitular	204	
	En la Hospital	68	
	En la Fábrica	111	7 1/2
	En Novenos Beneficiales	181	2 1/2
		<u>769</u>	<u>2</u>
Mesa Capitular	En la Gruesa.....6,597 3 5/8		
	En los Benefi- ciales..... 4,255 3 1/4	<u>10,852</u>	<u>6 7/8</u>

DIVISIÓN

Al Sor Dean por 15 partes	1,871	1 1/8
Al Sor Arcediano por 13 partes	1,621	5 3/4
Al Sor Chantre por 13 partes	1,621	5 3/4
Al Sor Maestrescuela por 13 partes	1,621	5 3/4
Al Sor Tesorero por 13 partes	1,621	5 3/4
Al Sor Doctoral por 10 partes	1,247	3 3/8
Al Sor Penitenciario por 10 partes	1,247	3 3/8
	<u>10,852</u>	<u>6 7/8</u>
Deanato...Sor D. ⁿ Juan Miguel Fiallos		
Su renta de todo el año	1,871	1 1/8
Por 146 misas @ 1 peso, 4 reales	255	4
	<u>2,126</u>	<u>5 1/8</u>
Arcediano...Por vacante de todo el año	<u>1,621</u>	<u>5 3/4</u>
Chantría...Sor D. ⁿ José Nicolás Iriás		
Su renta de todo el año	1,621	5 3/4
Por 125 misas	187	4
	<u>1,809</u>	<u>1 3/4</u>
Maestre Escolía...Por la vacante por mitad	<u>810</u>	<u>6 7/8</u>
Al Canónigo Int. ^o D. ⁿ José M. ^a S. ⁿ Martín		
Por seis meses que sirvió por Mitad	405	3 7/16
Por 48 Misas	72	
	<u>477</u>	<u>3 7/16</u>
Al Canónigo Int. ^o D. ⁿ José Rafael de Brizo		
Por dos meses q. ^e sirvió la Dignidad antedicha por mitad	135	1 3/16
Por 16 Misas	24	
	<u>159</u>	<u>1 3/16</u>

Al Canónigo Int. ^o D. ⁿ Alvino Lagos Por cuatro meses que sirvió la Mtre. Escolía por mitad			<u>270</u>	<u>2 3/8</u>
Tesorería...Sor. D. ⁿ José Joaq. ⁿ L. Avilés Por su renta de todo el año Por 125 Misas			1,621 187	5 3/4 4
			<u>1,809</u>	<u>1 3/4</u>
Doctoral....Por la vacante de todo el año			<u>1,247</u>	<u>3 3/8</u>
Peniten- ciaríaPor la vacante de todo el año			<u>1,247</u>	<u>3 3/8</u>
Vacantes ...En la Mitra	5,540	7		
En el Arcedianato	1,621	5 3/4		
En la Maestre-Escolía	810	6 7/8		
En la Doctoral	1,247	3 3/8		
En la Penitenciaria	1,247	3 3/8		
			<u>10,468</u>	<u>2 3/8</u>

RESUMEN

Al Yllmo. Sor. D. ⁿ Juan Julian Rodríguez del Barranco por un mes 28 días que obtuvo la Mitra.....	1,056	4 5/8
Hacienda Pública		
Noveno de Consolidación	3,657 6	
En los dos novenos	3,088 6 1/2	
En Hospital	2,199 1	
En Vacantes	10,468 2 3/8	19,413 7 7/8
Sor. Deán D. ⁿ Juan Miguel Fiallos.....	2,126	5 1/8
Sor. Chantre D. ⁿ José Nicolás Irías	1,809	1 3/4
Al P. ^e S. ⁿ Martin en la Maestre-Escolía.....	477	3 7/16
Al P. ^e D. ⁿ Rafael Brizo en la misma.....	159	1 3/16
Al P. ^e D. ⁿ Albino Lagos en la misma.....	270	2 1/4
Sor. Tesorero D. ⁿ José Joaquín L. Avilés.....	1,809	1 3/4
Fábrica.....	3,618	3 1/2
Colegio.....	769	2
Ministros de Erección.....	882	5
Sres. Hacedores.....	80	
Claveros.....	247	2
Contador del Ramo.....	200	
	<u>32,920</u>	<u>1/2</u>

TITHE INCOME IN THE BISHOPRIC OF COMAYAGUA

NOTES

1830: Archivo Nacional de Honduras (hereinafter cited as ANH), Copia del Libro de la Administración de la Tesorería General del Estado en el Año de 1830. * These figures may be incomplete. But, if they are accurate, then the Liberal reform would have set the tithe revenues back to the status of the mid-1760s. The specific details of the Honduran Church after Independence is a worthy topic, but beyond the scope of this study.

1826: ANH, Libro Nacional de la Tesorería General de Comayagua, Estado de Honduras, Año de 1826, 1 Diciembre 1826.

1822: ANH, Libro Nacional de la Tesorería General de Comayagua, Estado de Honduras, 31 Enero 1823.

1821: The 1821 tithe account is located in file boxes of the ANH in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, which contain the original documents copied by the UNESCO microfilming project. Currently the original microfilm negatives are held by the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia in Mexico City, Mexico. The 1821 tithe account is located in Roll 38 of the total of 100 rolls of microfilm of the documents of the Archivo Nacional de Honduras. The document is indexed under item 1596 on p. 126 of Honduras. Guía de los documentos microfotografiados por la Unidad Móvil de Microfilm (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1967).

1817: ANH, Papeles Eclesiásticos, Diezmos; At first, this writer was under the impression that no tithe record of the years 1816-1820 existed because of an explanatory note found in a document of the Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (hereinafter cited as AGGG). Sig.B110.1, Leg.2340, Exp.46966, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 30 Abril 1822, Estado que manifiesta por un quinquenio corrido del año de 1816 al de 1820, los ingresos, salidas, existencias, y faltas de todos los ramos de hacienda para que se administran en las tesorerías comprendidas en el distrito de esta provincia. Nota 5^a states "Por no haberse formado cuadrantes de algunos de los años de este quinquenio en Comayagua y Ciudad Real [Chiapas] no puede saberse con exactitud lo que toca al Herario en los ramos decimales." The 1816, 1817, and 1821 tithe accounts are dated 13 Marzo 1823 and are signed by Juan Garrigo. Juan Garrigo was a borrower of funds from various ecclesiastical accounts in Honduras. AGGG, Sig. A3.7, Leg. 170, Exp. 1620. Consolidación, Contiene 248 ordenes originales importantes, 56,631 pesos introducidos en la arca de Consolidación en Comayagua en distintos años y meses como de ellas consta. 16 Octubre 1807.

1816: ANH, Papeles Eclesiásticos, Diezmos, 13 Marzo 1823

1805: ANH, Libro Real de la Administración de la Intendencia de Comayagua, Paquete 13, Legajo 10, 2 Enero 1806, This document lists the noveno y medio de hospital as 1,636-0-17 after expenses were deducted. See also AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 145, Exp. 1599.

1800x: ANH, Libro de la Administración de las Reales Cajas de la Intendencia de Comayagua, Paquete 12, Legajo 63. These entries for the novenos reales are dated 30 Enero 1805. They are signed by Gaspar Piloña.

1800y: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 145, Exp. 1599, Año 1804

1799: ANH, Libro de la Administración de las Reales Cajas de la Intendencia de Comayagua, Paquete 12, Legajo 63. 30 Enero 1805.

1792: AGGG, Sig. A1.11, Leg. 144, Exp. 1589. This data has been extrapolated from the excusado and the noveno y medio de fábrica amounts.

1791: Gazeta de Guatemala, Tomo VIII (Lunes, 17 Mayo 1802) Num. 259, fol. 119.

1788: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg.22, Exp. 2318.

1787: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg.22, Exp. 2318.

1786: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg.22, Exp. 2318.

1785: AGGG, Sig. A1.11, Leg. 143, Exp. 1584.

1784: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 143, Exp. 1576.

1783: AGGG, Sig. A3.11, Leg. 1306, Exp. 22251.

1782: AGGG, Sig. A1.11, Leg. 143, Exp. 1573 and 1577.

1781: AGGG, Sig. A1.11, Leg. 143, Leg. 1572. This information is extrapolated from the excusado and the noveno y medio de fábrica amounts.

1780: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1779: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1778: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1777: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1776: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1775: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1774: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1773: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1772: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1771: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1770: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1569.

1769: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1563. The tithe income amount has been extrapolated from the excusado and the noveno y medio de fábrica amounts.

1768: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1563. The information has been extrapolated from the excusado and the noveno y medio de fábrica amounts.

1767: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2313.

1766: AGGG, Sig. A1.40, Leg. 1529, Exp. 22292. Isidoro Rodríguez, Bishop of Comayagua, stated "es corta cantidad para mantener la decencia de su Dignidad". 3508 pesos x 30 per cent = 10,524 pesos.

1760: Archivo Eclesiástico de Comayagua (hereinafter cited as AEC), Cuadrante del año de mil setecientos y sesenta de la Gruesa de Diezmos. Uncatalogued.

1757: AEC, Cuadrante del año mil setecientos cincuenta y siete, los Diezmos y su partición. Uncatalogued.

1756: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2311 and Exp. 2312.

1755: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2311 and Exp. 2312.

1754: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2311 and Exp. 2312.

1753: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2311 and Exp. 2312.

1752: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 221, Exp. 2311 and Exp. 2312.

1746: AGGG, Sig. A1.11.32, Leg. 142, Exp. 1557.

1742: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 1761, Exp. 28284.

1739: AGGG, Sig. A1.18.2, Leg. 211, Exp. 5020.

1738: AGGG, Sig. A1.18.2, Leg. 211, Exp. 5020.

1737: AGGG, Sig. A1.18.2, Leg. 211, Exp. 5020.

1736: AGGG, Sig. A1.18.2, Leg. 211, Exp. 5020.

- 1735: AGGG, Sig. A1.18.2, Leg. 211, Exp. 5020.
- 1731: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 53.
- 1730: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 53.
- 1729: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 53.
- 1728: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 53.
- 1727: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 53.
- 1724: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 51, Libro Real de Carga y Data.
- 1723: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 51, Libro Real de Carga y Data.
- 1722: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 51, Libro Real de Carga y Data.
- 1721: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 9, Exp. 51, Libro Real de Carga y Data.
- 1720: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 7, Exp. 43, Folios 1-10.
- 1719: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 7, Exp. 43, Folios 1-10.
- 1718: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 7, Exp. 43, Folios 1-10.
- 1717: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 523, Exp. 5463; Sig. A3.1, Leg. 7, Exp. 37.
- 1716: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 7, Exp. 37. Listed under 1717.
- 1715: AGGG, Sig. A3.1, Leg. 7, Exp. 43, Folios 1-10, Libro de Carga y Data.
- 1646: ANH, Papeles Eclesiásticos, Diezmos, 1646. Of the total of 2,150 pesos, Tegucigalpa contributed 1,325 pesos or approximately sixty-two per cent.

TITHE INCOME(ARCH) BISHOPRIC OF GUATEMALA1553-1820YEAR

1553	41,161 pesos [sic; tostones ?]
1604	22,500
1633	20,000
1644	30,000
1645	30,300
1646	29,500
1647	29,000
1648*	26,555-4-00
1649	27,000
1650	26,300
1651	25,500
1652	26,975
1653	30,000
1654	26,000
1655	25,250
1656*	23,498-4-00
1657*	26,276
1658	25,500
1659	26,500
1660*	25,427-4-00
1661	24,889
1662	25,100
1663	27,000
1664*	22,000
1665	24,000
1668	33,000
1671	25,000
1674	25,050-0-17 (Extrapolated)
1675	28,599-4-23
1676	29,575-2-10
1677	29,575-2-10
1678	32,575-2-03
1679	27,999-2-08
1680	28,644-0-30
1681	28,644-2-16
1682	29,500-2-07
1683	26,694-2-05
1684	24,744-1-27
1685	24,344-1-16
1686	22,839-1-25
1687	24,839-2-04
1688-92	31,438-6-10-58 (Average)
1691x	31,000-0-00
1717	24,192-3-32-28 (Extrapolated)

GUATEMALAYEAR

1750-55	33,936-5-32-48	(Extrapolated)
1768	30,610-3-00	
1778-92	86,140-6-15-50	(Extrapolated)
1788x	90,717-1-00	
1792	84,706-0-00	
1808	109,740-0-00	
1815	83,603-0-00	
1820	131,109-7-33-84	(Extrapolated)

SOURCES: Data for years 1553, 1604, 1633, 1668, 1792, and 1815 were obtained from Rafael Obregón Loria, De nuestra historia patria (San José: Universidad de Costa Rica, 1971), p. 63. Obregón cites Rodrigo Facio, Trayectoria y crisis de la Federación Centroamericana (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1949), p.43. Facio's 1553 figure should possibly read 41,161 tostones or 20,580-4-00. For the years 1644-1665 the tithe data originated in documents in the Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter cited as AGI), L-166-13-III-1666,* Por no haber habido ponedor [sic] competente, la Iglesia tomó en administración los diezmos y libres de costo dieron la cantidad indicada. This material was cited in María Concepción Amerlinck y Assereta, "Las Catedrales de Santiago de Los Caballeros de Guatemala" (Tesis, Universidad Iberoamericana, Escuela de Historia del Arte, Mexico, Septiembre de 1971), p. 49. 1671: AGGG, Sig. Al.10.3, Leg. 4046, Exp. 31255. 1674-1687: AGI, L.166,8-V-1688, cited in Amerlinck, "Las Catedrales de Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala," p.95. 1688-1692: AGGG, Sig. Al.10.3, Leg. 4051, Exp. 31386. 1691x: AGGG, Sig. Al.10.3, Leg. 4051, Exp. 31386. 1717: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 2859, Exp. 41628. 1750-1755: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 2121, Exp. 32069. 1768: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 2121, Exp. 32074, folios 78v, 79r. 1778-1792: Antonio Batres Jauregui, La América Central Ante la Historia (2 vols.; Guatemala: Tipografía Sánchez & De Guise, 1920), II, p. 361. 1788: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 1757, Exp. 28226. 1808: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 1757, Exp. 28248. 1820: AGGG, Sig. B110.1, Leg. 2340, Exp. 46939, Año 1822. The noveno referred to in this document amounted to 13,839-3-00. It is not clear if the noveno represented the royal ninths or the noveno de consolidación, both of which were claimed by the financially embarrassed government. This writer is indebted to Miles Wortman for the 1820 data. In cases where the figures were originally listed in tostones, the author has converted the results to pesos.

IV

TITHE INCOMEBISHOPRIC OF LEON (NICARAGUA)1731-1792

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>ONE YEAR</u>
1731-35	27,517-5-00	5,503-4-27-20
1749-52	31,500-4-17	10,500-1-17
1753-55	41,148-4-17	13,716-1-17
1763-67	104,913-1-08	20,982-5-01-60
1768-72	116,307-5-00	23,261-4-06-80
1773-77	150,093-4-24	30,018-5-25-20
1778-80	98,209-4-24	32,736-4-08
1760		24,764-5-00
1761		26,708-3-00
1762		19,378-2-00
1763		23,994-6-00
1764		18,464-7-00
1765		20,186-1-00
1766		19,143-5-00
1767		21,455-0-00
1768		21,560-0-00

Source: Sofonías Salvatierra, Contribución a la historia de Centro-america (Monografías Documentales) (Managua, Nicaragua: Tipografía Progreso, 1939), II, pp. 90-91.

	<u>4^a EPISCOPAL</u>	<u>ONE YEAR</u>
1747		15,587-6-00
1748		13,293-4-30
1749		12,773-3-29
1756		16,369-6-08-50
1757		18,580-3-00
1770		21,455-4-00
1771		23,432-6-00
1772	6,230-2-17	25,992-0-00
1773	6,279-1-07	25,992-0-00
1776	6,279-1-07	32,736-4-00
1787	7,875-6-29-11	51,551-6-00
1790	7,914-2-31-22	43,070-3-17
1791		42,377-2-00
1792		40,426-4-00

LEON (NICARAGUA)NOTES

This writer considers that Sofonías Salvatierra tried to be faithful to the documents which he consulted. 1747-49, 1756-57: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 2859, Exp. 41634. 1770: AGGG, A3.27, Leg. 163, Exp. 1151. 1771: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 163, Exp. 1154. 1772: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 163, Exp. 1156. 1773: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 163, Exp. 1158. 1776: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 163, Exp. 1160. 1787: AGGG, Sig. A3.271, Leg. 327, Exp. 4316. 1790: AGGG, A3.27, Leg. 163, Exp. 1162. 1791: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 163, Exp. 1162. 1792: AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 163, Exp. 1164. Sources for the Bishop's share for the years 1772-1790 is AGGG, Sig. A3.27, Leg. 163, Exp. 1153.

TITHE INCOMEBISHOPIC OF CHIAPAS1737-1788

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>GROSS AMOUNT</u>	<u>LOC</u>	<u>SIG.</u>	<u>LEG.</u>	<u>EXP.</u>	<u>FOLIO</u>
1737	7,975-1-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	6v
1738	8,296-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	6v
1739	9,483-1-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	6v
1740	8,466-6-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	6v
1741	9,442-1-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	7
1742	9,028-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	7
1743	11,902-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	7
1744	8,728-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	7,7v
1745	10,557-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	7v
1746	9,423-2-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	7v
1747	8,683-6-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	7v
1748	10,533-1-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	7v
1749	8,000-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	8
1750	8,072-6-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	8
1751	8,251-2-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	365	4709	8
1756a	8,845-2-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	322	4260	1
1756b	898-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	322	4260	2
1757	9,177-3-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	322	4260	3
1758	9,738-3-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	322	4260	4
1759a	8,417-7-25-50	AGGG	A3.27.1	322	4260	5
1759b	1,031-4-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	322	4260	6
1760	9,575-5-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	322	4260	7
1761	9,192-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	322	4260	8
1762	10,274-3-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	322	4260	9
1763	10,742-5-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	323	4271	3
1764	9,226-3-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	323	4271	4
1765	10,566-4-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	323	4271	5
1771	11,475-4-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	324	4284	14
	10,545-4-17					
1772	11,225-7-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	324	4287	7
	10,205-7-00					
1773	11,456-5-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	324	4287	12
	10,406-5-17					
1774	12,350-5-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	324	4287	16
	11,715-4-00					
1775	10,825-1-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	324	4287	19
	10,135-1-17					
1776	12,715-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	324	4287	21
	12,315-0-00					
1777	13,140-0-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	324	4286	2
1781	13,778-1-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	327	4315	57v
1782	14,530-2-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	327	4315	57v
1783	14,234-4-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	327	4315	57v

CHIAPAS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>GROSS AMOUNT</u>	<u>LOC</u>	<u>SIG.</u>	<u>LEG.</u>	<u>EXP.</u>	<u>FOLIO</u>
1784	15,022-3-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	327	4315	57v
1785	13,562-1-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	327	4315	57v
1786	9,654-7-17	AGGG	A3.27.1	327	4315	57v
1787	17,665-4-00	AGGG	A3.27.1	327	4315	57v
1788	11,867-4-08-50	AGGG	A3.27.1	327	4315	57v

The author is indebted to Herbert Klein, Columbia University, New York, for tithe data for Chiapas for some years. 1756a, 1756b, 1759a, 1759b reflect the document entries for those years. The two segments should be added to obtain the total for the respective years. The two entries listed for 1771-1776 indicate the gross and the net amounts. Tithe information for the years 1771-1776 can also be found in AGGG, Sig. A3.27.1, Leg. 323, Exp. 4278, folios 1-6.

VI:A

TITHE INCOMENEW SPAINMEXICOINCOME OF BISHOPS OF NEW SPAIN IN 1800

Archbishop of Mexico	130,000	pesos
Bishop of Puebla	110,000	pesos
Bishop of Valladolid, Mich.	100,000	pesos
Bishop of Guadalajara	90,000	pesos
Bishop of Durango	35,000	pesos
Bishop of Monterrey	30,000	pesos
Bishop of Yucatan	20,000	pesos
Bishop of Oaxaca	18,000	pesos
Bishop of Sonora	6,000	pesos

TITHE REVENUES RECEIVED IN SIX DIOCESES IN NEW SPAIN: 1770-1790

<u>DIOCESES</u>	<u>YEARS</u>	<u>TITHES</u>	<u>YEARS</u>	<u>TITHES</u>
Mexico	1771-1780	4,132,630	1781-1790	7,082,879
Puebla	1770-1779	2,965,601	1780-1789	3,508,884
Valladolid de Michoacan	1770-1779	2,710,200	1780-1789	3,239,400
Oaxaca	1771-1780	715,974	1781-1790	863,237
Guadalajara	1771-1780	1,889,724	1781-1790	2,579,108
Durango	1770-1779	943,028	1780-1789	1,080,313

Source: Income of Bishops in New Spain in 1800, Alexander de Humboldt, Ensayo Politico Sobre Nueva España (5 vols.; Paris: Libreria de Lecointe, 1836), I, p. 248 (Lib. II, Cap. vii); Tithes, 1770-1790; II, p. 441 (Lib. IV, Cap. x).

VI:B

TITHE INCOMEMEXICO, MICHOACAN, OAXACA

<u>MEXICO</u>		<u>MICHOACAN</u>		<u>OAXACA</u>	
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
1792	729,719	Pre-1808	500,000 ave.	1792	81,204-1-11
1806-				1797	89,134-1-05
1810	510,081	1826	200,000	1799	94,230-5-07
1816	328,437			1800	102,968-5-02
1817	388,718			1802	90,834-7-01
1818	442,041			1806	67,932-1-11
1819	433,304			1807	105,559-0-11
1820	291,290			1808	116,647-3-11
1821	232,948			1809	97,625-7-04
1822	202,637			1810	82,522-4-00
1823	229,342			1812	76,426-3-00
1824	251,000			1813	45,747-0-04
1825	299,327			1814	44,831-3-03
1826	272,687			1815	72,619-7-07
1827	260,250			1816	58,139-7-01
1828	205,420			1817	75,993-2-11
1829	228,473			1818	54,381-6-11
1830	189,205			1819	65,756-0-03
1831	169,161				
1832	160,475				
1833	132,313				
1834	89,184				
1835	89,333				
1836	39,491				

Source: Archbishopric of Mexico, Michael P. Costeloe, "The Administration, Collection, and Distribution of Tithes in the Archbishopric of Mexico, 1800-1860," The Americas, XXIII (July, 1966), pp. 20-21; Bishopric of Michoacan, Henry George Ward, Mexico in 1827 (2 vols.; London: H. Colburn, 1828), I, p. 335; Bishopric of Oaxaca, Woodrow W. Borah, "Tithe Collection in the Bishopric of Oaxaca, 1601-1867," Hispanic American Historical Review, XXIX (November, 1949), pp. 511-512.

TITHE INCOME COLLECTED IN THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF MEXICO AND IN THE BISHOPRICS OF PUEBLA, VALLADOLID DE
DE MICHOACAN, OAXACA, GUADALAJARA, AND DURANGO: 1770-1790

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MEXICO</u>	<u>PUEBLA</u>	<u>VALLA^D</u>	<u>OAXACA</u>	<u>GUAD^A</u>	<u>DURANGO</u>	<u>TOTALS</u>	<u>SOURCE:</u>
1770		289, 212	253, 000			90, 954	633, 166	"Catorce estados de diezmos de las principales Iglesias de este Reyno y extracción de caudales para Espana e Islas," Cedularios (Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico), Manuscrito 1399, Folios 72-86. Cited in Enrique Florescano, <u>Origen y desarrollo de los problemas agrarios de Mexico, 1500-1821</u> (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1976), p.69.
1771	302, 055	283, 666	283, 000	64, 718	164, 220	96, 193	1, 193, 352	
1772	311, 974	293, 498	265, 700	64, 648	175, 660	86, 514	1, 197, 994	
1773	340, 644	280, 804	276, 600	66, 635	191, 798	96, 174	1, 252, 655	
1774	310, 894	292, 308	278, 000	68, 159	192, 084	100, 360	1, 241, 805	
1775	373, 417	288, 351	250, 000	69, 667	195, 103	86, 949	1, 263, 487	
1776	438, 803	285, 275	264, 300	87, 294	112, 136	94, 894	1, 282, 202	
1777	467, 027	317, 377	265, 400	74, 423	183, 442	89, 661	1, 397, 330	
1778	471, 467	315, 265	291, 200	57, 372	231, 356	98, 878	1, 465, 538	
1779	504, 327	319, 845	283, 000	85, 201	224, 153	102, 391	1, 518, 917	
1780	612, 022	327, 574	307, 200	73, 857	219, 772	102, 225	1, 642, 650	
1781	626, 358	372, 859	292, 700	87, 535	231, 259	117, 572	1, 728, 283	
1782	688, 697	344, 126	299, 400	88, 769	211, 375	104, 783	1, 737, 150	
1783	654, 311	344, 963	324, 200	93, 599	290, 599	112, 812	1, 820, 484	
1784	647, 674	371, 102	308, 300	86, 568	306, 010	104, 791	1, 824, 445	
1785	714, 604	392, 227	227, 000	79, 562	304, 898	107, 416	1, 825, 707	
1786	784, 043	340, 907	330, 100	76, 057	289, 714	113, 655	1, 934, 476	
1787	841, 338	357, 826	359, 200	75, 818	190, 917	106, 023	1, 931, 122	
1788	688, 960	314, 831	342, 400	90, 876	213, 538	103, 707	1, 754, 312	
1789	712, 880	342, 469	348, 900	97, 011	316, 310	100, 329	1, 917, 899	
1790	724, 014			87, 440	228, 492		1, 039, 946	
<hr/>								
	11, 215, 509	6, 474, 482	5, 570, 766	1, 575, 209	4, 472, 836	2, 016, 271	31, 603, 920	

Chart VI:C

TITHE INCOMETITHE YIELDS IN THREE BISHOPRICS OF CHILE

<u>YEARS</u>	<u>SERENA</u>	<u>SANTIAGO</u>	<u>CONCEPCION</u>
1681-1690	14,010	142,390	68,825
1691-1700	24,657	163,748	81,213
1701-1710	31,942	205,041	74,331
1711-1720	27,319	239,215	66,760
1721-1730	31,102	346,007	83,827
1731-1740	30,962	336,040	84,654
1741-1750	43,290	357,398	97,043
1751-1760	44,551	468,463	193,398
1761-1770	41,609	457,071	185,139
1771-1780	36,846	652,146	289,906
1781-1790	34,744	566,712	274,611
1791-1800	50,295	599,461	267,729
1801-1810	76,214	744,601	489,345
1811-1820	89,644	834,405	310,400
1821-1830	68,228	1,445,258	331,048

Source: Marcello Carmagnani, "La producción agropecuaria chilena (1680-1830)," Cahiers des Ameriques Latines, Serie Sciences de L'Homme, No. 3, 1969, p. 5.

TITHE INCOMEBISHOPRIC OF HAVANA

<u>YEARS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
1789-1792	792,386-3-00	264,128-6-11
1793-1796	1,044,098-1-00	348,032-5-22
1797-1799	1,595,104-6-00	531,701-4-22

Source: "Estado de la Renta decimal del Obispado de Havana en los tres últimos quinquenios [sic]," Gazeta de Guatemala, III (Lunes, 21 Octubre 1799) No. 127, folio 128. The data obviously is for three "trienios".

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