Llorente's Readers in the Americas

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Juan Antonio Llorente is best known as the author of a history of the Spanish Inquisition, published in Paris in 1818.[1] Born in 1756 in the Rioja area of northern Spain, he died in Madrid in 1823. He was educated for the clergy and became secretary to the Inquisition, charged with gathering documentation so as to write its history. When José Bonaparte arrived in Spain in 1808 with the invasion of Napoleon's troops, he authorized Llorente to continue his work. To justify its takeover, the new French government needed to accumulate evidence of state crimes, and the Spanish monarchy's centuries-old collusion with the Church in quelling opposition was already seen as unnatural and barbaric practice in world capitals. With the promise of reform, Llorente sided with the French. He saw the French regime as permanently ensconced and as beneficial in paving the way for needed modernization. Thus Llorente and others of equal intellectual and artistic stature cooperated with the foreigners and so have gone into Spanish history as *afrancesados*, hated equally by the people who remained loyal to the Spanish monarch and by a so-called liberal faction of Cádiz merchants who stayed on in

1. L'Histoire *critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, depuis l'époque de son établissement, par Ferdinand V jusquáu règne de Ferdinand VII . . . par D. Jean Antoine Llorente. . . .* Traduite de l'espagnol . . . par Alexis Pellier (Paris: Tournachon-Molin, 1823). The first edition in Spanish appeared in 1822 in Madrid (although Alcalá Galiano claims that it, too, was really published in Paris). For background on Llorente, see *Noticia biográfica (Autobiografía)*, nota crítica de Antonio Márquez, ensayo bibliográfico de Emil van der Vekene (Madrid: Taurus, 1982).

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Spain to protect their interests. When, at the battle of Vitoria in 1813, French forces were defeated, these collaborators had to flee. Some went to London, but Llorente sought refuge in Paris.

Llorente's reputation has usually been restricted to Europe and tied to his history of the Inquisition. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, in his study of Spanish heterodoxy, famously villainized Llorente as a Jansenist and closet Protestant, libeler of the Church, traitor to his country for having criticized the Spaniards who fought against French rule, and thief for having taken Inquisition materials out of Spain and sold them in Paris.[2]

In the United States, Llorente is a minor author, known for his Inquisition history, which was translated into English in 1826 in editions in Philadelphia (T. B. Peterson, printer) and New York (G. C. Morgan, printer). Here, however, I aim to examine Llorente's less-known, second career in Paris—a chapter that brought him near Spanish America and recast his profession as an historian. Menéndez y Pelayo acknowledges this second career by saying that when Llorente left Spain, shamed and scorned by his countrymen, he turned to 'filibusterismo americano' or the business of illegal traffic to the Americas.[3] In Paris, between 1818 and 1823, Llorente wrote a number of essays designed to interest Spanish American readers. Dealing with the writing of religion into new constitutions and Church authority as it affected increasingly civil issues such as marriage and Vatican concordats with governments they were timely advice to Americans in territories newly freed from Spain. In French and in Spanish, they were printed in Paris but also in San Sebastián in northern Spain. From there, via routes we can only guess at, they found their way to the Americas. Thus, Llorente's thinking came into Spanish America—particularly Mexico, as I will

2. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, pról. Arturo Farinelli (1882; reprint, México: Editorial Porrúa, 1983), 264–69. Llorente first tried to sell his history of the Inquisition to an English publisher. Karen Racine has found in the Longman publishing archives at the University of Reading two letters dated 1816 (June and August) in which they considered the manuscript for translation and publication but decided against the project.

3. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 268.

show—in the form of long, thoughtfully composed arguments. It also came in shorter forms, such as the word-of-mouth of travelers (importantly, Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, who had been in Spain and France), and in the reports of others who recast his ideas in their letters and manuscripts. But it is important to note that it also came in, not in dribbles and drabs, but in book-length essays, supported by an established press business and a Mexican censorship system which even permitted several reprints of his works.

Focus on Llorente allows examination of two considerations which I believe have not received sufficient attention. The first is the impact of French printing and transatlantic trade routes on Mexico during that country's first years of nationhood. South Americans (Miranda, Bolívar, Bello, and Rivadavia) traveled to London and were much affected by the constitutional advice of Jeremy Bentham.[4] Yet few independence-minded Mexican leaders left their country, and, instead of London friendships, books from Paris and the United States influenced their thinking.[5] Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1821. Thus, in the period between 1821 and 1824, while South America was still fighting, Mexico was at peace, already reflecting on nation-building, and its leaders drew on those books' language for the legal justifications and premises they would write into their first constitution in 1824.[6] The second point is Llorente's assessment that Mexico

4. See Miriam Williford, *Jeremy Bentham on Spanish America: An Account of his Letters and Proposals to the New World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).

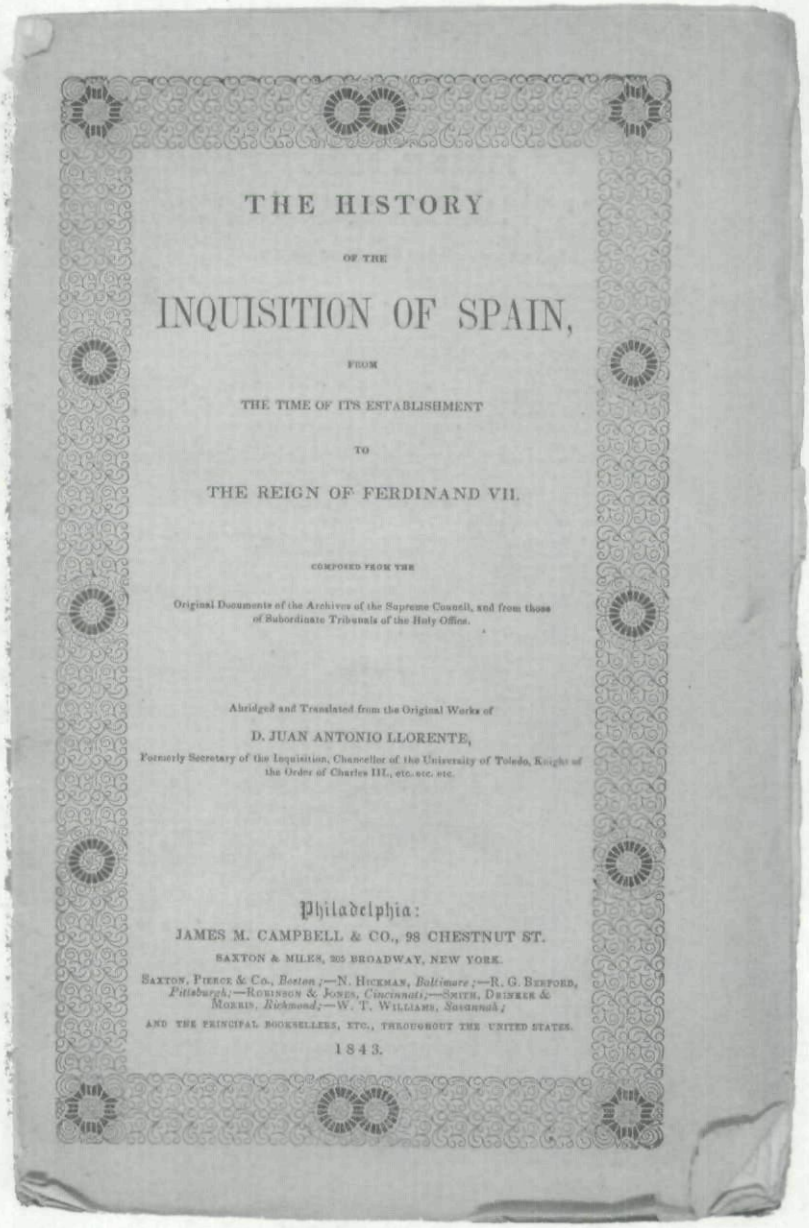
5. Here it must be noted that United States revolutionaries and constitutionalists had understandably repudiated English thought and turned to French writers, whom they, in turn, retailed to their neighbors, the Mexicans, in increasing trade relations in the early 1820s.

6. This fact is often unacknowledged, as all Spanish American independence movements have been subsumed under the Venezuelan story and phased into accounts of their more famous men. An example is a review by John Elliott in *New York Review of Books* (July 13, 2006, 34–36) of the biography by John Lynch, *Simón Bolívar: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). For an interesting discussion of Latin American legal history, see John Henry Merryman and David S. Clark, *Comparative Law: Western European and Latin American Legal Systems: Cases and Materials* (Charlottesville, Va.: The Miche Company, 1978), in which 'Latin America' is considered to be one tradition and 'religion' in post-colonial development is treated in terms of attitudes toward the clergy—'clericals' and 'anticlericals.' In realizing the broad implications of Llorente's contribution to Mexico, I here acknowledge helpful discussion at the conference 'Liberty/Égalité/Independencia.'

needed to mark out religion's role in the new state structure. Bentham's secular utilitarianism in the formulation of legislation emphasized the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people, but Llorente's awareness of Spanish America's Catholic history—and Mexico's clerical leadership in its independence revolt—made him realize that Mexico's ongoing dependence on religion as a bulwark of public order and guarantor of personal, other-world happiness, would, first of all, have to be resolved. Unlike Bentham, whose point of departure was theoretical and who lacked much knowledge of where his ideas might be implemented, Llorente was an historian and a political realist. He had worked with fellow historians in Spain such as Juan Bautista Muñoz, who had also been charged with gathering materials for an archive and writing a review of Spain's conduct in the Americas. Thus the two men were among several who were inventing a new historiography—one which departed from old apologetic, providential histories so as to uncover past abuses and recommend reforms.[7] In this way Llorente's identification of a need to detach from old mental habits, as Mexicans wrote authority and obedience into their first constitution, is connected to his notion of history writing. Renewal could only proceed after the nation's past was laid to rest. When Spain's empire fell apart, decolonization and state planning in the Americas were natural outlets for his work.[8]

7. Llorente's early publications in Spain attest to his research into legal history: *Leyes del Fuero Juzgo; o recopilación de los Visigodos españoles,titulada primeramente 'Liber judicum'* (Madrid: Hernández Pacheco, 1792); *Noticias históricas de las tres provincias vascongadas, en que se procura investigar el estado civil antiguo de Alava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya y el origen de sus fueros* (Madrid: Imprenta real, 1806–8); *Discurso heráldico sobre el escudo de armas de España, leído . . . en el mes de julio del año 1808* (Madrid: imprente de T. Albán); *Colección diplomática de varios papeles antiguos y modernos sobre dispensas matrimoniales y otros puntos de disciplina eclesiástica* (Madrid: Ibarra, 1809); *Disertación sobre el poder que los reyes españoles ejercieron hasta el siglo duodécimo en la división de obispados y otros puntos conexos de disciplina eclesiástica* (Madrid: imprente de Ibarra, 1810); *Observaciones sobre las dinastías de España* (Zaragoza: Oficina de Miedes, 1813). His concern for the public's opinion of an historical institution appears in a report read to the Spanish Academy of History, *Memoria histórica sobre qual ha sido la opinion nacional de España acerca del tribunal de la Inquisición* (Madrid: imprente de Sancha, 1812).

8. Because the Spanish Conquest was based not just on a military takeover of American territory but also on the catechization of its indigenous population, Catholic faith was an essential ingredient of membership in the Spanish empire. Therefore, rejection of that membership at the time of independence meant reconsideration of that teaching. In France, parallel efforts to leave behind monarchism and embrace republicanism took the forms of 'dechristianization' and 'desacralization,' rather than 'decolonization.'



THE HISTORY

OF THE

INQUISITION OF SPAIN,

FROM

THE TIME OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT

TO

THE REIGN OF FERDINAND VII.

COMPOSED FROM THE

Original Documents of the Archives of the Supreme Council, and from those of Subordinate Tribunals of the Holy Office.

Abridged and Translated from the Original Works of

D. JUAN ANTONIO LLORENTE,

Formerly Secretary of the Inquisition, Chancellor of the University of Toledo, Knight of the Order of Charles III., etc. etc. etc.

Philadelphia:

JAMES M. CAMPBELL & CO., 98 CHESTNUT ST.

SAXTON & MILES, 205 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

SAXTON, PIERCE & Co., *Boston*;—N. HICKMAN, *Baltimore*;—R. G. BEDFORD, *Pittsburgh*;—ROBINSON & JONES, *Cincinnati*;—SMITH, DEIRKER & MORRIS, *Richmond*;—W. T. WILLIAMS, *Savannah*;

AND THE PRINCIPAL BOOKSELLERS, ETC., THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

1843.

An abridgment and translation from the original works of Juan Antonio Llorente. *The History of the Inquisition of Spain, from the time of its establishment to the reign of Ferdinand VII* (Philadelphia: James M. Campbell and Co., 1843)

My research on these essays has largely been carried out in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), where they have been overlooked for various reasons: Histories of expatriate Spanish literature of the period—such as the one Antonio Alcalá Galiano wrote in London—have featured the activity of Spaniards there. In contact with the British Romantics, the Spaniards defined literature in terms of that poetry and ignored the political works of their fellows in France. For example, Alcalá Galiano conceded the value of Llorente's history of the Inquisition but said that its language was hardly Castilian, since its author was Basque.[9] Historians of American constitutionalism have skipped over Llorente, emphasizing the influence of Rousseau's *Social Contract*, the French 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen,' and Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* on the men who wrote Mexico's first constitution. These works from a generation before were important—as was also the groundwork done by the writers of Spain's first constitution at the Cortes de Cádiz in 1810–12, in which Mexican delegates participated.[10] Yet Llorente's outline for a religious constitution, based on his experience inside Spain's Inquisition, his study of the relationship between the monarchy and the Church and various Spanish legal codes, and his witness to recent French experiments with a national church and a married clergy, has generally been forgotten. So my inquiry here will extend to why appreciation of those Llorente essays has disappeared from history books. Preliminarily I am finding that it became convenient to say that Mexicans based their first constitution on the United States model, thus blaming Mexico's later divisions on the federalism of that plan and United States meddling. But I also guess that 'religion' is an unresolved problem still in Mexican society and that historians

9. *Literatura española, siglo XIX*, ed. Vicente Llorens (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969), a translation of 'Literature of the Nineteenth Century: Spain,' in *The Athenaeum* (London, April–June, 1834) 55.

10. For background, see the collection edited by Nettie Lee Benson, *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes: 1810–1822* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966).

have been reluctant to acknowledge early attempts to merge this relic of Spanish colonialism into national narratives.

Llorente—a Spaniard, Inquisition functionary, and resident in Paris where post-Napoleonic legal disputes were raging, the Pope was signing secret agreements with the French king, and notions of apostolic authority in the kingdom were replacing revolutionary gains—was uniquely qualified to appreciate the kind of decolonization that Spanish Americans were facing. If, in Anglo-America, separation from the monarch was easy (in the United States, though not in Canada), and writing a constitution to insure an individual's natural rights in society was accomplished by separating church and state so that all faiths were tolerated, in Spanish America those tasks were not as simple. Many Spanish Americans were still monarchists and deeply pious—to the point, Mexican liberals said in the period, of fanaticism. Rome still exercised control throughout the area; in fact, the Mexican novelist and political pamphleteer José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi wrote in his last will and testament in 1826: 'I leave my homeland independent of Spain and all other crowned heads, except Rome.'[11] Lizardi even resented as reminders of Church authority the regular tolling of bells in church clocks.

The first of Llorente's post-Spain essays was printed in French in Paris, probably in 1818, by a printer just off one of the streets bordering the church of Saint Sulpice. This *Projet d'une constitution religieuse, considérée comme faisant partie de la constitution civile d'une nation libre indépendante, écrite par un Américain, publié avec une préface par Don Jean Antoine Llorente*, was attributed to an American.[12] Although Llorente took credit for the preface, he probably also wrote the whole, 164-page work. This was followed by a printing in 1819 in Paris—now in Spanish—of an almost

11. For the text, see José Joaquín *Fernández de Lizardi, Folletos 1824–1827*, María Rosa Palazón Mayoral e Irma Isabel Fernández Arias, ed., vol. 13, *Obras* (México: UNAM, 1963–97) 1037–53.

12. Printed by L.E. Herhan of Paris. Some have put this work to 1820.

identical work for which Llorente also wrote a preface addressing Americans.[13] In 1821 a printer in San Sebastián, Baroja, put out two of Llorente's works—*Apología católica del proyecto de constitución religiosa, escrito por un Americano*, for which Llorente did claim authorship, and an anonymous *Carta* specifically directed to Mexicans.[14] *Carta* is today held in the Sutro Library, a San Francisco repository of the warehouse of a Mexico City bookseller—thus attesting to its receipt there. I believe that Llorente also wrote this work because the subject matter is his and because the same printer printed both. *Apología* answers the censure of two Dominicans in Barcelona and, in addition to being printed in Spain, was also printed by two different printers in Paris in that same year (Rosa and Moreau). Paris, with its community of Spanish exiles was obviously one intended venue for this work; even the frontispiece of the San Sebastián edition says that it, too, was for sale in the Paris bookshop of Rosa 'en el Gran Patio del Palacio Real.'

Added to these six imprints are two printings of the anonymous *Aforismos políticos*, which Llorente is credited with having authored—one in 1821 in Madrid and the other in Mexico City in 1822.[15] Also relevant to Americans because they treated the legal limits of Pope and king are two studies which Llorente published in Paris in 1818—one dealing with pragmatic sanctions in France and concordats, and another, under a pseudonym, an inquiry into the Spanish king's jurisdictions.[16] In 1822 (Paris) and 1823 (Madrid), he

13. *Discursos sobre una constitución religiosa, considerada como parte de la civil nacional. Su autor un Americano. Los da a luz D. Juan Antonio Llorente* (Paris: Stahl, 1819).

14. *Carta escrita á un americano sobre la forma de gobierno que para hacer practicable la constitucion y las leyes, conviene establecer en Nueva España atendida su actual situación* (Madrid: - imprente de Ibarra, 1821).

15. *Aforismos politicos escritos en una de las lenguas del norte de la Europa por Un Filósofo [pseudo.] . . . y traducidos al español por Don Juan Antonio Llorente. Doctor en Cánones, Abogado de los tribunales nacionales* (México: D. Mariano Ontiveros,1821).

16. *Monuments historiques concernant les deux pragmatiques-sanctions de France . . . suivis d'un catéchisme sur la matière des concordats, par M. Llorente* (Paris: A. Bobée, 1818); *Consultas del real y supremo Consejo de Castilla y otros papeles sobre atentados y usurpaciones contra la soberanía del Rey y su real jurisdicción. La da á luz Don Astreófilo Hispáno* (Paris: A. Bobée, 1818).

published a treatise on the political history of the Popes.[17] In 1826 Mexican printers produced two other Llorente works in the nature of clarifying relationships between civil government and the Church. They were *Disertación sobre el poder que los reyes españoles ejercieron hasta el siglo duodecimo* (Imprenta del ciudadano Alejandro Valdés) and *Pequeño catecismo sobre la materia de concordatos*, translated from French into Spanish by José Mariano Ramírez and published by Mariano Galván Rivera.

In 1827 Mexico saw the third edition of a Llorente collection, *Colección diplomática de varios papeles antiguos y modernos sobre dispensas matrimoniales y otros puntos de disciplina eclesiástica*, published originally in Madrid.[18] So now—to sum up—we have fourteen such related items.

Two aspects of this second phase of Llorente's career should be noted. The first is how the linkages implicit in the almost simultaneous printing of his works by presses in Paris, San Sebastián, Madrid, and Mexico City (and also New York and Philadelphia) point not only to the north-south routes across the Pyrenees that we are accustomed to seeing, but also east-west transatlantic crossings. The second point is how these, now eight, editions of almost the same work—and six related essays—reveal Llorente's persistent concern for easing religion into new legal systems—and, at the other end, reception by American readers. I will not consider here the many reprintings and translations in Europe of Llorente's *History of the Spanish Inquisition*, or Llorente's role in the reprinting of Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, a publishing event that made a major contribution to Spanish American independence.[19]

17. *Portrait politique des papes considérées comme princes temporels et comme chefs de l'Eglise depuis l'établissement du Saint-Siège à Rome jusqu'en 1822* (Paris: Béchet, 1822); *Retrato político de los papas, desde S. Pedro hasta Pío VII inclusive, con espresion del principio y fin de cada pontificado y reflexiones críticas en los que dan occasion; formado con presencia de las historias eclesiásticas escritas por el cardenal Fleuri, Natal Alejandro, y otras* (Madrid: T. Albán, 1823).

18. The first two editions were published in Madrid in 1809 and 1822. In Mexico City, Imprenta de Galván was the publisher of the third edition.

19. *Oeuvres de Don Barthélimi de Las Casas, precedes de sa vie, et accompagnées de notes historiques, additions . . . par J. A. Llorente, . . . [avec] l'Apologie de l'auteur par H. B. Grégoire* (Paris: A. Eymery, 1822); *Colección de las obras del Venerable Obispo de Chiapa, don Bartolomé de Las Casas . . . Da todo á luz El doctor don Juan Antonio Llorente* (Paris: Rosa, 1822).

First, I will comment on the French press network. Although the influence of Spanish-language publishing in London on Spanish America in the years after 1814 is well-known, less known is how the French printing industry over the last decades of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth exported its production not only to Spain but also to Spain's properties in the Americas. Writing for those markets were Frenchmen such as the Abbé Grégoire, exiled Spaniards such as Jean Pierre Claris de Florián and José Marchena, and also Spanish Americans such as the Peruvian-born Pablo de Olavide. In France they translated the French Encyclopedists, Voltaire and Rousseau and also wrote original works. They relied on presses in Paris but also in Bordeaux, Montpellier, and Lyons. The Spanish Crown alternated between welcoming this literature coming out of France and cordoning off the border. In particular, the French Revolution of 1789, and then the terror under Robespierre, caused Spanish officials to try to stop the entry of materials they considered seditious. By the late eighteenth century the Inquisition was no longer the watchdog for heresy that it had been in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but instead a board that oversaw the literate population's reading. In 1814, when Ferdinand VII returned to Spain and reinstituted the Inquisition, French books again became suspect, only reentering in great numbers between 1820 and 1823 under Rafael de Riego's liberalism.

The publishing activity on Spain's periphery should not then come as a surprise in the midst of all this literary traffic between France and Spain. Barcelona, Valencia, Las Palmas (in the Canaries and Mallorca), and then later Cádiz, had presses which took over much of Madrid's business during the Peninsula War. In 1814 a press in La Coruña printed Rousseau's *Social Contract* for Valentín de Foronda (a Spaniard from the Basque region who had served as Spanish consul in Philadelphia for eight years). In 1821, as we have seen, a San Sebastián

printer published two of Llorente's essays. This city began to assume overseas importance early in the eighteenth century when, in 1728, the Real Compañía Guipuzcoana de Caracas was given the monopoly for trade with Venezuela, and San Sebastián was designated as the port for that concession. In 1788 San Sebastián acquired rights to trade with other American ports, and in a report, dating probably from the following year, a *comisario* there wrote: 'The printed works and manuscripts that have been circulating here since July are those that are concerned with the present events of the revolutions in France and its general assembly. The city is flooded with this kind of paper, whose acquisition is made easy by its commerce, its situation near the border, and its population, composed in large part of members of that nation, who praise and proclaim these events in their conversations.'[20]

In addition to Paris, then, a Spanish-language business of printing politically sensitive literature developed in northern Spain and southern France. Printers sent their productions back and forth over the Pyrenees. From ports on the seacoast, willing ships took these materials to Spanish America, where Inquisition officials during the period of Spanish rule tried to monitor the imports.[21] In 1801 a printer in Paris had published the popular novel *Cornelia Bororquia, o la víctima de la Inquisición*, an indictment of the Inquisition, published anonymously but written by the Spaniard Luis Gutiérrez, a newspaper editor in Bayonne. Inquisition edicts in Spain and Mexico immediately banned the book. In 1815 Juan Sempere y Guarinos had published in Bordeaux his *Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*. In 1817 Juan Meléndez Valdés died in Montpellier. In 1820 Marchena's translation of the novels of Voltaire was published in Bordeaux, and in 1821 his

20. Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 244.

21. See John Rydford, *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain: An Introduction to the War for Independence* (1935; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1972), Chapter 8.

translation of Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloise* in Toulouse. In 1824 Francisco de Goya went to Paris and then Bordeaux, where his friend Leandro Fernández de Moratín lived, and painted his portrait and Llorente's. Moratín's works were printed in Paris in 1825, and he died there in 1828. Francisco Martínez de la Rosa published his collected works in Paris between 1827 and 1830. The *Gaceta de Bayona*, printed in Bayonne between 1828 and 1830, was directed by the Spaniards Alberto Lista, Félix José Reinoso, and Sebastián Miñano. This list of Spanish expatriates in France, while by no means complete, is an indication of the way Llorente fit into a cross-border world of Spanish and French-language printing.

This book business underlies my second point—Llorente's advice to politicians about merging the past with the future and faith with secular governmental forms. He illustrated how instituting a religious constitution might accomplish this in the 1819 text, *Discursos sobre una constitución religiosa*. *Discursos* suggests how Catholic readers in Spanish America might leave behind monarchical rule, with its attendant myths and securities, as they adopted impersonal republicanism with its language of law and liberty. They particularly seized on Llorente's opinion of the Inquisition as custodian of public morality. If prior licensing had worked in the past to keep out undesirable books, then, supposedly, Llorente would know how freedom of the press might work. He would know whether mandates that public utterances respect faith and the person of the king would be sufficient restraints on slander, immorality, and disorder. Americans did learn from his historical review of how the print industry in Protestant countries, by opening up the Bible to ordinary people, had affected morality and faith there; they probably were surprised that Llorente did not appear to think that great disorder had ensued. Indeed, with press controls, chaos had broken out in Catholic Spain. War raged across the peninsula, and the American colonies were rebelling. So Llorente, in rethinking why this civil disobedience had come about and how it might be prevented in the future, began by

separating loyalty to king from faith. He told his readers that the king was not divinely appointed, and thus their American revolt against bad colonial government was no crime involving their souls. He revealed how, in the past, religious leaders had improperly cooperated with despots in making believe that faith also meant political fidelity. Yet, in criticizing the Church, Llorente did not advocate rejecting faith or separating religion from civil society. Instead he advised that the new American nations retain their official Catholicism and merge faith with new legal formulations.

Llorente began his preface to the *Discursos* by assuring readers in a kind of *imprimatur* that this work, which had come into his hands, did not oppose Catholic dogma. It confessed all the mysteries, sacraments, and precepts; and it recognized the necessity of obedience to the Pope (as long, he said, as the Pope did not exceed the limits of his authority). Llorente said that a Catholic, as a rational being, had not lost his 'rights of man.' He then tried to fend off accusations that the work he was introducing would be seen as going further than the civil code of the French clergy and as essentially Protestant. However, he credited Protestants with having contributed to the Enlightenment of the present day through their translations and printings. He called printing 'a divine art' and criticized Jesuits, rather than Protestants, for having divided Europe by finding heresy everywhere. He concluded his preface by saying that this review of religion's history in Europe would be useful to readers in Venezuela, the Rio de la Plata region, Chile, and 'other places looking to consolidate the independence that they desire and now partly enjoy'—i.e., Mexico—as if the summary were a cautionary tale.

In the body of the *Discursos*, the author addressed Catholic societies in which that faith had already unified the population. The common people, having been taught the faith of their fathers, were already joined together. Thus, even if a literate elite was skeptical of religion's teachings because of access to print and new

philosophies, that elite should embrace the faith of the majority, considering that no other force was as capable of effecting national union. A judicial system built on religious faith, which could assure reward or punishment in an afterlife for deeds performed on earth, is far more effective than one which only relies on men's capabilities for finding out and punishing crimes, he argued. Other nations, newly formed, which did not enjoy this custom or were made up of religious diversity, might decree a purely civil code. But the spiritual dimension of life, which religion postulates, reinforces morality most successfully.

Llorente then projected how the two institutions historically supportive of a Catholic society—the Church and the monarchy—might right past wrongs. He advised Catholics to return to the early church, before it was taken over by ecclesiastical bureaucratic interests. Jesus had always said that his kingdom was not of this earth; thus bishops who attempted to interfere with men's lives were misguided. Popes must stop using excommunication to punish political actions, as, for example, the Mexican priest Miguel Hidalgo who had been excommunicated for leading the rebellion against Spain. The writer allowed that one man might continue to head up the nation, though now as a constitutional monarch.

The author then moved to issues of tolerance. If Catholicism was adopted as the official religion, what did this mean for individuals living under such a system? If the Church would back off from regulations it regarded in the past as laws and consider them only as advice—for the individual Catholic, tithing, attendance at Mass, confession, fasting, observance of holy days, and obedience to controls over marriage and divorce—and for the clergy, celibacy—the new code could proceed more easily. In fact, the author recommended that governments pass fewer laws, relying instead on exhortation and inner devotion.

Llorente's concern for the role of the clergy in Mexican society was readily apparent. Mexico had sent seventeen delegates to the Cortes de Cádiz and, of whom, thirteen were religious. Thus, post-colonial leadership had to take into account the vows of

obedience which such men owed Rome. However, if friars were no longer bound to celibacy and could marry, then increasingly they would not require special privileges such as immunity and would be eligible for civil positions.

Throughout the two-hundred-page essay, Llorente is concerned with the Inquisition or a body like it. On the one hand, he repudiates the necessity of the Inquisition, saying that the Inquisition forces faith, and that man's nature requires that he be led by reason. He repeats the message of tolerance—now in the context of the peaceful compromise that Europe needed after its bloody wars. On the other hand, he recognizes that the Enlightenment, with its proliferation of skeptical and agnostic philosophies spread by print made new enemies for religion. As he puts it, the new philosophers have criticized the Church either through serious or comic modes; and their criticism has had the effect of either causing men either to laugh at religion or abandon it all together. He shows class consciousness in recognizing that an educated elite, charged with directing the fortunes of new nations, has been unsettled by these new Enlightenment philosophies. The example of the United States constitutionalists in removing religion from civil affairs also poses a threat to Spanish Americans who may think that they should imitate it and thus relegate religion to the margins of political power.

Llorente, however, never considers tolerance to be freedom of religious faith (or 'tolerancia de cultos' as it was called); this possibility seems to have horrified most Spaniards, who could not imagine religious pluralism. For example, in 1811 the *Gaceta de Caracas* had published an essay on how an officially Catholic nation might permit the practice of other faiths. Written by someone called William Burke, the essay stirred great emotion among Venezuela's readers, who could not appreciate Burke's plea for tolerance from the perspective of a Catholic minority in Protestant England.

Why did Llorente give up the fiction that he was writing a preface for a constitutional project authored by an American and admit that he was the American? I have concluded that his

assumption of an American point of view reflects, to a certain extent, an unselfish desire to suggest to Spanish Americans how to conserve religion in their constitutions while also implementing reform. His expatriate status in Paris allowed him a view from the outside, and an American identity fit his critical stance. However, I also believe that Llorente, in drawing up a model constitution, was realizing his own dreams for a Catholic Europe—indeed, the new American nations could accomplish what Catholics in France and Spain could not. Liberals in both France and Spain had had to go undercover in those years because despotic monarchies had recently been returned to power at the Congress of Vienna. But Americans were freer to interrupt history. Llorente was famous for disguise in his Paris writings, hiding behind anonymity or pseudonyms. Thus, I think that in his pleas for reform he was not only addressing Americans but also Europe and Rome. He was posing as an American so as to imagine how any traditionally Catholic society might evolve into an enlightened monarchy or even a republic. However, to convince European readers of his expertise, he needed to reveal his identity.

That Llorente's writings were widely read in Mexico is illustrated by the following examples. Llorente had a huge effect on the discussion regarding the Inquisition at the time the Cortes de Cádiz were drawing up the empire's first constitution in 1812. Although the Cortes did away with the Inquisition in that formulation, men like Antonio Ruíz de Padrón and Antonio Puigblanch, who argued for its abolition, and José Clemente Carnicero, who argued for its retention, all began their arguments by drawing on Llorente's research. In Mexico's pamphlet wars through the years 1820 to 1823, Puigblanch particularly was cited admiringly, and his long essay on the Inquisition was reprinted there in 1824.[22]

22. See Nancy J. Vogeley, 'Actitudes en México hacia la Inquisición: el pro y el contra (1814, 1824),' *Revista de la Inquisición (Madrid)* 11 (2005): 223–43.

When Agustín de Iturbide proclaimed Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, his Trigarantine proclamation included as one of its three guarantees the preservation of the colony's Catholic faith. Thus, although Llorente's advice that Mexico produce a religious constitution seemed to be a *fait accompli* when the first constitution, written in 1824, proclaimed Roman Catholicism as Mexico's official religion, such acquiescence was not the case. Again evidence from the pamphlet wars, which shows that the question of whether to reinstate the Inquisition so as to preserve religion was a hard-fought issue, puts the lie to the appearance of unanimity. Perhaps because later historiography sought to minimize the role of the Church and the clergy then, political historians have concentrated on other, secular, aspects of the writing of this constitution, such as federalism vs. centralism, division of powers, and questions of citizenship, thereby excluding Llorente's contribution to the dialogue.

Two of Llorente's readers at this time—José Joaquín *Fernández de* Lizardi and Juan Germán Roscio—famously took his essays into account. Lizardi, in a newspaper written over the months of 1823, *El hermano del perico que cantaba la victoria*, acknowledged that he was drawing on Llorente's *Aforismos políticos*.[23] In an 1825 pamphlet, Lizardi quoted from Llorente's *Proyecto de una constitución religiosa*.[24] In a newspaper published in 1826–27, *Correo semanario de México*, he based almost all of his material on the history of the popes, on Llorente's *Retrato politico de los papas*.[25] And in still another paper, in a caution which suggests either Llorente's dangerous reputation or Mexican attempts at responsible

23. Lizardi quotes Llorente: 'The republic is a form of government that excludes any arbitrariness on the part of anyone.' (La república es una forma de gobierno que excluye toda arbitrariedad de parte de quien quiera que sea.). Lizardi. *Periódicos*, María Rosa Palazón Mayoral, ed., Vol. 5, *Obras*, 45.

24. 'Observaciones que El Pensador Mexicano hace a las censuras que los señores doctores D. Ignacio María Lerdo y D. Ignacio Grajeda hicieron de sus Conversaciones Sexta, Vigésima, y Vigésima Segunda entre el Payo y el Sacristán,' Lizardi, *Folletos 1824–1827*, 13:415–535.

25. *Periódicos, Correo semanario de México*, María Rosa Palazón Mayoral, ed., vol. 5, *Obras*.

journalism, Lizardi warned a fellow writer not to plagiarize Llorente, advising instead either to cite him openly or disguise him in such a way that the source was not recognizable.[26] Another famous reader of Llorente, in whose work the influence is unstated, but still obvious, is the Venezuelan Juan Germán Roscio. In his *Triunfo de la libertad sobre el despotismo en la confesión de un pecador arrepentido de sus errores politicos, y dedicado a desagraviar en esta parte a la religion ofendida con el sistema de la tiranía*, Roscio argued much as did Llorente—advising Christians to go back to the teachings of the early Church and ignore later accretions to faith. Roscio published his work in Spanish in Philadelphia in two editions in 1817 and 1821; the Philadelphia work was bootlegged into Mexico in 1822 and reprinted twice in Mexico in 1824 and 1828.[27] Carlos María Bustamante, an influential intellectual leader in Mexico in the 1820s and a devout Catholic, was much affected by Roscio's indictment of the Spanish monarchy and criticism of the clergy.

Finally, in volumes in the Sutro collection, two copies of Llorente's *Pequeño catecismo sobre la materia de concordatos*, published in Mexico in 1826, are bound together with *Proyecto de decreto y ordenanza que consultó al supremo gobierno desde el año de 1842; la junta nombrada por el mismo para arreglar el cuerpo médico militar* (published in Mexico in 1846). Why is this coupling important? It is important, I believe, because it suggests that Llorente had currency later in Mexico, when liberal resentment of Church controls deepened. In reforms and constitutions in 1833, 1835, 1843, and then 1847, religion was a hot issue. In 1856 the *ley de desamortización*, which seized many Church properties, was passed. Internally, liberals and conservatives were divided, and externally Mexicans wondered how much they were still controlled by the

26. 'Preguntas interesantes de El Pensador a d. Rafael Dávila,' April 29, 1826, in *Folletos, 1824–1827*, 13: 761–68.

27. Thomas H. Palmer published the first edition; Mathew Carey the second. In Mexico Martín Rivera published the 1824 edition and the Imprenta de York, in Oaxaca, the 1828 edition. Evidence of its passage from Philadelphia to Mexico is contained in my forthcoming book *The Bookrunner: Philadelphia's Book Trade wih Mexico, 1822–1823*.

Vatican. Thus, Llorente's study of concordats would have mattered in their constitutional deliberations.

Llorente's thinking, then, can be seen to have had an impact on the Mexican mind in the national period. However, there appear to be no translations of his works published in Paris in either England nor the United States. English readers seem only to have read Llorente's Inquisition history, associating it with attacks by novelists like Ann Radcliffe and defenses by retrograde philosophers such as Joseph de Maistre; in the United States Llorente's history was his only work to be translated.[28] Its documentation of religious persecution fed building anti-Spanish sentiment. United States ships were competing with Spanish shipping in the Caribbean; United States leaders feared Spanish movement into the Louisiana and Florida territories they had just purchased, and, in order to legitimize the takeover of Texas, an anti-Spanish/Mexican, anti-Catholic campaign was necessary.

28. Charles Le Brun, an émigré writer and translator in Philadelphia, published there in 1826 a portrait of Llorente in his Spanish-language *Retratos politicos de la revolución de España* but this work, which compared the success of the United States revolution with the failure of the Spanish revolution of 1820, seems to have been largely exported since it is not part of the holdings of the Library of Congress, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, or the American Antiquarian Society. It is to be found, however, in California collections which were gathered from Mexican sources.