

Federalists, Traditionalists and Santanistas: A Contested Appropriation of Sacrality

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After gaining independence in 1821, Mexicans struggled to bolster a weakened economy, create an effective government, and foster a sense of loyalty to the newly formed nation. New Spain had been the most prosperous Spanish colony in 1800, but the wars for independence had generated incalculable property damage throughout the region. Mining—vital to the economy—agriculture, industry, and investments all suffered. The various national governments proved unable to recover adequately from this devastation or to devise a functional tax system to support the country's needs. Citizens endured political as well as economic problems. Throughout Mexico's early years of independence (1821-1855), the populace witnessed many changes in government as politicians disputed, sometimes violently, whether a president or a dictator, a federalist or a traditionalist constitution, would best suit Mexico. Politicians from all factions often appealed to the middle sectors as well as to their fellow elites, because they believed that each group played a role in national politics. They attempted to attract followers and create alliances through the use of ceremonies and symbols that communicated their different ideals about Mexico. Statesmen also believed these rituals encouraged stability and fostered nation building, which engendered a sense of identity and citizenship among newly independent Mexicans, the elites and masses alike.¹

And perhaps no ceremonies or symbols carried more weight than those of the Catholic Church, which remained the official Church in Mexico following independence. In this paper, I will examine the government uses of Catholic imagery from 1821 until 1855. Regardless of a political faction's stance regarding religion, none of them ignored the Church--or its powerful accompanying symbolism--completely. In *Festivals and the French Revolution*, Mona Ozouf asserted that the French government invented Revolutionary festivities utilizing civic symbolism in its attempt to accomplish a transfer of sacrality to refocus people's loyalty both from the Church and the monarchy to the new government. Revolutionary festivities thus eschewed symbolism pertaining to the Church. In early independent Mexico, statesmen instead attempted an appropriation of sacrality, and used specific Church imagery--

most notably the *Virgen de Guadalupe*--to foster loyalty to the national government. In a new nation with a strong Catholic heritage politicians believed that the symbolism and power of that faith could help them establish legitimacy. They engaged in such pursuits regardless of political ideology. In the 1820s the federalists enshrined independence heroes Fathers Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla and José María Morelos in the National Cathedral; in the 1830s, the traditionalists performed a similar ceremony by entombing a more conservative symbol of independence, Agustín Iturbide, alongside Hidalgo and Morelos. Examples such as these did not always indicate a crass appropriation of religious symbolism to establish power for the sake of advancing their own personal interests, but instead revealed part of a genuine process—albeit a contested one—to advance the vision that each group believed was best for Mexico.²

Newly independent Mexico had inherited a strong Catholic tradition from its colonial era, when the Hapsburgs and Bourbons each utilized the Catholic Church in different ways to reinforce their authority. In *The Great Colonial Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity*, historian Linda Curcio-Nagy argued that colonial governments organized festivities to build colonial unity in an ethnically diverse society as well as to strengthen existing religious hierarchies. Such ceremonies presented an idealized vision of colonial reality to myriad spectators. Colonial ceremonies thus borrowed from early modern European traditions and served as “hegemonic tools of the State” that, in part, served the function of articulating a group identity, perhaps the most daunting task of the colonial government. These colonial ceremonies frequently combined religious and civic elements; in this way, the colonial government appropriated sacrality to reinforce its own legitimacy. In the 1700s, the Bourbons, who sought to establish a more efficient and centralized government that emphasized the authority of the King, engaged in such appropriation in a much more pointed way than the Hapsburgs had. The *Virgen de Remedios* had long functioned as Mexico City residents’ primary protectress against disease and natural disasters, but in the 1700s, the Bourbons instead claimed her as the “personal

patroness of the Spanish Crown.” They thus sought a transfer of loyalty through the ever-loyal *Virgen de Remedios* to the King.³

In 1821, Agustín de Iturbide emerged as the hero of Independence, and ultimately, the Emperor of Mexico, by bringing the lengthy and bitter struggle for Mexican sovereignty to an end with the *Plan de Iguala*. This compromise forged an alliance among diverse groups by calling for an independent Mexico ruled by a constitutional monarch, establishing the Roman Catholic Church as the state religion and promising that *criollos* and *peninsulares* would enjoy equal treatment in the fledgling nation. In May, 1822 the newly seated Mexican Congress responded to popular acclaim by decreeing Iturbide to be Emperor Agustín I. The coronation ceremony itself indicated that Iturbide and his supporters—like their colonial predecessors—would utilize the powerful symbolism of the Catholic Church to buttress the legitimacy of the new government. A congressional committee decided that the crowning would take place at the National Cathedral and referred to the sacred quarters as the “theatre” of the ritual. The representatives provided specific seating instructions, writing that Congress would sit on a raised platform in front of the royal family and that civic group members would assemble in the rest of the church. Church functionaries devised instructions for the mass, deciding that the crown and scepter would be placed beside the altar to illustrate the solemnity of the event. They agreed that the monarch should sit in an elevated throne, but that the altar should remain at the highest altitude in the church, emphasizing the ultimate authority of God himself. On July 21, 1822 the bishops of Guadalajara, Puebla, Durango and Oaxaca officiated at the high mass, presenting an image of regional and religious solidarity for the leadership of Iturbide. The homily reinforced the message that Iturbide had been divinely chosen. The bishop of Puebla, Pérez Martínez, delivered a lengthy sermon in which he shamelessly praised Agustín I. He noted that Iturbide had become emperor as a result of a widespread and spontaneous movement that had succeeded without bloodshed. The prelate attributed this remarkable achievement to God, arguing that the deity had chosen Iturbide to rule Mexico just as he had selected

Saul to govern Israel. At a reception later that day the President of the Mexican Congress Rafael Mangino delivered a brief speech in which he declared that the Church had laid the foundation for the new government by hosting the coronation. This speech and the coronation ceremony itself thus emphasized the new state's reliance on the Church in its quest to establish legitimacy.⁴

Once in power, Iturbide created the honorary *Orden de Guadalupe* to honor those who had served under him in the struggle for independence. Such military orders had existed since the twelfth century in Spain as organizations to honor military heroes and to foster loyalty by transforming such heroes into elite "*hombres de bien.*" More than lauding national heroes, the organization actually attempted to inspire nationalist sentiment by using the powerful religious imagery of the *Virgen de Guadalupe*. Our Lady of Guadalupe had first emerged as a significant Marian image in December 1531 when she miraculously appeared on the mantle of a converted indigenous man named Juan Diego. In response to this miracle, Bishop Juan de Zumárraga built a shrine in her honor at Tepeyac. Devotion to her grew among *criollos*, *indios*, and *mestizos* throughout the colonial period, and Pope Benedict XIV declared her the patroness of New Spain in 1754. In 1822, Iturbide and Congress purportedly named the Virgin the patron saint of the *Orden de Guadalupe* in recognition of the benefits that her divine intercession had bestowed upon the Mexican people. In reality, Iturbide appropriated a distinctly Mexican religious symbol that commanded loyalty of people from all social classes and political convictions to increase his own prestige, and thus, fealty to his regime. Each member took an oath to her at the installation ceremony and her image appeared on the medals of the members of the *Orden de Guadalupe*. Iturbide functioned as the Grand Master of the Order and the bishops joined esteemed men such as Anastasio Bustamante and Vicente Guerrero as highly honored members, while prominent veterans such as Antonio López de Santa Anna formed the second of the three tiers of the organizations. Iturbide personally selected each member of the organization, which created an informal Mexican nobility.⁵

The installation ceremony took place on August 13, 1822 at the Chapel of Guadalupe, located outside of Mexico City. At the Chapel, the Emperor himself prayed before the *Virgen*, whose image was placed above an altar elegantly adorned with crimson velvet flecked and striped with gold. Gold, silver, and crystal chandeliers hung throughout the building for the occasion. Agustín I sat on a throne during the *Te Deum*, the traditional hymn of praise that featured orchestral music for this auspicious occasion. After the religious ceremony and a speech, the secretary of the Order, José Tornel y Mendivil, read the oath that required all members to remain faithful Catholics and to defend the Constitution, the Emperor, and liberty. The men took the pledge, and the master of ceremonies decorated Iturbide with the Grand Cross and colored mantle, kissing the Emperor's hand in a sign of devotion. After the ceremony, troops escorted Agustín I to the plaza of the local village, while members followed behind in front of cheering crowds. Two high-ranking brothers of the Order provided the climax of the procession by carrying the Virgin's image. The celebrants concluded the day at a sumptuous buffet attended by the Emperor and his wife.⁶

Iturbide's efforts to establish legitimacy did not stave off growing dissatisfaction with his regime; in February, 1823 erstwhile comrade Guadalupe Victoria proclaimed the *Plan de Casa Mata* against the Emperor, and on March 27, 1823 the Army of Liberation marched victoriously into Mexico City and Iturbide departed into exile. Throughout the 1820s, the federalists committed themselves to republicanism, eschewing the arbitrary leadership of a monarch and embracing a form of government that decentralized power. As the federalists transitioned from empire to republic, they expressed disdain for the Spanish and sought to abolish the last vestiges of monarchism. For example, legislators sought to claim Catholicism and the Cathedral as purely Mexican when they demanded that the new national arms replace the buildings' Spanish shields, which they argued served as a painful reminder of the "yoke of our old oppressors." This act revealed that the federalists followed neither the Spanish nor Iturbide's lead in their interactions with the Catholic Church; indeed, the federalists' relationship with

Catholicism proved more complex. While they proclaimed Catholicism as the official religion of Mexico, they feared that the citizens' loyalty to the Church could interfere with their fealty to the nation. They thus sought a delicate balance, reducing the number of national religious holidays and the role of the Church in independence festivities, at the same time that they attempted to utilize the Church and its imagery to foster a sacred loyalty to the state.⁷

Just months after the ouster of Iturbide, the federalist government organized an event designed both to redefine the history of the independence movement and to further claim the Mexico City Cathedral as Mexican: the re-internment of independence heroes Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, José María Morelos, and Mariano Matamoros at the Cathedral on September 17, 1823. The funeral ceremony took place at the Cathedral, where the Deputy Francisco Argandar pronounced a eulogy before the remains were interred. Argandar expressed relief that Mexicans had chosen to immortalize the heroes with the ceremonial reburial. He further lauded the decision to display their names in gold in the national legislative building, thus linking the names of these heroes to a sacred civic as well as religious space. The participants next proceeded to a chapel within the Cathedral where they placed the urn in the vault at the "altar of the kings," demonstrating that citizens no longer lauded kings, but men who had sacrificed their lives for independence.⁸

The Cathedral provided the setting for a variety of civic celebrations throughout the 1820s, despite the Federalists' attempts to reduce the role of the Church in public life. On October 4, 1824, Guadalupe Victoria, Chief Executive of the Supreme Executive Power, delivered a speech extolling the virtues of the newly approved Constitution of 1824. He referred to the charter as "the anchor of our hopes" and praised it, among other things, for protecting Catholicism. After the speech, he and the other members of the Supreme Executive Power proceeded to the Cathedral to sing a *Te Deum* in thanks for the auspicious event. Less than a week later, officials again gathered to celebrate the inauguration of Guadalupe Victoria as first president of the republic. But unlike Iturbide's coronation,

which took place at the Cathedral, Victoria took his oath of office at the legislative assembly; the civic accomplishment was then celebrated with a *Te Deum* at the Cathedral. In addition, the September 16 independence celebrations typically began with officials escorting the President to the Cathedral for a formal mass.⁹

Despite a decree limiting nationally recognized religious holidays, Catholic ceremonies continued to constitute an important part of ritual life in Mexico City, both because of the leaders' own commitment to Catholicism and out of recognition that they would lose the support of the Mexican people if they acted too swiftly to reduce the role of the Church in public life. Corpus Christi, for example, remained one of the most magnificent holidays of the year. Many citizens gathered in the streets and at the Plaza Mayor to watch as the religious and civil authorities paraded through the adorned streets with the Holy Eucharist. The *Gaceta diaria de México* reported that the artillery salvos and ringing bells at the Cathedral, combined with the parade, inspired Mexicans to maintain their faith joyfully.¹⁰

In 1826, the federal government appropriated a colonial religious ritual to communicate a new message of civic pride to the citizens. As early as 1629, Federal District inhabitants had celebrated the memory of San Felipe de Jesus, a Mexican Franciscan who had been killed by the Japanese in 1597 and had emerged as the patron saint of Mexico City. In 1826, the editors of *Gaceta diaria* depicted the February 5 holiday as a "patriotic-religious" ceremony to commemorate a martyr who had sacrificed his life to oppressors as the men who had struggled for independence had done. Church bells ringing from all the bell towers in the city--as well as artillery salvos--prompted people throughout the city to attend the commemoration. They gathered in streets adorned with festive banners to watch a procession reminiscent of the colonial period and the Empire, as religious officials and municipal functionaries processed with federal representatives and soldiers to the Cathedral, where the church

ceremony was held. Members of the city's civic groups also marched in the parade, proud to honor such an esteemed Mexican.¹¹

But the federalists' attempts to build legitimacy failed to establish them firmly in power; the traditionalists shared a different view for Mexico and competed to wrest control from the federalists. The traditionalists, or centralists, emerged as a faction during the 1820s and rose to greater prominence in the 1830s. They advocated a strong national government and executive branch and believed that the government should establish a close relationship with the Catholic Church. When in power, traditionalists freely utilized religious symbols and the Church itself to buttress their claims to power in the hearts and minds of Mexicans.

In many ways, the traditionalists' ceremonial involvement with the Catholic Church proved similar to the federalists and indicated the importance of utilizing the Church to foster loyalty among the citizenry. In 1831, for example, the centralist government of Anastasio Bustamante planned lavish celebrations to commemorate the 300-year anniversary of the *Virgen de Guadalupe's* apparition. The *Virgen* remained a powerful national symbol regardless of who held power; this ceremony provided Bustamante's government the opportunity to demonstrate its fealty to the nation and Catholicism simultaneously. In December 1836, the conservative Constitution of 1836, which rendered the federal government stronger than the individual state and favored the military and the Catholic Church, became the law of the land amidst great celebration, despite the protests of the federalists. Celebrations continued into January 1837, when members of Congress and President-interim José Justo Corro took an oath of allegiance before attending a *Te Deum* at the Cathedral, much as their federalist predecessors had done in 1824.¹²

In other cases, the centralists utilized the Church to communicate their distinct ideas about government to the populace. In 1838, the traditionalist-dominated Congress issued a law calling for the reburial of Iturbide alongside the other independence heroes in the Cathedral. With this event, the

legislators sought to reclaim the sacred space in the name of a man who had embodied their own ideas about what was best for Mexico. The three-day ceremony required months of planning before it began at dawn on October 24. As the sun rose above the city skyline, artillery released twenty-one cannon blasts from batteries in the Plaza, the Ciudadela, and Chapultepec; churches throughout the capital responded by ringing the bells 100 times. The cannons roared and the bells pealed every quarter hour until October 26, when the urn was transported from the convent of San Francisco to the Cathedral. Such a lengthy and cacophonous salute commanded the attention of people throughout the city and demonstrated the importance of the Church and the military. Six black horses pulled a funeral car carrying the Emperor's remains amidst an elaborate parade that featured a squadron of cavalry, military officials and other troops, as well as members of the religious communities and churches. Fifty residents of the city's poorhouse appeared to demonstrate solidarity across class lines by marching in mourning clothes with candles. President Bustamante and his cabinet minister rode in coaches at the rear of the parade.¹³

The funeral ceremony itself took place the following morning. The urn awaited the congregants on a lavish platform, as esteemed citizens filed into the cathedral. Dr. José María Gastañeta performed the funeral oration, and a large choir and orchestra provided music during the mass. The ritual concluded by ceremoniously depositing the urn in the chapel of San Felipe de Jesus, where the federalists had buried their heroes in 1823. The traditionalists distinguished their conservative hero from his predecessors by placing him in a separate tomb. With this lavish demonstration that had spanned three months, the centralists reminded citizens that although Hidalgo might have contributed to independence, Iturbide had ultimately accomplished it.¹⁴

Perhaps no one more dramatically demonstrated an appropriation of sacrality than did Antonio López de Santa Anna during his last presidency, which lasted from April 1853 until August 1855. Santa Anna had served as President numerous times both as federalist and a traditionalist. Indeed, his

followers had earned their own moniker, the santanistas, indicating that they formed a distinct faction in early republican politics. Throughout his last administration, Santa Anna followed distinctly traditionalist policies and utilized ceremonies and symbolism in an attempt to foster loyalty to his regime, which he believed provided Mexico the best chance for the nation's success and stability. Such rituals also provided the President the opportunity to show his gratitude to the groups that had helped him gain and maintain power, such as the Church and the military.

Santa Anna strongly supported the celebration of religious holidays. The President attended many religious ceremonies, including Corpus Christi and the ceremony for San Felipe de Jesus, who had been frequently neglected since the federalist rule of the 1820s. He expected municipal and federal officials, civic groups and military officials to participate in these religious observances as well, thus equating loyalty to the Church to fealty to his regime. He more directly asserted his dominance at bishop-elects' investiture ceremonies, where, dressed in his ceremonial uniform and flanked by the Papal Nuncio and the Primate of Mexico, Santa Anna kissed the badges and stoles of the new prelates as they knelt before him and the high Church officials. The bishops therefore symbolically bowed to the authority of the state.¹⁵

Santa Anna expressed tremendous devotion to the *Virgen de Guadalupe* at the same time that he used her image to advance his regime. He ordered that an altar be built in her honor in the chapel at his newly established Palace of Tacubaya. Not content with a small dedication ceremony, he hired an orchestra and required his cabinet members, commissions from the Council of State, the *ayuntamiento*, and civic groups to attend the service. Constructing a private altar to the most beloved religious icon of Mexico proved a fitting appropriation of sacrality for the personalist leader.¹⁶

But he would host a more public and pointed devotion with the reinstatement of the *Orden de Guadalupe*, which he organized after being granted the ability to remain in power indefinitely accompanied by the lofty title "His Most Serene Highness." He hoped that the recreated order would

lend him both national and international legitimacy by honoring a revered national icon according to the customs of the European nobility. Santa Anna proclaimed himself the Grand Master of the organization and invited the most influential men in the nation to join this lofty organization based on their patriotism and service to the nation. He even posthumously inducted Iturbide, Vicente Guerrero and Guadalupe Victoria. The ceremony itself took place on December 19, 1853 at the Chapel of Guadalupe following an elaborate procession from the national palace. The service lasted five hours and included a mass, a *Te Deum*, and a *juramento* to the Order. The apostolic delegate, a *Monseñor* Clementi, helped officiate at the mass, imbuing the proceeding with legitimacy for the many devout Catholics in the chapel. As part of the ceremony, each member knelt before His Most Serene Highness and an image of Jesus and answered a series of questions, and promised to be a loyal member and faithful Catholic. After taking the vows, he recited an oath in which he promised to defend Catholicism and the independence of Mexico. He also promised to “respect and obey the Grand Master.” For each member, Santa Anna announced that he had been received into the Distinguished Mexican *Orden de Guadalupe* “by a special favor from God” and exhorted that he should always wear his cross as a “public and permanent reminder” of what he owed “to God, the Grand Master, and the Order.” With this ceremony, Santa Anna identified his government with the Empire of Iturbide and utilized the image of the *Virgen de Guadalupe*, not to promote loyalty to Mexico itself but to foster loyalty to his particular vision of Mexico.¹⁷

Santa Anna was not the only early republican leader to use religious imagery in such a way; indeed, he simply followed a precedent established by earlier leaders: monarchists, federalists, and traditionalists alike. Politicians had used the Church and its accompanying symbolism as a powerful weapon in the arsenal of nation building. In this process, they attempted to redefine the meaning of Church symbolism in the minds of the citizens to fit their vision of Mexico in order to build legitimacy for their leadership. These leaders were not crassly manipulating sacred imagery; instead, they were

concertedly trying to define Mexico in the ways that they believed would best assure the future of the country. This struggle thus took place as an important and often neglected part of the dramatic contestation that occurred as factions wrestled with the difficult task of creating the Mexican nation.

¹ Paraphrased from Shannon Baker, "Antonio López de Santa Anna's Search for Personalized Nationalism," in *Heroes & Hero Cults in Latin America*, edited by Samuel Brunk and Ben Fallaw (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), p. 58.

² See Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, translated by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); Will Fowler, *Tornel and Santa Anna: The Writer and the Caudillo, Mexico 1795-1853* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000); Fowler, *Santa Anna of Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). See also, Joseph F. Byrnes, "Celebration of the Revolutionary Festivals under the Directory: A Failure of Sacrality," in *Church History*, 63(June, 1994): 201-220, in which Byrnes asserts that while the Directory attempted to accomplish a transfer of sacrality, it ultimately failed in its efforts to build national loyalty through newly created ceremonies.

³ Linda Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), p. 75; Curcio-Nagy, "Introduction: Spectacle in Colonial Mexico," in *The Americas* 52(January, 1996): 275-276; Curcio-Nagy, "Native Icon to City Protectress to Royal Patroness: Ritual, Political Symbolism and the Virgin of Remedies," in *ibid.*, pp. 367-391.

⁴ Timothy E. Anna, "The Iturbide Interregnum," in *The Independence of Mexico and the Creation of the New Nation*, edited by Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1989), pp. 185-186; Timothy E. Anna, *The Mexican Empire of Iturbide* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), pp. 28, 80; William Spence Robertson, *Iturbide of Mexico*(Durham: Duke University Press, 1952), pp. 184-185; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, XII, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1886), 731, 778; *Gaceta del gobierno imperial*, 29 de junio, 16, 20, 30 de Julio, 3 de agosto, 1822, II, 459-461, 517-518, 535, 567-568, 581-584; José María Ramos Palomera, *Proyecto del ceremonial que para la inauguración, consagración y coronación de su Magestad el Emperador Agustín Primero* (México: José María Ramos Palomera, [1822]), pp. 4-5, 7-11; Andres Castaldo, *Ceremonia de la iglesia en la unción y coronación del Nuevo rey ó emperador*, translated by Andres Castaldo (México: Sr. Valdes, 1822), pp. 1-4, 8; Lucas Alemán, *Historia de Mejico desde los primeros movimientos que preparon su independencia en el año de 1808 hasta la época presente*, V (Méjico: Editorial Jus, S.A., 1969), 401-403; Antonio Joaquin Pérez Martínez, *Sermon predicado en la santa iglesia metropolitana de Mejico el día 21 de Julio de 1822* (Puebla: Juan N. del Valle, 1839), pp. 5-7, 18-20; [Alejandro] Valdes, *En la solemne coronación del Señor Don Agustín I. Emperador de Mexico* (México: Sr. Valdes, 1822), n.p.; Richard Warren, "Public Celebration, Political Conflict, and the Transition from Colony to Nation-State in Mexico," Conference on Latin American History, January, 1997, New York City, New York.

⁵ Robertson, *Iturbide of Mexico*, pp. 190-191; Verónica Zárata Toscano, "Tradición y modernidad: la orden imperial de Guadalupe. Su organización y sus rituales," *Historia Mexicana* XLV (1995): 192-193, 195-198; Marina Warner,

Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 302-303; Stafford Poole, C. M., *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995), pp. 5, 26-27; [Agustín de Iturbide], *Premios á los que contribuyeron á la independencia* (México: Imprenta Imperial, 1821), pp. 1-6; *Gaceta del gobierno imperial*, 20 de junio, 25 de julio, 1822, II, 425-426, 549-554; Anna, *Mexican Empire of Iturbide*, p. 79; Imprenta Imperial, *Orden Imperial de Guadalupe* (México: Imprenta Imperial, [1823]), n.p. For more information regarding the meaning of the Virgin of Guadalupe to the Mexican people, see Poole and D.A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix, Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition Across Five Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁶ Robertson, *Iturbide of Mexico*, pp. 190-191; Zárate Toscano, "Tradición y modernidad," pp. 210-213; Alamán, *Historia de Mejico*, V, 405-406; *Gaceta del gobierno imperial*, 15 de agosto, 1822, II, 621-624.

⁷ Anna, *Mexican Empire of Iturbide*, pp. 155-156; Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "The Struggle for the Nation: The First Centralist-Federalist Conflict in Mexico," *The Americas* XLVIV (July, 1992): 4; Donald Fithian Stevens, "Autonomists, Nativists, Republicans, and Monarchists: Conspiracy and Political History in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 10 (Winter, 1994): 251; República Mexicana, decreto de 28 de mayo, 1826 relativo á la formación de un cuerpo de policía municipal en la Ciudad de México," México, 28 de mayo, 1826, Gobernación sección: s/s, caja 95, exp. 3, doc.'s 5-6, Archivo General de la Nación, Distrito Federal, Mexico [hereafter cited as AGN]; Gustavo Santillán, "La secularización de las creencias. Discusiones sobre tolerancia religiosa en México (1821-1827)," in *Estado, iglesia, y sociedad en México. Siglo XIX*, edited by Alvaro Matute, Evelia Trejo y Brian Connaughton (México: Miguel Angel Porrúa, 1995), pp. 177-187; Brian Connaughton, "La sacralización de lo cívico: La imagen religiosa en el discurso cívico-patriótico del México independiente. Puebla (1827-1853)," in *Estado, iglesia*, p. 224; Alamán, *Historia de Mejico*, V, 509; "Acuerdos y programa para celebrar el aniversario de la Independencia proclamada en Dolores," México, 11, 14 de septiembre, 1825, Festividades de 16 y 27 de septiembre, 1823-1845, vol. 1067, exp. 2, Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Distrito Federal, México [hereafter cited as AHDF]; *El sol*, 17 de septiembre, 1825, 17, 19 de septiembre, 1827.

⁸ Francisco Argandar, *Elogio fúnebre de los primeros heroes y víctimas de la patria, que el 17 de septiembre de 1823 en la Iglesia Metropolitana de México á presencia de una Diputación del Soberano Congreso, del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo, demás Corporaciones y Oficialidad* (México: Imprenta del Supremo Gobierno, 1823), pp. 3, 6-7; Alamán, *Historia de Mejico*, V, 484; Carlos María de Bustamante, "Las cenizas de los héroes," in *Páginas escogidas de Carlos María de Bustamante*, edited by Andrés Henestrosa (México, Colección METROPOLITANA, 1975), pp. 188-189.

⁹ *Gaceta del gobierno supremo de la federación Mexicana*, 5 de octubre, 1824; *Gaceta extraordinaria del gobierno supremo de la federación Mexicana*, 10 de octubre, 1824; *El sol*, 6 de octubre, 1824; "Distrito Federal, decretos y circulares, juramento de la constitución," México, 6 de octubre, 1824, Gobernación sección: s/s, caja 69, exp. 1, doc.'s 2-3, AGN; *El sol*, 17 de septiembre, 1825, 17, 19 de septiembre, 1827; *Gaceta diaria de Mexico*, 19 de septiembre, 1825.

¹⁰ *Gaceta diaria*, 5 de junio, 1826.

¹¹ *Gaceta diaria*, 1 de enero, 8 de febrero, 1826; *El sol*, 6 de febrero, 1826.

¹² *Registro oficial*, 18 de noviembre, 10, 11, 26, 29 de diciembre, 1831; Alejandro Valdés, *Voto del ciudadano Doctor José María Aguirre, cura de la Santa Veracruz de México, sobre el proyecto de solemnidad, que ha presentado la commission nombrada por la Junta Guadalupana, para promover y acordar los cultos que se han de tributar á nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, por el cumplimiento de tres siglos de su maravillosa aparición* (México: Alejandro Valdés, 1831), pp. 3-4; Fernando Escalante Gonzalbo, *Ciudadanos imaginarios: Memorial de los afanes y desventuras de la virtud y apología del vicio triunfante en la República Mexicana—Tratado de moral pública* (México: El Colegio de México, 1995), p. 141; Michael Costeloe, *Central Republic in Mexico, 1835-1846: Hombres de Bien in the Age of Santa Anna* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 104-106, 116-119, 125-126; *Diario del gobierno*, 19, 20 de abril, 1837.

¹³ *Diario del gobierno*, 7 de agosto, 25, 26 de octubre, 1838; *El iris. Periódico literario*, 24 de octubre, 1838; Carlos María de Bustamante, *El gabinete de mexicano durante el Segundo period de la adminstración del Exmo. Señor Presidente D. Anastasio Bustamante, hasta la entrega de mando al Exmo. Señor Interino D. Antonio López de Santa Anna, y continuación del cuadro histórico de la revolución mexicana*, I (México: José M. Lara, 1842): 89; José

Ramon Pacheco, *Descripción de la solemnidad fúnebre con que se honraron las cenizas del héroe de Iguala, Don Agustín Iturbide, en octubre de 1838* (México: I. Cumplido, 1849), pp. 28-29.

¹⁴Bustamante, *Gabinete de mexicano*, II, 91-92; Pacheco, pp. 34-39; Alamán, *Historia de mejico*, V, 504.

¹⁵*El universal*, 16 de diciembre, 1853; *Diario oficial*, 16 de Julio, 25 de agosto, 11, 14 de diciembre, 1854, 13, 23, 27 de abril, 6 de junio, 1855; "Sobre la fiesta al proto-mártir Mexicano San Felipe de Jesus," México, 3 de febrero, 1855, *Festividades religiosas, 1695-1867*, vol. 1067, exp. 60, AHDF; Vazquez Mantecón, *Santa Anna y la encrucijada del estado, la dictadura: 1853-1855* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986), pp. 234, 241-244; Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, *Santa Anna: The Story of an Enigma Who Once Was Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 293; Frank C. Hanighen, *Santa Anna, Napoleon of the West* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1934), pp. 274-275.

¹⁶*El universal*, 13 de octubre, 1853; *El siglo XIX*, 13 de octubre, 1853; "Sobre que una [comicion] del Ayuntamiento concurra á la solemnidad que ha de verificarse en el oratorio de Palacio Nacional de Tacubaya para colocar en su nueva altar á la {Ymagen] de María Santísima de Gaudalupe," México, 11 de octubre, 1853, *Festividades religiosas, 1695-1867*, vol. 1066, exp. 53, AHDF.

¹⁷*El siglo XIX*, 15 de noviembre, 2, 4, 20 de diciembre, 1853; *El universal*, 7, 17, 20 de diciembre, 1853; Vazquez Mantecón, p. 50; Hanighen, p. 272, Jones, pp. 128-129; Callcott, p. 294; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, XIII (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886): 639-643; Antonio López de Santa Anna, *Estatutos de la nacional y distinguida orden Mexicana de Guadalupe* (México: Lara, 1853), pp. 4-6, 13-16; "Distrito Federal, decretos y circulares, sobre la ceremonia de la instalación de la Orden de Guadalupe por el presidente Antonio López de Santa Anna," México, 29 de noviembre, 1853, Gobernación sección: s/s, caja 414, exp. 12, doc. 1, AGN; Enrique Fernandez Ledesma, "Santa Anna and the Order of Guadalupe," *Mexican Art & Life* VI (April, 1939): n.p.