

LOYALISM VERSUS AUTONOMISM IN POPAYÁN, NUEVA GRANADA, 1808-1813. THE OPPOSITIONS BETWEEN THE POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE AND THE LOCAL CLERGY

UNA APROXIMACIÓN A LA PARTICIPACIÓN DEL CLERO CATÓLICO EN LA LUCHA POR EL LEALISMO MONÁRQUICO, EL AUTONOMISMO Y EL PATRIOTISMO LOCAL EN NUEVA GRANADA, POPAYÁN, 1808-1813

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Abstract

The Catholic clergy's participation in the struggle for loyalism, autonomism and jun-tism in Popayán entered the scene as an arti-culator of the existing customs and tradition at the time of the interregnum or vacancy of the Spanish King through a series of stra-tegies and discursive interventions that at-tempted the defense of the traditional values and institutions of the old regime and, on the

other hand, the support and resistance to the formation of a local government junta. The-se interventions are presented through ser-mons and arguments that generated a field of discursive confrontation and which in turn claims ban for actions and positions of the King's vassals in the context of the entry of the news on the events and moments of the transformation of the Spanish monarchy that took place in the years 1808 and 1813. The research used the relational approach and identified the capital of moral-political arguments to which Catholic clergy seg-ments resorted to demonstrate loyalty to the monarchical institutions of Spain and its go-vernor in the Province Miguel Tacón and Ro-sique with the support and opposition to the establishment of a local and autonomous government in Popayán.

Keywords: Monarchy, Clergy, Gazettes, News, Revolution, Customs and Traditions.

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Resumen

La participación del clero católico en la lucha por el lealismo, el autonomismo y el juntismo en Popayán entró en escena como un articulador de las costumbres y la tradición existente en momentos del interregno o vacancia del Rey español a partir de una serie de estrategias e intervenciones discursivas que pretendieron, por un lado, la defensa de los valores e instituciones tradicionales del antiguo régimen, y por el otro, el apoyo y resistencia a la conformación de una junta de gobierno local. Dichas intervenciones se presentaron a través de actuaciones, sermones y argumentos que generaron un campo de enfrentamiento, pero que a su vez reclamaban por acciones y toma de posiciones de los vasallos del rey en el marco de entrada de las noticias sobre los sucesos y momentos de la transformación de la monarquía española, que se desarrollaba en los años entre 1808 y 1813. La investigación utilizó el enfoque relacional e identificó el capital de argumentos morales políticos a los cuales recurrieron los segmentos de clérigos católicos para demostrar la lealtad a las instituciones monárquicas de España y a su gobernador en la Provincia Miguel Tacón y Rosique con el apoyo y oposición a la conformación de un gobierno local y autónomo en Popayán.

Palabras clave: Monarquía, Clero, Gacetas, Revolución, Costumbres y tradiciones.

It is undeniable that with the French occupation of Spain and the proclamation of Josep Bonaparte as the new King in July 1808 a cycle of transformation started in both, the heart of the Spanish empire as well in its colonies. In order to deal with the French emperor revolutionary advance, the Spanish political party (Kantorowicz, 2012)¹ recurred in his reigns and provinces to the formation of a system of central junta government that initially sought to counteract the French power and, therefore, backing authority of “the absent King, the beloved king”.

The first body or junta system was created with a Decree on 22nd January 1809, it was called The Supreme Junta of Govern and it was proclaimed as representative for the whole Spanish and America reigns, summoning their vicerealties to elect and send a representative. Such decision, considered unfair because its number of representatives, created in America a tense field and complaints by the creole elites who held positions in the local town council of the Nueva Granada. On the other hand, Spanish theological and religious body took responsibility for invigorating and articulating the culture and customs to maintain the national unity around the abducted king. In Nueva Granada and specially in Popayán, the matter was not different, until after 1809.

¹ Note: We use Kantorowicz's political body concept who conceive is as the integration of three factors: “the perpetuity of the dynasty, the corporative character of the Crown and the immortality of the royal dignity” (Kantorowicz, 2012, p. 319).

The invasion of Napoleon to Spain and the obligation to abdicate of King Fernando VII created fears inside the political body, the religious body and the vassals not only in the metropolis but also in the American peninsula. Worried by the French revolutionary project, such body motivated a series of actions backing the captive king in the form of oaths of allegiance, liturgical sermons, prayers, odes, rogations and economic collects for supporting war in Spain against the invader. Also, some public speeches on allegiance and pronouncements were stated and written by officials of the monarchy, literates, lawyers, dignitaries and Catholic Clergy.

The formation of the Supreme Central Junta in Spain aimed to direct the allegiance to the Spanish King actions, coordinate the military organization against the French invader and govern while the physical figure of the Spanish King was reestablished on the throne: the background was a mean of re-organization within the French revolution context. The Juntas were formed by the *notablato* from the main cities, military, bishops and master priests.

News about these happenings in the Spanish metropolis were received in the colonies by means of gazettes, journals, loose sheets of paper, voyagers and traders accounts, papers that at the end, show a confusing panorama of the monarchic crisis. At provinces, news were spread by the ecclesiastical and civil elites, which highlighted the allegiance and fraternity with the monarch, through the patriotic exaltation and the feelings of national unity towards its figure.

The participation of the Catholic Clergy emerges at times of apparent tensions by questioning the symbols sustaining the old regime, such as: fundamentals of the political power linked to the Spanish identity "God, Homeland and King", the traditional mentality, the theological and mortal person of the King, the Catholic values and caste society. Therefore, their actions and language codes were mediations that announced, on one hand, resistances and tensions to the apparent mutation of the system and, on the other hand, adaptations and negotiations before the eventual transitions to the future new social links.

In the first part of this document the reactions of the civil and ecclesiastic elites of Popayán when receiving the news about the Spanish monarchy crisis are shown. It is detailed the tensions that such news generated on their emissaries such as the resistance to the creation of a local junta that at the very beginning, intended to keep the Spanish King authority and, at the same time, to seize the circumstances to move forward toward a kind of autonomies for the province, that a year after became revolutionaries. By opposing its establishment by the Governor and his *taconistas* (supporters of Tacón) elites in the town council, the field of argument is dynamized ending up in the radicalization of the government junta and an endless number of interventions of the political and religious bodies of the Spanish King.

In the second part it is examined how Popayán's Catholic Clergy intervenes keeping the old regime by intensifying the cultural values of the epoch: national unity around the Spanish King through sermons, intimi-

dations, riots and blocs and at the end, the mutations of the clerics and members of the town council are also identified. Through this paper, it is intended to give an account of the tense relationships created by the transformation of the old Hispanic regime in a province far away from the empire.

First impacts of the news on the Hispanic Revolution in the Province of Popayán

In the metropolis, the Napoleonic invasion and the abdication of the king created, in addition to a tension due to the advancing of the French revolutionary project "Enemy of the Christian faith, the Homeland and the King", the need of facing it. The figure to do so, was the formation of the Supreme Central Junta of Spain, that appears as the responsible fiction before the absence of the divine possessor of a vacant dignity (Kantorowicz, 2010, p. 318). For the American colonies, the Supreme Central Junta makes an invitation call to elect their representatives or vocals to the Junta in the Nueva Granada provinces and the provincial elites were the central actors in the process of electing the representatives. For them, it was the expectation of the possible opportunity of getting more status, defining the American rights before the monarchy and the possibility of arranging reforms. Its social composition was within the erudite creole circles, land owners and the Catholic clergy.

At Nueva Granada, in Popayán, with the rejection by the Governor Miguel Tacón y Rossique of the plans of the council mem-

bers of the junta, a field of disputes was created between taconists and 1808 payanese patriots, who were supporters of the formation of a provincial junta that aimed to reference the juntists experience of Santa Fe and Quito systems, and, at the same time, change to an independent authority in the city. The disputed field is inaugurated as the strategies of Governor Tacón to avoid the call to the assembly move forward; it is there when juntists refine an attitude of opposition to his authority, which is interpreted by the taconist party as an opposition to the Central Junta of Spain and a dismemberment of the mother land, since such denounces made evident the ineffectiveness of monarchy functioning.

Tacón, as stated before, recurred to a series of impediments for the advancing of the Government junta of Popayán, such as the forming of an alliance system with the political and ecclesiastic segments. This is described by an historian from that epoch, Mr. Arboleda when referring to the juntists experiences in other cities:

Ordered another farce by summoning the people by public bando. In one of the square corners, they put a throne for the tyrant and chairs for the excellency town council and other dignitaries of the absolutism, and after a diffuse rally uttered by the perpetual orator José Ignacio Castro², declared the Cali, but also the ones from Santa Fe and Neiva. (Arboleda, 1971, p.59)

² Note: Member of the provisional Junta, Castro was a representative commissioned before the Town Council of Cali to promote the formation of a real or provisional junta in that city (Arboleda, 1971).

Expressions of loyalty to this pronouncement were backed by the town council of Popayán segments in the context of other province's autonomist experiences and civil and revolutionary war happenings. Later on, such loyalty was openly transfigured with the invocation of what is religious and with the pronouncing done on 20th August 1809 day when a religious celebration of Jesus was suddenly interrupted at El Tambo parish, with the appearance of the judge from Quito Audience Ignacio Tenorio (Banco de la República, 07 de febrero de 2014 (Bank of the Republic, 7th February 2014))³ who arrived to Quito to inform the governor of Popayán Miguel Tacón y Rosique about the facts of the revolution in that city and in his tour he:

Headed to the church, and after staying inside for some minutes, left in fury and show himself before the concourse of the ones watching and surprised said: the first duty of a Christian was to thank God for the benefits received, that for his part He had given to him, manifesting his gratitude for having conducted that town of Catholics and having delivered them from falling in the hands of the heretics insurgents of Quito, who having abjured from religion and the obedience to the King of Spain, had the dare to depose the president, Count Ruiz del Castillo; the Real Audience and other real civil servants, installing a govern junta, protesting to Fernando VII. (Banco de la República, 07 de febrero de 2014 (Bank of the Republic, 7th February 2014)).

3 Note: Ignacio Tenorio was Judge of the Audiencia of Quito. Owner of the Cañasgordas ranch, inherited from his father. He keeps a robust correspondence about the happenings in Quito, Popayán and Santafé with don Vicente de Rojas, Viceroyalty Govern and War Public Scribe Senior officer (Arboleda, 1971, p. 58).

4 Note: Neo-granadan patriot revolutionary models were the natives from Quito and Caracas, who powerfully had an impact in Cartagena's emancipation process which, in turn, served as an experience for the ones in Santa fe, probably for the early time of their revolution (1809) and proximity to the neo-Granadan viceroyalty. News of the happening in Quito arrived Santa Fe de Bogotá via Popayán. See: (Martinez, 1933, pp. 181-206).

Through the ideologic interpretation of the happenings in Quito, Ignacio Tenorio incorporated in Governor Tacón the bond between moral and politics that led him to strengthen his negative vision of the facts referring to the formation of a govern junta in Popayán. The words of don Ignacio Tenorio reveal the nature of the monarchic society and its aversion to all type of reforms to the regime, in summary, the ideas that had been structured during XVI and XVII centuries that reflect the resistance to change by incorporating morals to politics. Thus, the patriots from Quito were depicted as rebels, apostates, insurgents and French heretics (Arboleda, 1971. P. 59), and referenced the Bishop José Caicedo Cuero as an "apostate imitator of the sworn priests from France; that the evil was grave, that it has permeated to many notable individuals in this city" (Arboleda, 1971, p 59).

The Political tradition and the junrist twist

In Popayán, during the year 1808, feelings and attitudes backing monarchy had been uniform and very well supported by the cumulus of actions made by the elites to strengthen the Spanish loyalism and patriotism. During the first months of 1809 news about the Quito revolution arrived to Popayán and with them the invitation sent from there through documents the so-called Marquis Pedro Montufar de Selva Alegre, aiming to influence the corporation (Martinez, 1993)⁴ to adhere to a junta created for such purpose, because for him:

The creation of a junta was the result of the sovereign power resumption by a people loyal to God, the homeland and the King; that, dismayed by the conquest of Spain by France, the crowing of Bonaparte in Madrid and the dissolution of the Central Junta, He sees as an imperative need to create a similar one, supreme and interim, that could preserve the rights of Fernando VII and govern on his behalf while the king retakes his throne. (Prado, 2008, p. 75).

Due to the above mentioned, governor Miguel Tacón acted by sending papers to Lima and Guayaquil to unify criteria “that allows to reject any advance over province” (Cauca’s Official Central Archive [ACC], 1809, f. g) and ordered to immediately suspend the mailing coming from Quito (ACC, 4th April 1810, f. 190 v.); likewise, he established that if any neighbor ever required to send an urgent paper, should give it opened for the inspection of the Governor, and if it was believed to be convenient it will be sent through extraordinary mailing (ACC, 1809, f. 56 r.)

News coming from Quito stressed the civil and ecclesiastic elite, and also the military elite led by the governor, because “insurrection deserved the common despise, their official communications were received with disdain and even the love for King Fernando was supported” (ACC, 1809, f. 7). This fact of unity from the town council was presented with the general vote of Popayán against the Quito system, which made it easier for the governor to act in order to resist against any twist in the political promonarchist legalism in Popayán, as glimpsed in the paper mixing the traditional legitimacy, this is, the relationship between politics and religion:

At any of its times they will be incompatible with them (their feelings) the novelty introduced by Quito against Monarchy’s fundamental laws, and about notoriously fake happenings. Changing the established govern; demanding an independent authority, existing the authority of the King; to oppose the Supreme Junta of Spain, and Indias who represent His Majesty another supreme power; forgetting the solemn oath of obedience made before that August Body; to insult the constituted chiefs and bodies; violate their immunity; show to the people an example of the most arbitrary violence, to suppose that the Central Junta is extinguished, or to believe, even in this non succeed case, it was licit to recognize themselves as vassals, to fund by oppression of by force a sovereignty; all the above is to attempt against Jesus-Christ Sacrosanct law, and against the Empire of Fernando VII... it was a need not to have been a transgressor of Divine Law, that commands to be subject to the legitimate Powers, not to have broken the social pact, have religiously observed the oaths, and not to have been shaken the Monarchy government. (ACC, 1809, f. 107r-107v).

This way, before a possible political twist and the establishment of a provincial junta in Popayán, the governor succeeded on momentarily control the political novelty (Valencia, 1992; Echeverry, 2009, Ramos, 2012)⁵, like this:

And so, the governor Tacón could operate at will and with the perspicacity characterizing him. Without delay he standardized the way of thinking of the people of the Northern Valle del Cauca, because the people from Pasto at that moment launched anathemas against their rivals from Quito and armed themselves to oppose them. (ACC, 1809, f. 7).

In October 1809, the governor, in his fierce objective of restraining the formation of revolutionary juntas in the province, resorted to the strategy of preventing the alignment under the influence of the happenings in Quito in August 1809, as long as “the policies of Tacón had consisted in trying to ‘isolate’ the large Province of Popayán from the contact with the insurgent ideas and actions in the south (Quito) as well as in the north (Santa fé)” (Almaria, 2005, p.15).

That bet from the juntists of conforming local Juntas was also spread by the transmission of the news from those places, which, as seen by the governor of Popayán, had created resistance, because talking about autonomous or local Juntas would be to recognize an “illegal and unpolitic way of administration that would break the bonds of the union with the motherland [in] a group of separate governs exposed to the convulsion

5 Note: the political novelty coming from Quito, initially could not be done since the rejection of the local elite from Quito and the internal division of the government junta into the nonconformism of the distribution of their bureaucracy. The “conspiratorial” intentions of expansion revealed themselves due to the interest that a captain; Juan Salinas, a lawyer; Rodríguez de Quiroga and a priest from Quito had in overthrowing the government of the Province of Popayán, Miguel Tacón and to make the power replacement (Valencia, 1992, pp. 55-101). Jointly, the invitation of installation of a govern junta as a political alliance as a pretention of the city territorial expansion:

Towards the most valued mining zone in Barbacoas, northern Quito, historic axis of Popayán’s richness... Quito was in decline and depended on Popayán (also on Cuenca and Guayaquil to the south). In the midst of the imperial crisis shaking all Hispanic regions, Popayan’s government radically reacted against Quito’s autonomist and expansionist tendencies. (Echeverry, 2009, pp. 45-72).

However, first juntas have also been interpreted as a protective body of the monarchy order before an eventual and structural political change:

Those first Juntas had an eminently preventive, conservative nature, because their main purpose was to avoid an eventual annexation of the American provinces to the French empire, under the pretext of revindicating Fernando VII kingdom legitimacy, while it was intended to foresee any type of social mobilization that was potentially subversive in nature, such as the first Junta of Quito, afraid of eventual uprisings of the natives. (Ramos, 2012, pp. 15-276)

and disorders coming together with popular influence” (Letter from the governor Miguel Tacón to the Supreme Junta of Santafé, Popayán, 28th December 1810, Cali Municipality Archive. Quoted by Zawadzky 1996, pp. 170-176).

Together with the situation in Quito in 1809, more news came from Santa fe and Spain that generated the need of appealing to the participation of the Town Council as a block, obeying Governor Tacón discourse, regarding the strengthen the sense of belonging to Spanish sovereignty and the loyalty to the King. As highlighted by the assertion of Cali’s city trustee official, Antonio Camacho to the Town Council of Popayán:

In such circumstances, if we respect our sacred religion, if we love Fernando the Seventh, if we want to keep free and independent these immense possessions for him from the Usurper dominion, it is necessary, I repeat, that we wake up, open our eyes, and do not let ourselves caught by surprise for this inaction”. (Quintero & Martinez, 2008, p.274).

The union appealed so that in Popayán a block be constructed, a unity, but conserving:

... the honor of exercising this employment in which all people place their trust, in the current memorable crisis of the nation can no less than interest its voice and ministry in defending the three precious objects, Religion, King and homeland, which are menaced by the Tyrant from the Europe (Quintero & Martinez, 2008, p.274).

The political tension at Nueva Granada was intensified with more news, because:

Under these circumstances it was received on 5th August by mail from Santafé news about a popular commotion that had taken place there on 20th July and which consequences were the deposition of the viceroy as well as the Spanish authorities, being established a supreme junta” (ACC, 1801, f.11)

Meanwhile in Popayán, at least with the crisscross of papers between Cali and Popayán Town Councils political segments, the need of constructing a govern junta that be persistent on the idea of "conciliate the holy authority of the sovereign with the freedom and privileges of the people" (Gonzalez, sf, p. 2)., with the call for participation and deliberation, for liberty, autonomy of government or political expressions, it makes lots of sense to lay out that "in the Hispanic world the nation is maintained first against an external adversary, Napoleon in an initial phase, the peninsular Spain after that, once commenced the process of independence" (Sábato, 1999, p. 66).

On 11th August 1810 it was received the invitation made by the Supreme and Gubernatorial Central Junta of Spain so, once recognized its authority, representatives were elected to conform the general junta. Governor Tacón summoned a town council or open board, and in such, it was agreed that an answer would be given to the supreme junta telling them that the city itself could not deliberate without the rest of the representatives from the other provinces, and those should be summoned as well so that, by common agreement, could be resolved whatever it would be the most convenient about the terms in which the meeting in Santafé should be done (ACC, 1810, f. 11).

In 1810 the security provincial junta was formed and was composed by five individuals that were elected there, they were D. José M. Mosquera, the schoolmaster D.D Andrés Marcelino Pérez Valencia y Arroyo,

Manuel Arboleda, D. Mariano Lemos and D. Manuel Dueñas. The governor should preside over the junta, limiting his faculties to summon the representatives from the cities of the province and, in the meantime, to promote the good, order and public tranquility, and such functions should cease in the time when the provincial junta would be formed, that was the entity that should made the final arrangements (ACC, 1810, f. 11-12)⁶, and since the very installation of the Provisional Junta of Health and Public Safety a political division in the Town Council was formed; this is, the unfavorable manifestation regarding opinions about whether the governor Tacón should or should not assume the authority of the Viceroy in the province of Popayán:

Manifested their adverse opinion to the installation of the Junta Don Ignacio Alonso de Velasco, first vote ordinary mayor; Francisco Antonio de Revollo, second nomination mayor; Francisco Ignacio de Urquiza, Account Highest Court of Quito accountant and visitor of Popayán mint; the accountant Manuel del Campo y Larraondo, the royal ensign don Manuel Antonio Tenorio, the chief court clerk and perpetual councilor Manuel José de Borja, councilors José Solís and Antonio Bueno; Eusebio Ramírez de Arellano and don Francisco Javier Rodríguez, prebendaries from the cathedral; Dr. don José María Gruesso, the prior of San Francisco, fray Francisco Pugnet, the prefect of the Betlemitas hospital, fray Francisco de la Purificación, the administrator of the mail Joaquín Rodríguez, elected board member of the Junta, the coronel lieutenant don Francisco Gregorio de Angulo, commander of the disciplined militia; the administrator of the tobacco don Francisco Diago. (Bank of the Republic, 7th February 2014).

⁶ ACC, Popayán, capitular books 1810, f.11-12.

The Royal Ensign, Antonio Tenorio did not agree on the formation of such health junta, because he argued that it undermined the power of the corporation. Given the subsequent inconveniences the Junta had to meet in plenary, the ensign took advantage of this impasse to turn against the “efficacy” of the junta, arguing that such should be submitted to the regency in the sacred name of the king (ACC, 1810, f. 12). Things being so, the fragmentation of the commoners with the formation of factions in Popayán was materialized: ones inclined to support the continuity of the junta and others defending governor Tacón, representing the king, as the only legitimate center.

This political reality gave birth in a wide sector of Popayán’s town council to a series of union and cooperation actions, rallies, and confrontations, questionings, public and secret meetings and uprisings in open opposition to authorities of the monarchism. Such actions coincide with the ones experienced by other cities in the Old Viceroyalty, as stated by Vanegas (2013):

And a series of demands revealing a deterioration of the relationship between the subjects of the crown and the power, which among some notables [...] it is translated as the emergence of an innovative attitude in Nueva Granada>> (73). These organizational actions which were revolutionary and autonomous in nature entered the picture as the possibility the juntists had for opposing the figure of governor Tacón, and as the royalist orientation were understood as “the germ of division, and produced the general disruption of the Nueva Granada subdivided into small and monstrous juntas, such as Santa Fe’s . (f.13).

The division and adverse opinion of the town council members wide segment in 1810 opened the opportunity for the go-

vernor Tacón to give “pretexts and means for dividing the citizens and turn odious the security junta” (ACC, 1810, f.13), later summoning the city council, the juntism started shaping its way of action starting from the search of “unity” with the people from El Valle for sending representatives and commissioners to make part of the Supreme junta, as the demands and “the efforts of the security junta and the commissioners lectures were played dumb; not even giving them a hearing with notorious disdain” (ACC, 1810, f.14). The corporate interest did not come into play this representation, since “it could never prevail in it: that there were no other aim than the common happiness; and above it all, that the way of meeting in Santafé should be a work of general deliberation, ensuring so the freedom and well-being of the peoples” (ACC, 1810, f.14).

Given above mentioned circumstances, juntists acted summoning a series of meetings in the secrecy; at the Dominican convent met: Mariano Lemus, Ignacio Larrahondo, Mariano Valencia y Valencia, Miguel Quijano, Pedro Antonio Nates, Francisco Antonio Pombo, Juan Antonio Ibarra, Master priest Francisco Mosquera, professor Toribio Miguel Rodríguez, José María Buendía, José Pérez de Arroyo, Francisco Antonio Rebolledo, Manuel Varona, Calixto Sandoval, Matías Carvajal; Joaquín Mariano Mesa y Joaquín Cordero; Serafín Ibarra y Javier Valencia (Arboleda, 1971, p.62). these meetings were sabotaged by the parish judge

José Antonio Balcázar who “run through his neighborhood, San Francisco, from house to house, together with sergeant Mariano Guevara, making the inhabitants to know

that insurgents wanted to act again and they were meeting in Santo Domingo” (Arboleda, 1971, p.64). in these meetings juntists had decided to send an emissary to the town council to explain their motivations and requests:

Francisco Ximenez Ulloa eloquently exposed that the town had met in Santo Domingo and requested from the authorities that they were allowed to legally convoke themselves to discuss about what to do before the circumstances they were going through; mayor don Ignacio de Velasco, councilors José Solís, don Juan Francisco and Felipe Grueso, the Ensign don Antonio Tenorio and the parish judge don Francisco Antonio Belcázar denied such request arguing that it was a heresy that the people get involved in government matters (Arboleda, 1971, p.62).

Backing on the news and happenings, the arguments of the juntists spread into a critic attitude to demonstrate the inoperancy of the monarchy. Francisco Ximenes Ulloa (the junta had elected him as secretary) “unfolded very liberal ideas in the proclamations and in the invitation to the body to the cities and towns of the province. The governor submitted himself to everything, because he was full of distrust due to the bad series of event in Spain” (ACC, 1810, f 12), and made a summary of the monarchic crisis events: “a monarchy completely subjugated before Napoleon’s power “and a local town council backing its authority and government in the king, being Fernando VII a prisoner and the rest of the peninsular authorities ousted, now the town council was no more than a: dead and already corrupted body” (Arboleda, 1971, p.64). days after, juntists Mariano Larrahonda and Antonio Gil Tejada intervened in the town council to insist on the mo-

narchic deterioration and crisis and, above it all, on its inability of action, inviting to take actions for organizing the government in the city, since this was acephalous (Arboleda, 1971, p.64).

The reference to the political fact they exposed to support the argument of the absence or acephalia of power in the city was that they observed the example of Spain, where, before the monarchic crisis, were the govern juntas the ones exercising authority (Arboleda, 18971, p. 67). Thus, the behavior and critic questioning to the political regime by those notables were formulated in an evident lack of monarchic loyalism sense and in a resolute political action:

Among the creole notables had emerged a will of grouping themselves in order to set up new initiatives aiming to confront authorities, which had been anathematized as aggressor of Americans. It was about a clash of which it is necessary to talk about its revolutionary character, as it is also revolutionary the grouping of creoles itself, in which perhaps it is convenient to call it the “revolutionary body”. (Arboleda, 1971, p.71).

One of the reasons why the division of the town council is reinforced with a great enthusiasm and, as a result, the opposition or “revolutionary” attitude is because the decision of a town council loyalist segment of keeping intact the political body authority in the figure of the governor of the city, “the city council argued that he alone was the legal subsidiary authority by default of the authority of the Viceroy and Real Audience and their civil members and submitted to the governor, also supported his intentions” (ACC, 1810, f. 15), and not to grant the freedom for deliberation and adhesion to the kingdom junta.

The division resulted into the exercise of governor's authority; this is, at that time politics materialized between "legitimacy and legal force" that ended up in the dissolution of the security junta, since:

...This way it was easy to destitute the security junta, and by the governor taking a proud tone of absolute authority for admonishing the towns and carry out the dissolution of the junta, starting for not attending to its sessions and not summoning them later. (ACC, 1810, f. 15).

All the above caused that the agitation of the environment and that the juntist and autonomy attitude be strengthened, by noticing that:

Popayán neighbors believed they were insulted with the vilipend done to the junta. As a consequence, they met at Santo Domingo in numbers exceeding hundreds of notables, requesting for the establishment of the junta with enough authority for acting on its own. (ACC, 1810, f. 17).

This fact led Tacón to relinquish or accept the summon for deliberations, thus:

On 30th October neighbors gathered with the participation of the city council; the first were afraid of the meetings and the freedom of the speeches there, the session was public and heated, reduced to the fact that had not the cities of El Valle sent its representatives, a provisional government was formed, by default of the royal authorities. (ACC, 1810, f. 17).

Perhaps, this was indeed the first direct "free and public" interaction in which the political matters of the town council were discussed, with the menace of the circumstances created by the domestic political crisis before the autonomist intention, when "a majority of 83 votes was against 32 on favor of the liberal system that keeps the towns safe and recognizes the distrust of El Valle..." (ACC, 1810, f. 17). At the end, it was

not about the election or not of the representative of the city for the kingdom junta, but, it was about the opportunity the juntists had at hand for continuing eroding the basis of the Spanish political order "the ferment of the restlessness is not the conformity with the representation, but the revolution, from which such inconformity is a result and not a cause" (Vanegas, 2013, p.73).

Before the revolutionary attitudes and actions of the juntists for initially taking part in the central junta and then favor to define a new authority, Cali's trustee call the attention about the course of the revolution: "the Central Junta was, it is true, the depositary of the sovereignty for the votes all over the nation; but this very nation never authorized it for transmitting the sovereign power to any other body without its consent" (Quintero & Martínez, 2008, p. 274). Nevertheless, the distrusts of El Valle were observed with the tension deposited on the taconist politics, who referred to the Council as a body "loyal and legitimate depositary of Fernando VII rights" (Quintero & Martinez, 2008, p. 274). This could be corroborated by the mail circulating between the councils of Cali and Popayán. Here it could be glimpsed the stances on Popayan's juntist process, as:

We have the honor to help the benefic ideas from the capital. Since in Popayán due to a low servile adulation have not dared to claim their rights. The regulations of the regency council may be very good, very useful, very interesting, but so far, in the last years we have been no more than a bunch of settlers; miserable slaves; beasts of burden. (García, 2003, p.1)

Tacón's actions to control the assembly were given in three scenarios. Firstly, relating in commander Gregorio Angulo, joining Pasto forces, where the assembly of

Popayán could be dissolved; secondly, summoning a minority number of “loyal friends” ;“when at night, the governor summoned Mosquera, Lemos, Pérez (Santiago), Camacho and Sarasty” for mediating and move the moral regarding conserving the continuity of the royalist ideas “with the pretext of inciting them to influence in the peace” (García, 2003, p1), as clearly written in a letter paragraph sent by Tacón to Miguel Pey⁷:

Do not disregard, you, new rulers for the eternal honor of Popayán, that its main corporations, employees, various families, and almost all the masses of the people, belonging to the lower classes have firmly and with freedom resisted the change of Government: that the ones desiring it have desisted for the greatest part of their design, or moved by the piety of town, that instead of rioting, while the notables were congregated in the heat of liberalization, searched for protection at the feet of the temple altars. (García, 203, p. 1).

Third, he continued to make another strategy together with the same commander Ángulo, now as a reiterated menace of using force. Angulo talked with Tacón “...about his troops, his loyalty to the king, and about the sword to destroy the ones who would oppose him.” (ACC, 1810, f. 17). The next strategy from the royalists to contain the revolutionary juntist aspiration was invoking the civil elite to take action, this is, linking a coalition policy for preventing from within the advance of the creation of a government outside the royalist matrix, so that:

On 2nd November the governor called for a junta with only legitimate authorities and the city council was composed, by the ecclesiastic and ordinary prelates, the employees and military chiefs. They declared void what was agreed on 30th and 31st October and the governor was authorized in full, having in certain cases to deliberate with the City Council since he had recognized the authority of the regency of Spain, and circulating orders so all provinces recognize him (ACC, 1810, f 17).

The Governor relayed himself on segments of the ecclesiastic elite, won several families from Popayán and also many clergy and friars for opposing the formation of the local government junta, and through Gregorio Angulo (Bank of the Republic, 7th February 2014)⁸ and his forces, resisted various attempts made by the patriots from Popayán to establish it (Restrepo, 1972) and so achieving “...to maintain Popayán’s power and perpetuate himself in the power based on the recognizing of the Regency Council and their politic maneuvers on Popayán and Buga elites and clergy” (Almarío, 2005, p. 156).

Of course, governor’s tension to the installation of the local government junta by the patriots from Popayán is because such junta separates itself from the only valid junta, the central one, which was the general scheme and way of supporting Fernando VII, put into discussion the role of the Viceroy as a mediator agent between him; the monarch; Nueva Granada and the provinces and the form of historical organization of the Hispanic political subsystem. These governmental claims and others similar ones are questioned regarding its basis on that local patriotic junta despite the metropolis granted its autonomy

7 Note: José Miguel Pey (1763-1838). Statesman and patriotic military, was ordinary mayor of Santa fe de Bogotá and characterized himself for a moderate level between radical and moderated agitations in the Supreme Junta.

8 Note: Gregorio de Angulo, was a commander coronel of the disciplined militia. Was one of the members that stated that governor Tacón should assume the authority of this province viceroy.

within the monarchy pact-based tradition (politic language and ideology).

From that moment on, founding a local junta within the pact-based tradition opened the possibility for the patriotic juntists to set out autonomist revindications inside the monarchic structure, their grounds of legitimacy exposed on the vacancy of the king, the interregnum and the *vocation regis*, this is, that in the absence of the king, the power returns to the nation, the political classes and kingdoms.

Catholic priests and politics at Nueva Granada

In XIX century at Nueva Granada, the most influential and significant cultural mediator and social agent was the priest, since, in the monarchic society, he represented the theological and political power sustaining the regime at a great extent. Caicedo (2008) stated:

This figure became central due to the double task they had to perform: one of political nature by supplanting the civil power in zones scarcely integrated to the state administration, and other of cultural kind by continuing with their original task of evangelizing people who were outside Christianity with the aim of saving their souls". (p. 32).

As influential actors on that kind of society, priests occupied himself in stabilizing and also invigorating the culture of the epoch. Their activity was linked to the fact that they mobilized aspects of the political ideas defending king's authority and autonomism, with the ideological conception as a legitimator resource, of the nostalgia feelings, and remembrance of a glorious past

with the monarchic order or, of expectation for a promising future with the installation of the local government juntas.

It could be said that the enthusiastic participation and intromission of priests in the political scene of Nueva Granada, is intimately bonded to their philosophical and theological knowledge. This led this character to employ persuasion and communication strategies in the "combat of the morals" (Caicedo, 2008, p. 38) placing themselves in the complex world of that epoch langue and in the fallacies of argumentation; this is, they used, among many other rhetorical figures, the argumentum ad baculum thus declaring sacrosanct a point of view through pressuring the opposite, threatening, in this particular case, with the moral type sanctions, or with the ad misericordian arguments that looked for influencing the opposing party, this time, manipulating the feelings of compassion. This is comprehensible when considered that:

Priests are mediators between God and the people, through their words (announcing the true Live contained within Christian doctrine), the ritualistic acts they run (above it all, in the mass, consecrate and offer the body and blood of "our lord" and the remedies they offer (sacraments), they stablish a solid bridge of contact allowing to process at the same time true transcendental divine designs and announces as well as human petitions and acknowledgments. (Caicedo, 2008, p. 38).

To all the above it is also added that:

The fanaticism of some ecclesiastics engaged in persuading Granadans that obeying the kings was a divine right, and that there could not be religion where they were not in charge: here are the main features that characterized the state of those times public opinion. (Restrepo, 1969, p.102).

Even so, catholic clergy was not a homogeneous organization when emitting their speeches, sermons, homilies or other opinions for keeping or going against the order established by the authority of the king and the colonial culture in the Nueva Granada provinces.

Regarding that, Pacheco (1975) states that:

The Catholic Church actively and directly took part in the liberation and political independence process, which led to a common place of internal confrontations between two tendencies, one called the higher clergy, who supported and defended monarchy as an expression of continuity of the King of Spain authority and other called the lower clergy who backed the revolutionary cause (p. 48).

A factor that could have an impact on the presence of tensions in the XIX century, which were materialized in those two tendencies, was the presence of various ecclesiastic orders or missions such as Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians and Mercedarians since XVIII century, who apparently at the diocese fight and confront each other for the religious control of the various localities. Their rivalry created a number of conflicts that over time gave birth to the formation of factions and fights for the appointment of specific positions. This situation led Fray Lucas Bara to visit the province of Popayán and scandalize himself because of the clergy situation and mainly because of the Dominican order, realizing that in many of them, there were no dedication to study, that there were "free" monks not subscribed to any monastery, that monastery's properties were not properly administrated and that some of the important positions had been performed by people that did not meet all demanded requirement (Medina, 1992).

As also being an *intellectual* elite, the higher clergy occupied a central role in keeping the loyalty and relegitimization of the monarchic power in Nueva Granada provinces, since their presence in the social structure was due to what Weber (1994) would call traditional domination; this is, when that credibility and centrality is based in the sanctity of ordinances and commanding power inherited from old times, believing in it by merits of its sanctity. (Weber, 1994). Because of that, clergy used its power through moral, legal and military financing exhortation mechanism, with the purpose of impede the filtration of the ideas and the collaboration with the patriotism.

In a practical way, the centrality of the Catholic Church and its clergy can also be evidenced in various works: Pérez (2002) and Mollien (1984) where they mentioned the stories captured in various papers from foreign travelers who stated, as A. Von Humboldt, that their influx was determined by the use of their traditional legitimacy or arbitrary power on ignorant men without defense. Jean Baptise Boussingault, when visiting Supía, said about the clergy of the locality that he promoted processions of the patron saint to make it rains, never without first receiving scientific information in advance from the French man, so their rogatory be effective (Boussingault, 1994, 99. 112-114). Likewise, foreign visitors coincide in recognizing that the priests from the parishes have an absolute moral authority on the rural population.

Such centrality allowed clergy from the Nueva Granada society to manifest themselves in an organic way, this is, taking ideo-

logical, intellectual and political stances randomly before the independence conjunctions, bond themselves to the processes of dissidence or support the republican project, as stated by Hoyos (1950) when said that there were not lacking of ecclesiastic and religious of deep knowledge and recognized virtues who were supportive of the revolution. The truth is that the most of them, due to their behavior were "...wayward and revolting clergy, schemers and political intriguers, cloisters monks, who were friends of novelties and unsatisfied with the situation, who placed all their enthusiasm and passion to the service of the insurgents" – and to the King of Spain" (Hoyos, 1950. Sp.).

Catholic clergy from Popayán and the Revolution

From here on, what matters is to track the intervention of the Catholic clergy from Popayán province in the conjuncture of questioning the values of the monarchic society. Thus, in 1809 a segment of Franciscan friars had assumed the work of reestablishing the tranquility of the political regime through sermons. One first sermon given by friar Francisco Grueso and his followers, Franciscans Antonio Gutiérrez, Juan de los Dolores, Zamora y Domingo Ramírez, used examples associated to biblical disgraces for those taking part in the patriotic actions, for example, associating "the locust plague that had battered the fields and crops with the high costs the inhabitants of the city were going through, that was the first punishment from god for rebelling against the king" (ACC, 1809, f. 3v).

The second sermon recurred to intimidation regarding the honor of women when allowing themselves to contemplate the actions of the juntists from Popayán:

They run from town stores and houses' door to door and cry over the innocent women and their daughters telling them that the junta was the greatest evil heaven sends to the peoples and acclaimed, miserable! Very soon you will see husbands separated, our maiden daughters raped, the bridal bed spotted, and prostitutes and widows. The Altar will be the manager of the horses, and the vases used for the sacrifice of God will be the cups of the dissolution. Our forefather's religion is going to be lost. (ACC, 1809, 3r-3v).

With the purpose of expanding the backing for the opposition to the advance of the juntists plans, Spanish friars Fernando Gutiérrez, José y Francisco Puynet, Pedro and Juan de Dios travelled to Pasto city. A third sermon recurred to the use of the intimate and sacred relationship between God and the king; as a consequence, the heresy that thinking in their separation was, following the example:

Creole friars Francisco Grueso, -Fernando Racines, José Joaquín Tejada, Pedro Velasco travelled to various towns to the South [...] enjoying the fame of being saint [...] devoted themselves to a campaign of sermons and exhortations against the heresy [...] other friars went down El Tambo, Timbio and La Horqueta towns; the La Pedregosa, Gelima, Quilcace and Anayas points that were at the expense of the rumors coming after the sermons of a clergy" (Arboleda Castrillón, 1971, p33). -the juntists were pointed as <<barbarians, cruel and impious, moved in their intentions by a furious thirst of innocent and loyal blood. (ACC, 1816, F. 22v).

On the subject of the latter, Arboleda (1971), states:

In advance he had prepared that the Franciscan friars travel to Pasto to enthrone those people [...] through all the town on their way, they were exercising their mission of agitating the "patians" and other towns to the south...and rolling up their habits, and holding a staff in their hands they exhibited themselves to the people telling them to look at those victims of the heretics, that religion and its ministries were the target of the (gifle) insurgents (gifle was a term used to call the people from Cali); that they were going to take refuge in that loyal and catholic city, for preserving themselves and to preserve from the contagion of the heresy to those loyal lovers of the throne and religion. Those men need not very much to exalt the passions whose overflowing produced so great disgraces later. (p, 71).

José María Gruesso, priest and provisor of Popayán, was perhaps one of the monks who defended with greater vehemence the continuation of the political order in the figure of authority and head of governance: don Miguél Tacón. His participation was made through homilies and public speeches:

Took the floor the (presbyter) doctor José María Gruesso, and with that crying tone that was natural in him, put his hands together like the implorers do, saying: no sir governor you will not leave us orphans in the hands of reforming philosophers, which it would be the same as handing us over to anarchy; retake in your pure hands that baton wanting to abdicate, symbol of the authority that our anguished and disgraced monarch has put on it, and you must keep without dishonoring in no way, until, once freed from the innocuous captivity in which the usurper and tyrant of kings has you, then you will be able to occupy again the exalted throne. (Arboleda, 1971, p.49).

Clearly, the presbyter opposed himself to the forming of the govern Junta since he begged the governor to stay in power: "...think your honor in your future fate, in the high

responsibility carrying on your shoulders, and hold that baton again, that no a fraction of people have put in your loyal hands, but the king of Spain and *Indias*" (Arboleda, 1962, o. 49). Later, he funded his opposition by recurring to the theological-political duo to the facts he pointed as rebellion. On 9th May 1812 he used the presbyter José María Morcillo death commemorative sermon by the patriots in which he had the aim to "give the memory of the most famous martyr of loyalty to religion and sovereign, that should be attained on the anniversary of his death" (ACC, 1817, f. 76r) and focused his homily to Satanize and blur the plans and actions of Popayán's juntists.

All through his speech (funeral oration), José María Gruesso dedicated himself to show the facts of the rebellion that, in his opinion, were "seven years of furor and disorder" (ACC, 1817, f. 82-96). During the funeral oration at presbyter D. José María Morcillo⁹, he used that sermon to delegitimize the juntists of Popayán vulgarizing them as "barbarians, cruel and impious" (ACC, 1817, f83-96), since the priest Morcillo had been executed, according to him, in an "act perpetrated by the deformity of men falling into rebellion, just when released from the chain that has them attached to a legitimate govern (ACC, 1817, f.82-96).

As a consequence, José María Gruesso seemed to warn that, with the actions of autonomy of the juntists before the monarchic crisis, "the religious values are going to operate even stronger than the political

9 Note: José María Morcillo, presbyter from Mercaders (Cauca), sustained the royalist party of the patians.

ideas – in the recovering of the loyalism- “ (Scott, 2005, p. 66), because presbyter Morcillo died defending the king and the holy catholic Roman and Apostolic religion, “... his death was glorious, because through it he accomplished the duties imposed by religion, to vassalage” (ACC, 1817, f. 76r).

That is why Gruesso defines the rebellion as an absolute disorder, in which “... everything would be disrupted, and in a moment, everything would represent the image of chaos, and the primeval void” (A.C.C, 1817, f. 76r); thus, the loyalty to the monarchy is questioned and they are orientated to destruction “the evil leading the peoples to the abys” (Groot, 1969, p. 26).

According to the priest, such disobedience has consequences and these would be divine in nature since the king comes and is guarded by it “...by punishing the evils, God’s anger is appeased, and by its impunity it is provoked, there being no other most accepted victim to divinity than an evil and criminal man” (Arboleda, 1971, p.7). the funeral oration for José María Gruesso portrays the ideal of a political order that, when disrupted by the juntists actions, reacts closely configuring the religious loyalty factors as re-legitimador of the obedience al loyalty of the vassals. Such obedience is perfectly framed with the obedience to the kings and their political bodies as representative figures of domination.

The kingdom in unity before the risk for the social body perturbations and alterations and their good order. From the priest perception, rebellion, as he named it, would be a “men deformity” and “the chaos and the primeval void” (Groot, 1969, p.26) from the anarchy comes off.

The catholic priests and the juntists plans

The participation of the clergy supporting the organization of the government Junta was also facilitated because “the prestige of the Franciscan monks in that city contributed to lead the opinion, because all of them decided everywhere with the happiest results” (Arboleda, 1971, p.33). at this point, Franciscan were also prone to the juntist bet due to their high presence in Popayán province, dated back from the XVII century and by the XVII and IIX centuries the achieved to get the control of Timbio, Purace, Alaguer and Tierradentro curacies, that had been their zone of Christianizing influence. This had made them easy the access to locality people’s realities, slowing up their loyalty to the king and his representative in the province of Popayán (Don Miguel Tacón) and directing their goals towards the material and spiritual goods of the people under their control, aspects that were possible, according to themselves, in a republican institution.

The participation of the Franciscans together with the members of Popayán town council can be seen from the summoning for conspiring against Governor Tacón. In that regard Arboleda (1971) points: “summoned in advance, we met at Santo Domingo monastery, since we had the opinion of PP. Friar Juan Granda, Frier Mariano and Friar Pedro Paredes” (p. 33), who were considered by the ecclesiastic elites closed to the Governor as seditious; as relayed by the historian Arboleda (1971): “many cunning insurgents had met in Santo Domingo monastery for deposing the Governor and that was necessary to alert the town so they could impede such attack” (p. 33).

In this way, Friar Pedro Paredes collaborated with the juntist cause by allowing meetings and opinions of revolutionaries in his monastery. Due to those relationships, the friar was excluded from his religious community and expatriated from Popayán together with the Dominican friar Mariana Paredes who died in exile (ACC, 1808, Sig. 88.f 1). Presbyter Joaquín Fernández de Soto was led to Pasto. Friar Juan Granda served the cause by hiding and protecting the juntists in the monastery: "and so avoiding the danger of falling by order of the governor in commander Moledo's hands, or in any town council councilor hands" (ACC, 1808, Sig. 89. F. 2).

Priest Domingo Belisario Gómez or the priest from El Trapiche (Almaguer, Cauca. 1751-1851), as he was also called, performed very consequent functions to the order that had been assigned to him by basis of merit, this is,

... he was the one who had obtained the parish benefit through merits convened by the bishop to cover some vacant... The candidate had a curriculum vitae and then some tests before synodal examiners. The results were known by the Viceroy who, through a vice-patron, exercised the real patronage by choosing the winning priest.

Gómez entered the Real Seminario de Popayán (Real Seminary of Popayán) to be ordained as priest in 1792. Right after his ordination it was given for his administration El Trapiche parish, in southern Cauca. Before that he also had worked as a particular superintendent of the holy crusade, ecclesiastic judge, synodal examiner, provincial vicar, and even general vicar of the bishopric and Dean of the Real Seminary of Popayán. During his first stage of priesthood, he was particularly

dedicated to the Christian education and the indigenous dogmas, for what:

Any parish would see itself happier with his pastor than El Trapiche's. this ecclesiastic has provided the most relevant proof of love for his herd, without denial a single point the public opinion concept, because despite the hatred the factious had for him, he has not even once abandoned his parish, during the constant invasions they had suffered from them. His enthusiasm, generosity and politics, have been the bastion with which he has delivered El Trapiche from its total destruction. (Arboleda, 1971, p. 184).

On his collection of Epistles with lawyer Santiago Arroyo, he commented about his unrest due to the international happenings which Spanish monarchy was engaged in, and the rejection of the French invader, over such he stated:

I have received the proclamation document and printed notebook, whose reading has amused me very much, opening the way to lighten my mood when I see the unprecedented disruptions the perverse Napoleon intends to do in Spain, I rest in the Lord that the infame plots from this tyrant will be dismantled by the Spanish people and I hope that when it happens any favorable comment let me know it". (Valencia, 2010, p.15).

And, "then, I am worried by the bad news I have heard from Spain and our Holy Father: may the Lord permits that all that be false and the justice of our cause triumphs at last" (Fundación Cauca de Patrimonio, 2010, p. 20), "I am worried for the silence kept in the matters of Spain, and the lack of news in the mails" (Fundación Cauca de Patrimonio, 2010, p. 22).

The Epistolary of the Priest Belisario Gómez is perhaps an irrefutable evidence of this, and that it all was about an uneasy priest who read, wrote and gave opinions on the monar-

chy reality of 1808 and 1809, situation that favor him to be a cultural and political agent with great activity on that, and with his symbolic attaché performed various functions: counselor and priest, pastor of a herd and teacher, along with being a communicator.

In that sense, the priest from El Trapiche morally influenced the information received by the parishioners about the establishing of the government Juntas in Santa Fe – although he sees in the people an easy to lead spirit -: “May the Lord permits, as I ask him in my mild prayers, that everything calms down and the Junta of Santa Fe does not ever think in subjugating this province. Eager to know the government plan that would be adopted, thus, whenever it happens, I hope to be fully instructed by you on whatever you consider convenient for my government” (Fundación Cauca de Patrimonio, 2010, p. 29).

The parish priest gave a political twist when advanced the process of patriotic organization supporting it in the province of Popayán, because:

In 1810 had achieved that various towns from that jurisdiction embraced the patriotic cause, what raised the hate from the royalty partisans and also from some priests addicted to the king, among them presbyter José María Morcillo, priest of Mercaderes and the Dominican Fray Andrés Sarmiento, who put a price on his head (Tobar, 2010, sp.).

In the same way: 1812 arrived and:

Royalist guerrilla from Patía, commanded by Juan José Caicedo, the Dominican friar from Buga Andrés Sarmiento and the wild José Antonio de la Torre, attacked El Trapiche plundering the Villa and putting a price on Belisario Gómez, offering five-hundred patacones to whoever delivered the head of the priest. Father Gómez had to run for his life and save himself by crossing on foot the Páramo de las Papas (Las Papas Paramo) during several

days on his way to Timaná, while in El Trapiche, royalists assaulted his house, stole his belongings and wear his clergy robes to publicly mock him (Arboleda, 1971, p. 19).

Later on, with the defeat of the patriots at La Cuchilla de El Tambo battle, on 29th June 1815 general Sámano got to position himself and military and politically control the southern of Nueva Granada. At the beginning of July, he went on occupying Popayán aware of the transformations, actions, and political struggles by the juntist patriotism, which were led by the priest Belisario Gómez in El Trapiche, and ordered to a group of royalist soldiers to capture him since according to Sámano there cannot be sources of sedition left. Once captured, the priest was sent to Quito on feet to be judged by the president Montes, and over some years he was then released.

In August 1813, friar Francisco Antonio Florido, native from Popayán, pronounced a long sermon at the cathedral with a high revolutionary fervor on the occasion of the eucharist celebrated for the third anniversary of the independence “and days after in a ceremony held in San Agustín church (Popayán) degraded the royal flag and consecrated the one with the Republic emblem” (Piedrahita, 2011, p. 46).

The participation of the Payanese Franciscan was so resolute that even in Cundinamarca he accepted to become member of the Army, when “accepted the position and renounced to his wages on favor of the State, expressing that he does not only serve as the chaplain in the expedition, but also in any other destination he might be needed, not being contrary to his ministry” (Groot, 1869, p. 339). Likewise, the work of the Pa-

yanes friar was not limited to the military support of the patriotic cause, but also, he engaged himself with the ideological support through sermons:

A very particular evening event is remembered in honor to the Liberator at San Francisco temple in Bogotá, right after the battle of Boyacá, decisive for dismantling the royalist mentality that could ever exist in the minds of some people, in which he addressed five (5) from fourteen (14) thesis or propositions 1. Even unhearing the immediatist causes of the revolution in America, this should wait for the time of emancipation to arrive; 2. The revolution of America was opportune and even necessary at the times it happened; 3. The Independence of America does not opposes at all to the religion of Jesus-Christ and on the contrary relays itself on it; 4. Spain has no justice to claim its dominion over America, neither Europe the right of trying to submit it to the Spanish government; 5. The bad faith with which Spain sees us under every aspects and the imprudence with which they have broken the pacts and most solemn capitulations during war, places the American in the need of disregarding its promises no matter how beneficial they might look like; 6. America is nowadays immersed in the forced alternative of sustaining its independence or submitting to a government of blood, fire and extermination; 7. Thinking that on the Alexander VI papal bull he guaranteed to Spain the right of property over the countries in America, argues or a mad boldness or a shameful ignorance. (Mantilla, 2010, p. 285),

Control the priest, Control the revolution

In May 1811, with injunctions for the advancing of junitists plans, the town council Councilors and also the members of the royalist or taconist party don Manuel Josep de Broja, don Jose Solís, don Felipe Grueso Gutiérrez, urged by means of complaint Mr. Minister of State of Spain to take actions against the people from Popayán support-

ting the subversive acts for overthrowing the governor and the Spanish regime: in such accusation they made reference to 10 clergy as participants in the juntist and patriotic actions :

That in Popayán after the occurrences in Santafé they began to suffer the effects of the bad example; that the cities of Caloto, Cali, Buga, Cartago, Anserma and Toro along with their Districts had rebelled and only Pasto, Almaguer and Barbacoas remained loyal to Popayán, a total of 10 Town Councils; "That helped the enemies of the city the Schoolmaster don Andrés Marcelino Pérez de Valencia, his four brothers: Mariano, presbyter, José Antonio, Tithe Royal Accountant, Santiago and Manuel María; don Manuel Santos Escobar Treasurer of the Cathedral, - and 46 other people associated.

In this way, the actions of the above-mentioned priests were subscribe in several areas, from allowing the meeting of the juntists to encourage and support the revolution; for example, the presbyter Mariano Pérez de Valencia and Francisco Mosquera, the priest of the cathedral, together they spread among the people of Popayán the ideas associated with freedom and autonomy, probably many of those points of view came from their meetings with professors, lawyers, and merchants that gather together at don José Mariano Hurtado's house to read the peninsular journals and gazettes (López, 2007).

A year before, in 1810, "Mariano Pérez had made part of the revolutionary Junta established in the province and together with his family, he suffered the persecutions and later exile by the peninsular authorities" (Valencia, 2010, p.41), and in 1811 negotiated with coronel Baraya in the field of Palacé to collect the patriotic faction's dead and "arranged that [his troops] got a rest, buried

their dead and set everything to enter into the city" (Valencia, 2010, p. 67). His participation also extended the defense of the media for the public opinion, this is, the *La Aurora* journal printing: "...on 13th July 1816 Juan Sámano settles himself in Popayán and the royalists launched a campaign for gaining public opinion in the city" (Valencia, 2010, p. 500), seizing the printing press safeguarded by the priest Mariano Pérez, brother of the last editors, who gave it under inventory (Valencia, 2010, p. 500).

The legal action, evidently, aimed to criminalize and put under control the segment of clergy and other individuals in their attitudes and actions of revolution; similarly, it demonstrated the genuine loyalism of the town council councilors for keeping the apparent stability of the political order in Popayán.

The terms they used to refer and define the autonomy bets and actions of the patriots are associated with attitudes inclined to alter the social-political order of the loyal vassals, framed in the imitationist reference of "the effects of the bad example" that the Santa fé juntas had caused in the province due to the searching of the autonomy of the people as "excitation of the rebellion", to the resistance and opposition to the decisions of the governor Tacón understood as "insurgent" actions typical of the "enemies of the city".

Given the political tendencies of taconist and revolutionary orientation, in which the clergy in Popayán had taken part, it was no-

ted by Pablo Morillo in the notice of Casano¹⁰ the need of controlling acts as a moral and legal action, which can be corroborated in some papers, for example, the legal paper sent by the provisor Mariano Urrutia to reverend father Fray José Joaquín Gil de Tejada, where he mentions that actions against the "twist of the truth" from the priest Belisario Gómez had to be taken.

For his priest Domingo Belisario Gómez having been gone astray from it, I hope from V.P. to pay attention to this issue and try with the word and example to reduce to his duty to those who have had de disgrace of been part of the current turbulences, so that desisting... retake the path of the truth, frequently exhorting them with the submissive obedience that he should pay to the sovereign and to his authorities governing over us. (ACC, 1813, Sig. 195 folio 3).

In the same legal paper from Casano it was expressed to the mayors and priests the need of controlling their behaviors, since:

The corruption of customs and licentious and perverted life that the turbulent and disloyal innovators, after altering the order, established for strengthening their detestable ideas, under the vail of freedom produced in every class of the State the most pernicious examples, and from it the irreligion and scandal the gospel sacred maxims had to face (Groot, 1869, p. 339).

The legal paper, not only aimed to morally admonish the priest that had exercised actions favoring the plans of the juntists, but also aimed to move away the clergy from the contact with the ideas and actors who defended the creation of juntas, when considering that:

Government has advised about separating these individuals from the Kingdom Capital, sending them to some towns in the provinces, with exclusive recommendation to master priests and Mayors to watch over and correct

10 Note: Morillo's note to the ecclesiastic and civil authorities of the viceroyalty towns so they care for their inhabitants' morals within the catholic church guidelines (Real Academy of the History, 2020, Sig. 9/7650, leg. 7, c, ff. 244-246v).

them [...] to fulfill the ideas the government aims to, in agreement with the paternal intentions of our catholic Monarch, who only wishes the reestablishment and luster of our holy religion (Groot, 1869, p.339)

Likewise, the ways of controlling the patriots went from "dead penalty" for the priests who had defended themselves for the royalism in Popayán, as was the case of the acting priest of Mercaderes (Cauca), José María Morcillo (already mentioned), who had influenced in the royalist guerrilla from Patía. In regard of it, Zuluaga (1992) states the following:

The junta was warned, and at the moment [...] commanded to be shot to dead within the twenty-four hours, because the Secretary of Government, doctor Francisco Antonio Ulloa, said that in the Secretary there were enough evidence to sentence him to death. Cabal did not dare to do it without downgrade him in advance, as in agreement with the cannon [...] the doctor Murillo was shot to death and this horrendous sacrilege caused such scandal, that caused to fade in a great extent the opinions favoring the patriots as enemies of the religion. (p. 72).

The strategies to control the political inclination of the clergy also went through the persecution and moral convincing in the search for retraction of the sympathizers of the juntism and patriotism; for example, in 1812 through Friar Vicente de Rivera¹¹, the president of the Government Junta of Popa-

yán, the natural from Cali Joaquín Caicedo and Cuero¹², who was "the most illustrated person from the revolutionaries" who reached the presidency of the local government junta installed in Popayán, and perhaps one of the individuals that clearly set out his point of view defending the patriotism in his speeches, for example, against the way of administration of governor Tacón. Referring to the inhabitants of Pasto, he said:

Noticing that instead of appreciating these traces of generosity and bless the hand of their liberator, these people accustomed to the yoke, despotism and cruelty of the barbaric Spanish man Tacón, they become insolent and violent. That some ignorant ecclesiastics continue to recommend the degradation and debasement of their homeland... (Montenegro, 2010, sp.)

He is the one who regrets from the support given to the Revolution and in particular to the Juntas through the intervention of Friar Vicente Rivera from the preacher's order, when states:

I certify to the undersigned monk, priest from the Order of the Preachers, that asked by doctor Joaquín Caicedo to help and give support to him up to his last breath, that this man was afflicted for not having retracted himself according his will at the time of receiving the Majesty of God administrated to him by means of Viatico: he begged by God and Mary Most Holy that I do it for him in a public square at the time he was going to offer his life in just punishment for his crime. (Montenegro, 2010, sp)

Clergy intervention, in this particular case from friar Vicente Rivera in the moral and political affairs, was commonly linked to both, the pastoral work as well as to the intervention of the interpretations of the facts and mediation in the language who underwent from the religious to the politics, since:

11 Note: Dominican friar who receives the confession as retraction from the patriotic politician and president of the Government Junta of Popayán: Joaquín Caicedo y Cuero (1813)

12. Note: Joaquín Caicedo y Cuero (1773-1813) was a patriotic military and politician who was born in Cali, studied in Popayán and Santafé de Bogotá getting the degree of master in jurisprudence. In Popayán he was the president of the Government Junta and designed coronel by the it for invading Pasto where he was sentenced to die. Bank of the Republic (7th February 2014)

Of course he had troubled due to god's majesty that was present in his prison room and the death nearby him, instructed by him, I put in the form of retracting, and read by him it seemed that was not in his liking yet, for not expressing, on his opinion, the regret of having followed that system, and he begged me to add that the Juntas were always noxious for the dire consequences they experimented, and because of this he retracted, and say a thousand times many and wise exclamations from a predestinated about it, that may God clean the darnel he had sow. (Montenegro, 2010, sp.).

In Popayán, the ecclesiastic elite and intermediate sectors of the church also preached about the kindness of repentance, as about the exemplary acts of faith and rectification of the individual deeds who had inclined themselves to questioning the authority of the king of Spain, as stated in this paper:

It moved me to make the same petition, that of asking for forgiveness to all the present and absent; that he desisted from the Junta, and even more he abominated it when getting to know that it was heading to the independence from our lord [...] and embracing the crucifix, he said, Lord forgive my crime, I ask for forgiveness to all and I retract myself from all the evil I have done [...] (Montenegro, 2010, sp.).

As a matter of exemplification and as a moral and natural teaching to the people, he adds:

[...] ask such Caicedo to the priest friar Vicente Rivera from the Preachers order who assisted him, to make public the following retraction, and it is printed from this government request, to everybody's intelligence, and mainly for the least sharp ones that had let themselves to be led astray, adopting a system that left no more than the bitterness and regret of having followed it, and the despair, even though useless, of not being able to recover the unmeasurable damage it has caused. (Montenegro, 2010, sp.).

In a similar manner to what royalist did, keeping in mind the proportions, the revolutionaries carried out their ways for controlling those ecclesiastics deviated from the juntist project, for example, on 10th August, a Bolívar's stressed letter in which he indicated in case of using the ecclesiastics and their influence in prejudice of the Republic, they would be punished with all the full force of the law. It was when Bolívar ordered the archbishop that priests, preachers and confessors, every week in all parishes explain the parishioners that:

The just principles of the American emancipation, convince them of the need of support it and defend it by all means, even with their lives, prevent the commoners against the provocations of the enemies of the Republic, those priest that dare not to follow these instructions must be separated by the episcopate from their ecclesiastic duties. (Aguirre, 1974, p.61).

The recognition of and the opposition to the "political change" by ecclesiastic segments from the church was materialized with stances and speeches using the religious and theological as political position before the incidents of the creation of the juntas and the independence.

This is how Ocampo sees it (1988) when noting that Pasto city and the town in the southern of Nueva Granada were fiercely loyal to the king of Spain and the catholic church. In those towns, clergy and their sermons and the confessionals, bishops with parishes and religious letters and the royal servants with the political-military orders, condemned the insurgent bandits when considering them regicides and indolent, the greater sins a man could be saddle with

in countries where the most of the population was traditionalist Catholics and also illiterate.

Conclusions

Clergy actions (priests, friars and monks) were intensively favorable with both factions in dispute (royalists and juntists), who took advantage of being member of clergy for cementing their conflicting points of view, especially in times of the autonomist and revolutionary experience (in Popayán the participation of clergy was constant). Such interventions from the priesthood, seen through a general analytic frame, allow us to understand their behavior and significances in the beginning of the juntism; this is, actions made by them represented in exhortations and legal actions took place by means of various and several reasons, among them it could be mentioned the threat of losing effective power of the Spanish monarchy due to the Napoleonic treason, which meant, as for the above-mentioned clergy understanding, an ideological questioning from many clergy sectors before the role they played in favor of the support or the loyalty to the Spanish king.

Reflected on the Hispanic monarchy system crisis, this political conjuncture is led in a new political language that the church/clergy had to assume: this langue of juntas, local government, autonomy, sovereignty in a combined way -and sometimes ambiguous- to the notion of revolution and to the

rupture with a world conception that ecclesiastics see as threatening religion.

Priests' postures in the juntist experience of Popayán was also associated to its social composition, its intellectual formation and its relationship with the military and civil elites very much related to maintain the stability of the colonial system. This allowed the royalists priests to defend the monarchy institution that accordance to (Phelan, 1980) "is sustained for a providentialist conception of legitimacy, in which all groups in conjunction conformed a corpus *mysticum politicum*, whose head was the king, anointed by God, father of his vassals and source of justice" (pp. 14-16).

Notwithstanding, the lower clergy¹³, because of its closeness with the rural and indigenous world, they were closer to the dynamics and material flaws of the population, they indulged themselves to transit or link their theological-moral duties with their political inclinations to the different causes. According to the 'bureaucratic' organization of the catholic church, the members of the low clergy, as stated by (Plata, 2009) were the main support for the civil patriots during the first phase of the Revolution:

Since [...] the efforts made by the leaders related to gaining the trust within clergy happened around the priests, missionaries, because they were, and no others, the ones in control of the population, where all the troops used in war were recruited from. (p. 289).

In regard of the relationship between the revolution and the religious field, one more example was given by José de Cuero

13 Note: Composed by priests, presbytery and missionary monks who performed their duties in small parishes, towns and villages; mostly formed by creoles and mestizos.

y Caicedo (Cali, 1735-1815) (Ortiz, 2015)¹⁴, theologian and lawyer, bishop of Quito in 1808, who converted into one of the main leaders of the “quiteña” revolution (revolution from Quito) in 1809. Making a mixture of his ideological and particular interests, the bishop used to say: “he was led to some sacred aims of preserving the Christian religion pristine, the obedience to the lord Fernando VII, and the good and happiness of the Patrias” (Paniagua, 1966, p. 273).

This position, clear in language, was the result of the direct relationship the bishop had with the dynamic of the people of Quito and with his position as a priest that led him to declare on those days: “bishop for the grace of God, and for the will of the people, president of the State” (La Aurora journal of Popayán, quoted by Ortiz, 2015, p. 111), representing so a distancing from the monarchy. In such a way that supported the idea of a new government based on the freedom the people had to gather into assemblies to elect their deputies and representatives.

14 Note: Franciscan monk who was born in Cali on 11st September 1735. He died in Popayán on 7th August 1815. He initially studied in the Real Colegio Seminario de Popayán and made his Highschool in the Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, and then started in the University of Quito where got a degree in theology and jurisprudence. “Inclined from an early age to the ecclesiastic career, called to it by his peaceful judgment and his virtues, he sooner than later got the sacred ordinations” (see: Biographic news on the most illustrated Sr. doctor José Cuero and Caicedo, Bishop of Cuenca and Quito, 1853, p. 1). Then entered to the Franciscan Order in the monastery of Recoleta de San Diego de Santafé de Bogotá. Ordained as priest in Cartagena in 1804 exercised as a professor in the Colegio de San Buenaventura (1809) and in the Colegio de Misiones (Cali). Fervent patriot, did not hesitate in supporting the cause of the independence of Cali from the authority of Governor of Popayán Miguel Tacón.

15 Note: Pep talk from doctor Joaquín Caicedo y Cuero, Governor of the province of Popayán’s lieutenant. Cali 3rd July 1810. A.G.N, Section colony, annex file, govern 18, ff. 890r-895v. published by the Colombian Culture Institute in: Acta de independencia de Santiago de Cali (Santiago de Cali independence statement). Bogotá, 1992, pp. 39-61. (quoted by Almario, p. 113).

His inbreeding Joaquín Cuero y Caicedo thought acting as lieutenant governor of Popayán thought differently, regarding the establishment of the Regency council:

In this disgraceful case, let us be free and arbitrators to elect the way of government most convenient to our uses, customs and character, coming to be from Spain the loyal vassals, a same body with us, as we all have the same duties of religion, vassalage and patriotism, swearing to keep these dominions and defend them with blood and fire for Fernando the seventh and his family, in accordance with the succession order established by law. (Almario, 2003, p.113)¹⁵.

Consequently, the catholic clergy intensively intervened defending the Spanish King by means of an active production of sermons and strategies with the purpose of maintaining the cohesion, loyalty to the social body, because “priests are in the first line when creating an opinion, since the independence declaration, various political catechisms arose, not only for supporting the need of maintain the bonds with Spain, but also defending the legitimacy of the separation” (Fernández, 2009, p. 1182).

Comparatively, and with all due proportions, the point of view of many royalist ecclesiastics in Popayán was in a certain degree mediated by their education and vision of the world, in particularly on the idea of the divine right of the kings they contemplated, for example, in England with the Patriarcha, rhetoric and doctrinaire place where it was stigmatized:

As a dangerous heresy the belief that human race is born free from any subjection and is naturally provided for choosing the form of government they want, -this is- the rulers do not get their authority from the people, but instead directly by a mandate of God (Filmer, 1991, s.p).

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