SINGLENESS AND THE STATE:
UNMARRIED AND WIDOWED WOMEN IN GUADALAJARA, MEXICO, 1821-1910

By

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ABSTRACT

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This is a study of women who lived without men between 1821 and 1910 in Guadalajara Mexico. In these years single and widowed women consistently outnumbered men in the city. I argue that disproportionate sex ratios created obstacles to legal marriage at a time when Mexican political leaders and reformers promoted marriage and motherhood as an important, idealized part of a solution to political instability in the aftermath of Independence in 1821. The same liberal political philosophies that motivated the fight for national Independence, promoted new economic and social reforms that displaced rural peasants forcing many to seek employment in cities. It was a trend that added to the demographic growth and industrialization of Guadalajara and created a growing class of poor urban workers. Among these new migrants were women who arrived to the city widowed and single. Some women never married, or remarried. Others lived in consensual unions and mothered illegitimate children. City officials grew anxious over the presence of unmarried working women who lived outside the boundaries of traditional marriage and patriarchal control. Increasingly, politicians, clergymen, women's magazines, police and judges of various political stripes debated the role of unmarried women in their efforts to reform what they believed to be the wayward lifestyle that typified the urban poor. For these powerful actors unmarried women became a symbol, symptom, and a cause of rising urban problems including immorality, crime and poverty. Overall, my research demonstrates that authorities in nineteenth-century Guadalajara organized institutions of power such as city police,

criminal courts and Guadalajara's poorhouse to target unmarried women as a group in need of greater protection, punishment and reform.

This dissertation combines extensive demographic data with fine-grained qualitative and statistical analysis of the lives of mostly poor unmarried women in Guadalajara. It draws on a wide variety of sources to attempt to capture a sense of the lives of women, many of whom found it impossible to conform to the standards of elite gender expectations. Sources utilized here include unique household-level censuses from Guadalajara, religious writings, political essays, proscriptive literature from Latin America and Europe, legal codes, criminal and civil court proceedings, maps, newspapers and state institutional records. Overall, the project is one of the first to focus exclusively on unmarried adult women in Latin America.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: FEMALE SINGLENESS IN GUADALAJARA MEXICO, 1821-1910

On the morning of the eighteenth of October 1886, Dominga González, a thirty year old widow originally from the nearby village of Tlajomulco found herself in a Guadalajara police station calling for the apprehension and arrest of Lucio Cabrera for *rapto*, or kidnapping with the intention to seduce her sixteen year old sister Prejedis.[1] The case sheds light on the dangers and dilemmas of being unmarried women and the challenges and contradictions they presented to state and local officials as "un-protected" females in a patriarchal society. As such, it provides a revealing introduction to this dissertation's unique focus on the lives of unmarried women in nineteenth-century Mexican society.

It was Dominga who first became worried after hearing rumors from a neighbor that Lucio intended to have relations with her sister. Indeed, between 7:00 and 8:00 p.m. the previous evening she tracked down her "honorable" sister in the company of Lucio. She went on to explain that she and Prejedis had migrated from their natal village of Tlajomulco alone. Their parents, Medardo González and Ricarda Mondragon, still lived in Tlajomulco and were unable to come to court. Therefore, to "preserve her father's honor" she had come to ask the court that the defendant be charged with *rapto*. Lucio, a twenty-six year old married brick-maker had lodged with the González sisters after migrating to Guadalajara a year earlier from Tlajomulco, describing them as fellow "*paisanos*," or fellow provincials. He admitted to having relations with

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[1] BPEJ *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco, 1822-1919,* Ramo Criminal, "Contra Lucio Cabrera por rapto," Caja 11, Exp 88,208. The 1871 Mexican Penal Code defined *rapto* as the abduction of a woman against her will by the use of physical violence, deception, or seduction in order to satisfy "carnal desires" or to marry. See, *Código Penal para el Distrito Federal y Territorios sobre delitos fuero común y para toda la República sobre delitos contral la Federación* (Mexico City: Imprenta de Flores y Monsalve, 1874), 194.

Prejedis, but argued she was already a "dishonored" woman who had "illicit relations" with him of her own "free will." In response, Dominga insisted that her sister was "honorable" and that even though she did go with Lucio she did not have "romantic relations" with him or any other man. In a shocking turn of events, Prejedis' turned on her sister and admitted to having a sexual relationship with Lucio. She further stated that she never asked her sister to bring a case against Lucio, nor did her sister have the authority to do so because she no longer lived with Dominga.[2]

The story of these two sisters reveals intriguing aspects of a much larger phenomenon. From 1820 to 1910 widowed and unmarried adult[3] women made up fifty to sixty per cent of the entire urban population of Guadalajara, Mexico's third largest city at the time.[4] Like Dominga, almost half of these women headed and managed their own households.[5] Mexican authorities associated unmarried women with danger, prostitution, disorder, poverty, and an unnatural state. Mexico's long struggle for Independence was followed by decades of civil war and instability. War, inflation, epidemics, famine and banditry contributed to the conditions that made female headed households more common and simultaneously fueled a sense of moral panic that many

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[2] "Contra Lucio Cabrera por rapto," Criminal, 1886, f. 88,208; For a discussion of honor through *rapto* cases see William French, " 'Te Amo Mucho:' The Love Letters of Pedro and Enriquetta," in *The Human Tradition in Mexico,* edited by Jeffrey Pilcher (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), 123-136.

[3] Unless otherwise state, in this work I define an adult in accordance with the legal age of majority, which by 1866 was twenty-one years old. For more on changes to this law see Silvia Arrom, "Changes in Mexican Family Law in the Nineteenth Century: The Civil Codes of 1870 and 1884," *Journal of Family History* 10, no. 3 (1985), 308.

[4] Lilia Oliver Sánchez, "Intensidad de la crisis demográficas en las ciudades de México y Guadalajara, 1800-1850," *Takwá* 8, (Fall 2005), 23.

[5] Data was collected for the years 1811 to 1895. Sources for 1811-1850 come from *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*, CD-ROM Database (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006)**;** *Censuses of Guadalajara,* Volume 2 *1791-1930*, CD-ROM Database (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2008)**.** For 1895, see Archivo Histórico de Jalisco (AHJ), Mapoteca, "Computo General del Censo," Oficio del Concentración del Censo (Guadalajara, 1895); See Table 1.1.

attributed to the breakdown of the traditional male-headed family household. Ironically, these observers misidentified the causes of this social phenomenon in urban Mexico where many unmarried females migrated for greater security and employment opportunities. A growing majority of urban single and widowed women did not fit easily into national development projects of Mexico's nation builders who idealized strong patriarchal families as the foundation of stability and a just social order. As a metaphor for *patria* the patriarchal family became a symbol for "good public order" across nineteenth-century Latin America, and the ideal engine for the reproduction and education of the nation's future generations destined to "govern and populate" the fatherland's territory. Doris Somner suggests that this preoccupation was not limited to the foundational romance novels of Mexican nation, but it was magnified by the fact that for much of the nineteenth century war, famine, force migration and disease stymied the national population growth.[6] Part of the problem however, was that the rhetoric of the patriarchal family emphasized marriage and motherhood within the domestic sphere at a time when more and more poor women found it difficult to remain within the traditional family or find suitable partners. In this work I posit that rising numbers of single and widowed women not only contradicted stereotypical models of the ideal family, but posed challenges which forced local and state officials to deal with a growing number of women who lived without men. Previous studies of gender during this period focus on singular themes such as crime, honor or inheritance laws as a means to analyze single or widowed women. This work focuses exclusively on the social status of being unmarried women, be it widowed or never married, a state which I refer to

[6] Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 92.

as "singleness."[7] I use this term because I wish to suggest that there was a growing number of poor women throughout the nineteenth century who did not contract legal marriage and many who lived apart from male authority, or "unattached" from men. This signaled a major shift for women from previous periods. Such an approach allowed me to give greater depth of analysis to the lives of unattached women to determine how they navigated the dangers and opportunities that the tumultuous circumstances of nineteenth-century Mexico presented them. At the same time it allowed me to better understand how Conservative ideals of family and Liberal ideals of individualism in relation to the family both took a dim view of unattached women. In this way, stories like those of Dominga and Prejedis are emblematic of a much larger conflict over family and appropriate gender roles in nineteenth-century Mexico.

Dominga's story, a middle aged widow and her young single sister, is more than a story about *rapto*. It reveals aspects of a common narrative about migration, widowhood, singleness, working class life, danger, sexuality, urbanization as well as women's individual and family honor. These were themes that affected many unattached urban women in nineteenth-century Mexico. The González sisters and Lucio shared a similar rural-urban migratory experience that many nineteenth-century *tapatíos*, individuals from or of Guadalajara, faced which was the result of economic change and urban growth. The participants in Dominga's testimony all haled from the nearby village of Tlajomulco, a small mestizo pueblo approximately thirty kilometers south of the city, and their shared origins brought them together in Guadalajara. Both sisters, without husbands, had likely migrated to urban Guadalajara out of necessity. While we do not know the

[7] At the time there were numerous ways to identify an unmarried woman in official documents including single, alone or "free from marriage." Widows, although women who were once married, are categorized with a group I refer to as unattached, as they were frequently part of the growing population of women who lived outside of patriarchal authority. For more on status, see Chapter 3.

sisters' occupations their residence was in district seven, a poor borough of the city, and their friendship with Lucio, a brick-maker, is an indication of their working class status.[8] The sisters also depended on each other, migrated together, lived together, and helped each other maneuver daily life in the city. In Guadalajara Dominga became the head of the household in the absence of their father, taking her responsibilities for protecting her sister's honor seriously. It was she who brought the trial against Lucio to court to preserve the patriarchal honor of her family against the wishes of her sister. Despite Lucio's previous run-ins with the law and his status as a married man, it was Prejedis' honor, as a young single woman, that came under scrutiny in a Guadalajara courtroom. She and her family had the most to lose from her romantic encounter with Lucio, and it is likely the reason Dominga so adamantly insisted on her sister's honorable reputation. Prejedis challenged her sister's authority to do so, however, observing that she no longer lived with her sister. Although the charges did not end in a conviction and created tension between the two sisters, the testimony reveals how these two "independent" women navigated changing circumstances and lines of authority.

Autonomous women, like Dominga and Prejedis who lived outside of the vigilance of a male patriarch, were a vibrant part of the public urban landscape. A growing population of poor urban single and widowed women hocked their wares, commuted to work in city factories, did errands, washed laundry in public fountains and rivers, and ran businesses outside their homes and in city streets and plazas. For these reasons, widowed and single women were much more visible in public and the historical record than their married counterparts. In nineteenth-century Guadalajara, they were six times more likely than married women to end up as defendants in

[8] In court testimony the sisters reside in *Cuartel* 7 in small one-room efficiencies. The district is described by Claudia Rivas Jiménez as a growing urban neighborhood of lower class craftsmen by 1888, see "Defense of Craft: Guadalajara's Artisans in the Era of Economic Liberalism, 1842-1907" (PhD Dissertation, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, 2008), 153.

courtrooms. They made up the majority of females who were inmates in prison, beggars on the street, and residents of state-run nursing homes. In addition, as single and widowed mothers their children were over represented in orphanages and state-run schools.[9] Although the reformers who preached that a strong patriarch in the home maintained order in society at the microlevel, my work demonstrates that the patriarchal dialogue was pervasive outside of the home. In city courts, newspapers, censuses, jails, hospitals, schools and behind the walls of the city poor house, judges, lawyers, journalists, doctors, reformers, writers and clergy sought to re-create a sense of patriarchal control over unattached women.

This is a study of those unmarried and widowed women and the institutions they came into contact with. Through my analysis of a wide variety of sources I uncover a public discourse, a set of ideas infused in official language, practices, attitudes and behaviors, that attempted to marginalize unmarried and widowed women as dishonorable, immoral, dangerous, impoverished and in need of reform and protection. In this way, my approach employs a Foucauldian methodology of history, embracing the relationship between public discourse and power. As Michel Foucault explains, "in any society there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse."[10] The dialogue that took place in Guadalajara, often by well-to-do men in positions of power such as lawmakers, preists, judges, lawyers, police and reformers,

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[9] For working women see Chapter 3; For women in the poorhouse, see Chapter 5; Archivo Histórico de Jalisco, *Libros de Penitenciaria,* "Album de sentenciados: Departamento de Mujeres, 1868-1905. According to documents 53% were single,14% widowed, 34% married, and 14% were unknown or did not not provide marital status. Overall, the total number of girls detained were 646 women between these years.

[10] Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings by Michel Foucault* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 93.

sought to structure women's daily life and played a significant role in historical change. While my research emphasizes the ways in which the state encroached on women's lives, it also suggests that the existence of great numbers of unattached women influenced the politics of nineteenth-century Mexico by pushing the boundaries of the ideal family.

Table 1.1[11]
Adult Marital Status by Sex, Guadalajara, 1821-1895

	1821		**1824**		**1838**		**1842**		**1895**	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single	2102	3535	826	1601	339	440	1465	2112	12665	14213
	37%	*63%*	*34%*	*65%*	*43%*	*56%*	*41%*	*59%*	*47%*	*53%*
Married	5896	5886	2230	2244	1250	1185	3156	3056	11837	11996
	50%	*50%*	*50%*	*50%*	*51%*	*48%*	*51%*	*49%*	*50%*	*50%*
Widowed	454	2572	222	1159	66	390	329	1716	2371	7348
	15%	*85%*	*16%*	*83%*	*14%*	*85%*	*16%*	*83%*	*24%*	*76%*

Singleness in Latin America

Others have noted the phenomenon of single and widowed women and their children as a common feature of nineteenth-century Latin America.[12] Scholarship on the subject links social and political changes to a changing economic system which greatly impacted women in

[11] Each column represents the rate of adult women compared to men that were single, married or widowed for the years listed. The most complete years are those for 1821 and 1895. 1824, 1838 and 1842 are used for ratio comparison as the data collected for those years is a sample and does not include all city districts. Sources for 1821-1850 were taken from *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*, CD-ROM Database (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006); For 1895, see Archivo Histórico de Jalisco (AHJ), Mapoteca, "Computo General del Censo," Oficio del Concentración del Censo (Guadalajara, 1895).

[12] Nara Milanich, "Whither Family History? A Road Map from Latin America," *American Historical Review* (April 2007), 451-2.

particular. In the early nineteenth century, labor demands on women shifted from subsistence-based agricultural production to domestic and eventually industrial manufacture. Many scholars attribute increases in rural-urban migration to this shift. In parts of Mexico the transition to industrial manufacture created "cities of women" made up primarily of widows and young single women working in the growing textile industry.[13] High proportions of women living without men in cities across Mexico were also the result of years of war, leaving many women of all ages widowed and reducing the numbers of potential marriage partners. Like Guadalajara, in many nineteenth-century Mexican cities females headed more and more households. Widows headed up to 85% all female-headed households in Mexico City.[14] Mexico City also boasted a higher proportion of single and widowed women than men in the nineteenth century.[15] Such findings demonstrate that despite the rhetoric of powerful urban actors who sought to promote the model of a male headed household, many single women could not achieve this status even if they were desirous of doing so. The reality was that female headed households were a much more common phenomenon in nineteenth-century Latin America. Recent scholarship finds that the Latin

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[13] For Mexico see Carmen Ramos Escandón, *Industrialización, género y trabajo femenino en el sector textile mexicano: El obraje, la fábrica, y la compañía industrial* (Mexico City: CIESAS, 2004); This shift occurred in other parts of Latin America, see Elizabeth Kuznesof, "The Role of the Female-Headed Household in Brazilian Modernization: Sao Paulo 1765 to 1836," *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 4 (1980): 598; Elizabeth Kuznesof, "Household Composition and Headship as Related to Changes in Mode of Production: Sao Paulo 1765 to 1836," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, no. 1 (1980): 78-108; For a discussion of single and widowed women and industrial manufacturing see Guy Thomson, "Cotton Textile Industry in Puebla during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in Jacbosen, Nils and Hans Jurgen Puhle Stages, *The Economies of Mexico and Peru During the Late Colonial Period* (Berlin: Collouium Berlag, 1986).

[14] Elizabeth Kuznesof, "Gender Ideology, Race, and Female-Headed Households in Urban México, 1750-1850," in *State and Society in Spanish America During the Age of Revolution,* Edited by Victor Uribe-Uran, 149-169 (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2001), 161.

[15] Marie Eileen Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 156-57.

American family had higher rates of "non-marriage," illegitimacy and female household headship than formerly imagined. This data is evidence of the "contentious co-existence" between female singleness within the Latin American family and the ideal of a male-headed household.[16]

Patterns in urban Guadalajara mimic the difficulties that state leaders had in reconciling a reliance on the patriarchal family with the urban realities of large populations of single and widowed women living outside of male authority. Historiography on unattached women in Latin America explains the commonly held stereotypes that existed regarding single and widowed women in the past. In colonial Mexican society there was an "overall resentment of female loners," especially widows and single women who did not submit to a male patriarch and maneuvered independently within society.[17] Similarly, in times of political instability the existence of unprotected women, such as widows and single women who lived outside of a patriarchal family, created concern within an already unstable environment.[18] While the stigma of being "dangerous loners" often befell single men as well as women, tensions over their presence in society can be traced to political motivations.[19] In the chaos that followed Independence new discourses emerged that tied nation, family and state together. In large measure unmarried women and poor working women threatened national growth and plans to

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[16] Milanich,"Whither Family History," 451-2.

[17] Steve Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men and Power in Late Colonial* México (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 60.

[18] Rebecca Earle noted heightened concern over single and widowed women's honor in war torn Independence-era Colombia. See Rebecca Earle, "Rape and the Anxious Republic" in *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: Duke University Press, 2000).

[19] Peter Beattie, "Measures of Manhood: Honor, "Enlisted Army Service, and Slavery's Decline in Brazil, 1850-90," in *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 241; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 139.

make a strong family the foundation of a strong nation. High proportions of spinsters in Mexican society went against expectations that "women were born to be wives and mothers," in order to "nurture future generations" of young citizens. [20]

While there is considerable debate over how powerful the Mexican state really was in the nineteenth century, there is little doubt that liberalism influenced state policy and ideology.[21] The following chapter chronicles the ways in which political theory was put into action between 1821 and 1910.[22] The chapter demonstrates the importance of the nineteenth century, as drastic changes in the direction of Mexico's federal government affected single and widowed women through various legal, economic and social reforms. The section also provides a more detailed history of Guadalajara, addressing specific factors that led to its emergence as a major urban industrial center which increased the rate of single, unmarried and widowed women living there.

In chapter three I demonstrate the value that national leaders placed on marriage and reproduction in legal and political contexts that stigmatized single women and widows, as an emerging Liberal rhetoric emphasized an ideal monogamous, nuclear, and legally married

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[20] Ibid; Carmen Ramos Escandón, "The Social Construction of Wife and Mother: Women in Porfirian Mexico, 1880-1917," in *Gender, Kinship, Power: A Comparitive and Interdisciplinary History*, edited by Mary Jo Maynes, Ann Waltner, Birgitte Soland, and Ulrike Strasser (London: Routledge, 1996), 276.

[21] Silvia Arrom suggests that many works have overestimated the actual authority of the Mexican state in the nineteenth-century. See Silvia Arrom, *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774-1871* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 285.

[22] Tenets of classical liberal theory which took effect in Mexico emphasized democracy, the separation of church and state, private property, free trade, and capitalist development. See Charles A. Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821-1853* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Ramos Escandón, "The Social Construction," 275.

family.[23] It firmly establishes that the study of unattached women during the transitional period of 1821 to 1910 is particularly significant because of the influence that liberalism had not only on Mexican society and culture, but in the propping up of legal marriage and motherhood as the solution to instability.[24] For this reason, alarming rates of singleness and non-marriage among Mexican women became one of many new urban social "problems" to be dealt with by city officials and moral reformers. [25]

Chapter four explores the ways in which single women who lived outside the supervision of a male patriarch became a nineteenth-century urban "problem." The growing presence in the public sphere of poor, single and unmarried working women stirred panic in a society focused on marriage and motherhood. As women who lived and worked outside of the protection of patriarchy, their honor came under scrutiny by city officials who grew anxious over spikes in prostitution, crime, disease, and poverty. New reforms targeted particular elements of Guadalajara's poor population. Among those would be the numerous urban working women, petty criminals, prostitutes, and single and widowed mothers believed to be in need of

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[23] Carmen Ramos Escandón argues that in both ideological and legal terms state leaders sought to strengthen the role of the family from the late colonial period into the twentieth century (1790-1911) see Ramos Escandón "The Social Construction," 278.

[24] Numerous other works emphasize the transition from colony to nation as pivotal in the history of Latin America, see Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854 (*Pennsylvania State UP, 1999); Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); For Mexico, see John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750-1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Chassen de López, Francie R. *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca the View from the South, Mexico 1867–1911* (State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Thomas Benjamin and William McNellie, eds. *Other Mexicos: Essays on Regional Mexican History, 1876-1911* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984).

[25] Francisco Bulnes, *La verdad acerca de la revolución Mexicana* (New York, 1916), 302; Robert Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen in Modern Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 25.

punishment, protection and reform by a paternalistic state. The subsequent chapters, five and six, explore changing approaches throughout the nineteenth century designed to eliminate poverty. Such plans often targeted the poor and their way of life for reform through a paternalistic rhetoric that was steeped in race, class and gender biases. It was a discourse that would filter through city courts, jails and the *Casa de Caridad* and impact the large population of single, unmarried and widowed women it came into contact with.

This work firmly positions itself within recent scholarship that identifies two strands of debate surrounding whether or not the impact of liberal change was positive for women. The seminal works on women in Mexico written by Silvia Arrom imply that liberal reforms, because of their emphasis on the individual decreased patriarchal control over women.[26] On the other hand, Elizabeth Dore suggests in fact, "state policies had more negative than positive consequences for gender equality," and calls on scholars to reassess women's lives in the long nineteenth century.[27] I argue that when examined through the lens of single and widowed women, a growing discourse emerged in the nineteenth century to protect the patriarchal institution of marriage and marginalize those who lived outside of it. This is not to suggest that marriage and patriarchy were unimportant in the colonial period, but they took on heightened significance in the chaotic years following Mexican Independence. At the same time, urban industrial growth brought rural women into Guadalajara increased rates of non-marriage by

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[26] Silvia M. Arrom, "Cambios en la condición juridical de la mujer Méxicana en el siglo XIX," in *Memoria del II Congreso de Historía del Derecho Méxicano*, ed. José Luis Soberanis Fernandez (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1980), 493-518; Silvia Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857 (*Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985); Silvia Arrom, "Changes in Mexican Family Law in the Nineteenth Century: The Civil Codes of 1870 and 1884," *Journal of Family History* 10, no. 3 (1985): 305-17.

[27] Elizabeth Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Gender and the State in the Long Nineteenth Century," Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds. in *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 5.

skewing an already imbalanced sex ratio and diminishing women's marriage options. Urban living also forced women into low paying and demanding work that often left them vulnerable to attacks on their personal honor and added to new social problems such as child abandonment, infanticide, criminality, prostitution and poverty. This is not to suggest that women did not learn how to re-appropriate the rhetoric that conspired against them, or carve out opportunities for personal and economic independence. Admittedly, life for poor and unattached women did not become easier throughout the long nineteenth century despite a changing liberal political climate. Ideologically however, I suggest that as a case study an examination of Guadalajara's unattached women offers a unique perspective from which to re-examine the process of nation building through a gendered lens.

CHAPTER TWO

GUADALAJARA IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

This chapter examines the political foundations of nineteenth-century Guadalajara in order to understand why the time period of 1821 to 1910 is central to understanding a new discourse regarding female singleness. It was a discourse heavily influenced by nineteenth-century classical Liberalism, and resulted in the growth and development of the city into one of the most important in Mexico.[28] I argue that the roots of liberalism extend from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, a period often referred to as the long nineteenth century.[29] Guadalajara, located in the western state of Jalisco over six hundred kilometers from the nation's capital of Mexico City, was one of the most economically and politically important in the nation.[30] It was often at the local level, in Guadalajara's streets, plazas, courtrooms, jails, hospitals, churches and other social institutions where the politics of the age touched the lives of single and widowed women. For example, it was Liberal economic and political reforms that

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[28] In this chapter I use the term Liberalism to reference the nineteenth-century political philosophy. Although at the the time it inspired both liberal and conservative wings, it should not be confused with contemporary definitions of "liberal."

[29] Numerous historians make note of this period, as well as many gender historians. The idea is that the transition from a colony to a nation was a process that evolved over time, often borrowing from previous eras. Elizabeth Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Gender and the State in the Long Nineteenth Century," Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds. in *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

[30] Lilia Oliver Sánchez, "Intensidad de la crisis demográficas en las ciudades de México y Guadalajara, 1800-1850," *Takwá* 8, (Fall 2005), 23; Torcuato Di Tella, *National Popular Politics in Early Independent Mexico, 1820-1847* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 138-9; Brian Connaughton Hanley, *Clerical Ideology in a Revolutionary Age: The Guadalajara Church and the Idea of the Mexican Nation (1788-1853*) (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), 17.

displaced rural people and spurred a massive migration of poor women to urban centers in search of work in places like Guadalajara. It was here among members of the church clergy, moral reformers, writers and municipal and state officials that Liberal ideas motivated a discourse on marriage and family that was hostile toward many of these women and suspicious of the growing presence of poor, unattached, working women in places like Guadalajara. New ideas inspired by Liberal philosophy led many nineteenth-century city planners and social reformers in the city to turn their attention toward the poor, often blaming them for new urban social problems like crime, disease, prostitution and immorality. Unmarried women became a focal point for modernization projects in Guadalajara, as judicial, correctional and welfare institutions promoted patriarchy and espoused a rhetoric of reform and protection.[31]

In this study I argue that the seeds of such initiatives, which most studies associate with the *Porfiriato* (1876-1910), were planted much earlier in the tumultuous years that proceeded Mexico's Independence in 1821. From 1821 to 1910 Mexico and its states experienced a period of great transition as the national government evolved from a colonial vestige of Spain into an independent and centrally governed nation. Most histories divide this period into two distinct eras: the chaotic and tumultuous years after Independence from 1821 to 1876, and the more orderly time of the *Porfiriato* from 1876 to 1910. Most scholars highlight the obvious political markers of Mexico's Independence wars (1821), the War of Reform (1858-1861), the French occupation (1861-1867) and the return of Benito Juarez to power by 1867.[32] Much of the

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[31] These themes serve as the basis for the rest of the dissertation and are discussed in greater detail in chapter 4, 5 and 6.

[32] Examples of this periodization are numerous. See Charles A. Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821-1853* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968). More recent works are numerous, see Timothy Anna, *The Forging of Mexico, 1821-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1998); Christon Archer, *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America* (Wilmington:

scholarship for the early Independence period focuses on political violence and instability. The second period coincides with the presidency of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1910), often referred to as the *Porfiriato*, and includes a much more diverse body of political, social and cultural scholarship.[33] I argue that it is important to view the period (1821-1910) as a whole to best understand how Liberal political ideas evolved and affected women, rather than to view it as separate eras with disparate political influences.[34] My work paints a broader picture of female singleness by examining both the early period of post-Independence in 1821 and the time leading up to the Mexican Revolution by 1910. In doing so I argue that the two periods are intrinsically linked by Liberal political theories which evolved into various social, cultural and economic

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Scholarly Resources, 2000); D.A. Brading, *The First America: Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Alicia Hernández Chavez, *La tradicion republicana del buen gobierno* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Michael Costeloe, *The Central Republic in Mexico,1835-1846: Hombres de Bien in the Age of Santa Ana (* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); William Fowler, *Mexico in the Age of Proposals, 1821-1853* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1998); Peter Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800-185 (* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); For the second period see, Charles A. Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico,1867-1910* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989); John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750-1949 (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821 (*Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Jaime E Rodríguez, ed. *Mexico in the Age of Democratic Revolutions, 1750-1850 (*Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, 1994).

[33] The period of the Porfiriato is even more numerous, a general overview is Charles Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism*.

[34] It is not my intention to suggest that liberalism was a coherent ideology. It had multiple strands of influence throughout the period. However, while liberalism cannot neatly define nineteenth-century Mexican institutions or politics, it may best explain the political, ideological, and institutional changes taking place in the nineteenth-century that affected unattached women. For a broad definition of Liberalism see James Dunkerley, *Studies in the Formation of the Nation-State in Latin America* (London: Institution of Latin American Studies, 2002), 4; Norberto Bobbio, *Liberalism and Democracy,* trans. Martin Ryle and Kate Soper (London: Verso, 1990). A classic study of liberalism in early 19th century Mexico is Charles Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821-1853* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

reform measures as the century progressed. These reforms directly impacted the growth of Guadalajara and increased female singleness, non-marriage and widowhood. My approach reveals the origins and longevity of a dialogue that would increasingly marginalize and attempt to reform poor, unmarried and unattached women.

Colonial Guadalajara, 1529-1821

The city of Guadalajara mirrored the process of political transition and incipient industrial growth that attracted unattached women to urban centers across Latin America. While most studies on women in México and other Latin American countries have been largely capital-centric, this work draws more comparative conclusions about women's lives and roles in México.[35] By the late colonial period Guadalajara emerged as an essential commercial, financial, political, and cultural center.[36] The city experienced a nearly three hundred percent rate of growth in population between 1821 and 1910. The city's economic and social opportunities attracted unmarried and widowed women.[37] Eighteenth century travelers to the city commented that residents thought of their city as the "la segunda de México," or second only to Mexico City.[38] By this time too, its political influence extended north to the *provincias internas* and to the intendancies of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí. Economically it was the

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[35] María Teresa Fernández Aceves calls attention to this as a problem with ,"Imagined Communities: Women's History and the History of Gender in Mexico." *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 1, (2007).

[36] Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market: 18th Century Mexico* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981), 23.

[37] See Table 2.1

[38] Juan B. Iguiniz, ed., *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos. Relatos y descripciones de viajeros y escritoires desde el siglo XVI hasta nuestros días*, 2 vols (Guadalajara, 1950), 124.

second or third largest contributor of national wealth after Mexico City and Puebla.[39] Its significance as an important city in the history of Mexico would expand into the nineteenth century.

Table 2.1[40] **Population of Guadalajara, 1629-1910**	
Year	**Population**
1629	600
1651	5,000
1738	12,000
1777	22,163
1792	24,249
1821	38,087
1851	51,185
1858	75,000
1895	82,655
1900	101,208
1910	119,468

The importance of the region can be traced back to the colonial era. The area of western Mexico all the way up the Pacific coast to present day Sinaloa was the target of conquest by Nuño de Guzmán in 1529. Naming the region Nueva Galicia after his native province of Spain, Guzmán established several towns and gave out *encomiendas*.[41] It was here that the city today known as Guadalajara was founded in 1530, in what was then the indigenous town of Nochistlán. In 1541 it relocated to its present location in the Valley of Atemajac, 675 kilometers

[39] Di Tella, *National Popular Politics*, 139.

[40] Printed data on the population of Guadalajara varies and most data is based on estimates. The table presented here is accumulated from the following sources; For the years 1600, 1858, 1900 and 1910 see Luis Páez Brotchie's prologue in Maríano Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara en 1880*. (Reprint ITG, Guadalajara, 1954), xxxv; For all other years see Oliver Sánchez, "Intensidad de la crisis demográficas," 23.

[41] Jean Pierre Berthe, "Introdución a la historia de Guadalajara y su region," in *Lecturas históricas sobre Jalisco antes de la Independencia* (1976), 69.

northeast of Mexico City. By 1560, Guadalajara became the capital of Nueva Galicia. Becoming a capital city was fundamental to Guadalajara's expansion. That same year the crown established an *audiencia* (royal court) making it the second most important town in New Spain, second only to the viceregal capital of Mexico City. As an *audiencia*, it functioned as a legal and administrative body of the Spanish crown in order to keep the colonies connected to Spain. Mexico City was the first and only other Mexican *audiencia*. In addition, the Catholic Church established a bishopric in Guadalajara which made it both a religious and political center. Both the presence of the *audiencia* and the bishop gave the town a considerable territory for which it wielded great political, legal and administrative power. Such authority was critical to its future development. [42]

From its inception the organization of the city followed a similar pattern to Spain, in which streets ran in a traditional grid pattern around the central plaza.[43] The plaza was home to the city's ecclesiastic and civil authorities, showcased by its main buildings: the cathedral, city council and court. Around the plaza resided the houses of important families, those of the conquistadors, bureaucratic employees, *encomenderos*, and later elite *hacendados*. Urban poor and working class residents congregated on the periphery. In this way the spatial layout of the

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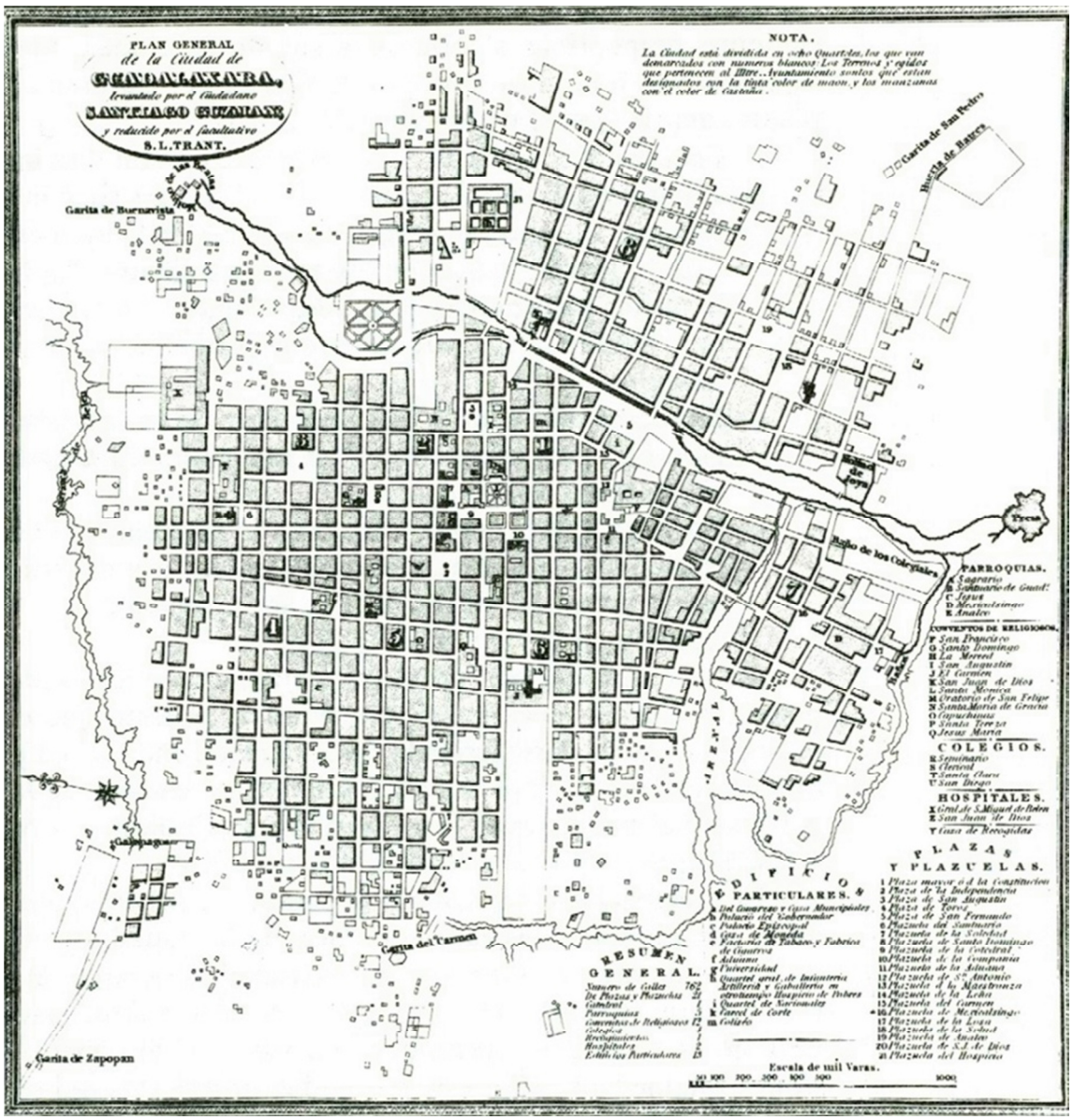
[42] From Nochistlán Guadalajara was moved in 1533 to Tonalá. Shortly after in 1535, it moved to Tlacotán. From Tlacotán it was moved to its present location; See Luis Pérez Verdía, *Historia particular del estado de Jalisco*, 2ª ed., (Guadalajara, Imprenta Gráfica, 1951), 125; Carmen Castañeda, *La educación en Guadalajara durante la colonia, 1552-1821,* México, El Colegio de Jalisco, El Colegio de México, 1984, p. 33; It took several years for Guadalajara to become the eventual capital of Nueva Galícia and there was some back and forth between the city and Compostela for the honor. See José Cornejo Franco, "Guadalajara colonial", en *Obras completas* (Guadalajara: UNED, 1985), 43.

[43] See Figure 2.1

city was intended to not only organize space, but support longstanding and new social hierarchies.[44]

Figure 2.1 City Plan of Guadalajara, 1842[45]



[44] Eduardo López Moreno, *La cuadrícula en el desarollo de la ciudad hispanoamericana: Guadalajara, Mexico* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1992), 19.

[45] Reprinted in Moreno, *La cuadrícula,* 143.

In its early years Guadalajara's merchants made the city a trading hub for the northern mining camps in Zacatecas, which depended on Nueva Galicía's agricultural goods. Due to problems with water and poor soil quality, agriculture in Guadalajara was primarily based on raising livestock.[46] Eventually the region became involved in a long distance and lucrative trade in cattle, mules, and horses. Throughout the colonial period the livestock economy would be the region's mainstay.[47] It would be cattle ranching that would come to define Jalisco both ethnically and culturally. Animal husbandry was less familiar than cultivating crops among the indigenous populations of Mexico, and therefore Jalisco's ranching culture attracted a more *mestizo* population, or those of mixed race.[48] This helps to explain the racial makeup of Guadalajara and Jalisco. Consequently, cattle ranching would also give rise to the iconic *charro*, or cowboy culture, still celebrated today as unique to the region and adopted as a national symbol of Mexican identity. At its core, the *charro* mystique embraces an intense attachment to regional homeland, or *patria chica*; a passion for horses, weapons and risk-taking; love for freedom; and a fierce, aggressive and proud individualism.[49] For this reason, the region gained a

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[46] Helene Riviere D'Arc, "Las fases del crecimiento y del desarollo de Guadalajara y de su region durante la colonizacion," in José María Muria, ed., *Lecturas Historicas de Jalisco Antes de la Indpendencia*, Tomo II (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial, 1982), 29-46.

[47] Ramón María Serrera, *Guadalajara ganadera. Estudio regional novohispano, 1760-1805* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1977), 75-76.

[48] The work of Chevalier argues that the attraction to ranching was connected to the use of horses to perform many duties. Horses granted indviduals with status and a sense of freedom and allowed many of the *castas* to move up in status during the colonial period. See Francois Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 112.

[49] Jean Meyer, "Perspectivas de análisis sociohistórico de la influencia de Guadalajara sobre su región" in *Regiones y ciudades en América Latina (México*: SEP), 157-158.

reputation and association with banditry and rural uprisings often provocation larger rebellions. In particular, the region is most known for those that spurred Independence beginning in 1810.[50]

For the most part, Guadalajara remained a rural agricultural and artisan center up until the eighteenth century. Eventually, the city diversified its economic base as the western region's mercantile, financial, bureaucratic, and cultural center thanks in part to the Bourbon reforms.[51] The Bourbon reforms were a series of economic and social reforms that attempted to modernize Spain and its colonies under the reign of Charles III (1759-1788). Ultimately the crown hoped to concentrate its wealth through a series of economic and social reforms that would reassert royal domination over colonial resources by gaining greater control over trade and weakening wealthy sectors like the Catholic Church.[52] In the Jalisco region these new measures stimulated the city's early commercial expansion, urban development and population growth. Prior to 1759 all commercial transactions in Mexico processed through the eastern port of Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific port of Acapulco. Due to Spanish mercantilist trade policies which fostered monopolization, until 1768 Mexico City merchants handled most trade leaving the country, which prioritized the early growth and development of Mexico City over Guadalajara. Bourbon trade reforms opened up the port of San Blas to local Guadalajara markets and trade with Mexico City and California in 1768.[53] Between 1791 and 1804 the state constructed several bridges connecting Guadalajara to nearby towns of La Laja, Zapotlanejo, Calderón, and

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[50] Some of the most notable works on rural violence and uprisings are Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution*; Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*.

[51] Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico* (1971), 17-19; 61; Van Young, *Hacienda and Market*, 14.

[52] For more on their impact in Mexico see David Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico*: *The Diocese of Michoacan 1749-1810 (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[53] Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, Jaime Olveda and Beatriz Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano de Guadalajara*, (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1995), 107-109.

San Juan de los Lagos. Around the same time state road projects cleared direct routes to Colíma, Tepíc and San Blás.[54] This opened up Guadalajara economically to other parts of the state and solidified its power over the region, but it also opened up Guadalajara to rural in-migration.[55]

The result of these economic changes shifted Jalisco's economy away from subsistence toward commercial agriculture on elite owned *haciendas*, or rural estates. By this time trade increased the city's merchant class and stimulated greater commercial growth. The new class of prosperous merchants combined forces with old elite families through intermarriage and credit relations to control the largest and richest haciendas of central Jalisco that produced for the urban markets.[56] The rise of these *haciendas* forced neighboring rural villages into an expanding urban economic and social network by the early nineteenth century, and began the earliest waves of rural to urban migration. Indeed, the city's population increased by almost fifty percent in 1823.[57]

This also fostered the development of textile manufactures. Mainly focused on cotton, Guadalajara and other cities such as Mexico City, Puebla, Veracruz, Tlaxcala, and Querétero capitalized on this industrial growth from the late 1700s to 1821. By the late eighteenth century there existed a small scale industry in Guadalajara. Textile factories employed predominantly women because they could be paid less than men. Single and widowed women comprised a

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[54] Ibid.,108.
[55] Ibid.,129.
[56] William Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Preists and Parishioners in Eighteenth Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 39.
[57] The population of the city went from 22,163 inhabitants in 1777 to 46,804 by 1823. See Luis Páez Brotchie's prologue in *Descripción de Guadalajara en 1880,* xxxv.. See also Rodney D. Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación de la independencia: studio de su población según los padrones de 1821-1822* (Guadalajara, México: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaría General, Unidad Editorial, 1983), 45.

majority of these new textile workers. As early as the mid-eighteenth century urban textile centers across Mexico essentially became "city of women." In Puebla for example, the majority of the city were widows and young single women. The process extensively tilted the sex ratio and increased singleness, as it would by 1821 in Guadalajara. In such places women faced few options for marriage and devoted their lives to spinning.[58] Young women in particular, between the age of fifteen and twenty four outnumbered young single men in Guadalajara by twenty percent in 1821. The pattern only increased with female age. At the same time, marriage rates among men and women aged twenty five to fifty four were comparable. With few available men to marry, those who arrived in Guadalajara single had limited choices. [59] I believe the patterns demonstrate the existence of a large, and often young, female labor pool. In fact, studies of early Mexican industrialization suggest that the use of female labor was so extensive that it slowed the pace of economic progress. The widespread availability of cheap labor performed by female hands made it unnecessary to mechanize production.[60] Ultimately many of these changes laid the groundwork for future Liberal economic reforms.

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[58] Guy Thomson, "Cotton Textile Industry in Puebla during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in Jacbosen, Nils and Hans Jurgen Puhle Stages, *The Economies of Mexico and Peru During the Late Colonial Period* (Berlin: Collouium Berlag, 1986).

[59] See Table 2.2.

[60] Carmen Ramos Escandón, *Industrialización, género y trabajo femenino en el sector textile mexicano: El obraje, la fábrica, y la compañía industrial* (Mexico City: CIESAS, 2004), 25.

Table 2.2[61] Marital Status According to Sex and Age, Guadalajara, 1821										
Status	**Age 15 - 24**		**Age 25 - 34**		**Age 35 - 44**		**Age 45 - 54**		**Age 55/over**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Single	1438	2146	376	715	132	330	85	196	71	148
	40%	*60%*	*34%*	*66%*	*27%*	*71%*	*30%*	*70%*	*32%*	*68%*
Married	727	1654	2022	2263	1615	1230	960	534	572	205
	30%	*70%*	*47%*	*53%*	*57%*	*43%*	*64*	*36*	*73%*	*26%*
Widowed	15	139	66	458	107	735	131	679	135	561
	10%	*90%*	*13%*	*87%*	*13%*	*87%*	*16%*	*84%*	*20%*	*80%*

The Bourbon reforms emphasized social change, believing that an orderly citizenry contributed to economic growth. As a result, many new ideas promoted "rational reform, education, orderliness, and empirical analysis [which] maintain[ed] that humans had the power to change the environment and reform society."[62] These early reforms targeted social problems such as disease, overcrowding, crime and poverty created by the growth of urban cities and populations in places like Mexico City and Guadalajara. They aimed to "civilize" and educate the lower classes in order to foster economic development and establish civil obedience. Therefore, they had a social welfare element which catered to a growing number of poor women, many unmarried, single and widowed and some with children. It was in this period that Mexico City opened a central orphanage (1767), poorhouse (1774), hospital (1779) and state pawn shop

[61] Data for the table was compiled using the *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006).

[62] Claudia Agostini. *Monuments of Progress: Modernization and Public Health in Mexico City, 1876-1910 (*Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), 2; Silvia Arrom, *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774-1871* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

(1775).[63] Guadalajara also saw the expansion of its social welfare institutions with a hospital (1781), soup kitchens (1784) and poorhouse (1805). All of which would continue to be run by religious orders until the mid to late nineteenth century.[64] Many of the social transformations of the colonial period set a precedent for reforms that would take root after 1821.

From Independence to Reform, 1821-1875

It was in the aftermath of Independence in 1821 that state, military, and even religious leaders looked to chart a new political course for the young nation of Mexico, leading to years of heated debate, factionalism, and political disorganization. In these years, members of emerging liberal and conservative parties disputed the direction of the newly formed nation.[65] Divisions arose over whether the new government would be centralist or federalist. Federalists desired greater autonomy for states, and were generally rural in their allegiances, while Centralists argued for a stronger Federal, or central government, and tended to be more cosmopolitan.[66] In reality however, these divides were superficial as both "liberals" and "conservative" ideals of the

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[63] Arrom, *Containing the Poor*, 14-15; See also J. P. Viqueira Albán, *¿Relajados o reprimidos? Diversiones públicas y vida social en la ciudad de México durante el Siglo de las luces* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987); Pamela Voekel, "Peeling off the Palace: Bodily Resistance to Bourbon Reforms in Mexico City," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 5, no 2 (1992).

[64] For Guadalajara see, Jiménez Pelayo et al, *El Crecimiento Urbano*, 109-122; Jesús Hernández Padilla, "El Hospicio Cabañas," in *Iglesias y edificios antiguos de Guadalajara (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara*, 1979), 261-2.

[65] Recent works address the notion that there existed a multitude of factions making the debates much more complex than just liberalism and conservativism. For a discussion see, William Fowler, *Mexico in the Age of Proposals, 1821-1853* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1998), 267, 226. Donald Stevens, *Origins of Instability in Early Republican Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Timothy Anna, *The Forging of Mexico, 1821-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1998).

[66] Anna, *Forging of Mexico*.

period derived from the same political roots, Liberalism.[67] Therefore the tenets of Liberalism, while varied, pervaded Mexican politics from its earliest efforts at self-government in 1821 well into the stable years of the *Porfiriato*. Ultimately Mexicans became solidly influenced by Liberalism, evidenced by the dramatic period of Liberal reform known as *La Reforma*. Such events were precipitous of the form that government and politics would take in Mexico after the wars for Independence. New reforms that focused on greater representative government, individual rights, secularism, anti-corporatism and capitalist economic development had a tremendous impact on Mexican society and women. The secularization of Mexican society limited women's involvement in decisions about marriage, divorce, education and charity. In addition, land and economic reforms displaced rural peasants forcing them out of their natal villages, a majority of whom were women, to seek employment in cities. During this middle period, political leaders laid the foundations for liberal ideas that would eventually filter into a public discourse that propped up patriarchy and marriage.

Mexico first became a constitutional monarch under the emperor of Iturbide in 1821. In 1824 after passage of the first Constitution a Republican government replaced Iturbide, organizing Mexico as a federal republic composed of nineteen states and four territories, with separations of powers, executive, legislative and judicial branches. In many ways, Mexican Independence and state formation drew inspiration from the European Enlightenment. This is one reason why scholars frequently term the era the "long nineteenth century," due to some of the continuities from the late eighteenth century that followed Latin America into the nineteenth and eventually twentieth centuries. The Mexican constitution of 1824 is one example of the strong influence that Spain continued to have, as it borrowed heavily from the Liberal Spanish

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[67] Karen D. Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens: Local Liberalism in Early National Oaxaca and Yucatán* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 4.

charter of 1812.[68] Many events taking place in Spain had lasting impacts for Mexico (and much of Latin America). In Mexico the demise of the Spanish monarchy in 1808 led to the creation of a parliament, known as the Cortes. The Constitution of 1812 established a representative government for the worldwide Spanish Nation in which all free men, regardless of race or status, became Spaniards.[69] Other examples include the establishment of jails, hospitals and poor houses under the Spanish that retained their original objectives decades after Independence.[70] Beginning in 1833, more "conservative" and centralist *caudillo* (rural political bosses) presidents ran Mexico, such as the once liberal turned conservative Santa Anna, who served eleven different times as president between 1833 and 1855. In Jalisco, the gubernatorial seat shifted frequently between 1846 and 1853.[71] Liberals returned to power in 1855, passing sweeping Liberal legislation known as "The War of Reform," or *La Reforma*.[72] In 1861, foreign intervention by the French established a constitutional monarchy under the emperor Maximillian, temporarily halting Liberal projects. Mexican Liberals finally restored a federalist Republican government under the leadership of Benito Juarez in 1867. Despite chaotic shifts between 1821 and 1867, Mexico's federal government was in agreement of the fact that it would embrace the

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[68] Jaime Rodríguez, "The Constitution of 1824 and the Formation of the Mexican State," in *The Origins of Mexican National Politics, 1808-1847* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1997).
[69] Rodríguez O., Jaime E. *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2.
[70] See Chapter 6.
[71] José María Múria, *Breve Historía de Jalisco*. (Colegio de Mexico, México, D.F.: 1994), 92-94.
[72] Hale, *Mexican Liberalism*.

idea that *el buen gobierno* would be representative and built on Liberal republican principles.[73] Social, legal and economic reforms passed during the period are indicative of these Liberal foundations and demonstrate the ways in which the political realm trickled down into the everyday lives of Mexican citizens, especially women.

A central tenet of Liberalism was the secularization of society and the debates between church and political leaders over this process frequently hinged on issues and institutions of great concern to women, such as marriage, divorce, education and social services for the poor. Moreover religion had a tremendous influence in Guadalajara politics. Prior to *la Reforma* the Catholic Church wielded a great deal of power and influence in Mexican society. Not only was the Church a large landholder, it also played a great role in civil society; in charge of the registration of all births, marriages and deaths, operated an ecclesiastical court system and held a near monopoly in education and charity.[74] The Church's wealth, generated by the income that came out of fees for marriages, masses, baptisms and funerals, as well as their opportunities to profit in commerce, real estate, mining, agriculture and manufacturing led to efforts to diminish Church power. As the second largest diocese, serving a population of over 600,000 members, the diocese of Guadalajara was a target of reforms aimed at weakening the Church's influence in the financial and judicial affairs of society.[75]

Traditional debates place the church in a conservative role, but many authors maintain that the Catholic Church in Guadalajara was influx with many of the political ideas of the age,

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[73] Alicia Hernández Chavez, *La tradicion republicana del buen gobierno* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[74] For more on the Church's influence in Colonial Mexico, see Brading, *Church and State;* Nancy Fariss, *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821. (*London: University of London Press, 1968).

[75] Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred.*

and in some cases evolved with Liberalism. As early as the mid-eighteenth century many clergy drew on ideas of rationality, reason, and individual rights in their debates with Church leadership over the spiritual direction of churches and convents. In addition, some clergy sought to translate these ideas into less Baroque forms of religious practice.[76] There is much evidence to suggest that changing political and social ideologies influenced the Catholic Church in Guadalajara. New forms of "enlightened Catholicism" rejected baroque sentiment centered on public piety and pomp in favor of modesty, humility, self-control, and the individual conscience—casting out vanity and formulaic rituals. Elites and many early Liberals in the city embraced these ideals.[77] Until the 1850s the Church in Jalisco attempted to position itself within Liberalism rather than fight against it.[78] For example, the diocese of Guadalajara was neither conservative nor reactionary in its views toward Liberalism, but combined a "providential understanding of nationalism with Liberal concepts of good government, especially constitutionalism and liberty." In this way it hoped to both make the Church relevant and protect its institutions from state intervention.[79] As evidence, members of the clergy in Guadalajara served in political office until reforms laws prevented them from doing so.[80]

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[76] Margaret Chowning, *Rebellious Nuns: The Troubled History of a Mexican Convent*, *1752-1863* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); See also Brading, *Church and State*.

[77] Pamela Voekel, *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

[78] Brian Connaughton, "The Enemy Within: Catholics and Liberalism in Independent Mexico, 1821-1860," in *The Divine Charter: Constitutionalism and Liberalism in Nineteenth-century Mexico*, ed. Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (Langham, UK: Rowan & Littlefield, 2005), 183-202.

[79] Connaughton, *Clerical Ideology*, 308; 16.

[80] Anne Staples, "Clerics as Politicians: Church, State and Political Power in Independent Mexico," in *Mexico in the Age of Democratic Revolutions, 1750*-1850, edited by Jaime E Rodríguez (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, 1994); Marta Eugenia Garćía Ugarte, *Liberalismo e*

By 1859, however, the Mexican state and Catholic Church parted ways over legal codes that instituted civil marriage and divorce. In response the church produced extensive literature that questioned the legitimacy of civil marriage and expressed concern for women who would suffer a loss of honor without the protection of religiously sanctioned marriage. They argued that without the inherent threat built into religious marriage, which could determine salvation, men would be less likely to marry.[81] In addition to legal reform the state intended to remove the influence of the church in matters of education. New reforms regarding mandatory education were passed as early as 1842 in Jalisco, mandating obligatory education for boys and girls between the age of five and twelve.[82] Although lawmakers intended to prohibit religious interference in education, many studies concur that most of the reforms would not sustain any real social impact until late century, and even into the twentieth in rural areas. Although state leaders passed education reforms, primary education in Mexico would remain profoundly hierarchical and religious throughout the nineteenth century.[83]

In addition to schools, the state also took measures to weaken the role of the Catholic Church in private charity as part of its goal to fully separate Church and state. This was an area of great consequence to the rising numbers of single, widowed and unmarried women with

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iglesia Catolica en Mexico : 1824-1855 (México, DF: Instituto Mexicano de Doctrina Social Cristiana, 1999).

[81] "Ley del Matrimonio Civil 23 de Julio de 1859," *Legislación Mexicana*, vol 8, 696; For church literature in Guadalajara see Chapter 3.

[82] José María Múria, *Breve Historía*, 119; Obligatory education is mentioned in BPEJ, Misc., #73, 1"Instruccion PriMaría, informe que el Inspector general de Instruccion PriMaría del Estado de Jalisco" by Lopez Cotilla. (Guadalajara, 1851), 20.

[83] Anne Staples, "La educación como instrumento ideologíco del estado. El conservadurismo educativo en el Mexico decimonónico," in *El conservadurismo mexicano en el siglo XIX,* edited by Will Fowler and Humberto Morales Moreno (Puebla: Benemerita Universidad Autonoma de Pueblo, 1999).

children who benefitted from Church-run medical and childcare services. Previously church-run institutions in Guadalajara such as hospitals, jails and the *Casa de Caridad*, which functioned as an orphanage, school, and nursing home would now fell under state management by 1874. With this shift also came a new agenda of "civil Liberalism" toward the benefactors of state welfare, many of them women. State run institutions eliminated religious rituals and continued to emphasize a need to reform and educate the poor in order to become more productive citizens in society.[84] The authorities who issued ordinances from institutions like the city poorhouse in Guadalajara, known as the *Casa de Caridad*, upheld a patriarchal perception of needing to protect deserving single and widowed women that utilized its services.[85]

Perhaps the government's Liberal economic reforms of 1856 had the greatest impact on women in Jalisco, as they spurred increased growth of the city and the development of even more industries. New measures repealed ecclesiastical *fueros* (special dispensations which exempted clerics from standing trial), nationalized and sold church property, limited fees for religious sacraments, and secularized the registry of births, marriages, adoptions and deaths.[86] One school of thought argues that from 1856 to 1863 Mexico underwent a "revolution" aimed at moving away from the Church's more feudalistic economic, social and political institutions in order to make room for economic developments that transformed Mexico into a more capitalist

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[84] Arrom, *Containing the Poor*; Anayanci Fregoso Centeno, "Hospicio Cabañas: la instrucción y la caridad como productoras de representaciones de maternidad y niñez, Guadalajara, Siglo XIX" (paper presented at the Congress of Latin American Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, September 5-8, 2007).

[85] See chapters 5 and 6.

[86] Michael Meyer, William Sherman, and Susan Deeds, *The Course of Mexican History*. 7th Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 359-363.

society.[87] Others argue that the reforms served only to consolidate wealth in the hands of Mexico's elite and failed to alleviate national debts. If anything, Liberal economic reforms fueled many of the problems that rural peasants faced over land disputes and economic disenfranchisement in the build up to the Mexican Revolution by 1910.[88]

Reforms focused on securing private property rights such as the 1856 *Ley Lerdo de Tejada,* which privatized large amounts of land formerly owned by the church, and incidentally those held collectively by rural communities, aimed to decrease both the economic and political power of the Catholic Church in favor of a more secular state.[89] It also served to produce badly needed revenue for the indebted young nation by requiring that a 5 percent commission be returned to the government for each land sale, as well as increasing tax revenue for each newly privatized property.[90] The new law inadvertently monopolized land in the hands of Mexico's wealthy and stripped many rural indigenous villagers of their land. As happened elsewhere, in Guadalajara local and foreign elites took advantage of their newfound opportunity to purchase land, buying up large parcels of previously owned Church property.[91] In one instance, the wealthy Guadalajara merchant José Palomar purchased the entire block where the *Molino de*

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[87] Jan Bazant, *Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856-1875 (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 287.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Mark Wasserman, *Everyday Life and Politics in Nineteenth-century Mexico: Men, Women and* War. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 134.
[90] Barbara Tannebaum, "El poder de las fianzas y las finanzas del poder en México durante el siglo XIX," *Siglo XIX 3*, no. 5 (1988), 216.
[91] Jaime Olveda, "Segunda Parte 1768-1910. La Transformación Urbana. La Modernización Urbana," in *El crecimiento urbano de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara, Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco: CONACYT: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1995), 155-156; Robert Knowlton, "Dealing in Real Estate in Mid-Nineteenth-century Jalisco, The Guadalajara Region" in *Liberals, the Church, and Indian peasants : corporate lands and the challenge of reform in nineteenth-century Spanish America ,* Robert Jackson, ed., (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 24.

Chocolate factory had stood, and the Frenchman Emilio Signoret purchased twenty-one houses in a single day.[92] In the hinterlands around the city as well, those with means purchased the large ranch estates formerly run by the Church. The impact on Jalisco's indigenous and peasant populations was devastating, many lost lands they had inhabited for centuries. Without access to land for agricultural production, they faced poverty and forced migration.[93] The *Ley Lerdo* became integrated into the 1857 national constitution, cementing the Liberal ideals of individual rights, property ownership and free trade into Mexico's economy as part of sweeping Liberal changes that took place.[94] In Jalisco, the chain of economic events to come out of these reforms hit rural peasants and the urban poor the hardest, expanding rural to urban migratory chains, many of whom would be women, and widening the gap between the rich and poor.[95] Years later, even lawmakers in Jalisco recognized the disastrous consequences and contradiction of many laws to come out of the War of Reform, or *La Reforma,* which frequently served elites. In 1873, the Guadalajara lawyer Anastasio Rojas called attention to what he termed "a state of tyranny" in Jalisco, arguing that public leaders aligned themselves with the state's aristocracy

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[92] Jaime Olveda, *La oligarquía de Guadalajara. De las reformas borbónicas a la reforma liberal.* (Mexico: Colegio Regiones, 1990), 316-17.

[93] José María Muríá, *Sumario Histórico de Jalisco* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Editorial Gráfica Nueva, 1996), 285-6.

[94] Antonio Gómez Cuervo, "Memoria sobre el estado de la administración pública formada por el ejectivo del Estado de Jalisco, 1870," in Alda Urzúa Orozco and Gilberto Hernández Z. eds., *Jalisco, testimonio de sus gobernantes, 1826-1989, vol 1.*

[95] Several scholars of Guadalajara point to the reforms as creating a more capitalistic society that widened the gap between the rich and poor, for example see Trujillo, "Léperos,", 207; Jiménez Pelayo et al, *El Crecimiento Urbano*, 107-163.

and had "forgotten the cause" of "real democracy" in which they had been fighting for the past sixty years.[96]

As indigenous community members and small landholders lost access to land the economic structure shifted even farther away from subsistence-based to market-driven economies, and more than ever, rural peasants needed to earn money to subsist. In the process, the city of Guadalajara began to rapidly grow in size. Rural towns around the city were well-established and sustained this growth into the eighteenth century, but the land reforms of the 1850s shifted the balance dramatically in favor of the *haciendas,* the large rural estates of wealthy landowners, at the expense of rural peasants.[97] The loss of agricultural lands, combined with efforts by state-leaders toward modernization and industrialization, led to waves of migration into the city. By 1858, the city had grown by three hundred percent, making it the third most densely populated city in Mexico, after the capital and Puebla.[98]

In numerous cities across Latin America the changing economy of the countryside and the movement toward early forms of industrial production increased rural to urban migration, bringing more single and widowed women into cities looking for work alongside men. It was a documented phenomenon that scholars argue took place elsewhere in Mexico such as Mexico City and Puebla, as well as Latin America in São Paulo and Buenos Aires[99] Evidence from

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[96] BPEJ, Anastasio Rojas "Observaciones contra el proyecto de Ley sobre reformas a la Constitucion del Estado. Opúsculo dedicado al pueblo y a los municipios por el C. Lic" Miscellaneous 186, doc 5, (Guadalajara, 1873).

[97] Gómez Cuervo, "Memoria," 1-6.

[98] In 1792 the city had 24, 249 residents and by 1858 the number grew to 75,000. Oliver Sánchez, "Intensidad de la crisis demográficas," 23; See Table 2.1 and Figures 2.1 and 2.2.

[99] Several studies highlight this process as it occurred across Latin America and Mexico. For examples see, Ramos Escandón, *Industrialización, género y trabajo femenino*; Elizabeth Kuznesof, "Household Composition and Headship as Related to Changes in Mode of Production:

Guadalajara indicates that often more women than men migrated to cities. Likely this had to do with the fact that rural men frequently remained in the countryside to work jobs in mines or on haciendas, whereas common work for poor women, like domestic service and factory work shifted to cities.[100] Single and widowed women were especially attracted to jobs in the burgeoning textile industry in Guadalajara.[101] Although the wars for Independence destabilized industry in Jalisco, there was a resurgence after the 1840s that attracted even greater numbers of female workers.[102] Between 1821 and 1850, there were ten percent more women of marriageable age than there were men in Guadalajara.[103] Therefore, many women who arrived unmarried likely remained so given the limited pool of potential male suitors.

Some might question whether or not the increase in adult female singleness and widowhood in Guadalajara was a result of the wars for Independence. It is true that in these years violence plagued Mexico and resulted in abnormally high mortality rates among young men. By 1821 eleven years of war ended as Mexico celebrated its victory over Spain for national independence. However, in Jalisco most fighting occurred in the countryside and by 1816 had

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Sao Paulo 1765 to 1836," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, no. 1 (1980): 78-108; Szuchman, Mark D. "Household Structure and Political Crisis: Buenos Aires, 1810-1860." LARR, Volume 21 (no. 3) 1986, 87; Moya, José. *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (University of California Press, 1998).

[100] For Mexico see Wasserman, *Everyday Life and Politics*, 23-33; Elizabeth Kuznesof found similar patterns for Brazil, see "The Role of the Female-Headed Household in Brazilian Modernization: São Paulo, 1765-1836," *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 4 (1980), 598

[101] Guy Thomson, "Cotton Textile Industry."

[102] Overall this allowed the city of Guadalajara greater integration into the regional economic system, which relied upon it as a market for its rural agricultural goods and a source of credit and capital; See Ramos Escandón, *Industrialización, género y trabajo femenino*, 71; 162; Muría, *Breve Historía*, 100-109; Van Young, *Hacienda and Market*, 1-6.

[103] See Table 2.4; For a discussion of female work during this period see Chapter 4.

come to a halt in the region all together.[104] While this might account for larger numbers of single and widowed women migrating into the city, it does not address the consistent presence of single and widowed women there after 1821.[105] Although there was a slight increase in young widows in 1813, the overall percentages of widowed and single women steadily increased across the nineteenth century.[106] In Mexico and other parts of Latin America scholars have consistently argued that a growing demand for female labor in urban centers maintained the unequal sex ratio. My research confirms that this was true for Guadalajara's female migrants. While there appears to have been a consistently increased number of single and widowed women of all ages, the sex ratio narrowed throughout the decades.[107] Other studies of Guadalajara suggest higher mobility rates among the rural poor in the less turbulent 1840s than in 1821. Therefore, rural women did not come because of war, but rather as a part of a consistent cycle of migration connected to economic survival.[108]

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[104] For insurgency in Guadalajara see Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 9.
[105] See Chapter 1, Table 1.1.
[106] See Table 2.3.
[107] See Table 2.4.
[108] Rodney Anderson and Tamara Spike, "Archival Report: Making History Count, The Guadalajara Census Project, 1790-1930," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 87, no 2. (May 2007) 337.

Table 2.3[109] Average Age of Female Widows in Guadalajara by Year						
	Age 11 - 25	Age 26 - 35	Age 36 - 45	Age 46 - 55	Age 56 - 65	65/over
Year	%	%	%	%	%	%
1811	*2.9*	*15.8*	*28.4*	*41.7*	*38.5*	*20.6*
1813	*3.8*	*22.2*	*36.2*	*51.3*	*53.6*	*41.2*
1821	*3.5*	*13.3*	*32*	*48.5*	*60*	*35.6*
1824	*4.4*	*19.3*	*34.8*	*44.4*	*75*	*41.7*
1838	*2.5*	*13.1*	*31.3*	*57.1*	*71.4*	*50*
1842	*4.3*	*17.2*	*38.2*	*49.4*	*63.3*	*61.7*

Table 2.4[110] Ratio of Men to Women by Year in Guadalajara, 1811-1895				
	Male		**Female**	
Year	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
1811	517	*40.6*	731	*57.5*
1813	2265	*43*	2917	*55.3*
1821	15358	*43.5*	19309	*54.7*
1824	5144	*41.6*	6824	*55.2*
1838	2568	*46*	2945	*52.7*
1839	1891	*42.5*	2528	*56.8*
1842	8315	*44.7*	10058	*53.7*
1850	1111	*44.3*	1393	*55.6*
1895	37813	*45.9*	44642	*54.1*

[109] See *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822* and *Censuses of Guadalajara,* Volume 2 *1791-1930*, CD-ROM Database (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2008).

[110] The most complete data is reflected for 1821 and 1895. The years in between are used only to show rational patterns, but is based on data from a sample rather than a complete set of censuses. Data for the table was compiled using *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*; *Censuses of Guadalajara,1791-1930*, Volume 2; Data for 1895 was taken from the AHJ, Mapoteca, "Computo General del Censo," Oficio del Concentración del Censo (Guadalajara, 1895). The most complete data sets exist for 1821 and 1895; For more on this discussion see Chapter 4.

Once in the city migrants and the urban poor typically congregated in neighborhoods close to factories, where many worked. For this reason, particular neighborhoods including the outlying *barrios* of San Juan de Diós, Analco and Mexicaltzingo were notoriously crowded by "poor people and factory workers."[111] Overall, Liberal reforms intensified an existing cycle of rural to urban migration and the city's growth. The process and the proportion of growth did little to alleviate problems with overcrowding and poverty in Guadalajara.[112] In fact, although many historians ascribe extensive social reform measures with the *Porfiriato*, municipal codes and construction projects from Guadalajara during the reform years suggest a sustained concern with the rapidly growing poor and immigrant populations. Disease was of major concern in the city by 1850, as an epidemic of cholera killed over three thousand residents. Most of those killed lived on the periphery in city's the poorer *barrios*. Public health officials blamed the hygiene of the poor who they argued accumulated trash and excrement in their homes and frequently threw it into city streets.[113] It was common of all city residents to deposit excrement into city streets where a cart pulled by mules came to collect it and deposit it outside the city. Other sources of contamination included public fountains, where the poor gathered water, bathed, and washed laundry.[114] To combat the spread of disease, new laws focused on the poor and the areas where they lived. For example, in 1852 Jalisco's governor published a mandate to curtail disease and strictly enforced the washing of city streets. The code applied to all small plazas, markets, and

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[111] Archivo Municipal de Guadalajara, Ramo Obras Públicas. Paquete 62, legajo 91, 1840.

[112] Trujillo, "Léperos," and Jiménez Pelayo et al, *El Crecimiento Urbano*, 107-163; For information regarding increases in population see Table 2.3.

[113] Lilia Oliver, "La mortalidad, 1800-1850," in *Lecturas históricas de Guadalajara: Demografía y Urbanismo, eds. José María Muriá y Jaime Olveda* (México: Colegio Regiones de México, 1992),106. Lilia Oliver, *Un verano mortal* (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial del Gobierno de Jalisco, 1986), 42.

[114] Jiménez Pelayo et al, *El Crecimiento,* 140.

carriage sites and imposed fines on those caught throwing trash or water into public streets. In addition, the law prohibited washing and drying clothes on sidewalks and the sale of food on the streets.[115] Such laws undoubtedly had major consequences for poor working women because women predominated in occupations such as laundry services and food sales. In that same year the mayor of Guadalajara sanctioned the building of a fortification on one side of the city to deter thieves and smugglers from entering the city. Early measures undertaken during the reform years focused on the poor as the source of disease, filth and crime in the city. The state simultaneously embarked on a series of projects to improve and beautify the city by caring for existing sidewalks and constructing a new western *alameda* (or tree-lined avenue). In 1856 the city employed contractors to build the *Teatro Degollado*, bringing theater and opera to elite residents. City leaders also took some initiatives to secularize Church property; they ordered a number of churches to be demolished and repurposed others. For example, *El Beaterio de Santa Clara* which had been a school of Christian doctrine and manual arts for girls became a military hospital. While there was some attempt at social reform projects during these years, Guadalajara experienced economic downturn between 1860 and 1876 that temporarily halted the efforts of city officials until the more stable years of the *Porfiriato*.[116] The War of Reform and the French intervention were bloody and devastating not only to Mexico's population but to its economy.

The *Porfiriato*, 1876-1910

The *Porfiriato* was known and named for the dictatorial leadership of Porfirio Díaz, who held the presidency in Mexico from 1876 to 1910. Politically speaking, although still heavily

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[115] BPEJ, Miscelánea, 157, Jesús Lopez Portillo (governor at the time), *Bando de buen gobierno del gobernador constitucional del estado de Jalisco* (Guadalajara, 1852).
[116] Jiménez Pelayo et al, *El Crecimiento,* 156-163.

influenced by early nineteenth century Liberal goals of political freedom, secular society, individualism and free market economics, in this period Liberalism became more heavily influenced by Positivism.[117] Positivism was not a separate ideology, but a "scientific method" for formulating and adapting earlier Liberal ideas.[118] In Mexico, an elite cosmopolitan group of Mexico City *científicos*, or scientists, transformed it into the ideals of "order and progress" that were the centerpiece of the Díaz regime. Hence, it did not replace Liberalism, which remained the basic ideology among *científicos* and government leaders throughout the *Porfiriato*. Instead it became less ideological, and there was an ascendancy of 'scientific politics' over doctrinaire Liberalism.[119] For this reason, most studies of women in nineteenth-century Mexico focus on the *Porfiriato* because under the heavy-handed dictatorship of Díaz, the Mexican state was well organized and had the authority to carry out Liberal legislation. To maintain power and enforce laws he used his secret police to torture and suppress uprisings, rig elections and subdue the freedom of the press.[120] Nevertheless, it is important to understand that the notions of order and progress which are so often ascribed to the age of Díaz were rooted in important historical transitions in Mexico and around the world; namely those that took place after Independence and during the *Reforma,* and in some cases even earlier.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, *Porfirian* social reformers and politicians promoted notions of "order" and "progress" as a means to modernize Mexico and keep pace with European nations. Díaz and the científicos frequently defined progress in economic terms, and

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[117] Hale, *Mexican Liberalism*.
[118] Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism,*14.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Mark Overmeyer Velazquez, *Visions of the Emerald City: Modernity, Tradition, and the Formation of Porfirian Oaxaca, Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

therefore reforms focused on opening avenues to free trade, private property, and economic expansion on a global scale. They placed much emphasis on order, as they believed that an ordered society and citizens was the best avenue for political stability and by consequence economic growth.[121] In response to the weakened state of the Mexican economy after the Wars for Independence and years of upheaval, *Porfirian* economic policies focused on opening up the country to foreign investment and trade. These policies often favored foreign sponsored technology and industrialization, in addition to trade agreements which introduced cheaper goods into Guadalajara that local artisans had once produced. Much evidence suggests that during this period these policies shifted capital away from agriculture, mining, and local craft sectors, further weakening the rural economy.[122] Much of the focus of policy by state and local governments centered on cities, as places where elite residents and politicians lived and where commercial transactions were made. In this way, Mexican cities could demonstrate and represent progress to foreign investors. In Guadalajara, for example, municipal governments installed telegraphs and cut down many of the city's notorious tree-lined avenues to accommodate streetcars by 1878.[123] Other modern imports included wider sidewalks, telephones, and electric lighting by 1884. Innovations fostered greater communication for business and commerce, and beautified the city. To maintain these standards city officials passed laws that mandated the maintenance and care of sidewalks by city residents. Elites enjoyed shopping in the newly renovated downtown, often at foreign owned department stores that

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[121] Agostini, *Monuments of Progress,* xi-xii.

[122] María de los Angéles Pérez-Salcedo,"La mujeres violadas en Jalisco, 1857-1910," Thesis (Universidad de Guadalajara: Guadalajara, 1993), 27; See also Rivas Jiménez, "Defense of Craft," 177.

[123] Jiménez Pelayo et al, *El Crecimiento,* 166.

introduced them to the latest European fashions. Shortly thereafter the city welcomed the first railroad, the *Ferrocarril Central* in 1888.[124] The arrival of locomotive transportation increased commercial activity by connecting Guadalajara with the rest of the country, and increased industrial production by bringing in foreign machinery needed for manufacturing. At the same however, it allowed for more and more goods to be imported from Europe and the United States, such as clothing, groceries, medicine, mechanical equipment, notions and hardware. This too undercut the local economy as certain goods once made by hand by artisans in Jalisco could not compete with the cheap price of mass-manufactured goods.[125] It was also by 1898 that elites began to construct some of the wealthiest neighborhoods in the city. With telling names such as *Colonia Americana, Francesa, Moderna* and *Reforma*, the impressive mansions built in these new divisions with their mammoth courtyards, gardens and iron gates, broke up the colonial *cuadrícula* pattern and introduced even greater class distinctions and segregation among urban inhabitants.[126]

The other aspect of *Porfirian* ideals was a notion of progress that excluded sectors of society deemed undesirable and adverse to modernization. In addition to making the city more attractive for investment and appear more cosmopolitan, elite residents in conjunction with municipal government officials hoped to create greater divisions in society to identify and isolate those inhabitants who did not their proscribed vision. For example, in 1881 public works departments installed public baths and showers around the city as a way to dissuade urban residents

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[124] Ibid., 169-70; 161; Jaime Olveda, "Los francesas y afrancesamiento de Guadalajara a finales del siglo XIX," *Eslabones*, no 9 (Mexico: Sociedad Nacional de Estudios Regionales, 1995), 64.
[125] Rivas, "Defense of Craft," 177.
[126] Jiménez Pelayo et al., *El Crecimiento Urbano,* 190.

accustomed to bathing in the city's San Juan de Diós river.[127] City planners also attempted to build on existing codes to improve sanitation and prevent the spread of disease. [128] Other measures, such as an increased presence of city police and state takeover of welfare and reform institutions such as the poorhouse, hospital and penitentiaries (although they did not originate during the *Porfiriato*) demonstrated a desire on the part of city officials to "clean up" and reform uncivilized elements of society to better fit modern notions of progress.[129]

Overall, *Porfirian* economic reforms had the greatest influence on Guadalajara and brought even greater numbers of rural migrants to the city, many of them widowed and single women. New economic policies led to continued urban growth in Guadalajara.[130] By the 1880s cosmopolitan *tapatíos*[131] believed their city was fully "modern," and prided themselves on the fact that during the warfare of the previous decades they were the only Mexican city to initiate new construction projects, including a poorhouse, impressive opera house and state prison. By 1890, the city added an additional five hundred city blocks compared to its dimensions in 1800, and boasted over twenty-four churches, twenty public plazas and over fourteen bridges to connect the city to the other side of the Río San Juan de Diós.[132] Economically Jalisco faced major transitions in agriculture that shifted the region's economic focus toward industrial

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[127] Ibid., 166.

[128] BPE, Miscelánea, 157, Jesús Lopez Portillo (governor at the time), *Bando de buen gobierno del gobernador constitucional del estado de Jalisco* (Guadalajara, 1852); Ibid, 1

[129] Jorge A. Trujillo and Juan Quintar, *Pobres, Marginados y Peligros* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2003), 205; Subsequent chapters go further in depth on this subject, see Chapters 4, 5 & 6.

[130] Rivas Jiménez, "Defense of Craft," 26-7.

[131] *Tapatío* is a nickname to describe a person from Guadalajara.

[132] Bárcena, 22-39; 81.

manufacturing by the turn of the century. Throughout the *Porfiriato* the state of agriculture was miserable. Although it remained the biggest industrial sector for the state, several crises, including freezes and droughts occurred in 1886, 1889, 1891, and 1893 created imbalances for the Jalisco economy. Overall, the local cultivation of corn, wheat and beans diminished and caused widespread price increases for basic foods.[133] *Porfirian* trade policies welcomed foreign investment which made Guadalajara a more attractive place for entrepreneurs to build modern factories. Indeed, between 1876 and 1905 Jalisco became one of the most important zones of textile production in the nation.[134] Although textile factories began to arrive in Guadalajara as early as the 1840s, by 1878 ten new factories opened which specialized in the construction of yarns and fabrics. By 1889, strong capitalists from France formed the Industrial Company of Guadalajara, merging two major factories in the city. Other burgeoning industries included soap, electric, oil, tequila and tobacco factories.[135] By the 1880s, new factories also began to mass-produce goods once made by artisans in trades like carpentry, furniture making, shoemaking, meatpacking and blacksmithing.[136] The rise of these new industries and the introduction of factory jobs combined with a weakened agricultural sector and inflation, led to massive migrations of rural peasants from Jalisco into Guadalajara. While urban and rural residents watched the prices of corn, beans and *chile* rise in upwards of one hundred percent, wages only

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[133] María A. Aldana Rendón, *Desarollo económico de Jalisco 1821-1940* (Universidad de Guadalajara, 1979), 83.

[134] Jan Bazant, "Estudio sobre la productividad de la industria algodonera mexicana, 1843-1845."; Lucas Alemán y la Revolución Industrial en México," in *La industria nacional y el comercio exterior* (Mexico: Banco nacional de comercio exterior, 1977), 31; Ramos Escandón, *Industrialización,* 162-164.

[135] Aldana, 141.

[136] Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara en 1880,* 147-48; Also see Chapter 4, Table 4.6.

increased by sixty percent throughout the *Porfiriato*.[137] Therefore, the option of factory work appealed to an ever expanding class of industrial workers made up of rural migrants and artisans.

Overall, single and widowed women continued to make up a majority of the growing urban population. As the city began to grow by 1895, adult women continued to outnumber men by five percent.[138] Therefore, adult female singleness remained a constant throughout the century. The need to earn wages and the availability of commonly held female jobs as domestic servants, laundresses, cooks and factory workers attracted women to Guadalajara. Textile work in particular was a female-dominated and growing industry. Textile factories and their products varied as did skills required to perform certain jobs. For example, *La Prosperidad Jalisciense* and *La Escoba* supplied yarn and cotton to local artisans, while others specialized in finer textiles and skills, such as *La Caja del Agua* which produced silk *rebozos* (shawls). Jobs in these factories included positions as combers, spinners, dyers, and weavers which were predominantly female, but occasionally included men. Women worked exclusively as *canilleras*, or spoolers.[139] Cigar factories also commonly employed female workers. By 1880, the city had five tobacco factories, all with a majority of female workers. The *El Buen Gusto*, founded in 1864, employed mostly women, having 540 female workers and only 60 male. The same was true for, *La Simpatía* which employed over 300 women, *La Flor de Orizaba*, hired 150 women and 25 men, *and La Esperanza,* which took on 80 women and 16 men.[140] Thus, rapid industrialization by the

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[137] It is estimated that corn rose by 108%, beans by 63% and chile by 147%. See *Estadísticas Económicas del Porfiriato. Fuerza de Trabajo y actividad por sectores* (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1965), 17.

[138] See Chapter 1, Table 1.1; Table 2.4.

[139] Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara*, 147-165.

[140] Ibid.

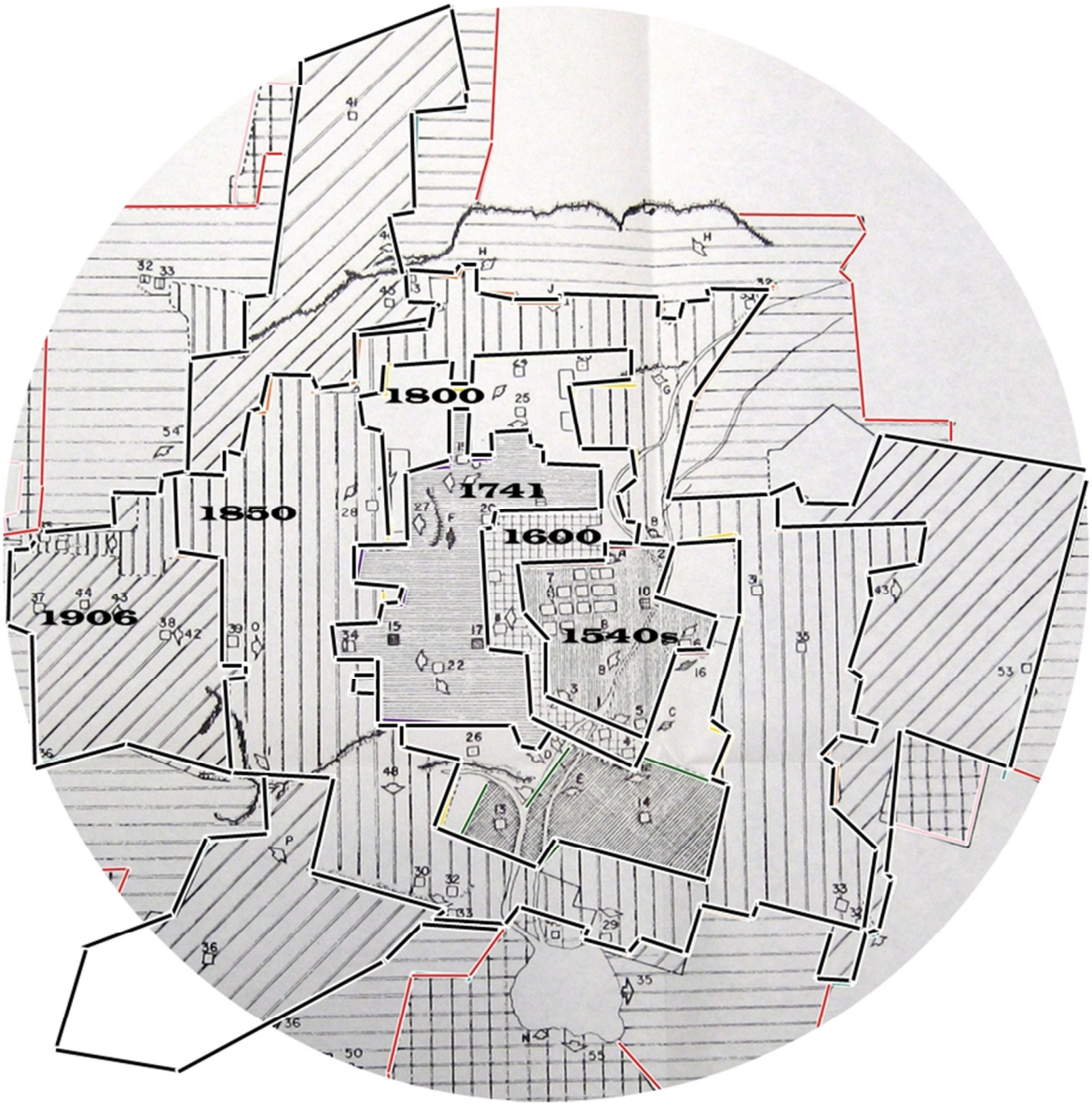
latter part of the century played an important role in the increased migration of women to the city, many of whom were single or widowed and unattached.

Conclusion

It is undeniable that the transformations of the long nineteenth century contributed to the growth of Mexican cities and encouraged the increased migration and presence of unattached women in Guadalajara. Industrial and urban growth led rural women to seek opportunities in the city. Single and widowed women in particular, frequently driven by a lack of familial or spousal support, ended up in Guadalajara to work as domestic servants, laundresses, cooks or as factory workers. Their lives were deeply entangled in an evolving political and economic climate that pervaded all facets of life. The next chapter explores how unattached adult single women became a common yet stigmatized part of Guadalajara's urban population.

Figure 2.2[141]

Urban Growth of Guadalajara, 1542-1906



[141] AHJ, María de los Angeles Partida Flores, "Mapa del Crecimiento de Guadalajara," PL 7. 895.599. 2002; For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.

Figure 2.3[142]

"La Calle de San Francisco" in the Late Nineteenth Century

La calle de San Francisco a fines del siglo XIX

[142] These images of a street located in the center of town depict some of the new innovations brought to Guadalajara by the late nineteenth-century. Notice the trolley tracks, widened sidewalks and European style architecture. Photo reprinted in Iguiniz, *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos*.

CHAPTER THREE

DISCOURSES ON MARRIAGE AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN LIBERAL SOCIETY, 1855-1910

The role of single women in Mexican society became more relevant in the context of its Liberal political and legal changes. The strength of Mexico's traditional patriarchal family represented the last semblance of order in society after Independence. Facing political disintegration the early Republic looked to male household heads to maintain order in their homes to counter political instability and enforce changing notions of behavior and conduct in a modernizing nation.[143] Although the importance of the family within the social and political culture of the colonial period cannot be underplayed, in post-Independence Mexico the role of women as wives and mothers took on greater nationalistic tones.[144] Young governments across Latin America looked to "male elders to represent both the family to the state and the state inside the family."[145] Thus, an ideal patriarchal household was comprised of a husband who headed the family, a wife and children. This ideal family would become the centerpiece of a modern society founded on the principles of Liberalism. In effect, state leaders became more involved in ideological debates and legislation regarding the function of marriage. Increasingly, as Liberal

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[143] Carmen Ramos Escandón, "The Social Construction of Wife and Mother: Women in Porfirian Mexico: 1880-1917," in *Kinship, Gender, Power: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary History* Mary Jo Maynes, Ann Walter, Brigitte Soland, Ulrique Strasser, eds., (London: Routledge, 1996) 275-286.

[144] Ibid., 276.

[145] Elizabeth Dore "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Gender and the State in the Long Nineteenth Century," in *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000) 15.

ideology influenced greater secularization in Mexican society, the state slowly attempted to replace the role of the Catholic Church in private life. This chapter reveals that legislation intended to strengthen marriage and the family in nineteenth-century Mexico sparked contentious debates among politicians, the Catholic Church and women themselves.

By the time of *La Reforma* in the 1850s, politicians took a greater interest in marriage because they argued that national progress rested on the family, with fathers and mothers who passed on the ideals of civic responsibility to their children. New legal codes and popular rhetoric served to strengthen the role of patriarchs within the family, and reinforce already proscribed gender roles for women as wives and mothers living under the surveillance and protection of a strong patriarchal head. Although politically marginalized, Liberal governments mobilized women around the notion that fathers were the authoritative figures within the family, while mothers and wives were the "moral compass." Through similar reforms the state sought to promote wives and mothers as the chief managers of their households and educators of the nations' future citizens, their male children.[146] Greater emphasis on marriage and family left little room for a growing population of unmarried, widowed and single women in Guadalajara. The political rhetoric of liberals and conservatives marginalized the growing population of single women who, even if they desired to marry, found it increasingly difficult to find a partner. Indeed by late century, between 1895 and 1908 legal marriage was on the decline in Mexico.[147]

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[146] Marie Eileen Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 22-23. Silvia Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 14-52.

[147] Moíses González Navarro, "El Porfiriato, vida social," *Historia Moderna de México* (Mexico: Editorial Hermes, 1957), 320.

The Rhetoric of the Liberal Family

Family and marriage have always been important in Mexican society. Compared to studies of family history in the United States and Europe, the Latin American family played a more central and active role in national development from the colonial period onward. The colonial Mexican family was deeply patriarchal, with husbands wielding considerable control over their wives and children. Women held greater responsibility in preserving the honor of the family by maintaining sexuality purity before marriage and restraint afterward. For men honor defined his power and hierarchy within the family rather than his virtue.[148] Colonial legal codes placed men as legal heads of household. For these reasons, husbands controlled all assets including their wife's property and held legal guardianship rights over children. Fathers also played an important role in choosing marriage partners for their children by the mid-eighteenth century. Wives enjoyed extremely limited juridical power and legal codes mandated "obedience" to husbands. She did however have some legal identity within ecclesiastical courts where wives could file for annulment and write their own will. Colonial law also provided legal protection over women's dowry and any property she brought with her to marriage.[149] As a whole however, studies of the colonial Mexican family suggest that prior to the nineteenth century, the family maintained a more "corporate" identity and political leaders preferred problems be

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[148] Sarah Chambers and Lara Putnam, eds. *Honor, Status, and Law in Modern Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 3.

[149] Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena Léon, "Liberalism and Married Women's Property Rights in Nineteenth-century Latin America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85, no. 4 (November 2005), 645-49; See Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts Over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1988); Susan Migden Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

handled in the privacy of the home or within the church.[150] Work by historians like Elizabeth Kuznesof however, suggest that by the nineteenth century the family became a much greater "agent" of social change. Both the Catholic Church and Mexican state viewed the family as the "pillar of society" and for this reason they had a deep-seated interest in the preservation of marriage.[151]

Increased importance given to the family and marriage became part of the political debates of Mexico's mid-nineteenth-century reform years and continued into the *Porfiriato*. As early as 1859, the Guadalajara-born writer and priest Agustín de la Rosa professed that the family was "one of the most powerful elements of decorum in society, of honor and morality, of well-being, of power and prosperity of nations and the universe."[152] De la Rosa was deeply inspired and wrote extensively on the virtues the European Enlightenment. As with many of the ideas floating around in the period, Latin American intellectuals looked toward Europe for models of development. Evidence of the fact abounds in the collection of rare books housed in Guadalajara's public library. In *La Familia,* first published in Italy and republished in Spanish by the Italian born writer Lorento del Pozzo by 1888, a chapter titled "Government and Family: Fountains of Individual and National Prosperity," explained that he felt the need to have the book translated as Italy and Mexico were experiencing similar problems which required immediate solutions. Living in México City, he argued that the family was a "fundamental pillar in the social foundation," and emanating from this "natural institution" the nation was bestowed with

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[150] Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey.*

[151] Elizabeth Kuznesof, "The History of the Family in Latin America: A Critique of Recent Work,"*Latin American Research Review* 24, no. 2 (1989), 216-17.

[152] BPEJ, Num de Misc: 12, # of doc: 4, Agustín de la De la Rosa , "El Matrimonio Civil, considerada en sus relaciones con la religion, la familia, y la sociedad," Guadalajara, 1859.

the great civil institutions of marriage, inviolable *patria potestad*, ideas of property, supreme authority, and inheritance rights."[153] Like many political theorists of the age, Del Pozzo saw the family as a model of society and believed that the "purpose of the family was to form a cohesive unit in order to serve a common good and to propel the "ever increasing progress" of the nation. [154]

In fact, well into the twentieth century legislators and reformers would rely on the model of a strong family in times of political chaos in Guadalajara. In 1912, Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra brought forth a proposal to the Jalisco congress to implement a homestead act in the state of that revolved around the family. The premise of the act was to allow disenfranchised rural peasants and the poor working classes of Guadalajara an opportunity to settle and cultivate land, with the only stipulation being that homesteaders be married. In his initiative "El Bien de Familia," he suggested that his ultimate goal was to "protect the domestic home and preserve the power of the family" in society. At the same time, he intended for the plan to fix Jalisco's problems in the Revolutionary period. [155]

Indeed nineteenth-century thinkers believed that an ordered and disciplined family would pave the way for progress, economic growth and social stability in Mexican society. They believed the solution to the ills of Mexican society lay within the family through husbands and wives, who were both expected to contribute to the rearing and raising of good citizens. This responsibility was critical, as a lack of proper guidance within the home could have a negative

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[153] BPEJ, Miscellaneous, #291, doc 2, Lorento del Pozzo,"La Familia: Preceptos de educación de un padre a su hijo: Enseñadelo á ser buen ciudadano, buen marido, buen padre," in *La Famila: Preceptos de educacion de un padre a su hijo* (Mexico, 1888), 4-5.

[154] Ibid., 5.

[155] BPEJ, Miscellaneous, 752, doc 1, Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, "El bien de familia," Initiative presented at the Congress of the state of Jalisco, 1912, 21.

impact on society. As del Pozzo lamented, "if we consider that the family is the compendium of the nation, it would be easy for us to understand that domestic disorder and confusion would lead to many evils that afflict the entire social body."[156] Therefore, the family became central to the narrative on state formation.

Civil Marriage

By mid-century, law makers in Mexico challenged the role of the Catholic Church as guardian of family laws. In keeping with its political goals to secularize society and increase the ability of the national government to control the population it created the civil register in 1859, known as the *Ley Orgánico del Registro*, it required state registry of all marriages, births and deaths. In this way, the state aimed to seize family organization away from church control. For many, full Independence required that religious and political matters be separated.[157] Much debate between religious and political leaders ensued in Guadalajara in the aftermath of these new laws. The most heated were those regarding civil marriage. Despite attempts at similar reforms during the Bourbon era,[158] the civil marriage law was unique in that state governments no longer entrusted the registration and annulment of marriage to the Catholic Church.[159] The law also had broader implications for state involvement in the family. As Carole Pateman argues, the rise of the modern nuclear family consisting of father, mother and children,

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[156] del Pozzo, "Gobierno," 7.

[157] BPEJ, "Ley Orgánico del Registro Civil del 23 de julio de 1859," *Legislación Mexicana*, vol 8, 691.

[158] See Verena Martínez Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

[159] "Ley del Matrimonio Civil 23 de Julio de 1859," *Legislación Mexicana*, vol 8, 696.

originated in the nineteenth-century "marriage contract." [160] Legislative debates over civil marriage illuminate the controversies that surrounded a sacrament that some desired to secularize. In Mexico, increased state emphasis and regulation of a nuclear, monogamous family model, both legally and ideologically, worked in tandem with the overall process of state consolidation.[161] Many intellectuals and politicians believed that marriage sustained order in society and bred a strong and patriotic citizenry. The Catholic Church however, seeing marriage as a sacrament, found the political utility arguments employed in legal and popular dialogue sacrilegious. In addition, they believed marriage unified "the precious values of family with society."[162] Both sides of the debate however, validate the trust that state leaders placed on marriage and family for the future development of Mexico.

Although the 1859 law did not ban religious marriage, it required that all church marriages be registered with civil authorities to legalize the union.[163] Conservatives in Guadalajara like opposed civil marriage and argued that Liberal notions of "progress" and individual "happiness" coming out of Europe were not only irreligious, but harmful to the family. Indeed, they relegated Mexicans to a state of "bastardy." From a Catholic perspective, marriage was a sacrament of the heart and conscience, and individuals should not be "focused on the material utility that results

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[160] Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 16.
[161] Ramos Escandón, "The Social Construction," 278.
[162] De la Rosa, 31.
[163] France was the first Catholic nation to institute Civil Marriage in 1804. See Carmen Diana Deere and Léon, "Liberalism," 636-38.

from marriage." According to de la Rosa, the legislation of civil matrimony was based in "purely material interests," not only for individuals themselves, but also for the state.[164]

Religious thinkers like de la Rosa provide historical snapshots of how church leaders and their ley allies interpreted the state's agenda through its reform laws. De la Rosa's arguments draw attention to the growing presence of the state in what he felt were the personal lives of city residents, not to mention a matter of one's soul. He contested what he saw as the manipulation of the conjugal union between man and woman for political and economic ends, believing that marriage was not intended to "propagate wealth for men—as if it were plants or beasts; nor is it to provide to society good and complete citizens—as is the intention of an irreligious politic."[165] He found the concerns placed in marriage on financial well-being disheartening, and noted that for some politicians it was the "supreme end of society." Citing articles of the law, he chided the proponents of civil marriage, and their belief that it be "written on paper, not in the heart." He was also critical of the state's interpretation of marriage as a means intended to produce legitimate offspring, order procreation around sons and educate children to serve the needs of the state.[166] He found these goals to be in contrast to the teachings of the Catholic Church, whereby "marriage was intended to conserve and multiply man, but in a dignified and rational manner, propagating fathers and sons of virtue." Although he too believed that marriage played an important role in shaping society, he emphasized a religious one "of dignified men . . . worthy of

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[164] BPEJ, Miscelleanous, Agustín de la De la Rosa , *El Matrimonio Civil, considerada en sus relaciones con la religion, la familia, y la sociedad* (Guadalajara, 1859), 4.
[165] Ibid, 13.
[166] Ibid., 15. De la Rosa cites section 4, article 2 of the Ley Ortega, written by Sr. González Ortega, 1859.

inheriting the earth."[167] Thus, the law and the debate it fomented suggest that both the church and civil government began to weight the value of marriage more heavily.

De la Rosa's interpretation of the law echoed the political concerns widely of numerous other clergy members in Mexico that feared civil marriage might weaken the significance of religious unions.[168] Unlike liberal leaders, the church hierarchy believed that marriage was a sacrament sanctioned by God. In the eyes of the church the "union of two hearts" was based on conjugal love, something that was "inaccessible to politics."[169] The direct intervention of the state in civil marriage replaced a sacrament with which Catholics believed to be "a profane contract."[170] For the Catholic clergymen and their supporters in Guadalajara, marriage was a religious pact, and they feared the presence of the state in matters of religion, as it threatened their own role in private life. If "marriage was an object of religion, and Christians were an object of faith," then "the church depend[ed] on the propagation of children … raised and educated as Christians" in the continuation of Catholic belief and ritual.[171] Rather than a sacrament, de la Rosa believed that civil marriage having become a "simple civil negotiation" stripped of its religious "sanctity" governed and legislated by the state according to the "pompous science of [the] decade," would open "up Mexican domestic society to an age of degradation, immorality, and misfortune." [172] Marriages without religion would lead to "unions of fleeting passions, fake marriages of interest,

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[167] Ibid.
[168] Wasserman, *Everyday Life and Politics,* 139.
[169] De la Rosa, 26.
[170] Ibid., 44.
[171] Ibid., 14.
[172] Ibid.

or feigned and forced marriages."[173] In this way, de la Rosa argued that the new laws had a direct impact on the honor of the family, and by extension women. If left up to the state "passions" might rule society, increasing the rate of non-marriage.

Women also feared that the push toward civil marriage would undermine sacramental marriage and put the honor of wives in jeopardy. Without the fear of breaking a sacred vow, women believed it could also make it easier for husbands to abandon their wives. A husband who no longer respected the conjugal union "would begin to act on his whims . . . leaving his young and inexperienced companion in solitude and loneliness." With this set of values "marriages will lack love and confidence," and husbands and wives will be denied "a true union." Essentially, from a religious perspective, women feared that civil marriage would ruin the "faith of marriage" and "each day make more impossible the holy alliance blessed by the church through the sanction of heaven." [174] In line with the Catholic Church, women also believed that marriage served as a "blanket" of protection as "marital authority . . . protects and supports [women's] feeble nature, [and] inexperienced youth."[175] From this perspective, the diminished importance of religious marriage was not only a potential threat to the family, but also a danger for women. It had the potential to leave even more women involuntarily single and abandoned.

In 1856, over five hundred women in Guadalajara raised their voices in protest over what they believed was an assault on private life and Catholicism in Mexico. In a tone that was ardently xenophobic and anti-protestant, a group of Catholic women from the city went before

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[173] Ibid., 33.
[174] BPEJ, Miscelleanous #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, *Manuel de la jóven adolescente*, 23.
[175] Ibid., 24-25.

the Jalisco state congress to argue against recent liberal changes to the state constitution. These women feared that the liberal direction of the nation was anti-Catholic. Among their complaints were inclusions made to the national constitution by liberal lawmakers favoring greater religious tolerance. They argued the necessity for a strong Catholic culture in Guadalajara. In a petition presented to Congress, signed individually by a group of married, widowed and single women, they made their case for religious "intolerance." The women argued that "men more interested in liberty than conscience" had infiltrated national and state politics. The women who signed the petition strongly believed that Mexico was a Catholic nation, and the extension of the state into religion would lead to the spread of Protestantism in the country and a lack of respect for the sacrament of marriage. They argued that "the ladies (of Guadalajara)" refused to fall into "a cult like Protestantism, that detests the most sacred rituals [and] that supports the union of marriage as only a law of convenience." [176]

The petition offers important historical insight into how a group of activist conservative women perceived Liberal reforms. For them, liberal ideas were as foreign to Guadalajara as Protestantism. They expressed their outrage over politicians who wished to "take advantage of the examples that other nations have given us," but insisted that "after the vertigo that causes the furor to innovate, they will return again to hear the voice of reason." Although civil marriage laws had not yet been enacted, debates over the issue had begun and these women felt compelled to address it. They argued that rather than mettle in the affairs of the home, state legislators "should busy themselves with building canals, railroads, eliminating thieves and killers, and try to govern without the blindness of political parties who only care about administrative measures"

[176] BPEJ, Miscelleanus 12, doc3, *Real Cedula*, "Representacion que las senoras de Guadalajara dirigen al Soberano Congreso Constituyente, sobre que En la Carta Fundamental que se discute no quede consignada, La Tolerenica de Cultos en la Republica" (Guadalajara, 1856), 8.

rather than "to distract and pacify those that come to do good work and uphold the family."[177] The women of Guadalajara believed that religious marriage played an important role in the family, and that it was not a matter of state consideration but a private one, and a Catholic one at that. In this way there were also elite class considerations in their arguments. Part of their aversion to civil marriage originated in their belief that it gave license to the widespread practice of informal unions and the practice of *amasiato* (taking a mistress or consensual lover) that was common and frequently associated with the urban poor and *mestizo* classes.[178]

Overall, these women rejected the influence of Liberalism in Mexican governance as the state became more involved in matters that were once the domain of the Catholic Church. Given the limits of the documentation, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which these female protesters from Guadalajara were representative of the larger population of women. Their message does however seem to make a strong case for Conservative values. In this way the women do share a characteristic regional conservatism often associated with Guadalajara.[179] Those who came before congress in 1856 evolved into new women's Catholic confraternities. Most notable was the very active Sociedad Católica Nuestra Señora de la Rosa Hijas de María,

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[177] Ibid., 5.

[178] Milanich, "Whither Family History," 451-2; Jorge A. Trujillo, "Léperos, pelados, ceros socials y gente de trueno en el Jalisco Porfiriano," in *Pobres, Marginados y Peligros*, edited by Jorge A. Trujillo and Juan Quintar (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2003).

[179] Studies of the period in Mexico note Guadalajara as a place where conservatism and liberalism were frequently at odds. For example see Brian Hanley Connaughton, *Clerical Ideology in a Revolutionary Age: The Guadalajara Church and the Idea of the Mexican Nation (1788-1853*). (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003); Jan Bazant, *Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856-1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Dawn Fogle Deaton ,"The Decade of Revolt: Peasant Rebellion in Jalisco, Mexico, 1855-1864" in *Liberals, the Church, and Indian peasants : corporate lands and the challenge of reform in nineteenth-century Spanish America,* edited by Robert Jackson, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

which was active in the city from 1894 until 1926. Other studies demonstrate a strong political activism among conservative women in Guadalajara well into the twentieth century.[180]

Aside from the cultural backlash opened up by the civil marriage debate in Guadalajara, arguments concerning the function of marriage in Mexican society are revealing in other ways. The debate reflected not only a growing involvement of the state in women's lives, but the way in which the significance and purpose of the union between men and women shifted to support national goals. The church and religious community criticized the state for its intentional manipulation of the marriage contract, and its involvement in matters which had both moral and eternal consequences. In its view, civil marriage regulated by the government infringed on spiritual laws. As a whole, however, the civil marriage debate shed new light on marriage itself, both by civil and religious mandate. This new vantage point would only heighten the importance placed on marriage in nineteenth-century Mexican society.

The Making of the Ideal Family

Although the Church and many women in Guadalajara opposed state sanctioned marriage and the role that the state assumed within the family, Liberals and Conservatives agreed that the power and role of husbands within families should be strengthened. The cornerstone of stability in society would be the family, but a strong family depended on a strong patriarch and reformers believed women should yield to male authority because it was conducive to the progress of the

[180] AHA, *Gobierno*, Cofradías, "Sociedad Católica Nuestra Señora de la Rosa Hijas de María," (1894-1926), Caja 1; María Teresa Fernández Aceves, "The Political Mobilization of Women in Revolutionary Guadalajara, 1910-1940," (PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, IL., 2000), 107-109.

nation.[181] The family constituted one of the first sites of power in society, and marriage established the "social organization regulated by specific legislation" necessary to delineate power relationships among family members. [182] In nineteenth-century Mexican society law and custom granted husbands considerable authority over wives and children. In his analogy between governing and fatherhood, the Guadalajaran religious writer Agustín de la Rosa commented that like "a father that is not well possessed of his Christian values, a lax government . . . permits the entrance and development of corruption."[183] Given the connections that state leaders made between maintaining order in society and the patriarchal family, "a repressive society" would require a "a repressive family."[184] Such a family required a strong male leader. These goals served only to further stress the importance of marriage and family over singleness and non-marriage. In turn, new legal codes, reforms, and proscriptive literature intended to strengthen the role of male heads of household and set the perimeters for individuals within the family.

These conceptions of family became idealized at a time when fewer and fewer Mexicans lived in a male-headed nuclear family. In Guadalajara between 1821 and 1888, less than half of urban residents resided in a male-headed nuclear family. Widowed or unmarried women headed the other half.[185] Female-headed households threatened liberal goals that counted on male

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[181] Kristin Ruggiero, *Modernity in the Flesh: Medicine, Law, and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 23.

[182] Carmen Ramos Escandón, "Gender and Family Power Structure in Nineteenth-century Mexico," (paper presented at Mexican International Family Strengths Conference, Cuernavaca, Mexico, June 1-3rd, 2005), 5-6.

[183] De la Rosa , *El Matrimonio Civil*, 19.

[184] Ramos Escandón, "Gender and Family Power," 6.

[185] Data from the census reveals that by 1821 41% lived in a nuclear family model, and from 1838-1842 42%, and by 1888 46.5%. See Claudia Rivas Jiménez, "Defense of Craft:

domination within the private sphere.[186] For this reason, legislators focused their efforts on new laws after 1859 to heighten men's control over wives and daughters and promote the male-headed household as an ideal for Mexican society.[187]

In many ways, the reorganization of the Mexican family in the nineteenth century is reflected in the reform of its legal codes. As already noted, a main point of contention over these new laws began in 1859 between state and church officials over civil matrimony and divorce. One of the first Latin American countries to do so, Mexico mandated obligatory civil matrimony in 1859 and eventually adopted a civil divorce by mutual consent law in 1870.[188] Recent interpretations of the laws suggest that their official intention was to make marriage more appealing through the option of divorce and re-marriage. The Catholic Church opposed civil marriage because it feared it would lead to the legalization of divorce, and "civil divorce" would "harm and degrade women by taking away the protection and security of un-dissolvable marriage."[189] In this way they

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Guadalajara's Artisans in the Era of Economic Liberalism, 1842-1907" (PhD Dissertation, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, 2008), Appendix L, Table 4.11.

[186] Claudia Lizette Castellanos Sánchez, "La sumisión como condición femenina: el divorcio de Refugio Rodríguez," in *Mujeres jaliscienses del siglo XIX. Cultura, religion y vida privada*, edited by Vázquez Parada, *Lourdes Celina and Darío Armando Flores Soria* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008), 286.

[187] Dore, "One Step Forward," 21; See Ramos Escandon, "The Social Construction," 278; Arrom, "Changes in Mexican Family Law," 308-22.

[188] Mexico. "Ley de 23 de junio de 1859," in *Legislación mexicana: Coleción completa de lasdisposiciones legislativas expedidas desde la independencia de la República*, vol. 8, ed. Manuel Dublan and José María Lozano (Mexico City: Imprenta del Comercio, 1877); also in María de la Luz Parcero, *Condiciones de la mujer en México durante el siglo 19* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1992); art. 101 in 1866 Mexican code; Manuel Mateos Alarcón, *Código Civil del Distrito Federal*, 27, 81; art. 267, 1928 code in Michael Wallace Gordon, *The Mexican Civil Code* (London: Oceana, 1980). For divorce, see Deere, "Liberalism," 644; Arrom, "Changes in Mexican Family Law," 311.

[189] Deere and León, "Liberalism," 642.

argued that civil marriage with the option to divorce gave men a considerable amount of authority and stripped away some the safeguards that religious marriage afforded women.

Evidence from Guadalajara indicates that many women opposed civil matrimony and divorce as well. Some feared that divorce made marriage a contract between individuals and less focused on Catholicism's emphasis on the union of two souls.[190] While the option to divorce might potentially give women leverage within marriage, it also required that they had enough economic resources outside of marriage to separate from their husbands.[191] The introduction of divorce in the Latin America was a radical transformation as it suggested, unlike Catholicism, that the individual happiness of men and women was greater than that of the family. Some studies suggest that men benefited more from new divorce laws, and that liberal lawmakers did not envision it as a boon for women. It allowed men the freedom to extinguish unwanted marriages without suffering the loss of honor that so often afflicted women.[192] Conversely, for religious Conservatives, female initiated divorce was a "repeal of the rights of husbands," and rebellion against "marital authority." [193]

Although women in Guadalajara petitioned for divorce more often than men in the years after the passage of the law, divorce proceedings remained rare. Between 1879 and 1886 sixteen women and only four men sought a civil divorce in Jalisco's civil court. The majority of divorces occurred from 1879 to 1884 and declined in frequency in subsequent years. Fifty

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[190] BPEJ, #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, "Manuel de la jóven adolescente ó un libro para mis hijas. Educación cristian y social de la mujer" (Barcelona, 1883), 21.
[191] Deere and León, "Liberalism," 642.
[192] For a discussion see Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," 25; and Deere and León, "Liberalism."
[193] BPEJ, Miscellaneous, #758, doc 1 Faustina,Saez de Melgar, *Manuel de la jóven adolescente ó un libro para mis hijas. Educación cristian y social de la mujer* (Barcelona, 1883), 24.

percent of the cases cited abuse as the main cause and twenty five percent filed due to adultery.[194] It is important to note however, that even before civil divorce became an option for women ecclesiastical divorces, or annulments, did increase between 1840 and 1862. Like civil divorce, most were brought by women for adultery or abuse against their husbands.[195] Records indicate that after the passage of the divorce law annulments ceased between 1871 and 1885, but resumed again after 1886. It appears that annulments declined in the latter years of the century, likely a result of the availability of civil marriage and divorce.[196] Overall, I would argue that women typically reserved divorce and annulment for extreme cases of abuse or infidelity, and the infrequency of these cases indicate that divorce laws only offered a few women recourse within marriage. Ultimately the evidence indicates that men still held the upper hand in marriage despite greater opportunities for women to contest abuse. Furthermore, the data does not reflect involuntary separation, such as the spousal abandonment frequently described by women to judges and welfare agencies. In these cases men often fled to other cities or parts of town and failed to provide for their wives. While many women attempted to seek justice or assistance in these cases, there was often little that could be done to ensure husbands fulfilled his duties to provide for his wife and family.[197]

One of the most consistent liberal legal reforms across Latin America was the change made to the legal age of majority and consent, the age when a son or daughter no longer required parental permission to marry. This change had a significant impact on the role of male patriarchy within the family. By 1866, both the age of majority and consent shifted from age twenty five to

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[194] Ramos Escandón, "Gender and Family Power," 8-14.
[195] Castellanos Sánchez, "La sumisión," 263-4.
[196] AHA, Justicia, "Matrimonio/Nulidad," Caja 9, Exp 7-8.
[197] See Chapter 5 and 6.

twenty one for men and women in Mexico. With the exception of voting, this change gave single women equal rights with single men, who now at the age of twenty one were permitted to inherit and manage their own property and income, as well as marry without the consent of a guardian. The 1870 code also mandated that until the age of thirty, single women required permission to move out of their parental home.[198] Lowering the age of consent may have increased individual freedom, but at the same time the protection of the church over consent diminished, opening potential loopholes for patriarchal control over children and single daughters.[199]

With few inheritance protections built into the law for married women, dowries functioned as a support system in case of widowhood or ecclesiastical divorce. The 1870 Civil Code in Mexico made dowries an optional part of civil marriage, and women loss special dispensations from the colonial period that had protected their dowries from their husband's creditors in the case of widowhood or divorce. Although it is important to note that the dowry was already in decline as a cultural practice in Latin America beginning in the eighteenth century, control over a wife's financial resources gave husbands a considerable new advantage in the marriage contract. Furthermore, the 1870 codes maintained restrictions that prevented married women from entering into legal contracts, undertaking litigation or selling or buying property without her husband's permission.[200]

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[198] Manuel Mateos Alarcón, *Lecciones de derecho civil: Estudios sobre el Código Civil del DF, promulgado en 1870, con anotaciones a las reformas introducidas por el Código de 1884* (MexicoCity: Libreria de J. Valdes y Cueva, 1904), 34; Arrom, "Changes in Mexican Family Law," 308.

[199] Bianca Premo, "Misunderstood Love': Children and Wet Nurses, Creoles and Kings in Lima's Enlightenment," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2 (2005).

[200] Ibid, 650; See also Nazzari, Muriel. *Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and*

By 1880, liberal legislation introduced the separation of property and testamentary freedom.[201] Despite these changes, many new laws had stipulations that required prenuptial agreements in order for true separation of property laws to be enacted. While the new mandates may have increased women's access to their own property and income, it may also indicate a potential loss of income for women who married with little resources. In accordance with Liberal thought, the law served to protect men's private property before marriage through a prenuptial agreement. In addition, women who did not work outside the home lost some of the recognition of their domestic labor, embodied in previous laws such as the *gananciales regime* which mandated husbands had to share their possessions with wives.[202] The separation of property was likely promoted as an option in Mexico because it "fit the more flexible, diversified economy, and society of the nineteenth century."[203] At the same time, María Francois' study of credit in nineteenth-century Mexico suggests that throughout time the decline in the dowry contributed to an overall decline in women's movable property. Thus, changes to property and inheritance also served to strengthen the financial role of husbands in marriage.[204]

Therefore, while nineteenth-century reform laws did add many benefits for married women, legal studies confirm that they also served to reinforce men's position in Mexico as heads of household and family. Married women were still legally required to reside with their husband's in the same residence, and husband's maintained *patria potestad* over children in cases of

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*Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil 1600-1900 (*Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1991) and Mark Szuchman, "Household Structure and Political Crisis: Buenos Aires, 1810 1860" *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 21, no. 3 (1986); Ramos Escandón, "Social Construction," 279.

[201] Arts. 2009, 2102, 2110–13, 2120, 2121, 2205, and 2208–9, 1870 Mexican civil code.

[202] Deere and León, "Liberalism," 668.

[203] Arrom, "Changes in Mexican Family Law," 313.

[204] Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit*, 10.

divorce or separation. Some arguments suggest that married women truly suffered a loss of legal capability through these new legal codes, reverting them to a state of "incapable persons or minors" in the eyes of the law.[205] Although numerous works argue that patriarchal control did not go unchallenged,[206] Mexican women's full legal independence would not take place in Mexico until 1917. Additionally, social and cultural shifts in the use of dowries and the introduction of testamentary freedom put daughters in more uncertain positions, offering fewer guarantees and greater vulnerability because it reduced their bargaining power in marriage.[207] While many changes to the legal code in Mexico served to enhance individual freedom, many proved to strengthen patriarchy in order to firmly establish the family as a centerpiece of the new state.

Husbands, Wives & Mothers

As the family took center stage in Mexican national politics, the role of marriage also took on new significance by the 1850s.[208] Overall, the introduction of civil marriage and divorce increased state intervention in the domestic sphere, bringing the public into the private

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[205] Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," 26.

[206] Several recent studies make visible women's voices and their ability to contest unfettered patriarchal control, exploring the ways in which women, although less legally capable, did contest patriarchy. For Guadalajara see Gabriela E. Abascal Johnson, "Entre la sevicia y la dignidad: el juicio de divorcio de Teresa Colza. Guadalajara, 1837," en *Mujeres jaliscienses del siglo XIX. Cultura, religion y vida privada*, edited by Vázquez Parada, *Lourdes Celina and Darío Armando Flores Soria* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008), 233-254; Christine Hünefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom: Quarreling Spouses in Nineteenth-Century Lima* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *Caetana Says No: Women's Stories from a Brazilian Slave Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Asunción Lavrin, ed. *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

[207] Ibid., 669-671.

[208] Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," 26.

domain.[209] The changes had a profound impact on women, particularly in terms of marital status. Legal codes sought to strengthen the family by giving greater authority to husbands. This too brought about a redefinition of women's role in the home as wives and mothers.[210] Nineteenth-century Mexican liberals believed women, in conjunction with their duties in the family as wives and mothers, had an important role to play in national development as educators of productive citizens, efficient managers of the home, and sources of comfort for their working husbands.[211] Liberal and conservative reformers, journalists, and religious activists all utilized a rhetoric intended for elite audiences which emphasized highly class-based and gendered ideals for married women to set them far apart from the numerous poor and unattached women in the city.

The belief that biologically men and women served different functions in society which relegated them to different spheres was the foundation for the ideal patriarchal family. An 1866 Guadalajara editorial described male and female character as diverse, ascribing men the qualities of "strength and power," while women were "delicate and beautiful." According to the article this explained why "the theater of the man was the world, and for women it was the domestic home." In the home, a woman's role was a private one and facilitated her husband's public duties; in return her husband would protect and provide for his family.[212] In this regard, liberals, conservatives, and clergy agreed. In his lecture on the education of girls, a Guadalajara bishop

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[209] A similar argument has been made by Abascal Johnson, "Entre la sevicia y la dignidad," 240. In her article she utilizes an ecclesiastical divorce case to show how this process was occurring as early as the 1830's by the Catholic Church. A similar argument can be made now for the state.
[210] Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," 23; Escandón, "The Social Construction."
[211] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 15-52.
[212] "¿Por qué la mujer debe ser más pura que el hombre?" in *El Imperio*, núm 24, Guadalajara, March 24, 1866.

took his reasoning further and suggested women could not be educated or perform jobs the way men do because their curiosities are often "vain and pretentious." Because women suffered from a "more feeble and curious spirit than men," it made it difficult for them to dedicate themselves to their studies. In essence, women's function in society was to "manage their households well and obey their husbands." Given women's inability to "govern the state, fight wars, or enter the priesthood," they had no need of learning the affairs of men such as "politics, the art of military, jurisprudence, philosophy or theology." He reasoned further that women could not perform physical labor because their bodies, like their spirits, were less strong and robust and instead must resign themselves to things they can perform "tranquilly" in the home.[213] These biologically determined gender differences suited women for the duties of wife and mother, and better prepared men to be leaders inside and outside the home.

While women's biological differences warranted the separation of male and female space in society, early modern scientific studies backed notions that women and men occupied different roles in the home.[214] Despite seeing women as physically, mentally and emotionally incapable of performing duties outside of the home, women's most important role would be as supportive wives and mothers within the home. Much of the proscriptive literature on gender directed its attention toward elite society. It was in these homes where women, freed from the necessity of working outside the household could best perform such duties. Although they disagreed on the intentions of marriage, the Guadalajara church and state agreed that "a judicious woman . . . is the soul of a great house. She maintains order to maintain the well-being and health of her family, and men, who have all the public authority would not be able to do their

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[213] BPEJ, #286, doc 3 "La educación de las niñas," 2-3.
[214] Ruggiero, *Modernity in the Flesh*, 24.

jobs without the help of women." Therefore, if Mexico was going to be "unified" with the help of the patriarchal family, women's role would be fundamental "in civilizing [the family] through her care, attention and natural authority." Her "consistency in the house and attention to the minutia" was paramount to its success.[215] The gendered rhetoric promoted by both state and ecclesiastic officials established bourgeois married women's roles as fundamental to the achievement of national progress.

According to liberal reformers, a successful marriage required a wife who put the interests of her husband and children first and maintained honor within the home. Such ideas were not new to nineteenth-century Mexico, but were passed down from the colonial period and based on the ideals of the elite patriarchal family model. It was an ideal established for the privileged. This is not to say that the working classes and poor did not share similar beliefs regarding the honor of wives and mothers.[216] However, the messages geared at elite women emphasized household management and education, whereas instructions for poor women focused on proper hygiene and childrearing.[217] By the 1880s, the idealized elite female world was to be centered entirely on family life and marriage.[218]

In 1883, the widely popular Spanish novelist, journalist and liberal reformer Faustina Saez de Melgar advised Latin American women of both their Christian and social obligations to modern

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[215] Ibid., 4.

[216] Several scholars of Latin America suggest that gender ideals set forth for elites were not ignored by sectors of the lower classes and poor, See Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America*." (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

[217] Ramos Escandón, "Social Construction," 281.

[218] Francoise Carner, "Esterotipos femeninos en el siglo XIX," en Carmen Ramos Escandón, *Presencia y transparencia: la mujer en la historia de México* (Mexico, El Colegio de México, 1987), 95-96; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*.

society in her manual on women's education. Melgar published extensively in Spain and Latin America. As a liberal woman she advocated strongly on behalf of the education of middle class women. Ironically, she made a name for herself in the publishing world by instructing women on their place within the home.[219] Believing in the progress and advancement of liberal ideologies, she promoted the notion that if one wished to reform society, they had to begin with the family. In her view, domestic virtues could translate into public ones.[220] Foremost she recognized women's primary obligation to her husband, noting that only through marriage could women fulfill their "maternal" role in life. According to Melgar and in teaching with the Catholic Church, "woman was born to obey man; not to be his slave, but his only companion and sister, to which he owes protection and all class of consideration."[221] Thus, Melgar believed the marriage union was a reciprocal one, whereby both wives and husbands shared obligations and duties to one another. Although she agreed that the home was a man's "empire," had to provide and protect his wife and children in exchange for submission.[222]

Part of the political backdrop of nineteenth-century Mexican life was a greater emphasis on new sciences as guarantees of advancement, and women's expected role in the home was to be conducive to that progress.[223] In keeping with the times, the writing of Saez de Melgar professed a "domestic science," which argued that women were responsible for ordering the home. Similar to arguments made for state organization, a prosperous home was the product of

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[219] Catherine Jagoe, *Ambiguous Angels: Gender in the Novels of Galdós* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 34-5.
[220] BPEJ, Miscelleanous #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, *Manuel de la jóven adolescente*, 5-6; 8.
[221] Ibid, 25.
[222] Ibid., 26.
[223] Ruggiero, *Modernity in the Flesh*, 2; 23.

hard "work, economy and order." Like so many biological arguments made by state and Church leaders Saez de Melgar believed these were not only the central tenets of domesticity but women's "domestic virtues."[224] In order for a "woman to be respected and esteemed, she should be kind, attentive and respectful in society, [and] complacent, affectionate and good " in the home.[225] Thus, the prosperity of a man's home was tied to the virtue of his wife.

Wifely expectations expected women to be good household managers, as the "good order and handling of the house contributes and sustains the work of the father."[226] According to Saez de Melgar, economy in this regard meant that women manage a household budget and avoided extravagance by "quieting their minds of ridiculous vanity." She believed women's virtue was selflessness to her family, and that the vanity of the time stemmed from fashion and other false idols, which she argued allowed for acceptable forms of narcissism among women. In addition to thrift in maintaining the household income, women should be selfless in domestic duties. A wife should wake before her husband and perform chores regularly to ensure "cleanliness and order" at all times.[227] Outside of household duties, a Christian wife with her virtues closely tied to her family's honor, was expected to venerate "the aged and priests," devote all of her "eternal affection" to her children, and "her charity to the poor."[228]

Domestic science in concert with Christianity easily filtered into Mexican society. Writers in Mexico believed that man was the head of the household, in the same way that Christ was the head of the church. Similar to the relationship between individuals and God, man and

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[224] BPEJ, Miscelleanous #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, *Manuel de la jóven adolescente*, 84.
[225] Ibid., 94.
[226] BPEJ, Miscellaneous, #291, doc 2, Lorento del Pozzo, "La Famila," 142.
[227] Ibid., 85; 86; 89.
[228] Ibid., 93.

woman provided for each other and were both obligated to one another.[229] Indeed, the reciprocal relationship between man and wife was closely tied to women's honor. According to one newspaper article, "a dignified, pure, and modest woman has on her side the protection and boldness of her husband." [230] Likewise, writers in Guadalajara linked the honor of the household to its women, as women represented "affection and kindness" in society, and their greatest qualities found in their "modesty, moral beauty and honor."[231] At the same time, with so much of a household invested in its females, a home could be as easily corrupted by a bad wife and mother who brought "dishonor into the home."[232]

Conservative privileged women in Guadalajara tended to believe in many of the basic ideals set forth in Saez de Melgar's manual, and utilized the importance given to their role in society as wives and mothers to protest in their petition to congress over religious rights in Guadalajara. The women prefaced their complaints by saying

> How strange it seems that women, who do not enjoy full rights of citizenship, would take part . . . in a public debate; strange is right, it seems to our sovereignty that the woman, whose destiny is believed in society to be reduced to the care and concerns of the domestic home (*hogar doméstico*), now manifest excessive interest because they cannot agree to the law of tolerance of religions in our Republic.[233]

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[229] Montsabre. *El Matrimonio*. Pedro Armengol y Cornet (traductor) (México, Juan de la Fuente Parres, Editor, 1888), 120.

[230] "Lo que piensa una mujer de las mujeres" en El Album de la mujer. Illustración hispano American, Año vii, 4 (México, 27 de Enero de 1889), 26.

[231] "Muy importante par las señoras y señoritas," en La Gaceta de Guadalajara, año vii, núm 30 (Guadalajara, 23 de Octubre de 1904), 11.

[232] "Unas palabras a las madres" en La linterna de Diógenes, año v, 198 (Guadalajara, 25 de Abril de 1891), 2.

[233] BPEJ, Misc #12, doc3. Real Cedula, 172, "Representacion que las señoras de Guadalajara dirigen al Soberano Congreso Constituyente, sobre que En la Carta Fundamental que se discute no quede consignada, La Tolerenica de Cultos en la Republica" (Guadalajara, 1856), 3.

The over 500 widowed, single and married women who signed the petition would later form *The Catholic Society of Our Lady of the Roses*, an organization that promoted Catholicism in the face of increasing secularization during the latter part of the century. In addition to operating a religious school, they published a newspaper that provided religious news, advice to women and religious devotions. Few records exist for the period, but the well-organized structure of the association consisted of a president, vice president, several secretaries, and a social as well as foreign relations committee.[234] Before their formal organization in 1894, the group of women that presented themselves before congress were not contesting their role as wives and mothers, but rather utilized the rhetoric of dutiful wife and homemaker to make a case for their arguments concerning religion in the city. Their petition goes on to say that,

> It seems convenient that the woman, shut away in the confines of the domestic home, occupied only by her sacred duties of the family, far enough away to participate in the vehement passions which move men to fight for their respective flags with frenzy, instead before invoking in her house and in the temple with fervent and continued deprecations to the true God, so that the children of the same motherland are not torn apart from within their own womb; it seems convenient that the woman with that solemn voice and love of religion given to her by nature, would speak to destroy irreligious fascination, imparting the most sweet affections of wife, of mother and of sister; telling men with simplicity who have made such precious links [in their mind regarding religion] to open their eyes and look.[235]

While the petition hints at some of women's displeasure and sense of confinement at being "shut away" in the home, it also upholds their belief in homemaking as a grave responsibility. From what they do say however, it is not as easy to determine whether or not they were actually critical of their expected role within the home. In their appearance before the Jalisco Congress in 1856 they seem to concur with set ideals regarding both their natural and idealized position in the

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[234] Archivo del Arquidióscesis de Guadalajara (AHA), Gobierno, Cofradías, *Sociedad Católica Nuestra Seora de la De la Rosa Hijas de María*, 1894-1926, Caja 1.
[235] "Representacion que las señoras," 4.

family, and use it to benefit their credibility in state politics. They argued that as wives, mothers, and sisters whose central job it is to instill Christian virtues in the home they have a particular foresight. It is not only their belief, but their duty to make the male politicians making decisions aware of the potential disharmony they may cause within society. Although the issue at hand was not whether or not individuals would go against all religion, they understood a separation from Catholicism went against their own education and teachings.

The Marriage Contract in Guadalajara

The 1859 civil marriage law and subsequent reforms to the Mexican civil code in 1870 and 1884 upheld and wrote into law that men and women had a legal duty to be faithful and to contribute to marriage's primary objective, which was mutual aid. The basis of which was a system of honor in which men provided financially and emotionally for their wives, while women remained faithful and virtuous as spouses and mothers.[236] Civil and criminal court litigation between husbands and wives in Guadalajara confirms that they ascribed to these legally defined roles. In a random sample of divorce and adultery cases from 1855 to 1910, women and men of all classes used discourses which placed great value on honor within marriage.

In the 1870 divorce of María Antonia Madrigal and Santiago Vallarta in Guadalajara, María claimed the reason she filed for separation against Santiago was his failure to provide for her financially throughout their four year marriage. In her testimony, she claimed that "he never fulfilled his obligations." In her inventory of reasons she cited he did not provide her a daily

[236] *Código Civil del Distrito Federal y Territorios* (Mexico: Imprenta de José Batiza, 1870), Art. 98, 45.

allowance, nor a "home, clothing, or companionship."[237] Her husband's inability to support her, forced her to start her own small business out of their small rented home. She did not elaborate further on the type of business she started, but noted that she had to work in order to provide her with the basic necessities of clothing and food. The socio-economic status of María and her husband is unclear, although running her business from home was likely an indication of their lower income level. As a secondary charge, she also admitted to being abused by her husband, who at times beat her so severely she was forced to go out with bruises and cuts on her body, causing her great shame. Several of María Antonia's admissions allude to her belief in reciprocal and honorable obligations by both husband and wife. His failure to provide financially forced her to work outside of the home, and his mistreatment, witnessed publicly, caused her to feel a sense of dishonor.

While the abuse María faced tested her own honor, men in her same situation felt that cheating wives brought great shame to their households. Such was the case for Gabriel Delgadillo who filed a divorce case against his wife Juliana Robledo in 1894. The couple was likely of a higher social status because Gabriel owned his own farm, listed as a *hortelano*, yet he lived in the city. For an elite landowner like Delgadillo, acknowledging the affair publicly dealt a blow to his honor as a man. In his testimony he concedes that he does not wish to "make [his] dishonor public," but given that his wife now accuses him of infidelity "with the cynicism of a prostituted woman," he now seeks the state's intervention. Several witnesses testify to seeing Juliana in public places with her long time sweetheart, Esteban Ramos. Evidence from their testimony suggests the two had over a year-long affair. Particularly damning testimony came from the widow Hilaria Henriquez who claimed that Juliana had an affair with her seventeen

[237] BPEJ, *Archivo del Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Civil, "Peticion para divorcio contra D. Santiago Vallarta," 1870, Caja 1: 148,084.

year old son. In the end the case goes unresolved as Delgadillo chooses to close the case out of fear of "creating a public scandal." Delgadillo understood that his wife's actions were a detriment to his personal honor. As the head of the household, his role as patriarch warranted greater control and order within the home. At the same time however, he felt Juliana's actions justified the title of "prostitute" and a loss of her honor as a wife. Not only was a woman's promiscuous behavior a failure to abide by the sexual honor codes established for marriage, but it also served as a social commentary on their abilities as good wives and homemakers.[238]

A failure to fulfill the expectations for honor within marriage was at the heart of most of the marital disputes heard before the Jalisco Supreme Tribunal. In 1874, José María Villareal filed an adultery case against his wife Guadalupe Escota. Although testimony did not indicate Villareal's occupation, the couple resided in a poor neighborhood on the periphery of town.[239] In the case Villareal made mention of the fact the he and Escota were legally married. He expressed devastation regarding his wife's infidelity remarking that her actions caused him "personal harm," injuring "the most delicate honor of a man." When his wife of twenty years ran off with a family friend, a man almost twenty years her junior in a two week escapade to the countryside, he felt she betrayed the "most sacred obligations that the laws, morality, and society imposed" upon husbands and wives. Through his testimony he revealed not only his own shame, but the embarrassment that Escota caused their family. According to Villareal, in addition to infidelity, she abandoned the "domestic home" and left her children orphaned. In his defense, the twenty year old accused lover of Escota, Pablo Sánchez, told the court that Escota told him her

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[238] BPEJ, *Archivo del Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Esteban Ramos y Juliana Robledo por adulterio," (Guadalajara, Oct. 12, 1894), Caja 5: 107,923.

[239] Both resided in Cuartel 7 also known as Mexicalzingo. Cuartel observations are taken from Eduardo López Moreno, *La cuadrícula en el desarollo de la ciudad hispanoamericana: Guadalajara, Mexico.* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1992), 22.

husband mistreated her and was so aged he could not leave the house to catch them. For the two lovers, these reasons were justification to carry on the affair. In his closing arguments, Villareal commented that he never imagined he would be in criminal court, divulging his own dishonor, accusing his wife and friend of adultery and feeling the weight of embarrassment it would cause his family. Perhaps for these reasons, he pardoned the accused of their crimes releasing them from prison after serving only twenty two days and the case was dismissed. While Villareal felt that his wife's affair brought shame upon himself and his family and that as a mother she was a "bad example" to his children, she also believed that his mistreatment and old age justified her actions.[240]

Cases of divorce and adultery provide rare opportunities to examine perceptions of honor within marriage since few cases actually went to trial prior to the twentieth century. Even fewer involved female adultery. Court cases are also rich in details on daily life, and their examination reveals not only a private sense of marital right and wrong, but the "official construction of gender relations" imposed by the state.[241] This would become important in the state's treatment of women it perceived of as lacking honor; the female poor, unmarried, single or widowed women they encountered in criminal courts and state welfare agencies who lived outside the confines of a patriarchal household and did not ascribe to proper gender roles. Just as these women would become associated with poverty, shame, and immorality, so too could a broken marriage lead to a similar loss of status among married men and women. At the same time the cases highlight that not only did state and church officials uphold an ideal sense of honor for

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[240] BPEJ, *Archivo del Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Guadalupe Escota y Pablo Sanchez por el delito de adulterio," (Guadalajara, January, 29, 1874), Caja 25: 49,475.

[241] Ramos Escandón, "The Social Construction," 277.

male and female gender roles within marriage, but that common residents of the city of varying classes also believed in their validity. Studies of other parts of Latin America reveal similar patterns, in that members of the poor classes maintained a sense of honor similar to elites.[242] Therefore, reform laws like the 1859 Civil Marriage law followed by subsequent legislation governing separation and eventually divorce increased the participation of the state in the affairs of husbands and wives, both literally and figuratively. In effect, it increased the state's presence in women's lives and its expectations for them as wives and eventually mothers.

Mothers

The value that church and state leaders placed on women in national projects is also revealed in their efforts to proscribe women's roles in the family as good mothers. Across Latin America efforts centered on mobilizing women around notions of "republican motherhood," an idea that women needed to become educated in order to produce educated, orderly and productive citizens.[243] Even in Guadalajara, the popular politician and educator Manuel López Cotilla, argued that the education of Mexican citizens had a direct impact on the "material progress" of individuals and of modern governments. Not only did he believe that education could promote the "general good," but that it could influence "the destiny of society."[244] Reformers of the time believed that "a nation is happy, flourishing and powerful when . . . its citizens are educated,

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[242] Sandra Lauderdale Graham, "Honor Among Slaves," in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America*." Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, Eds. (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

[243] See Ruggiero, Modernity in the Flesh, 27; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 15.

[244] BPEJ, Misc, #73, 1"Instruccion PriMaría, informe que el Inspector general de Instruccion PriMaría del Estado de Jalisco" by Lopez Cotilla. (GDL, 1851).

industrious and moral." On the contrary, a "weak, poor and disdainful" nation produced "ignorant, lazy and corrupt" citizens.[245] If Mexican society were to advance politically and economically, it required instilling new values in the way people thought, their work habits, and civic obligations. This type of transformation required education at an early age, and therefore imbued motherhood with a newfound civic obligation. Thus, women were given the task and responsibility of churning out good citizens. While this was not necessarily a nineteenth-century phenomenon, within the political context of the period the importance attached to Republican motherhood became increasingly significant.[246]

The changing emphasis on mothers from caretakers to teachers began as enlightenment thought influenced changing concepts of childhood and children which promoted "childhood as an innocent stage of life, combined with a new attentiveness to children in order to create orderly clans."[247] Heightened attention to children came across in colonial reforms aimed at reducing child mortality (often condemning hygiene and the use of wet nurses by mothers) and the introduction of new pedagogies that promoted rational education. As the Independence period led to even greater instability in society, the pre-occupations of the colonial period would spill over into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the achievements of a country's youth began to be synonymous with its progress.[248] Well into the twentieth century, state leaders believed the education of children was a tool for nation building in Mexico, "subordinating the household

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[245] BPEJ, Miscellaneous, #291, doc 2, Lorento del Pozzo, "La Familia," 109.

[246] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 15.

[247] Premo, "Misunderstood Love," 240; Tobias Hecht, ed. *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society*. Living in Latin America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 234.

[248] See Mark Szuchman, "Childhood Education and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Argentina: The Case of Buenos Aires," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (1990): 111-115.

to the interests of national development."[249] An increased emphasis on children, however, also heightened the role of mothers as the educators of their children. The notion of "republican motherhood" implored women to raise and educate their children to become good citizens, the implications of which influenced women's education and modified gender roles as a whole.[250]

Reformers and writers believed that the way to move Mexico forward was through the education of women and by extension their children. The project of liberal education began in Mexico during the Bourbon era (1700-1821), but it took on new meaning in the nineteenth century as a way for Mexico to overcome the political chaos of the period, progress as a modern nation, and instill Liberal values in its citizenry.[251] In many ways, the type of education that reformers referenced was not necessarily a formalized education. As del Pozzo argued the type of education required of "civilized nations" was "cultivated of the heart," and therefore it did not happen in schools but "in the intimacy of the family, where the good or bad qualities of children manifest themselves plainly, and they are of the father and the mother." It was the duty of the mother to be gentle and loving, and the father to discipline and show paternal authority over his children. Both parents however were to lead with examples of good and virtuous behavior.[252] In

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[249] Mary Kay Vaughn,"Modernizing Patriarchy: State Policies, Rural Households, and Women in Mexico, 1930-1940," in Dore, Elizabeth and Maxine Molyneux, eds. *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America (*Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 194.

[250] For more on the idea of Republican Motherhood in Mexico see the writings of Carmen Ramos Escandón, "The Social Construction," and "Señoritas Pofirianas," *Presencia y Transparencia* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1987), 143-161. Much of the work written on the subject has been discussed in the context of the United States and England, see Linda Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective," *American Quarterly*, 187-205.

[251] Arrom, The Women of Mexico City, 14-15. For the colonial period see Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority & Legal Minority in Colonial Lima*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

[252] del Pozzo, "Gobierno," 7-10.

the same year similar attitudes existed in Guadalajara, in a column on the purity of women, a journalist placed great emphasis on women's role in leading their children by virtuous example.[253] Therefore, the family comprised of a husband, wife and children would be the focus of the new nation, and through education and examples set by mothers and fathers a young citizenry would learn its new role in society.

The post-Independence era ushered in a wave of progress for Jalisco's education system, introducing the sciences to school curriculum in 1827, followed by obligatory education for boys and girls aged six to fifteen by 1842.[254] As expected, female education centered on the proscribed ideal gender roles laid out for women both in the family and society. Early education in Guadalajara was segregated by sex, with girls taking courses in the humanities, fine arts, math, religion, home economics and French with "appropriate" electives such as cooking, sewing and embroidery. While women and men took similar classes for primary education, men had opportunities to advance into secondary and professional study, learning advanced math, philosophy and science.[255] In 1895, while almost as many young boys as young girls attended primary school, of all secondary school students, boys outnumbered girls four to one. Even fewer women entered professional school, making up only 141 students that year.[256] As a result, the limited nature of women's education served to instill dominant ideals on women's proper role in society as well as prevent them from moving beyond dictated proscriptions.

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[253] "¿Por qué", *El Imperio*, 3.

[254] The introduction of science is noted in BPEJ, #73, doc 15 "Manifestacion La Junta Directiva de Estudios por conducto del Ministerio de Instruccion Pública" (Guadalajara, 1865).Obligatory education is mentioned in BPEJ, Misc., #73, 1"Instruccion PriMaría, informe que el Inspector general de Instruccion PriMaría del Estado de Jalisco" by Lopez Cotilla. (Guadalajara, 1851), 20.

[255] BPEJ, #73, 11, Misc. "Enseñaza pública" (GDL, 1863), 17.

[256] See Table 3.1.

Table 3.1[257] Education in Guadalajara, 1895		
	Boys	Girls
Primary (age 6-15)	2673	2298
Secondary (15+)	962	253

Just as the family would play a strong role in maintaining order in nineteenth-century Mexico, it would also be expected to reproduce the values and norms of a new Liberal society. In order to raise a strong citizenry that would promote national development and the ideals of Liberalism mothers were to become teachers to their children. While the government would provide formal institutional education and the moral and material support that families needed, it was the role of mothers as the "heart" of the family, to provide life lessons, nurture their children, teach them virtues and good behavior, and help them to improve themselves. Only parents, given the capacity to govern within the home, could prevent laziness in their children and instill the values of "volition, valor, activity and work… for the common good." Del Pozzo, like many reformers of the period, believed that the family had an obligation to the state and the state to the family, together they could "form capable, active, proven and apt men in order to give back to the country and follow its laws." [258] He indicates that the state and family were intertwined and their combined efforts would reap the benefits of a prosperous family and state. While the relationship was a supportive one, the state needed the family to succeed, while the family did not necessarily depend as heavily on the state.

[257] Archivo Histórico de Jalisco, Mapoteca, "Computo General del Censo," Oficio del Concentración del Censo (Guadalajara, 1895).
[258] BPEJ, Miscellaneous, #291, doc 2, Lorento del Pozzo, "La Famila," 117; 111-112.

In order to possess children of good habits, del Pozzo advised mothers to assign their children jobs within the home to accustom them to the habit of work, and prevent laziness and over-sleeping from a young age. She should constantly monitor her children and provide correction when necessary, and instill the habits of "honesty and virtue" through her own example.[259] If a mother were too docile her children would become lazy and lack a desire to work. Part of a mother's job was also to teach her daughters "the necessary rules of governing a house" as a means of reproducing notions of an ideal wife and mother.[260] Young children were to be given basic education by their mothers through example, teaching them lessons from daily life to accustom them to work, make good use of time, how to work the most efficiently so that they will have these skills in their future occupations. [261]

The liberal rhetoric placed a great weight of responsibility on women as mothers. Their mothering skills, or lack of them, had the power to produce both good and bad citizens and was reflection of their own honor. Scientific thinking emphasized the early years of children's lives as critical to their development and without mothers or with bad rearing, some in Guadalajara feared children could become "corrupted" at a young age.[262] For this reason, the education of women became critical. According to one Guadalajara archbishop, a poorly educated woman could do more harm in society than a man because she would pass on "disorder" to her children. He commented that "poorly instructed" children not taught to apply themselves "will always have an errant imagination." Such children, forever needing to "feed their curiosity" would

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[259] BPEJ, #286, doc 3 "La educación de las niñas," 6-7; 10.

[260] BPEJ, #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, "Educación cristian y social de la mujer," 34; 89; BPEJ, Miscellaneous, #291, doc 2, Lorento del Pozzo, "La Famila," 142.

[261] Ibid., 143.

[262] BPEJ, #286, doc 3 "La educación de las niñas," 5.

"consume themselves with the vain and dangerous." [263] Therefore, as the "soul of the house," responsibility lay with mothers for the rearing of both good citizens and criminals. [264] Consequently, social reformers of the time believed a women's role in the family was paramount to its success and had the potential to erase social tensions and remedy social evils in society.[265]

Motherhood not only had the power to effect positive change in society, it was also a female "virtue." Christian reformers prized it as a "holy mission" and gift from God, requiring complete and total selflessness on the part of women. As dutiful wives and mothers, women were "the sacred tree of the family, which infused faith, charity, and love in the domestic home."[266] She was to be an example to her children, exemplifying the qualities of "moderation, temperance and kindness" to avoid "planting bad seeds" in them. Advice for mothers varied according to class. Literature and sermons directed to poor women emphasized proper hygiene in child rearing, while advice for elite women warned against amusements and diversions outside the confines of the home.[267] Anything else was believed to "only satisfy the senses," unlike the true pleasures of the family, "which were rooted in the soul and make the heart beat," which is the "pleasure women feel each moment in the domestic home; a pleasure enjoyed by all mothers all hours of the day." [268]

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[263] Ibid.; Ibid., 9.
[264] BPEJ, #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, "Educación cristian y social de la mujer," 89.
[265] Julio Guerrero, *La génisis del crimen en México* (Paris, Mexico: Vda de Bouret, 1901); Carlos Roumagnac, *Los Criminales en México* (Mexico: El Fénix, 1904).
[266] BPEJ, #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, "Educación cristian y social de la mujer," 27-28; 36.
[267] Ramos Escandón, "The Social Construction," 277; 281.
[268] BPEJ, #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, "Educación cristian y social de la mujer," 33; 30.

Liberal and Christian reformers laid out expectations of motherly virtue and honor for women to follow and re-produce in their daughters. As mothers, women were responsible for the education of their girls as well as their actions. From a mother, girls learned the example of "submission and respect for their husband as head of the house," as well as "obedience and respect for their superiors."[269] It was also a mother's obligation to protect her daughter's virginity and seduction by men through teaching them proper feminine behavior and leading by example and advice. The responsibility of mothers over their daughters was to constantly monitor them, never leave them alone, prevent any deception by men and make them aware of the dangers of life and consequences of falling into situations of sexual deception.[270] Just as hard-working, honorable and educated children became reflections of the nation, so too did they echo the honor and behavior of their own mother. This made the task of motherhood all the more important to state leaders and reformers.

Conclusion

As a means to achieve their own goals of national progress, government officials intervened in spaces where the church had previously occupied. While it upheld long-standing ideals of gender appropriate roles, civil marriage was symbolic of the state's position that legally binding marriage between man and women would be the foundation of the new nation. As a case study, strong conservatism of Guadalajara reveals that the transition to secularism was not a smooth one. The ideological transformations and reforms of the century were often met by

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[269] Ibid., 30; 33.

[270] Laura Benítez Barba, "Raptadas tapatías. Mujeres fuera del estereotipo, 1885-1933," in *Mujeres jaliscienses del siglo XIX. Cultura, religion y vida privada*, edited by Vázquez Parada, *Lourdes Celina and Darío Armando Flores Soria* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008), 294-295; 301.

confrontation from clergy and lay society, including women. Despite the fact that Liberal ideals of individual liberty and happiness influenced the process of modernization and state organization, women's rights continued to be defined in terms of their relationship to fathers, husbands and children. Debate over civil matrimony and divorce among liberals and conservatives shows that religious and civil authorities shared archetypes on the family, marriage, and ideal gender roles for men and women. Legal and popular rhetoric of the time promoted both harmonious and hierarchical relations between husband and wife as the basis of the nuclear family. State leaders and local authorities believed the family and marriage were indispensable to the order, peace, and progress of the nation. According to Silvia Arrom, the family was "the basic social unit on which the entire structure rested, with men governing wives and children just as they were in turn governed by the state."[271] Both legal and popular discourse promoted the idea that women's honor was paramount to the preservation of family honor, and that despite their nature as "ethereal, fragile, [and] dependent beings," their function was to reproduce within the context of legal marriage.[272] Neither church nor state questioned this role.[273] As the century progressed, the importance of women's roles as wives and mothers deepened as it became linked with state efforts to improve and reproduce a sense of order and obligation in society. By utilizing the rhetoric and popular image of patriarchal fathers, devoted

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[271] Arrom,"Changes in Mexican Family Law," 310.

[272] "Ley del Matrimonio Civil 23 de Julio de 1859," *Legislación Mexicana*, vol 8, 696; Ramos Escandón, "The Social Construction, 278.

[273] Eugenia S. Rodríguez, "La aprobación del divorcio civil en Costa Rica en 1888," in *Fin de siglo XIX e identidad nacional en México y Centroamérica*, comp. Francisco Enríquez Solano and Iván Molina Jiménez (Alajuela, Costa Rica: Museo Histórico Cultural Juan Santamaría, 2000), 143–76; Eugenia S. Rodríguez, "Reformando y secularizando el matrimonio: Divorcio, violencia doméstica y relaciones de género en Costa Rica (1800–1950)," in *Familias iberoamericanas: Historia, identidad y confl ictos*, coord. Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2001), 231–75.

wives, and educated and virtuous mothers, reformers, writers, religious leaders and politicians promoted an ideal Liberal family to advance the goals of the nation. At the same time that state leaders and legislators firmly established the patriarchal family model, centered on a nuclear monogamous arrangement between husband and wife as the solution to state ills, female singleness was on the rise in Mexico. By the latter part of the century, more adult women would be single than married, and the overall increase in the number of single women would rise nearly ten percent by the close of the decade.[274] A discussion of the rhetoric of the liberal family has important implications for the study of single women. With growing emphasis directed at the family and women's ideal role within it, those who remained single into adulthood became increasingly marginalized as the century progressed. As neither wives nor mothers in some cases, singleness was looked upon as an abnormality, a way of life for women of loose morals or poverty. By and large as the family became fundamental in matters of state organization, and the ideal patriarchal family took center stage, little room existed for unmarried women in liberal society.

[274] See Chapter 1, Table 1.1.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STIGMATIZATION OF SINGLENESS: WORK, PUBLIC SPACE AND DANGER

It was work that attracted poor single and widowed women to Guadalajara in the years after Independence, and work which distinguished and marginalized them as a threat to the Mexican family and society. Compared with men, Guadalajara's adult female population was as often widowed and single, as it was married.[275] Many lived and worked "unattached"[276] from a male patriarch, with large numbers heading their own households.[277] These factors distinguished them from traditionally married women. City officials and reformers did not value their labor as women who worked in the public sphere, a space reserved for men and deemed dangerous for proper women. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century both liberals and the Catholic Church exalted women's roles as wives and mothers. As the role of the patriarchal family became an integral, if contentious, part of state development plans so too did the value placed on marriage. Evidence from legal reforms, court cases, and writings on motherhood and women's education in Guadalajara demonstrated that the family served as the centerpiece of stability and progress, and women's rights were circumscribed within that sphere.[278] For most educated Mexicans, to be a single woman was unnatural. Although many women would spend at least part of their adult lives unmarried, cultural expectations pressured women to marry before they grew too old and became spinsters. Newspaper columnists in Guadalajara argued that

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[275] See Chapter 1; Also see Table 4.1 and Table 4.2.

[276] The use of the term "unattached," is meant to incorporate single and widowed women who did not live with a spouse or partner, and instead headed their own household or lived with other women.

[277] See Table 4.3.

[278] Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back." 25.

singleness was involuntary, and at some point all women's desired goal was marriage. This belief was so strong that writers demeaned early feminist movements in Latin America as something supported only by "ugly and single women."[279] Indeed, stereotypes of the time associated the married population with the ideals of honor, order and prosperity, and unmarried individuals with "irresponsibility, intemperance, and sometimes revolution." [280] Such stigmatization left little space for poor single and widowed women to navigate nineteenth-century life in Guadalajara.

It is important to note that women have always worked, but it was not until the nineteenth century that the work of the poor and lower classes left the home, introducing a new dimension by living outside the traditional supervision of patriarchs or relatives.[281] Prior to that time women's work, outside of domestic chores, concentrated in agriculture and pre-industrial manufacturing, as artisans of spinning, knitting and sewing. Frequently, women conducted these jobs in the home to contribute to family subsistence. Beginning in the 1840s and peaking by the 1870s, industrialization radically transformed this system in Mexico. Technological changes and accelerated production transformed the conditions under which they labored, both economically and socially. As women converted from "independent artisans" to factory workers, their work moved from the home to factories in the city. [282] It was this new type of work that differentiated

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[279] "Problemas sociales. La mujer, la ciencia y el trabajo," *El Jalisciense* II, 139 (Guadalajara, May 2, 1907), 1.

[280] Kristin Ruggiero, *Modernity in the Flesh: Medicine, Law, and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 23.

[281] This is a point that Carmen Ramos Escandón is careful to draw attention to, see *Industrialización, género y trabajo femenino en el sector textile mexicano: El obraje, la fábrica, y la compañía industrial* (Mexico City: CIESAS, 2004), 29.

[282] Ibid., 29-30. For a general historiography of how nineteenth-century industrialization impacted women see, Daryl Hafter, *European Women and Preindustrial Craft* (Bloomington:

the unattached working woman from the honorable married one. Despite the fact that working class and poor married women frequently labored alongside single women, household headship and solitary living separated the two groups. While both groups might find it necessary to work, a woman without a spouse found it absolutely essential for survival. Between 1811 and 1850, more than half of all married and single women headed their own household in nineteenth-century Guadalajara. Although it was not possible to gather this type of data for later years due to source limitations, the assumption can be made that this number only increased as more women entered the city and the rate of legal marriage declined during the *Porfiriato*.[283] Deeper analysis of these women's households in Guadalajara reveals an overwhelming presence of single and widowed women, and also draws attention to the strategies they employed to survive in a society that marginalized them and demeaned their labor. Often their ability to do so depended on factors such as age, class, proximity to kin, or race and ethnicity. As the century progressed laboring and independent women became the target of scrutiny by jurists, reformers, journalists, lawyers, doctors, lawmakers, writers, and census takers who viewed them as a stark contrast to the ideals of maternity and the laws of nature. Moreover, their heightened presence in public spaces as working women raised questions about their potential to threaten the Republican foundations of family honor and society. Single and unmarried women's socio-economic status

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Indiana University Press, 1995); Gretjan de Grott and Marlou Schorever, eds., *Women Workers and Technological Change in Europe* (London: Taylor & Francies, 1995); Judy Lown, *Women and Industrialization: Gender at Work in Nineteenth-century England* (London: Polity Press, 1990); Bridget Hill, *Women's Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteen Century England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1973).

[283] See Table 4.3. The data reflects the overall percentage of single, married or widowed women who were noted in the census as the head of the household. This was often indicated by the order in which residents were listed. Later census material in this study did not give the detail level that many of the earlier censuses provided, making an assessment regarding headship difficult; For the drop in legal marriage see Moises Gonzalez Navarro, "El Porfiriato, vida social," *Historia Moderna de México* (Mexico: Editorial Hermes, 1957), 320.

often shaped the debate. Many feared that poor single working women in particular were at a greater risk of becoming prostitutes. By the nineteenth century civil and social status intertwined, often at the expense of the honor of many single and widowed women. The negative stereotypes that surrounded them focused on their roles as working women, their presence in public space and the questions it raised about their overall character.

Table 4.1[284]
Marital Status According to Sex and Age, Guadalajara, 1821

Status	*Age 15 - 24*		*Age 25 - 34*		*Age 35 - 44*		*Age 45 - 54*		*Age 55/over*	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Single	1438	2146	376	715	132	330	85	196	71	148
	40%	*60%*	*34%*	*66%*	*27%*	*71%*	*30%*	*70%*	*32%*	*68%*
Married	727	1654	2022	2263	1615	1230	960	534	572	205
	30%	*70%*	*47%*	*53%*	*57%*	*43%*	*64*	*36*	*73%*	*26%*
Widowed	15	139	66	458	107	735	131	679	135	561
	10%	*90%*	*13%*	*87%*	*13%*	*87%*	*16%*	*84%*	*20%*	*80%*

[284] Data for the table was compiled using the *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006).

Table 4.2[285] Marital Status Guadalajara, 1895		
	Men	Women
Single	12665 *47%*	14213 *53%*
Married	11837 *50%*	11996 *50%*
Widowed	2371 *24%*	7348 *76%*
Minors	10768	10872
Missing	172	213

Table 4.3[286] Adult Female Headship by Marital Status, 1811-1850				
Year	**Single**		**Widowed**	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*
1811	9	*14.7*	37	*42*
1813	30	*21.2*	116	*54*
1821	227	*16.4*	1120	*46.1*
1824	111	*17*	520	*47.6*
1838	26	*21*	156	*43*
1839	47	*20.3*	199	*44.8*
1842	119	*15.2*	663	*42*
1850	29	*17.4*	89	*56.6*

[285] Data available for 1895 did not allow for a breakdown of individuals by their age groups, although it did separate minors. Data for the table was taken from the Archivo Histórico de Jalisco, Mapoteca, "Computo General del Censo," Oficio del Concentración del Censo (Guadalajara, 1895).

[286] Ibid; Data was collected using census data. For some years, such as 1811, 1813, 1838, 1839 and 1850 only a sample of *cuartels* is available. The most complete data exists for the years 1821.

Unattached Women's Households in Nineteenth-Century Guadalajara

Between 1821 and 1910, Guadalajara's population grew from 38,087 residents to 119,468.[287] Most studies do not attribute this growth solely to natural increase, but emphasize continued patterns of rural to urban migration.[288] Economic downturn after Independence followed by land reform in the 1850s and *Porfirian* economic policies by the 1870s stripped rural peasants of land and crippled rural agricultural markets. These changes coincided with a growth in industrial manufacturing leading to an "explosion" in "*las clases productoras*," or the working classes in Guadalajara by the 1880s.[289] Throughout the period large numbers of rural peasants migrated into the city to seek employment. Those who migrated were often single or widowed. [290] In earlier years, it appears that more women than men arrived in the city. On average, between 1821 and 1842 the adult female single population outnumbered single men by upwards of twenty percent.[291] In these years studies suggest that while men might take up jobs in mining or migrate to outlying large-scale farms or haciendas, [292] popular occupations such as

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[287] Luis Páez Brotchie's prologue in Maríano Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara en 1880*. (Reprint ITG, Guadalajara, 1954), xxxv; Lilia Oliver Sánchez, "Intensidad de la crisis demográficas en las ciudades de México y Guadalajara, 1800-1850," *Takwá* 8, (Fall 2005), 23.

[288] Ellen McAuliffe Brennan, *Demographic and Social Patterns in Urban Mexico: Guadalajara, 1876-1910* (Ph. D. diss., Columbia University, 1978), I; Rodney D. Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación de la independencia: studio de su población según los padrones de 1821-1822* (Guadalajara, México: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaría General, Unidad Editorial, 1983), 45; Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, Jaime Olveda and Beatriz Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano de Guadalajara*, (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1995), 107-163.

[289] Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara en 1880*, 148.

[290] José María Muríá, *Sumario Histórico de Jalisco* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Editorial Gráfica Nueva, 1996), 285-6.

[291] See Table 4.4.

[292] Mark Wasserman, *Everyday Life and Politics in Nineteenth-century Mexico: Men, Women and* War (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 23-33.

domestic or factory work for women often centered in cities.[293] By 1895, the ratio between men and women decreased to about five percent.[294] The aggregate data should be read carefully however, as I do not believe it suggests that less women migrated to the city in these years. Instead, I would argue that it reflects the increased scope of industrialization that attracted more men into the growing urban manufacturing sector during the *Porfiriato*. Between 1856 and 1880, Guadalajara introduced a number of new industrial sectors. A rise in mass-production of former artisanal trades, such as carpentry, shoemaking, meatpacking and ironworks likely brought more men to the city.[295] Despite this difference, the overall data from 1821 to 1895 suggests not only high rates of female migration, but the existence of a pattern which left many urban single and widowed women fewer marriage (or remarriage) options than men. Women in the city consistently outnumbered men throughout the century, perpetuating a cycle of singleness.[296]

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[293] Ramos Escandón, *Industrialización,* 162-64; Elizabeth Kuznesof, "A history of domestic service in Spanish America, 1492–1980," in *Muchachas No More: Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 25;

[294] See Table 4.4.

[295] Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara en 1880,* 147-48; See Table 4.6.

[296] See Table 4.5.

Table 4.4[297] Adult Marital Status by Sex, Guadalajara, 1821-1895										
Year	***1821***		***1824***		***1838***		***1842***		***1895***	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Single	2102	3535	826	1601	339	440	1465	2112	12665	14213
	37%	*63%*	*34%*	*65%*	*43%*	*56%*	*41%*	*59%*	*47%*	*53%*
Married	5896	5886	2230	2244	1250	1185	3156	3056	11837	11996
	50%	*50%*	*50%*	*50%*	*51%*	*48%*	*51%*	*49%*	*50%*	*50%*
Widowed	454	2572	222	1159	66	390	329	1716	2371	7348
	15%	*85%*	*16%*	*83%*	*14%*	*85%*	*16%*	*83%*	*24%*	*76%*

Table 4.5[298] Ratio Male to Female by Year, 1811-1895				
	Male		**Female**	
Year	***N***	***%***	***N***	***%***
1811	517	*40.6*	731	*57.5*
1813	2265	*43*	2917	*55.3*
1821	15358	*43.5*	19309	*54.7*
1824	5144	*41.6*	6824	*55.2*
1838	2568	*46*	2945	*52.7*
1839	1891	*42.5*	2528	*56.8*
1842	8315	*44.7*	10058	*53.7*
1850	1111	*44.3*	1393	*55.6*
1895	37813	*45.9*	44642	*54.1*

[297] Data for the table was compiled using the *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006); For some years, such as 1824-1850, only a sample of *cuartels* is available. The most complete data sets exists for 1821 and 1895.

[298] Ibid; Data for 1895 was taken from the AHJ, Mapoteca, "Computo General del Censo," *Oficio del Concentración del Censo* (Guadalajara, 1895).

Table 4.6[299] Industrial Factories of Guadalajara, 1856-1880		
Factory Type	**Number of Factories**	
	1856	**1880**
Meatpacking	4	12
Carpentry/Furniture	n/a	80
Gilding (Gold)	0	2
Bookbinding	4	4
Pasta & Wheat	3	3
Candle	5	12
Hat	14	0
Ironworks	21	38
Printing	4	5
Brass work	1	2
Dry Cleaning	4	2
Silversmithing	12	12
Shawlmaking	71	38
Clothing	32	n/a
Tanneries	11	4
Textile	12	4
Shoe	21	57
Silk Stocking	0	1
Soap	0	4
Fine Pottery	0	1
Glue	0	3
Ice	0	1
Lumber	0	2
Card	0	2
Musical Instrument	0	1
Barrel	0	3
Varnish	0	1
Metalworks	0	3
Chocolate	0	1
Tinworks	0	14
Lithography	0	6
Tobacco	n/a	12
Leatherworks	0	11

[299] Data was collected from Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara en 1880*, 147-48. Data for 1856 is not as complete as for 1880, although in some areas it appears that new factories emerged in industries which had not previously existed.

The presence of so many single women in a period of chaotic political shifts in which Liberal reformers ardently pushed for reforms that strengthened the marital unit and emphasized the family as the centerpiece of a new liberal Mexico, raises important questions regarding where single women fit into the newly Independent nation. Unattached women in Guadalajara lived and worked outside the boundaries of a traditional patriarchal family evidenced by the inter-workings of their households. In this section I hope to offer a snapshot of their daily lives by taking a closer look at what they were doing, who they lived with and how they got by. While most studies rely on censuses to gather quantitative information, the Guadalajara censuses offer rare opportunities to read between the lines and open a window into the daily lives of single and widowed women.[300] Unlike other censuses taken at the time, data from Guadalajara's 1821 to 1850 censuses includes all members of the household and provides information on ethnicity and class (for 1821 and earlier years).[301] A census of such detail was rare outside of Mexico for the time period, and even cities in the United States did not take an individual-level census until 1845.[302] The best and most complete data available is for 1821. It would not be until 1895, that the city conducted a similar and complete census. Historians of Guadalajara note that the

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[300] B.J. Barrickman's work on a rural Brazilian census showcases the ways in which census data can also be read qualitatively. In Brazil, he contends that the census served as a political tool, identifying individuals and households to determine citizens from non-citizens, and as a social lens, as census takers ordered and classified the population reinforcing the hierarchical structures of Brazilian society. B.J. Barickman, "Reading the 1835 Parish Censuses from Bahia: Citizenship, Kinship, Slavery and Household in Early Nineteenth-Century Brazil." *The Americas*. Vol. 59, no. 3, (2003).

[301] In the aftermath of Independence lawmakers eliminated the category of *calidad* (quality) to denote one's caste from official records. For more on the caste system in the colonial period see Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994).

[302] Rodney Anderson and Tamara Spike, "Archival Report: Making History Count, The Guadalajara Census Project, 1790-1930," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 87, no 2. (May 2007), 337.

political disorganization from 1857 to 1895 created inconsistencies in systems of government and instability within public administration. Therefore, most census data between those years would have many errors.[303] When read qualitatively, however, for the data that is available census categories for, *estado* (marital status) and *officio* (occupation) demonstrate an official concern with singleness and widowhood that emphasized their state of poverty, virtue and a pervasive disregard for female work. Census takers often viewed single and widowed women in a paternalistic manner and made no qualms about expressing their views in writing, commenting on female occupations and the sexual honor of their widowed and single neighbors. A closer examination of women's households suggests that despite many of the obstacles they faced, they utilized economic strategies to build strong and independent homes. Some retained household headship, replacing the need for a patriarch in their lives. Many also relied on the advantages of class, ethnicity and age to maintain their households and create important female networks.[304]

What it meant to be "unattached" by the nineteenth century frequently hinged on what a single or widowed woman lacked when compared to being married. The lived difference for women was very different than for men, and had important economic and social consequences. The lack of or loss of a spouse severed several forms of presumed support within the marital unit, such as economic, service, social and even emotional support. Without a spouse, single or widowed women were more likely than men to experience economic hardship.[305] This is an

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[303] María de los Angéles Pérez-Salcedo, "La mujeres violadas en Jalisco, 1857-1910," Thesis (Universidad de Guadalajara: Guadalajara, 1993), 33.

[304] Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, (New York: Columbia University, Press, 1990), 26.

[305] Ida Blom, "Widowhood: From the Poor Law Society to the Welfare Society: the Case of Norway, 1875-1964," *Journal of Women's History* 4 (1992), 52-3 and "The History of Widowhood: A Bibliographic Overview," *Journal of Family History* 16 (1991), 191-210; Gísli

especially important point for widows in Mexico, who lived under the Hispanic legal system. In the colonial period a woman of good to moderate means might depend on her dowry to support her after the death of a spouse. Colonial laws in Spanish America mandated that the first four-fifths of an estate be passed down to a man's legitimate children, known as the *legítima.* This left only one-fifth to be freely willed to someone of the testator's choosing, but even this amount was not guaranteed for wives. As a result, colonial tradition dictated that, despite the law, up to one-fourth of the estate of a wealthy husband could be given to widowed women who lacked a dowry in circumstances where husbands "did not leave [them] the means to live honestly." By the 1880s, new liberal governments in several Latin American countries modified these laws to include wives as necessary heirs.[306] Mexico did not, and therefore poverty during widowhood continued to be a problem for many women.

Ultimately, for many women the loss (or lack) of a spouse resulted in less control over economic resources.[307] A common thread in studies of widowhood in Europe was the poverty-stricken nature of widow's lives. Around the same period in parts of France, for example, two-thirds of all widows had below average income levels, and many made up the majority of those

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Gísli Ágúst Gunnlaugsson and Ólöf Gardarsdóttir,"Transition into Widowhood: A Lifecourse Perspective on the Household Position of Icelandic Widows at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," *Continuity and Change* 11, no. 3 (1996), 435.

[306] Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena Léon, "Liberalism and Married Women's Property Rights in Nineteenth-Century Latin America," Hispanic American Historical Review 85, no. 4 (November 2005), 656-8. Countries that did include wives in inheritance included Argentina, Bolivia and Venezuela.

[307] For a comparison of Spanish civil law versus English common law systems as they pertained to women during this time period see Deborah Rosen, "Women and Property across Colonial America: A Comparison of Legal Systems in New Mexico and New York," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2003).

receiving public assistance.[308] In other parts of Mexico scholars note an overwhelmingly high proportion of widows and single adults among the ranks of the Mexico City poor house and in line at government sponsored pawn shops.[309] In Guadalajara in the nineteenth century, widowhood was often synonymous with poverty, and census takers frequently made mention that a widow was not only a *viuda*, but a *viuda pobre* (poor widow).[310] Like the Mexico City poor house, the central orphanage in the city known as the *Casa de Caridad* (later renamed the *Hospicio Cabañas)* served as a refuge for many of the cities impoverished and aged population, widows and single women included.[311] The institution did extend refuge to men, it do so usually only to those that were ill or disabled. [312] Overall, the historiography on nineteenth-century widowhood intimates that those without spouses, children, or relatives were more likely to succumb to pauperization.[313]

Greater exposure to poverty separated poor and working class women from elite women because it often required them to find work outside the home. For single and widowed women economic stability was essential to daily survival, but variables such as their age, whether or not they had children, or their age limited their earning potential in the city. Most women labored in

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[308] Lee Baker, "Survival Strategies of Widows in Dijon During the French Revolution," *Women's Studies* 31, (2002), 60.

[309] Silvia Arrom, *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House*, 1774-1871 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 101-103. See Marie Eileen Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

[310] See *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822***.** There are 35 comments in one *cuartel* alone stating a widow appeared poverty-stricken. Cuartel 6, 1821.

[311] Archivo Archidiócesis de Guadalajara, "Obras Asistenciales," *Casa de la Caridad y la Enseña*, 1784-1834, C. 1, 12.

[312] See Chapter 6.

[313] Arrom, *Containing the Poor*, 101-103.

typically female occupations which were un-skilled and poorly compensated. In Guadalajara, some of the most common occupations for women remained the same between 1821 and 1895. Most women worked as domestics, followed by seamstresses and those engaged in textile or food-related industries.[314] Employment available to women was almost always the lowest paid, with women typically earning one-third to half as much as men in similar industries.[315] By the nineteenth-century employers of proto-industrial jobs sought out women because they could be paid them less than men. Factory owners, for example, reserved wage labor positions for single, younger women.[316] As most wages were paid by the piece, rather than time, days were often monotonous and long. In *La Concha* tobacco factory for example, which employed over 300 female employees to work as cigar rollers by 1880, paid women per set of cigars. Each set contained sixty boxes of forty cigars, and paid women four *reales*, or about thirty three cents. Some women could roll as much as two sets during an average ten hour workday.[317] During the same period while a female cigar roller might earn 8 *reales* a day, a wetnurse averaged 12 *reales*, or one peso, as did seamstresses.[318] In the entire factory, there were only 10 men, usually who worked in skilled trades or as overseers and managers. Of the women working at *La*

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[314] See Tables 4.7 and 4.8.

[315] Susie Porter notes this disparity in Mexico City. See Susie Porter, *Working Women in Mexico City: Public Discourses and Material Conditions, 1879-1931* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003), 30. Also See Kuznesof, "Gender Ideology, Race, and Female-Headed Households," 162.

[316] Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit*, 88: Juan Javier Pescador, "Vanishing Women: Female Migration and Ethnic Identity in Late-Colonial Mexico City," *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 4 (Fall 1995), 618.

[317] Maríano Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara en 1880*, 2nd Ed. (Guadalajara: Ediciones I. T. G., 1954), 160.

[318] BPEJ, Archivo del Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco, 1822-1919, Ramo Civil, 1885, C. 2, 150,20; Susie Porter discusses wages for seamstresses during this time, see *Working Women*, 33.

Concha the majority were single and widowed migrants from other parts of Jalisco. A similar ratio of male to female workers was true of all five tobacco factories that operated that same year.[319]

Concrete data for female occupations is difficult to ascertain and should be read cautiously. The Guadalajara census of 1821 provided occupational information for about 18% of all women, compared to 80% percent for men.[320] The commissioner of one neighborhood in 1821 provided justification for this phenomenon by commenting that most "were only spinners or tortilla makers, which represents the poverty in which they are found."[321] This comment provides an indication of not only some of the most common female occupations, but also cultural perceptions regarding single and widowed working women and the value placed on women's labor. By 1895 as well, adult women were 11 times more likely to be listed as having "no occupation" than their male counterparts.[322] The lack of occupational data for women seems suspicious given the fact that the number of poor single and widowed women, who had no choice but to work, did not decrease at the same pace. I contend, as do other scholars of working women in Mexico, that these numbers likely indicate a desire to exclude women from industry, rather than a real absence of them. Susie Porter makes a similar argument in her work on women

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[319] Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara,* 159-161.

[320] The listing of "sin officio," or "sin destino" was common to indicate no occupation within the censuses of Guadalajara, and was a pattern found elsewhere. In Dijon, France 70.2% listed widows with no occupation according to Baker, and Clarkson found a rate of 80% in England. See Baker, "Survival Strategies of Widows in Dijon," 58; L.A. Clarkson and Margaret E. Crawford, "Life after Death: Widows in Carrick-on-Suir, 1799." *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, ed. Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 248.

[321] Urbano Arrellano, Cuartel 22, 1821, Aug 4. 1821, AHMG, box 1121, leg. 39.

[322] Archivo Histórico de Jalisco, Mapoteca, "Computo General del Censo," Oficio del Concentración del Censo (Guadalajara, 1895); See Table 4.7.

in Mexico City, suggesting that it has more to do with changing perceptions of female work by the late 1800s.[323] Overall, male officials did not consider domestic labor by wives and dependents an occupation. While working was a viable option toward economic independence, barriers existed in finding self-sustaining employment for many unattached women.

Households Strategies

For this very reason unattached women employed numerous strategies, in addition to working, in order survive in urban Guadalajara. Those with the ability to do so headed their own households. They used their class status and acquired property in old age to make do. They relied on family, and those who did not found commonality with other women. Some devised strategies, such as taking in boarders to make ends meet. Older women benefited from inheritances and lived as landlords. Some merged their lives with family members or forged strong female networks to create a larger and more economically prosperous unit. Others without resources took up residence as servants in the home of wealthier city residents to make ends meet. Overall, household details from the census relate the fact that unattached women were present and very visible within the urban landscape.

Heading a household indicated a level of economic autonomy, but it was also a marker of social status in cities all over the world. For example, comparative studies of widows in nineteenth-century northern Europe found they were more likely to remain independent, or retain headship of their household if they resided within urban areas.[324] In cities, women had more options. In addition to finding work as wage laborers, women could take in boarders, perform

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[323] Susie Porter, *Working Women*, 19.

[324] Gunnlaugsson and Gardarsdóttir, "Transition into Widowhood," 437, 438-440.

food or domestic service jobs, or live close to nearby kin. Moreover, studies of Mexico indicate that urban centers were an important source of economic mobility for all women. Economic incentives were the supreme motivation behind the migration of Indian women of all marital statuses to Mexico City in the late-colonial period. Once in the city, a majority of these women headed their own households.[325] Similar patterns were found for nineteenth-century São Paulo, where female headed households were by far the norm in the city, as women migrated into urban areas to meet increasing female labor and domestic manufacturing demands, and men stayed behind to work in mines and as agricultural laborers in the countryside.[326]

Many of the patterns uncovered by researchers of singleness in other regions can also be found in nineteenth-century Guadalajara. Women utilized numerous strategies to make ends meet in a society bound by gendered divisions of labor and inequality. In Guadalajara, almost half of all adult female widows and nearly one fifth of single women headed their own households between 1811 and 1850.[327] A significant portion of these women took in boarders (16%), and nearly half (40%) opened their homes to close relatives, including siblings, parents, and children.[328]

Although even nineteenth-century women belied convention by working in such unique trades as mule skinners, tanners, and even the occasional street performer,[329] the majority of

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[325] Pescador, "Vanishing Women," 618-621.
[326] Elizabeth Kuznesof, "The Role of the Female-Headed Household in Brazilian Modernization: São Paulo, 1765-1836," *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 4 (1980), 598.
[327] See Table 4.2.
[328] *Censuses of Guadalajara*, Volume 1 & 2.
[329] Ibid., In the 1821 census there are several interesting, albeit rare, female occupations. The single Augustina Isaguirre for example was listed as a *cómica*, what was most likely a form of street performance. Master Index number 827.

Guadalajara's single and widowed working women labored as domestic servants, laundresses, tortilla makers, food venders or small merchants, and seamstresses.[330] These jobs suggest the importance of living in the city, as they include service and wage-labor jobs important for its everyday functions, but it also lent women access to public space and opportunities to forge female networks.

Table 4.7[331]
Common Female Jobs by Marital Status, 1821

	Single	Married	Widowed	Total
Servant	337	38	97	*472*
Seamstress	222	56	123	*401*
Tortilla maker	78	139	144	*361*
Weaver, artisan	50	126	83	*259*
Spinner [yarn]	47	80	56	*183*
Cook	64	9	25	*98*
Cigar maker	21	12	20	*53*
Merchant	16	10	21	*47*
Small-Medium Farmer	5	21	8	*34*
Laundress	10	3	17	*30*
Baker	12	6	6	*24*
Miller/grain mill worker	3	1	16	*20*
Shoemaker/seller	2	16	2	*20*
Wetnurse	12	1	2	*15*
Shawl maker/seller	1	8	2	*11*
Seller/dealer	5	3	2	*10*
Beggar	1	1	7	*9*
Tamales maker/seller	3	1	5	*9*
Small Shopkeeper	2	4	3	*9*
Total Number of Women Listed w/ Occupations	*931*	*606*	*681*	*2218*
Percent of total	42%	27%	30%	

[330] See Tables 4.7 and 4.8.

[331] *Censuses of Guadalajara*, Volume 1.

Table 4.8[332] Most Common Female Occupations, 1895		
	Men	**Women**
Teachers	178	292
High School Students	962	253
Merchants	3248	1684
Street Peddlers	199	139
Proprietors	228	784
Industrial Administrators	147	240
Cigar Workers	0	421
Embroiderers	3	39
Dressmakers	0	177
Factory Workers	271	512
Hatmakers	394	214
Weavers	718	2026
Seamstresses	0	1856
Domestics	1354	4183
Empleados particulares	247	105
Laundresses	0	1214
Mesalinas	0	100
Molé Grinders/Sellers	0	951
Tortilla Makers	0	1040
No Occupation, Adults	1519	16605
Clothing Pressers	0	363
Shawl Braiders	0	569
College Students	0	114

The urban heartbeat of Guadalajara, like many European cities was the *plaza*, or town square. This organization derived from its colonial past, following the grid pattern, or *cuadrícula*, common of most cities in Spain.[333] By 1821, Guadalajara was divided into twenty-four *cuarteles*, or districts. At the heart of each *cuartel* was a central plaza and public fountain. It was here that many working women converged to do laundry, collect water, and sell hand-made goods, prepared foods, spices and produce. In 1880, the city boasted three central markets,

[332] Ibid.

[333] Eduardo López Moreno, *La cuadrícula en el desarollo de la ciudad hispanoamericana: Guadalajara, Mexico* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1992), 19.

where vendors of fruits and vegetables, grains and other basic goods convened, and maintained twenty-three public baths around the city.[334] In this way, plazas served to facilitate basic needs of commerce and water supply, but they were also places of public gathering, socializing and entertainment, both for urban residents and working women. The presence of laboring women is undeniable in images of the central square both in 1835 and 1864.[335] As one visitor to Guadalajara noted in 1826, the washerwomen often gathered near the main plaza in the shallow parts of the river San Juan that ran through the city, beating their laundry with stones and gossiping amongst each other.[336] Women grinding and pounding clothes on stones in public was considered sensual and also called into question laundresses' propriety. In this way, city plazas, markets and urban occupations afforded women greater access to public space, and led to the creation of important female support networks.

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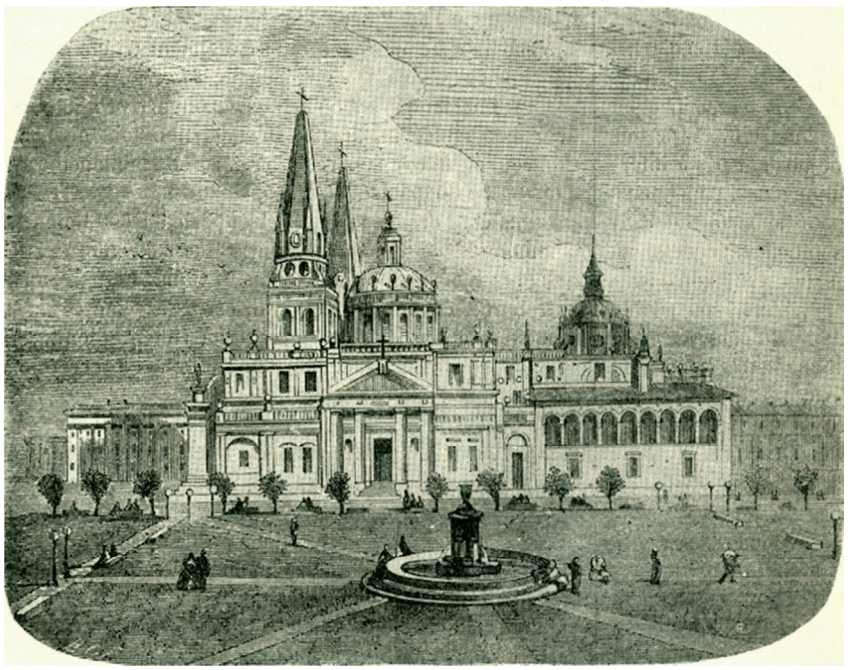
[334] Maríano Bárcena, *Descripción de Guadalajara en 1880*, 2nd Ed. (Guadalajara: Ediciones I. T. G., 1954), 85-110.

[335] See Figure 4.1 and 4.2.

[336] George Lyon, *Journey of a Residence and Tour of the Republic of Mexico in the year 1826* (London: John Murry, 1828). The phenomenon was common elsewhere, see Leslie Page Moch and Rachel Fuchs. "Getting Along: Poor Women's Networks in Nineteenth-Century Paris." *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 1 (1993): 34-49

Figure 4.1[337]
"La Plaza Principal de Guadalajara Hacia 1835"

Figure 4.2[338]
"La Plaza Principal de Guadalajara en 1864"



[337] Photo reprinted in Juan B. Iguiniz, *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos: relatos y descripciones de viajeros y escritores desde del Siglo XVI hasta nuestros días*, Volume 1, 1586-1867 (Guadalajara: Banco Refaccionario de Jalisco, 1950), 160.
[338] Ibid., 271.

Ethnicity, Class and Age

A closer look at households headed by widows and single women in 1821 not only confirms that many lived outside the bounds of the ideal patriarchal home, but that the impact of being an unattached woman varied when such factors as ethnicity, class and age are considered. In a comparison of widow-headed households, which comprised the majority of female headed households as a whole, ethnic differences become apparent. While Indian women tended to head smaller households, averaging between 1 and 4 members, Spanish[339] widows averaged between 2 and 7 members. A larger household, of working age members, had the potential advantage of providing more sources of income for Spanish women. Although Spanish and Indian widows shared a similar rate of overall headship Spanish women tended to head more nuclear families, which were comprised of related members. It is interesting to note that Spanish women headed sixty-five percent of all nuclear families, compared to only twenty-five percent for Indian widows.[340]

[339] Spanish, or *español*, dealt more with one's ethnicity than birthplace. The term was widely used in the censuses.
[340] See Table 4.9.

Table 4.9[341] Widow Headed Household Structure by Calidad, 1821												
	Solitary		**No Family**		**Nuclear**		**Extended**		**Multiple Related**		**Multiple, Unrelated**	
Calidad	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Spanish	145	*33.3*	45	*42.1*	574	*65*	196	*55.4*	162	*53.6*	351	*56.9*
Indian	199	*45.7*	37	*34.6*	226	*25.6*	114	*32.2*	88	*29.1*	182	*29.5*
Mestizo	73	*16.8*	16	*15*	51	*5.8*	37	*10.5*	47	*15.6*	54	*8.8*
Mulato	14	*3.2*	9	*8.4*	29	*3.3*	4	*1.1*	4	*1.3*	27	*4.4*
Other Castas	4	*0.9*	0	*0*	3	*21.4*	3	*0.8*	1	*0.3*	3	*0.5*
Total	*435*	*100*	107	*100*	883	*100*	354	*100*	302	*100*	617	*100*

Indian widows by contrast were more likely to live alone, or head a solitary household. Of all solitary headed-households, Indian women headed almost half.[342] Distinctions between Indian and Spanish women may deal with their differing migratory patterns. Studies of Mexico indicate that Indian women often migrated into the city alone and without family, having left behind kin in the indigenous villages that surrounded the city.[343] As for single women, an overwhelming majority of all those who headed their own household were Spanish. Single Spanish women were also much more likely to live with family members, or independently as a

[341] See Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006). A "solitary" household is defined as a having a single resident. A "no family" designation implies there are multiple residents, but that members are un-related to one another. A "nuclear family" implies the presence of parents and children co-residing in a household. An "extended family" is defined as a nuclear family with additional related members co-residing. A "multiple related" distinction implies more than one nuclear family present in the household, although families are related, whereas a multiple un-related family implies the presence of more than one un-related family who co-reside in the same household. For additional details see, "Codebook: A Brief Explanation," last modified 2003, http://www.fsu.edu/~guadalaj/english/codebooks/codebrief.htm.

[342] See Table 4.9.

[343] Pescador, "Vanishing Women," 618-621; For migration patterns in Guadalajara see Rivas, "Defense of Craft," 93.

boarder within a household, while single Indian, *mestiza* and *mulata* women were grossly over represented as domestic servants residing in the household of their male or female employers.[344] As a study of Mexico City suggests, Indian women often left their homes in the surrounding villages to work in the city, and entered their new surroundings alone.[345] Therefore, it is likely that Indian women tended to take in more un-related boarders and work as domestic servants, than their Spanish counter-parts, because they had fewer networks in place within the city. While Spanish women tended to head larger households that contained more related members as a possible means for increasing economic stability, Indian women were more likely to take in boarders and servants. Taking in boarders was an additional way to earn extra income, and was typically a female and widow dominated line of work. Both in Mexico City and Guadalajara, by the late nineteenth century two-thirds of all landlords were women.[346] The data confirms the connections that can be made between ethnicity and class. While Spanish women from Guadalajara could depend on their families for financial support, Indian women who often arrived as migrants had to forge different and more independent connections to make ends meet.

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[344] See Table 4.10.

[345] See Pescador, "Vanishing Women."

[346] For Mexico City see Francois, *Culture of Everyday Credit*, 156; In Guadalajara, in 1895 228 proprietors were listed as men and 784 were women, a different of 77% female. See Table 4.7.

Table 4.10[347] Position in Household by Ethnicity, Single Women, 1821								
	Spanish		Indian		Mestizo		Mulata	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Head	120	*78.4*	25	*16.3*	6	*3.9*	2	*1.3*
Boarder	275	*55.7*	155	*31.4*	41	*8.3*	16	*3.2*
Servant	77	*22.6*	178	*52.4*	52	*15.2*	26	*7.6*
Kin of Head	173	*67.3*	63	*24.5*	16	*6.2*	4	*1.5*
Other Relative	37	*58.7*	22	*35*	3	*4.7*	0	*0*

The home of Josefa Hernández sheds light onto the connections between ethnicity and class. Josefa, an Indian widow listed as one hundred years old, oversaw a household of over ten boarders in 1821, all of which were un-related and were listed as Indian, no "Don"[348] Spaniards, or other "castes."[349] Her home provides some indication that taking in boarders provided a measure of means for women in older age, and presents important questions about ethnic and class divisions in the city. Her age also sheds light on the phenomenon and stereotype of the aged female landlord. Widows in particular maximized the potential of inherited real estate after the loss of a spouse. In the city, they rented rooms and small apartments to a burgeoning population

[347] See *Censuses of Guadalajara*, 1821-1822. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006).

[348] The use of "Don" or "Doña" at this time was often assigned as a title of reverence to individuals of elite status. It too was phased out in many parts of Mexico after Independence, see Peter Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 174.

[349] Rodney Anderson's extensive work on the 1821 census draws the conclusion that prior to Independence in 1821, the use of "Don" signified higher socio-economic status. Rodney Anderson, "Race and Social Stratification: A Comparison of Working-Class Spaniards, Indians and Castas in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1821," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 68, no. 2 (May, 1998), 209-243.

of urban workers and the poor who arrived as migrants and lived a transient lifestyle.[350] Working as a landlord offered elderly women an occupation that they could likely still perform into old age, and could do so within their own home. It was not an easy job however, and was therefore not for the faint of heart. There are numerous examples from the Jalisco civil court records depicting shrewd widowed landlords who pursued tenants in court for unpaid and back rent. This was true for the widow Rafaela Palomar who owned and managed several properties in Guadalajara. In 1890, she went to court at least twice to collect unpaid rents and even went so far as to try to evict a female tenant who had not paid for several months. [351]

The image of the elderly *casera*, or female landlord, was the subject of one of several lithographs in a series of illustrated popular Mexican caricatures in 1855. Among the caricatures were common female occupations from the post-Independence period.[352] According to a description by the nineteenth-century Mexican historian, writer, and poet, Niceto de Zamacois, the Mexican landlady was at best "disagreeable," almost always a "widow," poor, demanding of monthly rent, and as "bitter as all the concoctions of chemists ever made."[353] At the same time de Zamacois makes mention that the life of a landlady was a precarious one, often they did not earn enough to get by and therefore made frequent visits to the *Monte de Piedad*, or the public

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[350] Claudia P. Rivas Jiménez and Andrea Vicente, "Una ciudad en movimiento: patrones de persistencia y transitoriedad de los grupos domésticos en Guadalajara, 1821-1822," *Estudios Sociales,* Volume 2 (Sept, 2007).

[351] BPEJ, *Archivo del Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, *1822-1919,* Ramo Civil, "Contra Señor Badial por rentas," Caja 7, f. 152,617 and "Contra Doña Jesús Muñoz por rentas," C. 5 f. 152, 541.

[352] María Esther Pérez Salas, "Genealogía de los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos," *HMEX*, XLVM: 2 (1998), 167-207.

[353] Niceto de Zamcois, "La Casera," 1855. Reprinted in *Los mexicanos pintados por si mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales* (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios de Historia de Mexico, 1989), 228.

charitable pawn shops.[354] Depicted as haggard and worn, the aged female landlord is shown with a set of keys and lease in hand. The popular representation of the decrepit female landlord dealt with another set of stereotypes entirely. It was not uncommon for widows and spinsters of old age to be labeled as hags, witches, feeble, and incapable of caring for themselves. Such attitudes were justified by popular perceptions in other parts of the world that older women had decreased reproductive abilities. According to one nineteenth-century scribe, "'an old woman is for nature only a degraded being, because she is useless to it.'"[355] Despite the negative portrayal, fortunate widowed women took advantage of the benefit of inheriting money or capital rendered to them by their late husbands. By 1895, female proprietors outnumbered males 784 to 228 respectively.[356] In addition to be overwhelmingly female, evidence from Guadalajara and elsewhere in Mexico indicate that widowed women dominated the occupation of proprietor.[357]

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[354] Ibid. Historians have noted the frequency with which many single and widowed women, especially proprietors utilized services of the Monte de Piedad. Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit*, 84.

[355] Quoted by Peter Stearns, "Old Women: Some Historical Observations," *Journal of Family History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1980), 45.

[356] See Table 4.8.

[357] For Mexico City see Edith Couturier, "Women and the Family in Eighteenth Century Mexico: Law and Practice," Journal of Family History, vol 10, no 3 (1985), 294-304; For Guadalajara see Table 4.8.

FIGURE 4.3 [358]

"La Casera"

For widows especially, older age might lend itself to increased autonomy and greater residential stability. Similar with patterns of headship found in other studies, younger widows (under the age of 39) in Guadalajara tended to initially reside as members of a household. As they aged, and potentially increased their means, widows from age 40 to 60 appear to have been more likely to head their own households. This pattern would begin to decline with advanced age, likely due to mortality. In Guadalajara there were fewer widow-headed households as

[358] de Zamcois, "La Casera," 226-7; For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.

women approached their 60s and 70s. This was a common pattern found in Europe as well. As widows aged they began to reside within a household, rather than as heads. It may indicate the importance of age as a factor in women's ability to work and maintain a level of independence. Single women, on the other hand, were much more likely in younger age to either head their own households, or live as a dependent in a household headed by someone else, the latter being the most prevalent resident pattern for younger single women. Marriage patterns explain much of this trend as between the age of 25 to 35 years, the proportion of single women in Guadalajara dropped significantly, from roughly 3200 single women to only about 390 between 1811 and 1850, indicating it was likely the most common age range that women married between 1811 and 1850. [359] Therefore, age played a major role both in women's marital status and residency.

Table 4.11[360]
Widow & Single Women's Residence Patterns by Age, 1811-1850

	Heads of Household				**Living in another Household**			
	Single		***Widowed***		***Single***		***Widowed***	
Age	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Age 15 -24	97	*20.12*	48	*2.6*	3235	*26.1*	196	*8.1*
Age 25 - 34	136	*28.2*	351	*19.2*	1034	*8.3*	541	*22.6*
Age 35 - 44	104	*21.5*	588	*32.1*	399	*3.2*	658	*27.5*
Age 45 - 54	78	*16.1*	473	*25.8*	206	*1.6*	530	*22.1*
Age 55/over	53	*10.9*	368	*20.1*	143	*1.1*	457	*19*

Much can be said about the women who did not head their own households in nineteenth-century Guadalajara. The majority of both widowed and single women not heading their own

[359] See Table 4.11.
[360] *Censuses of Guadalajara*, Volume 1 & 2.

household lived as boarders or servants within the homes of others (36.2% and 23.9% respectively). These patterns corroborate studies that find that widowed and single migrants who arrived without family or connections in the city, lived as boarders and typically took jobs in domestic work. The younger they were however, the more likely it was that they relied on family networks. Not surprisingly, a large percentage of the younger population of single and widowed women sought residence with relatives or parents.[361] This was especially true of the urban poor and working classes who depended on family to survive. This reliance is visible in the residency patterns of Petronila Gonzáles. In 1811, she was listed as "negra," 17 years old, single and living with her eldest brother, their mother, and four siblings Victoria, Eusebia, Francisca, and Narcisa, ages 14, 11, 8, and 6. The family rented an *asesoria,*[362] or small apartment on *Calle Jarana*, although her brother José Gonzáles was unemployed at the time. By 1824, Petronila married Vicente Huerta and had two children, but continued to reside in the household of her brother José, who now worked as a lay clergyman. Also in the home was her sister Eusebia, but the younger Gonzáles girls, now 21 and 19, were no longer in the home. It is likely they would have been sent out of the home to work or apprentice.[363] Such examples reveal the continued importance of family networks throughout the stages of women's lives.

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[361] See Table 4.12.

[362] An *asesoria* was usually a small apartment or room in a larger dwelling, usually the rooms that bordered the street and courtyard within a larger home were rented out this way.

[363] Ibid., Master Index #'s, 14421 & 25026.

Table 4.12[364] Adult Widow & Single Women's Position Within Another Household, 1811-1850				
Position	Single		Widow	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*
Child of Head	340	*19*	110	*5*
Sibling of Head	66	*3.7*	23	*1.5*
Parent of Head	0	*0*	36	*1.6*
In-Law of Head	44	*2.4*	42	*1.9*
Other Relative of Head	233	*13*	138	*6.3*
Boarder	426	*23.9*	793	*36.2*
Servant	123	*6.9*	118	*5.3*

It is interesting to note however, that while most widowed heads of household were between the ages of 40 to 59, the majority of the members of their households were more than half as likely to be younger (almost 60%) between the ages of 10 and 35, implying that widows often lived with others who were within a working age limit and were capable of adding economic resources to the household.[365] These statistics imply a possible devaluing of aged female labor, as well as difficulties in finding suitable jobs for elderly women, corresponding to the overall ageism ascribed to older women in society. [366]

[364] *Censuses of Guadalajara*, Volume 1 & 2.
[365] See Table 4.13.
[366] Stearns, "Old Women," 45.

Table 4.13[367] Widow Headed Household Composition by Age, 1821				
Age	**Head**		**Members**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
1 month to 4 years	0	*0*	455	*8.7*
Age 5 - 9	0	*0*	547	*13.3*
Age 10 - 14	0	*0*	530	*12.8*
Age 15 - 24	27	*2.4*	1191	*28.9*
Age 25 - 34	171	*15.1*	697	*16.9*
Age 35 - 44	366	*32.3*	362	*8.8*
Age 45 - 54	316	*27.9*	187	*4.5*
55 and over	254	*22.4*	157	*3.8*

In addition to family, women relied on other women through strong female networks. In 1821, within the household of María Antonia Medina, a fifty-year old widowed seamstress, resided three of Medina's female relatives who were also seamstresses. Such households were common in urban Guadalajara, signifying a strong familial, as well as female presence, in female-headed households. While about 20% of all widow-headed households contained no men, barely 1% existed with no other females. A majority of widows' households were comprised of female members (about 60%), and of the children and boarders that resided within widow-headed households 57% and 63% respectively were female. On average, widow-headed households in Guadalajara tended to overwhelmingly contain single, un-related female members. Additionally, they typically contained, on average, only 1 to 2 men but between 1 to 4 females.[368] These numbers lead to the conclusion that a majority of Guadalajara's widows tended to co-reside or "cluster" with other widowed or single women. Other studies on family

[367] See *Censuses of Guadalajara*, Volume 1.
[368] See Table 4.14.

history note female co-residence as a strategy to reduce household expenses by pooling domestic labor.[369] Take for example the case of Dolores Dábalos. In 1824, she was the eldest of four siblings, a single female of 18 years, living within the home of her father José María, a porter, and mother Inés. By 1839, Dolores was still single, but now resided within the home of the widow Juana Ramírez, a young married resident Juana Robles and Juana's two small children, María and Maximiano.[370] It highly plausible that the women worked in a similar profession or that Dolores and Juana rented a room in the widow Ramírez' home as boarders. After 1839, Dolores does not appear in the existing censuses, but being close to the age of thirty-five, it is likely she may not have ever married.

Table 4.14[371]
Widow Household Composition by Sex, 1821

Position	Male		Female		
	N	%	N	%	*Total*
Child of head/spouse	669	*42.6*	900	*57.4*	1569
Sibling of head	3	*14.3*	18	*85.7*	21
Grandchild of head	94	*51.4*	89	*48.6*	183
Son/daughter-in-law	21	*26.9*	57	*73.1*	78
Same name as head	46	*31.7*	99	*68.3*	145
Other relative of head	31	*43.1*	41	*56.9*	72
Unspecified child	64	*40.8*	93	*59.2*	157
Boarder	281	*36.9*	481	*63.1*	762
Servant	55	*34.2*	106	*65.8*	161
Total	1693	*32.1*	3587	*67.9*	5280

[369] For more on the concept of clusters see Clarkson and. Crawford, "Life after Death," 248.
[370] *Censuses*, Phase 2, Master Index #s, 24408 & 43077.
[371] *Censuses of Guadalajara*, Volume 1.

Also noteworthy, was the household of the eighty-year old widow, Gertudis Guzmán. In 1839 she shared a home with an un-related thirty-year old widow named Sixta Juárez and her middle-aged, single sister Petra Juárez, and a young married couple, María Ruelas and Pitanio Giménez. By 1842 however, patterns in the home changed and Sixta became the head of the same residence. One possibility could be that Gertrudis died, leaving the two sisters to manage the home. Petra continued to live with her sister Sixta, but in only three short years now appeared in the census as widowed instead of single. Four young children resided in the home with the surname of Sánchez, aged 13,10, 7 and 3, who had not previously lived with the sisters. It appears that the children belonged to Sixta, or were under her care as the census taker listed them underneath her and not Petra. Pitanio's wife María, continued to reside with the sisters, although Pitanio was absent.[372] Sixta's situation reveals an important system of female networking. Despite the fact that María was married and unrelated to the women, the three most likely shared a friendly relationship after living together for many years. Although we do not know exactly where María's husband went, she continued to live with the Juárez sisters in his absence. It is also interesting to note the presence of the four young children in the home. It is unclear whose children they were, but it is apparent that they were under the care of Sixta. Studies of child circulation, note the common practice in Latin American cities from the colonial and into the twentieth century of sending children out of the home as young as eight and as old as twenty-five to work or apprentice.[373] This is corroborated for Guadalajara, where the average age of child apprentices, boarders or domestic servants was between the ages of ten and fourteen. It is

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[372] Ibid., Master Index #'s, 44965 & 49464.

[373] See Ann Blum, "Public Welfare and Child Circulation, Mexico City, 1877 to 1925," *Journal of Family History* 23, no2 (1998); Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima (*Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 55.

entirely plausible that the Sánchez children belonged to another family and moved in and out of the home as boarders or apprentices. Overall, these figures and examples disclose intimate details of the households of unattached women. While taking in boarders, kin, or other single or widowed women could potentially contribute to household income, it also sheds light onto the important cultural linkages between women's daily lives and their relationships to family and other women.

Overall, a closer examination of single and widowed women at the household level asserts the importance, frequency, and increasing number of women who lived unattached. Despite women's overall position within a patriarchal society and the stigma attached to being "unattached," single and widowed women carved out opportunities for themselves in an urban context. At an economic level, they maximized the jobs available to them, and structured their households in ways that sustained financial independence. The maintenance of important familial relationships and female networks, evidenced in the censuses, further exposes important social and cultural imperatives to the organization and maintenance of their daily lives. Analysis of women's role as heads of household, the household and networking strategies they employed, along with the interpenetration of variables such as age and ethnicity showcases important parallels and tensions between women's expected role in Mexican society, and their actual daily lives within households. Inevitably the discourse on the ideal patriarchal family was geared toward elites. It isolated the poor and stigmatized them for what they perceived as a lower-class lifestyle, in which women worked in the public sphere. As the century progressed, these women increasingly became construed as dangerous, immoral and unnatural.

Public Space, Danger and Working Women

The growing presence of working women in Mexican cities, the majority of whom were single and widowed, signified an important shift in the *buenas costumbres,* or proper customs of the age.[374] Elite women did not venture into public un-chaperoned, much less work in public settings where their virtue could be brought into question. This practice had the effect of naturalizing social hierarchy because working class women could not be so well protected which put their honor in check.[375] By the late nineteenth century the issue of working women was a tense subject in Mexico. Many believed that the growing number of women, who chose to abandon their duties within the home by working in public, would lead to the social breakdown of the family. The dialogue frequently hinged on class-based notions of acceptable female work. According to one Guadalajara newspaper article, only "appropriate jobs" which could be performed in the confines of home, such as making "tapestries, embroidery, china or fan painting, or giving piano lessons" were acceptable occupations for honorable women.[376] This ideal was not attainable for the large majority of Mexican women who were not a part of the elite classes. Often single and widowed women who supported themselves had no choice but to work outside the home, with the majority working as servants, weavers, seamstresses, *tortilla* makers,

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[374] See table 4.4.

[375] Carmen Ramos Escandón, "Mujeres trabajadores en el porfiriato," *Historias* 21, (October 1988-May 1989), 114.

[376] "El trabajo de las mujeres. Los derechos de la mujer en la sociedad humana," *Juan Panadero*, Guadalajara (Dec 11, 1898), 1-2; This was a theme that would continue to influence public discourse on working women well into the twentieth century, see Porter, *Working Women*, 51-72.

molé grinders, cigar and other factory workers.[377] The increased presence of poor working women in public space only heightened concerns over their proper place in modern society.

One of the most common and public of female occupations, *lavanderas* (washerwomen) were a prominent fixture in public spaces, particularly city fountains, rivers and streams. It was there that many did the bulk of their daily labor, but also where they gathered to socialize publicly. Popular caricatures of the Mexican *lavandera*, portrayed her as being of lower status, both socially and racially. In 1855 the Mexican doctor, writer and historian Hilarión Frias y Soto described the Mexican washerwoman as *morena*, or darker skinned, and having "wide hips" and a "large mouth."[378] The nature of her work as a laundress contrasted greatly with that of nineteenth-century femininity, exhibited by her "muscular arms" which were made darker by exposure to the sun and her "tough black skin." Such traits were necessary to perform the difficult and laborious task of "scrubbing" and "beating" clothing against stones. While working laundresses were "happy, singing, laughing and chattering with fellow work-mates." [379] Washing clothing was a process that began early, as women went around collecting dirty clothing. After washing they were carefully hung and ironed and by the day's end delivered to their respective homes. Although Frias y Soto's description venerated the Mexican *lavandera* for her diligence and hard work, he also lamented her as "ignorant and unpolished," leading a life of poverty, misery and endless fatigue to the point of "paralysis." The portrait suggests not only the creation of a popular caricature of the female profession by mid-century, but also the

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[377] See Table 4.7.

[378] Hilarión Frias y Soto, "La Lavandera," 1855. Reprinted in *Los mexicanos pintados por si mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales* (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios de Historia de Mexico, 1989), 294.

[379] Ibid.

pervasive presence of the *lavandera* and other working women in urban spaces, which unnerved many writers and reformers.

Figure 4.4[380]

"La Lavandera"

Many viewed the overwhelming number of women working, like *lavanderas*, as a potential threat to the very foundations of family and home. The academic writings of the nineteenth-century Mexican sociologist Antonio Moreno based much of his concern over working women's roles in public as a potential threat to men and the household. The fear was

[380] Hilarión Frias y Soto, "La Lavandera," 292; For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.

that if women worked they would lose their love of home and motherhood, as their lives became "more public rather than intimate." Moreno believed that women emancipated from "intimate life," publicly shamed "manly prerogatives and the social domain that should be his alone." According to Moreno, working women "no longer had the cast of mystery, nor the veiled gauze … of the domestic angel." [381] Such ideas cemented the notion that work separated women from their proper role within the family.

Concern over the increased presence of single working women in public spaces dealt not only with the effects it had on the family and home, but on working women themselves. The separation between the intimate space of the home and that of public space was significant in nineteenth-century women's lives. Popular and religious beliefs understood the confines of the home as a place of order, safety, and family, and as cities swelled in the latter nineteenth century bringing with it new social problems of overcrowding, epidemic disease, and crime public space became increasingly perceived as dangerous territory for women.[382] For single working women especially, the urban streets of Guadalajara harbored unwanted dangers. One concerned journalist wrote in 1900 about the "ugly custom" of men who hung out in plazas, streets and sidewalks only to jeer and harass women who had to traverse city streets and sidewalks alone. These "streetdogs" who made a habit of this behavior were considered to be men of low morals and "improper to a cultured society."[383] The presence of such men posed a danger to unprotected women. Sometimes harassment of single women turned into physical assault. On a

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[381] BPEJ. SFE. Miscellaneous 743, Antonio Moreno, "Estudios sociales," *Artículos sobre distintos asuntos. Luces y sombras.* (Mexico: La Voz de México, 1886), 37; 150.

[382] For more on the concept behind private and public space in nineteenth-century Latin America see Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

[383] "Una fea costumbre," *El Sol de Guadalajara*, June 1, 1900.

Saturday afternoon in November 1886, the young single Benita González was walking to her home from work alone. Shortly after passing the city cemetery, she was approached by three unknown men. After asking her for a cigarette, the three men brutally stabbed and robbed her. She was found hours later by a policeman unconscious in the cemetery.[384]

Unattached working women who had no male patriarch to protect them contended with dangers in the workplace. Many single women who worked in domestic service faced abuse and harassment from male household members who made unwanted sexual advances. As was common elsewhere in Latin America, domestic servants in Guadalajara suffered abuses at the hands of their employers.[385] This reality was all too real for the young widowed domestic María Gómez. In 1890 Ignacio Moreno, María's boss, accused her of theft. In his testimony he claimed María had run away from her duties without warning, taking along with her two watches, a pistol, a *sarape* and three handkerchiefs. María denied the charges and explained that she fled the home after experiencing both physical abuse and sexual harassment by Ignacio. She described the evening she left saying that Moreno arrived to the home drunk and attempted to have "relations" with her, when she refused he hit her. According to María, however, this was not the first time she faced abuse by her employer. In her testimony she explained that on several other occasions Moreno entered her bedroom without her consent and she consistently refused him. He also boasted to friends implying he had had sexual relations with her. It was his consistent attempts to pursue her and harassment that caused María to flee the home. Perhaps if it were not for the damning testimony of Moreno's own sister who witnessed the attack that evening, María's story would never be validated. Further evidence from a medical exam confirmed signs

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[384] BPEJ *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco, 1822-1919,* Ramo Criminal, "Lesiones á Benita Gonzalez," Caja 11, Exp 88,223.
[385] Graham, *House and Street*.

of stress on María's body, demonstrating she had struggled against Moreno. In light of the evidence against him Moreno dropped the initial theft charges.[386]

María's story reveals the harsh reality that many working girls faced, particularly those that worked behind closed doors and without any protection. These were the dangers that so many in Guadalajara feared for a growing female working population. Working outside the home lent itself to greater freedom for sexual encounters, precisely because women worked and sometimes lived outside the sphere of the home and family. Historian María de los Angeles Pérez Salcedo demonstrates that rape was most common for working women. Actual rapes were defined as "violations." Mexican law distinguished it from *rapto* (kidnapping) or *estupro* (deflowering), which jurists frequently argued implied a level complicity or consent by the females involved in exchange of a promise of marriage, equating it to a type of seduction.[387] In Guadalajara, there were 48 rape and 446 seduction cases that went to trial between 1857 and 1910. More than thirty percent of all rape cases involved girls who were working at the time of the rape. Of these cases, two women were factory workers, seven were domestic workers, and six were performing daily tasks like getting water, carrying honey, or cutting corn.[388] Although it is unclear whether or not violence against women was the result of the city's growth or

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[386] BPEJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra María Goméz por robo," 1890, Caja 7: 99,528.

[387] In Mexican criminal law jurists often confounded *estupro* and *rapto* (kidnapping with the intent to seduce). Both crimes however could be classified as consensual on the part of the females involved, often through promises of marriage. It was this distinction which separated them from *violación* (rape), which seemed to imply non-consensual sex often through the use of force or violence. See Kathryn A. Sloan, *Runaway Daughters: Seduction, Elopement, and Honor in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 9.

[388] See Pérez Salcedo, "Las mujeres violadas en Jalisco," 106; 54-7.

women's greater presence in public spaces, emphasis in both print media and court cases reflects heightened connotations between women, work and danger.[389]

Immorality and Dishonor

By the *Porfiriato*, popular discourses on the Mexican working woman and the negative stereotypes which associated her with the dangers of female prostitution, poverty and singleness were rampant. As more and more women entered the work force in cities across Mexico, scrutiny over occupations outside of the home linked working girls to growing social ills in society. It was not only women's absence from the domestic home that concerned so many in Guadalajara at the time, but the growth of particularly "immoral" occupations such as prostitution which were viewed as an affront to the family and society. The issue of single women and poverty never fell far from the debate. Far too often social reformers blamed the plight of poverty faced by many single and widowed women as the root cause of women's immoral behavior.

Working outside of the home became increasingly linked not only to singleness but the disreputable profession of prostitution. As early as the 1840s some *tapatíos* argued that prostitution was a necessary evil. It was tolerated because men needed to satisfy their natural sexual impetus. A clear example of this perspective is the 1845 bestiality case against Santiago Martínez. According to court documents Martínez was arrested on charges that he fornicated with a neighbor's donkey in the small town of Santa Anita, just thirty kilometers outside the city center. As a forty year old widow his defense attorney argued that men like Martínez, deprived

[389] Similar arguments have been made for Victorian London with compare to the Mexican situation, see Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger In late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

of "the natural union of the two sexes" suffered greatly, and were led to commit unspeakable crimes like bestiality and sodomy. In his estimation, the real crime was that Martínez lived in the "boonies" where prostitution was not tolerated.[390] This was a popular trope in other parts of post-Independence Latin America. The work of Peter Beattie on Brazil argues that from the colonial period to post-Independence, reformers used similar arguments to attack "obligatory celibacy" among men housed in prisons, poorhouses, asylums and military barracks. Not only was it "unnatural" but prevented men from "heterosexual release." For this reason, colonial officials arranged conjugal visitation for men with disreputable women.[391] Concern over the involvement of honorable women and girls in sex work led to the legalization of prostitution in Mexico by 1866 and subsequent regulation in Jalisco by 1870.[392] This is not to say that despite being illegal in previous years that prostitution in Guadalajara was hidden from the public. In the 1821 census, an entire street noted as *Calle de Tentación* (Temptation Street) housed mostly single women living alone with their children.[393] Most studies however, directly link the rise in interest regarding female prostitution and its growth to the modern city.[394] While earlier

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[390] BPEJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco, 1822-1919,* Ramo Criminal, "Contro Santiago Martínez," 1845, Santa Anita, Caja 7, exp. 8503.

[391] See Peter Beattie, "The Jealous Institution: Male Nubility, Conjugality, Sexuality and Discipline on the Social Margins of Imperial Brazil," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 53, no. 1 (2011), 181-2.

[392] BPEJ, *Reglamento de las casas de tolerancia de 1866* (Guadalajara, 1866).

[393] Anderson and Spike, "Archival Report," 341.

[394] For Mexico see Katherine Bliss, *Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health, and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); James Alex Garza, *The Imagined Underworld: Sex, Crime and Vice in Porfirian Mexico City* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). Similar arguments have also been made for other parts of Latin America and Europe, see Donna Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitutes, Family and the Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight.*

attitudes such as those of Martínez' defense attorney intimated that prostitution had a civilizing effect on society, by late century, attitudes in Guadalajara about prostitution began to emphasize its demoralizing impact on the public.[395] Scientific arguments emphasized a eugenic view that prostitution and prostitutes were a blight on society, and a marker of social and moral weakness.[396]

Growing preoccupation over female sexuality in Guadalajara led to the belief that single women, many who lived without male protectors, were more likely to engage in "sins of the flesh" and therefore needed to be more strictly controlled and watched over.[397] There was a constant fear that especially poor single women were at greater risk of becoming prostitutes. So much so that the Guadalajara factory owner Mauro A. Tostado proclaimed at the opening of his shoe factory in the city in 1895, that he would produce inexpensive, well-made shoes by the hand of female workers in order to help her with subsistence and "prevent her from falling into prostitution."[398] It is important to note that although the majority of single working women were not prostitutes, the majority who registered under new laws as working prostitutes in Guadalajara were single women. Although this data should be read cautiously, as it does not capture those women who continued to work illegally, it does highlight the connotations made by people like Tostado. It also comprises the only available sources on prostitution in the city, as

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[395] BPEJ, *El Católico,* Vol 2, no 3 (Guadalajara, October 16, 1887), 2.

[396] Cristina Rivera-Garza, "The Criminalization of the Syphilitic Body: Prostitutes, Health Crimes, and Society in Mexico City, 1867-1930," in *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society Since Late Colonial Times*, Ricardo Salvatorre, Carlos Aguirre and Gilbert Joseph, eds. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 151.

[397] Benítez Barba, "Raptadas tapatías," 296; Peter Beattie found similar cases made by Brazilian military officials in the 1850s, "Jealous Institution," 196.

[398] José María Muría, *Historia de Jalisco. Desde la consolidación del porfiriato hasta mediados del siglo XX, Tomo IV* (UNED: México, 1982), 136-7.

clandestine prostitutes rarely left behind records. By drawing parallels between non-marriage and working women, Tostado suggested that a woman without a husband and without a good job could be more easily persuaded into the vice-ridden world of prostitution. While there were a few married and widowed women among the population of female sex workers in Guadalajara, over ninety percent were single.[399]

Table 4.15[400]
Civil Status of Registered Prostitutes Treated at Hospital Civil, 1902

	N	%
Single	152	*91.6*
Married	10	*6.02*
Widowed	4	*2.4*

Despite Mauro Tostado's claim that a factory job could steer single women away from prostitution, as new skilled jobs opened for middle class women in education, offices and sales, more commonly held jobs for poorer women such as factory work and domestic service became associated with women of low morality and prostitution. The famous 1908 study by Dr. Luis Lara y Pardo on prostitution in Mexico suggested that the majority of prostitutes had worked in domestic service. In his estimation, the life of a servant was the ultimate form of "parasitism," since their work produced little and their job centered on living off of the wealth of others. He

[399] See Table 4.15.

[400] Data on prostitutes in Guadalajara is extremely limited in the archives. Most of the records dealing with the registration of prostitutes only exists in the regulatory bodies that oversaw them. For more see Jorge Alberto Trujillo Breton, "La prostitución en Guadalajara durante la crisis del Porfiriato, 1894-1911," Dissertation (Universidad de Guadalajara: Guadalajara, 1994), 251-254.

concluded that this form of work could easily lead one to a life of prostitution.[401] Earlier works such as the 1895 report on prostitution in Guadalajara by Miguel Galindo argued that certain types of work influenced immorality in women. He noted that in factories women learned vices at a young age and therefore become "indifferent" to them. In his estimation, the intermingling of men and women made matters worse. It was where "men learned their way to the cantina . . . and the gambling houses" and "women lost their modesty." He argued that factory work increased a woman's chance of falling into prostitution, and noted the reputation of "*medieras* and *cajistas*," or knitters of stockings and typesetters, who were well-known in the brothels.[402]

What many feared about prostitution was its very public nature. Indeed, in both legal and popular documents, writers referred to prostitutes as "*mujeres públicas*," or public women.[403] Scholars who study prostitution in Guadalajara argue that the term "*públicas*" literally associated prostitutes with public space, a territory reserved for men. The expression reserved this negative stereotype of being a "*pública*" purely for women, as men would not suffer any loss of reputation for entering a brothel.[404] Although there were male prostitutes, there was no equivalent expression for "public men" (*públicos*). Just as authorities perceived working women to be a threat to working men's masculinity and the family, so too was prostitution. In the estimation of social reformers and scientists, like other forms of female work which brought women into

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[401] Dr. Luis Lara y Pardo, *Estudios de higiene social: la prostitución en México*, (México: Viuda de Ch. Bouret, 1908), 108-9.

[402] BPEJ, Miguel Galindo, Miscellaneous 492. *Apuntos sobre la hygiene en Guadalajara*: *tesís de recepción* (México, 1908), 119.

[403] The term is used throughout the legal records of Guadalajara and in newspapers during the time period. For more on the term and other nicknames, see Trujillo Breton, "La prostitución en Guadalajara," 80-1.

[404] González Llerenas Fidenlina, "La reglamentación sanitaria de la prostitución en Guadalajara y sus reformas, segunda mitad del siglo XIX," in *Mujeres Jaliscienses*, 366-67.

public spaces, prostitution was an abhorrent practice that threatened to destroy the fragile customs which sought to civilize both public and private space. Numerous newspaper articles in Guadalajara called attention to the growing problem of prostitution in the city. One editorialist made note of the growing number of prostitutes present in "populous" spaces throughout the city and called attention to the "scandal and pernicious example" they posed. The author believed their presence not only threatened the "*buenas costumbres*" of the day, but had the potential to "destroy the integrity and virtue of cities." What the author found particularly offensive was the presence of these "daughters of vice" who appeared in the streets with their "faces painted and bodies scantily clothed." The piece went on to suggest that these "misfortunate margaritas" would bring only indecency to the "health and cleanliness" of "happy homes," implying the disruption of honorable marriages. The author went on to argue that the "vice" that prostitutes "present in public," had an enormous consequence on society. Little by little reformers argued female prostitutes and their male customers would destroy honorable families. In the end, he argued that more should be done to influence and moralize against the vices of prostitution that were rampant in the city.[405] In the subsequent chapter, I explore the social and criminal ramifications of prostitution that were a large part of the concerns of social reformers and city officials during the *Porfiriato*.

In large measure, the writers, scientists and businessmen who debated the problem of female prostitution associated with poverty among Guadalajara's working single and widowed women. Adult female singleness, poverty and immorality were seen as inseparable issues. Some even suggested that the continuous waves of female migrants looking for work in cities across Mexico had created the problem of female singleness. According to the rhetoric rural migrations

[405] "El Vicio Clandestino," *El Sol de Guadalajara*, July 4, 1900.

of poor women had created an imbalance in the sexes, leaving all women less opportunities to marry. Poor women were especially at a disadvantage because they were less desirable marriage partners, and without husbands they would continue to be unable to support themselves.[406] This produced a vicious cycle of female singleness, poverty, work and prostitution.

It is true that the majority of working women in Guadalajara were in fact single, but the debate over women's work must also be tempered by questions relating to their ethnicity and class. Social status was an underlying element in the relationship between work and adult female poverty. Ultimately the ideal gender roles of the time did not fit working class women's lives and the majority of women, both single and married, had to work out of necessity.[407] Data on working women and their marital status in Guadalajara is difficult to assess due to the limitations of most sources, however several conclusions regarding women's work can be made utilizing data from censuses. Although the 1821 and 1822 censuses of Guadalajara recorded that only nineteen percent of all adult women had an occupation, data from 1895 suggests a much higher proportion of working women, around sixty percent had jobs.[408] This may not suggest that more women were working by late century, but rather reflected a growing concern about working women.[409]

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[406] Porter, *Working Women in Mexico City,* 61.

[407] Tuñon, *Mujeres*, 293.

[408] See Table 4.16.

[409] The listing of "no occupation" for women was common within the 1821-1822 censuses of Guadalajara, and was a pattern found elsewhere. In France, 70.2% of widowed women living alone were listed with no occupation and rates as high as 80% have been noted in England. See Lee Baker, "Survival Strategies of Widows in Dijon During the French Revolution," *Women's Studies* 31, (2002), 58; Clarkson and Crawford, "Life after Death," 248.

Table 4.16[410] Working Women, Guadalajara, 1821-1895		
	1821	**1895**
Total number of adult women	13732	33770
Adult women recorded with a job	2566	20443
Percent of all Women Working	*18.70%*	*60.5%*

Further analysis of the census of 1821 provides more specific information as it included details such as class and ethnicity, which became illegal to record later that same year. By the early nineteenth century, the majority of women with an occupation in Guadalajara were single[411]. Although it was more common for women to work when they were single or widowed, a closer examination reveals that such generalizations varied according to ethnicity and social class. Evidence there suggests that women of indigenous backgrounds and those of lower socio-economic status were over represented among the female working population no matter their marital status. For example, although the majority of Spanish and Indian working women were single, Indian women were two times more likely to be married and work than Spanish wives.[412] As a whole, however, an overwhelming majority of all employed women were from the working poor classes.[413] Such evidence confirms that despite an ideal image of a woman's place within the home, working outside of it was a way of life for most *Tapatía* women, especially among the lower classes and those with indigenous heritage.

[410] Data for 1821 was compiled using frequencies to determine the adult female population and those listed with jobs using the *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006); For 1895 data see Archivo Histórico de Jalisco, Mapoteca, "Computo General del Censo," Oficio del Concentración del Censo (Guadalajara, 1895).

[411] See Table 4.16.

[412] See Table 4.16.

[413] See Table 4.17 and Table 4.18.

Table 4.17[414] Ethnicity and Marital Status of Working Women in Guadalajara, 1821								
	Single		**Married**		**Widowed**		**Total**	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Español	420	*60.7*	117	*16.9*	155	*22.4*	692	*36.2*
Indio	449	*48.6*	279	*30.2*	195	*21.1*	923	*48.3*
Mestizo	129	*64.2*	25	*12.4*	47	*23.4*	201	*10.5*
Mulato	49	*62*	6	*7.6*	24	*30.4*	79	*4.1*
Otra casta	13	*81.3*	2	*12.5*	1	*6.25*	16	*0.8*
Total	1060	*55.5*	429	*22.4*	422	*22.1*	1911	

Table 4.18[415] Class Status of Working Women, Guadalajara, 1821						
	Single		Married		Widowed	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Doña	242	*17.8*	31	*5.3*	89	*14.9*
No doña	1121	*82.2*	559	*94.7*	510	*85.1*
Total	1363	*53.4*	590	*23.1*	599	*23.5*

As the century progressed so too did the scientific arguments which linked typically lower-class female occupations with poverty and sexual immorality. Contemporary Mexican scientists reasoned that because women learned morality, and it was not biologically determined, it was only natural that members of the lower classes suffered from greater moral inferiority.[416] The scientists did not limit their criticism to domestic service and prostitution alone, but other commonly held jobs for poor women came under scrutiny as well.

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414 *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006)**.** 1821 data was cross-tabulated according to noted civil status, ethnicity, sex, and recorded occupations according to listed census categories.

415 *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006)**.** 1821 data was cross-tabulated according to sex, social titles and recorded occupations according to listed census categories.

416 Lara y Pardo, *Prostitución en México*, 108-9.

For example, the Spanish-born writer and journalist Faustina Saez de Melgar called attention to wet-nurses in 1883, chiding not only mothers for failing to comply with their obligations to nurse their own children, but she also the women who worked in the profession. She believed that the duty of wet-nursing forced women to "abandon their [own] children" and the home.[417] Often hygiene campaigns aimed at wet-nurses saw them as a "physically polluting presence," a cadre of workers made up of the "immoral" classes.[418] As was the case in other parts of Latin America the profession of wet-nursing was a marker of social status, often performed by poor women out of necessity. The very sad case of the wet nurse María Trinidad Flores reveals the extreme sacrifices women made as wet nurses and the circumstances which propelled them into this line of work. In December of 1888, Flores accepted work in Guadalajara's *Casa de Cuña*, a wing of the city's orphanage that housed orphaned babies. Although she was married and still nursing her one year old son, her husband encouraged her to take the job as they were in "extreme need." She migrated from her small town of Santana Acatlán, a distance of forty five kilometers, to accept the position at the rate of five pesos per month. Two months later her husband was soliciting orphanage administrators to release his wife from her duties because their own son had taken a turn in health and "lacking the affections of his mother was suffering from a grave illness."[419] Several days later the orphanage denied his request on the grounds that the young baby in her care was also in poor health and could die if they substituted his wet-nurse at such a young age. The story reveals interesting aspects about the life of wet-nurses. Poor women hired as wet-nurses were often unable to care for their own

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[417] BPEJ, #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, "Educación cristian y social de la mujer," 118.
[418] Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street*, 120.
[419] Archivo Histórico de Jalisco, *Beneficiencia*, B-5 Instituciones de Protección, Caja 159, exp. 889-832.

children during the course of their tenure as nurses. A decision to wet-nurse was not taken lightly, and for María Trinidad her own circumstances were dire enough to warrant her leaving her young son and migrating to Guadalajara. At the same time, orphanage staff strictly monitored wet-nurses in order to prevent them from abandoning the infants they suckled. Despite the illness of her own son, María was unable to leave.

Despite the often desperate reality that placed poor women like María Trinidad in positions as wet-nurses, Saez de Melgar built on stereotypes of wet-nurses as being individuals of ill character and low morals. She commented that "with the milk that is transmitted to infants also come illness and vices of the wet-nurses, and her instincts, good or bad." In her list of diseases which could be passed from nurse to baby, she notes both syphilis and herpes.[420] Her reference makes clear that poor women's work became increasingly tied to the integrity and sexual honor of working women. Thus, as the nineteenth century moved forward social perceptions of working women in typically held professions began to be linked to larger social concerns over the poverty and sexual immorality of unmarried women.

Conclusion

Begin inning in the 1850s, state and national leaders blamed a whole host of urban social problems on the breakdown of the husband-headed household among Mexico's poor. Thus, single women became scapegoats for broader social phenomenon that limited their abilities to marry and form stable families that resulted from land reform, rural economic instability, warfare and banditry which contributed to urban migration. As a result single women emerged as a problem rather than the reality of growing industrialization and urbanization. The equation left

[420] BPEJ, #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, "Educación cristian y social de la mujer," 118.

little space for them to negotiate traditional gender roles. Despite their need to work and build independent households in order to support themselves, their presence in the public eye caused alarm as an affront to women's proper roles in society. This concern led to a stigma that associated laboring women with danger, immorality, and as symbols of the deterioration of family and society. Growing preoccupation over single women and their sexuality would lead to greater forms of regulation by the middle and latter portions of the century.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMMORALITY AND SINGLENESS: SEX, CRIME AND PROSTITUTION

The honor of unattached women who often lived and labored outside of a patriarchal home became increasingly scrutinized in post-Independence Mexico, not only for their work in the public eye, but as part of a larger discourse regarding immorality among the poor. Social reformers, writers and law enforcement officials specifically targeted unattached women for correction because they suspected that these women more often committed sexual and criminal improprieties. After 1821 the maintenance of female honor became paramount not only to the success of the family but the nation. Husbands, fathers, and other male relatives were responsible and held accountable for protecting the honor and virtue of their female family members. However, the reality of industrial and urban growth revealed that most common Mexicans could not fulfill idealized gender and family roles, in part because a significant number of Guadalajara's female residents lived outside the confines of a traditional patriarchal family or marriage. Unattached women in urban Guadalajara heightened concerns and fears over their morality and place in public life. Often stereotyped as vice-ridden prostitutes, authorities focused their reformist zeal on adult female singleness precisely amid a demographic crisis which alarmed local authorities and heightened anxieties toward over-crowding, crime, and disease in Guadalajara. In the absence of men, the role of the state mimicked a paternal relationship to sectors of the lower classes. Data from criminal and civil court cases, legal regulations and jail and hospital records suggests that the mostly male-authorities of the newly formed state government and police forces of Jalisco acted as both protectors and prosecutors of single and widowed women. Beginning in the 1850s, state authorities more aggressively displaced the

Catholic Church in areas of social welfare, penal correction, judicial matters and family law over the course of the nineteenth century is a critical period in which to examine this issue as it was a period of state organization, in which power over judicial, correctional and social welfare decisions transferred from the church to state governments. Nineteenth-century Guadalajara's provincial and conservative religious traditions contrasts with the more cosmopolitan and secular character of Mexico City and offers a unique case study for comparative regional history. Despite experiencing similar demographic and urban growth at a rate similar to Mexico City, Guadalajara had fewer resources to handle the problems associated with a growing urban population.[421] This chapter highlights the intersections between adult female singleness and immorality examined through the lens of criminal court cases and the regulation of prostitution. By exploring new state institutions in charge of controlling and policing the population in Guadalajara, it argues that the shift from church-run to state-led criminal courts, prisons and hospitals all served to impose a newly organized governing and policing body onto urban residents, particularly its poor, single, and female population. In large measure, city officials marginalized single women for correction and reform in greater numbers than married women given their greater presence in and before institutions of power.

The Discourse on Poverty and Immorality in Nineteenth-Century Guadalajara

By the 1850s, the intensity of Guadalajara's demographic growth posed social and urban problems that city planners had never experienced before.[422] Previously, the city's governance did little to regulate development, increase its surveillance of dangerous classes or coordinate

[421] Lilia Oliver Sánchez, "Intensidad de la crisis demográficas en las ciudades de México y Guadalajara, 1800-1850," *Takwá* 8, (Fall 2005), 36.
[422] Ibid., 20-23.

services. Waves of urban migration exposed the deficiencies of weak urban planning and infrastructure. Local authorities grew leery and anxious of an ever-growing poor and unemployed migrant population with limited housing and financial resources to access goods.

The problem of population growth was so persistent in colonial Guadalajara that as soon as the beloved bishop Fray Antonio Alcalde arrived in the city in 1771 he began to take measures to combat unemployment and to segregate and control Guadalajara's poor. In one of his first acts as bishop, he oversaw the construction of a textile factory north of the city to put the hundreds of poor residents who "swarmed the city" to work. As part of the same measure, he later constructed worker housing there. This housing project called *Las Cuadritas,* included 158 small one-story houses which took up sixteen city blocks. These tenement style homes were typically rented by the room, and multiple families often lived in one house.[423]

Six years later in this same part of town he initiated the construction of the hospital San Miguel de Belén, (today called Hospital Civil) to treat many of the problems related to the health of these new indigents.[424] Growing unemployment which exacerbated social problems and poverty led bishop Alcalde's successor Juan Cruz Ruiz de Cabañas to open the city's first poorhouse in 1805, *Casa de Caridad y Misericordia* (later referred to as the *Hospicio*

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[423] Rodney Anderson's work suggests that this part of town also had higher rates of households with multiple families and un-related members. See Rodney Anderson, "Los Barrios," in *Lecturas históricas de Guadalajara: Demografía y Urbanismo, eds. José María Muriá y Jaime Olveda* (México: Colegio Regiones de México, 1992), 329.Dr. Anderson's work suggests that this part of town also had higher rates of households with multiple families and un-related members

[424] Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, Jaime Olveda and Beatriz Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano de Guadalajara*, (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1995), 109-10.

Cabañas).[425] Clergy and local authorities feared the city was growing more dangerous and insecure because of the masses of unemployed and urban poor.[426] The *Hospicio* served as an orphanage, a school for poor and orphaned children, and home to beggars and other aged or handicapped homeless in the city.[427] Mexico City experienced a similar pattern of migration and urban growth where local authorities came up with similar institutions and programs to deal with an ever-growing number of urban poor residents. As Silvia Arrom shows, similar fear and anxieties over the threat that poor migrants had on the economic and social development of the city led to extreme regulations which outlawed begging and enforced the roundup and internment of city mendicants in the newly established poor house.[428]

Several recent works point to late eighteenth century Bourbon reforms as a point of transition in the treatment and perception of Mexico's poor. They argue that the growing presence of poor migrants in urban centers heightened concerns by Church and state officials and elites who associated the city's poor with urban social problems. The work of Silvia Arrom contends that prior to the 1774 decree which attempted to eradicate begging in Mexico City, almsgiving was a common and Christian practice in the city.[429] Increasingly however, as populations in urban centers like Mexico City and Guadalajara swelled local authorities and Mexican elites came to associate the "subversive lifestyle" of the poor, with growing urban

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[425] Jesús Hernández Padilla, "El Hospicio Cabañas," in *Iglesias y edificios antiguos de Guadalajara (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara*, 1979), 261-2.
[426] Jiménez Pelayo, Olveda and Núñez, *El Crecimiento Urbano,* 125.
[427] Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado (AHA), Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849; Also see Chapter 6.
[428] The Mexico City poor house was established in 1774. See Silvia Arrom, *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774-1871* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 2.
[429] Ibid.

problems such as crime, disease, immorality, non-marriage and social disorder. In their estimation, the drunkenness, gambling, consensual unions, and impoverished nature with which they characterized lower-class life was the root cause of urban problems.[430] By the mid-nineteenth century these biased attitudes deepened and many local officials labeled certain individuals as "*cero sociales,*" or social zeros. Described as prostitutes, hoodlums, beggars, street children, homeless aged, and invalids, local authorities in Guadalajara believed they were the product of urban problems such as illness, unemployment, abandonment, and poverty. Elites in Mexico considered "social zeros" a blemish both on their city and the nation, and they believed they should not expose their illnesses, helplessness, deformities and misery in public places and even less to foreign visitors.[431]

Numerous traveler accounts about Guadalajara concord with elite Mexican stereotypes of the urban poor, often describing the lifestyle of the city's poor as violent, promiscuous, raucous and rebellious. In 1844, the Frenchman Mathieu de Fossey commented that "not a day goes by that one does not find a few dead in the streets from a brawl," with the most fatal occurring during feast times.[432] Others, such as the French doctor Ernest Vigneaux wrote in 1854, describing the city's commoners as "gay and celebratory," which he argued aroused "turbulent" feelings and "energy" that led to vice. He went on to write that "all of them get together in a

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[430] Robert Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen in Modern Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 25.

[431] Armida de la Vara de González, "Los ceros sociales," in *Obras completas de Luis González y González*. Volume 4 of *El Indio en la era liberal* (Mexico: Clío, 1996), 367; Jorge A. Trujillo, "Léperos, pelados, ceros socials y gente de trueno en el Jalisco Porfiriano," in *Pobres, Marginados y Peligros*, edited by Jorge A. Trujillo and Juan Quintar (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2003), 208.

[432] Mathieu de Fossey, *Viaje a México* (Mexico: Conaculta, 1994), 147-8. First published in 1844.

filthy manner without distinction of age or sex, dirty, almost naked, and shameless."[433] More poignantly Dr. Vigneaux noted their unwillingness to submit to the authority of both the army and local police.

As the century evolved so too did the discourse on urban poverty and crime in Mexico. Especially after 1850, Mexican authorities increasingly equated poverty with crime. The Mexican writer Adolfo Llanes y Alcarez wrote in 1876 that "poverty is a crime." He lamented that "to be born poor is the equivalent of being born delinquent." He went on to suggest that "poverty leads to such little happiness that all turn their backs on it. A poor person is like a leper that nobody wants to be around for fear of contagion."[434] Further evidence from the work of Guadalajara historian Jorge Trujllo argues that the fears and anxieties of local officials and elites expanded during the *Porfiriato* (1876-1910). He argues that the dominant classes created a particular typology of the "dangerous classes" based on their own fears, prejudices and ideology based on racial, class and gender hierarchies. While elites associated their own class, the "*gente decente*" (decent people) with virtue, wealth and power, lower-classes remained poor, fragile and defective. [435]

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[433] Ernest Vigneaux in *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos*, edited by Juan B. Iguíniz (Mexico: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1989-1992), 247.

[434] Adolfo Llanes y Alacarez, *La mujer en el siglo diez y nueve*. (Mexico: Imprenta de la Colonia Española, 1876), 81.

[435] Jorge Alberto Trujillo Breton, "La prostitución en Guadalajara durante la crisis del Porfiriato, 1894-1911," Dissertation (Universidad de Guadalajara: Guadalajara, 1994), 34-5; For Mexico City see Pablo Piccato, *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900-1931* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

Evidence of these ideas existed in the physical layout of Guadalajara, suggesting a desire by elites to segregate classes.[436] In 1790, the Governor ordered the division of the city into a fourteen *cuartel* system, in which different blocks of the city were organized into districts. Reformers hoped that the new organizational system would ease surveillance of the growing poor and working class population. For this reason, each *cuartel* had a *juez mayor* (judge of the peace) whose function it was to maintain peace, foment work, and prevent idleness among residents. [437] Also for each neighborhood in the *cuartel* an *alcalde menor de barrio* (selectman of the neighborhood) was named to "ease the administration of justice." Their functions were to patrol their portion of the city, intervening in public disturbances such as drunkenness, brawls and domestic disputes. In terms of the welfare of the community, they were to ensure that each district had a doctor, midwife and pharmacist in their jurisdiction. They were responsible for the welfare of orphans, widows, and beggars. Sometimes, male orphans of working age were assigned to a master to learn an *oficio* (trade). In the case of beggars, some were sent to jail to work on public works.[438] By 1809 the commander of the royal army modified the *cuartel* system, demanding greater division of the city into twenty-four *cuarteles*. He argued that the changes needed to be made for public security purposes "as an appropriate means to secure the public peace and to facilitate the *Junta de policía* (city police) in carrying out its objectives."[439] After 1821 the state consolidated all matters pertaining to public security under the *Jefetura*

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[436] Eduardo López Moreno, *La cuadrícula en el desarollo de la ciudad hispanoamericana: Guadalajara, Mexico* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1992), 19; See Chapter 2.
[437] Carmen Castañeda, "Guadalajara hace 200 años: el Reglamento de Cuarteles de 1790 y el Padrón de 1791," in *Vivir en Guadalajara, La Ciudad y Sus Funciones* edited by Carmen Castañeda, (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992), 43.
[438] María Ángeles Gálvez Ruíz, *La conciencia regional en Guadalajara y el gobierno de los intendentes* (1786-1800) (Mexico: Unidad Editorial del Gobierno de Jalisco, 1996), 129-30.
[439] Páez Brotchie, *Guadalajara*, 131-33.

política, which served as the main intermediary between the *Ayuntamiento* (municipal government) and the state Governor.[440] Each *canton*, or sector, of the city had a *Jefe Político*, or police chief (formally the *alcalde* in colonial period). The responsibilities of the *Jefetura política* included the persecution of vagrants, apprehension of criminals and the registration of crimes. In general, its role was to uphold laws and codes, preserve public order, guarantee the safety of city residents and prevent robberies and crimes.[441]

The *Jefetura política* together with an expanded *cuartel* system served to maintain order in the post-Independence period. In large measure the *cuartel* system, which by the late nineteenth century occupied some 976 city blocks, was a system that segregated the city along class lines. Within this space the western area of the city made up the "*gente decente*," which included merchants, professionals, industrial workers, and bureaucrats. The eastern portion of the city housed the remaining population of factory workers, technicians, small merchants, artisans, rural migrants, and those deemed "*gente trueno*" (raucous classes).[442] Thus, the official discourse of the ruling class supported the notion that the lifestyle of the poor caused immorality and crime in the city.[443]

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[440] Francisco Javier Delgado Aguilar, *Jefaturas Políticas: Dinámica Política y Control Social en Aguascalientes 1867-1911* (Aguascalientes: Universidad Autónoma de Aguascalientes, 2000), 8-14.

[441] González Llerenas Fidenlina, "La reglamentación sanitaria de la prostitución en Guadalajara y sus reformas, segunda mitad del siglo XIX," 386.

[442] Trujillo Breton, "La prostitución en Guadalajara," 34-5.

[443] Trujillo, "Léperos," 205-206; 229.

Singleness and Immorality

Scholars have noted aspects of the so-called "subversive lifestyle" of Mexico's poor that included high rates of non-marriage, consensual unions, and illegitimacy. The same notions that family morality and national prosperity went hand in hand reverberated in public space and official discourses. Numerous scholars highlight the ways local authorities believed non-marriage led to consensual unions, domestic violence, illegitimacy and child abandonment which they argued encouraged criminality and crime.[444] Robert Buffington argues that Mexican officials concerned with the private lives of marginal social groups, formerly a church prerogative, became integrated into the discourse concerning lower-class criminality.[445] In many ways, authorities suggested that singleness was a part of a lower-class lifestyle that encouraged immorality and criminality.

Increasing preoccupation with female singleness and immorality were not confined to the debates of journalists, reformers and scientists, nor to the issues of work and public space as argued previously. Ideologically, the Mexican nation was undergoing a transformation and its citizens were an integral part of that change. The dichotomies in society over good and bad women were clear. While mothers, wives and reputable single women were privileged members of society, the growing number of poor, single and working women in public spaces became stigmatized as bad women whose sexual morality was suspect. The nineteenth century marked a turning point in which women's social and civil status became markers of her honor. Ultimately a single woman was an unmarried woman, and little room existed for her honor to co-exist alongside the Republican wives and mothers. For this reason they became much more visible to

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[444] Michael Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor: Mexico City in the Late Colonial Period" (Ph.D. Diss.,University of Florida, 1977), 149-71.
[445] Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*, 25.

religious writers, census takers and judges who were anxious about their proper place in modern Mexico. Often tensions arose around the issue of single women's sexual honor. In place of absentee male patriarchs the Church and state became concerned with the sexual honor of single women, and the rhetoric behind "good" and "bad" women was not only used popularly, but individuals applied it to political and legal contexts.

By the nineteenth century the issue of female sexuality and singleness were synonymous. Often single women became fodder for the hysteria over a perceived moral decay in Mexican society which some attributed to growing secularization. Church leaders put single women at the heart of the civil marriage debate. As early as the 1850s, religious writers in Guadalajara expressed concerns over what an increased emphasis on civil unions might mean for the sake of unmarried women's virtue. Without the consequences attached to religious marriage, single women could fall into more illicit relations with men. According to the Guadalajaran priest, Agustín de la Rosa, single women would become "toys" for men's "passions," "slaves to their whims," and "defenseless victims to their crazy games."[446] The consequences of such liaisons would lead to illegitimate children, who would end up aborted or abandoned by ill fit mothers. De la Rosa believed that without the protection of marriage as a "sacred and inviolable" union, women would be left with the options of "concubinage" or "adulterous relationships" with men.[447] Not only did de la Rosa fear consensual illicit relationships between men and women, but he argued that civil marriage would also put single women and girls at greater risk of *rapto,* or abduction through violence or coercion. The Jalisco criminal code defined *rapto* as sexual relations "against the will of a woman through the use of physical or moral violence, trickery or

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[446] BPJ, Num de Misc: 12, # of doc: 4, Agustín de la De la Rosa , "El Matrimonio Civil," 43.
[447] Ibid., 41.

seduction in order to satisfy a lascivious desire or in order to marry her."[448] Without the consequence of marriage built into most Church laws on *rapto,* he believed that it would "incite *raptores*" and "impede abstinence" among young men and women.[449] In de la Rosa's depiction of a society without religiously sanctioned and morally monitored marriage, unmarried women would suffer the most. His argument suggests that religious marriage offered both men and women a number of protections that prevented immoral behavior and maintained decorum in society. By and large however, his writing emphasized the connotations between non-marriage and illegitimacy, a problem he blamed on poor single women who frequently lived in consensual union rather than legal marriage.

In reality, the stigma that single women faced had less to do with their marital status than it did with the ideals held both by the state and the Church regarding female sexual honor. Even at the level of municipal government census takers were preoccupied with female singleness. The census of Guadalajara is useful in identifying the ways in which census takers analyzed civil status to pass judgment on single and widowed women's social status and sexual honor. The categories used to define women's civil status as single shed light on social and even personal commentaries regarding their sexuality. Apart from widowhood an unmarried single adult woman might be identified as single (*soltera*), or a maiden (*doncella*). In nineteenth-century Guadalajara the title *doncella* inferred virginity, while the title *soltera*, or single, implied a woman was no longer virginal or had been violated. Of all the *doncellas* listed in the 1821 census the majority were between the age of fifteen and twenty four, but many more were listed in age groups beyond these years, implying the status was not only for young girls but could also apply

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[448] Benítez Barba, "Raptadas tapatías," 292.

[449] BPJ, Num de Misc: 12, # of doc: 4, Agustín de la De la Rosa , "El Matrimonio Civil," 41-2.

to spinsters. Based on data analyzed for class and ethnicity, it appears that census takers applied the term consistently regardless of social status. Not only were these categories significant to the census, but they were also a common component of legal documents, which labeled unattached women in a variety of ways including widowed, single, celibate, alone, free of marriage, and *doncella*.[450] The diversity of categories used to describe both the degree of women's singleness in addition to her sexual experience is indicative of the level of concern placed on a woman's sexual honor at the state level.

Table 5.1[451]
Single Women in the 1821 Guadalajara Census

	Age 15 – 24		**Age 25 – 34**		**Age 35 - 44**		**Age 45 – 54**		**Age 55+**	
Status	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Soltera	436	*38%*	240	*21%*	95	*8%*	59	*5%*	34	*3%*
Doncella	1376	*40%*	441	*13%*	211	*6%*	127	*4%*	109	*3%*
"Sola" w/children			1	*50%*			1	*50%*		
"Sola" w/out children	2	*11%*	5	*26%*	7	*37%*	2	*11%*	3	*16%*
"Sola" Doncella			3	*75%*	1	*25%*				
"Sola" Viuda			2	*40%*			1	*20%*	2	*40%*

The very thorough census taker of *cuartel* nineteen went so far as to note whether a woman was single and had children separately from those single women who had no children, as well as

[450] See Table 5.1; The censuses I explored for Guadalajara did not inventory convents, therefore the use of the word celibate, although rare, appears to have been used interchangeably with *doncella*. In addition, the popular connotation of the term was corroborated through criminal records. BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal.
[451] Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006). 1821 data was analyzed according to noted civil status, age and sex according to listed census categories. Similar information was not available for later years.

those women who were single but widowed or still virgins. The home of María del Carmen sheds light on this reality. At the age of fifty, she was recorded as single with children and headed a household of five people. Three members of the home were her children; José age twelve; Candelario age eleven; and María Jesus, fifteen. Both she and her children appear without a surname, likely an indication that she was never married and a sign of her family's lower class status. As was customary in Latin America children took their father's surname, in cases where paternity was questionable or children were illegitimate they often acquired the surname of their mother, or none at all. In the census this was noted by listing individuals with only their first names. Also living in the home was Juan Gutiérrez and Trinidad Valle, both were employed adult men living as boarders in the home. The same census taker also noted the case of the thirty year old María Corona, also given the lower class and less honorable "soltera," or single designation. She resided as a boarder in the home of a nineteen year old whose relationship with Corona was not listed. Her status as a boarder living with an unrelated male, likely indicated that the census taker did not hold her honor in high regard. In contrast to María del Carmen and María Corona, the same census taker listed María Josefa as "single without children." To be a woman without children likely indicated greater sexual honor. However, at the age of thirty and working as a domestic servant in the home of Pedro Alvarez, it is possible that the census taker believed her to be a spinster. Perhaps the same census taker knew of the good reputation among the Estrada sisters, because he made note that the sisters, who all resided as boarders within the home of Felipe Mata and ranged in age from forty to twenty-seven, were single but *doncellas*.[452] The many categories of non-marriage, including *solteras*, *solteras sin*

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[452] *Censuses of Guadalajara, 1821-1822*. CD-ROM Database. (Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University, 2006)**.** Index #46560-46565. For the case of María Corona index# 46940. María Josefa index #46796. Estrada sisters, index# 46851-46854

niños, and *doncellas,* and the connotations they carried regarding sexual honor, non-marriage and class status reveals the concern that even local bureaucrats placed on single women's honor.

Given that sociologists and criminologists portrayed single women as being more sexually promiscuous,[453] evidence from seduction cases highlights the importance that being a *doncella*, or virgin, could have for an unmarried women's honor. In the 1886 seduction trial against Alancio Mejía, the father of sixteen year old Catarina Estrada argued that his daughter had been a "*doncella*" prior to her encounter with Mejía. In his defense Mejía claimed that she entered relations with him voluntarily and that she was not a *doncella* because she had lost her virginity to Prisciliano Sanchez. In fact, he claimed that she lied in court on the advice of her own father. In the end, Mejía was released and Catarina served eight months in prison for perjury. Whether or not Catarina's father knew of her previous relationship and loss of virginity is unclear, but his advice that she conceal her prior sexual experiences in court is an indication of the connection between her honor and that of the family.[454] In the case against Atilano García, however, the father of María Yermeño was unaware that his daughter had already lost her virginity and accused Garcia of deflowering his daughter and taking away her *doncella* status. As the proceedings continued María revealed that she had lost her virginity to a soldier by the name of Rafael Flores, who had since died. Upon this admission María's father dropped all charges against Atilano.[455] In both cases fathers brought suit against the men they believed had taken away the honor of their family and daughters. However, the court dropped the charges when the

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[453] Benítez Barba, "Raptadas tapatías," 296.

[454] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Alcancio Mejía por estupro y seduction," 1874, Caja 27: 49,881.

[455] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Atilano Garcia por estupro," 1886, f. 88,179.

men involved cast doubts upon whether the girls were "chaste" prior to their encounters. This was a common way to avoid prosecution, as judges and lawyers viewed a girl who no longer had her virginity as having little honor to protect.[456] It was the responsibility of the young women to remain virgins and their failure to do so put them at odds with the ideals of feminine behavior and morality. The cases reveal the ways in which an unmarried woman's reputation as well as her family was easily shattered in the face of sexual impropriety, although it did not pose the same type of threat to their male suitors.

Thus, women's virginity and sexual morality held important merit in Mexican society. It was a marker of a single woman's honor that she remained chaste before marriage, and her male protectors who failed to defend their wives, daughters and dependents from the sexual aggression of other men also had their honor besmirched. As a tradition passed down from the colonial period, a woman's honor was linked to her family, the bearer of which was her father or male head of household.[457] As evidenced by both the census and legal cases, it was a belief still maintained well into the nineteenth century. For this reason, it is interesting to note the differences in cases in which there was an absence of a male patriarch or father figure. Unlike María and Catarina, judicial officials treated the sexual honor of the forty year old widow Mateana Casillas much differently. In the rape trial against Miguel Delgadillo, she was treated as

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[456] Other works on deflowering cases address this as a common outcome of many cases, see Kathryn A. Sloan, *Runaway Daughters: Seduction, Elopement, and Honor in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008); Sueann Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early 20th Century Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

[457] For more on the history of female sexual honor in Latin America see Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1999); Sarah Chambers and Lara Putnam,eds.*Honor, Status, and Law in Modern Latin America* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2005); Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds. *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

though she had no honor worth protecting. According to court testimony while Mateana was fetching water Miguel began taunting her for a kiss. When she rejected his advances he became angry, a struggle ensued in which he forced Mateana into a nearby house and shut the door. Although she tried to fight him off, he beat and raped her. According to court records, Miguel had a long criminal history and had even served jail time. Despite physical evidence including several cuts on Mateana's fingers, the defense for Miguel argued that Mateana's age and status as a widow were indications of her complicity. The fact that she was not a virgin made it impossible for Miguel to be charged with *violación*, or rape, since the crime could only occur on a "*doncella*." As an older women, defense attorneys argued that she had "passed the age of danger" which stirs the "sensuality of men." According to the reasoning of the defense, as a widow Mateana was no longer a virgin and therefore could not make a case for the violation of her sexual honor. At forty she was too old to be found desirable by men, therefore they argued that the incident had to involve some complicity on her part. For this reason, the court opted to try Delgadillo for "*estupro*," or deflowering, which was often used interchangeably with seduction and frequently implied volition. In the end, without any witnesses to testify to the crime, the court proposed the two marry as a way to repair Mateana's honor rather than continue the case. The court believed this was a reasonable option for an older widow, who likely had few prospects for remarriage.[458] Upon receiving the court's decision Mateana refused to marry,

[458] Remarriage for female widows was much less common than for male widowers. This was true in Mexico as well as other parts of the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Carmen Ramos Escandón, "Reglamentado la soledad: las viudas y sus derechos en la legislación Mexicana, 1860-1885," in *Las viudas en la historia*, edited by Manuel Ramos Medina (Mexico: Condumex, 2002), 269-285; Alain Bideau, "A Demographic and Social Analysis of Widowhood and Remarriage: The Example of the Castelany of Thoissey-en-Dombes, 1670-1840," *Journal of Family History* 5 (Spring 1980), 36-8; Gay L. Gullickson, *The Spinners and Weavers of Auffay: Rural Industry and the Sexual Division of Labor in a French Village*, 1750-1850. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 167.

upholding her honor she insisted the attack was violent and involuntary. Not only would she not marry, but the experience brought her "hatred" for the defendant. She admitted it was painful to even see him while she "suffered patiently." In his rebuttal, the prosecution reminded the court that "*estupro*" was punishable by death and sought retribution against Delgadillo for the crime. Eventually the judge retracted his decision for the two to marry, but upheld its position that the incident was not "*violación*." Instead it argued for the crime of "*estupro*," leaving open the possibility of consent by Mateana and sentenced Delgadillo to only three years in prison.[459] Ultimately, the court's decision upheld the notion that an older woman without a husband and no longer virginal had less honor to defend and to protect. The judge and defense attorney used both her civil status and age against her in the courtroom to prove that she was no longer desirable to men for lack of youth and purity, therefore it was impossible to take away the honor of an old widow such as Mateana. In this way the court room was a place where elite and working class men alike could reaffirm male prerogatives.

Despite attempts by judges and lawyers to impose an unfair double standard and question her rights to her own honor she was persistent in her efforts to prosecute the offender. She spurned their offer to marry the man who had raped her, and insisted that his offense was of a criminal nature and not one of seduction. It is an important testament to unmarried women's agency. Numerous other works address women's agency in the defense of their own honor within seduction and deflowering cases across Latin America. Their work suggests that despite attempts by legal officials to deny them honor on the basis of class, race and gender discrimination, many women and their families fought in the face of what were incomprehensible odds to secure a

[459] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Miguel Delgadillo por estupro con violencia," 1845, c. 1, 8408.

piece of dignity for themselves.[460] By and large criminal investigations in deflowering and seduction cases which examined single or widowed women in conjunction to their social status and sexual honor reveal how closely the two were linked in nineteenth-century society.

Unmarried women created anxiety for many local officials in part because female singleness in a post-Independence Mexico was a complex issue. Just as both church and state leaders feared, many single and widowed women never legally married. Despite the common usage of the term to describe single women in court documents as "free from marriage" (*libre de matrimonio*), women listed as "single" were not always completely unattached from a male companion. Given the greater percentage of single women in Guadalajara and the higher proportion of women to men, it was more common for women to enter into "informal" relationships with men who were often married. In such relationships it was often single women who were at a social disadvantage because of the stigma attached to their mores, and their lack of legal rights compared to married women. In legal disputes, defendants and jurists alike often placed blame on the women who entered into such relationships.

The 1882 adultery case of forty-one year old Saturnino López is one example of how men were able to utilize single women's marginalized sexual honor to their advantage. In the case Saturnino's wife, forty-one year old Nicanor Cruz testified that her husband was having an affair with the twenty year old, single Yrenea Castro. In the case Yrenea's neighbor Claudia Rojas confessed that Yrenea told her of the affair and even witnessed Saturnino entering her house. Yrenea did not deny the affair and revealed to the court that the two met at an Easter festival eight months earlier. According to Yrenea's testimony the relationship was a close one, not only

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[460] Kathryn A. Sloan, *Runaway Daughters: Seduction, Elopement, and Honor in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008); Sandra Lauderdale Graham, "Honor Among Slaves," in *The Faces of Honor.*; Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor.*

did he often stay the night but frequently helped her with household expenses. Despite Yrenea's portrayal of their relationship as something akin to that of boyfriend and girlfriend, Saturnino denied both Yrenea and Claudia's testimony, saying that the relationship was only a fling and that Yrenea was nothing more than a "*mujer pública*," or prostitute. In the end his public slandering of Yrenea helped him to win back his wife, who decided to drop the charges, pardon his offense and continue to live with him if he agreed to meet his obligations as a husband. Without the protection of marriage a single woman's sexual honor was more easily called into question than their male counterparts. More often than not men took advantage of single women's weak legal and social position in court cases.[461]

The 1865 case of nineteen-year-old Josefa de los Santos was a bit different. As the daughter of a poor widow, she found herself working as a domestic servant in the home of Don Aniceto Calderon. The life of a domestic worker put single women at a much greater risk for both adulterous and involuntary sexual encounters, and such was the case for Josefa. According to criminal court proceedings Josefa claimed she was frequently pursued by Aniceto's son Maximiano, who according to Josefa had promised marriage. She indicated that after dealing with his persistent pleas she allowed him "to use her carnally;" their sexual relationship became consensual. Upon becoming pregnant she left the Calderon home to have her baby, Cornelio. Maximiano came to see her and continued to promise to marry her. She provided details of their conversations in which Maximiano told her he had arranged for their wedding in a nearby village since his father forbid the union given her lower class standing. After she had the baby she returned to her work as a servant, but in another home and she and Maximiano continued their love affair. Maximiano devised many opportunities for the two to run away together, even

[461] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Saturnino López and Yrenea Castro por amaciato," 1882, c.1, 75,564

staying in the house of friends and relatives to evade his parents. Throughout their two-year affair Josefa contended that he continued to promise marriage, and after getting pregnant a second time, she decided to seek justice through the court system. In response, Maximiano admitted to carrying on a relationship with Josefa under the premise that he would marry her, but candidly divulged to the judge that he did it only to "satiate his carnal appetite." He went on to say that having sex was Josefa's idea. Not only did she direct him, but begged for sex when he would pass by the home where she worked. To downplay his relationship and slander Josefa he refused to acknowledge paternity of her two children, commenting that "as a *mujer pública*" he did not know whether or not the two pregnancies had resulted from their "relations" together.[462]

Supporting testimony from Josefa's mother and a widowed neighbor offered evidence that Josefa and Maximiano shared more than a tryst, as did two love letters written by Maximiano. Despite mounting evidence against him, Maximiano continued to deny her claims that he fathered her children. Instead he resorted to tarnishing Josefa's reputation as a "woman that has let everyone borrow her." To add insult to injury he claimed he often paid her for her services as a prostitute. In a shocking twist defense attorneys called on the testimony of Luis Sánchez, a single laborer, who testified that he too had carnal relations with Josefa, substantiating the claims of her promiscuous lifestyle. Josefa ardently protested, telling the court that it was a lie conjured up by Maximiano's father and asked that the court punish him for such "blasphemy." The defense went further by calling on the cousin of Maximiano who offered up a laundry list of other men rumored to have had "relationships" with Josefa, although he admitted he never saw

[462] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Maximiano Calderón y Josefa de los Santos por amaciato," 1865, c.1, 24,373.

them with his own eyes.[463] By using testimony that targeted the honor of Josefa, the defense argued that she had a "reputation for scandal" and "prostitution" and the only thing that Maximiano was guilty of was his "bad faith in a woman who took advantage of him." In the end however, although the court felt there was sufficient evidence to prosecute Maximiano for the original charge of kidnapping with the intent to seduce, or *rapto*, commenting that he only used Josefa to "satisfy his foolish appetite," they did not charge him because they believe her actions were voluntary. In its final ruling the court defended Josefa, noting that in reality she was "tricked" as a "poor woman whose simplicity made her believe in false promises." Although it finds his "audacity" alarming, given the "inequality" of blood between Maximiano and Josefa that proves he never intended to follow through with his marriage promises, they cannot prosecute him for the crime of *rapto*. The court absolved him of any crime, but ordered him to acknowledge his two children, end his "illicit relations" with Josefa and compensate her to "salvage some of her rights."[464]

The case between Maximiano and Josefa is revealing in a number of ways. Josefa's position in the family as a young, single servant likely put her at greater risk for unwanted sexual advances as numerous other studies of gender and sexuality have found.[465] In her early

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[463] Ibid.
[464] Ibid.
[465] For studies on female domestic work in Latin America and Mexico see Ann Blum, "Abandonment, Adoption and Reproductive Disruption." *Childhood,* Vol. 14, No. 3, (2007); Elizabeth Kuznesof, "Ahistory of domestic service in Spanish America, 1492–1980," in *Muchachas No More: Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), Lauderdale Graham, Sandra. *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992; Moya, Jose C. "Domestic Service in a Global Perspective: Gender, Migration, and Ethnic Niches," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33, no. 4 (2007); Susie S. Porter, *Working Women in Mexico City: Public Discourses and Material Conditions, 1879-*

testimony she claimed Maximiano continually "bothered" her until she finally agreed to sexual intercourse, but only with the security of a marriage promise. Although it is difficult to determine the extent to which Josefa engaged in relations willingly, court testimony and other evidence suggest that the relationship between the two was more intimate and long lasting than a fling. Over the course of their more than two year relationship, she birthed two children to Maximiano, received love letters and the two ran off together on multiple occasions to the home of friends and relatives. Both Josefa and Maximiano admitted the barrier to their marrying was Maximiano's father who disapproved of the union. Court officials reaffirmed that belief and viewed Josefa as an unequal match for Maximiano. In defense of his own honor Maximiano resorted to attacking Josefa, an easy target given her class and social status as a single woman now with children. In the end, however, there was enough supporting evidence to prove to the court that Josefa and Maximiano shared more than a fling and that Josefa was not the "prostitute" Maximiano tried to portray. In the absence of a patriarchal figure and as the daughter of a widowed mother, the court took pity on Josefa's circumstances by requiring that Maximiano perform his moral obligations to acknowledge paternity over his children and support them financially.

The mere fact that the state continued to prosecute adultery cases outside of divorce proceedings just as the Catholic Church had, is evidence that women desired reparation of their own honor in the post-Independence period. Although in the colonial period little effort was made to regulate the behavior of lower classes by the state, in the nineteenth-century honor became part of a national agenda. Whereas previously the honor of the lower class was the domain of the church these cases reveal the intrusion of the state in its judgments on the honor of

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1931, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003).

unmarried women.[466] Both Yrenea and Josefa, despite their transgressions and violations of honor codes not intended for their class, felt they had honor worth defending. At the same time however, the state continued to use their negative social status as unmarried women engaged in "illicit" relationships who lacked legal rights, patriarchal protection and honor due to their sexual improprieties, non-married status, and lower class origins. As a whole seduction and adultery cases reveal the intersections between female singleness, immorality and criminality.

Singleness and the Regulation of Crime

The fears and anxieties that associated unmarried women with immorality and fueled the prejudices of jurors, lawyers and defendants in seduction and adultery cases, also influenced the notion that poor women without men were more likely to commit crimes. In fact, as urban crime rates rose more women entered prisons and elite anxiety over the phenomenon increased.[467] Especially by the time of the *Porfiriato*, women in prison de-stabilized the role of supporting

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[466] The literature on honor in Latin America is expansive, but several works highlight the shift from the colonial to the modern period as pivotal in a newfound interest by national governments in promoting and bestowing lower-class women honor. See Eileen Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870-1920* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets;* Chambers and Putnam, *Honor, Status, and Law*.

[467] Numerous works on Mexico have explored the history of crime. Several emphasize a greater need to control crime by the nineteenth-century as cities began to swell and the problem of urban crime grew. This was true of Guadalajara as well as other cities in Mexico. See Jiménez Pelayo, Olveda and Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano de Guadalajara*; Laurence J. Rohlfe, "Police and Penal Correction in Mexico City, 1876-1911: A Study of Order and Progress in Porfirian Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1983); Teresa Lozano Armendares, *La criminalidad en la ciudad de México, 1800-1821* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987); Sergio García Avila and Eduardo Miranda Arrieta, *Desorden social y criminalidad en Michoacán, 1825-1850*, (Morelia: Supremo Tribunal de Justicia del Estado de Michoacán de Ocampo, 1994), Paul Vanderwood, *Disorder and Progress: Bandits, Police and Mexican Development* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981).

wives and mothers within the family, and in turn had the potential to undercut national progress.[468] In fact, the issue of non-marriage made up a significant part of early Mexican criminologist Carlos Roumagnac's theory on the causes of female crime. In his 1904 report, Roumagnac noted that the majority of female offenders in Mexico City were single, poor and between the age of twenty and forty, with little or no education. Half of those he studied were migrants to Mexico City from nearby towns, and all had worked for wages in the public sphere as prostitutes, domestics, laundresses, seamstresses, clerks or tortilla makers.[469] In his detailed analysis of some female criminals he noted a common pattern of betrayal and exploitation. Trusted men, usually fathers or lovers, betrayed these unprotected women. This betrayal led women into a life of crime. In one of his more detailed case studies of the inmate designated "María V," he remarked on her "betrayal" at the age of thirteen while working as domestic servant by the twenty-two year old son of her patron. Many others in his study suffered mistreatment by alcoholic and abusive fathers. According to his evaluation, these betrayals led women farther from the protection of the patriarchal family and out into the "street." the ultimate realm of vice and crime.[470] Roumagnac stereotyped the lower-class lifestyle that many of his single female subjects were born into, noting their propensity toward sexual promiscuity, drinking, prostitution, and criminal behavior. He associated their nature with improper moral training from a young age.[471] Thus, dominant criminological discourse equated crime with social class and singled out unattached women as having a greater propensity toward crime for

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[468] Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*, 66.
[469] Carlos Roumagnac, *Los Criminales en México* (Mexico: El Fénix, 1904), 105-6.
[470] Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*, 82. Dangers of the street referenced in Chapter three and see Anne Staples, "Policía y Buen Gobierno," and Steve Stern, *The Secret History of Gender*.
[471] Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*, 76-77.

their lack of patriarchal protection. As other scholars of Mexican crime suggest, this explanation was a carryover from the colonial period and continued to be relevant in the nineteenth century.[472] Overall, popular notions of crime and criminal behavior reveal much about elite preoccupations with the lower-classes, especially single women and their criminal and sexual deviance.[473]

This issue becomes apparent when looking at institutions that historically regulated female crime, such as the *Casa de Recogidas*. In Guadalajara, the institution served as the central prison for women from the colonial period to the twentieth century. In many ways the historiography of penology in Jalisco reflects the transitional period in perceptions of crime and criminality in Mexico. Other works note the transfer of power from religious-run to state-run institutions in the post-Independence period as a way to create continuity.[474] In the chaotic decades following Independence, elites found comfort in criminological theories of reforming refractory social elements to stabilize and strengthen the role of the state. Historians who examine this period in Latin America suggest that the transition to state-run prisons as a "loci of social control," altered relations between the state, urban poor classes and women.[475]

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[472] Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor," 6; Moisés Navarro González, "El Porfiriato vida social," *Historia moderna de México* (Mexico: Editorial Hermes, 1957); Patricia Seed, "The Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753" *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62, no 4 (1982), 569-606; Michael Scardaville, "Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform in Late Colonial Mexico City," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no 4 (1980), 569-74.

[473] Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*, 8.

[474] Colin MacLachlan, *Spain's Empire in the New World: The Role of Ideas in the Institutional and Social Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

[475] Ricardo D. Salvatore and Carlos Aguirre, "The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America: Toward an Interpretive Social History of Prisons," in *The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas, 1996), 2.

Colonial forms of correction in Mexico focused on isolation and surveillance, strategies rooted in the traditions held by religious and philanthropic movements of the Enlightenment. However, the increasing influence of positivism and penal science encouraged a penal system that emphasized rehabilitation and reform under the *Porfiriato*. Although consensus on a more rehabilitative penal system was reached by the 1840s, political and financial instability delayed the construction of new penal institutions until the 1890s.[476] Given the class, race and gender stereotypes espoused by many early Mexican criminologists and city planners, a focus of early reform was transforming the bad habits of criminals that they believed derived from their lower-class upbringings. In 1879, reformers in Mexico City critiqued the national prison, known as Belén, because men, women and children were housed together, allowing for socialization and entertainment rather than correction.[477] The first modern penitentiary to begin to emphasize reform opened in Mexico City in 1900, with others to follow shortly after in Guadalajara and Puebla.[478]

This newfound emphasis on reform had a major impact on women in prison. Guadalajara provides some counterpoints to data for Mexico City. In Guadalajara, prisons segregated women and men as early as 1800. A map of the city shows that both in 1800 and 1842 male and female criminals were housed in separate facilities.[479] The *Casa de Recogidas* or *Recogimiento de*

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[476] Salvatorre and Aguirre, "The Birth of the Penitentiary," 6-10; Edwin Pears, ed. *Prisons and Reformatories at Home and Abroad* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1872), 164-5.

[477] Belén was the national jail Cosío *Villegas, Historia moderna de México*, vol 4, *El Porfiriato, vida social* (Mexico City: Editorial Hermes, 1957), 439-445.

[478] Ibid., 441-444; and Manuel Carrión Tizcareno, *La cárcel en México* (Mexico City: N.P., 1975), 26-31. See also Laurence J. Rohlfes, "Police in Porfirian Mexico," Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1983.

[479] *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos*, compiled by Juan B. Iguíniz (Guadalajara: Banco Refaccionario de Jalisco, 1989-1992).

Mujeres Perdidas (shelter for lost women) was founded by the city's Bishop in 1748. A holdover from Spain, in its early form it functioned more like a convent for female prostitutes, beggars, criminals and other wayward women.[480] In this way it differed from colonial *beatarios*, as places where poor women could enter without the required dowry of most convents, or where men could deposit their fiancés until their wedding days, or when wives or daughters misbehaved.[481] Life inside the *Recogimiento* was very rigid and functioned on an hourly schedule similar to that of a religious order. In Guadalajara, a female rector oversaw daily operations and provided costs and inventory of prisoners to the director of the all-male penitentiary.[482] Although documentation on its inter-workings are scarce, early accounts note that within the *casa* there was strict discipline at all times. The women dedicated eight hours each day to spinning and knitting, and an additional eight hours to attending mass, doing the rosary, cleaning and preparing meals. Within the casa women had jobs cooking, cleaning and serving, while others were employed as servants, wardens, or as head of the textile workshop.[483] According to criminal cases it was here that women awaited trial or served time or labor after being sentenced. Beginning in 1868 the *Casa de Recogidas* fell under the direction of the Jalisco

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[480] María Dolores Pérez Baltasar, "Orígenes de los recogimientos de mujeres," *Cuadernos de Historía Moderna y Contemporánea*, 6 (1985), 13.
[481] Ibid.
[482] BPEJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Entradas y Salidas de la Departamento de Mujeres," 1894, Caja 4, exp. 107,845.
[483] There have been very few writings on the *Casa de Recogidas* in Guadalajara and little information aside from daily inventories exist within either the Archbishopric Archives or the State Archives. Data here is derived from the article by Carmen Castañeda, "La casa de recogidas de la ciudad de Guadalajara," *Boletín del Archivo Histórico de Jalisco* (1978).

State Penitentiary, as the *Departamento de Mujeres*, although colloquially it was still referred to as the *Recogimiento,* or *las recogidas* into the twentieth century.[484]

Although most representations of the *Casa de Recogidas* in Mexico and elsewhere suggest it served the function of a prison and less of a shelter for women by nineteenth century, several incidents in the criminal cases of Guadalajara suggest that some women and the state still recognized it as a place of protection for poor and unmarried women. The 1837 divorce trial of the elite Spanish wife Teresa Colza, illustrates that early in the century the *Casa de Recogidas* became associated with a place of protection for women. It was there that her husband "deposited" her for more than two years while she waited out divorce proceedings. In her opinion she believed it was "unfair that she should be punished" in a place for "prostitutes, bums, and criminals." Teresa believed she should be able to be put in an honorable house for her security and protection.[485] Her statements indicate that by the 1830s the *Casa de Recogidas* began to assume the role of both prison and shelter for women, largely of the poor and lower class. The poor also envisioned it as a place for their protection well into the nineteenth century. In the 1890 theft case against María Gomez, a young, widowed, servant, her employer accused her of stealing and fleeing her job. According to testimony by María she fled the home not because she stole, but because her employer tried to violently seduce her. At the age of twenty-four she was a migrant to the city from Zapatítlan, a city over 200 kilometers from Guadalajara, and she likely had no friends or relatives to which she could turn. In despair and "in the name of

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[484] Feranando Martínez Reding, ed. *Prevención y readaptación social en Jalisco* (Guadalajara:Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, 1982); See also AHJ, *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados: Departamento de Mujeres 1868-1873," 1 Bis 1868-1873.

[485] Graciela E. Abascal Johnson, "Ente la sevicia y la dignidad: el juicio de divorcio de Teresa Colz. Guadalajara, 1837," in *Mujeres jaliscienses del siglo XIX. Cultura, religion y vida privada,* edited by Vázquez Parada, Lourdes Celina and Darío Armando Flores Soria (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008), 247.

her honor she rushed to the *"recogidas."*[486] The case suggests that many poor women still relied on the *casa* for its colonial use of protecting women's virtue and honor in times of need. The state also recognized its use as a place of protection for women. In 1894, the married domestic servant Emilia Cervantes turned up at the city hospital to be treated for knife wounds to her left hand. She confessed to hospital workers that her husband was responsible for her injuries and complained that she could no longer bear to live with him. In addition to physical abuse she said he was not a good provider. Shortly thereafter the Supreme Tribunal admitted her to the "*las Recogidas*."[487] In this sense, the role of the women's penitentiary had come full circle by the late nineteenth century. Not only was it a place to incarcerate immoral women, but a place where women were kept safe and out of the public sphere. The conception of a women's prison as a convent suggests the connections that criminologists and reformers felt toward the women who lived behind its walls. Just as convents were shelters for unmarried women who would devote themselves to a life wedded to God, wayward women could also benefit from this form of sheltering. In accordance with reformist thinking of the period delinquent women were the result of a poor upbringing which left them alone and un-protected. By consequence they easily fell into the vices and dangers of the street. Imprisonment in a type of reformatory convent that taught women proper forms of work, discipline, and religiosity and provided protection in a cloistered environment positioned the state in a patriarchal role over these women. At the same time women, like Teresa an Emilia, viewed and utilized the prison in ways conducive to their own situations.

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[486] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra María Gómez por robo," 1890, Caja 7, 98528.

[487] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, 1894, Caja 4, 107863.

It is important to note that the most complete data for the women's prison in Guadalajara exists for the period from 1868 to 1903 with sparse information collected between 1868 and 1879 or from 1903 to 1926. The reasons for this are likely twofold. By 1880 both the Mexican nation and the state of Jalisco experienced greater political stability than in previous periods. This allowed for greater organization at the judicial level and better maintenance of records. A drop-off in data by 1903 can more likely be explained by early political disintegration in the build up to the Mexican Revolution than a decrease in crime rates.[488]

Typically, as was the case elsewhere in Latin America, the majority of women serving time in prison were poor and unmarried. Arrests among elite or married women were rare.[489] Prison data that exists for the period 1868 to 1903 is the most detailed, providing specific information for each inmate including their name, dates entered and sentenced, crime committed, length of sentence, parents name, age, marital status, birthplace, occupation and physical characteristics including skin color. What is most fascinating about this period is that each inmate was also photographed.[490] These categories signify the ways in which criminality and notions of class, race, gender and legitimacy intertwined at the judicial level. The fact that jailors recorded such

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[488] Moisés Navarro González, "El Porfiriato vida social."

[489] María Soledad Zárate Campos, "Vicious Women, Virtuous Women: The Female Delinquent and the Santiago de Chile Correctional House, 1860-1900," in *The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas, 1996); Donna J. Guy, "Girls in Prison: The Role of the Buenos Aires Casa Correcional de Mujeres as an Institution for Child Rescue, 1890-1940," in *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society Since Late Colonial Times*, Ricardo Salvatorre, Carlos Aguirre and Gilbert Joseph, eds. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

[490] In the books of those sentenced, data cuts offs around 1903 and does not pick up again until 1926, likely due to build up of the Revolution of 1910 as well as the construction of a new prison in the early decades of the twentieth century. See AHJ, *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados Deptaramento de Mujeres 1868-1873," and "Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905."

specific data as early as the 1860s suggests that elite anxieties, expressed later by criminologists like Carlos Roumagnac, were founded on pre-existing stereotypes and class hierarchies.

Single and widowed women were a prominent fixture in Guadalajara's prison. They outnumbered married female delinquents four to one.[491] The data collected in the sentencing of female inmates also suggests the continued emphasis that class played in the perception by local authorities of typical female criminals. Information regarding women's occupations, birthplace, skin color and the names of their parents indicate a level of concern with their class status. In Guadalajara, the majority of imprisoned women tended to fit the stereotype attributed to them by reformers and criminologists. Of those in jail, the majority worked in the lowest paid trades including domestic service, food preparation, washing and textile work. Jailors recorded a significant portion of women under the odd label of "*sus labores*," or one's labors. From further research in trial records I was able to locate one of the women listed with this occupation in a high profile murder case from 1895. From elaborated biographical information I discovered that she was in fact a well-known prostitute. I believe the term might be a reference to prostitution, although it is not clear. It could also be a term that implied women who worked odd jobs.[492] In addition to occupations, more than sixty per cent of female prisoners were migrants to Guadalajara, and nearly seventy five per cent were listed as having *trigueño* or *moreno* skin color.[493] Analysis of jailhouse photographs suggests that *moreno* and *trigueño* were used interchangeably to imply mixed-race or *mestiza* ethnicity, those of both Spanish and indigenous

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[491] See Table 5.2.
[492] See 5.3.
[493] See Tables 5.4 and 5.5.

ancestry.[494] Other categories indicate gradations of skin color, such as *apillonado,* (a lighter version of *Moreno), rosado* (light or pink-toned), and *blanco* (white). [495] The collection of data regarding skin color and migratory status corresponded to criminological theories regarding crime among the poor. The further notation of the names of parents and legitimacy of birth cemented connections between crime and social status. Statistics from prison records worked in conjunction with elite anxiety over the growing presence of poor migrants for which they attributed emerging urban problems. Unmarried, poor, *mestizo,* working women stood out in this group of marginalized criminals. Indeed the issue of urbanization affected not only the stereotypical criminal, but also the treatment and containment of them as well. Although it is difficult to ascertain, given the sporadic nature of some of the early criminal records, spikes in the number of women sentenced to serve jail time rose in the years after 1887.[496] This increase coincided with both the growth of the city and elite concerns over the growth of female crime.[497]

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[494] See Figures 5.1 and 5.2.
[495] For examples see Figures 5.1-5.5.
[496] See Table 5.6.
[497] Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*, 64.

Table 5.2[498] Marital Status of Female Inmates at the Jalisco State Penitentiary, 1868-1903			
	N	**%**	Valid Percent
Single	283	*43.8*	50.9
Widowed	76	*11.8*	13.7
Married	186	*28.8*	33.5
Doncella	5	*0.8*	0.9
Celibe	6	*0.9*	1.1
Total	556	*86.1*	100
Unknown	90	*13.9*	
Total All Inmates	646	*100*	

[498] Data for the tables on female inmates was compiled using the sentencing books found in the state archives. As noted in the tables not all categories were recorded for each inmate and the years 1880-1903 were more complete than earlier or later periods. Photographs appeared more regularly after 1880, but there are photos for the previous years. AHJ, *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados: Deptaramento de Mujeres 1868-1873," and "Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905."

Table 5.3[499] Occupations for Female Inmates of Jalisco State Penitentiary, 1868-1903		
Occupation	*N*	*%*
Domestic	138	*25.6*
Sus Labores[500]	85	*15.8*
Mole Grinder/Seller	69	*12.8*
Shawl Braider	50	*9.3*
Clothing Ironer	43	*8.0*
Merchant	34	*5.3*
Laundress	28	*5.2*
Seamstress	22	*4.1*
Tortilla Maker	21	*3.9*
Tobacco Seller	8	*1.5*
Hatmaker	6	*1.1*
Factory Worker	6	*1.1*
Midwife	4	*.7*
No Occupation	4	*.7*
Stalking Knitter	4	*.7*
Palmera	3	*.6*
Weaver	3	*.6*
Potter	2	*.4*
Chocolatier	2	*.4*
Cake-maker	2	*.4*
Shoemaker	1	*.2*
Clerk	1	*.2*
Restaurant Worker	1	*.2*
Chair-maker	1	*.2*
Lozeca	1	*.2*
Total	539	*100.0*
Unknown	107	16.6
	646	100.0

[499] Ibid.

[500] The use of *sus laborers*, her labors, may have been used as a euphemism for prostitution. A reference to a high profile prostitute who was listed in the register under this title appeared in the work of Guadalajara historian Trujillo,"La prostitución en Guadalajara," 80-1.

Table 5.4[501] Origin of Inmates at Jalisco State Penitentiary, 1868-1903		
	N	**%**
From Guadalajara	246	*38.1*
Migrants born Elsewhere	400	*61.9*
Total	646	

Table 5.5[502] Skin Color at the Jalisco State Penitentiary, 1868-1903		
	N	**%**
Trigueno (Olive)	443	*68.6*
Moreno (Brown)	28	*4.3*
Rosada (Pink)	33	*5.1*
Blanco (White)	32	*5.0*
Apillonado	42	*6.5*
Total	578	*89.5*
Missing	68	*10.5*
	646	*100.0*

[501] Ibid.
[502] Ibid.

Table 5.6[503] Women Sentenced in the Jalisco State Penitentiary by Year, 1868-1903		
Year	***N***	***%***
1868	2	*.3*
1869	1	*.2*
1870	1	*.2*
1871	9	*1.4*
1872	9	*1.4*
1873	32	*5.0*
1881	4	*.6*
1882	3	*.5*
1883	3	*.5*
1885	1	*.2*
1886	8	*1.2*
1887	24	*3.7*
1888	30	*4.6*
1889	14	*2.2*
1890	19	*2.9*
1891	22	*3.4*
1892	16	*2.5*
1893	20	*3.1*
1894	35	*5.4*
1895	45	*7.0*
1896	56	*8.7*
1897	35	*5.4*
1898	44	*6.8*
1899	45	*7.0*
1900	28	*4.3*
1901	48	*7.4*
1902	64	*9.9*
1903	18	*2.8*
Total	646	*100.0*

[503] Ibid.

Skin Color in Jailhouse Photographs[504]

Figure 5.1

Antonia Navarro (1895) and Bernarda Valadez (1895). Both listed as *trigueño*

Figure 5.2

Agustina Vasquez (1896) and Dorotea Morales (1895). Both listed as *moreno*.

[504] Ibid.

Figure 5.3

Cresencia Salazar (1896) and Eufacia López (1900). Listed as *apillonado*.

Figure 5.4

María Rodríguez (1896). Listed as *Rosada*.

Figure 5.5

The repeat offender, Agripina Bugarin listed in 1895 & 1896 as *Blanco*.

There are also important correlations to be made between class and the type of crimes committed by female offenders. As was the case in many other cities in Latin America and Mexico, domestic servants suffered extreme forms of marginalization. Often women who worked in domestic service were poor urban migrants who had few other skills or connections in the city.[505] By 1908 scientific studies equated the occupation with the lowest form of menial labor, associating it with scrounging a life off the wealth of others like "parasites," which led to vices like prostitution.[506] Indeed, domestics made up the majority of all imprisoned women in

[505] Blum, "Abandonment," 321-338 and "Public Welfare and Child Circulation, Mexico City, 1877-1925." *Journal of Family History*, 23, no. 2 (1998).
[506] Dr. Luis Lara y Pardo, *Estudios de higiene social: la prostitución en México*, (México: Viuda de Ch. Bouret, 1908), 108-9.

Guadalajara from 1868 to 1903.[507] Additionally, domestics committed more than one third of all robberies and twenty seven per cent of all homicides.[508] It is important to note that domestic work was the most common occupation for women, which may account for their overrepresentation in prison records. However, there were some important limitations placed on female domestics that made them more susceptible to particular crimes. Servants, for example also made up the largest group of women to be involved in child abandonment and infanticide cases, making up thirty one and forty one per cent of all cases respectively.[509] Such crimes were common among servants and increased in Mexico by the late nineteenth as a result of increased migration and economic disruption in the country-side. Domestic workers were often unable to keep or care for their children given the nature of their work. Unlike other occupations where women could often keep their children with them during the day, a domestic often lived in the home of her patrons and would not be able to perform her motherly duties and tend to children.[510]

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[507] See Table 5.3.

[508] Between 1868-1903 there were 140 cases of theft and 37 homicides committed. Of those, 50 domestic servants were sentenced for theft and 10 for homicide. AHJ, *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados: Deptaramento de Mujeres 1868-1873," and "Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905."

[509] Between 1868-1903 there were 29 cases of infanticide and 13 cases of child abandonment committed. Of those 12 domestic servants were sentenced for infanticide and 4 for abandonment. AHJ, *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados: Deptaramento de Mujeres 1868-1873," and "Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905."; See Table 5.7.

[510] For Mexico see Blum, "Abandonment," 333 and "Public Welfare and Child Circulation, Mexico City, 1877-1925," *Journal of Family History*, 23, no. 2 (1998); For other parts of Latin America see Kristin Ruggiero, *Modernity in the Flesh: Medicine, Law, and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 64; Tobias Hecht, , ed. *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), Elizabeth Kuznesof, "The Puzzling Contradictions of Child Labor, Unemployment, and Education in Brazil," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 3 (1998): 225; Nara Milanich, "The Casa De Huerfanos and Child Circulation in Late-Nineteenth-Century Chile,"

Table 5.7[511] Crimes Committed by Female Inmates, Jalisco State Penitentiary, 1868-1903		
	N	**%**
Bodily Harm (Fighting)	240	*37.2*
Robbery	140	*21.7*
Homicide	37	*5.7*
Infanticide	29	*4.5*
adultery	24	*3.7*
Concealment of Robbery	20	*3.1*
Fighting with Injury	16	*2.5*
Destruction of property	14	*2.2*
Child Abandonment	13	*2.2*
Complicity in a Crime	11	*1.7*
Abuse of Trust	7	*1.1*
Accepting Stolen Goods	5	*.8*
Robbery and abuse of confidence	5	*.8*
Forgery	5	*.8*
Robbery within the home residing in	4	*.6*
Robbery with Violence	3	*.5*
Injuries leading to death	3	*.5*
Circulation/Forgery of money	3	*.5*
Bigamy	3	*.5*
Suposicion de parto	3	*.5*
Insults	2	*.3*
Arson	2	*.3*
Exposicion de infante	2	*.3*
Kidnapping	1	*.2*
Attempted Escape	1	*.2*
Grave Injury	1	*.2*
Habitual Drunkenness	1	*.2*
Total	597	*92.3*
Not Known	49	*7.6*
	646	*100.0*

Journal of Social History 38, no. 2 (2004): 311-341.

[511] Ibid.

In large measure, infanticide and child abandonment were largely a problem for unmarried, poor, migrant women who had neither the resources nor support system in place to care for a child of their own. The infanticide case of twenty-one year old Luisa Nuño, a single domestic servant originally from Zapotlanejo, a mestizo village roughly thirty kilometers east of the city center, reveals how desperate a woman could become when faced with unwanted pregnancy. On October 4, 1909 she confessed that she hid both her pregnancy and birth from her employer, giving birth to the baby in the very same home where she worked. In her testimony she admitted to the court that after having the baby she took it outside and beat it to death against a stone, "out of fear of losing her job."[512] Resorting to infant infanticide demonstrated the lack of options that Nuño felt she had as an unmarried servant without economic or familial support.

Unwanted pregnancies among servants could also lead to child abandonment or a resort to informal channels of adoption and child circulation. In the infant abandonment case of two month old Luís Sandoval earlier the same year, a couple contacted Guadalajara police when they found him left in the portico their home. His mother Secundina Sandoval was a migrant to Guadalajara and at the time of the case was forty years old, single, and working as a domestic servant. According to the testimony of her friend and co-worker, a fifty-two year old, widowed, domestic servant named Guadalupe Hernández, Secundina pleaded with her to take the baby because she did not have the resources to support or care for the child. Guadalupe informed her that she knew of a woman who placed babies with families. Guadalupe said she would go with her to inquire about it, but could not go at that moment. Secundina, unable to wait any longer went immediately to the home and left the boy at the front door. Upon sentencing Secundina pleaded with the court that she did not have the means to provide for her son, nor would she be

[512] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Alcancio Mejía por estupro y seduction," 1909, Caja 4, 139, 309.

able to work because "no house would take a servant accompanied by a baby." [513] Cases such as these reveal that child abandonment was a common problem for many poor unmarried women. Women who resorted to violence and abandonment were cast out as "ungrateful," "cruel," and "ugly" mothers in daily newspaper reports.[514] To many elites and local authorities abandonment and infanticide were the ultimate rejection of maternity. Often they were crimes of desperation perpetrated by unmarried and poor women. Overall, however cases of infanticide and abandonment prosecuted in Guadalajara were a small percentage of the total number of crimes committed. Part of the reason may be that the majority of unmarried and widowed poor women in similar situations sought assistance through public hospitals and orphanages, which were put in place beginning in the late 1700s, before resorting to such extreme measures. [515]

The most common crime committed by domestics was robbery, which made up thirty-seven per cent of all incarcerated servants.[516] As one of the lowest paid forms of work, and with greater access to household items of value, it too was a crime born out of economic necessity. It was a difficult crime to prove, and in some cases employers brought forth false or presumptive accusations. This was not only common in domestic work. Law enforcement officials commonly profiled sectors of the poor as the culprits of theft, particularly those most vulnerable such as the homeless. It was not uncommon for police to charge beggars with vagrancy when

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[513] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Alcancio Mejía por estupro y seduction," 1909, Caja 4, 139, 320.

[514] See BPJ, "Madre Ingrata," *El Sol*, March 8, 1899; BPJ, "Madre Cruel," *El Sol*, May 17, 1901.

[515] See Chapter 6 for more on the city orphanage and other services provided to unmarried, pregnant women.

[516] Between 1868-1903 there were 140 cases of theft. Of those, 50 domestic servants were sentenced for the crime. Data was collected from AHJ, *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados: Deptaramento de Mujeres 1868-1873," and "Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905."

charges of theft could not be confirmed. Such was the fate of the homeless man Máximo García, picked up by police for a presumed theft in Guadalajara in 1871. When sufficient evidence did not materialize to prove the theft, the court charged him with vagrancy. Police believed his "idleness" created the impetus for him to steal.[517] In most cases, accusers claimed that goods were stolen to pawn in exchange for cash.[518] Court cases involving typically poor, unmarried, servants, often who arrived in Guadalajara as migrants, is revealing of the economic reality of their lives so often depicted by criminologists and reformers.

Many of the robbery cases in Guadalajara were the direct result of a real problem with cash flow. In nineteenth-century Mexico, the growing poor urban population faced high unemployment, low wages, and a growing cost of living. In Guadalajara, as elsewhere, the poor earned their living through begging and sporadic employment.[519] The work of Marie Francois highlights the concern over cash flow in her work on the state-run *Casas de Empeño*, or pawn shops in Mexico City. Pawning was particularly high among "needy" women and widows, who were "the most visible pawning customers" throughout the nineteenth century.[520] By the middle of the nineteenth century the average working male earned three times as much as women, even in the same profession. For this reason, many turned to pawning as a way to meet the needs of their households. The most common goods they pawned were those they had the most access to,

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[517] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Máximo García por vagrancia," 1871, Caja 53, 40749.
[518] Marie Eileen Francois. *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).
[519] Herbert Klein "The Demographic Structure of Mexico City in 1811" *Journal of Urban History* 23, no. 1 (1996), 66-93; José María Muriá y Jaime Olveda, eds. *Lecturas históricas de Guadalajara: Demografía y Urbanismo, eds.* (México: Colegio Regiones de México, 1992).
[520] Francois. *A Culture of Everyday Credit,* 147; 4.

typically household clothing and bedding items.[521] Elite concerns and anxieties over the theft and pawning of their personal belongings by domestic workers became so common a problem that in 1852 Mexico City officials instituted a servant law, which policed pawning by domestic servants.[522] It was also a common occurrence in Guadalajara. Numerous servant theft cases led to pawning or attempted pawning of the stolen goods in exchange for money. There were also cases where servants even attempted to steal their employer's own redemption tickets.[523]

Closer analysis of specific cases reveals how the crime also reflected the perceived immorality of the lower classes who made up the city's prison inmates. Often the crime of robbery perpetrated by domestics against their employers led to a secondary sentence of robbery with "abuse of trust." As workers within the private homes of the city's elite and well-to-do, employers expected their servants to be loyal to the family and contribute to, not disrupt, the harmony of the home. In 1850, police filed a robbery case against Nicolasa Ramírez, a nineteen year old, single, domestic who had been arrested with her boyfriend on three other occasions for robbery and the receipt of stolen goods. In this case, her boss accused her of stealing three pawn shop redemption tickets from the home, in addition to a *serape*, some petticoats, a shawl, a veil, and cloth. According to court documents Nicolasa and her boyfriend Juan González admitted that they then attempted to sell the items for cash. What is most revealing about the case is what the defense attorney suggested in his closing arguments. He painted a portrait of the defendants as "poor people" who are "simple and rustic," suggesting this was evidenced by their honest

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[521] According to Francois' data, the average working woman earned 1 peso a day, while men earned 3 pesos a day. Ibid, 88; Francois notes the most commonly pawned clothing pieces were rebozos and petticoats. See pg 38.

[522] Francois, 108.

[523] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra María Ysabel González por robo," 1890, Caja 2, 98317

confessions. He belabored the point by commenting that their relationship was an "illicit romance." Although he believed that the case was a clear example of robbery with a breach of trust, he did not believe the pair deserved the proposed (and very harsh) sentence of three years in a military prison.[524]

A look at how the judged sentenced Nicolasa is telling of the concerns that male jurists had regarding female criminality. The harshest sentences recorded between1868 and 1905 in Guadalajara were for homicide or infanticide cases, and typically carried a sentence of ten years on average. For most robbery and robbery with abuse of trust convictions, the average sentence was one year.[525] In Nicolasa and Juan's case, the defense argued the couple should get what they deserved "in accordance with the laws that governed society and the family." He noted that Nicolasa's responsibilities in the home were limited to the kitchen, grinding flour and making tortillas, and therefore she did not occupy an intimate space within the family's home. On the contrary, he argued that a "*tortillera"* deserved little trust within the home because she "dispensed little trust to others" through her work and it would be inaccurate to call her a "domestic." His comments imply that the role of a domestic, as a member of one's family and a part of its intimate space, was taken very seriously in nineteenth-century Mexico. The state penal codes saw it as a grave crime, and established laws against it designed to "guarantee the security of the domestic home."[526] The crux of his argument lay in the fact that Nicolasa and Juan were of lower moral and class character. Considering their "simple nature," they made the right

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[524] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Nicolasa Ramírez por robo y abuso de confianza," 1850, Caja 1, 10,811

[525] AHJ, *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados: Deptaramento de Mujeres 1868-1873," and "Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905."

[526] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Alcancio Mejía por estupro y seduction," 1894, Caja 1, 107735.

judgment in confessing to the crime. He also suggested that less should have been expected of Nicolasa given her status in the family home as lowly kitchen help. In the end the court condemned Nicolasa and Juan to four months of public works.[527]

The loyalty which employers expected of their in-house servants is evidenced by the 1871 theft and abuse of trust case against Hilaria Ramirez. Hilaria was a servant in the home of María Micaela Viscarra. In the case, witnesses testified that she left the home with stolen goods. She then gave the items to Pablo Lopez, whose relationship with Hilaria was not made clear. The two were caught red-handed with the stolen goods in their possession. Despite the fact that police retrieved the items, the court emphasized the disloyalty of the crime committed by Hilaria, who was "adopted" into the Viscarra home and shown "hospitality." The court sentenced her to six months in prison.[528] In reality, abuse of trust cases dealt less with the actual crime of robbery and more with the moral character of the female domestics involved.

Servants even preyed on other poor women and stole from each other. In 1878, a dispute erupted between two servants over a pawned item of clothing. María Cesária, a thirty year old who recently separated from her husband, accused her friend and former co-worker Feliciana Galves of stealing money from her. According to María Cesária the incident occurred two years earlier when the two were working as domestics. María Cesária, then married, came to Feliciana asking if she could pawn a shawl for her because she was in need of money. Although it is unclear from court documents Feliciana was probably single and of adult age and therefore had the freedom to conduct business at the pawn shop without approval from a male relative unlike

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[527] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Nicolasa Ramírez por robo y abuso de confianza," 1850, Caja 1, 10,811

[528] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Hilaria Ramirez y Pablo Lopez por robo y abuso de confianza," 1871, Caja 3, 40744.

María Cesária.[529] Given the state of María Cesária's relationship with her husband it is also likely that she did not want him to know about the transaction. The women both resided in one of the poorest neighborhoods in Guadalajara at the time in the San Juan de Diós barrio.[530] Described in the short novel *María Luisa* as "tumultuous" and full of "atrocious *molenderas*, women who live badly, unruly thieves, clandestine affairs, with everyone drunk, living day to day, unclean and immoral," it fit many early descriptions of poor urban life in Mexico.[531] Therefore, the issue of pawning goods was likely a way of life for poor urban residents, whether criminal or not. In the end Feliciana agreed, but before she could return to the house María Cesária's husband came and took her away, leaving her unable to deliver the money. In the end María Cesária "pardons the offense" and the court does not proceed with charges against Feliciana.[532] In many ways, although often the women detained and accused of theft were demonized as immoral robbers and thieves, the harsh realities of poor women's lives led to thefts and pawning by those in need of money. In some cases, women helped each other navigate the difficulties of singleness and life in urban Guadalajara.

For this reason, domestic servants became easy targets in theft cases. The ways in which they defended themselves and fought against the harsh realities of their job and social class is a testament to their own agency. In the 1865 trial against the eighteen year old, single María Pilar

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[529] Francois, *Culture of Everyday Credit*, 21.

[530] According to the court records they lived in the barrio of San Juan de Dios, known for its poverty and high rates of prostitution. See, Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, Jaime Olveda and Beatriz Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano de Guadalajara*, (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1995), 147; Trujillo Breton, "La prostitución en Guadalajara," 35.

[531] Jorge Alberto Trujillo Bretón, "Ars Amandis. Prostitución y bajos fondos en la Guadalajara porfiriana," in *Mujeres Jalisciensces*, 335.

[532] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Feliciana Galves por robo," 1878, Caja 10, 61509.

Venegas, her employer Manuel San Leon Ochoa accused her of stealing money from him. In her defense, María Pilar told the court that not only were the accusations false, but Ochoa had brought charges against her for malicious reasons. She told the court he often made unwanted advances which she continually resisted and used all the methods possible to avoid him. In fact, to prevent Ochoa from entering her bedroom at night while she was sleeping, which he often did, she propped something against the door in order to make it impossible for him to open. Out of frustration he created the false charges. Court documents reveal that María Pilar migrated to the city from Tepíc, a city nearly 230 kilometers west of Guadalajara. As a young, single, migrant to Guadalajara María Pilar likely had very few options for employment and had to do everything possible to keep her job. Despite her lecherous employer, she devised methods to deal with the harassment. She emphasized to the court that because he felt rejected he restored to trumping up criminal charges. Her persistence and strength in the face of these challenges not only frustrated her employer, but testified to her own abilities to defend herself despite not having family or friends to support her in the courtroom. In the end, her lawyer did not attempt to address the seduction charges she raised, instead he focused on the more logical argument that she did not have the money in her possession, and that there were other workers inside the house including a cook who could testify to her innocence. In the end the judge absolved her of all charges.[533]

Comprising nearly forty per cent of all arrests, the most common crime reported in the Guadalajara women's prison was bodily harm, usually the end result of fighting between women.[534] Not only was fighting one of the utmost examples of women behaving badly in public, it also epitomized the links made between criminality and lower-class lifestyle. Evidence

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[533] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra María Pilar Venegas por robo," 1865, Caja 5, 24427.
[534] See Table 5.7.

from charges brought against women for fighting provides clear examples of the perceptions held by police, judges and lawyers toward unmarried women's immoral character and lifestyle. Often judges and lawyers drew attention to such factors as their presence and work in public space, drunkenness, and involvement in illicit relationships as the root cause of many street fights.

Many fights took place in the city plaza where individuals and working women often congregated during the day alone and without the male supervision that elite women might have. Throughout the colonial period, Guadalajara's main plaza served as the civil, ecclesiastical and mercantile center of the city. It was in this neighborhood that the most elite residences were first established and continued to expand throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[535] Although the urban poor lived on the periphery of this center, foreign travelers noted their overwhelming presence in the plaza hocking their wares and begging. Travelers both in the early and latter part of the century noted that the principal plaza was the area frequented by commoners, usually Indians and lower classes.[536] Classes described by the Austrian archeologist and foreign traveler to the city in 1838, Isidore Lowenstern, as "uncultured, illiterate, half-naked, starved, alcoholic, fanatical and violent."[537] It was these stereotypes of Guadalajara's urban poor that set the tone for numerous criminal cases involving poor single and widowed women.

The plaza, as a central meeting point, place of commerce and socialization, was a common spot for arguments to occur. In 1890, it was where Porfira González, age sixteen, claimed that

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[535] Pelayo, Olveda and Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano*, 122.
[536] Lowenstern in *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos*, (1838) 165-8; Manuel H. Pastor in *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos,* (1899) 161.
[537] Lowenstern, *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos*, (1838) 165-8.

the daughters of the forty-year old widow Micaela Rivas taunted and eventually beat her up as she was merely passing by. Interestingly enough the court felt that it was Micaela, as the mother and person responsible for the teenage girls, who should be held accountable for their bad behavior.[538] It was not common for the court to prosecute parents in cases of fighting, no matter how old the children were. Perhaps the court ascribed to the beliefs espoused by one Guadalajara doctor, who wrote at the turn of the century that the "children of misery come into the world with baggage, accompanied and persecuted by misfortune; they come with the psychological flaws of their parents, with the degeneracy of those from the brothel or tavern."[539] In the end, there was not sufficient evidence to charge Micaela with any crime, but the case highlights the fact that the court felt that she was the cause of her children's criminal activity. Without a strong male patriarch to maintain order in the home her weak parenting skills allowed her children to fall into mischief.

There were also other aspects of lower class life that allowed judges and lawyers to pass judgment on victims within the courtroom. The lifestyle choices of some urban and working poor women came under scrutiny in the case of Adelaida Hernández. On March 10, 1890 she awoke in a Guadalajara hospital strapped to her bed with a head contusion. On the same day that police admitted Adelaida to the hospital, they placed Valentín Ortega in jail for the crime. According to court documents, Ortega was Adelaida's lover and police had a suspicion that he had been involved in the incident. When she woke up in the hospital the thirty year old domestic from Guadalajara was immediately questioned regarding her injuries, to which she told hospital

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[538] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Micaela Rivas por golpes," 1890, Caja 2, 98394.

[539] BPEJ, Miscellaneous, 492, Miguel Gallindo, "Apuntos sobre la hygiene en Guadalajara," Tesis de recepción, Facultad de Medicina de Guadalajara, (Guadalajara, April 8, 1908), 174.

doctors she had been drinking on the night in question and had no idea who caused her injuries. She also denied any relationship with Ortega. Ortega told a different story to police investigators, explaining that he and Adelaida had "illicit relations" over the course of the last fifteen days. On the night in question he told police that she was "completely inebriated" and fell into a fountain injuring herself. After nearly three months, court documentation on the case resumed stating that on the 7th of May after "some debate" Adelaida confessed to the court that she did in fact know Ortega, but she still did not remember who hit her that night. At the same time Ortega maintained his innocence. On May 10, the court released Ortega from prison on the basis that there was no evidence to keep him in jail.[540] In the case both the state and the city hospital conspired against the testimony of Adelaida and Valentín, detaining them for nearly three months without having sufficient evidence to continue the case. Despite the fact that Adelaida attempted to defend her dignity by denying a sexual relationship with Ortega, lawyers likely interrogated her to the point that she confessed to having an affair with Valentín. Their motivations for doing so are unclear, but we do know that it was not until this point that they agreed to finally close the case and free the two involved. The case stands out for the fact that judges and lawyers, despite lack of evidence, desired to expose her to the court as both a drunk and an immoral woman. Their goal was to find her at fault, rather than find the real suspect.

The issue of adulterous or illicit relations proved to be a formidable motivation in many assault cases involving unmarried women. It is also within such cases that the biases of the court against the morality of unmarried women came to the fore. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century Mexican writer Guillermo Prieto wrote extensively on Mexico's underclass

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[540] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. "Contra Valentín Ortega por lesiones á Adelaida Hernandez,"Ramo Criminal, 1890, c. 2, 98376.

men and "*su mujer*," or the women with which they were romantically involved. The concept of "*su mujer*" could imply an informal union or an extramarital affair. In defining this group of marginalized poor Prieto often described them as typically "*mestizo*, of illegitimate birth, adulterous, [and] mischievous… with an inclination toward crime." He added that typically they "enjoy idleness, robbery, drunkenness and love." This propensity for crime was linked to "petty crime, heavy drinking and fighting." According to Prieto, these villains first needed their "legal woman and sweetheart," implying both a married wife and a mistress.[541] He went on to explore the characteristics of "their women" as "clean, hardworking, heroic in love, ferocious in jealousy, suffering in misery, sublime in abnegation, fanatic in danger, tender mothers and incredibly fickle, prone to fits of rage, passion and happiness."[542] Describing sexual relations among Mexico's poor in the nineteenth-century psychologist Julio Guererro wrote the sex of the poor was "animal-like, without modesty" and that they "romped like dogs."[543] In this way, both writers and early social scientists viewed the love life of the poor as adulterous, promiscuous and raunchy. Criminal court proceedings against unmarried, poor, women often presented similar stereotypes, and judges and jurors frequently drew similar conclusions in many Guadalajara courtrooms.

Adulterous affairs could lead unmarried women to commit violent crimes. In an 1865 case, prosecutors claimed that Nicolasa Silva injured the soldier Francisco Vargas with a machete. According to court records, the forty year old Nicolasa had been in a relationship with the

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[541] Guillermo Prieto, *Memoria de mis tiempos* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1985), 127-128. First published in 1906.
[542] Prieto, *Memoria*, 128.
[543] Julio Guerrero, La genesis del crimen en México. Estudio de psiguiatría social. 2nd edition (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1977), 321.

eighteen year old Vargas. Five months earlier Vargas broke up with Nicolasa, who had a difficult time accepting the breakup. Shortly after, she found out that he was seeing another woman and for that reason attacked him with the machete. Vargas pardoned the crime, not wanting to press charges. Despite that fact, the lawyers and judge involved in the case agreed that Nicolasa acted out of jealousy. Despite the fact that she admitted both her guilt and shame over the incident, the court felt little mercy toward her. In her sentencing, the court noted the fact that she possessed a weapon and had the audacity to harm a soldier put them on edge. To punish her they sentenced her to "six months of hard labor according to her sex" for the crime.[544] This was likely an indication that she was given some sort of gendered work inside the prison. Possession of a weapon concerned elite officials in general in the nineteenth century given a greater desire of surveillance over the urban poor classes, but for a woman to commit such a crime and against a soldier was especially heinous.[545] The case illustrates a heightened concern over female criminality, and the judge's desire to make an example out of Nicolasa, despite Vargas' plea to acquit her.

An illicit affair seemed to also be at the heart of a brutal beating against Rosa Hernández. On a Friday afternoon in 1874, twenty-one year old Rosa was selling tortillas in the plaza when she encountered the mother of her lover, Modesta Silva. At the time Rosa was eight months pregnant, a child conceived out of wedlock with Modesta's son Apolonio. According to Rosa, Modesta began to argue with her. Nearby, Modesta's niece Cresencia Montelongo overheard the two women fighting and came to see what was going on. According to Cresencia she then heard Rosa insult her aunt. The two women began fighting and Cresencia struck Rosa several times as

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[544] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Nicolasa Silva por heridas á un soldado," 1865, Caja 1, 22325.
[545] Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*.

they both fell to the ground. The fight roused the attention of local police and all three women were arrested for fighting. Given Rosa's state of pregnancy and her injuries she was sent to the hospital, while Cresencia and Modesta awaited trial in the *Casa de Recogidas.* Based on court documents what provoked the fight is unknown and witness testimony varied. While Cresencia and Modesta maintained the same story that they argued with Rosa and became upset when she insulted Modesta, Rosa told a different story. Upon her admittance to the hospital she told doctors that Modesta approached her with insults and that both women began to beat her up and even threw a rock at her until she fell to the ground. It was then that the police came and arrested all three women. As a migrant from Atotonilco, Rosa worked selling tortillas to make her living. Both poor and pregnant she found herself being ridiculed by her lover's own family. We do not know the insults that Modesta and Cresencia called her, but likely the altercation had to do with her affair with Apolonio. Although the officially court ruled in her favor, it sentenced Cresencia and Modesta to rather lenient sentences, one month and fifteen days jail time respectively. Each woman walked away from the case paying fines in exchange for jail time. Although there are many unknowns about the case, what is known tells us a lot about the ways in which the court perceived of Rosa and her station in the city. Initially, all three were arrested for fighting, although Rosa was the only one to exhibit any injuries. Rosa, although seemingly the victim, was found equally guilty. The location of the incident is also significant, as it was the public plaza where Rosa was working and where she was confronted by the two women. Rosa's presence in public, an unprotected and dangerous space for unmarried women, may have invited the violence brought against her. It also raised the issue of morality among single women. Both Rosa's affair and subsequent pregnancy seemed to be the root cause of the argument as she admitted to hospital doctors upon her admission. Finally, the role of the city hospital in policing urban

crime and crimes of women is also significant. Immediately following her arrest, Rosa was sent to the hospital for examination and it was there that she was asked to provide her first testimony.[546] In this way, both institutions worked in tandem to police the morality of unmarried women.

Prostitution

The women's prison, local police, and courtrooms were not the only places where the issue of female criminality and immorality interacted. The city hospital was often a point of contact in most criminal court cases, especially when injury or pregnancy was involved. The hospital maintained separate wings for male and female prisoners and employed numerous techniques, including beds with restraints and ward guards, to prevent escape.[547] It was here that police often questioned and held criminals arrested in connection with crimes. The hospital also served an important role in regulating particular aspects of female crime. Most notably it worked in conjunction with the newly organized *Comisión de salubridad* (public health commission)**,** the *Ayuntamiento* (municipal government) and the *Jefetura Política* to begin to monitor prostitutes by 1866. Prostitution was largely the domain of unmarried women, although some married women appear to have worked in the profession. Precise numbers of prostitutes in Guadalajara are extremely hard to document, given that even after regulation in 1866, numerous women

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[546] BPJ, *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, 1822-1919. Ramo Criminal, "Contra Modesta Silva y Cresencia Montelongo por lesiones á De la Rosa Hernández," 1874, Caja 21, 49678.

[547] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* "Hospitales y Salubridad," 1888, c. 76, 888-647.

worked in the trade without registration. However studies suggest that by 1905 Guadalajara had roughly two hundred legally registered prostitutes.[548]

In accordance with new city ordinances written by the municipal government, state regulated prostitution was legalized in Guadalajara in 1866 and put into practice by 1870. The new ordinances allowed prostitution in highly monitored *Casas de tolerancia*, or brothels. Reasons for regulation in Guadalajara were similar to those of the capital, influenced by ideas coming out of continental Europe, urban officials and elite residents expressed concern over public hygiene and sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis.[549] The policing of female prostitutes by the mid-nineteenth century coincided with a general concern over public health among the poor urban classes which began in the late eighteenth century. Ruling elites viewed the poor and their "bad hygiene" as the source of widespread epidemics of cholera and influenza outbreaks which plagued Guadalajara beginning in 1784 and throughout much of the nineteenth century.[550] While elites mostly congregated in the center of the city in spacious homes, the poor tended to live in close quarters. Disease spread easily in the poor *barrios* from contaminants present in the streets, air, and water due to overcrowding. In these neighborhoods the practice of defecating or throwing feces onto city streets and sidewalks was commonplace, as was the killing of animals for food. The accumulation of waste and decay in city streets caused contamination in the air as

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[548] Trujillo Bretón, "Ars Amandis," 344-5.

[549] González Llerenas, "La reglamentación sanitaria," 362; Katherine Bliss, *Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City* (Penn State University, 2002).

[550] Jiménez Pelayo, Olveda and Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano,* 122; Sánchez, "Intensidad," 23-26. The cholera outbreaks in Guadalajara were severe and the city suffered high rates of mortality particularly between 1813 and 1815. It would suffer smaller outbreaks between 1823 and 1825, 1830, 1833, and 1850. Sánchez notes higher rates of mortality in Guadalajara than Mexico City due to a smaller number of public hospitals.

well as the water, as much of it washed into the river *San Juan de Diós* and public fountains where the poor often bathed. In addition, the conditions under which many destitute families lived likely contributed to the rapid spread of infection. Tenements in the working class *barrios* were often rented by the room and offered little space or amenities. Often times an entire family shared a mattress or slept on the floor and had only the door for air circulation. Poor families were also more likely to go longer periods without washing their clothing. Thus, mortality rates during periods of epidemic disease were highest in the poorer areas of the city.[551] The Church responded in 1786 by constructing the city's first public hospital, the *Hospital de Belén*, in the working class barrios north of the city. In its first year almost 7,000 patients were treated.[552] In addition, in 1852 the governor of Jalisco published a mandate to curtail disease and strictly enforce the washing of sidewalks. The code applied to all *plazuelas*, markets and carriage sites, and imposed a hefty fine for anyone caught throwing trash or water into public streets, washed or dried clothes on sidewalks, or sold food on the streets.[553] Public health arguments regarding the spread of disease among the poor would also persuade city officials to begin mandatory medical exams for city prostitutes.

Prior to 1866 prostitutes practiced somewhat un-policed, but new regulations changed these circumstances. The new codes required prostitutes to adhere to a series of requisites including inscription, fees, obligations, prohibitions and constant vigilance by city health officials and police. The measures had a grave impact on the freedom and mobility that prostitutes once

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[551] Ibid., 24-29.

[552] Jiménez Pelayo, Olveda and Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento,*, 109-110; 116; 122.

[553] BPEJ, Miscelánea, 157, Jesús Lopez Portillo (governor at the time), *Bando de buen gobierno del gobernador constitucional del estado de Jalisco* (Guadalajara, 1852).

had.[554] The 1866 regulations required prostitutes register with the *Jefetura Política*, or city police. Upon registering they received a *libreta*, a small book which served as both proof of their license and maintenance of their mandatory medical exams. This was done voluntarily or by force if a woman was suspected of being a prostitute. A woman might be suspected of prostitution if she was always around other prostitutes, hung out in brothels, arrested in public for conduct contrary *to buenas costumbres*, reported a venereal disease, provoked fights or became a threat to public health. Upon registration city police gathered information such as name, birthplace, address, civil status, physical characteristics, the circumstances which had led them to register or become a prostitute, as well as where they would live and where they would practice. In addition to registration, the *Comisión de salubridad* required that all prostitutes submit to a medical examination conducted at the *Hospital de Belen* to check for venereal disease. Ordinances required that prostitutes pay for their exams and any treatment they received.[555]

As a policed profession, female sex work came under heightened police surveillance. Once registered, regulations required that a prostitute carry her license with her at all times to be shown to clients and police officials. She was also expected to notify police if she changed brothels or residence and continue to undergo medical exams twice a week. In addition, ordinances dictated the boundaries of moral behavior for registered prostitutes, who were prohibited from loitering or advertising publicly in doors or windows of the brothels or calling out to men on the street. Regulations also stipulated they not appear in public if wearing inappropriate clothing or pregnant, and prohibited them from going to the main plaza at night or

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[554] Ibid, 364.
[555] Ibid, 366-68; 377.

saying obscene things in city neighborhoods or near the military barracks. A prostitute caught violating the regulations faced harsh punishments including arrest or monetary fines. The law considered women who practiced clandestine prostitution vagabonds and police treated them accordingly. A woman could be de-registered only if she provided evidence that she had turned her life around or was able to support herself without working as a prostitute through legitimate marriage, inheritance, or gainful employment in a new profession.[556] In this way the legalization of prostitution after 1866 attempted to both monitor and mitigate the presence of the immoral prostitute in the public sphere.

Modifications to the original ordinances were made in 1879, and mandated that men under the age of twenty one were not allowed in brothels, despite the fact that the minimum age for registered prostitutes was twelve. The law suggests a belief that female prostitutes had the potential to corrupt young men. By 1890, city police created more organized and structured codes to deal with women of ill repute and prevent them from further corrupting society. New prohibitions prevented prostitutes from visiting honorable families, living near schools, beneficence establishments or markets. In order to preserve the sanctity of the family, they were not to address men with ladies or children. To make the public sphere safe for honorable women, they were not to invite scandal into public places and expected to dress and behave properly when outside the brothel. In this period, police also began to classify prostitutes according to where they practiced, distinguishing between those who practiced solo in their homes and those who lived and worked in brothels. City police also introduced a new system for de-classifying prostitutes which assigned them a sponsor, an "honorable" person who could assure their good conduct for a period of at least six months. A prostitute could also be removed from the register

[556] Ibid.

if they provided evidence of marriage for a period of two years or more.[557] New regulations that made particular mention of the actions and behavior of prostitutes in public coincide with the growing desire to protect the honor of the family. In addition, new rules which de-classified prostitutes who married suggest a connection between honor and marriage that was not attainable to the unmarried prostitute.

By 1900, the limitations placed on prostitutes and their movements increased and became even more specific. Police prevented prostitutes from entering the main plaza, its *portales* (porticos of the city plaza), bakeries, *cantinas*, and all central gardens or streets of the city. It also began to more strictly classify prostitutes in order to better track the whereabouts of registered prostitutes. New codes created three classifications of brothels to determine whether or not a prostitute lived and worked under the dependence and vigilance of the *dueña,* or a madam, whether she only worked at the brothel, or if she worked from her own home and took in clients.[558] City codes classified a *dueña* as a woman that oversaw a minimum of two working girls, and was thirty five years or older.[559] Often these madams were retired prostitutes who could no longer work, as the working years of most female prostitutes began around age fourteen and ended by their thirties.[560] It is interesting to note that regulations required the *dueñas* to register the entrance and exit of girls, as well as assist in their weekly medical exams and advise them on how to treat diseases. In addition, it was her responsibility to "prevent disorder and scandal" both inside the brothel and outside its doors. For these reasons, city ordinances

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[557] BPEJ, Misc, 726, Doc #: 27, "Reglamento de la Prostitución expendido por el Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara," (Guadalajara: 1890).
[558] González Llerenas, "La reglamentación sanitaria," 373.
[559] BPEJ, Misc, 726, Doc #: 27, "Reglamento de la Prostitución expendido por el Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara," (Guadalajara: 1890).
[560] Trujillo Breton, "La prostitución," 230.

required that she close the doors at 11pm, recover lost objects and give them to the police and cover the brothel windows. It was prohibited to serve alcoholic beverages, host parties or dances without the authorization of the *Jefetura política*. Regulations also specified that *dueñas* were not to permit gambling or the reception of drunks, armed persons, or men under the age of twenty-one. It was also her duty to uphold female honor and virtue where possible by not allowing girls to work without licenses, or permit married women, widows or single women with children to enter or work inside the brothels. Interestingly enough, by 1900 municipal codes no longer required maids under the age of forty working as prostitutes to register. Therefore, while it continued to hold the honor of married women and single mothers in high regard, it upheld that the honor of older women was not worth monitoring. Ultimately municipal officials believed it was the responsibility of the *dueñas* to maintain order within their "houses" as a way to assist in the regulation of female prostitutes. Those who did not faced fines or arrest by city police, who were allowed to search or enter the brothels unannounced. [561] Portrayed as older women, these matriarchs of the bordello were expected to also moderate the negative honor that prostitution bestowed upon single women.

After Independence prostitution became increasingly treated as a matter of public safety and health that led to the registration and examination of prostitutes by city police and public health officials. Changes over time in the treatment and handling of female prostitutes however, demonstrates heightened concern over the sexual honor and morality of unprotected and unattached women. Regulations which closely observed their residence, presence in public places and interaction with "honorable" families, indicate a desire to mitigate the potential for their trade to harm the honor of the family. Laws which required that girls working in brothels be

[561] González Llerenas, "La reglamentación sanitaria," 373-4; 386.

closely monitored by *dueñas,* and restricted those who could become registered prostitutes based on their age, marital status or whether or not they were mothers, indicates a desire by city officials to protect the morality of unattached women.

Conclusion

In the post-Independence period dominant discourses regarding the public good targeted the poor for the rapid rise of urban social problems such as the spread of crime, prostitution and disease. Unattached women who resided outside of patriarchal control faced greater state intervention into their private lives by newly organized institutions given the charge of maintaining public order, such as city courts, police and public health departments. Under the auspices of protection, these institutions imposed a desire to both correct and police the morality of unattached women who lived outside the boundaries of patriarchal control. In criminal court cases, judges and lawyers frequently drew attention to the sexual honor of unattached women. Despite often being the victim of crime, unmarried women's honor often played a role in determining guilt, the cause of a particular incident or in the severity of sentencing. In addition, changing ordinances which legalized prostitution sheds light on a growing desire to regulate and police the sexuality of unmarried women. Overall, sufficient data exists to suggest that the honor of unattached women was called into question more so than married women given their presence in and before institutions of punishment and reform.

CHAPTER SIX

POVERTY, SINGLENESS AND PUBLIC WELFARE

The need to reform Guadalajara's growing unmarried population extended beyond newly state-run criminal courts, prisons and hospitals and into its earliest welfare institutions. Opened in 1805, the city's first central charity house, the *Casa de Caridad y Misericoridia* (House of Charity and Mercy, eventually renamed the *Hospicio Cabañas* in 1859)[562] served the growing needs of a widening population of single and widowed women and their children. Similar to policies, practices and institutions of penology, the establishment of the *Casa de Caridad* coincided with a desire to "clean up" city streets and reform the poor in the colonial period, but evolved alongside a similar trajectory with Mexico's political twists and turns after 1821. Although initially founded by the Catholic Church it shut down temporarily to serve as a military barrack during the wars for Independence. In the chaotic rebuilding period that followed it went through phases of closure and reconstruction, but continued to be run by the Church in conjunction with some support from state and city officials as well as local benefactors. The institution eventually came under state management in1874 as part of the rising tide of modernization during the *Porfiriato* and a desire to centralize the authority of the state.[563]

From its beginnings the *Casa de Caridad* was intimately linked to debates that surfaced among city officials and reformers over how to address the growing presence of the poor within

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[562] Even though the name of the institution changed, research I conducted indicated that even after 1859 residents of Guadalajara continued to refer to the charity house as the *Casa de Caridad*. Although state and city officials, and even today, the institution is more popularly referred to as the *Hospicio Cabañas*, to maintain consistency, I will refer to it as the *Casa de Caridad*.

[563] Luis M. Rivera, *Hospicio Cabañas. Monografía histórica* (Guadalajara: Publicaciones del Comité Central "Pro Cabañas," 1924), 18-35.

the urban landscape. Discussion often hinged on an evolving discourse on poverty and reform that filtered through the administration of the charity house; utilized by both church and state mangers. While once perceived as an important part of the Catholic faith, formerly pious notions of *caridad* (charity) took on new meaning after the 1780s. In large part this dealt with a changing perception of the poor by city and church officials and the need to distinguish between the deserving, those who were in true need of assistance, and the undeserving, the idle, lazy and vice-ridden. In effect, this process not only marginalized sectors of the poor, but weeded out those who could benefit from welfare reform from those that should be reformed through punitive coercion. From its beginnings in 1805 until 1910, despite transitions in administration, the *Casa de Caridad* functioned as an institution of reform by educating the children of the poor, many of them unmarried and widowed women. Inherent within such arguments was a paternalistic attitude toward the poor, particularly when it came to unattached adult women.[564]

Given the circumstances of life in nineteenth-century Guadalajara it is not surprising that a much greater proportion of poor, unmarried, abandoned, pregnant, unemployed, migrant, widowed, or elderly women took advantage and were offered aid through the *Casa de Caridad*. It was one of the factors that drew rural migrants into the city from the countryside. Documentation from the charity home, police records and administrative reports demonstrate that the public authorities felt a greater need to "protect" and intercede on behalf of single, abandoned and widowed women. Not only did the mission of the institution seek to "reform" these women and their children, but its methods served to reinforce the patriarchal family and race, class and gender hierarchies. However, while evidence from the *Casa de Caridad* affirms

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[564] Jorge A. Trujillo, "Léperos, pelados, ceros socials y gente de trueno en el Jalisco Porfiriano," in *Pobres, Marginados y Peligros* edited by Jorge A. Trujillo and Juan Quintar (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2003), 205.

that unattached women depended on state assistance in greater numbers than married women, it also suggests that women played a role in shaping state services. In many cases, single women used the very same rhetoric that justified greater state intervention into their lives to further their own objectives.

Figure 6.1[565]

"El Hospicio"

El Hospicio

[565] Photo reprinted in Juan B. Iguiniz, *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos: relatos y descripciones de viajeros y escritores desde del Siglo XVI hasta nuestros días*, Volume 1, 1586-1867 (Guadalajara: Banco Refaccionario de Jalisco, 1950), 58.

The *Casa de Caridad y Misericordia*

Institutions of charity, like the *Casa de Caridad*, date back to fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe when the first public hospitals, orphanages and schools opened to the poor. They carried over to the New World from Spain often by religious orders.[566] Colonial Guadalajara had several institutions that served the poor. In the early part of the eighteenth century the *Colegio de San Diego* functioned as an asylum for orphaned children, but the school mostly served young Spanish girls who it presumed required greater protection to preserve their virginity. It catered to the orphaned, poor *doncellas* of the city, who could be proven to be virtuous and legitimate children of honorable Spanish parents. The institution acknowledged the particular "risks" that young poor women faced and wished to prevent Spanish girls from falling into "danger." [567] It was not until the Bourbon reforms that the Spanish crown introduced reforms in respect to social welfare. Between 1767 and 1775, the earliest changes took place in Mexico City with the introduction of the first central foundling home, poorhouse, public hospital, and the colonial government-run pawn shop, or *Monte de Piedad*. [568] Shortly after in 1786 Guadalajara boasted its first hospital for the poor, the *Hospital de Bélen*, and by the turn of the century opened the *Casa de Caridad y Misericordia* (House of Charity and Compassion). Unlike Mexico City, the *Casa de Caridad* provided a variety of services to the poor under one roof. It became the largest and most important institution of public charity in the state of Jalisco. At its zenith the *Casa*

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[566] Moisés González Navarro, *La pobreza en México* (México: El Colegio de México, 1985), 8; Brian Pullan. *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 7.

[567] AHA, Gobierno, *Obras Asistenciales*, Colegio de San Diego, Caja 1, exp 37; Ibid., Exp 1.

[568] Silvia Arrom, *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774-1871* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 14. In Guadalajara, the first Monte de Piedad was opened in 1849. See BPEJ, Miscellaneous 751, doc 7, Augustín Rivera, "Los Montes de Piedad ante el Derecho Canónico," Tipografia de José Martín (San Juan de Lagos, 1880), 2.

boasted over 118 rooms comprised of dormitories, offices, nurseries, classrooms and dining halls, in addition to 48 covered corridors, 21 passageways, 22 gardens, 22 fountains, 5 kitchens, a chapel, library, and garden.[569] Within the labyrinth of rooms and patios that made up the impressive structure there was a foundling home, orphanage, primary school for boys and girls, asylum and nursing home for indigent migrants, unemployed artisans and journeyman, as well as those who were physically incapable of work due to a disability or old age.[570] The history of the *Casa de Caridad y Misericordia* sheds light onto the important transition from church controlled public charity to state-run beneficence, and is important in ascertaining the policies, institutions and practices utilized by state and city officials to handle the poor, particularly unattached women.

The origins of the institution are deeply connected to economic and social changes which motivated local and ecclesiastic officials to address the problem of urban poverty through vigilance and reform in the late 1700s. After a ten month trip exploring the socio-economic conditions of the region, the city's newly appointed bishop Juan Ruiz de Cabañas, noted the hardships of daily life for Guadalajara's poor. Inspired by similar institutions he encountered on a visit to Mexico City, he began planning the *Casa de Caridad y Misericorida* (House of Charity and Compassion). By 1801 he gathered funds from the Diocese of Guadalajara, local city government and private donations from the religious community. In 1803 he wrote to King

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[569] BPEJ, Miscellaneous #164, doc 48, "Estado General del Hospicio de Huerfános de GDL," (Guadalajara, 1892), 3-4.

[570] Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, Jaime Olveda and Beatriz Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano de Guadalajara*, (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1995), 122; Luis M. Rivera, *Hospicio Cabañas. Monografía histórica* (Guadalajara: Publicaciones del Comité Central "Pro Cabañas," 1924), 18-35; Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado (AHA), Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849.

Carlos IV for final approval and by December received consent for both the project and its ordinances.[571] The proposed institution would serve the growing class of Guadalajara's poor.

The founding of the establishment reveals the often contentious transition from religious to secular control. In February of 1810, on the eve of Mexico's War for Independence the *Casa de Caridad* opened its doors to sixty-six boys and girls. Although it was funded by both state and church sources, the governing of the *Casa* was almost entirely in the hands of the Church. It was headed by the Ecclesiastical *Cabildo* and the Bishop, who designated a vicar to manage and direct the house. A committee known as the *Junta de Caridad*, made up of clergy and secular men, made all other decisions. Charity work at the house came to a screeching halt only eight months after it opened at the onset of Independence. Throughout the course of the war the structure served as military barracks. It would not be until 1829, after relocating the military and making needed repairs that the establishment reopened, but debate began to mount over the future of the church-run institution. In 1833, the Liberal vice president of Mexico, Valentín Gómez Farías, supported by the legislature of the state of Jalisco and its governor Pedro Tamez, a member of the *Partido Liberal*, ordered that the *Casa* remain a military fort. Liberal reformers believed in the separation of Church and state and sought to diminish the role of the Church in public welfare. Church clergy argued that the *Casa* was an institution of welfare primarily funded by the Church and private donations from the faithful. The argument salvaged the *Casa* for the time being. With the help of the diocese, the building underwent reconstruction from

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[571] BPEJ, Miscellaneous, "Hospicio de Guadalajara," Tipografia del Hospicio (Guadalajara, 1889), 3.
492, Miguel Gallindo, "Apuntos sobre la hygiene en Guadalajara," Tesis de recepción, Facultad de Medicina de Guadalajara, (Guadalajara, April 8, 1908), 174.

1836-1845, adding a cupola to the chapel and new courses which emphasized the skilled trades of making *rebozos*, shoes, clothing and furniture.[572]

By 1859, as part of larger structural changes taking place in the Catholic Church and the city the Sisters of Charity, a female religious order, took over the management of the newly renamed *Hospicio Cabañas* and the *Hospital de Belén*. The more secular name change and new administration were indicative of a growing demand for the Catholic Church to restructure itself in the face of growing criticism and rising liberalism in Mexico during *La Reforma*. The nuns came to Mexico in 1843 from France and were well regarded for their charitable and moral educational work. By the middle of the 19th century there were over 400 sisters in Mexico working in various welfare institutions.[573] The Sisters of Charity managed to evade expulsion in the 1860 Law of Reform with the help of the state governor who argued they were a charitable organization and not religious, and therefore their work within the institution fell under the category of beneficence.[574] The following year this was put into law by the State of Jalisco through a decree which stated all Establishments of Beneficence in the city could remain open and retain control of their property and capital so long as members of the clergy were not a part of their administration.[575] This allowed the Sisters of Charity to remain at the *Casa*. In 1874 however, just three years after the Sisters were recognized for their good work by the Governor of the State of Jalisco in a ceremony held outside the *Casa*, state leaders officially ended their

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[572] Ibid., 65.

[573] González Navarro, *La pobreza,* 58; See also AHA, *Justicia*, Obras Assistenciales, Hospicio Cabañas, 1789-1849: Box 1, "Establecido de las Hermanas de Caridad en el Hospicio y Hospital de Belen."

[574] AHJ, B-6-891, inv 923, c. 240.

[575] Rivera, *Hospicio Cabañas,* 80.

tenure at the institution. Their expulsion was directly connected to Mexico's new Liberal party president Lerdo de Tejada, who opposed the participation of the Catholic Church in social organizations.

The expulsion of the Sisters of Charity in 1874 stirred debate about secularization in Jalisco which centered on charity, and whose obligation it would be to manage and provide aid to the poor. Some suggested that charity was outside the state's jurisdiction because it promoted idleness and was counter-productive to tackling the problem of urban poverty. Others believed the modern State was obligated to provide citizens with the most basic needs of food, clothing and shelter to enable the poor to get jobs. They contended that without any assistance, the lower classes would become an even greater burden on the state.[576] Under state control the *Casa* came under the direction of the Office of Public Education, but in large measure its bylaws and curriculum, with the exception of religion, seem to coincide with earlier policies and practices. For the first time, however, the state government was responsible for hiring staff and managing its day to day operations. As the nation underwent a period of reorganization during the *Porfiriato* so too did the *Casa de Caridad.* With the rise in urban poverty and population in these years the size and need of the city's poor grew. Plagued by mismanagement, overcrowding and budgetary constraints however, the charity house nearly fell into ruin by 1883. In that year the state restructured the institution and created stricter policies to control admissions. State managers required mothers to prove their insolvency and the legitimacy of their children with legal documentation. That same year the Governor announced new regulations intent on re-establishing order and improving conditions in the institution's various departments. There would also be restructuring that took place at the state level. To replace the more religious notion

[576] González Navarro, *La pobreza*.

of charity, state leaders placed emphasis instead on providing for the wellbeing of its citizens and the direction of the charity house fell under the newly formed Department of Beneficence by 1896.[577]

Overall however, continuities remained in the everyday organization, practices and policies of reforming the children of the many poor single and widowed mothers it aided. The story of the Guadalajara institution contrasts greatly with the poorhouse in Mexico City. There Silvia Arrom argues that after 1871 the institution began to focus less on reform and transitioned into an orphanage and boarding school.[578] This was not the case in Guadalajara, and the charity house continued to cater to adult female beggars and the elderly in conjunction with its educational departments for orphaned children well into the twentieth century. In addition, while city officials demolished the Mexico City poorhouse in 1905, the original *Hospicio Cabañas* continued to function into the 1960s. In this way it provides an interesting counterpoint to the Mexico City narrative that frequently dominates histories of Mexico.

Given its divisive history documentation on the *Casa de Caridad* is scattered between both state and church archives, and records were more accessible for the years following state takeover. Overall, the *Casa*'s history is indicative of broader changes that took place both on the national and local political stage. Its shift from church to state control revealed changing conceptions of charity in Guadalajara. Whereas the Catholic Church had deemed charity part of the "pious works" of religious orders, under the state it became characterized as

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[577] AHJ, Beneficiencia B-6, *Reglamentos y Leyes*, "Reglamento del Hospicio de Guadalajara," 1883, f. 883-5937; Rivera, *Hospicio Cabañas.*

[578] Arrom, *Containing the Poor*, 4.

"beneficence."[579] The shift is significant in that it implied an increasing role of the state as beneficent toward the poor, a transition that would take on paternalistic undertones. While a change in terminology reflected new ideas about welfare versus charity, both the Catholic Church and the state frequently relied on stereotypes and condescending attitudes toward the poor to legitimize their role as reformers. Thus, from its inception in 1805 until 1910, the *Casa de Caridad* was part of a broader debate over urban social problems and measures required to address poverty.

The Discourse on Poverty and the Marginalization of the Poor

The origins of public welfare institutions like the *Casa de Caridad* in Guadalajara are linked to changes in both the rural and urban economy analyzed in chapter two which created a large urban underclass. A dramatic rise in urban industrial manufacturing combined with a loss of land in the countryside, brought an influx of rural peasants to cities across Mexico and widened the gap between the rich and poor.[580] The consequence of rapid population growth was an ever expanding class of poor city dwellers, among them a majority of single and widowed women, who came to Guadalajara in search of employment. The city itself was ill-equipped to deal with these newcomers, lacking sufficient space, goods, services and most importantly jobs. Beggars and the unemployed alike swarmed the city's central plaza, attracted to its public fountains and opportunities as the city's commercial and mercantile center. There they could bathe, wash

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[579] Charity institutions were categorized as "*Obras Assistenciales*" or "*Obras Pias*" according to the records of the Catholic Church in Guadalajara. State charity institutions fell under the authority of the Department of Education as Public Beneficence after 1874.

[580] Jiménez Pelayo, Olveda and Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano,* 124; Lilia Oliver Sánchez, "Intensidad de la crisis demográficas en las ciudades de México y Guadalajara, 1800-1850," *Takwá* 8, (Fall 2005), 23.

clothing, beg for money, sell their goods, sleep under the shade of the *portales* or look for work. Their growing presence in the most important part of the city unnerved municipal and ecclesiastic officials. As the civil, ecclesiastical and mercantile center of the city, the main plaza was the seat of local power. It housed the Cathedral, Governor's Palace, military barracks and many of the city's wealthy residents. It was also where all religious and civil celebrations were held. It was not only the presence of the poor which alarmed officials, but the increase in urban problems which began to become associated with them such as crime, and disease. Not to mention rising rates of illegitimacy, single or abandoned mothers, and declining rates of legal marriage[581] Previously the city existed without needing to regulate its growth or eradicate poverty, but the commercial growth, urban expansion and demographic increases that Guadalajara experienced by the late eighteenth century posed social and urban problems it had never dealt with before, forcing local and ecclesiastical officials to respond.[582]

In colonial Mexico the poor had an important role to play in the Catholic faith and in the salvation of the wealthy. Not only was charity an accepted practice, but it was promoted as a requirement of the rich to give and a right of the poor to solicit.[583] For this reason, colonial Catholic charity had fewer concerns to eliminate poverty because it gave opportunities for the wealthy to be charitable and attain salvation.[584] The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries marked a transition in the attitude and treatment of the poor. Bourbon-era public welfare reforms aimed to maintain order and clean up city streets. It was a policy put into even

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[581] Trujillo, "Léperos."

[582] Ibid., 110; Jiménez Pelayo, Olveda and Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento,* 109; 125.

[583] González Navarro, *La pobreza*, 56. Silvia Arrom points out that while begging was acceptable, vagrancy had always been persecuted. See Arrom, *Containing the Poor*, 1-2.

[584] Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 12.

greater practice after Independence. From an elite perspective the raucous and unsanitary lifestyle of the poor caused new urban problems that outweighed salvation, such as epidemic outbreaks of disease, increasing rates of crime, public begging and vagrancy, and other problems linked to the break-down of the family such as illegitimacy and spousal and child abandonment.[585] City and ecclesiastic officials blamed the wayward lifestyle of the city's urban poor which they believed caused these problems.[586] By the 1870s and 1880s, this rhetoric became infused with nationalistic concerns as *Porfirian* reformers sought to eliminate poverty as "a stain that shamed society and the country."[587] To combat such problems local authorities in Guadalajara sought to reform the poor by monitoring and marginalizing their presence in the public sphere through well-organized police and welfare institutions.[588] While the reforms were intended for all of the city's poor, the impact on single women is important in understanding how the church and state would target them and their children through reform measures.

Embedded within the language of reform, written into law and used by social reformers, police, foreign travelers and city and ecclesiastic officials, were clear racial and class stereotypes which justified new legal codes and institutions that targeted the poor. In stark contrast to the "*gente bien*" of Guadalajara, described in 1838 by a foreign visitor as well-dressed, articulate, educated and of a solid moral background, the city's poor were written off as "*lepéros*" who

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[585] Trujillo, "Léperos," 207. Similar attitudes existed in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Mexico City see Arrom, *Containing the Poor*.
[586] Ibid., 122. Also see Chapter 4.
[587] Armida de la Vara de González, "Los ceros sociales," in *Obras completas de Luis González y González*. Volume 4 of *El Indio en la era liberal* (Mexico: Clío, 1996), 367.
[588] See Chapters 4 and 5.

were unrefined, un-educated, "half-naked, starved, alcoholic, fanatical and violent."[589] Guadalajara's civil and religious leaders similarly argued that the poor's proclivity toward fighting, foul language, and public scandal created disorder and crime in the city. In Mexico City, officials passed laws to curb scandalous behavior. They banned public nudity, restricted boisterous religious celebrations, public drinking and gambling and passed ordinances intended to reduce concubinage.[590] In Guadalajara, as early as 1784 city officials passed similar measures that limited the use of firearms, the sale of alcohol and instituted curfews.[591] In 1790, Guadalajara's royal Governor organized *cuartel,* or neighborhood police to enforce city codes. In fact the term *policía* refers to the "good governance" of the poor, which by the nineteenth century included imposing new moral codes and manners on the poor.[592] Military officials added new *cuartels* in 1809 to better police the burgeoning urban poor population.[593] Measures geared toward monitoring the actions of the poor coincided with efforts to sanitize and beautify the city by cleaning the filth that was everywhere and remove the poor from the streets where they congregated to socialize, work, eat, very often sleep, and beg.[594] Late eighteenth century

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[589] Lowenstern in *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos*, edited by Juan B. Iguíniz (Mexico: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1989-1992), 165-8.

[590] Arrom, *Containing the Poor*, 15.

[591] For attitudes regarding the poor see Trujillo, "Léperos," 205-229. On city ordinances see Jaime Olveda, *La oligarquía de Guadalajara. De las reformas borbónicas a la reforma liberal.* (Mexico: Colegioe Regiones, 1990), 86.

[592] Nacif Mina, 9-11.

[593] Jiménez Pelayo et.al, *El Crecimiento,*134; Also see Chapter 5.

[594] Arrom, *Containing the Poor*, 15. Literature on these efforts in Mexico City is extensive, see J. P. Viqueira Albán, *¿Relajados o reprimidos? Diversiones públicas y vida social en la ciudad de México durante el Siglo de las luces* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987), chapter 3; Michael Scardaville, "Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform in Late Colonial Mexico City," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no. 4 (November 1980); Pamela Voekel,

Mexico City ordinances outlawed panhandling and involuntarily interned individuals into poorhouse, or the *Casa de Caridad* in Guadalajara.[595]

Other measures emphasized removal of the poor altogether from city streets. This frequently involved relocating the poor from the city center, where the city's elite took up residence, to the periphery. Some of the first measures of physically relocate the poor began in 1771 by the Catholic Church. Church officials moved the city's poor to the northernmost boundary of the city, in an area known as *Las Cuadritas* where it offered affordable rented housing to workers.[596] In effect the Church created one of the city's poorest *barrios* where the poor could work and live out of the way of the city center.[597] This was a pattern that would repeat itself throughout the nineteenth century as the urban poor settled on the margins of the city, often attracted by factories located there. In addition, the outskirts of town served as the first stop for large migrant populations who arrived to the city from rural towns in Jalisco. For this reason poor *barrios* emerged on the periphery, far from the center and elite neighborhoods. In addition to *Las Cuadritas* in the north, poor people and factory workers crowded the *cuartels* of San Juan

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"Peeling off the Palace: Bodily Resistance to Bourbon Reforms in Mexico City," Journal of Historical Sociology 5, no 2 (1992); (1992), Jorge Nacif Mina, "Policía y seguridad pública en la ciudad de México, 1770-1848," in *La Ciudad de Mexico en la primera mitad del siglo XIX*, ed. Hernández Franyuti (Mexico: Instituto Mora, 1994); María Cristina Sacristán, "El Pensamiento ilustrado ante los grupos marginados de la ciudad de México, 1767-1824," in *La Ciudad de Mexico en la primera mitad del siglo XIX*, ed. Hernández Franyuti (Mexico: Instituto Mora, 1994).

[595] The first ordinance passed in Mexico City was in 1774, See Arrom, *Containing the Poor*, 2; Individuals could be interned involuntarily to the Casa de Caridad by the Junta de Caridad or by local police. See Rivera, *Hospicio Cabañas,* 18-35.

[596] Jiménez Pelayo, Olveda and Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento,*, 109-110; 116; 122.

[597] Rodney Anderson, "Los Barrios," in *Lecturas históricas de Guadalajara: Demografía y Urbanismo, eds. José María Muriá y Jaime Olveda* (México: Colegio Regiones de México, 1992), 329. Rodney Anderson's work suggests that this part of town had the highest rates of households with multiple families and un-related members, which are key indicators of fracture and poverty.

de Diós, Analco and Mexicaltzingo."[598] Analco and Mexicaltzingo, located at the southernmost boundary of the city, were formerly indigenous villages that became subsumed by Guadalajara in 1821.[599] San Juan de Diós to the east, divided the center of town from the San Juan de Diós river. Throughout the nineteenth century, and even today, it was comprised mainly of the poor working classes and had a reputation for crime and a seedy nightlife. Like *Las Cuadritas* to the north which housed the first public hospital, this neighborhood would become home to the *Casa de Caridad*. It was in these barrios where the greatest need for social services existed, as the poor were often hit hardest during epidemic and economic crises.[600] In this way the relief provided by the Church, and eventually continued by the state, served to maintain long-standing class hierarchies within the city by relocating the poor to outlying areas.

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[598] Archivo Municipal de Guadalajara, Ramo Obras Públicas. Paquete 62, legajo 91, 1840.

[599] Eduardo López Moreno, *La cuadrícula en el desarollo de la ciudad hispanoamericana: Guadalajara, Mexico.* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1992), 22.

[600] The work of Lilia Oliver demonstrates that during numerous cholera outbreaks in Guadalajara, the majority killed were the poor and those who lived on the periphery, see Lilia Oliver, *Un verano mortal* (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial del Gobierno de Jalisco, 1986), 42; See Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2[601]

Cuartel Divisions and Notable Buildings in Guadalajara, 1896

While the ruling elite saw themselves as powerful and virtuous, it was the poor who were "fragile and defective" and in need of reform and protection.[602] The very same paternalistic, classist and racist rhetoric which permeated the patrolling and spatial organization of the city permeated the halls of the *Casa de Caridad*. As a reform institution it served a similar function by removing the "bad" elements and unsightly beggars from the streets, not to impugn the poor

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601 The original map, which specified cuartel numbers, locations and notable buildings comes from the AHJ, *Mapoteca,* "Plano general de la ciudad de Guadalajara, 1896;" Information for additional notations was taken from Rivas Jiménez, "Defense of Craft," and Olveda and Núñez Miranda, *El Crecimiento Urbano.* For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.

602 Trujillo, "Léperos," 205.

but to reform the deserving poor. Those offered shelter at the institution were forbidden from begging for alms "publicly or privately."[603] The charity house emphasized the need to "civilize" the lower classes in order to promote economic development and civil obedience "for the sake of the country, the public, the Church and state."[604]

For these reasons, a major goal of the Casa was to instill order, work ethic, morality and civility in its residents. Once in the poorhouse the goal was to produce industrious workers who could provide for themselves, making them an asset to society.[605] At the *Casa de Caridad* residents were instructed in Christian values and taught job skills so that they could be reincorporated into society.[606] According to Bishop Cabañas, education was indispensible to removing the "ignorance" of the masses. This belief would be championed even during periods of greater state intervention at the *Casa de Caridad*, especially after Independence as the new government of Mexico favored education as the "basis of all social progress."[607]

The *Casa* offered assistance to those deemed "the truly needy." The majority of its residents were abandoned babies and poor and orphaned children, but it also made room for adults who were unable to work due to physical disabilities, age or lack of proper education.[608] Part of the paternalistic rhetoric of reform defined in the ordinances that guided the *Casa de Caridad* and

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[603] Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado (AHA), Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849, Article 3, "Clases de Pobres," 10-11.
[604] González Navarro, *La pobreza*, 56.
[605] Arrom, *Containing the Poor*, 15.
[606] Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado (AHA), Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849.
[607] Carmen Castañeda, *La educación en Guadalajara durante la Colonia, 1552-1821* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1984), 224-225; 229.
[608] Ibid and Silvia Arrom *Containing the Poor*.

upheld by social theorists, police and city officials was a distinction between the deserving and undeserving classes of poor. Among the deserving were those in dire need of assistance, not because they were lazy but because they were unable to work and therefore most vulnerable, such as infants, young children, the sick, disabled or aged.[609] In stark contrast to the truly needy were hoodlums, prostitutes, vagabonds or the picaresque *lépero*, who lacked resources due to laziness and vice. The *lépero*, a term popularized by the mid-nineteenth century, was typically stereotyped as a petty criminal. Often such class based arguments had racial undertones, as the *lépero* was frequently portrayed as *mestizo* or Indian and associated with drinking *pulque* in addition to having an affinity for fighting, pick-pocketing, and promiscuous relations with women.[610] Institutions of beneficence like the *Casa de Caridad* originated to protect the helpless, while police, correctional institutions and military impressment targeted the refractory and marginalized sectors of the poor.[611]

What would define a new discourse on poverty by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Guadalajara was greater emphasis on reforming and protecting the "truly needy," or honorable poor.[612] Through instruction at the *Casa de Caridad* residents received the "proper"

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[609] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Box 1, 1789-1849, Article 1, p 3-4.

[610] Armida de la Vara de González, "Los ceros sociales," in *Obras completas de Luis González y González*. Volume 4 of *El Indio en la era liberal* (Mexico: Clío, 1996), 367; Trujillo, "Léperos," 211.

[611] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Box 1, (1789-1849), 2-6; Trujillo,"Léperos," 211.

[612] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Box 1, 1789-1849.

education and rearing they lacked, which had or could lead to further uncivilized behavior.[613] Inherent within the arguments that made up new city ordinances, established *cuartel* police, inspired removal programs and formed institutional regulations which distinguished between the deserving and undeserving classes of poor were class and race-based constructions of the period. The *Casa de Caridad* shaped its interactions with single and widowed female patrons and their children around new ideals of perfecting the poor. In reality, the *Casa* existed to discipline the deserving members of the lower classes from an elite perspective.[614] It embodied a paternalistic rhetoric of reform which emphasized the need to transform the poor into more refined, educated, moral and productive citizens. Not only did elites see the poor as those in need of reform, but believed they were the most capable of providing it.

Singleness and the *Casa de Caridad*

The Casa de Caridad's paternalism toward the poor shaped its primary goal of educating and rearing needy children often translated into a patriarchal approach toward their mothers. Although it would go through various transitions, the *Casa* predominantly served the needs of a growing unmarried, widowed, and abandoned population of women with children. Through a rhetoric which emphasized the need to "protect" and reform the poor, especially children, *Casa* administrators and staff, along with city police and state welfare officials attempted to define the proper mother, family, and home. In the absence of a male patriarch, the *Casa* stood in to protect

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[613] AHJ, Beneficiencia, B-5, *Instituciones de Protección*, May 18, 1875, "Letter from Jefetura Simón Delgadillo to Department of Public Beneficiencia" Box 158, f. 875.

[614] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Box 1, 1789-1849, Article 1, p 1-2; Anayanci Fregoso Centeno, "Hospicio Cabañas: la instrucción y la caridad como productoras de representaciones de maternidad y niñez, Guadalajara, Siglo XIX" (paper presented at the Congress of Latin American Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, September 5-8, 2007), 6-7.

the honor of young women and girls and provide proper rearing and education to the vulnerable children of single mothers. This was a task unfit for the large population of poor unmarried and widowed women that it served due to the stigma associated with their class and sheer lack of resources. At the same time, single and widowed women played a role in shaping the services provided at the *Casa* and in many cases re-appropriated the language of reform and the rhetoric of protection to their benefit. Institutional documentation such as admission requests, police referrals, regulations, correspondence, resident and employee data, budgets, school records, retrievals, and adoptions all support the notion that the *Casa* assumed a patriarchal role in the lives of many children and their families which had a distinct impact on widowed and single women.

Widowed and single women with children had a much greater need for the services offered at the *Hospicio.* They felt the economic and demographic changes that were occurring around them more than a married woman with spousal support. Throughout the nineteenth century as prices for basic foodstuffs continued to rise at higher rates than real wages, it increased pressure on the household. A working woman on her own typically earned less than a man and toiled in lower paying occupations.[615] Therefore, while a single woman in Guadalajara working at a cigar factory or as a live-in maid could survive on her own earnings, a woman with even one child would have a much harder time making ends meet.[616] This was all the more real for single

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[615] See Chapter 4; For a discussion in Mexico on the gendered divisions of labor see Marie Eileen Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 88: Juan Javier Pescador, "Vanishing Women: Female Migration and Ethnic Identity in Late-Colonial Mexico City," *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 4 (Fall 1995), 618. See Kuznesof, "Gender Ideology, Race, and Female-Headed Households," 162.

[616] Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit*, 24; *Estadísticas Económicas del Porfiriato*. Fuerza de Trabajo y actividad por sectores (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1965), 17.

mother Rafaela Maldonado, who admitted in her petition to the *Casa de Caridad* that her work making tortillas "was not even enough to eat poorly, let alone [pay] for anything else" for her two young daughters. For this reason, she sought "a place of mercy" (*lugar de gracia*) for her children at the school for girls within the *Casa*.[617]

The economic circumstances of everyday life for widowed women in particular could change dramatically from one minute to the next making the *Casa de Caridad* a valuable resource. Shortly after Christmas in 1907, Jesús Morales pleaded with the *Casa* to help her with the raising of her three young children. Her husband, a tinplate maker had died a year earlier of from a rare heart condition that forced her to take on work as a domestic servant, which she explained did not provide enough money for her to support the family. During the period the salary of a craftsman would support a family of five comfortably, but the salary paid to a woman as a domestic could not adequately support Jesús' family.[618] A similar fate met Antonia Díaz after the death of her middle-class husband, who was a doctor, surgeon and obstetrician in the city. As a result Antonia went from a middle class housewife to a domestic servant who found it difficult to support her three children on her small salary. As a middle class woman, however, she understood the importance of her children's education and sought assistance from the *Casa* to help secure her children's future.[619]

It was not only the financial strain that domestic work placed on the widow-headed household, but the inability to provide childcare to their own children while working. For Jesus

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[617] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, Box 181, f. 901-5706.

[618] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, December 27, 1907, Box 168, f. 896-5628; For more on craftsmen's wages see Claudia Rivas Jiménez, "Defense of Craft: Guadalajara's Artisans in the Era of Economic Liberalism, 1842-1907" (PhD Dissertation, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, 2008), 53.

[619] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, 1894, Box 164, f. 894-5581

Valdez widowhood had left her in a state of "extreme poverty." In a solicitation to the office of beneficence she explained that the death of her husband left her with few other options but to find work as a servant. She commented that her salary could not support her daughters Tomasa and Yrene. Working as a domestic she spent her whole day serving in someone else's house, leaving her precious little time to care for her kids or see to their education.[620] Being the sole caretaker of a child added a great deal of financial and social responsibility to widowed women. For Eucebia Ybarra, a sudden illness left her unable to continue working. Being "alone (*mujer sola*) and useless" she admitted she was barely able to provide herself with basic necessities "much less those of her young daughters Ysabel and Refugio," for whom she petitioned for a place in the *Casa*.[621]

Just as in widowhood, the absence of spousal support greatly affected women's ability to continue to feed and raise their children. Abandonment for unmarried and married women could produce similar consequences forcing women to seek aid at the *Casa*. In 1894, Teresa Ybarra found herself abandoned by the father of her four children, José Moreno. According to birth records José and Teresa maintained an informal union for more than seven years in which she bore four children. Although he recognized all of them as his children at birth, Teresa claimed he had stopped helping her support the children and she continued to struggle on her own.[622] There were also married women who because of abandonment fell into a form of involuntary singleness. In 1903, Rosario Guerrero desperately sought a spot for her teenage daughter in the school at the *Casa* because her husband abandoned her and their children. In addition to thirteen

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[620] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, 1903, Box 185, f. 903-3099.
[621] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, 1888, Box 159, f. 888-827.
[622] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, "Solicitas," 1888, Box 163 bis, f. 894-1814.

year old María del Carmen, Rosario was nursing two small babies. She explained that breastfeeding her children "whose care was absolutely critical" at that moment, prevented her from being able to work and provide for María del Carmen's education.[623]

Often the problem faced by single mothers was their inability to work and meet their childcare responsibilities. Such circumstances were the main cause of abandonment and in some cases infanticide.[624] In fact, almost half of all infanticide and abandonment cases between 1868 and 1903 were committed by domestic workers.[625] While it is difficult to make judgments about the frequency of such crimes and occupation, the causal connection between domestic work and abandonment is strong both in the criminal court documentation and *Casa de Caridad* records.[626] Working as a live in maid made it difficult for single mothers to attend to their work and their children, especially young children. Most employers would fire a pregnant domestic and would not tolerate a live in mother with an infant. Whereas a washerwoman or seamstress might be able to keep her child with her and even feed and watch children between work intervals, a servant had overseers and bosses who expected her to work consistently. In many instances, they feared being fired should their mistress or master find out. It is also interesting to

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[623] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, "Solicitas," 1903, Box 185, f. 903-3099

[624] See Chapter 5.

[625] See Table 6.1.

[626] The work of Ann Blum suggests similarities in the rate and causes of abandonment by domestic workers in Mexico City see "Abandonment, Adoption and Reproductive Disruption." *Childhood,* Vol. 14, No. 3, 321-338 (2007) and "Public Welfare and Child Circulation, Mexico City, 1877-1925." *Journal of Family History*, 23, no. 2 (1998); Also see Chapter 4.

note that an overwhelming majority of criminal abandonment cases involved migrant women.[627] Women not originally from Guadalajara were less likely to have relatives or a system of familial support that would have allowed them to keep their children.

Table 6.1[628] **Occupations and Crimes Committed by Female Inmates at the Jalisco State Penitentiary, 1868-1903**		
Occupation	**Crime**	
	Child Abandonment	*Infanticide*
Mole Grinder	2	1
Domestic	4	12
Merchant	2	0
Clothing Ironer	3	1
Shawl Braider	1	1
Seamstress	0	2
Sus Labores	1	6
Hat Maker	0	1
Shoe Maker	0	1
Chocolate Maker	0	1
Unknown	0	1
Basket Weaver	0	1
Total	13	28

[627] Out of the 13 cases of women tried for child abandonment between 1868 and 1905, 12 were originally from another part of the state. AHJ, *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados: Departamento de Mujeres 1868-1873," and "Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905."

[628] Data for the tables on female inmates was compiled using the sentencing books found in the state archives. As noted in the tables not all categories were recorded for each inmate and the years 1880-1903 were more complete than earlier periods. AHJ, *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados: Departamento de Mujeres 1868-1873," and "Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905."

Other occupations, such as prostitution lent itself to higher rates of unwanted pregnancy, which much like domestic service affected their ability to continue to work. For these reasons, infanticide was more common among women of that occupation according to data from Guadalajara's prison records.[629] To avoid such extreme measures, a mother was able to bring a newborn to the *Casa's* foundling home, or *Casa de Cuna* anonymously. While solicitations for entrance into the *Casa's* other departments were lengthy and frequently rejected, babies could not be turned away. The department of orphaned infants took in babies from one day to two years old, providing each child a wet-nurse. Although the institution did not have a foundling wheel as was common in other parts of Latin America, children were frequently left outside its doors. In the early morning hours of April 22, 1896 a baby girl was found in the portico of the *Casa*. The baby was in a basket with a heartfelt note offering prayer to whoever should find her and indicated the child was four days old and not yet baptized. Administrators at the *Casa* acknowledged their role in saving the small child and named her María Amparo (María Protection).[630]

The Rhetoric of Protection

In this way the *Casa* acted as a protecting and paternal figure toward children, many born into families headed by single and widowed women. Children were the link between unattached women and the charity house. It was their sons and daughters which the institution deemed as the most vulnerable of the poor due to the lack of a strong male patriarch in their lives. From its colonial beginnings the *Casa* viewed itself as a manifestation of the King of Spain, who was

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[629] See Table 6.1.

[630] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, "Entradas," 1896, Box 166, 896-2030.

supreme "patron and protector" of those under his dominion and especially of those who resided in the "public establishments" of the New World. According to an 1819 draft of its ordinances, the *Casa* embodied the "paternal, charitable and sovereign disposition" of the King.[631] Even in later years when the charity house came under state management it was classified as an "institution of protection," along with the state funded pawn shop, the home for "repentant women," the women's prison, and state run daycares.[632] In the absence of the patriarch of the nineteenth-century family, the institution stepped in to provide protection. The idea was one promoted by the institution itself, as well as city and state officials, residents and mothers alike.

Bishop Cabañas, the institution's founder, viewed the children received at the *Casa* as the innocent victims of their parents' wayward lifestyles. He believed the majority of the poor to be "ignorant [and] employed in propagating vices, scandals, sins, [and] idleness." According to Cabañas it was idleness above all which led them to occupy themselves instead with "arrogance, drunkenness, robbery, [and] murder." For the bishop it was the children born of the poor who suffered "living on the streets, plazas, *paseos*, and other public passageways." It was the young who were frightened, unseen, unheard and "most lamentable." He feared that if children were not reformed from a young age their parents had the potential to "corrupt customs… pervert

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[631] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Box 1, 1789-1849, Article 1, p 1-2.

[632] Based on the organization of the collection at the AHJ which listed the organizations as part of the Institutions of Protection under the jurisdiction of the Jalisco Department of Beneficience. Other categories included Administration, Cemeteries, Hospitals and Public Health, Philanthropy, and Laws and Ordinances. The *Casa de Amiga Obrera* was founded in 1887 in Mexico City and offered free childcare to female workers during work hours. Its use in Guadalajara would not expand until the early part of the twentieth century. See González Navarro, *La pobreza,* 96-97.

peace, obstruct good order, temper piety," and in effect "condemn their souls" to hell.[633] In this way he viewed the *Casa de Caridad* as a sanctuary for children, a refuge to "protect" and salvage their souls.

The *Casa's* goal of supporting, rearing and protecting the children of broken homes continued under state management. Police shared this vision and remitted hundreds of children to the charity each year. In an 1875 letter, city police chief Simón Delgadillo described the charity house as a place of refuge for the city's orphans, particularly those of "a tender age," who are alone in the world, "lacking family or anyone who might take interest in them." He went on to suggest that this "class of unprotected children needed to be pulled out of mendacity, crime, abandonment and danger," suggesting it was their "right to demand that the government provide them support and an education in order to become useful citizens" later in life. Similar to political debate over state funded charity, Delgadillo argued that it would be "abominable" if police arrested and tried abandoned and orphaned children as vagrants and placed them in city jails, without extending to them the "education they needed" and locked them away "where they would acquire criminal habits or be hurled into an irremediable prostitution at an inexperienced age."[634] The police chief's comments indicate that local officials believed in the rhetoric of protection as a means of reforming the poor.

It was not uncommon for police officials to track the activities of children found on the streets and jail those caught begging or violating vagrancy laws. Such was the fate of a 10 year old unnamed "vagabond boy" picked up on the streets of Guadalajara in 1888. In this case

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[633] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Box 1, (1789-1849) 2-6.

[634] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, May 18, 1875, "Letter from Jefetura Simón Delgadillo to Department of Public Beneficiencia" Box 158, f. 875.

however, despite being over the approved age limit for boys accepted at the *Casa de Caridad* police felt the child needed aid from the charity house rather than punishment. Correspondence between the police department and the Director of Beneficence reveals that police took pity on the boy who believed that because the boy had "no parents or persons he is subject to" was being bullied by some of the other street boys. For his safety, police officials temporarily placed him in one of the jail cells until they could find him room at the *Casa*.[635]

The notion that the *Casa* provided children a level of "protection" that their parents were unable to provide from the dangers often associated with poverty and the streets was well understood throughout the state. In a request from the Governor's Office to the Director of Beneficence to admit Marcos Marin into its School of Arts for boys, the author imparted the language of protection to draw attention to Marcos' case. Describing him as "extremely poor, but of good conduct and in much need of protection." The letter emphasized his economic need as well as his ability to be reformed given his moral character.[636] The School of Arts was for boys between the ages of 6 and 13. In 1888, there were over three hundred male and female orphaned children under the age of twelve living at the charity house.[637] Children who had come to the *Casa* as orphans were automatically enrolled in the school, but it also accepted applications from parents or took in children remitted by the police or government. During the day boys took classes in reading, writing, math, grammar, geography and religion. After these

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[635] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, 1888-1889, Box 159, f. 888-829

[636] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, "Recibo de asilados," Caja 159, 1888-1889, 888-827

[637] Ibid, Caja 159, 1888-1889, 888.

classes, the children focused on learning trades taught at the *Casa*.[638] From the perspective of the state, the school afforded a refuge for Marcos to acquire a basic education and learn a trade in order to have a career and become an upstanding citizen, without succumbing to the dangers of the streets or tainting his good nature.

Of course, the rhetoric of protection was something that mothers could also employ to assuage *Casa* administrators in their solicitation letters. When in 1894 Yrenea González sought a place for her son in the charity house she confessed that her work as a domestic forced her to neglect her son, leaving him "constantly abandoned in the street." She acknowledged that her behavior was reckless, but admitted that she had few other options given the nature of her job. Similar to the argument made by police chief Simón Delgadillo years earlier, she acknowledged that if her son continued to play all day in the streets he would soon "acquire vices" which would "convert him" into an "undesirable member of society." To make her case she added that if he was not admitted to the Casa he would have no chance at becoming "honorable." [639]

The protection of honor, particularly female honor, was the supreme duty of a family's patriarch. Although it was less common for fathers to place children in the *Casa*, several cases exist within the documentation fathers also recognized the institution as a safe haven for their children when they were unable to perform their patriarchal duties. This was the case of the factory worker Rafael Morfín, who in 1875 requested help providing a "secondary education" for his two daughters Refugio and Julia. He explained that on his meager salary he was "scarcely able to keep up with feeding his family," and without the "protection" of the *Casa* his daughters

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[638] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Box 1, 1789-1849, Article 5, p 20-21.

[639] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, "Altas y Bajas, June 1894," Box 162, f. 893-5546.

would be unable to continue their education and development. To assure officials of his responsibility as a father, he added that when his circumstances improved, or he could pawn some goods, he would return for his daughters and pay the necessary tuition.[640] In this way Guadalajara's poor used the charity house as a temporary space of patriarchal control for young girls.

Children and relatives also used the language of patriarchy in their solicitations to the charity house. In 1900, Dolores Torres reasoned with the Director of Beneficence that her own circumstances were the product of an absent father. To make her case for assistance she claimed that he abandoned her and her two brothers, leaving them with few resources to survive. Not only did her father not perform his duties in providing for the family financially, his absence had left her without protection. As a result she lost her virginity before marriage when she entered into an illicit relationship with a man who she claimed "seduced and abandoned" her. Lacking the support of her father, Dolores sought the aid of the *Casa* to step in and help care for her young brothers.[641] Similarly, a request for admission by Juana Peréz de Uribe, the widowed grandmother of six year old Angel Uribe, recognized the *Casa* as a place where Angel might benefit from male role models. She acknowledged that Angel's mother was a prostitute, and until now it was Juana who had provided him with clothing, food and education.[642] Given the nature of his mother's work and the fact that Angel took the surname of his mother, it is likely that he was an illegitimate child. The fact that Angel was six years old, the age at which children were first admitted to elementary school, indicated his grandmother's desire for him to receive a

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[640] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, Box 158, 1870-1887, f. 875.
[641] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, "Solicitas," 1900, Box 177, f. 900-2919.
[642] "Solicitas," 1892-1893, Box 160bis.

proper education and training for a future job. In the absence of a father, Angel would have strong male role models in the form of *Casa* teachers and priests and be reared and educated in a manner that was expected of the nineteenth-century family and patriarch.

Single mothers who lacked the support of a male patriarch also viewed the *Casa* as an asylum to protect the honor of their daughters. In 1889, the mother of 16 year old Cecilia Villavicencio believed her daughter would be best living under the "strict care and vigilance" of the *Casa*. The solicitation explained that Cecilia, who was "completely poor" but from a good family "wished to live honestly." She needed to flee her home due to the threat of seduction. Fearing it would lead to "terrible and irremediable consequences," the request to the Director of Beneficence sought charity in order to "free her of disgrace." In exchange, it asked that she attend school or serve as an assistant to the female director, Señora Luz Herrera, for three or four months. The request went on to say that it understood the director to be someone who was "favorable toward those who suffered and yearned for the protection of virtue." One day later the director obliged, placing Cecilia in the *Casa* temporarily.[643] This was true for Francisca Martínez, although married her husband was absent. Fearing she was unable to "control" her "dangerous" daughter, she requested that she stay in the *Casa*.[644]

Children who lived temporarily and permanently at the charity house truly lived in a "vigilant" and cloistered manner. Highly regimented daily routines which varied according to sex reflected the ways in which the institution served as an asylum to preserve female honor and maintain important gender, class and age distinctions. On most days boys and girls woke up at 6:00 a.m., washed, made their bed and attended Mass at 7:30 a.m. By 8:00 a.m. children began

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[643] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, "Solicitas," Box 159, f. 889-833.
[644] Ibid, 901-5706.

classes, followed by Catechism with the priest. Although segregated, boys and girls studied some subjects in common such as reading, writing, math, grammar, and geography, which the institution believed were "absolutely necessary in order to be able to progress" in their future jobs. School was interrupted from 12:00-2:00 p.m. for lunch and the customary *siesta*, or nap. Afterwards children worked in the shop or learned gender appropriate trades until 5:30 in the evening. These courses focused on certain trades taught at the *Casa*. Girls mastered sewing and labors of the hand "appropriate to their sex" such as washing, ironing, cooking, embroidery, sewing and knitting, while boys might be trained in crafts such as shoemaking or carpentry. As a way to foster the moral and religious training at the heart of the institution, children ended their day with recitation of the rosary and prayer from 7:00 to 8:00 p.m., followed by supper and bedtime. The monotony of their cloistered lives varied only on Sundays and feast days when classes ended early and boys in good standing were allowed to leave the *Casa* chaperoned by their male teachers. Administrators believed it was good for the young boys to take in fresh air and get exercise. The girls who lived at the institution were denied this right and were only allowed to go out into the patios of the charity house. Even then girls were under the strict vigilance of their female teachers.[645] As a result, from as early as the age of six when boys and girls began attending formal classes the *Casa's* employees represented parent figures; teaching children their appropriate gender roles and responsibilities within Mexican society. Boys were to grow up to be men with a trade or profession and to be productive members of society, while girls were raised to understand their role in the home as household managers, mothers and wives.

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[645] It is important to note that by 1883 the regulations do not specify whether or not this also applied to girls, although it appears that under the Sisters of Charity it was still a rule. AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Article 5, Box 1, 1789-1849, 20-21; AHJ, Beneficiencia B-6, *Reglamentos y Leyes*, "Reglamento del Hospicio de Guadalajara," 1883, f. 883-5937.

Undoubtedly the distinctions made between boys and girls stemmed from a desire to protect the honor of its female pupils. While boys had access to the public sphere and all its potential dangers, girls remained secluded and "protected" from public dangers behind the stone walls of the *Casa de Caridad*.[646]

The idea that girls needed to be kept off of city streets and therefore out of harm's way to protect their honor is evident in the codes that regulated when orphaned children were allowed to leave; what was called a "definitive exit." Regulations suggest that both boys and girls were free to leave when they were of a "competent age" and able to work outside the *Casa*, usually by age fourteen. In practice however, it appears that girls stayed at the institution for a much longer period than did boys. In many cases they stayed until regulations forced them out at the age of twenty four, or evidence emerged that they had family or relations living in the city capable of "protecting" them.[647] Although regulations prior to 1849 did not specify an exact age for boys, later regulations mandated that boys exit by the age of twelve and in some cases be forcibly removed. According to documentation, officials expressed concern that sexually mature boys and girls might lead to the romantic mingling within the home. *Casa* administrators took such matters extremely seriously, going so far as to request the removal of the blind boy Daniel Robles in 1895. At thirteen, passed the age at which boys were to leave, Robles had apparently caused some "inconveniences." Although correspondence did not provide specific details, it suggested they related to his "advanced puberty." As a result *Casa* workers punished him by

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[646] For a discussion of the gendered distinctions between the private and public sphere see Chapter four.

[647] Evidence from *Casa* documents shows that girls who exhibited a desire to leave had to have proof that they could work and support themselves or have relatives that could serve as their guardians. See cases AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, "Salidas Definiativas," 1894, Box 163, f. 894-1666, Exp 374 and f. 894-5564, Exp 213.

isolating him from the rest of the children. The director then petitioned the Department of Beneficence to remove Robles from the school, citing both his transgressions and the fact that he had passed the age designated in the ordinances as reasons for which he "should no longer enjoy the grace of beneficence." [648] Although the response from the Department of Beneficence was lukewarm, recommending the boy stay on until they resolved the "incident," the rule exemplified the gender distinctions inherent in protecting sexual honor. While it is unclear what Daniel did to justify his swift exit, his case reveals the greater need to preserve the honor of girls. Barely allowed outside the confines of the charity house, *Casa* administrators were better able to monitor and prevent female interactions with the opposite sex, but there were few controls that could be placed upon them with boys inside the home. For this reason, the only way to prevent the comingling of the sexes would be to relinquish boys at a younger age, as they were considered to be the less vulnerable of the sexes and in less need of protection than girls.[649] Just as the patriarch of the home was chief guardian of female sexual honor, the *Casa de Caridad* took measures to carry out this obligation by preventing girls the opportunity to have sexual encounters or be influenced by the sexual desires of young men.

Defining Proper Mothers

In later years, as the needs of the poor became greater and space more limited at the *Casa*, the institution redirected its concern for female honor toward mothers. By 1883, new regulations which sought to admit only the most deserving and respectable poor required mothers to provide

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[648] AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección, Box 165 bis, 895-1930; See also AHJ, Beneficiencia B-6, *Reglamentos y Leyes*, "Reglamentos del Hospicio de Guadalajara," 1883, f. 883-5937, Chapter 3, Article 28.

[649] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Box 1, 1789-1849.

documentation to substantiate their claims of insolvency and confirm the legitimacy of their children. Changes to the solicitation process to admit only the legitimately-born was a shift in practice from previous years.[650] While it undoubtedly served to cut admissions, it also demonstrated that the charity house took part in a wider nineteenth-century debate focused on defining the limits of proper nineteenth-century motherhood.

Accepted documentation included birth certificates indicating names of the father and mother, death certificates (in the case of widowhood), and insolvency reports from creditable sources. Instituted after 1883, the new state mandated regulation created a much more bureaucratic admission policy making it easier to isolate and turn away certain sectors of the poor. Acquiring documents in the nineteenth century was not an easy task for the poor, as certified legal documents cost money. In 1894 Margarita Lomelí, a widow with two daughters, told the Department of Beneficence she was only able to provide partial documentation to meet its requirements. She explained that she was unable to secure the death certificate for her husband because she could not afford it, as each document cost fifty *centavos*.[651] A similar fate met the teenage Carmen Ramírez that same year when she requested a place for her four year old sister, María Quintero. Cármen, who was single and worked as a domestic, explained that the sisters had been orphaned by their parents forcing her to take work in someone's home. Her low paying job and the nature of her work prevented her from caring for her little sister. Therefore, she hoped that through the "true charity" of the *Casa de Caridad* her sister might finally receive the "education and care" that Cármen felt unable to provide "due to her "complete poverty." In

[650] AHJ, Maríano Coronado, "Bases Reglamentos del Hospicio de Guadalajara," 1883, Chapter 2, Article 3, *Beneficiencia*, B-6, Reglamentos y Leyes, c. 240, f. 883-5937.
[651] AHJ, Caja 164 bis, f. 894-5607, exp 165.

the end, the charity house denied María Quintero admission because Cármen failed to provide accompanying justification to substantiate her story.

Ultimately, the new regulations aimed to prove that those requesting charity were both honest and honorable individuals, and therefore deserving of public charity. Honor was central to an 1888 solicitation from the unmarried Luisa García. Having two children born out of wedlock she felt a greater need to attest to her own good reputation and asked others to do the same in supporting documents. In the request, Luisa explained that she was the mother of two little boys, Salavador age 6 and Miguel age 3, who "without a father, nor fortune, suffered" in her care. The letter described Luisa as "celibate," a possible indication that she had remained chaste since having her children. Although unmarried, it is unclear whether Luisa had a lover who died or whether she was abandoned when she wrote that for the last four years she "had found herself entirely isolated without resources or protection from anyone." Given her circumstances she sought "official charity" to "save her innocent children. . . [who are] victims of misery." Attached to her request was a letter of support attesting to her "honesty and good conduct" and "the urgent necessity" which forced her to solicit aid from the government. A letter signed by ten different men indicated that they knew Luisa for many years and could attest that she was "completely honorable and poor." [652] The case reflects a shift in the importance attached to a mother's honor in the *Casa de Caridad* by the late nineteenth century.

At the same time mothers utilized the language of honor to secure aid to their children. Such was the case for the widowed Eucebia Ybarra. In 1888 she solicited the Department of Beneficence on behalf of her two daughters twelve year old Ysabel and seven year old Refugio Martínez. Described as honorable, she concluded however that her current "necessity . . .

[652] AHJ, Box 159, 1888-1889, f. 888-827

exposed her honor to danger." Although brief, the remark suggests the distinction that both Eucebia and state beneficence workers likely made between the honorable and dishonorable poor. In providing assistance to honorable women state welfare organizations hoped to prevent the respectable women from turning to crime and vices like prostitution to earn money. Understanding this, Eusebia was able to appeal to official concerns regarding the honor of mothers. Days later a letter from a male relative confirmed Eusebia's integrity and her two daughters were admitted.[653] Thus, honor formed an integral part in defining a proper mother in the nineteenth century, particularly those deserving of charity at the *Casa de Caridad.*

When compared with the ideal Republican mother, the many poor unmarried mothers who *Casa* workers and state beneficence agents encountered often stood in stark contrast. In addition to the mothers who actively solicited a "place of mercy" for their children and were free to visit and eventually return for them, the *Casa* sheltered abandoned children. Guadalajara newspapers demonized mothers who abandoned their children as "ungrateful," "cruel" and "evil." One article directed its outrage toward the mother, calling out her lack of natural maternal instinct and juxtaposing her with the "good" and caring woman who found the child and brought it to the *Casa de Caridad*.[654]

In 1900, religious reformers extolled the virtues of motherhood and maternal instinct. In her manual on women's education, the Spanish born Faustina Saez de Melgar, recited a parable in which the moral was that all women had maternal instinct. In her story a woman confessed to her priest that she killed her first three children immediately after their birth by hurling them into the ocean. As her penance, the priest told that woman that she must raise her fourth child for a

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[653] AHJ, "Receta de asilados," C. 159, 1888-1889, f. 888-827 and 889-830.

[654] See articles, "Madre Ingrata," March 8, 1899, *El Sol de Guadalajara, Diario de la Tarde* ; "Mujer Cruel," *El Sol de Guadalajara, Diario de la Tarde,* May 17, 1900.

minimum of two months to absolve her of her sins. Two months after her fourth child was born, she admitted to feeling a strange sensation she had never felt before, "a pure pleasure that equaled no other pleasures she had ever felt." Her natural instincts of maternity kicked in. Saez de Melgar goes on to say that the "innocent creatures" which she had "kissed and thrown into the ocean like a crazy woman" had been her "angel of salvation." The woman in the story became a "good mother" and an "honorable woman through the blessed influence of lactation and of maternity."[655] The story highlights women's natural inclinations toward motherhood to evoke a sense of normalcy in women's roles as mothers. Those who did not fit into the stereotype of a selfless mother, or felt unable to care for their children, were "crazy" and dishonorable. Other researchers suggest popular beliefs that women's desire to be a mother was both "natural" and "instinctual." Being a mother was something that all women "desired in order to meet their social and biological function as reproducers and good mothers."[656] Emphasis placed on motherhood and women's natural inclinations of maternity limited women's ability to have other social functions. In Mexico, women who rejected or rebelled against maternity set a bad example for society. As one article written in Mexico City in 1886 suggested, shunning motherhood was criminal.[657] Other journalists believed that a good mother was to act as a "slave to her children."[658] "*Buenas maneras*," or good customs, posited that honorable motherhood required legal and lawful marriage. Bourgeois ideas excluded a large population of poor women who

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[655] BPEJ, #758, doc 1, Saez de Melgar, "Educación cristian y social de la mujer," 30-31.
[656] Verena Radkau, "Imágenes de la mujer en la sociedad porfirista. Viejos mitos en ropaje nuevo," *Encuentro*, Vol 4, num.3, (1987), 27.
[657] Antonio de P. Moreno, "La Madre," en *Artículos sobre diversos asuntos* (México, 1886), 58-60.
[658] "¿Por qué la mujer debe ser más pura que el hombre?" in *El Imperio*, núm 24 (Guadalajara, March 24, 1866), 3.

faced greater barriers to marriage due to frequent urban mobility which separated families and created an imbalance in the sex ratio.[659] Therefore the honor of poor mothers was more often suspect, given that consensual unions and illegitimacy were customary among the poorer and rural classes in Mexico.[660] Elite concerns over abandonment therefore focused attention on the women involved, as it was widely understood that motherhood was a natural inclination. Women who lacked such tendencies were suspect, regardless of the material or social circumstances surrounding a child's birth.

Although poor mothers frequently abandoned children anonymously, as shown by the many children left at the *Casa* or remitted there by police, mothers arrested and tried for abandoning infants faced criminal prosecution. Between 1868 and 1905 the Guadalajara criminal court system convicted and punished thirteen mothers with abandonment of an infant, with the average sentence of between one and two years jail time. Only crimes like robbery, adultery and assault averaged similar sentences.[661] While their mother's served their sentences, judges sent the children to live at the *Casa de Caridad*. This was the fate of Lorto Ramírez whose mother Urbana Macías abandoned him at only eight days old. Macías worked as a shawl braider and migrated to Guadalajara from the nearby state of Guanajuato. The judge in her case ordered that she serve a one year prison sentence, and remitted her baby to the *Casa*.[662] While some scholars

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[659] Manuel Antonio Carreño, *Manuel de urbanidad y buenas maneras para uso de la juventud de ambos sexos* (México, 1874), 443. Reprinted, 1970; See Chapter four.

[660] Francisco Bulnes, *La verdad acerca de la revolución Mexicana* (New York, 1916), 302; Moises González Navarro, "El Porfiriato, vida social," *Historia Moderna de México* (Mexico: Editorial Hermes, 1957), 320.

[661] AHJ , *Libros de Penenticiaría*, "Album de sentenciados: Deptaramento de Mujeres 1868-1873," and "Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905."

[662] AHJ Libros de Penitenciaria Procesados Mujeres, 1880-1905 (10 bis B) and AHJ, Beneficiencia Caja 165 bis, 895-2026.

argue that abandonment was the product of a changing urban landscape filled with war, illness, unemployment and poverty, reformers and elites of the time blamed child abandonment on the *"malas costumbres*," or so-called bad customs or influences of the poor.[663] In Jalisco, newspapers derided the physical and moral defects associated with Guadalajara's underclass as "alcoholic," disease-ridden, uneducated, prone to "*amasiato* (unwed lovers), abandonment, [and] excessive filth." In general, journalists and reformers attacked the poor who they perceived lacked "principles of morality."[664] In this way singleness and non-marriage as characteristics of a poor lifestyle became intrinsically linked to the problem of child abandonment, a problem left to the *Casa de Caridad*. In these cases, mothers who abandoned their children were undeserving mothers in the eyes of the *Casa*.

From the perspective of *Casa* workers, police, and criminal court judges, certain women were unfit for the responsibilities of motherhood. It would become the duty of the charity house to take in and care for the children of "bad" mothers. A mother who had difficulty caring for her children, however, did not always abandon nor wish to separate from her child. In these instances police and court judges passed judgment on women to determine whether or not a child should be forcibly separated and placed at the *Casa*, in effect defining the role of a proper mother. This was true for Julia Amador, the mother of six year old Horacio Martínez. In the spring of 1894, police found Horacio wandering the streets of the city without an adult guardian. Through some detective work officers discovered Julia later that day in a "complete state of drunkenness." Public drunkenness was both a crime, and from an elite perspective a so-called characteristic of the immoral lives of the lower classes. Interestingly after locating Julia police

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[663] Armida de la Vara de González, "Los ceros sociales," in *Obras completas de Luis González y González*. Volume 4 of *El Indio en la era liberal* (Mexico: Clío, 1996), 367.
[664] BPEJ, *El Globo*. Guadalajara, November 1, 1910.

did not reunite mother and son, but instead took Horacio to the city jail and eventually "deposited" him in the *Casa*. The reason for this is unclear. Space at the Casa in 1894 was extremely hard to come by, and it does not appear that Julia spent time in jail because she does not show up in any criminal records. Therefore, it seems the decision to remove Horacio from her custody was one made by police officials, possibly linked to abusive authority by police who took revenge on poor women. What is clear is that Julia did not appreciate police efforts and quickly went to work to try to reclaim her son. It would take several months before *Casa* workers permitted little Horacio to leave with his mother.[665]

At other times, city police defined the limits of motherhood. In the autumn of 1888 *cuartel* police wrote to the governor's office regarding the state in which they had encountered the mother of María Cardenas. In the letter they stated that the mother, Marta Rota was "completely poor and unable to move." They described Rota as an "invalid" who did not leave her bed. Marta had come to Guadalajara with her husband from the hardscrabble farming village of Zapotlán el Grande, but shortly after he passed away leaving seven year old María in the care of her mother. Police commented that because the girl had no "protection in the city" she was susceptible to "danger" as a young woman without anyone watching her. For this reason, before even receiving a response from the Beneficience office, *cuartel* police removed the girl from the home, presumably placing her in police custody.[666]

After 1833, the administration of the *Casa* would be predominantly female and at its zenith (1859-1874) run by the Sisters of Charity. In this way the institution stands out from others, such as state and local governments, courts and police forces. Perhaps in dealing mostly with young

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[665] AHJ, Beneficiencia, C. 164, f. 894-5582 and 894-5577.
[666] AHJ, *Beneficiencia*, B-5, C 159, 1888, f. 888.

children both the Catholic Church and the city and state officials who supported the institution believed its leadership should be those most suited to tend to the young. In doing so they looked to celibate nuns to be pious and honorable representatives of motherhood. In this way the charity house not only took up the role of patriarch through its efforts at protecting the city's poor, but also as mother, further highlighting the ways in which it defined appropriate roles for mothers. This is clearly exhibited through the care that the institution provided, its emphasis on education, and the active role of its frequently female staff, which would epitomize the proper nineteenth-century mother.

It was the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter that poor unmarried and widowed mothers so often were unable to provide for their children that sent them to the charity house. When children arrived they were divided according to their needs in several different departments. In the *Casa de Cuna* wet-nurses partnered with infants until the age of two.[667] Therefore, in the earliest stages of life with the help of other mothers who worked as wet-nurses, the *Casa de Caridad* was able to meet the most basic and vital need given to a child by their mother. After infancy, children were divided into one of two departments for poor and orphaned children. By the age of six (seven in later years), boys and girls were segregated and spent much of their day attending primary schooling.[668] In between classes, the charity house provided children's daily meals. Breakfast consisted of some form of warm beverage, such as chocolate or *atole*, accompanied by milk and bread. The midday meal was much larger and typically

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[667] There were live-in wetnurses and in some instances children were sent out to live with their nurse. AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849, Article 8, 37; AHJ, *Beneficiencia*, 1860, C. 157, f. 860.

[668] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849, Article 5; AHJ, "Bases Reglamentos del Hospicio de Guadalajara," 1883, Chapter 3, Article 23.

included soup, meat, beans and tortillas. In addition children had a small supper of leftover meat, rice, potatoes or beans. Besides food, the *Casa* had a strict dress code which required each child be provided with his or her own uniform. Boys were furnished a jacket, vest, pants, shirt, socks, shoes, underwear and a hat, while girls received a shawl, blouse, skirt, jacket, petticoats, and shoes.[669]

By the latter part of the nineteenth century however, it was not only the basic needs of clothing, food and shelter which mothers felt obligated to provide their children. Increasingly petition letters sought assistance from the *Casa de Caridad* for education. Widower Juan Curel, implied that the education of his eleven year old daughter Guadalupe was the responsibility of a mother. For this reason, he expressed his wish for Guadalupe to attend school at the charity house because she "lacked a mother to attend to her education." [670] Although it is unknown whether or not the *Casa* admitted Guadalupe, the case demonstrates the weight of a mother's responsibility to educate her children, a charge that was especially difficult for mothers without means. This was the sentiment of a 1903 solicitation request from the widow Trinidad Carillo. She explained that because she was blind she was unable to provide her children an education, without which she believed her children would "suffer."[671]

Education at the *Casa* was a fundamental part of its mission to reform the poor by giving their children "Christian and civil instruction" in order that they become "self-sufficient, with solid spiritual and moral convictions to have an impact beneficially on the whole

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[669] AHJ, Beneficiencia, B-5, *Instituciones de Protección*, "Tipo de Alimentación," March 20, 1895, C. 165 bis, f. 895-5619; Ibid., Article 8.
[670] AHJ, Beneficiencia, B-5, *Instituciones de Protección*, "Solicitas," C. 181, 901-5706.
[671] AHJ, Beneficiencia, B-5, *Instituciones de Protección*, "Solicitas," C. 183 bis, 1902, f. 902-3066.

community."[672] Such goals paralleled demands on mothers in Latin America and Mexico, whose supreme goal was to educate and raise "orderly and productive citizens" for the good of the emerging nation. New emphasis on the patriotic role of mothers required they be both educated and honorable in order to lead by example.[673] There could be no greater "mother" to serve as a role model and educator to the children of the poor than the pious order of French nuns who would come to run the establishment by 1859. The wars for Independence disrupted reform work at the *Casa*, forcing the home to close its doors for long periods from 1810 to 1829 and again from 1836 to 1845. It was not until the Sisters of Charity took over, well-respected for their educational and social work, that the establishment entered its "golden age."[674] So noteworthy were their educational achievements that shortly after in 1860 they opened an exclusive all girl academy in the *Casa.* Classes at the school were taught by the best male and female professors in the city and catered to the most prominent *Tapatía* families.[675] The school served the needs of Jalisco's elite by offering an exclusive European education to their daughters, at the same time the academy boosted revenue for the charity house. Whereas poor girls acquired a basic education with training in traditionally female trades and domestic work, elite girls gained a much broader education. In addition to basic courses in reading, writing,

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[672] Ibid.

[673] See Chapter 2; Ruggiero, Modernity in the Flesh, 27. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 15; BPEJ, Misc, #73, 1"Instruccion PriMaría, informe que el Inspector general de Instruccion PriMaría del Estado de Jalisco" by Lopez Cotilla. (GDL, 1851); BPEJ, Miscellaneous, #291, doc 2, Lorento del Pozzo, "La Famila," 107-110.

[674] Under the administration of the Sisters of Charity, and incidently its first female director, the institution emerged from a terrible period into the "edad de oro." See José López Portillo y Weber, Guadalajara, el Hospicio Cabañas y su fundador (Guadalajara: Gobierno del Estado, 1982), 63-64

[675] Ibid., 69.

math and grammar, the daughters of the elite learned drawing, French, English, geometry, geography, botany and music.[676]

Incidentally during the tenure of the Sisters of Charity the institution became predominantly female-run, employing the first female director and hiring a large percentage of women to work as nurses, teachers and staff. In many ways the women of the *Casa de Caridad* embodied the ideal of the "Republican mother." Both the nuns and the live-in female workers who were in charge of childcare, cleaning, cooking, nursing and teaching at the establishment possessed the expected moral virtues of selfless and pious women who were educated and performed domestic work. Not only this, but they remained within the confines of the home. In this way the lessons girls learned at the *Casa* emphasized discipline in the confinement of the home, teaching young girls how to become selfless wives and learn the domestic arts associated with marriage and the home. By extension this also prepared them to work as nannies and domestic servants. For the girls without mothers or separated from them, the women of the *Casa* served as strong examples of the proper comportment, refinement and manners expected of women.[677] Even elite families felt safe entrusting the Sisters of Charity with the moral and practical development of their daughters. Thus, the sisters of the *Casa de Caridad* played an important role in both defining and performing the duties of a suitable nineteenth-century mother. Often the elite ideals they passed down to young girls contrasted greatly from the lives of their own mothers, many of whom were poor, unmarried or widowed, and had little choice but to work outside the home.

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[676] BPEJ, *Miscellaneous* 73, doc 10, "Colegio de niñas en el hospicio," (Guadalajara, 1863).
[677] Valentina Torres Septién, "Un ideal femenino: Los manuales de urbanidad, 1850-1900," in Gabriela Cano y Georgette José Valenzuela, *Cuatro estudios de género en el México urbano del siglo XIX* (Mexico: PUEG-UNAM, 2001), 97-127.

Preserving the Patriarchal Family and Home

In addition to offering poor children good examples of motherhood, the *Casa de Caridad* did its best to model a proper nineteenth-century home within a large bureaucratic institution. From the perspective of reformers, those it served were the product of broken homes, through abandonment, non-marriage, crime, illness or death. Therefore, it sought to mold children within the context of the ideal patriarchal setting of home and family. From its inception in 1805, Bishop Cabañas intended the *Casa de Caridad* to serve as a home for the poor. At the head of the home was the King of Spain, "the great father of families" who directed the institution and its workers to "cultivate the children of the inhabitants" of Mexico.[678] Eventually this authority transitioned first into the hands of the Sisters of Charity and eventually the state. It appears that the organization operated under its preliminary regulations from 1805 until 1874. At that point the state modified and streamlined the original bylaws, although some consistencies remained in its overall direction.[679] Well into the nineteenth century however, it continued to emphasize the important role of patriarchy. From its efforts to preserve the patriarchal family when it existed, and create one when it did not, the *Casa* served to rectify the wrongs of the nineteenth-century family and home and deal with the problems created by singleness and widowhood.

Ultimately the goal of the *Casa de Caridad* was to preserve the patriarchal family when possible. For this reason it accepted boys and girls when they had no parents or when their parents demonstrated an inability to provide them "rearing or education" due to their "great poverty." However, in the case of adults its admission policies were much more limited. The

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[678] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849, 3.

[679] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, (1789-1849), Article 3, 10-11; AHJ, Beneficiencia B-6, *Reglamentos y Leyes*, "Reglamentos del Hospicio de Guadalajara," 1883, f. 883-5937.

only instances in which adults were accepted at the charity house were in cases where they could not work due to a lack of education or physical disability. In these cases, the regulations of the institution allowed wives or children to accompany adults, and even specified that they must be housed together. Evidence from the institution suggests that such cases were extremely rare, as the majority of adults that resided within the *Casa* were often elderly and without family. The marital family unit was extremely important symbolically and palpably and the *Casa's* ordinances preserved family cohesion as best it could.[680]

In the absence of a patriarch the *Casa* assumed the role of father, as a majority of the children who arrived each day had no fathers providing them protection, education and sustenance, and in some cases no parents at all. While it was common for children of illegitimate birth to take the surname of their mother, orphans who arrived at the establishment frequently had no last or first name. Hence, the Sisters of Charity are credited with beginning the practice of giving orphaned children of unknown parentage the surname Cabañas, after the institution's founder. Similarly the nuns instituted the practice at the *Hospital de Belén*, where they gave babies the name Alcalde, after the city's first bishop and founder of the hospital. In this way the charity house acknowledged itself as a patriarchal figure in the life of orphaned children. The gesture of naming a child after the institution's founder, Juan Ruíz Cabañas, implies the "parent-child" relationship that *Casa* workers assumed between the institution and the young children it raised. Just as the King of Spain had been the "father" of the poor, the former bishop, revered for his work with the less fortunate, became the symbolic figure of paternity to the city's unwanted children. In this way a makeshift family was forged. Even in cases where a child's parents were

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[680] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, (1789-1849), Article 3, 10-11; AHJ, Beneficiencia B-6, *Reglamentos y Leyes*, "Reglamentos del Hospicio de Guadalajara," 1883, f. 883-5937.

known it appears that *Casa* workers used the surname to differentiate which children it had raised from infancy.

Although the *Casa* acknowledged that taking in orphans was not its principal function, the institution prided itself on caring for "the innocent classes of abandoned children." According to its original ordinances orphans "formed the pious heart of the institution" and their care was most "precious" because they had no other family.[681] The case of Beatriz Cabañas sheds light on the significance of the Cabañas surname and the bond of family that it sometimes created. Beatriz was born in 1874 in Atotonilco del Alto, a small pueblo in the mountains north of Guadalajara. Found abandoned at three months city officials in Atotonilco sent the baby to Guadalajara to live at the *Casa de Caridad*. All that officials from Atotonilco knew about the baby was that her father's name was Felipe Sánchez and that she was not yet baptized. Given her age when she arrived, clergy within the charity house quickly administered the sacrament of baptism. Interestingly enough, despite the fact that the baby's father was known *Casa* workers christened the child Beatriz Cabañas. Beatriz would spend much of her childhood and young adult life at the institution, presumably making her way through its various departments beginning with the foundling home where she was nursed to the school for orphaned girls where she would receive a basic education and training. At the age of twenty Beatriz still lived at the home, and was by that time employed as an assistant to the director of a new correctional department. It was very common for female residents to remain at the home until the age of twenty four, after which regulations required they set out on their own. It is doubtful however that they did not assist them in any way, or help them to find work. Frequently, because of this

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[681] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, (1789-1849), Article 3, "Clases de pobres que se admitan," 8; Title 3, Section 21, 14.

regulation and in accordance with others that allowed exemplary orphans of "good comportment" to be hired as employees, girls stayed on to work as department assistants, nannies, nurses, maids, and short order cooks.[682] By 1897 upon turning legal age, it appears Beatriz departed the *Casa* to make a life for herself in Guadalajara. Her freedom was short lived however, because by the fall of the following year Beatriz wrote *Casa* administrators asking to be re-admitted. In her request she explained the "motives" for which she left had "ceased" and now she wished to return because she was completely "alone" and without family. Sadly, the charity house did not accept Beatriz back, due to age limits.[683] As a child raised in the institution and branded with the Cabañas name, the only "home" that Beatriz knew was the charity house. In this way, particularly for the children of Cabañas, the establishment served as her only sense of protection and family.

Despite the outcome for Beatriz, the sense of family at the *Casa* was fundamental to its objectives and taken quite seriously by administrators who strictly adhered to their patriarchal duties. They understood that children learned their proper place in society within the home from parents who taught sons and daughters civil and moral virtues. Just as the role of father and mother was to instruct and guide children, this too would be the role of the *Casa de Caridad* in the lives of the children it served. By giving them a civil and religious education they would be "rehabilitated . . . for their own happiness and for the public good." Imitating the duties expected of male heads of household in nineteenth-century Mexico, regulations advised that children were to be instructed with "love and gentleness" in "Christian doctrine, *buenas costumbres*,

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[682] AHJ, Beneficiencia, B-5, *Instituciones de Protección*, C.164 bis, exp 203, f. 894-5617.

[683] The details of Beatriz' life were pieced together using two separate documents found in the Beneficence records at the AHJ. The first was an employee roster for the year 1894, and later her solicitation request to re-enter the home in 1898. AHJ, Beneficiencia, B-5, *Instituciones de Protección*, C. 166, f. 896-2083; C.170, f. 897-5652

moderation, fear of God, respect for sacred things, and obedience to their superiors." [684] Such objectives encompassed what was divided into two categories of education: civil and religious.

In the same way that fathers and mothers taught their children how to perform their appropriate class and gender roles in society, a civil education in trades and domestic skills was intended to mold orphaned children into upstanding spouses and parents. While such skills were often passed down from parents this became part of the training at the *Casa* to help the children of the poor support themselves and become hardworking members of society after leaving the institution. This also helps to explain the much earlier exit of boys, typically at age twelve, from girls who frequently stayed on until their mid-twenties. In addition to a basic education, boys studied under male teachers to learn trades. These same teachers served as guardians to the boys when allowed free time on Sundays and feast days. Once boys had reached what was a considered a "competent age" and exhibited maturity, the *Casa* placed them in apprenticeships with reputable artisans such as silversmiths, carpenters, painters, masons and stonecutters. From both their male teachers and those they apprenticed with the charity house provided boys with mentors and a modest career in order to become working members of society and sustain a family.

Casa workers expected girls, however, to "proceed with the precautions required of their sex." Their most important role models were their female nuns and teachers who prepared poor girls for their roles as wives and mothers through classes in sewing, knitting, ironing, and cooking. Additionally, staying on to work at the *Casa* as maids, nurses, nannies and cooks taught them skills useful for traditional female occupations. The ultimate goal however was to marry

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[684] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, (1789-1849), Title 3, Section 23, 16.

girls off to "working artisans of *buenas costumbres*."[685] The *Casa* was also much more protective of female orphans. While boys needed to find work, the honor of girls was of primary importance. In the event that girls could not be placed under the supervision and "protection" of kin or a husband, the *Casa* made it a priority to find them work in the homes of respected city residents as domestic servants. Girls were frequently hired out once they had reached adulthood if they "lacked family to protect" them. This became a reality for María Agustina who at twenty four was no longer able to remain at the *Casa,* and because she "lacked family to protect" her was sent to live in the home of Luisa Azpeitia Palomar de Morett.[686] In other cases, when a girl reached legal age she might also petition to leave on the basis that she was able to find honest work. Rafael Cabañas made such a request in 1894, on the grounds that she had knowledge of "embroidery, textiles and other manual labors."[687] While the much later exit of girls at twenty-four might be connected to the legal "age of majority" for women, the difference in the age of exit for boys and girls was connected to preserving the honor of its young female residents.[688] By sending girls out to work in reputable homes or occupations, the *Casa* both protected their honor and reinforced class expectations for the children of the poor.

Class was also reinforced through education. By 1859 the direction of the charity house became increasingly influenced by its private donors who insisted the Sisters of Charity take

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[685] Ibid., Article 5, 24-26.

[686] AHJ, Beneficence, "Salidas Definitivas," C. 163, 894-1666, Exp 374.

[687] AHJ, "Salidas Definitivas," Leg 213, 894-5564

[688] For a discussion see, Seed, Patricia. *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico:Conflicts Over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1988); Socolow, Susan Migden. *The Women of Colonial Latin America*. (Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

over the management of the institution.[689] Wealthy patrons many of whom were of the political and economic elite within the state of Jalisco, hoped to see the Sisters of Charity open a private school for their daughters.[690] In 1861 the *Casa* opened the prestigious *Colegio de Niña*s for girls from the most prominent *Tapatía* families with classes taught by the best professors in the city.[691] At the *Casa* education of poor girls emphasized a basic primary school education combined with the practice of domestic skills so that they would be able to work both inside and outside the home. In the *Colegio de Niña*s however, elite girls received a competitive education from the French order of nuns. To prepare them for a well to do marriage, the school offered advanced courses in math and science and challenging classes in Castilian grammar and French. In addition, they had the opportunity to learn fine arts by taking lessons in piano, singing and drawing. Such classes varied drastically from the sewing, cooking and ironing lessons given to poor girls. The education of elite girls was not intended to prepare them for a life of work, assuming they would have servants and maids, but instead trained them to be knowledgeable

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[689] José López Portillo y Weber, Guadalajara, *El Hospicio Cabañas y Su fundador* (Guadalajara: Gobierno del Estado, 1982), 112-113; Rivera, *Hospicio*, 67.

[690] Men like Juan Palomar who amassed his fortune through good dealings in trade. He assisted economically in the construction of the *Hospital de Belén* and the *Hospicio Cabañas*. He was alderman, deputy of the Congress of the Union from 1850-1851 and in 1853, temporary governor of the state of Jalisco, as well as responsible for the management of Private Welfare of Guadalajara. Others like Dionisio Rodríguez was director and principal benefactor of the School of Arts and Trades (Escuela de Artes y Oficios) in Guadalajara, founded in 1841. In 1877 he was recognized by the state for his philanthropic work in the city. See Anayanci Fregoso Centeno, "Dolores Palomar Arias: 1898-1972. La familia y la religión en la construcción del sujeto" in *Siete historia de vida. Mujeres jaliscienses del siglo XX* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2006), 45-46; *Colección de los decretos, circulares y órdenes de los Poderes Legislativo y Ejecutivo del estado de Jalisco*, Tomo 6 (Guadalajara: Tipografía de Banda, Exconvento de Santa María de Gracia, 1878), 459-60.

[691] Rivera, *Hospicio Cabañas,* 76-77.

companions and educators to their husband and children.[692] Although both poor and elite girls were educated at the same institution and even shared materials and teachers, what separated those who paid to attend the *Colegio de Niñas* from those who were extended charity for a basic primary school education was a distinction between their future work and marriage opportunities. In this way, the *Casa* prepared girls of different class backgrounds for their proscribed roles in Guadalajara.

Although civil education was a cornerstone of the institution, its efforts to inculcate strong morals and virtues were rooted in a long tradition of Christian education. Moral instruction also presented children with strong role models and patriarchal figures in the form of priests. At least two members of the clergy resided at the *Casa* to celebrate mass, administer sacraments and lead catechism. Above all they were responsible for "promoting the exercise of piety and religion." In order to foster these goals the institution's directives required that priests proctor exams on Christian doctrine four times annually. Exams were open to the public and supervised by the institution's governing body the *Junta de Caridad*, which encouraged the attendance of the city's "fathers of families." [693] By calling on male heads of the households the *Casa* hoped to continue to educate those responsible for the Christian instruction of their families and allow them opportunities to present themselves as good patriarchs, a role taken up by priests who guided the flocks of poor and orphaned children of the charity house. At the same time priests as the patriarchs of the institution, were responsible for doling out punishment and corrections.[694]

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[692] BPEJ, *Miscellaneous* 73, doc 10, "Colegio de niñas en el hospicio," (Guadalajara, 1863).
[693] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849, Article 4, "Spiritual and Christian Instruction," 17-18.
[694] Ibid., Article 6, "Policing," 29.

As a "home" for the poor, the *Casa* embodied the patriarchal idea of home and family that was critical in the nineteenth century. This was especially true for children who lacked a father, either from abandonment or as the sons and daughters of single and widowed mothers. The patriarchal duties of a father were something that poor single or widowed mothers frequently could not provide as they had a much greater financial strain on their one-parent households. Limited in their work opportunities and financial resources they often sought the "protection" of the *Casa de Caridad*. In these instances the charity house stepped in to meet patriarchal obligations to rear and educate the children of the poor in order to guide them in their appropriate roles in society. In this way, the *Casa* shaped the perimeters of the proper nineteenth-century home as one with a strong sense of patriarchy to guide children in their spiritual, educational and vocational work and offer protection or punishment when needed.

'Sola'*: Women without Family in the *Casa de Caridad

The idea of the *Casa* as a patriarchal home of "protection" extended not only to the children of single and widowed women, but to women themselves. In advanced age poor widows or unmarried women who lacked the support of family could seek shelter at the charity house. *Casa* administrators sympathized with women in extreme situations, such as the case of Juvencia Alvarez. In 1894 she was elderly, unmarried, "alone" and in need of assistance as she explained due to "her illnesses, advanced age, and the sad circumstances of not having a single family member to take her in."[695] The *Casa* extended assistance for women like Juvencia through its department of *ancianas*, or elderly women. Although the institution did offer support to both male and female beggars through separate departments for *mendigos* and *mendigas* (beggars),

[695] 894-1705 Exp 350

this aid was specifically geared toward those who were homeless and unable to work due to permanent disabilities. Similar to the children educated at the charity house, *Casa* regulations mandated the movement, behavior, dress, and actions of its adult residents according to sex, suggesting a level of patriarchal control over those it deemed in need of reform.

The *Casa* provided both female beggars and elderly women with the basic necessities of food, clothing and accommodations; in exchange it imposed rigid gender roles and restrictions on their daily lives. Just like boys and girls, they housed adult men and women separately, although all residents participated in the daily routine of the *Casa*, which in early years included attending Mass and reciting prayer. Outside of these times, to prevent idleness they were to serve the *Casa* in whatever capacity they were able according to their "abilities and condition." Tasks assigned to adults varied and were typically gendered. Adult males performed outdoor chores, while women worked in the kitchen, nursery or washed clothing. Clothing was to be modest and typically a peasant style, with blouses and skirts of thick course cotton. Women were expected to dress simply without much adornment and keep their clothing clean to portray their "composure" and " honesty." *Casa* rules did not permit men or women to leave without permission from the administrator. The rule was "especially urgent" in regard to women who needed written permission from the director. Bylaws allowed residents to share rooms with their "legitimate" spouses, but it strictly forbade the admission of *amacios,* or unmarried lovers. There was great concern in the *Casa* over "illicit correspondence" between men and women, so much so that it made provisions for such circumstances. In the event that residents already admitted were found

to be residing together or having sexual relations, ordinances stipulated that they be encouraged to marry. For these reasons, rules kept adult men and women separated.[696]

Dictates at the *Casa* which governed women's daily activities, wardrobes, the ability to come and go as they pleased and even their love lives convey the sense of patriarchal control imposed on single and widowed women who took refuge at the institution. They also speak to the ways in which administrators perceived poor women, particularly in the rules which stipulated appropriate behavior and dress. References to being clean, honest and legitimate suggest heightened concern by *Casa* officials over the honor of its unmarried female residents and a desire to monitor and reform them. *Casa* workers supervised and expected women to be compliant and follow regulations. Adult women caught disobeying the rules faced repercussions. In some instances charity house officials attempted to modify behaviors or use corporal punishments.[697] More often punishments and corrections given to adult women demonstrated the link between the charity house and other state institutions that policed the actions of unattached women. For example, it was common for the charity house to remit individuals who displayed delinquent behavior to city police. In 1897 when two beggar women from the home were caught fighting they were promptly sent to police for "correction and protection."[698] Similar measures were taken when *Casa* workers discovered adult residents stealing or attempting to run away.

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[696] AHA, Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849, Title 2, "De los Pobres Mendigos," 7-14; AHJ, "Bases Reglamentos del Hospicio de Guadalajara," 1883, Chapter 5, "Asilo de Mendigos."
[697] Ibid, 23.
[698] AHJ, C. 164bis, f. 894.

Adult women, especially those who were more vulnerable, were sometimes mistreated at the *Casa de Caridad*. Although the indigenous population of Jalisco was small, some of the regions previously more isolated indigenous groups began to migrate into the city during the *Porfiriato* alongside other rural peasants. Under the Sisters of Charity complaints surfaced about the French nuns treatment of Indian women both in their care at the charity house and in the city hospital. Newspapers called attention to mistreatment at the hands of the sisters on the cadavers of Indian and *mestiza* women. The story published in 1874 said that the nuns were shaving and selling the long thick hair of those who had died. Although the newspaper's investigation concluded that the rumors were untrue, it did confirm that the sisters had cut the hair of women without the permission of a doctor. The story forced the hospital to enforce new regulations requiring employees to get doctor permission to cut the hair of deceased patients.[699] The story however hints at potential discrimination toward indigenous groups in Guadalajara. Frequently *Huichol* Indian children were distinctly noted in *Casa* documents.[700] In addition, evidence from *Casa* records shows that as late as 1901, Beneficience officials gave permission for residents to hire out Indian women housed as *mendigas* for use as domestic servants.[701] This was clearly a departure from protocol of previous years as no evidence or regulations existed for hiring out adult women for such purposes.

At the same time, evidence from *Casa* records shows that unmarried and widowed women of old age played a role in shaping services and at times rejecting institutional control. This was

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[699] Gerónimo Gómez Romero, "Quien lo creyera," *Juan Panadero*, April 21, 1874.

[700] The *Huichol* were relatively scarce in number and are one of Jalisco's few indigenous groups to maintain much of its pre-conquest identity into the twentieth century. See Stacey Schaefer and Peter Furst, *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

[701] AHJ, C. 159, f. 888 and C. 181, f. 901-5703.

true of Andrea Esparza who wrote to request asylum at the *Casa* in the winter of 1897 after she recently lost the only place "where she had truly been considered family." At the age of sixty she explained she had no family, "not a soul," to help support her and little money. Andrea would live at the charity house throughout the winter and into the summer months, but by June of that year she requested permission to leave citing "family reasons."[702] Although it is unclear if new family members emerged in Andrea's life or if she falsified her admission request, her case is indicative of numerous other adult women whose time at the *Casa* was brief. The case may also be indicative of her own desire to leave the institution and gain some freedom outside its walls.

This was true for many adult residents, who frequently attempted to run away and "escape" the charity house. Numerous documents suggest the "fleeing" of beggars, both male and female and even of elderly woman from the department of *ancianas*. In some instances they fled with stolen goods such as clothing, food or kitchen materials. Their desire to leave, especially those who merely "escaped," suggests possible displeasure with the very cloistered and regimented life forced upon them at the institution. Escape was much easier for adult men who had the freedom to move about outside the institution and frequently their attempts to run away took place while performing outdoor chores such as painting, cleaning and taking out trash.[703] Women were not allowed outside of the interior patios or passageways without permission, this forced Ursula Evangelista an elderly woman housed in the department of *ancianas* to wait until attendants had left for the night to make her "escape." In 1893, Casa workers documented the "flight" of a *mendigo* with a stolen basket prompting the director to write to Department of Beneficence officials that not only did she feel the beggars did not "appreciate the charity" they were given

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[702] AHJ, C. 170, f. 897-5638.

[703] Cases are too numerous to list but several reported by *Casa* officials include AHJ, c. 175, f. 899-2729 and c. 164, f. 894-1828. For the escape of Ursula Evangelista see c. 167, f. 896-2217.

but in fact "did not want it."[704] While the director's comments were likely made out of frustration and anger, given that the stolen basket had belonged to her, they also indicate that adult residents were uncooperative. Whatever their motivations, frequent "escape" and "flight" by adult residents indicate a sense that they felt imprisoned in the institution. By leaving they made their desires for freedom and detachment from the home abundantly clear.

Women's Agency

Authorities sent some women and their children to the *Casa* against their will, but others played a greater role in shaping and utilizing its services. Documents from the institution suggest that the single, unmarried and widowed women who sought charity at the home frequently utilized the rhetoric of reform to their benefit. In addition, unique cases highlight the ways in which women carved out spaces for themselves at the institution. Overall, their interactions with the charity house suggest the agency of unattached women in their dealings with the state.

The language written into solicitations for charity at the *Casa de Caridad* is rich in the rhetoric of nineteenth-century reform. Women frequently called upon state institutions and the government as purveyors of "protection" for themselves and their children. These same ideas were central tenets of the paternal and patriarchal origins of state welfare. Single and widowed mothers also called attention to the dire nature of their own material and personal circumstances which made them unable to care for their children. Their petitions emphasized that their husbands or lovers abandoned them which left them destitute and unable to provide for their families. Others exposed the realities of widowhood, low wages of female work and the difficulties of working and tending to children. Here too mothers made use of popular notions of

[704] AHJ, C. 161, f. 893-5520.

the proper family, home and mother of the nineteenth century. Although children received clothing, food and shelter at the charity house, mothers frequently made mention of their desire, above all, to give their children an education to become "useful" to their family and society. Their word choice implies how connected poor women were with the language of reform which called on mothers to rear good citizens.

The ability of mothers to repurpose reform language is evident in the request from María Rodgriguez, an unmarried woman with three children. Working as a domestic she struggled to support them in the aftermath of their father's death in 1889. María wrote an impassioned request on the behalf of her children for a "place of mercy" at the charity house in 1894. Calling attention to her "sad state" she wrote of her "wish to take refuge in the protection of the government."[705] Her words affirmed the connection mothers made with the charity house as representative of a protective and patriarchal government, and it was a sentiment shared by other single and widowed women without spousal support. Magdalena Ruiz, for example, wrote of her "misery" in being unable to provide her eleven year old son "instruction and education." The wording of her solicitation highlights both her responsibility to provide education as well as her son's role in becoming a benefit to the community. She wrote that "only with the help of the establishments of the supreme government would her son be able to obtain a primary education and a trade that would later make him a working man and useful to society."[706] The many instances in which women addressed their obligations to provide children with more than just sustenance and support their education is evidence that the discourse on patriotic motherhood was widespread.

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[705] C. 163bis, f. 894-1814.

[706] AHJ, "Solicitas a la Escuela de Artes y Oficios," 1903, C. 187, f. 903-5725.

Not only would the single and widowed women take advantage of the services offered at the charity house, but over time they played a role in shaping the types of services it provided, often presenting *Casa* workers with unique and unusual circumstances to confront. The story of María Concepción Plasencia sheds light on the ways in which migrant women both perceived of and utilized the *Casa*. As a young, single, migrant María Concepción arrived in Guadalajara in 1899 hoping to improve her circumstances. From Tepíc, a village over two hundred kilometers from Guadalajara, she became an orphan after her father died in 1897. Displaced and without family to help her, at the age of twenty two she wrote state government officials to request a pensioned place in the institution. A pensioned resident was someone who paid a monthly stipend, implying that María Concepción had some means to support herself after her father's death.

Understanding the limitations of her situation as an orphan from a rural village who "lacked family to help her get by," she expressed her desire to "learn something in order to allow her to become useful." The request suggests her desire to receive an education at the charity house. At the time there would have been few educational opportunities for a young girl of her age in Tepíc. Given the reputation of the *Casa de Caridad* in the state it is possible that María Concepción saw it as a means to greater opportunities. Despite her desire to receive an education, it appears that although *Casa* officials admitted her they were unable to provide her a place in one of its schools. Partly for limited space and her age they offered her admission in the department of *ancianas* which she accepted, arriving March 22 of 1899. Only two days later however, María Concepción requested permission to leave.[707] Her rapid departure leaves many questions unanswered and leaves open the possibility that as an outsider to Guadalajara the *Casa de Caridad* served as her first site of introduction to the city. After staying for a few days

[707] C. 175, f. 899-2729

perhaps she learned from other residents or staff of opportunities to live, work or study outside the institution. In any case her first point of contact with Guadalajara was the institution. Although she decided not to stay for a longer period, as a young single woman her first few days in the city were in a safe and "protected" environment.

Other scenarios in which girls attempted to enroll themselves in school at the *Casa* demonstrate the initiative of young single women to direct their own education and future careers. Elite girls attending the *Colegio de Niñas* had access to courses that would likely have been closed to most other young women in Jalisco. The *Colegio* functioned as a secondary school for girls, although evidence from *Casa* records suggests that some young women came to the institution to study specific majors, treating it more like a university. In 1894, Juana Barajas came to the institution specifically to study photography, a career closed to most women.[708] Even girls of the lower classes made requests to study specific subjects. In 1889, Ygnacia Hernández came to the *Casa* to study art.[709] In addition, orphaned and poor girls took advantage of career opportunities to stay on as employees of the institution. In 1894, *Casa* workers recognized several students for their "good comportment," Josefa Aquiar, Victoria Cabañas, María Ortiz and Lucia Cabañas and hired them to work as nurses, nurse assistants, and kitchen staff. Several would stay on until regulations required their final exit.[710]

Women in Guadalajara also took advantage of employment opportunities at the *Casa*. As a predominantly female-run institution it employed Mexican women in positions as administrators, teachers and staff. Work at the charity house was very different than other jobs because some of

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[708] AHJ, "Salidas Definitivas," 1894, C. 164, f. 894-1828
[709] AHJ, 1889, C. 159, f. 889-833.
[710] 894-5617exp 203

the staff resided on premises and most took meals there. An example of the volume and type of work available at the institution comes from an 1875 personnel census which indicates a payroll of eighty employees. Among them were female teachers in the *Colegio de Niñas* and the school for poor girls who taught embroidery as well as two female assistants and a supervisor. Although all of professors in the school for boys were male there was a female supervisor. The attendants and nurses for all other departments, such as the wing for male and female beggars and *ancianas*, were female. The foundling home also employed four female nursery workers as well as sixteen live-in and fourteen hired out wet-nurses. Wet-nursing was an important occupation for poor women with young children and having the freedom to work inside their own home was invaluable. Other traditionally female occupations at the *Casa* were in the kitchen, where most cooks, tortilla makers, *atole* grinders, and chocolatiers were women. By that time women also dominated in administrative positions with an all-female staff including the *directora* at the time Rafaela Suarez.[711] Female employees, as insiders at the institution, were also instrumental in the solicitation process required of unmarried and widowed mothers. Dolores Zamorano Alemán, a professor at the charity house school, wrote in 1903 to help her widowed friend Herculana Balvaneda find care for her two sons Mateo and Rosario Vasquez. A letter of reference from Dolores was able to both attest to Herculana's honor and verify that she suffered from a chronic illness which made working difficult. The reference from Dolores exhibits the ways in which women helped other women and also how someone like Herculana used the connections she had to the institution to gain access for her children.[712]

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[711] AHJ, "Lista del Personal Empleados/Asilados," January 20, 1875, c. 158, f. 875.
[712] AHJ, "Solicitas para La escuela de artes y oficios," 1903, C. 187, F. 903-5725.

Other cases show the relationships forged between *Casa* employees and residents. Estéfana Torres, a single woman and professor in the *Casa* school cemented a close bond with one of her students Teresa Milanés ó Montero. According to Estéfana the two had formed a strong relationship since Teresa began as a student in her classroom. So close were the pair that on holiday vacations Teresa stayed with Estéfana at her home, and in more recent years Estéfana had become Teresa's godmother. Little Teresa had arrived at the institution in 1894 at two years old. She was the child of Rodolfo Montero and Concepción Godínes. Concepción was an illegitimate child and it was her mother Jesús Godínes, Teresa's grandmother, who brought the girl to the *Casa*. The bond shared between the teacher and her student culminated in a request to adopt the girl shortly after Christmas in 1902. Estéfana wrote that she voluntarily wished to "adopt the girl as a daughter." The tone of the letter intimates that the two shared a special bond, and it is unlikely that Estéfana planned to adopt her for use as a house servant. This practice became more common in Mexico City at the time.[713] Instead Estéfana, a working single woman planned to act as a mother to Teresa, providing for her "education and subsistence." By January of 1903 the *Casa* granted the adoption.[714] Although it is unclear what became of Teresa's biological mother and grandmother.

Numerous other examples point out the ways in which single and widowed mothers shaped the services provided to them at the *Casa*. Mothers had to be savvy about when and how they approached the institution. Throughout the nineteenth century space at the charity house, especially for children, was limited. State governments frequently demanded that *Casa* officials

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[713] Ann Blum, "Public Welfare and Child Circulation, Mexico City, 1877-1925." *Journal of Family History*, 23, no. 2 (1998), 15.
[714] AHJ, 1903, c. 185, 903-3095

reduce residents and make budget cuts.[715] Strict quotas forced charity officials to turn mothers away, even those in extremely dire circumstances who qualified for assistance and presented all the appropriate documentation. The limited space at the *Casa* was obviously on the mind of Gumesinda Servin who in 1894 removed her fifteen year old daughter Agústina Gutierrez. Having received and education and training Gumesinda hoped for Agústina to begin working to help support the family. With the newly open vacancy left by her daughter, Gumesinda requested that her eight year old son Benjamin be placed in the school for boys.[716] It was an effective strategy for Gumesinda, a single mother who depended on her children to help support the household. With her daughter now able to work, her son could receive an education and learn a trade. In a few short years he too would be ready to work and contribute his earnings.

Residents themselves, especially those living involuntarily at the *Casa,* often flaunted the rules. In the Spring of 1894 Directora Juana Ursúa sent a hastily written letter notifying the Director of Instruction and Public Beneficence that two young sisters, both wearing all of the clothing they owned, had "escaped" from the institution. Apparently it was not the first time the girls had caused trouble at the house. Signifying her disdain for the Camarena sisters the director noted they were "the most un-educatable girls in the *Hospicio*."[717] Wherever the sisters were going or wherever they ended up it is clear that they did not wish to stay at the charity home. Just

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[715] Correspondence between the Secretary of State and officials at the Department of Beneficence in 1888 suggests a desire to reduce costs by restricting the number of individuals to a set number, which frequently varied. Typically cuts were made in the departments that aided adults first and then children and were instituted gradually rather than all at once. See AHJ, C.159, f. 888-822 and 888-817.

[716] AHJ, "Altas y Bajas," 1894, C. 162, f. 893-5546.

[717] 894-1703 Legajo 392

as foot-dragging and other obstinate behaviors can be perceived as a "weapons of the weak,"[718] the actions of the Camarena sisters hint at their unwillingness to be part of the reform effort at the *Casa*. Instead, the sisters opted to band together and plan their escape.

While escape was a means to gain freedom for those involuntarily placed at the home, instances in which women voluntarily remained hint at their preference for life inside the *Casa*. The elderly Ignacia Flores decided she would rather live at the home than go back to work as a domestic. In the winter of 1901 a Guadalajara businessman, Marcelino Salvado, wrote the Director of Beneficence looking for a domestic servant to work in his home. His request specifically asked for permission to remove Ignacia Flores for the job, a Yaqui Indian woman housed in the department of mendigas. He promised to return her to the establishment if he had to leave the city or if he found her incapable of the job. The Director of Beneficence responded that Ignacia was "free" to take work as a domestic and gave the institution "permission" for her to leave with Marcelino. On January 16, however, the female director of the *Casa* Jesús Ruíz, wrote to inform the office of Beneficience that Ignacia had not left with Marcelino explaining that she declined the job of her own "volition" and therefore was still living at the institution.[719] The circumstances of the situation are interesting on multiple levels. Although it was not uncommon for city residents to hire charity house residents to work as maids, it was usually a scenario reserved for younger girls. In addition, Marcelino specifically requested Ignacia, an Indian woman frequently referred to as "the Yaqui Ignacia." What the case demonstrates above all is Ignacia's decision made of her own free will to live on and work in the *Casa* rather than leave with Marcelino.

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[718] James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (Yale University Press, 1987).
[719] C. 181, f. 901-5703.

Conclusion

The *Casa de Caridad* was an institution born out of an evolving discourse on poverty and reform; first as a charity organization of the Catholic Church and eventually a state-based institution of beneficence. Despite its progression, its mission to reform the poor through education and work remained consistent. In particular, the services it provided exclusively to single, unmarried and widowed women and their children emphasized a desire to strengthen the patriarchal family as one of the most important features of nineteenth-century Mexican society. The charity "home" would be a place to instruct them morally and socially. By taking in and rearing children without fathers and mothers without husbands or guardians, the institution sought to reform the poor into men and women capable of reproducing their appropriate class and gender roles. In doing so it came to define the state as a more appropriate father and mother and the charity house as a better home for the children of the poor, a place where they would be less "corruptible." Despite elite perceptions that defined single, unmarried and widowed women as less capable mothers and the poor as immoral, women seized these ideas and re-appropriated them to their advantage. They forced *Casa* workers to confront their varying needs and at times exercised their own will despite its rigid regulations.

CONCLUSION:

SINGLENESS AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY POLITICS IN MEXICO

In 2004 I was preparing a conference paper on transient populations in Guadalajara between 1821 and 1822 with a fellow researcher from the Guadalajara Census Project. The piece was an outgrowth of research the institute conducted to measure urban mobility, both rural to urban migration and movement within the city itself. I had the task of collecting data on the city's single and widowed female population. Although I had spent many years transcribing, coding and entering the data, it was not until that moment that I realized, after running and selecting for variables such as marital status, the overwhelming presence that single and widowed women had in the city. I was astonished to see an overrepresentation of single and widowed women in Guadalajara compared with men of their same age range. In addition, this group of women seemed to be highly mobile; migrating in and out of the city and frequently moving in an out of new homes within the city.[720] As a whole our findings suggested a great deal of mobility in the span of one year. We published our findings in Mexico in 2007, and concluded that military battles and mortality during the War for Independence could not solely account for such movement, as most of the fighting in the region had ended by 1816.[721] Instead, our data led us to conclude that it was in fact economic factors that spurred the consistent flux of

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[720] Claudia Rivas Jiménez and Andrea Vicente, "Ciudad en movimiento. Una Comparación socio-económica entre unidades domésticas que persistieron y unidades domésticas transitorias en Guadalajara, 1821-1822," presented at *The Forum on the Population Censuses of Guadalajara*, *Mexico, 1791-1930,* Universidad de Guadalajara, CIESAS (Guadalajara, Mexico, April 28-29, 2004).

[721] For insurgency in Guadalajara see Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 9; Also see Chapter two.

the urban poor.[722] Although we seemingly answered what we had set out to, I still had lingering questions about the imbalance of women to men in the city, and why I saw so much variation between married and unmarried populations. These are the questions that led to this dissertation.

From this springboard of my work on the city in 1821 and 1822, I have demonstrated that the years that followed marked a watershed moment for unattached women. In the aftermath of Independence in 1821, a changing political landscape drove major economic and social changes that changed the lives of single and widowed women. Continued economic reforms that promoted private property ownership, trade, and commerce forced migrants from rural villages into cities in search of paid employment. Laws like the *Ley Lerdo* monopolized both rural and urban lands in the hands of Guadalajara's elite. By the 1870s, these policies introduced new technologies and foreign investment that physically changed the look and feel of city life and opened up a new age of industrialization. Such policies had the effect of bringing in cheaper, mass-produced goods that destroyed regional artisan trades and forced even greater migrations of rural people into the city to work in factories. Women were among the many new rural migrants attracted and recruited into traditionally female occupations, like domestic work and jobs in city textile factories. As a result, Guadalajara continued to grow in size and population between 1821 and 1910. Therefore, entrepreneurs began a process of industrialization that both attracted migrants and expanded the numbers of working class and poor residents. It was this group who then became the victims of a classist discourse used by city and state officials on immorality, punishment and reform. It was a story of rural immiseration that many middle-class and elite Mexicans benefitted from and then blamed the victims for circumstances that were largely of their creation.

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[722] Rivas and Vicente, "Ciudad en movimiento."

Poor, unmarried and widowed women comprised the largest percentage of women to make up this new group who found it absolutely essential to work for wages. Unattached women like the migrant sisters Dominga and Prejedis discussed in the introduction, both migrated to Guadalajara from the smaller nearby mestizo village of Tlajomulco. Presumably, as a young widow of only thirty Dominga had little choice but to work to support herself and help out her family. In fact, her younger unmarried sister followed to live with Dominga to help support their parents back home.[723] Stories like theirs abound in court cases, police reports, and admission requests to the city poorhouse. In these documents, unattached women often evoked their personal hardships as unmarried, abandoned or widowed women, which led many to seek employment. At the same time a disparate ratio of women to men, of more than ten percent, led to a diminished pool of possible marriage partners. Inevitably these factors heightened an existing pattern of singleness and non-marriage.

What is most interesting about this rise in female singleness is that it occurred after the Wars for Independence in 1821. This phenomena spawned a new dialogue emerged amongst jurists, members of the Catholic Church, religious reformers, journalists and lay people who argued that the stability of the young nation of Mexico rested on the shoulders of a traditional patriarchal family. Years of war and foreign intervention left Jalisco and the city of Guadalajara politically disorganized in its infancy as an independent nation.[724] For many the ideal republican family, defined by a mother and children overseen by a strong male patriarch, was the only way to maintain a sense of order through the uncertainty and chaos of the times. New legal codes introduced civil marriage and divorce in Mexico in 1859. As part of *La Reforma* (1855-

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[723] BPEJ *Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco, 1822-1919,* Ramo Criminal, "Contra Lucio Cabrera por rapto," Caja 11, Exp 88,208.
[724] José María Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco,* Volume 3 (Guadalajara: UNED, 1981), 183.

1876), state and national leaders became increasingly motivated by liberal desires to secularize society in order to consolidate both social and economic power in the state. While some historians argue that these measures had positive consequences for women, others maintain that it only gave men greater authority and leverage. Such factors as the decline in the use of dowries, the limitations of female work, and property and inheritance laws that favored men left few women the financial capital required to support themselves after a divorce.[725] Divorce cases in Guadalajara confirm that well into the century most women utilized the new law for extreme cases of abuse or infidelity, and rarely did divorce cases go to trial.[726] Debates that ensued over the enactment of civil marriage legislation made clear the growing importance attached to legally-binding marriage. Over all, new civil codes introduced in Mexico by 1870 served to strengthen the role of male patriarchs within the family. Reformers and jurists who called on the stability of the ideal family clearly took a disparaging view at those members of society who engaged in forms of non-marriage, such as consensual unions and concubinage, as many of the poor had always done in Latin America.[727] As reformers laid out the proper and expected roles for husbands, wives and mothers, they grew concerned over the impact that unmarried and unattached women, who frequently lived outside the authority of a male patriarch, might have on society. Scholars such as Steve Stern demonstrate a long history in Mexico of violence toward

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[725] Deere and León, "Liberalism," 642.

[726] Claudia Lizette Castellanos Sánchez, "La sumisión como condición femenina: el divorcio de Refugio Rodríguez," en *Mujeres jaliscienses del siglo XIX. Cultura, religion y vida privada*, edited by Vázquez Parada, *Lourdes Celina and Darío Armando Flores Soria* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008), 263-4; AHA, Justicia, "Matrimonio/Nulidad," Caja 9, Exp 7-8.

[727] Milanich,"Whither Family History," 451-2.

lone women who, because of their independence from a male guardian, could become more susceptible to "pursue a deviant sexual morality."[728]

Simultaneously, liberal economic reforms brought scores of women into Guadalajara to work. Although both married and unmarried women frequently labored for wages, the latter group increasingly came under the scrutiny of reformers and city officials who viewed their presence in the public eye as a potential threat to the ideals of family and society. They called attention to specific occupations to admonish the integrity and honor of unmarried and unattached women, such as domestic work which early social reformers associated with a type of parasitism akin to prostitution. Even municipal bureaucrats took pleasure in distinguishing between honorable and dishonorable single women, using categories to denote their sexual improprieties and the legitimacy of their children. In other instances popular depictions of female work, such as the widowed proprietor, drew attention to women's age and personality to exclude them from the ideals of femininity. Among the working women of Guadalajara, numerous examples demonstrate how women continued to work and live their lives despite a climate that was hostile to their public presence. Shrewd widows, like Rafaela Palomar, managed her many rentals and utilized the civil court system to collect monies owed her.[729] Typical female jobs as servants, laundresses and factory work paid miserably, as women frequently admitted their wages were barely enough to support themselves, let alone any children. Significant data collected from women's households suggests that at times women banded together, cohabitating with other women or family members to save money. Others took in boarders as a strategy to

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[728] Stern, *Secret History*, 47-48.

[729] BPJ, *Archivo del Tribunal de Justicia de Jalisco*, *1822-1919,* Ramo Civil, "Contra Señor Badial por rentas," Caja 7, f. 152,617 and "Contra Doña Jesús Muñoz por rentas," C. 5 f. 152, 541.

earn extra income.[730] However resourceful, city officials and reformers believed that working women called attention to themselves by working in public, a space associated with danger and prostitution. Judges and prosecutors alike frequently called attention to this aspect of life for many poor and unattached women who they believed welcomed danger onto themselves and their person. At the same time, their absence from the home and their inability to fulfill bourgeois Republican ideals of wife and mother increased public scrutiny of their personal honor.

As the number of poor working women in Guadalajara grew, their presence caught the attention of social reformers, judges, lawyers, city police and welfare institutions who linked this group of often unmarried and "unprotected" women with an increase in urban social problems. It was a discourse steeped in class, race and gender biases, as very often the conversation emphasized a supposed "wayward lifestyle" of the poor as the root cause of new social ills. Reformers and sociologists argued that the proclivity among the poor toward non-marriage led to promiscuity, adultery, illegitimacy and concubinage. Furthermore, they argued that such values led to criminal mischief including robbery, using weapons, brawling, drinking, abandoning their children or committing infanticide. As unattached women they had no authority figure to punish them, therefore lawyers, judges, and city police believed that it was their duty to step in as arbiters of correction and reform. In this way newly organized state institutions of policing and control, such as criminal courts and the penitentiary, acted as patriarchal figures to potentially dangerous women who lived outside of traditional families.

The idea that the poor could and should be reformed to become more productive members of society was not a new concept. It was an idea that began to play out in Guadalajara

[730] See Chapter 4

in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as evidenced by the construction of the *Casa de Caridad* in 1805, along with a host of other services such as public housing, hospitals and cemeteries to serve the poor. The function of the institution was to take in and reform poor children by extending them basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter and provide them with a rigorous education and a moral upbringing. While the institution catered mostly to orphaned and abandoned children, it did provide some assistance to elderly, homeless and disabled city residents who were incapable of physical work. The institution, which would eventually be renamed the *Hospicio Cabañas* after its founder, still stands today and is one of the cities often visited landmarks for its José Clemente Orozco murals. In the nineteenth century the *Casa* underwent major changes along with the nation, transitioning from the control of the Catholic Church to the Sisters of Charity, and eventually to the state in 1874 and came under its newly organized Department of Beneficence by 1896.[731] Despite this transition the charter of the institution remained fraught with a paternalistic rhetoric of reform and protection toward Guadalajara's poor, often referencing the unfortunate environment in which many of the city's children were raised. It was critical of the "ignorant" behavior of parents and the "parasitic" children they raised who failed to contribute to society.[732] In essence, Cabañas envisioned an institution that rehabilitated children in order to prevent them from becoming like their parents. Poor single women with children and widowed women in particular came to depend on the services offered at the institution. In kind the *Casa* took on a paternalistic role in the life of the children it served and attempted to mimic a traditional patriarchal family and home by protecting, disciplining, educating and providing for them. As a patriarch, it offered children

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[731] See Chapter 6; AHJ, *Beneficiencia,* B-5, Instituciones de Protección,

[732] Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado (AHA), Justicia, *Obras Assistenciales*, Hospicio Cabañas, "Ordenanzas de la Casa de Caridad," Caja 1, 1789-1849.

discipline and supervision through strong male role models such as priests and male teachers. At the same time, its mostly female staff of nannies, nurses, teachers, cooks, and administrators offered them examples of what a good mother should be and how to behave. Both boys and girls learned skills necessary to perform their roles in society as future husbands and wives through a gendered division of education. At school boys received an education that included math and science in addition to skilled trades like shoemaking, while its female curriculum emphasized humanities and trades such as embroidery and sewing.[733] Despite the institution's attempt to undermine and admonish the parenting of the poor, single and widowed women re-appropriated the language used by the institution and its workers to gain access to services and shelter for themselves and their children.

Overall I have argued that political changes taking place in Mexico and Guadalajara between 1821 and 1910 are significant to the study of singleness. Economic and social reforms that began in the colonial period expanded during *La Reforma* (1855-1876) and led to the rise and growth of Guadalajara, but especially between 1876 and 1910. It was in the city that many unattached women ended up to work. Once there, they became embroiled in a debate between church and state leaders over the centrality and importance of legally binding marriage, the result of changing legal codes inspired by liberal principles of secularism. In the chaos that ensued, many felt that stability could only be found within the home in the leadership and oversight of a male patriarch. His maintenance of order at the household level would set a precedent for society. The importance that many attempted to associate with civil or religious marriage made it a central issue in places like Guadalajara by the 1850s, attaching increased value and honor to married women. Those who lived outside traditional boundaries and did not uphold their

[733] Ibid.

expected roles in society became cause for concern. As part of a continued desire to maintain order in society and monitor the poor, state governments and city officials created institutions and ordinances to police, control and at times protect the urban poor. In all, unattached women became a focal point for these new institutions and for the discourses that legitimized them.

My work demonstrates that the goals Republican governments set out to accomplish after Independence revolved around highly gendered projects, in addition to their many racial and class undertones. Although women were rarely involved in lawmaking or as officials within institutions of power, correction and reform, they played an important role in shaping the political landscape. Even within the *Casa de Caridad* female administrators answered to the regulations of male clergy and then of state lawmakers. An examination of women according to marital status offers a unique perspective to the political framework of the post-Independence period and attempts to make visible a group that was highly marginalized. Between 1821 and 1910, officials and reformers treated single and widowed women as an isolated group because of a supposed threat they posed to the honor of families and the values of legal marriage. Despite this fact, most histories of single and widowed women lump them together with a larger gender narrative, or as a part of histories of the family. My work seeks to reconsider their position both within histories of the family and within Mexican society. Many Mexican women never became wives or mothers. Others took up with lovers, lived in consensual unions and bore children, but never legally married. Such distinctions are important and they retell a different story of political, social and cultural change for many women.

I also believe that this approach forces historians to reconsider the parameters of what is traditionally defined as "politics." Politics as it is referenced for the nineteenth century is often presented in its most literal form—relations of the state, national government, and political

personalities. An emphasis on cultural transformations for all of society, and for women must play a greater part in our understanding of nineteenth-century Mexican politics. In fact, in many cases, women are absent all together, ignoring the seminal argument of Joan Scott's call for a broader definition of the "political," that recognizes the importance of the politics of gender relations.[734] The work of Ann Stoler strengthens this argument, in articulating that historical interactions were often located in the "microsites of governance," or the "intimate domains [of] sex, sentiment, domestic arrangement and child rearing." In her assessment, these private spaces have both social and cultural significance.[735] In nineteenth-century Guadalajara, in the places where unattached women rented rooms, washed laundry, toiled as spinners, argued with the wives of their lovers or within the courtyards of the *Hospicio*, the personal became political. Their lives became part of larger narratives regarding marriage and women's roles, work, public space, criminality and poverty. By using single and widowed women as a prism, I am able to shed light on the ways that changing conceptions of the family and marital status, impacted legal, political, social, and cultural aspects of Mexican state-building throughout the nineteenth century—adding a new dimension to current studies of political history.

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[734] Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, (New York: Columbia University, Press, 1990), 26.

[735] Ann Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001), 1-5.

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