

THE CATHOLIC CLERGY AGAINST THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT

**A COMPLETE HISTORY OF MEXICO'S EFFORTS
TO LIBERATE THE PEOPLE FROM THE INFLUENCE
OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY, DATING BACK TO THE
CONQUEST PERIOD AND EXTENDING UP TO
THE PRESENT TIME.**

**THIS BOOK, CHRONOLOGICALLY TREATED, WAS
ISSUED BY LIC. EMILIO PORTES GIL, FORMER
ATTORNEY GENERAL AND FORMER PRESIDENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO AND NEW SECRET-
ARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS IN PRESIDENT
GENERAL LAZARO CARDENAS' GABINET**

**PUBLISHED BY TRENS NEWS AGENCY
(NEWS FOR NEWSPAPERS)**

MEXICO CITY, MEXICO

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Mexico City. By Trens Agency—:

In order that foreigners may know the true facts in the case with respect to the Catholic Clergy against the Mexican government as the struggle has been carried on from the time of the Conquest up to the present time, the Trens Agency has made a newspaper version in English of the work written by Emilio Portes Gil, Attorney General and Former President of Mexico.

The book was written relevant to the indictment against Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, Papal Delegate to the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, and other former high clergymen, who are residing in the United States at present. But who will be placed under arrest subject to trial for exciting a rebellion against the Mexican republican institutions as soon as they come into the jurisdiction of the Mexican Courts.

This is a complete history of Mexico's efforts to liberate the people from the influence of the Catholic Clergy.

The substitute constitutional president of the United States of Mexico, General Abelardo L. Rodríguez, officially on the 30th. day of October of this year, denounces to me the following actions: "As a result of the project of Article 3 of the Constitution, which was presented to the Honorable Congress of the Union by the National Revolutionary Party and which was approved by the Chamber of Deputies and by the Senate, the Catholic Clergy has begun an open campaign of sedition in which is clearly revealed its purpose of arriving finally at a rebellion. This activity on the part of the Catholic Clergy is not new, nor does it constitute for the revolutionary elements of the Nation a surprise, because it deals with the persistent historical attitude of the Clergy to take advantage of any possible opportunity to combat those ideals of the people pursued in fighting with arms their traditional and secular enemies. When the circumstances are propitious, the church not openly but certainly latently constantly awaits the moment to make use of its power in forcing its decisive attitudes. My government, firm in its legislature criticism, but at the same time unshakable in its revolutionary principles cannot leave unnoticed the sterile agitation which has been provoked by the Catholic Clergy though this provocation does

not constitute in the least a threat to the stability of the regime and the principles of the Revolution. has considered it expedient that the Attorney-General of the Republic, within his constitutional functions, investigates these actions in order to proceed against the persons resulting responsible. These persons, for the most part, are of dubious nationality for the reason that through their religious functions they are dependent on a central organ of the Catholic church. In virtue of this, kindly take the data and the documents in my possession, which in themselves are sufficient for the intervention of the Attorney-General of the Republic in forcing his constitutional rights, and therefore kindly make a study of them and merely enforce the law. I hereby manifest in my executive faculty that I shall always stand for up-holding the conquest of the Revolution and the constitutional principles embodied therein. I will do this so as to prevent any alteration of the public welfare or any modification of our political and social regime.

The government will not tolerate such a modification, because before everything else I feel a profound responsibility to the Mexican people in carrying out the ideals of the Revolution. I repeat to you my sincere considerations".

CHAPTER 1

Introduction.—The purposes of this indictment.—The Mexican government and its policy against religious agitators.—The concrete ends aspired by the Mexican State.—Causes of the disobedience of the clergy.—Its subversive intervention.—The Mexican Revolution and the struggle against fanaticism.—The attitude of the religious element throughout the history of Mexico.

The office of the Attorney-General of the Republic, in conformity with Article 102 of the Federal Constitution, Article 1, Part 1 and 2 of the Law regarding those same constitutional precepts, and Article 1, Part 1, 2, 3, 113 and others of the Federal Code of Criminal Proceedings regarding the foregoing indictment, having taken into consideration the necessary data in connection with the violation of the Law and the circumstances under which these violations would have been committed, as well as the penal responsibilities of the accused, definitely exercises the necessary penal actions.

Once completed the first part of the Federal proceedings which have been made clear through requirements established in Articles 16, 19, 20 and 21 of the political Constitution, this administrative department, knowing the importance of the particular problem in the functions of the institutions of Mexico's sociology, considers it expedient to expose the subversive influence which the Catholic Clergy has had in the Republic of Mexico. In order to explain the actual state of the association and corporations of religion, known as churches, institu-

tion of action and devoid of personality, it is necessary to have recourse to data of the past which places the responsibility of the church in the present. In that way we can explain the church's attitude in disobeying current laws. In this manner we can explain the historical events throughout the pages of Mexican History and the extent to which the church has been an organization completely spiritual. It has resorted to every possible means in its lust to possess itself of the greatest number of material benefits with the moral and material subjugation of the masses. So long as this state of affairs existed it was impossible for any political organization to initiate a program of government.

Therefore, it becomes necessary, for the justification of political groups acting against religious institutions in their subversive work, to expose the profound vices which that organization (church) has brought to our country. That same organization which protests against the advancement of the new Mexican laws, forgetting the just ideals of political and social readjustment which leads

the Mexican people to the suppression of all foreign influence.—An influence which would convert them into a tributary people—, that same organization is not content with having placed the people in chains. Regarding this matter the President of the Republic has clearly explained the current problem: "The campaign which has been conducted with intensity to destroy the religious prejudices in dominating the education of Mexico cannot be considered as a personal work of any public servant but rather, as the crystallization of popular ideals and the practically realization of a revolutionary principle. This is a social tendency which we are forced to support if we want to be sincere with ourselves and sincere with the ideas for whose triumph we have fought".

The attitude of the Catholic Clergy, a seditious, utopian and unpatriotic function, points to ambitions of restoring that preposterous and powerful regime in which the church operated through the centuries. However, it does not consider that the present organization of a modern State will not tolerate such a domination, and that within the functions of such a State the creation of an arbitrary right is no longer necessary, but rather on the contrary today there are expectations of a wider scope which include everything referring to economic, political and cultural administration. In the creation of such an administration it is necessary to completely eliminate fanaticism. Therefore in the Mexican State, the men of the Revolution cannot permit that the people be steeped in ignorance and in poverty. Regarding the first, because men can no longer submit to gregarious spirituality at the expense of knowledge in scientific truth and at the expense of knowledge gained through ever growing wider experience. Today one speaks of religious functions and knows that it pertains to ends which are completely egoistic, ends which have a tendency to increase the fortune of the Clergy, ends which have a tendency to elevate the power of the church to traffic, liberally and unjustly through religious acts. Regarding the second, poverty, because the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the Clergy has a tendency to remove it from the country so as to support a foreign sovereignty. Furthermore, such wealth is used in the maintenance of convents, seminaries, and other centers of indolence, as well as the maintenance of other places which foment superstitious and lies tending to becloud the soul of the child, the teachings of the youth and the judgment of the man.

The causes of the undesirability of the Clergy in Mexico emanate from the following general terms: from the immense and enormous extension of territorial properties under control of the church, beginning with colonial times and reaching up the present days, this being strictly opposed through the Reform Laws, the Constitution of 1917, and the laws which emanate from this constitution in the functions of the revolutionary government; the end of the regime of a privileged class, the liberation of the clouded conscience as effected through a regime of oppressors which functions under dogmatic threats and lies which compose fanatic obscurity. Such fanaticism prevents the

study of cosmic problems which are necessary for our age of natural sciences and sociology. Furthermore, it has now become a known fact that the State must govern the education of the child, preventing the intervention of the bishops and the priests and other religious people in all such matters which should be attended to solely by representative of the nation. The State must conduct and orient the conscience of the masses in the workshop, in the fields and in the schools, systematizing the study of human knowledge so that the people may take better advantage of natural resources in satisfying human necessities. In this way, everyone will be performing a private and a social duty for the general welfare. In this way, we can arrive at a greater liberty and at a greater wellbeing, for all, including even those people in remote corners the country.

The hour has come for responsibilities on the part of the church. The State of Mexico cannot in any way permit the renovation of former powers exercised by religious groups. With respect to this, take note of what was indicated by the First Magistrate of the nation on July 25th., 1926: "Absorbed as was the Federal Government in problems pertaining to administration, in compliance with its external and internal obligations, it had lost sight of that eternal enemy—that bad Mexican Catholic Clergy and Foreign Clergy in Mexico as well as those policies conducted subversively through the church. The head of the Catholic Church during the last anniversary of the Federal Constitution had reproduced or permitted to be reproduced a document in which the heads of the Mexican Church repudiated the constitution of the Republic". In view of this attitude the First Magistrate of the Nation expressed his determination to meet all renewed manifestation of opposition and animosity through additional means employed by the government against all such individuals and groups who disobey the Laws of Mexico.

The definition of our political code contains those great principles which direct the organization of the State, and consequently the principles of religion necessarily need to be subordinate to the regulation of the political power. This constitutes the fundamental basis of our Constitution. A Mexican journalist said the following: "The fight against the clergy is identified with the principles of the Revolution. There is no time like the present, considering events of the last twenty years in affecting the domination of economic power over church power. The church maintained control over the conscience for nearly four centuries, through an almost absolutely hedemony.

As a result, in studying the history of Mexico, we see to what extent the church has exercised its dominance, to some extent differently from the proceedings, the church used in other countries. And therefore the government was forced to exercise its unquestionable authority for the achievement and betterment of the country and its costumes, but irrespective low the government achieved its ends, it always functioned to abide by its duty for the furthering of nationality and for engrandizement of the country.

CHAPTER 2

The Mexican Social organization.—Origin of Nationality.—The Noverint Universi Bull. The Spanish Conquest and its relation to religious groups.—Economic and political preponderance of the church.—The spiritual and the economic conquest.—The idolatry of the Indians.—The slavery of the Mexican people.—The religious factor as an obstacle against the progress of the country.—The enormous dominance of the church. The Inquisition.—The expulsion of the Jesuits.—The ecclesiastical patronage.—The properties of the church at the end of the sixteenth century.—Documents relating to deeds of the church.—The passing of laws in the Indies, confirming what has been said before.—Final considerations.

The powerful influence of history and tradition and the aspirations and general necessity have united the Mexican people, even though this union has deviated technically, culturally, and politically from other aboriginal groups.

The origin of Mexican nationality can be found in the fusion of races following the conquest. The Indians who populated "El Anahuac", that is the territory which comprises the territory of the Valley of Mexico, and the other group who live in other portions of the Republic, such places where later the Clergy established the dioceses of Tlaxcala-Puebla, Michoacan, Nueva Galicia, and Antequera, as well as the territory of Audiencia de Guatemala. These various groups did not comprise either ethical or political or social entities. For example, the Aztecs were enemies of the Tlaxcaltecas, circumstances the Spaniards took advantage of in realizing the conquest through an antagonism among the very peoples they were determined to subdue.

The papal bull, issued by Pope Alexander VI on May 4th., 1493, settled the conflict regarding the right of Spain and Portugal in respect to lands and discoveries. It marked an arbitrary line of 100 leagues in such a manner as to have Spain own all discoveries to the West of this line, that is, possessions not controlled by Christian powers up to Christmas Day of 1492. To Portugal thereby belonged all that discovered east of the line. It is indicated by Jacinto Pallares (Federal legislation of Mexican Civil Rights, Page 6) that there were two titles for the acquisition of conquered lands. One of these titles was rendered possible through the disloyalty of conquered people, and this disloyalty rendered them completely without rights. The other title was rendered possible through the Pope's adjudication. The first of these methods for securing titles was protested by D. Francisco Victoria at the University of Salamanca. The other method was accepted by practically all the Catholic Sovereignities. "To give to St. Peter", said Pope Gregorio VII, "the right to bind and unbind both in Heaven and on Earth, that is our duty. God has accepted no one and nothing has been left which does not come under His sovereignty, including all the denominations in the universe. In this manner it has been constituted by the Kings of Kings." The false decrees of Isidoro apostacille during many centuries of the papal power and through other ecclesiastical abuses contained the supposed donation of Constantino to the Pope in practically all known parts of the world. This applied particularly to islands. And in compliance with this assumption the Pope Urbano II said in 1901: "Quid religiosi imperatoris Constantini privilegio in jus

proprium Beato Pedro Ejusque sucesoribus oncentalis omness ensulae condonatas sunt". Through this same apostolic code Adriano IV gave to Tiberice Henry II of England Hibernia, Bartolo taught the same doctrine. In 1344, Cleent V gave to Luis de la Cerdá sovereignty over the "Fortunate Islands". In the fifteenth century, the King of Portugal obtained from Pope Martin V discoveries which were made in 1452. Nicolas V gave to Alfonso of Portugal the right to subjugate and reduce to slavery the Sarracens and other unfaithful ones. In 1454 this right was extended to the unfaithful ones of Africa. On the 3rd. of May, 1493, the Pope conceded to the King of Spain, rights Analogous to those of the Portuguese. Finally, on the 4th. of May, 1492, the papal Bull probably dictated to the Ambassador of Spain in Rome commands which were inexact geographically and were the source of debate on the 7th. of June, 1594. The study of historical circumstances regarding the papal Bull and the situation of the papacy and of the conquered countries do not enable us to affirm, as is done by Catholic writers, that the Bull was a power of the church to pacify America, preventing thereby serious conflicts among the conquerors. It was not necessary only to control the new lands but also to enforce spiritual authority. All this was done with material ends in view and carried out through means apart from human rights. At that time a controversy was subject to the decision of incompetent judge who decided the destinies of the inhabitants. The consequences of the Bull were very important: In virtue of these false concessions the kings of Spain declared themselves as belonging, not to the Spanish nation but to the Almighty patrimony with respect to the lands and soil of the Indies. There was no other Law but the law of the conquerors. The Indian had no rights. They were enslaved by their masters and the priests who knew well that the lands were no good without the additional benefit of the Indian workers; that the lands were bound closely to the Indians, and that these, Indians had no other rights except the rights of slaves. The concession of Pope Alexander VI entailed the obligation on the part of the conquerors to render the inhabitants Catholic, granting dioceses and patrimonies to the church and other religious groups. Behind each conqueror there was a priest to open up new and fabulous sources of wealth. The unhampered progress of the Clergy finally assumed the great proportions which resulted in the ruin of Mexican nation.

Mexico was conquered by audacious adventurers, but it was ruled by an enormous cruelty, an insatiable avidity for wealth, and a rude mentality.

Later these adventurers, having satiated their lust for gold, assumed the role of the church in continuing to live the lives of the privileged. It is a great error, though maintained by Catholic writers, that the conquerors were impelled with holy ideals. Historical data indicates precisely the opposite. The spirit of pomp and adventure dominated the Spaniards. It was not the desire to render Mexico Catholic which impelled the conquerors. Hernan Cortes left Havana, paying with ingratitude the confidence and favors granted him by Diego de Velázquez. The Spanish conquest was a materialistic struggle. It was a conquest definitely economic. The civilization of the Spaniards was superior to that of the Indian groups. The same was true of the Spanish culture, the discipline of soldiers, etc., but it was not the intention of the newcomers to teach the conquered these superior qualities. These, of course, were acquired later, but not as a result of efforts on the part of the Spaniards. Rather, circumstances and the years rendered such a fusion of the new with the old inevitable. What the Spaniards wanted were the mines and the treasures in their various forms and a complete subjugation of the Indians. In many instances of history we see examples of how the Indians complained against the tyranny of their masters, the religious ones.

Hernan Cortés, an intelligent and decisive man, accepted the collaboration of the Catholics in his desire for domination, considering them an important ally, not only to control soldiers within his own ranks but to hold under subjugation the conquered tribes. This has always been the role of the Clergy of Mexico: to keep steeped in ignorance the consciences so as to enable a special little group to direct the destinies of the downtrodden and maintain them as slaves. Up to what point the Spaniards came to confront themselves with the priests is not explained by Mandieta, who treats with that epoch and that situation at length. (Ecclesiastical Indian History, book 111) "On their part, the priests were not exempted from answering for laws disobeyed. In their efforts to construct monasteries, they were forced to recourses not in keeping with Christianity and priests did not tolerate any more than was absolutely necessary religious rites of the Indians".

The solution of our national problem cannot be traced to causes which existed prior to the conquest and only in part to causes during the colonial times other than the cause presented by the Church. The Church has always been the most serious obstacle to our political and economic enlargement.

The secular clergyman, Alonso Gonzalez, was the first representative of the church to disembark in Mexico, on Cape Catoche, on March 5, 1517, beginning immediately with the first baptisms which began to sow religious lies. Later, when the conquest had been extended somewhat, talk began to spread regarding the riches of the New World. When gold was beginning to be found in great quantities, the migration of Spaniards and the clergymen began.

Donations and favors of the conquerors were other factors to be considered at that time. People benefitted always enjoyed the protection of the conquerors. Upon the occasion of the twelve missionaries in coming to Veracruz, Cortes assured them every possible personal protection and granted them every available material assistance. This

was directly in keeping with the manner in which all members of the Clergy were treated in coming to New Spain. It must be mentioned that there were exceptions in that some priests did have good intentions and practiced their work in conformity with the noblest views, but these were certainly exceptions. This is true particularly with the general conduct of members of religious groups who came to Mexico in their dealings with the Indians. And the bad effect of the priests generally made it all the more difficult for those representatives of the Catholic Church who were sincere in their work. Referring to these same events, Dr. Mora (Mexico and her Revolutions, Page 272, Volume 1); "If afterwards the institutes of religion degraded to the state of affairs we now find them in, that does not derogate from the noble functions of priests immediately after the conquest. It is true that some social conducts were introduced by these first missionaries, customs which to this day are harmful to Mexico; but these errors were not errors of the priests themselves but rather disorientations of the century itself which considered then as sound policies. It is just to combat them with all our strength, but not to offend the intentions with which they were introduced during the Conquest". Furthermore, it is necessary to make mention of the interesting opinion of Lic. Alfonso Toro (The Church and the State in Mexico, Page 8). "Regarding the Mexican Church, we must remember that it was founded by priests. Immediately it was known that Cortes had conquered Mexico, three Franciscan Friars, Fray Pedro de Gante, Fray Juan Van Tacht or de Tecto and Fray Juan Van Aor or de Ahora, came to his country to establish churches and schools, to teach them the methods of the Christian religion as well as some of the European culture. The work of these missionaries, not one of whom were Spanish, was on the whole highly useful. Later, through authorization of the King of Spain and the Pope, came twelve Spanish Franciscan Friars, carefully chosen from among the best convents of Spain; and these were the real founders of the Mexican Church. Many historians have showered these missionaries with eulogies. If we regard these versions as true, in practically no time the missionaries stamped out worship of idols in Mexico and established in its place Catholicism among the Indians. But the origin of these eulogies sprang from these very same sources, the priests, such as Motolinia and Mandieta and those Franciscan chroniclers who lived immediately after these two men. All these men painted the missionaries of people of the highest possible dignities, but the truth is quite remote from all this. That the opposite versions are well founded may be gathered from honest reports written by some of the same Franciscan Friars. From these latter persons, we gather that the Franciscan Friars had only a smattering knowledge of the Indian's psychology, and were therefore unable to cope adequately with the new problems. This led the Friars to teach the Indians only certain orations, usually in Latin, which the Indians did not understand but repeated mechanically, and ceremonies of the cult which were never explained to the converted. With these changes, and with these alone, it was considered the Indians had been changed to Catholicism. And this was not the only error committed by the Franciscan Friars, but rather they used what theologians call

"Good Dole" in the invention of the Virgin of Queretaro, the Christ of Chalma, and other religious orders. And in some cases they attempted to find substitutes for the Indians idols so as to convert them the more easily. In affirmation of the historian of Mexico before mentioned, let us make reference to the first miracle of the Conquest. This miracle occurred on March 22, 1519, when Cortes landed on the bank of the Grijalva river, where he had a battle with the natives and was victorious. Upon this occasion, recounts the historian Gomara, the apostles of Santiago or San Pedro appeared on horseback to fight on the side of the Castilians". However, Bernal Díaz del Castillo maintains: "What I saw was Francisco Morla on horseback and riding beside Cortes". The period of lies and misinterpretations was already being ushered in, all the more in that the conquerors had to invent means of keeping their men in high spirits. Fray Diego, for example, said that upon the occasion of his visit to Tabasco in 1575, the general belief reigned that no one could cross a bridge without the good assistance of some angel. It is, furthermore, noteworthy of mention that the Nun Carmelita Maria Teresa de la Santisima Trinidad Aycinena assured the people Jesus Christ came every Friday to converse with the nuns of the convent; and as proof thereof a letter, signed by the angels, was exhibited, and as proof against any falsification of the document it was also signed by Ramon Casaus y Torres, bishop of Rosen and Archbishop of Guatemala. This method was finally halted by superior authorities as an iniquitous manner employed by a woman—condition now explained by a study of psychology.

It may be mentioned with assurance that the Indians of Mexico were and are today worshippers of idols. The Indian, it is true, substituted his idolatry with religion, but it is also interesting to note that under the very altars of the church he buried his idols in betrayal of the conquerors, and particularly in betrayal of those representatives of the church who prided themselves with having converted so many thousands of Indians. In the walls of all the temples of Mexico can be found these traces of idolatry, a proof that the Indian, though converted, continued in his beliefs basically. Therefore we appeal to common sense and to the experience of the Mexicans. The Indian understands our version of the image and what it represents. If we explain this to our children of five or six years of age, they understand immediately. Writers on these subjects often fails to realize the great difference between and Indian child and another child. Fundamentally, the various groups of Mexico have their preconceived ideas about religion, but rather on the contrary, one in which religion had been created through customs and traditions. Only one form of culture finds its way to the Mexican through the immoralities of the Catholic Clergy. And the cause of these arguments is that the Spanish Conquest has been completely superficial. Neither the conqueror nor the Franciscan Friar reached the soul of the Indian. They, the foreigners, did not have the capacity to become really intimate spiritually with the natives. On the contrary, they regarded them as slaves, treated them as dogs, and led them to entertain evil thoughts.

The conversion was incomplete, and the Mestizo never responded to a noble ideal. On the contrary

disputed tendencies emanated from the efforts made by the Franciscan Friars. What really happened is that the Indian acquired the vices of both races. The Mestizo hated the white and exploited the Indian. The Mestizo, with little capacity and with still less morality, responded half-heartedly to the exploitation of the newcomers. Following is an excerpt by Friar Bernardino de Sahagun: "They did not forget their predications (the twelve first missionaries) of the notice given to them, 'Be prudent as serpents, and simple as doves'. And although they abided fairly well by the second, they failed in the first and remained with their belief in idolatry. Over and over again the Indians were baptized, but that baptism was superficial and incomplete. They accepted the new Christian God without denying their old idols. As a result the religion became in itself a mixture, being composed partly of the Christian religion and partly of the sanguinary beliefs of the old Indian tribes. Of course, it was said repeatedly by the Franciscan Friars that such great numbers of Indians had been converted and that preaching against idolatry was unnecessary. They maintained that Jesus Christ had been taken up by the natives. All this was incorrect. What really happened was that more and more gods began to appear on the scene. When people from villages entered a town they brought with them their own gods; and once there, not only did they accept the god of that town but they also induced the town people to accept their village god. As a result the church of Mexico was not well founded. Its foundation was undependable and insecure like shifting sand. The same Sahagun wrote: (History of Things in New Spain), referring to the lack of responsibility which the Friars and their colleagues had. It was written that under no condition should the natives be forced to suffer the profane vanities of the Spaniards. And it was mentioned that the Christian customs could not be easily applied in Mexico. Furthermore, it was incongruous to render the feasts more solemn in dances and sounds of rejoicement. New Spain was to be devoid of these former vanities. And in going over all this matter of religious feasts, and religious training and all that went with the establishment of the Catholic church in Mexico, one is forced to go back to the times of antiquity.

No one can deny that the best monuments of Mexico are those of the churches and the cathedrals. Their architecture is beautiful, and their structures solid. But we must remember with Dr. Atl (Churches of Mexico) that from all this work, including the gathering of riches, sprang the enslavement of thousands and thousands of Indians, forced as they were to build the churches and the convents. They were forced to do this as a result of the double imposition, on the one hand, the dictates of the government, and on the other, religious terror. Unquestionably the Indian was the inventor of some of the best architecture. In many cases he was not rewarded for his work. He was cheated, and he was forced to render these services. Meanwhile, the fields were not planted and there was no development in industry. Should these energies have been devoted to services really useful, such as the construction of bridges and roads, organization of industry, and had the people been taught to work, in order to derive an economic result, Mexico would have at that time entered into a period of sound organization.

We do not believe that the social organization of the colonial times has may modified the psychology of the Indians. Any number of substitutes were made. Their priests were replaced by the Catholic clergy; their gods were replaced by the saints; their "teocalli", by the church; their idols of stone were replaced by the images of saints; their "Tlacatecyglli", by the Viceroy of Spain; their "Cihuacoatl" by the Arch-bishop or the Pope. But the mass of Indian people continued as before. The Indian tribes continued to be a semi-feudal organization. And the church was fundamentally an institution which exploited them. Indians and Spaniards, rich and poor...all life rotated around the church. The acts of each individual were chained to religious functions. Everything was religious, ferociously religious. In truth our painting of that time were also closely allied to a religious spirit. A writer named Cosío, wrote about those small churches that were built in the villages and stressed the extent to which the Indians were pictured in paintings, obeying the mandates of their superiors... for the most part very dishonest superiors. He made reference to the fact that the church has been rich and powerful. In general catholicism in Mexico has had recourse to unusual advantages, and it claimed that it had made of each Indian a Catholic example. Nevertheless, the great majority of population composed of Indians is not Catholic. This has been pointed out by several writers. The Indian continues to adorn his old idols and he continues to practice his sanguinary beliefs. To the Indian the saint is a form of an idol, and through that idol he has certain conceptions of God portrayed to him through the saint. It must be noted that, in remote sections of the country, the conception of and belief in idols is still very strong. The saint of stone, carryfully carved by the Indian himself, is less a saint than an idol. The Indian never has understood and probably never will understand the true meaning of the Christian religion. The Conquest in itself was by far too violent, and it was too commercial to reach the soul of the natives. Decorations have been changed, the name of the thing has been changed; but we repeat that intrinsically conditions remain as they were prior to the Conquest. The Indian continues to profess his own religion, and if some parts of it have been suppressed, such as sacrifices, that is because he is socially and politically obliged to do so.

The clergy of Mexico may lament that the old times, the times when the church dominated, cannot ever return. In the seventeenth century the city of Mexico was without a question of the doubt one of the richest of the world. In many cases, members of the richer classes laid down bars of silver extending from the patio, possibly, to some room used for baptism, so that children, going to be baptized, would walk on this precious metal. All kinds of examples remain to this day as traces of that former wealth. Furnitures were in many cases lined with silver or even with gold. The Viceroy and the Archbishops lived in magnificent palaces. And it was in these palaces that some of the religious functions took place in the very height of splendor. Who can deny that insulting lasciviousness of the church. And such feasts were direct mockery to the Indians and to the cruelty to which they were enslaved. The wealth of the church was comparable to that great piousness under which

the people lived. The Catholic church had a monopoly on religion in Mexico. A number of letters and documents remaining today, documents written by the priests themselves to superiors, leave us direct proof of the decadence by the fact that the church became a gatherer of wealth rather than a disseminator of faith and belief. More and more convents were at the same time being founded. Only in those short ten years, during which Don Juan Pérez del Cerna was Archbishop, sixteen convents were built. Furthermore, churches and hospitals and other buildings were constructed. At a total sum of 2,227,000 d. And some time after 1694 the mayorship of Mexico asked Phillip IV not to found any more convents for nuns. It was no longer necessary because already enough had been built. It was asked, furthermore, that the ranches of the religious leaders be limited and that no new ones should be acquired. Already at that time most of the best lands of Mexico was already under control of the church. The mayorship of Mexico informed Phillip IV that unless something was done immediately the church would control the destiny of the country. Already at that time there were six thousand clergymen without work in the cities of Mexico, Puebla, Michoacan, Oaxaca, Guadalajara and Chiapas.

One of the most oprobious ecclesiastical tribunals in Mexico, under the Spanish domination was the Tribunal of the Inquisition. It was independent of the civil ecclesiastical authorities, and it had supreme power to settle all problems regarding faith and religious beliefs as well as other matters relating thereto. The establishment of this tribunal in the sixteenth century marked the beginning of the degeneration and the corruption of the Mexican clergy. And as a result of it the inquisition friars became hypocrites assassins, more so than was ever registered in the church in Mexico. In vain have Catholic writers attempted to gloss over the corruption created through this tribunal. His torical data points to its ignoble functions, to its iniquity and its anti-social work. It was a strong arm not only for the church of Mexico but also for the kings of Spain, because it prevented scientific advancement and maintained a dominance over the people, holding them in a state of complete ignorance. Books published against this tribunal were in the first place prohibited and in the second place confiscated in case they reached the public. The tribunal prevented free thought.

Dr. Mora in his book "Mexico and her revolution", indicates that in addition to the enormous rents paid for this tribunal, any number of confiscations were made so as to swell its treasury. This tribunal, even in civil cases, would never litigated before any other, but rather took upon itself complete jurisdiction. There has been so much written about the Spanish Inquisition that it would be unnecessary to delve into that matter further here. It will suffice to say that proceedings in the tribunal offered no justice to the defendant. It kept him incommunicated. He could not speak to his witnesses. Often times he did not even know who they were. His lawyer, in case he had one, was powerless to help him very much. Oftentimes the sentence was something very vague. The defendant has no recourse to civil authorities who might have easily proclaimed him innocent. In resumen, the defendant was completely at the mercy of an unjust, cruel, a one-sided court proceed-

ing. It was a court which was a disgrace to a civilized nation. These references are sufficient to explain its suppression, because in its very form and constitution the church had made itself detestable. It was incapable of morality. And in spite of the vicious constitution under which it operated the people of those times had come to regard it as a kind of necessary cruelty. Punishment of the inquisition in Mexico consisted in imprisonment, fines, and always that disgrace which accompanied a conviction. Dr. Mora Trejo referred to the friars of these times as heartless mortals who, at the very time they were evoking the penitence of God for the poor Indians they were exposing themselves to their own crimes and to their own cruelties. It was the work of the Dominican Friars themselves to direct the functions of this tribunal, a tribunal which was called "the sainted", and it was located in an annex building, beside the convent of Santo Domingo—now the site of the Medicine School in Mexico City. This tribunal punished even such actions as are now considered hereditary. This was a concept in itself very vague and elastic and indicates the extent of the tribunal's jurisdiction. If functioned on a basis so secret and so absolute as confession itself. Not only with respect to the accused but also with respect to the penalty, this absurd system, hateful and avoricious, rendered the court proceedings an inquisition in itself. For the proceedings, a mere suspicion would suffice to bring the defendant before the tribunal. The testimony was often accompanied by painful torments (cuts in the flesh, dismemberment of joints, burnings, sometimes even to the bone). Finally the accused, worn down through these tortures, confessed guilt even though innocent. In order to gather an idea of the cruelty which characterized these torments, let it be mentioned that often times, when the head was turned directly around, the eyes would jump out of their sockets. The functions of the mentioned tribunal took place in the principle plaza in the city of México, and these functions were accompanied by a great solemnity, produced intentionally to create fear and terror. This whole dark picture lends itself to an explanation of the power of the Mexican clergy at that time. Private opinions, the schools of philosophy and politics, economics and science, all were directly or indirectly conducted by the friars; and these fanatics had under their power a dominance over the conscience. Provided someone expressed his opinion, that was considered a hereditary evil provided such an opinion did not favor the Catholic church. Punishments were almost invariably of the severest kinds.

The tribunal was also an instrument of politics. Through its intervention, political movements could be repressed or encouraged and the social life of the colony was directed by the clergy. Even the Independence War of Mexico was carried on in part by the Catholic Church. Tremendous sacrifices did not seem to be enough, and even from the glorious toms of Hidalgo and Morelos across the new fatherland, destined to work its own salvation at the cost of interminable struggles.

Another of the public functions controlled by the clergy was an ecclesiastical censure exercised over publications. The clergy was the supreme arbitrator which resolved what books would be published, what theories would be practiced, and what trend public thought would take. Can a

greater despotism or domination of the spirit and the conscience be imagined?

As a result of what has been said, no one can deny the tremendous political power vested in the clergy. It was a power which exercised its domination as a vice of all vices. During the seventeenth century the Viceroy Crullias affected the expulsion of the Jesuits and the confiscation of goods in that community. This had already been ordered beforehand by the monarchs of Spain but it had been delayed from time to time. Meanwhile, in Spain there were contradictions regarding what should be permitted and what should not be permitted in New Spain. To begin with, the clergy of Spain was convinced that New Spain provided very lucrative, monetary remunerations, but the churches were overrun with Friars, and a limitation had to be effected. Consequently, a number of reforms were introduced for the purpose of extending Spain's dominance, particularly in Mexico and in Paraguay. These reforms consisted in creating a State within a State. The Jesuits were in charge of public teachings, and they had under their control, to some extent at least, the trend of spiritual thought. Furthermore, the Jesuits had connections with the Indians of California, Sonora, and Nayarit through commercial dealings. For that reason, King Charles III found it necessary to expell the "Jesus Company" from his domains. Thereby he settled some of the grave problems of the colonies.

The Spanish monarchs had in Mexico an ecclesiastical patronage, and unlimited rights. Therefore they manifested their predominance over the church. The extent to which they were successful is not recorded with great clarity, but it is known that the church began to assume different political roles in freeing itself from an imposed burden.

This guardianship was closely linked with the ecclesiastical constitution of Mexico, and its functions consisted in all kinds of appointments of benefits to the church. Even before the reign of Charles III there had been a concordat between Rome and Spain which granted to the Spanish crown the guardianship over all its domains. It was, in fact, Charles III who introduced the most advanced methods, such as the expulsion of the Jesuits on February 27th., 1767. Reforms of the Inquisition Tribunal, the reduction of the number of churches, the founding of economic societies, the limitation of inquisitorial tribunals which had been established to prohibit the circulation of books, the declaration of the Papal Bull contrary to political rights, all these were not favorably received in Spain and were therefore eliminated from the rituals and other books. Legal mandates began to combat the power of the church, particularly after October 25th., 1795.

In the Spanish colony, it was stated by Padilla that the church was constantly an obedient institution in compliance with the will of the kings. The recopilation of the laws of the Indies is very clear. And this indicates the blind obedience exercised by heads of the church towards the King of Spain. This vigilance became manifest in that Bishops and Archbishops, before receiving their churches, were obliged to abide by the Civil Laws.

At the end of sixteenth century, the capital accumulated by the church was immense. Money received through rents reached fabulous sums. The Franciscans had five provinces, including those of

Guatemala and Nicaragua. Mexico had ninety monasteries. Michoacan, including new Galicia, had fifty-four; Guatemala, twenty-two; Yucatan, twenty-two; Nicaragua, twelve. In this manner the Order of San Francisco had about two hundred convents. The Dominicans had ninety convents; the Augustines, seventy-six. In Mexico, Michoacan and Jalisco alone the Jesuits had erected a number of houses and colleges. This was also true of the Carmelites. Therefore, in New Spain there were over four hundred convents of the various religious orders. And if we add to this other parties of the clergy, we find that there are about eight hundred. We must mention that the convents had also churches of the small villages under their control. Of these churches there were more than a thousand in the province of Mexico. And as additional data regarding the wealth of the church, we might say the following: In the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits were expelled from Spain and from New Spain, the Viceroy Marquis de Amarillas, who affected the expulsion, referred to this only very vaguely. No record was kept of the values of these various buildings, buildings used for churches, convents and annexes. The Jesuits alone had over one hundred and twenty-three large ranches. These compared in size to the big "latifundios" of colonial times. Following is data which will give us an idea of the tremendous wealth of the church at that time; alone through tax on capital the Archbishop of Mexico paid annually on 123,000 pesos; the Archbishop of Puebla, on 110,000 pesos; the Archbishop of Valladolid, Mor., on 1,000,000 pesos; the Archbishop of Guadalajara on 90,000 pesos. Ever since the time of the Conquest, in compliance with the Kings of Spain, the Pope unscrupulously divided that which did not belong to him. Most of the funds received by the church were used in the maintenance of the religious cult, the maintenance of the churches and of the ministers of the cult. But Charles V effected a division of the religious reign into four parts. Of these, one was given to the Bishop, another to the ecclesiastical chapter. The other two parts were divided into nine sections. In the capital of every one of the dioceses there was a committee which attended to the management of the various church functions. In addition to properties owned by the church, such as temples and other buildings used in the practice of cults, buildings of instruction, convents, etc., wealth of the church amounted to the fabulous sum of 80,000,000 pesos. This did not include the wealth and properties confiscated from the Jesuits. Dr. Mora has already explained, to some extent, the accumulation of wealth by the church. This was always a source of preoccupation for the Kings of Spain. There were a number of laws passed by means of which certain restrictions could have been effected, but these were not enforced. Only on very rare occasions were they abided by. With reference to lands discovered and populated by people of the new world, there was a law, for example, that such lands could not be sold for the kings of Spain. There were a number of laws passed by means of which certain restrictions to a church, nor to a monastery, nor an ecclesiastical person. This law was not observed either.

The majority of these regulations were merely passed as a matter of defence by the kings of Spain in order to prevent the growth in power of the church and growth in its wealth. Such an

extraordinary power was a direct threat against political leaders. And it was precisely this power which was opposed by the reforms of the Mexican Revolution. At the time of these reforms, it was already obvious that the State could no longer tolerate the church's actions in directing the destinies of the people in culture and education through religious teachings.

The following are excerpts from documents: "We need religious people who lead clean and wholesome and exemplary lives, because up to this time very few possessing those attributes have come to New Spain". This was written by Hernan Cortes to Emperor Charles V in the fifteenth century. "Everytime I have written to Your Majesty regarding the conversion of Indians to the Catholic faith, I have stressed that it is highly important you send to us people whose lives in this country will set a good example for the natives". "Clergies expelled from Spain came to New Spain merely to fill their pockets and return". "I suggest to Your Majesty that when you send Clergy to New Spain, you subject them or have them subjected to rigorous questioning, so that those who arrive here are thoroughly qualified to attend to their spiritual duties. Because up to this time it has been obvious to me that the clergy wants to conduct affairs in such a manner as to merely enrich itself. We need honest men; we need virtuous men".

"Let it be known to Your Majesty that we have very few clergymen who know their work and who really come up to the expectations necessary here". This was written to Emperor Charles V by Juan de Zumarraga.

"The Indians would be better off without the clergy. The clergy are very selfish and do not serve the purpose". These were the instructions given by the Viceroy Mendoza to his successor Don Luis de Velasco".

"The Indians have not been instructed in our sainted Catholic faith. On the contrary, they have come to deny our beliefs as a result of the imprudent methods used by priests in their teachings. This has been an injustice. The natives can have love for neither God nor them, and their idolatry is not being replaced with our faith". This was written in a letter by Francisco Toral, Bishop of Yucatan, to Phillip II.

"It is necessary to inform you of the people who come here in the name of the church. Above everything else I am forced to point to their vices. They commit deviations from the path of our faith, deviations which cannot be pardoned". This was written by the Viceroy Marquez de Valero as instructions left to his successor the Duke of Linares.

"In preaching about the heaven they have become possessors of the earth. Thousands and thousands of sheep belong alone to two Catholic colleges. Ranches, silver mines, and a number of other means of wealth all are already in the hands of the clergy; and within a short time, people of Mexico will be paying their rents to the church. Possession of the ranches and the mines by the church will soon be followed by the clergy's possession and control of industries, public offices, meat shops, etc. Every day the church is assuming greater power and greater riches".

"The power of these religious people has come to be so great in the universal church, their credit

has come to be so extraordinary, and their honors so absolute that unless reforms are brought about at once they will become all power and beyond control".

"Solely the St. Peter and St. Paul College has over 60,000 heads of cattle. But, in truth, it might be said that it have at least 300,000, because the former figures are the figures of the college itself".

"Various ranches owned by the clergy have more or less the following numbers of sheep; one 34,000 heads, all of them black; another, called St. Ines, has 20,000 heads, all of them white; another, has 17,000 white heads of sheep; another one, called Tecamate, has 16,000 heads".

"And the college of St. Peter and St. Paul has the following ranches: one with 30,000 white and black. In addition to this wealth, there can be found on these ranches other classes of live stock as well as wheat, corn and beans".

"Here the fathers began with a small ranch, and now they already have fourteen large ranches".

In conclusion to this chapter, let us refer in summary to functions of the church which enable it

to maintain its dominance in New Spain; a large number of church decrees were passed fortifying the church's position and assuring its growth. The Indian was disregarded. So far as his soul was concerned, church authorities were divided in opinion as to whether he should be granted the right to think for himself.

All of this points to the oprobious work of the Catholic clergy exercised in New Spain. In a congress of ideology it was discussed as to whether the Indian was a human being, and if so, whether he had reasoning power, or whether he was merely a beast and should be treated as such.

Those were very cruel times. It was necessary to fight against the immorality and the malignity not only of the church but also of the Viceroy. It all had the appearance of a singularly commercial institution. All that worked was an economic and moral disaster for the country. The elimination of these crowded evils has been the work set for itself by our revolutionary government. It has been a fight against religious fanaticism and the power of the church.

CHAPTER 3

The manifest preponderance of the clergy during the colonial epoch.—The high clergy as enemy of the insurgents.—Complaints of Hidalgo and his manifest.—Initiatives prior to a separation from the Vatican.—The clergy indorses and assits the invasions of foreigners (American and French), and helps to sustain the empire of Maximilian.—The Reforms of Gomez Farias, Juarez, Ocampo and Lerdo; and protests, rebellions, as well as public announcements made by the clergy.—The clergy enriches the dictator, Santa Anna, at the cost of bloodshed and slavery of the country.—Violent attacks, verbal and armed, of the clergy against the Constitution.—The triumph of liberal, reformists and republican ideas over the clergy—conservative imperialists.

A clear concept regarding the Mexican fatherland, related to the past and with the determining necessity of constituting a political organization was the essential cause of Mexican independence. It was a phenomenon which was carried out through the simple development of events, with the enthusiasm of the dispossessed masses and against the high Catholic Clergy which was not only antagonistic to the idea of independence, but was also a bitter enemy of the insurgent mobs.

The economic and social disequilibrium maintained by the State and by religion separated the social classes from the Conquest on. All legislation had as its fundamental idea the domination of the natives, their submission to political power and church rule. THE PREPONDERANCE OF THE CLERGY AND OF THE CHURCH IS ONE OF THE CHARACTERISTIC PHENOMENA OF THE COLONY. The influence of the clergy was great because it was founded on respect for religion, on the idea of supposed benefits constantly preached, and on its vast wealth.

With the coming of the independence movement, the clergy, as Altamirano states, was divided: The high official, the wealthy man, all who enjoyed even the smallest benefits in the large cities and all who administered the enormous wealth of the convents, declared themselves against independence from the very beginning. At the same time, the

lower clergy, "the priests of the villages, the country and the mountains, the friars of certain humble monasteries, sympathized with the movement for independence; and the first and most illustrious leaders of that movement... came from that poor clergy, as immediate proof of the people's miseries." No one can deny that pulsing and unconscious necessity for a change in the social organization which was reflected in the middle class, the village priests, and the lower ranks of public officials. The malicious interpretation of the Scriptures depressed the social classes. The ideas of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, crossed the barriers and hid like prohibited books in the folds of the priest's robes. The colonial organization, filled with social sores and defects, threatened to collapse. The plague of the church was the cancer of that organization; everything was impregnated with religious ideas, the teachings so filled with ignorance and superstition which were imparted to the indigenous peoples chained to prejudices. Only independence was able to make way for the establishment of a new organization and the new ideas of the century. The expulsion of the Jesuits pointed out the existing vices, recognized by the church itself. Through the degrading events of Bayonne the people appreciated the false idea of divine right of kings. The French revolution was a clear echo which resounded in all the con-

tinents preparing for liberty. The independence of the United States with its constitutional principles, the imprisonment of Iturrigaray, the invasion of Spain by the French, the corruption of politicians and church officials, above all the latter who made of religion an instrument of slavery and tyranny—all these were also important contributing factors.

With the fall of Ferdinand VII the separation of New Spain began. For the first time the words popular sovereignty were heard like a new and courageous truth. Verdader and Talamantes offered up their lives for liberty. Iturrigaray was followed by the imposition of Marshall de Campo Pedro Garibay; afterwards Venegas, Calleja and Apodaca, all of them lieutenant-generals assumed the useless task of sustaining the complicated edifice of the Colony, until O'Donoju gathered up its ruins. In all these events the clergy participated in many immoral forms: by declaring the doctrine of the people's sovereignty heretical and by anathematizing it, by imposing the decretum Garibay, the dubious Archbishop Francisco Javier de Lizana.

The work carried out by Don Miguel Hidalgo was truly grandiose. The Creole priesthood with hopes of bettering themselves, the rural patriot with determined convictions regarding his exemplary mission, and other hordes of the populace thirsty for destruction joined the mobs of the illustrious Rector of the Colegio de San Nicolas. "They are Catholics for the sake of politics: their God is money. They make use of religion itself in order to combat and destroy it". Said Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, the liberator and progenitor of the Mexican fatherland:

"I feel the sad necessity of satisfying the populace regarding a point which I never thought would be brought against me, nor of which I would ever be suspected of by my compatriots. I refer to the most interesting, the most sacred, and to me the most beloved thing: of holy religion, supernatural faith which I received upon baptism.

"All my crimes have their origin in the desire for your happiness; if this had not caused me to take up arms, I would be enjoying a sweet, soft, and tranquil life. I should be considered a true Catholic, as I am and as I flatter myself on being; no one would have dared to denigrate me with the infamous charge of heresy...

"The oppressors have neither arms nor people to force me to continue within the horrible slavery to which they had us condemned. Then what recourse was left open to them? That of every possible means, regardless of how unjust, illicit and junscrupulous they might be that would help sustain their tyranny and the oppression of America. They relinquish the very last remains of honor and gentlemanliness: The most esteemed authorities are corrupted. Excommunications, which no one better than they know are without any significance, are resorted to. They attempt to frighten the credulous and to terrify the ignorant, so that fearful of the word anathema, they become afraid where there is no logical reason for fear.

"Who would believe, dear fellow citizens, that the audacity and brazenness of the Spaniards would reach that point? They profane the most sacred things in order to assure their own intolerable rule! They use holy religion itself in order to combat and destroy it! They employ the weapon of excommunication against the whole mind of the church.

and the condemn without any consideration of religion entering into the matter!

"Open your eyes, Americans; do not let yourselves be seduced by our enemies. They are Catholics only because of political convenience; their God is money and the only purpose of their threats is oppression. Do you perhaps believe that no one can be a true Catholic unless he is subjected to Spanish tyranny? Whence this new dogma, this new clause?" (From the "Manifesto of Don Miguel Hidalgo, General-in-chief of the American armies and elected by the majority of the people of the kingdom to defend their rights and those of their fellow citizens"). The hateful three-century tyranny did not lay on the soul of the people in vain. The singular and most noble adventure ended in Acatita de Baján, but the roots were already planted; the impetus of independence could no longer be held back. Rayon, Liceaga, Verduzco, Morelos, Guerrero, represent so many more pages of effort on the part of a people to free itself. The treaty of Acatempan and the Plan of Iguala lay the uncertain foundations of party hate. The figure of Iturbide assumed the outline standing for the salvation of the people and of the Conservative Party. O'Donoju signed the treaties which bear his name in Córdoba, Veracruz; and finally on September 27th, 1821, the liberating army effected its triumphal entry into the capital.

The church was not inactive during all this time. The Holy Office published a decree excommunicating Hidalgo for sedition, sismaticism, and heresy. Bishops and inquisitors issued excommunications right and left, and by means of the pulpits and religious intrigues the church supported the royalist party. The edict of September 24th, 1810, issued by the Bishop of Michoacán, Don Manuel Abad y Queipo in which the leaders of the insurgent movement and all their followers were excommunicated, had phrases taken from the preachings of Jesus Christ: "A pastor of souls (I hate to say it) the priest of Dolores, Don Miguel Hidalgo, (who has enjoyed my trust and friendship up to now) in the company of the Captains of the Queen's regiment, Don Ignacio Allende, Don Juan de Aldama and Don Jose Maria Abasolo raised the banner of rebellion and lit the torch of discord and anarchy. Winning over a portion of innocent workmen, he made them take up arms. On the sixteenth of that month, he led them in an attack on the village of Dolores, and at dawn surprised and arrested European inhabitants. They sacked houses and bore off poverty; at seven o'clock that night they carried out a similar attack on the village of San Miguel el Grande. In both places they took over governmental authority." To these charges the Bishop added that the said Don Miguel Hidalgo, priest of Dolores, and his followers the three or four mentioned Captains were guilty of sacrilege, perjury, and that they had come under the church provisions of major excommunication *siquis suadente diabolus*—for having made an attempt against the persons and liberty of the sexton of Dolores, the priest of Chamacuero and of various friars of the Carmen de Celaya monastery, whom they imprisoned and held under arrest. "I declare them excommunicated in life, prohibiting any one from offering them aid or consolation, under the penalty of incurring in major excommunication *ipsosfacto incurrenda*, this edict serving as a warning that from now on I declare them equally

guilty. Similarly, I exhort and appeal to the portion of the people who have been seduced into this movement through titles of soldiers and comrades in arms that they be delivered to their rades—o—in arms that they be delivered to their homes and freed within three days after having read this edict, under the same penalty of major excommunication. I declare all such culprits and all who may voluntarily join these bands or any way aid or succor them equally liable to major excommunication". On October 11th, 1810, the Archbishop of Mexico, Dr. Don Francisco Javier de Lizana y Beaumont issued an edict declaring the excommunication decreed by the Bishop of Michoacan legal and valid. On October 13th, 1810, the friars of the Apostolic College of Pachuca brought out a document proposing to the Viceroy that he send members of the clergy of his community to persuade the people not to join the cause of independence. On October 27th, 1810, in Puebla the clergy manifested its adhesion to the king's cause in a memorable reunion; and finally on March 28th, 1811, the Metropolitan Council of Mexico City exhorted the clergy of its diocese to continue loyal to the king's cause.

In order to continue depending on the support of the colonial and monarchical organization the defense of privileges against the insurgent mobs was indispensable. In the struggle of the clergy itself, the high clergy made up of Bishops and of priests of the principal towns loyal to the viceregal government, and the low clergy, the vices of that religious organization were clergy demonstrated. Hence there was no hesitation in taking violent measures against noble priests such as Hidalgo, who was prosecuted in the face of all ecclesiastical right. The reform by means of which they were executed and all the mediating circumstances from the time of their arrest reveal the degrading servility of the clergy of that period.

The direct and sufficient role played by the clergy in the formation of the Plan of Iguala and resultant emancipation with Mexico by the low clergy which had participated in that revolution, gave that caste an exaggerated idea of its power, since it had aided in affirming the attitude of Iturbide who because of his personal convictions and because of the compromises during that movement, had shown himself from the beginning to be entirely under the influence and power of the clergy.

The Constitution of 1812 initiated a new epoch for the church, and one which threatened to do away with the old privileges, since it was a political code based on certain liberal principles which undoubtedly represented a step forward for the people. Upon taking possession of the Spanish throne, Ferdinand VII refused to recognize this constitution, which was not in accord with the absolutism of the Spanish monarchs. But the political events of the epoch forced him to accept it in March 1820. The clergy of the capital clearly saw the coming danger as far as its own political influence, and particularly its immunity, were concerned.

With the coming of Iturbide new horizons opened which continued the former prerogatives regarding the church's vast possessions. The clergy deceived Iturbide, as it deceived all political powers, by means of a false and hypocritical policy devoid

of all moral sense, which on many occasions constituted treason to the fatherland.

On October 19th, 1821, the empire's regency wrote to the Archbishop of Mexico asking how the vacancies should be filled in the churches, while the Pope settled the matter of the patronatus. After listening to the Metropolitan council, the ecclesiastical council (on March 4th, 1822, the council of diocese heads met under the presidency of Doctor, Professor, Vicar, Archbishop, and Doctoral Prelate of the Metropolitan Cathedral), and the remaining Bishops through their representatives who met in Mexico City, on March 4th, 1822 the Arch-bishop, answered: "that owing to the independence sworn with regard to this Empire, the patronatus which was granted by the apostolic seat in their churches to the kings of Spain as kings of Castille and Leon, has ceased; and that for this patronatus to exist in the government of the Empire itself without danger of nullification, it is necessary to await a similar concession from the Holy See itself..." The rights formerly belonging to the king of Spain were taken over by the Mexican clergy by a stroke of audacity; a more splendid triumph could not have been won by the colonials, who with one stroke and under the name of devolving right, remained in possession of the Patronatus.

In his book entitled "The Church and State in Mexico", page 78, Don Alfonso Toro states: "We can sum up in a few lines the situation of the clergy and the government. The independence of Mexico paralyzed the reforms which had already begun in Spain in ecclesiastical matters; then the clergy taking advantage of its highly important participation in the independence of Mexico, declared itself completely free from all influence of civil power, it denied the government the right of the patronatus which the kings of Spain had enjoyed, and which the government considered itself as having a right to, as a sharer in the rights which the Spanish government held over the church. When the civil powers tried to exert its influence in ecclesiastical matters, the clergy said, "You do not have the right of the king of Spain; to obtain the patronatus, it is necessary that you sign an agreement with the Holy See". That agreement was extremely difficult, to say nothing of quite impossible, to obtain, since the Pope who was then spiritual and temporal head at one time, could not break away from the very important and narrow relations which the papacy had always maintained with the Spanish monarchy. Ferdinand VII as well as the clerical interests openly opposed the recognition of the independence of the colonies in America which had belonged to Spain, and they actively carried on intrigue with a purpose of having the Pope interpose his influence in that almost decisive period, in order to recuperate the lost dominion of the Spanish American countries. The activity with which the Corte in Spain undertook this commission before the Holy See was soon translated into practicable results. Pope Leo XII, joining in common cause with Ferdinand VII, issued an encyclical asking the Archbishops and Bishops of America to dedicate themselves "to the task of explaining to their congregations the august and distinguished qualities which characterize our beloved son Ferdinand, Catholic king of the Spanish dominions, whose sublime and solid virtues cause him to place before the splendor of

his own greatness, the brilliance of religion and the happiness of his subjects" and he exhorted them "with proper zeal to place before the consideration of all, tree great and illustrious merits earned by all those Spanish residents in Europe who have always maintained their loyalty constant, with the sacrifice of their interests and their lives, in honor and defense of religion, the legitimate power". The government of the republic, considering that these words of the Pope had no object other than that of exciting the Bishops to sustain the king of Spain's domination, which was equivalent to asking Mexico to voluntarily renounce her independence won through such bitter sacrifice, had that document circulated among all civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the country and gave instructions to its diplomatic representative in Rome to file the corresponding protest before the Holy See. A unanimous feeling of indignation spread over all of Mexico when these facts became known; the country which had just won its independence after a cruel struggle of eleven years and after having experienced all the horrors of a war without quarter, which had seen its most prominent insurgent leaders jailed, exiled, and executed, all in the name of Ferdinand VII, became furious at the Papal encyclical which advised it to return to slavery under the government of a despot of so unworthy and low calibre as the king of Spain. The Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs, Don Miguel Ramos Arizpe, besides ordering Don Francisco Pablo Vazquez, representative of Mexico before the Holy See, to protest against that document which it seemed incredible should have been issued by such a cautious and suspicious court as that of Rome, circulated the encyclical among all the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the country and all unanimously protested against it. But when one considers the matter well, the churchmen in their majority did not adopt this attitude because of any patriotism, but through convenience, since under the republican government they were in a much better condition than they had been under the Spanish government. During the latter, they were subject to the authority of the King of Spain through the Patronatus, but with Mexico independent, they were only nominally under the Pope—since no normal conditions existed between the republican and the Pontificate, and since no agreement had been signed between the two, the priests denied the national government the right to intervene in church affairs, to maintain order and discipline. Thus, like Moors without a leader, they neither recognized the dispositions of the republican government, nor did they carry out the Pope's orders. That is why the ecclesiastical council and the governor of the Mitre in Mexico City, the Bishop of Puebla, the ecclesiastical council of Chiapas, and other ecclesiastical groups, and particularly (although these without any ulterior aims and only seeking the well-being of their country), Doctor Fr. Servando de Teresa y Mier, who wrote a most interesting essay on the encyclical, protested more or less openly against the encyclical issued by Pope Leo XII.

In his speech, the above mentioned friar declared that the papal document "was an Italian trick of the kind used by the Court of Rome to get out of its unpleasant compromises", and that "men, through having adored God by means of his ministers and hearing from them of oracles, have come

to worship both God and the ministers, and with a passing of time to look upon both as equally infallible and to confound their attributes and powers". Then he attacked papal infallibility with the doctrines of the Gallic church and expressed himself in the following terms with regard to the universal dominion attributed to himself by the Pope: "Not even I can conceive of such an absurdity among Christians and how such belief can last for so long being an express contradiction of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, of that of the Apostles, of the Holy Fathers and of the ideal of all. Our Savior said to Pilate: 'My kingdom is not of this world.' How then can his Vicar consider himself owner of this world?" After reviewing many historical events regarding the temporal power of the Popes, Fr. Servando de Teresa y Mier adds that in 1810 the Spaniards would have brought down the wrath of the Vatican upon the Mexicans if they could have done so, but that instead they futilely resorted to bayonets and cannon in their attempt to gain victory.

It was in 1833 when the illustrious liberal democrat Valentín Gómez Farias, the forerunner of the reforms, had opportunity to use his rise to the Vice-Presidency of the Republic in initiating the first efforts in the reduction of abuses, privileges, and advantages of the church through the passing of the law of October 18th. This policy was also a cleaning of the governmental machine. In the collection of Dublan y Lozano (Mexican Legislation) there is a circular published by the Secretary of Justice on June 6th, 1833, and one on June 8th. of that same year, in which the clergy was refused participation in politics. In the first of these the ecclesiastical authorities were reminded that the secular clergy had no authority over political matters. In that same year, Andres Quintana Roo wrote, "Action has been taken to prevent the perversion of the conscience by the abuses employed through the pulpit and secret confession". Church functions are the means through which the clergy influence their inferiors against political authority.

Surely the most important document of those times is the one which refers to the University, establishing the general management of public instruction for the District and Federal territories through the Act of October 21st, 1833. All these regulations were of course directly opposed by the church, which naturally could not regard in a friendly manner the actions taken by the Government in promoting its political strength.

And in the attempt to maintain its strength, the church employed every available means. Hunger, misery, and fanaticism were the servants of the church.

The most accurate document is the circular published by the Secretary of Justice, October 27th, 1833, in which it was ordained that the Civil obligation of paying contributions to the church had been eliminated, leaving to each individual his right to let the conscience dictate his actions. In Article 2, it was stated that the amount paid by the State to the Federation would be reduced.

Another interesting regulation is the Law of December 17th, 1833. Furthermore, the Governor of Michoacán, attempted to emigrate a number of seditious priests of that State, but he soon found himself in a critical position with respect to

the Archbishop of that diocese. This Archbishop objected to being subordinate to constitutional authorities. As a result there began the social struggle of the Mexicans, in light of the fact that the reforms of Gómez Farias had temporarily triumphed. But Santa Anna intervened through the Plan of Cuernavaca of May 25th, 1834. In this plan General Santa Anna sided, in part at least, with the clergy and the church considered this a triumph. Through the Revolution of 1841 General Santa Anna's position became more secure, and the Plan of Iguala, favored by the church had been to a great extent frustrated.

Soon after the Federation was established, in that its properties were in danger, the church began to transfer some of its wealth. The Government prevented this through an edict published in the circular on November 18th, 1834. The church attempted to justify these sales, but this justification was not accepted by the Government. Afterwards Santa Anna, on August 31st, 1834, issued an edict prohibiting the transfer of any treasures or wealth which were in the temples. These sales were usually made to persons in foreign countries and the Government opposed this in that the removal of such treasures derogated from the artistic beauty of Mexican buildings. The decree was not kindly received by the Mexican clergy and Juan Cayetano Portugal, Bishop of Michoacán, declared the absolutism of the clergy and attempted to eliminate civil power from church business, but the outcome of all this resulted unfavorably for the church.

There were times when the Conservative Party enjoyed great splendor, and the church was satisfied with the efficient protection which the party was giving to the clergy. But even this government could not exercise its will, as the clergy was an important factor which prevented political rule. The government could not function freely without opposing the church, and this was the principle problem of all the Conservative Governments.

A confirmation of what has been said can be found in a statement issued by President of the Republic Anastasio Bustamante, who was supported by the clergy: "The evils which afflict the nation are grave indeed. The customs are growing worse day by day. There are signs of a general depravity. We have no guarantee of property nor of life; the country is infested with bandits. It is in a state of calamity and general misery. One finds a general disarrangement and a pathetic dissonance with spiritual aspirations. Disunion, discord—these characterize our Nation. It is a disgrace to the society in which we live".

Such was the state of affairs of society. It was a complete disorganization carried out through the intrigues of the Catholic clergy. And when today the church protests against the action of the Government we should meet it with the history in our hands. This would prove that the church gained its wealth and its power through the extremes of misery inflicted upon the social classes. At all times the church was an enemy of the government.

Santa Anna, when he needed money for public expenses, got a loan from the clergy, and at the same time through the regulation of October 13th, 1831, the sale of church properties were prohibited without the permission of the government. The same general, Santa Anna, explains to us the

deception of both the Conservatives and the clergy in "the manifesto of Santa Anna".

With respect to this time you must remember the egoistic and unpatriotic act of the church in regard to the American war; as expressed in the Government Journal in 1846: "General Santa Anna, as we have before shown, in the few days that he had resisted the enemy in Tacubaya, in spite of having been ill in bed, busied himself without ceasing in taking all necessary measures to organize the two brigades that had quit. Commissioned presently by the Supreme Government to solicit the necessary funds, he stirred up the venerable clergy and summoned a meeting of capitalists. The clergy, through the Fathers Patiño and Irizarri, caputular vicar and Archdeacon of this Holy Church, consented to especially mortgage states for two thousand pesos; the capitalists named a commission that drew up a plan of loans and there was offered the best chance of quickly obtaining a million pesos in cash. But the moneychangers, those worms that are constantly working the entrails of the country, converted into stock-jobbing and usury that which was only a subject of help and transformed the good ideas that animated everyone. Those who made the loan began to plan to give a million pesos in coin and another in credits paper when they needed ready money! and put the condition that they were to choose the properties to be mortgaged and that if within two years they were not paid, without necessity of a new notice the properties would be theirs. In order to continue the war with the United States, the civil Government saw itself obliged to go to the clergy whether it wished to or not. The protest of the archbishopric on this occasion was truly an act of rebellion. They declared that the church is sovereign and cannot be deprived of its wealth by any authority and that only force could deprive the church of her property. On January 14, through the Minister of Justice, the Vice-President indicated to the chapter: "That it tried to excite the country to rebellion and that although the Government was able to stop any uprising since it counted with public force and opinion, it believed it her duty not to repeat such alarms and wisely concluded: 'History will condemn this resistance which not even in the middle ages has created abnormalities and will judge also the Government of the Republic which cannot live and has no means to satisfy the urgent needs of the army (American Invasion), when now our land is trampled under the foot of the stranger who threatens to destroy our altars'. His excellency the Vice-President does not fear the decision and now as Christian, now as Governor, believes in the strict obligation to obey and make others everywhere obey a law which is to save at the same time our land and our faith, for the same I am prepared to tell Your Excellency that it the Holy Cathedral does not open at the customary time and if for that reason or for any other alteration that is made with regard to the law, the tranquility of the public is disturbed, it will be necessary to take repressive measures as severe and effective as the circumstances demand".

It is interesting to study the circumstances of that rough moment in the life of the Republic, and particularly the project of January 28, 1847, that Congressman Vicente Romero proposed to Congress: "I. The Mexican Nation does not recogn-

ize in the ecclesiastical power any other jurisdiction than the spiritual. II. Every priest without exception of hierarchy belonging to the Mexican church, is subject to the Government of the Nation. III. The riches are a collection of alms and the government can make use of it, taking the obligation to care for the needs for which it is destined. Every inhabitant of the Republic without exception by right of law, class or sex, who denies or protest the right that Congress has to dispose of ecclesiastical property, in accordance with the foregoing articles, will be declared seditious and will be judged by the civil courts according to the law codes of Castile".

The noble attitude of Valentin Gomez Farias stands out during this period. No threat had been sufficient to make him halt; in the face of this activity of the Vice-President the clergy did not hesitate in fomenting the infamous revolt of the "polkos", in those painful circumstances in which the people of Mexico gave eloquent proof of their high patriotism. They were those selected to start the civil war which during so many years was fomented, (it was an absurd plan, annotations for the war between Mexico and the United States, the seventh charge that destroys the form of the Government established in August and that only tended in a direct manner to guarantee the property of the priesthood and to make the monarchical ideas of the Administration of General Paredes again dominate). The anti-patriotic insurrection of the "polkos" began on March 20th with the arrival of Santa Anna, it have been necessary to suppress the vice-presidency in order to get rid of Gomez Farias. The Decree of March 28th, 1847, gave extraordinary faculties to the Executive so that with the least possible obligation and in the manner most convenient, the amount of twenty millions was provided.

Don José Fernando Ramirez says of the foregoing Decree: "The clergy had tediously repeated in their protests that they resisted purely as a matter of conscience, for fear of the great censure of the ancients and of the new assembly of Bishops, and that it struggled to defend the security of the canons and of ecclesiastical privilege; finally the clergy who said they did not defend the quotas but the case and who asserted they would give not one single bit in war-tax, unless permission had first been obtained from Rome, passed to a greater obligation than that which had been exacted at the same time that they recognized the legitimacy of the power on which they had before asked the curse of God and man; a curse which was on the pavements of our streets at the same time that the door of the Republic was opened wide to the foreign enemy".

Unpatriotic is the action of the church in Mexico in the invasion of 1847, her decided help to an alien government which also was surreptitiously deceived. These are perhaps, for Mexicans, the most painful pages of the history of Mexico, and it is a sorrow to observe that political passions overcame all interest of the Nation.

In order to form and idea of the power of the church during this period we will take the principal data from the memorandum that Minister Castañeda presented in 1850: "The Republic is found divided in eleven bishoprics of which seven are supplied, two are to be supplied and Sonora and California are vacant. The nine cathedrals

and the college of Guadalupe counted 183 (one hundred and eighty-three) "prebendas" of which 104 (one hundred and four) had been filled and 79 (seventy-nine) vacant. The secular clergy, composed of 3,232 (three thousand, two hundred and thirty-two) individuals, served 1,222 (one thousand, two hundred and twenty-two) parishes, 828 (eight hundred and twenty-eight) in ownership and the rest held provisionally. There had been in that year and increase of seventy-five persons, without counting the Bishop of Durango, 176 (one hundred and seventy-six) ecclesiastics having been victims of the cholera morbus. There were ten seminary councils, with 850 boarding-pupils, 2,371 (two thousand three hundred and seventy-one) day pupils; 26 (twenty-six) theological professorships, five of canonical law, fifteen of civil and natural law, two of ecclesiastical history, twenty-six of philosophy, twenty-three of Latin and Catechism grammar, one of Greek and two of French.

It appears that in the year before the number of boarding and day-pupils had been increased, but also the instruction had advanced very little in those schools that the clergy had charge of. As to the regulars there were thirteen provinces with one hundred and forty-four convents, thirty-two curates, forty missions, one thousand and forty-three individuals, who, compared with those of the preceeding year, gives a reduction of one-hundred and one. The six colleges for propagation of the faith counted with two-hundred and fifty-two individuals, including twenty novices and eighty-two lay brothers. The eight congregations of priests of San Felipe Neri had forty-three individuals in the convent of San Camilo in the Capital. There were also fifty-eight convents of nuns, forty-eight subject to ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction and ten to the regulars, with 1,474 (one thousand four-hundred and thirty), children and 1,206 (one-thousand two-hundred and six) servants; and, for last, there were six establishments of sisters of charity with thirty-seven teachers and forty-one novices".

After these events the Government was controlled by the moderates, who had all kinds of business for the clergy. The Moderate Party, says "Todo", not only hostilized the clergy but had great consideration for them and the opinions of the high dignitaries of the church, obstinate, ignorant and prejudiced, were heard with respect by the administration, but they could not hope for noble action from the clergy. This period was initiated reckoning from the governments of Peña, of Herrera and of Arista, by the labor and conspiracies in favor of the monarchy after starting, as always, the constant clerical revolution, until the conservatives realized anew their covetous interests. On March 8th, 1851, during the government of Arista, from his hacienda of Pomoca, Ocampo sent to the congress of the State of Michoacán, as a petition of reform, a tariff of duties and parochial perquisites. The revolution of Ayutla started surely a very important stage in the destinies of the Mexican Republic which proclaimed to the Minister of Justice, Ponseca, in 1852, the true course of events, the long time that the metropolitan diocese had been without a pastor in the first years of independence, and the agitations of the country that had contributed so much in demoralizing the mass of the population and in relaxing all of the res-

ources of the ruling authorities, and had exercised a pernicious influence on the secular and regular clergy. The first, however with many honorable exceptions, were very far from possessing the science, the doctrine and the virtue of their holy ministry, but their qualities exercised a beneficent and powerful influence in human society. The second, under the two aspects of custom and science is found in a state more deplorable and hideous considering the immense distance that existed between the monastic institutions of the day and those that in the time of the conquest displayed a truly generous and evangelical spirit converting the Indians and defending them against the military oppressor.

The insurrection of Puebla was sustained by money of the clergy and so after it was overcome the Government decided to occupy the properties of that diocese so as to pay the expenses of the war and the indemnizations of the widows and orphans of the dead soldiers of that campaign.

On September 24, 1855, Juan Alvarez arrived in Iguala where he called together a National Convention to meet in the city of Cuernavaca on October 4th, in order to nominate a Provisional President according to the Plan of Ayutla. The Convention named General Alvarez who in this character convoked a special Congress that constituted the Nation under the form of a democratic representative Republic, that should assemble on February 14th, 1856, in Dolores, but a new decree fixed the Capital of the Republic for this constitutional convention.

Once that President Alvarez had formed his cabinet there appeared the disagreements resulting from differences in judgment, particularly between the Minister of War Comonfort, the temporizing party and Melchor Ocampo.

The Revolution of Ayutla which had put General Alvarez in power was eminently popular, well situated. The clear liberal spirits who helped the elderly President represented a hope of progress in the future of the Republic. But as always the clergy followed its stubborn opposition and the circumstances obliged the President to resign, probably for the fault of having inspired the law of November 23rd, 1855, called the Law of Juarez. This law was enacted by the great man of the Reform, the beloved patriot, Benito Juárez, a notable of our Country, a former Governor of Oaxaca, who had been roughly persecuted by the dictator Santa Anna for his clearly liberal ideas and who had affiliated himself with the Revolution of Ayutla. In the Cabinet of General Alvarez he was named as Minister of Justice and from this post began his offensive against the clergy.

Owing to the publication of the Laws on Clearing Mortgages, the task of opposition again began. All of these declarations were not otherwise sufficient reason why the same clergy could not take advantage of them. The Spanish writer Anselmo de la Portilla in his book "Government of General Comonfort" submits the following: "There was that which crowned the scandals of the period: the archbishop suspended the dean of the metropolitan church and two of the most respected canons in the chapter and the city, because they had appropriated the houses in which they lived, taking advantage of this same Law Clearing Mortgages. Each one of them defended himself showing that possession had been taken not in

his name but in the name of his sisters. The case was made public because everyone understood what had happened. The liberal newspapers pointed out the case as a proof that the Law on Clearing Mortgages was not exactly an impiety. On this same subject the French historian M. Lefevre asserts that the Archbishop of Mexico, in spite of on one side excommunicating those who took possession of church properties knocked down at auction, did not fail to counsel his good friends in private that they hasten to acquire them".

Again the Country was in dispute by instigation of the clergy. The priest Ortega y Garcia in Zacapoaxtla to the cry of "religion and jurisdiction" started a rebellion, Antonio Haro y Tamariz becoming soon after the head of the movement. He, on January 22nd., 1856, entered Puebla and was defeated by Comonfort in Ocotlán.

These events did not prevent the meeting of the Congress of 1856. Congress began its labors and appointed a committee to draw-up a plan for the Constitution: Arriaga, Yáñez, Olvera, Romero, Diaz, Cárdenas, Guzmán, Escudero and Echanove. Meanwhile, Congress reviewed the acts of Santa Anna and the campaign against the reactionaries of Puebla in the session of April 15. (Zarco, History of the Appointed Congress). Discussion of the political reforms of the liberal party was begun.

The Juarez Law was studied and was ratified over the opposition of Castañeda. The modern ideas of Comonfort threatened to disrupt the good harmony with Congress. The Minister of Hacienda, Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, presented for the approval of Congress a Law: that one of the greatest obstacles for the prosperity and growth of the nation being the lack of movement or free circulation of a great part of the real estate, the foundation of public wealth, the President in use of the powers given by the Plan of Ayutla had decreed the following: I. All country and city estates held or administered as landlords by civil or ecclesiastical corporations of the Republic, be adjudged as property of those who rent them for a value corresponding to the rent actually paid calculated at six per cent annually. II. The same adjudgments will be made to those who now have emphyteutic lease of country or city properties of capitalist corporations at six per cent, the rule to determine the value of them. III. Under the name of Corporations is understood all religious communities of both sexes, brotherhoods, and privileged brotherhoods, congregations, fraternities, parishes, municipal governments, schools and in general every establishment or foundation that has a perpetual or indefinite character. IV. City properties rented directly by corporations to different tenants will be adjudged capitalizing according to the greatest amount of rent paid by any one of the renters or in case of equality, the oldest. In regard to rural properties that are found in the same case, will be adjudged to each renter the part that he has rented. These first articles of the Lerdo Law gave the Archbishop of Mexico reason to declare that his conscience did not permit him to comply with the law, proposing to the Pope that he regulate the business. Ezequiel Montes replied that the Government recognized no superior whatsoever in regulating the temporal affairs of its country, that the Archbishop could apply to the Pope to tranquilize his conscience.

The Law was approved by eighty-four votes against eight. The Constitutional plan had been read on June 16th and on July 4th began the discussion, and great was the surprise when the sublime figure of the magician Ignacio Ramírez arose opposing the preamble of the Constitution in that it invoked the name of God. Ineffaceable words of the noted master which many generations of Mexicans have still to meditate. "It is a very elevated commission for me to form a Constitution by beginning by lying". And so in each of the precepts of this imperishable political body the principal conquests of the liberal clergy were being crystalized. The Constitution had been issued on February 5th and was proclaimed on March 17th commanding that it should be sworn to by all authorities and employees of the Republic.

Dr. Parra shows in his study (Reform of Mexico) the lamentable scandle of Colima, where Governor Manuel Alvarez was assassinated: "He was not given burial until after his family was charged 2,000 pesos for the interment". Another example of the narrow-mindedness of the church is mentioned by this same Dr. Parra: that Manuel Alvarez who was known as a highly religious person was condemned by the clergy as a heretic and an imp, purely and solely because he had exalted motives of the political constitution. It was maintained by the church that Alvarez was attempting to divest it of its liberty.

Clemente de Jesús Munguía, Bishop of Michoacán, sent a written protest to the Minister of Justice denying the constitution and questioning its right to oppose the sovereignty, independence, and dignity of the church.

Again the attacks of the clergy against the laws of the Republic were renewed. Comonfort dreamt of a conciliation. Ezequiel Montes, whom he had sent to Rome, was not even received by the pontiff. It was necessary that some one man, with sufficient interest and with sufficient capacity should take upon himself the task of solving the social problems of Mexico. And that man was Benito Juárez. Juárez, as Vice-President in the vacillating government of Comonfort provided the necessary moral force. The clergy had considerable control in politics through its influence over President Comonfort and it supposed that through the Plan of Tacubaya it would maintain its dominance. This plan is a good indication of the Mexican clergy's obstinacy. Zuloaga, through the sanctions of Comonfort, took possession of the Capital denying the Constitution of 1857. Juárez was in prison. The Plan of Tacubaya seemed to be bearing its first fruit. Soon afterwards Juárez was released and he began his plan of organization. Meanwhile, General Santos Degollado, had been made General-in-chief of the Constitutional forces.

Miramón, who from Guadalajara had defied the Plan of Nativity arrived in Mexico City January 21st to place Zuloaga in the presidency. Zuloaga was an insignificant man and for that reason, Miramón had a presidential substitute appointed and formed a cabinet with modern elements. These actions were not received in a kindly light by the clergy. On July 12th, Miramón issued a manifesto as follows: "The arms of the supreme government have always been victorious and yet no one surrenders. The revolution is not suffocated. Why? Because the forces of the army are not sufficient to carry out a revolution; because

it is necessary to carry out the principles of that revolution; because it is necessary to make certain definite changes; and these changes refer, in part, to the properties of the church. We hope that this will be received through sanctions by the venerable Mexican Clergy".

That same day the government of Juárez dictated the most important law of the Reform: 1.—Herewith all the properties of the clergy are placed under the control of the Nation. This applies to properties of the clergy irrespective of where it is administrated or under what titles; irrespective of where located or under what rights they have been maintained. It has now been made clear what are the causes of the Republic's evils, and the intervention of the clergy is being pointed out.

This shows the extent to which the Mexican clergy has been a constant threat to public peace and today we know that it is in open rebellion against the sovereignty.

The Mexican juriconsult, Jacinto Pallares, writes: "In that the Mexican clergy has a capital which reaches 8,000,000 pesos annually with dignitaries whose salaries amount to: 130,000 pesos for the Bishop of Mexico, 110,000 pesos for the Bishop of Michoacán, 90,000 pesos for the Bishop of Jalisco, 30,000 pesos for the Bishop of Durango, etc. With an organization so privileged and so strong and having control over such a large part of the properties throughout the nation, it was impossible for the Mexican government to obey such a dominating class when it had an annual income (Federal) of 24,000,000 pesos, and when its president's and chief's of the Nation never had incomes exceeding 6,000 pesos annually. The Nationalization of ecclesiastical properties was at once an economic and political work. Economic, because it brought into circulation currents of dormant wealth (individual) amounting to 200,000,000 pesos. Such wealth had been spent in the superfluous functions of religious procession, religious solemnities, and the maintenance of useless convents. Political, because it disarmed the clergy of opposing tendencies directed against the natural development of resources. These tendencies were directed against the progressive efforts of the civil government. The church gave way to political intrigues and to continuous subversive revolutions, beginning with the time of the "Escalada" in 1833 until 1856 with the program of Ayutla.

Again religious disorders presented themselves, but the face of Juárez was immense, his activity prodigious, his talent clear and precise with regard to the great work he was about to undertake.

He finally entered the City of Mexico on January 11th, 1861, forming his cabinet and publishing his program as follows: "The Laws of the Reform are not, as the church has professed, intended to be hostile to religion. Far from that, these laws grant to the Catholic Church the widest liberties. They leave her independent to work in the realm of the spirit and the conscience and divide her from the bastard influence of politics. Such a division is necessary because otherwise a government is likely to commit abuses in the name of religion and on the other hand the church is always at a spiritual disadvantage when confused with politics. The government is resolved to carry out the decrees of the Reform and to implant them throughout the entire Republic. This will be done

until the benefits of these laws become felt in all society ranging from the most favored to the humblest."

Even before this time, regulations had been issued which regarded the Mexican Legation in Rome as useless and as merely an ornament of the Vatican. This Legation, in fact, was merely a means of transporting unlimited wealth to Rome.

The following is an excerpt of a letter written by the Empress Charlotta to the Empress Eugenia: "With much pleasure these (priests) would leave their pulpits and their cross, but not their incomes". The clerical party put forth every effort to subdue Juárez and manage, consequently, to save its wealth.

The hatred of the church against Juárez is beautifully written by Emilio Olivier in his book on the French Intervention: "The Mexicans became united with Juárez in his thoughts and in his convictions. All those Crioles with new thoughts and modern ideas saw in him a great hope. On the contrary there was no limit to the hatred of him by the reactionary classes and by the clergy. Juárez was incorruptible and invincible.

A commission of reactionaries, headed by Juan N. Almonte and inspired by Archbishop of Mexico, Labastida, left for Europe, and regarding their plans, not even their own associates had the slightest idea. Napoleon III heard from the tongues of these individuals that Mexico was in great need of a foreign influence, an influence which would reestablish priests among these perturbed factions of disorderly people. This same historian who was in Mexico with the French forces wrote the following about the clergy after having described the personality of Juárez: "The conduct of the Conservatives was very different. They regarded their own fatherland as a conquered country, conquered with blood and fire. After the arrival of invading troops and after having violated the sanctity of the Soledad, the Frenchmen advanced toward Mexico. Little by little they became convinced of the deception. They said: "We have here no one who is our friend and who is in our favor". The reactionary party is almost annihilated. The Liberals have taken possession of the clergy's properties, and these properties constitute the major wealth of Mexico. Despite the unkindness with which the Mexicans received the invading army (and the clergy was not kindly disposed towards it either), upon one occasion, the invading army was received with a solemn Te Deum. In the Cathedral all this solemnity was directed by General Forey, the insolent Almonte and the traitor Marquez. Forey led himself to believe that an insignificant faction was opposed to the plans of the Conservatives, and that these defended the will of the people. For a time he made the Emperor believe that, all the more in that General Forey did not see with his own eyes but rather with the eyes of Dubois de Saligny, whom the Emperor had employed as a guide—one thoroughly familiar with the Mexicans and with Mexican politics.

The clerical commission in Europe continued its subversive activities and indirectly guided the tactics of Napoleon in continuing the French invasion. This commission, organ and instrument of the clerical party, served as colored glasses through which the Emperor saw Mexico and through which he interpreted the various reports received from this country. It was in this manner that before

taking the candidacy of Archduke Maximilian seriously the Emperor suggested that a vote of all people of Mexico be taken. He knew that no absolute truth could be derived therefrom but that this would certainly place Maximilian in a better political position.

Saligny was a politician and ally to the clergy, and he directed the tactics of the church to the invading army. Then when the provisional government or regency became established, and when the crown of the Archduke was accepted, Saligny could arrogate to himself the honor of having reestablished the power of the church in Mexico.

An author described the triumphal reactionary party in the following manner: "The conquerors insisted on taking advantage of their triumph. They made known to the owners of nationalized properties that these should not consider themselves proprietors. People who had rents to pay were advised not to do so because in this manner they would have to be paid twice. The Last Sacrament and the Christian burial were refused to such persons who objected to this restitution. The Government Decree prohibited work on Sunday. Another decree described that people should pass only on their knees by the Sainted Sacrament, and they should not get up from their knees until they were out of sight of it. Civil registry was again placed in the hands of the clergy and the titles of nobility were restored. The old order of Guadalupe was also brought back. But the old party was not dead; the son of Santa Anna landed at Veracruz in order to prepare the field of his father, Miramón arrived in Mexico City." They were prepared for a rude and definite triumph. Soon the Emperor would arrive, the laws of the Reform would be overthrown, and the wanted properties of the church, which were the real cause for the Reactionaries taking part in the intervention would be restored to the power of the clergy. The church would once more come to dominate as the Almighty. But this illusion lasted only a short time. The Emperor did arrive and he was received with a false solemnity organized by the clerical power, which had been led to believe that he had come to serve the interests of the Conservatives. What a surprise it must have been for the clergy to find that the Emperor was not disposed to unreservedly protect their interests, but rather to follow a policy of conciliation, ratifying the laws of nationalization of church property. Perhaps this change of course was not spontaneous, but rather dictated by Napoleon III, because Olivier clarifies it as follows: "A complete change had taken place in the mind of the Emperor. He had begun to see through those clouds of lies with which he had been surrounded. He had found that the Reactionary element had wanted to use him as an instrument. He had decided to change the course of affairs and discharged Saligny from the Conservative party, the party which had promoted the expedition". And in another part of the book is written as follows: "He put Bazaine to carry out the instructions of the Emperor. He annulled the decrees of the imprisoned and all the other reactionary methods dictated by the regency. This exposed him as having returned with the intentions of rebuilding the domain of the clergy". Bazaine, somewhat stupidly, answered that his instructions appeared to him to be directly the contrary. The Prelate answered that his ideas had been expounded to His

Majesty and that he, the Emperor, had approved them, and that his dignity and his conscience qualified him to accept any solution without the authority of the Sainted Father. There existed various other occasions upon which the same Marshal Bazaine had grave misunderstandings with the Archbishop, whose contentions had become insupportable. It is written by Olivier that the bishops had joined with the Archbishop in a protest against what is known as the exploitation of the church, and threatened with excommunication all those who co-operated with it (this allusion referred to the Emperor himself too, of course).

Finally, the question was asked: "Why has there been an intervention?" It was said that the Emperor had been called by them (the clergy) to revoke the laws of Juarez and not ratify and execute them.

Through the foregoing, and particularly this declaration of the clergy, there was no doubt as to the true sentiment of the intervention. There was no doubt left as to who were the authors and who were those responsible for the ambitiousness of the clergy as written in the darkest pages of our history.

The tragedy of 1867, said Dr. Parra, consummated and rendered complete and national the triumph of liberal and reformist ideas. In 1861, the Conservative party had been conquered and disarmed; but it existed nevertheless, and played an important part in maintaining peace. Justly, it may be said, that through its intrigues, an Empire became established in Mexico; but after the frightful downfall of this Empire, the Conservative party was rendered disorganized and ceased to play a part on the political stage.

The second congress opened on May 9th, 1861, declaring immediately afterwards Juarez as Constitutional president. His period was from sixty-two to sixty-five. He was a true representative of the people and he was revered, not only for enforcing the Reforms, but also for upholding the integrity of the Republic, threatened as it was by the invasion.

Let us go back a few years to exalt one of the great martyrs of the Reform. The reference is to Melchor Ocampo. One of the principal motives which the clergy had in hating this man, who was highly sincere, was precisely his knowledge of theological matters and of economic rights. He demonstrated this clearly in a conversation he had with a Catholic priest, the priest having disguised himself as a parish priest. A poor woman went to see the parish priest of Maravatio regarding the burial of her husband's body. She did not have the necessary funds for this interment, as she was very poor. The parish priest told her, "If you do not have the money with which to bury him, salt-down your former husband, because it is not my duty to give you all charity, including the Sacristan and the ringer of the bells". The unhappy woman, knowing that Ocampo came to the village of Maravatio occasionally, told him what had come to pass. Melchor Ocampo paid for the burial of her husband and then took precise notes of her conversation with the parish priest.

Upon reestablishment of the legitimate gov-

ernment, Benito Juarez, as president-interim, issued the following statement to the Mexican people: "Mexicans, I congratulate you on the restoration of peace in our country. It is the fruit of our valiant efforts. Thanks to you, we have begun that gigantic work of establishing in Mexico a sound democracy. In the land of Hidalgo and Morelos, the beloved oligarchy does no longer exist, nor exists now the domination of the clergy. It was the Reform which constituted the foundation of our democracy, and the Mexican people have paid with their blood for this triumph. Neither liberty nor constitutional order, neither progress nor peace, and not even the independence of the Nation would have been possible without the Reform".

The profound study made by the writer Bulnes indicated clearly the elevated motives which prompted the leaders of the Reform for carrying out these changes.

On December 8th, 1867, the fourth Congress declared Juarez elected president of the Republic, and Lerdo de Tejada, head of the Supreme Court of Justice. Unfortunately, the death of Juarez shook the entire nation on July 18th, 1872, and he was substituted, first provisionally and then constitutionally by Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada.

The Conservatives—says Dr. Nicolas Leon in his "History of Mexico"—believed to find in Lerdo if not a protector certainly a sympathizer of their ideas, but this was a great mistake. And to their surprise they found the police breaking up clandestinely conducted religious functions in the capital of the Republic. Furthermore, they found that the Jesuits were being expelled from Mexico as pernicious foreigners. The seventh constitutional Congress opened on September 16th, 1863, and one of its first acts was to declare adhesions to the Reform Laws of the Constitution of Mexico. These Reforms had been decreed by Juarez in 1859.

The importance of the legislative work of President Lerdo, liberal in all respects and intelligent collaborator of the energetic Juarez consisted in the important decrees of September, November and December. These were: the separation of the church from the State, rendering civil the contract of matrimony, the prohibition of religious institutions from acquiring properties and from acquiring rents from these properties, the substitution of religious vows with ordinary declarations of truth in compliance with the obligations entailed, the prohibition of the establishment of monastic orders, the forming of a chamber of Senators, the establishment of freedom of the press without limits other than those respecting private life and morals and public peace, the prohibition of religious instruction and the official practice of any cult in a Federal establishment. (This applied also to the States and to the municipalities.) Public approval of religious acts outside the Temple and public approval of special vestments used by the ministers of the cult, nullification of all hereditary institutions formed to favor the priesthood as well as the definite negation of all privileges enjoyed by the priests before the law, and the legal capacity on the part of all States of the Union to legislate regarding civil status of the people and the forming of civil registry offices.

CHAPTER 4

Sebastin Lerdo de Tejada elevates to constitutional security the laws of Reform, and expedites the specific laws there of.—Open opposition on the part of the Catholic clergy against these laws.—The Plan of Tuxtepec.—Assistance given General Diaz by the clergy to subdue Lerdo de Tejada.—President Diaz and his political administration.—His policy of conciliation.—Economic, political and social activities of the clergy during that time.—Results of the Conference between Diaz and Creelman.—The Plan of San Luis Potosi.—Intervention of the clergy in the elections of 1910. Assistance given Pascual Orozco in his rebellion, and the support given by the church to Feliz Diaz in the bloody uprising during February of 1913.

On the 18th. of July, 1872, the President of the Republic, Lic. Benito Juarez, whose life was always at the service of his country, died after having saved the republican institutions set forth in the Political Constitution of Feb. 15, 1859, issuing and imposing the Laws of Reform. At the time of his death, the Mexican Catholic Clergy, irreconcilable enemy of such institutions represented by the Conservative Party, was almost overcome, since it had suffered two formidable blows in the contest: the first, economic, consisting in the nationalization of a great part of goods, real estate, and capital, taxes on the latter being destined for use in the civil war which was fomenting an indefinite way with the hope that with its successful outcome the Constitution and Laws mentioned could be destroyed. And the second, political and social, because the Government of the Republic had incorporated in its institutions all the acts relative to the civil state of its people, taking them under its protection, giving them sufficient legal power for their validity independent of all religious creeds, and establishing forever the complete liberty of all.

The nation appointed Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada its president, a man who had skilfully collaborated with Benito Juarez in the cruel fight sustained against the Conservative Party, and therefore, with the purpose that the Laws of Reform should not be abolished and that their existence should be reaffirmed, raising them to the rank of Constitutional acts of the 25th. of September 1873, in the following form:

These are the amendments and reforms of said constitution:

Article 1. The State and the Church are independent of one another, Congress cannot dictate laws establishing or prohibiting any religion.

Article 2. Matrimony is a civil contract. This and the other acts of civil state of people are governed exclusively by the functionaries and authorities of the civil order, in the terms prescribed by the laws, and will have the force and validity which same attribute to them.

Article 3. No religious institution can acquire goods, real estate, capital, or taxes thereon, with the sole exception established in Article 27 of the Constitution.

Article 4. The simple promise of stating the truth and of complying with the obligations which are contracted, will substitute the religious oath with its effects and penalties.

Article 5. No one can be obliged to work without just retribution nor without full consent. The State does not permit to carry out any contract, pact, or agreement which has as object the loss of irrevocable sacrifice of the liberty of man, be it for cause

of work, education, or religion. The law, in consequence, does not recognize monastic orders, nor will permit their reestablishment, whatever may be the denomination or object which they wish to achieve. Neither will an agreement in which a man stipulates his banishment or exile be sanctioned.

Later, on the 14th., of December 1874, the Organic Law of Amendments and Reforms to the Constitution formerly transcribed, were set forth, and as Article 21 of the same establishes, according to text, that "the simple promise of stating the truth and the religious oath in its effects or penalties, one or the other only is legally requisite when it concerns affirming a deed before the tribunals, in which case the first will be given, and the second when it concerns affirming a deed before the tribunals, in which case the first will be given, and the second when its concerns position or employment. The last will be given to make formal promise unconditionally to enforce the Political Constitution of the United States of Mexico with its amendments and reforms, and the laws which emanate from it. Such a declaration will be given by all those who take a public position or employment, whether it be with the Federation, the State, or Municipality. In other cases, when the judgement effects civil results, the charge is omitted. It is indispensable that all the functionaries and employees of the Federation, the State, and the Municipalities will be given this declaration of law in order to continue or begin, according to the case, the execution of their corresponding duties.

With the purpose of disobeying the Constitution and the Laws of Reform and to prevent the Catholic element that held positions in the public administration from making this declaration of law, the clergy decreed excommunication for all those persons who gave the declaration, stating through sermons publicly pronounced by bishops and priests that those persons, or Catholics, should not obey the Constitution of the Republic and the above-mentioned laws. But they not only conformed to these measures but incited the public to rebellion, provoking various uprisings patronized personally by priests, especially in the states of Michoacan and Mexico, committing all kinds of crimes against the governing authorities.

The rebels, who were designated by the name of "cristeros", assaulted undefended populations, assassinated, violated, and robbed, and such was the magnitude of their crimes that in Angangueo they made the mayor a prisoner, spread pitch on his body, and set fire to it, for the sole reason of having taken the Constitutional declaration. And in Zinacantepec, they assassinated the em-

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employees who had made this declaration, and substituted others who did not wish to make it. But the rebels went still further in pretending to legalize their rebellious attitude, because on November 31, 1875, in Urecho, they launched a political revolutionary plan whose end it was to call together a Constitutional Congress which would destroy the Constitution and Laws of Reform, and would sanction as the only religion of the state, the Roman Catholic. And by virtue of a celebrated agreement with the Pope, they resolved the religious question in Mexico.

The enemies of the President of the Republic, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, were numerous, and among them was General Porfirio Diaz, who had presidential aspirations since the time of Juarez. Uprisings were happening one after another, and taking advantage of this circumstances, in January of 1876, General Diaz, in the village of Ojitlan, District of Tuxtepec in Oaxaca, proclaimed the plan which bears that name. In this document, the government of Señor Lerdo de Tejada is not recognized. It is proclaimed that the President of the Republic and governors of the states cannot be reelected, and General Diaz is recognized as Chief of the movement, and it is expressed that all persons occupying public offices and supporting him will be recognized on the successful outcome of the revolution.

Before the publication of the plan referred to, General Porfirio Diaz moved to Brownsville, and after publication revised it in Blanco, within the national territory. In the revision, the Constitution of February 5, 1857 and the Laws of Reform were recognized as the fundamental basis of the country. The authority of Lerdo de Tejada was not recognized, but the President of the Supreme Court of Justice was recognized as Vice-President of the Republic and with the condition that he would assume the presidency in case the plan would culminate within the month following the date in which it would be published in periodicals of the capital. General Diaz was given credence as heading the movement.

Not only the supporters of General Diaz but also the dissatisfied Lerdistas contributed to weaken the strength of the president of the Republic; and, as stated in Article 8 of the revolutionary plan, the military men were promised their ranks. Therefore many chiefs who had served the empire turned against it and strengthened the rebels. But what is more important, the Catholic Clergy gave its help with money, as these were the social entity capable of doing so, with hopes of realizing their purpose through the new administration.

General Porfirio Diaz, on the success of the plan of Tuxtepec and the fall of Lerdo was proclaimed President of the Republic. Immediately he set to work in preparing for the future, though he did not neglect the urgent affairs of the administration. He also put down some uprisings. In preparing for the future of his power, he was very cautious as the Plan stated that no president or governor should be reelected.

After the terms of Manuel Gonzalez, Diaz once more became president, as a result of an understanding between them. Diaz came to power for the second time after an exceedingly bad administration under Gonzalez.

In the second period of government under General Diaz, he immediately set to work in assuring

his stay in power after the expiration of that term. This was achieved through changes in the constitution, and in this work he was supported by the governors of states who were being appointed by him and who were his friends or party members. These, likewise, continued in the government. And the other public positions were filled with men who were in Diaz's complete confidences irrespective of their political or religious beliefs. Diaz insisted on partisanship and the submission of inferiors to his will. In order to keep friends, partisans and servants faithful to him, he used great care in calling on people of wealth and knowledge to help him, all the more those who criticized or attacked the government in any way. He provided such persons with government positions consistent with their knowledge and education. It would have been much better had the public servants of the Judicial and legislative branches been raised to their posts through the ballot, because in that way the national will would have raised them to those positions. And in a nation in which the public vote is that which decides, it is considered in consequence of democratic and constitutional postulates. But nothing of that kind occurred. The situation was the exclusive will of the president.

These events, invariably applied during the entire administrative period, has as a result the indefinite stay in power, the establishment of a positive dictatorship. In this manner the president put through his will, this being necessary despite the rupture he had with General Corona, who belonged to the liberal group of Veracruz.

The majority of the Ministers of State remained a long time in power, but among them there were constant difficulties as some were dissatisfied and wished to excel in public opinion. And some aspired to the presidency of the Republic.

In his policy of conciliation, says one writer of the epoch, one who dedicated himself to exalt it, "General Diaz in the revolutionary life, recognized the material and moral force of the Clergy, the social force of the wealthy". Further on he writes expresses himself as follows: "He established relations with the high Clergy, fulfilled his recommendations by employing Catholics, he prohibited persecutions, and tolerated the existence of conventicles as Juarez had tolerated them, though with less affrontery. It is easy to understand, therefore, that the best element of the Clergy was represented in the three branches of public administration, for these had seats in parliament, in the federal and local judiciary, and in the offices of state and municipal governments. Such was the policy of conciliation displayed in this epoch. So close were the relations between the Diaz government and the Catholic clergy that often it was sustained that due to the suggestions of the first mandate of the Republic before the Vatican, the latter designated as archbishop of the Diocese of Oaxaca, Dr. of Theology, Eulogio Gregorio Gillow.

All the clergy in general made use of this advantageous situation, but especially the Catholic Clergy, and with flagrant violation of the Constitution of 1857 and the Laws of Reform. And it was natural and justified that the president was the first to violate the Constitution and the Laws of Reform. And it was by influence of the Clergy that the last part of Article 27 of the Constitution was revised in the following terms: "Article 27,

Religious bodies, institutions—whatever may be their character, denomination, duration, and object—when they are under the patronage or direction or administration of them or of ministers of some cult, will not have the legal capacity to acquire, or administer real estate other than the edifices which are destined immediately and directly to the service or purpose of such bodies and institutions, neither will they be able to acquire and administer capital, taxes or real estate".

The civil bodies and institutions found in the case cited, will be able to acquire and administer, besides the buildings referred to, the unmovable goods and taxes imposed on them, and whatever is required for the support and purpose of same, but subject to the requisites and limitations which the federal law establishes.

In accordance with this revision, the clergy could become proprietor of real estate to be used for institutions in accordance with the indicated constitutional precept sets forth in this regard, and the houses of archbishops and bishops could be acquired by these individuals. However, this was not possible according to the law set forth by Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada on December 14, 1874, which granted only right of use but not right of direction. This latter right was reserved by the nation.

In view of the conciliatory policy and the misshapen interpretation of the question of the clergy, these dedicated themselves to acquiring the utmost property possible. Soon some of the houses were converted into curates, and annexes were converted into bishoprics with pretext that such plans were directly destined to the purpose of the institution. Other acquisitions of real estate were granted to archbishops, bishops, and priests and even by relatives of these. And that explains why so many members of the Clergy became big land owners, and from these properties they received incalculable rents. The Clergy went into the loan business on properties. And it also dedicated itself to commercial questions, forming anonymous societies with tremendous capital, and starting some of the biggest enterprises of Mexico City.

In these organizations were some of the principal members of the Clergy. They were also administrators and managers, these ridiculous beings. Among these societies may be mentioned, "La Esperanza", S. A., which was organized on August 20, 1907 in the City of Aguascalientes by Bishop Fray José María Jesús Portugal, priest Jose Maria Martinez, Francisco Ruiz y Guzman, Francisco F. Diaz, Ramon C. Gutierrez, and D. B. Ricarbary, with a capital of 80,000.00 pesos; "La Inmobiliaria Michoacana" established on November of 1811, before the notary Francisco Barroso, with a capital of 500,000 pesos. This latter was formed with Clergy capital, precisely that by which the church of Michoacan was being operated. A third, "Cia. Compradora y Explotadora de Bienes Raices", S. A., formed April 30, 1909 in Oaxaca, the partners being Eulogio Gregorio Gillow, Archbishop of Oaxaca, A. S. Dean, Jose Othon Nufiez, D. Manuel Aguirreplea, Luis G. Santaella, and others. A fourth, "La Piedad", organized October 29, 1902 in the city of Puebla. It was founded by Victoriano Covarrubias, dean of the Puebla Diocese, Joaquin Vargas and others. They invested 300,000 pesos in capital and later increased the amount to 1,000,000 pesos.

They not only devoted themselves to these activities, but also to exploiting the population by means of education through establishing rural schools in the villages and primary, high and preparatory schools in the cities, in the capitals of states, and in the Federal District. Naturally, in these schools, the studies which were given as a consequence of religious sectarianism, were faulty, as the text books were in accordance with its religious ideas and practices. Besides, the students, oral confessions included.

Among the states of the Republic in which these centers of education were established are Mexico, with 8 schools; Michoacan, with 40, the Federal District with 40, the state of Oaxaca with 8, the state of Guanajuato with 12, Jalisco with 18, Puebla with 13. In these places, as well as elsewhere in the country, seminaries were established, and the sole purpose of these institutions was to provide religious training.

Regarding beneficence, with speculative ends in view, the Clergy took charge of asylums, hospitals, etc. These establishments were care for by attendants of the Catholic order. In the state of Puebla were two; in Mexico, a charity hospital and an orphan asylum; in the Federal District 18 asylums, a maternity hospital and two charity institutions; in Michoacan 12 asylums and an orphan asylum; in Jalisco 9 asylums, 3 hospitals and a maternity home; in Oaxaca 2 hospitals.

With the object of directly intervening in the electoral question and raising its members to the Congress of the Union and sustaining polemics in religious affairs, and spreading the apostolic belief, various periodicals were published in the capital of the Republic. Others were established in the states. And while the Clergy was engaged in these activities, it was its object to uphold and extol the President of the Nation in all his acts. Among the Catholic periodicals in the capital were "El Pais", "La Nacion", and "La Voz de Mexico". In the State of Puebla, "El Amigo de la Verdad", was published.

The Laws of the Reforma were also playthings under the policy of conciliation because socially they were completely forgotten and were the object of infinite tolerance, and for that reason the Catholic processions took place in nearly all parts of the country; outside the temples sermons were delivered in the churchyards as well as on property belonging to civil authorities and private parties. Many religious practices were made in public with the knowledge and permission of the authorities. And it is said this conciliatory police, tolerance and connivance with the clergy reached such a degree that when a religious act, operating unlawfully, was denounced, the authorities, though giving order to have it abolished, would notify the Catholic authorities so these could stop such a digression from the law temporarily. And once the agents of the government would arrive on the scene, they would find that the denouncement had been made without reason. As a result, the charge was dissolved as unfounded.

Convent, houses for services, and other houses of religious functions were numerous throughout the Republic, and it might be mentioned that the number of these establishments was greater than the number of schools supported by the Clergy and seminaries destined to graduate priests. Thus it can be said that 24 convents existed in the state

of Puebla, 8 houses for services; in Jalisco 24 convents and 6 houses for services; also houses of repentants in Michoacan. In the Federal District there were 15 convents.

The wealth of the clergy, wealth accumulated in this period of government under President Diaz, increased to more than 800,000,000 pesos. And this fabulous sum was created in the following manner: (a) From the amount remaining after the laws of nationalization had been enforced and from properties the Clergy possessed. (b) Funds received through "The contented ones", a method the Clergy used in getting money from individuals for adjudication of their possessions. The church prevented its members from acquiring such properties and would not tolerate the sale of them unless it was done through means employed by the Church. In effect, by virtue of the application of these laws, such of the property belonging to the church passed to the power of the nation and private individuals. On its part, the Church prevented, so much as possible, the acquisition of properties by individuals; and in case this was done, the individual could pay a small sum to the church, thereby being "the contented one", in being pardoned from the adjudication. (c) From sums which were left to the church or representative by testament by individuals. (d) From real estate also left by testament to the high dignitaries of the Clergy by priests and people. (e) From donations of individuals in favor of various religious congregations or the church. (f) From sums brought by the sisters before professing and on entering the convents to which they belonged. (g) From alms gathered in the various churches of the nation and other establishments destined expressly for this purpose. (h) From rents derived from urban real estate. (i) From the exploitation of arable real estate, consisting of ranches and farms of all kinds. (j) From the interest on capital, mortgages and duties imposed on immovable property and from movable goods given as security. (k) From titles exacted from the natives, especially in the states of Guanajuato, Michoacan, Jalisco, Durango and Oaxaca.

It can be maintained that in the state of Puebla, the Clergy was proprietor of 200 pieces of arable grounds—ranches and farms; that in the state of Michoacan the Clergy had in property 26 ranches and farms; that in the Federal District it had seven pieces of property, in Oaxaca 18 ranches; in Guanajuato 33 ranches with no less than 25 houses to collect titles; and finally, in Jalisco the Clergy had 28 ranches.

All the statistical data noted above has been taken from the records existing in the Attorney General's offices, though in a superficial manner, neglecting, as is natural, to take the same data corresponding to the rest of the states of the Republic.

The famous conference between President of the Republic, General Porfirio Diaz and the newspaperman, Creelman, gave the Mexican people an opportunity to politically organize and consider the possibility of enforcing an effective election regarding the President of the Republic, deputies and senators to the congress of the Union, and magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice. These elections were to be held in July of 1910. It would be useless to refer to the various aspects of that political campaign because it is not ne-

cessary to indicate them for the purpose of this study; but the political parties opposed to the official candidate chose Francisco I. Madero as candidate for the residency and Dr. Francisco Vázquez Gómez as candidate for the vice-presidency. The entire official element, composed of the scientific party and the militant clerical faction, was opposed to the triumph of the candidates mentioned, the result being that in the June elections, by means of official pressure, President Diaz was again elected. The political party, headed by the candidate of the people requested that the Congress of the Union nullify the presidential elections, a nullification which was not heeded by the Congress since Madero, in the month of October of the same year 1910, brought forth his revolutionary manifesto known as the "Plan of San Luis Potosí".

In the first article of this plan, the elections of President and vice-president of the Republic, of deputies and senators to the Congress of the Union, and of magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice of the nation were declared null; in the second part they refused to recognize the authority and government of General Diaz and of all the authorities which subject to his decision; in the third, untitled lands, many small proprietors, most of them natives, have been dispossessed of their lands either by agreement of the Secretary of Agriculture or by decision of the tribunals of justice, it being in accordance with justice, therefore, that those lands—of which the small farmers had been dispossessed in such an arbitrary manner—that these lands be restored to their former owners, that such decisions are declared subject to revision and that the lands must be returned to their original owners, the new possessors having to pay indemnities for their use during these years. In article 4, the No-Reelection Law is recognized forcibly, and in the 5th., Madero provisionally assumes the presidency.

As it has already been stated, from the beginning of the fight, the clergy was openly in favor of the dictator, the press patronized by the clergy directed bitter attacks against the new chief of liberty, but when they took note of the exact and precise terms expressed in the Plan of San Luis, and especially of the contents of the last paragraph of the third article of this plan, then they became more alarmed and hurried to the defense. A similar attitude on their part was natural since the last paragraph of Article 3 of the Plan establishes the various changes which would greatly affect the Clergy through lands it possessed, the church became a bitter enemy of the new plan and the new regime.

But the revolution triumphed; the new government was instituted; and its enemies, composed of the old Porfirian favorites and the clerical element, did not cease to conspire against its notwithstanding the fact that many of them took advantage of the opportunity which Effective Suffrage and No-Re-elect on gave them. These came to occupy seats in the General Congress and in the public offices of the administration in which places they openly conspired.

As a result of the situation of friendly relations between the partisans of the fallen administration and the clerical element, the president was not recognized by General Pascual Orozco in the state of Chihuahua, but this lack of recognition was for-

tunately surmounted by force after a brief period on account of his immorality and unpopularity. This same situation also brought about the subversive movement which broke out in the port of Veracruz on the orders of General Felix Diaz who was aided by ambitious elements of the fallen regime and by the Clergy who backed him with money and moral support in the newspaper columns, the general mentioned being the representative of the reaction. Finally, the occurrences during the month of February of 1913 were due to these same enemies of the revolution, occurrences which ended in perfidy, treason and the ignoring of duties by the military cast to the effect of bring-

ing about the assassination of President and vice-president of the Republic.

What was the attitude of the Clergy on the death of the president? That of rejoicing, satisfaction and great happiness. It was demonstrated by various public manifestations in several capitals of the Republic on 24 and 25 of February in 1913, together with the more privileged Porfirian classes who were called "aristocrats" at that time.

This is briefly the conduct observed by the Mexican Clergy in the period between 1874 and 1913, certainly very censurable, unpatriotic, un-economical, anti-racial, and in a way immoral for the entire Republic.

CHAPTER 5

Efforts of recuperation on the part of the church during the epoch of Porfirio.—His attitude during the revolutions of Madero and Huerta.—The revolution of Carranza, and the attitude of the church with respect to these evolutionary, social movements.—A situation created by the clergy.—The Constitution of 1917.—Its application by succeeding governments.—Systematic opposition by the clergy.—A rebellious attitude on the part of the church with respect to the realization of the revolutionary program.—A historical translation of its defense of its moral hegemony and in defense of its material interests.—The attitude assumed by the church with respect to the Reform of Article 3 on the Constitution.

Upon coming into power, General Porfirio Diaz found a situation completed and limited by the Constitution of 1857 and the Laws of Reform which he, himself, as a soldier, had helped to struggle for and maintain. His problem, therefore, was not legislative, but merely executive in keeping the original principles in tact. But, as the clerical party was still very strong and very wealthy, it was slowly filtering into his administration. The church was attempting, as usual, to get more and more control, and its functions might be made clear through a phrase often used in this connection: "Mexico is the paradise of the religious orders." This situation, along with a law which absolutely prohibited the church from possessing real estate, gives us an idea of the complete restoration obtained. Added to this is the complicity of authorities duty it was to enforce the law. The state of complicity reached such a height that anecdotes of this kind were familiar throughout Mexico. The weak Franciscans were at one time considering the project adding additional members to their order, but as no one heeded their move, they solicited the direct consent of the president of the Republic. They made their request through his wife, who, though acting unofficially, gave her permission. The verbal reply was: "Tell them not to be stupid, to do as the Jesuits who established a sugar factory in San Simon, and no one needed to go and identify its personal." The Jesuits really had a community in the ranch of San Simon, state of Michoacan, during more than 30 years, and for more than a generation they prepared members for their order there. And when for some reason the authorities were obliged to investigate this matter, the Jesuits were opportunely advised of the forthcoming investigation. And, so the story goes, when a government man went to investigate the San Simon ranch, he found that the people were cutting sugar cane at a time when it should

not be cut and at a time when the mill was shut down. In lunching with the director of the ranch, the visitor was informed: "It must be, sir, that you are better informed on farm matters than we are."

The church really had no reason for complaint at this time. The instruction was laical in the official schools, but only the poor were educated there, and the poor producer nothing beside work in the fields, for which the individual was paid 25 centavos a day. This was but an exploitation on the hacienda. People who could pay for the education of their children could send them to the private schools directed and operated by the Maristas, Jesuits, Teresianos, Visitantinas and a number of other similar orders where instruction was paid for. Here was taught not only Catholicism but also propaganda against the government.

Through legal manipulations the church managed to handle the real estate problem to its own advantage, and without much difficulty in these times of tolerance.

The restriction of visible public manifestations? This, in reality, was the least of the problems of the clergy. It was, the Clergy, was more concerned with acquiring wealth than with the creed. Culture in itself was secondary to the Clergy.

The Catholic Empress Carlota, brought to Mexico by the Clergy, wrote to the Empress Eugenia on Dec. 27, 1865: "The Clergy—is not easily overthrown. All the old abuses are uniting to elude the effect of the mandates of the Emperor, and the affair is beginning to come to an issue. There is a sordid and active tenacity shown by the Clergy, and that cannot be extinguished easily. The Clergy would be willing to leave their seats but not their rents." And this was not said by the Liberals, but rather by the person brought to Mexico by the Clergy. They had brought her to this country so their interests would be protected. It is not im-

portant, then, that we, ourselves, affirm it now. The Clergy is not interested in culture except as a means of enriching itself. What was the difference whether the processions were in the streets or in the temples? and what was the difference if they, the Clergy, had to change one vestment for another? It merely entailed calling the new form "posadas" instead of processions. Fundamentally, they were religious festivals, irrespective of what these functions were called.

The revolution of Francisco I. Madero devoted itself to destroying all the abuses of the Diaz regime, to a restoration of the Constitution and Laws of Reform, to a solution of the problems of the country. All these had been completely forgotten by the Diaz regime in permitting the conciliation.

But once Madero became president, the problems were still highly complicated. He found that, while attempting to enforce the new regulations, he was obliged to give in, to some extent, to the old order of things. Soon he found that the very men of the old regime he had taken into his confidence were the ones who betrayed him. He did not have time to restore the Constitution.

The Clergy changed very little during this time of chaos. It had reaped a good harvest during the times of Porfirio Diaz. Then came the usurpation of power by Victoriano Huerta, the Catholic vandal, assassin of the president. That is a black spot in our history. He was a man without principles and without scruples, who brought no idealism to this country. He gave way to crime repeatedly and would stop at nothing. He did these things, conniving with the church, to make the Clergy believe in him. He wanted to be in its good graces. He pretended to be espousing the church's cause, and invoked the name of God if the Clergy did not rally to his side in every issue. The Clergy looked on this favorably and considered the Huerta government as legal. And if the church did not aid the government openly, that was because the Clergy could foresee the downfall of Huerta. The Clergy feared lest V. Carranza would succeed. Therefore, the church was afraid to side to openly with Huerta.

About this time the Carranza revolution began to assume a definitely constitutional aspect. In this manner an army was raised, and it was composed of followers of Madero. But the Huerta power was still strong, in that he dominated in practically the entire country. But revolutionary groups sprang up like mushrooms after a rain, and the Constitutionals won battle after battle. Already at this time it could be noticed that the Church was regarded by the revolutionaries as an obstacle which would have to be eliminated together with the Huerta regime. The Clergy had seen the success of the revolutionists with the greatest alarm. Many of them went to Veracruz where they were under the protection of the Americans.

Once the constitutional revolution had succeeded, the chiefs understood the necessity of forming a new constitution. For one thing, the facility for disregarding the original Laws of Reform would have to be abolished. The beginning of the abolition of slavery was a part of the new century. The time had come when the Peon, working for 20 centavos a day and working 12 hours for this sum, could demand more, could demand better living conditions. Is it not logical that we should continue with the abolition of slavery? To convert

this unhappy being, the peon, into a living creature, with rights to possess his own lands, to be head of a family, to enjoy some of the advantages he is entitled to as citizen—to do these things, is not that the most important part of the Revolution?

The Indian had been given nothing but "a place in heaven" in recompense for his lands; he had been given a language in place of his. Who had considered the complete distribution of lands for the benefit of the Mexicans? Carranza immediately saw that the life of one man was not enough for such a gigantic work.

The Constitution of 1917 was formed. And this is an opportune time to analyze it in its regard to the Clergy. It had to do something about the "Church in business."

The question of wresting power and property from the Clergy, which used these only to retard the progress of the country, was as important in the new constitution as in the one of 1856. This, all the more, in that the Clergy has become firmly rooted in strength and power again. It was necessary to nationalize church property, even though this property was legally in private possession. And it was necessary to prove that such properties as were supposed to belong to organizations, were really properties of the church. Such possessions had been made possible through the reign of Porfirio Diaz, and it was not always easy to trace their origin.

Again, we have to ask ourselves the question, "Why are these possessions not legitimate?" Because in Mexico the Clergy never has had legitimate interests, and it is impossible to change its attitude.

The proofs of this have already been given, but we will enter into other details:

The Catholic church has surrounded itself with the philosophy that, in representing God on earth, it dominates everything on earth, and therefore also the destinies of man. That in itself makes it impossible for the State to have any power for the betterment of society. Everything, according to the Catholic version, is in control of the church.

The church wants to dictate not only to the conscience of man, but also to the State, being, as the Catholic Clergy pretend to be, direct representatives of God on earth.

This version of the attitude of the church is not in the least overdone.

The same principle had been put in practice by the Pope in the reign of Charles the Great. A king had to be recognized as such by the Pope. When Frederick the Great of Germany disobeyed the Pope, the former was promptly excommunicated from the church. The Pope was recognized in Europe as the direct representative of God on earth. And the emperor, finally, had to go to Rome afoot and without shoes, to ask the pardon of the Pope, who kept the unhappy king waiting several days in the snow before receiving him and lifting from his head the excommunication.

One needs only to read the various books on Catholicism to become convinced of the atrocities committed by the Catholic church. Then one finds that the pretensions of the church to regulate everything on earth, to raise people to heaven, to prevent them from getting there—these and a thousands other lies of the Clergy—were all false.

If some one had committed a crime, all that was necessary was to murmur some oration, or

wear a bracelet, and give some money to the church, of course, and everything was well arranged with God. And to think that the Clergy do and say these things in the name of God. That really does belong to some other epoch; not to ours. And yet the Clergy wants the State to let it have the conscience of the child. It wants to prevent the child from developing powers of reason, without which the church cannot maintain its dominance over people. And through keeping people in ignorance, the incomes of the church would be raised greatly. It is for these reasons that the Mexican State repeats it does not want the Catholic instructions, and the State will be responsible for this contention.

The Clergy is the same. Its doctrines and tendencies have not changed in the least. The clergy knows that better than anyone. And the proof of it is that they idealize the men of the Inquisition.

The church is never sorry for any of its actions. What it has contended, it contends today—that it has a right to dictate over the conscience of man and to direct his destinies on earth.

We have the concrete case of Hidalgo. He himself was a Catholic and a priest. But when he wanted to do something of value for his people, all kinds of excommunications fell over him. We find his version in the manifesto: "To profane the most sacred things on earth in order to maintain its (the Churches) domination. To give out excommunications, which they (the clergymen) know perfectly well is of no value. They want to terrorize the ignorant. Open your eyes, Americans, do not let yourselves be seduced by our enemies. They are not Catholics except for political advantages. Their god is money."

We have the church's attitude regarding the invasion of the North Americans. The Clergy regarded it from this point of view: "If the North-Americans respect the functions and the properties of the church, nothing can be lost through their victories."

And the same was true with other invasions, those of the French and of attempts to reconquest Mexico by Spain, the attempt by Austria. In identically the same manner the Clergy has always supported any invasion that might be of value to the church. "With pleasure," wrote Empress Carlota, "they would leave their seats and their cross, but not their rents."

The church was a power which directed the actions of Comonfort; it prevented Benito Juarez from exercising his will for the benefit of the Mexican people. He had to promulgate the Laws of the Reform while in Veracruz.

"The central motive of the Catholic Clergy is separate itself from the influence civil right exercises over it. When it wins that battle, it will have won everything. Far from being an instrument of peace, the church is openly in rebellion. No one denies that."

At that time the clergy made its most desperate effort to undo reform measures. It effected the intervention of the French, which resulted in one of the most bloody civil strifes of our country.

Testory, one of the leaders of the French invasion, said: "In 1856 the church already had immense properties, and its wealth was growing from year to year. Small wonder that the State considered this an obstacle to progress."

"How is it possible that the Clergy objects so

strongly to being inscribed in the civil registry, that burials be conducted in conformity with the law." These words were written by a priest about the Clergy.

At the time L. Alaman, Catholic historian, lived, the Church possessed over one half of the properties of the new colonies. What government on earth has ever had under its control such wealth?

This formidable enemy was confronted by the State in 1857, and again in 1914. And for that reason, it has been necessary to go through so many pages of history in drawing up this report.

It was the same in 1822 and in 1833 and in 1836. Then again in 1865. And after a long period of recuperation, the same conditions presented themselves again in 1913, 1914, 1917, 1926 and 1934.

In the new Constitution, that of 1917, it was necessary to stress the education of the children; and it was necessary to nationalize the property of the church. It was necessary to reduce the Clergy to simple ministers of the cult and not autonomous managers. The churches were declared national property. And the houses in which any kind of cult was practiced were declared national property.

And how did the Clergy react to the new constitution? To begin with, it protested before the United States. This was in 1926 when the principles of the revolution and the precepts of the Constitution were beginning to be put in practice.

The Clergy used every possible means to promote its interests and its wealth. Such actions are seen clearly in the pages of history surrounding the administration of Obregon and also Diaz.

In the times of General Obregon the high priests, Felipe and Caruana appeared on the scene. They claimed to be only visitors, but the directed acts of the cult publicly; and it was necessary to apply to them Article 33 of the Constitution.

Immediately afterwards, General Obregon wrote the following to Archbishop Jose Mora, Leopoldo Ruiz, and others, in answer to a formal complaint by them: "Dear Gentlemen: The executive office under my charge acknowledges receipt of your message, dated 15th, protesting the expulsion of Felipe; and I believe that the repetition of such a case could be prevented through efforts on your part. It will not be necessary to bring strife into affairs, so long as as we are guided by faith in promoting good will and brotherhood among the Mexican people. The State is intent on this, and solicits your cooperation. We will promote the lives of Mexicans through virtue and morality and fraternity. That will be of benefit to all. In this manner we hope to further all that will be of benefit to the people. I am sure the high Clergy will not deviate from straight path of humanitarian principles we are determined to take. I hope the church will not continue to becloud the minds of people who have suffered through the ages."

This spirit of conciliation, at once strong and sincere, was not accepted by the Catholic Clergy. The churches, though property of the state, continued to be administrated and operated by the Clergy. On the surface, the church pretended to be abiding by the new constitution, but at the bottom everything went on as before. The manners used by the church to evade the law during that period will probably never be disclosed fully.

It was during the administration of Plutarco Elias Calles, when the constitutional precepts were beginning to be put in practice. This began with the regulation of Article 130 of the Constitution, and required of each priest to register as a worker in the cult. The clergy answered this request with disobedience and rebellion. Although this was a natural function of Article 130 of the Constitution, the clergy would not permit the government to fulfill its obligations. But this regulation was in itself precise and natural. However, the clergy maintained that it was a manifestation of extreme radicalism on the part of General Calles. The church maintained that this was an act against the sanctity of religion, when, as a matter of fact, the act did not attack religion at all. Furthermore, the regulation had already been in the constitution and was just now beginning to be put into practice. In analyzing Article 130 of the Constitution, we find that it is fair in every respect, and that it is not a design against the church. The priests did not object to being in charge of the temples, but they objected to being registered by the government. Nothing is more natural than the registration of the person who takes charge of a piece of government property. Is it not perfectly reasonable and just that a person who takes charge of a piece of property, who directs the functions therein, upon whom is conferred responsibility thereover, that he should consider that property his dependency? The government simply wanted a registration of the persons conducting the temples. The fury with which the clergy regarded this regulation is without pardon. They could not conceive of the idea that the temples were national property, but wanted to regard them as property of the church. Would the clergy not accept the Constitution? But the government could not consider that, because it indeed did abide by the new regulations. All that was necessary was for the government to enforce the constitution for the benefit of the citizens. The government would make the individuals abide by the laws, then all the more reason why it should make the church do so, the church which is not an individual and has no personal rights and has not the rights of a citizen. And if the temples had come to be properties of the nation, was it not to be expected that sooner or later the government would direct the administration of these temples? Is it not reasonable that the government should inform itself of the administration of these temples? But nothing of that kind came to pass. The regulation limited itself to a request of the names of the priests and an inventory of their properties. The Mexican church did not suggest but rather ordered the disobedience of the law. A circular written by the archbishop of Mexico and direct to the Fathers and priests in general has some of the following paragraphs in Latin: "It is prohibited to the priests that they give notice to the civil authorities regarding temples they have administered. It is, furthermore, prohibited that they inscribe their names in the registries. If some authority asks them if they are in charge of a temple and asks their names, they will reply, 'I was in charge until the last of July but I am not in charge now, because I don't want to exercise my ministry and for that reason I need not give my name.' Another paragraph: 'If any one is requested by civil authorities to exercise his ministry or any function of the cult,

he will not do this upon any consideration, even though the civil authority attempts to obligate him to do so; and if any one—may God not permit it—give way to any other action, he will be suspended from the functions of the ministry." This circular is signed by the Archbishop of Mexico and by the Secretary of Mitre.

We have here the clergy, as always, in open rebellion. Immediately in Mexico was reproduced the protest against the Constitution of 1917. This protest was signed by the bishops and Archbishops. The circular had already been sent to the United States to render its promulgation more effective. In this circular, dated February 8th, 1926, many falsities, such inflexible Catholics are accustomed to, were included. It is said therein that the constitutional tendencies are destroying religion, culture and traditions. This is absolutely false because it does not attack religion, nor does it refute it, nor does it prohibit religion. On the contrary, it permits religion and grants it guarantees through Section 34 of Article 130 of the same Constitution. Religion, of course, is regulated by the State, but this regulation is not intended against the church. What is happening is that the clergy confounds religion with the privileges granted to religion. It is these privileges which are attacked. The Catholic religion, according to its definition, is comprised of four things: belief, commands, orations, and sacraments. Which of these is prohibited, which attacked, or which suspended? By the Constitution, not one. On the contrary, it is the clergy who suspend them all, or at least those parts which were under their power to suspend. And all this because the priests in charge of the temples were requested to give their names. Regarding the affirmation respecting the regulation that the government destroys culture, as soon as the clergy defines culture, the State will be disposed to show how far the government is from destroying it. Culture shall consist in permitting the police to live outside the law of a country, to disobey these laws, to attack them, that they shall have supreme authority and work against all regulations prescribed by these laws—that only could be the clergy's definition of culture. Only in this way does the government destroy "culture". Tradition? Regarding this, as the definition is very vague, the only tradition attacked by the government is the tradition employed by the clergy in disobeying the country's laws. The government attacks its tradition which the church has as an enemy of evolution. As an enemy of progress, as an enemy of everything ending towards the social betterment of the masses. In attacking such traditions, the government believes that it has very just, very good, and certainly very Christian reasons.

"This protest explains the motives and it explains why religion is being attacked. In Article 130 of the Constitution there is no negation of religious rights. On the contrary, religion is considered something sacred and a practice of the cult is permitted. But that does not mean that these rights are unlimited. It is perfectly natural that a man should have a religious creed, but that does not apply solely to the Catholic cult. History testifies to that. How can the leaders of the church maintain that the State has no right to govern the functions of the cult? Regarding the clergy in Mexico stress is laid particularly on

the possessions of these individuals. These regulations have been made as a result of a century of bitter experiences. The clerical problem is a singular one, and the laws decreed respecting it are perfectly sound. It must be remembered that after the Constitution became a part of Mexico's political functions that the clergy ordered its inferiors to disobey these adoptions. How can we regard such an attitude? We had not given the clergy a right to disobey these regulations. What would we think of a commercial organization which issued a manifesto to the President of the Republic informing him that it does not recognize the Constitution, and that it would never recognize the Constitution because these regulations are contrary to the organization's interests? Then why did the clergy, simply because it was the clergy, entertain such a negation?

"Regarding the Gentlemen of Colon in Mexico, we ask them not to become disheartened. We authorize our Supreme Council to collect \$1,000,000 for an educational campaign. With this end in view we promise help to 800,000 men who love God." This message was directed to the Gentlemen of Colon in the Convention of Philadelphia. Judge for yourself if you think that such propaganda should be tolerated.

There is no likelihood that the clergy will change its policies. Declarations made by the Archbishop of Mexico, Mora y del Rio, on February 3rd, 1926 explained this very clearly. "The doctrine of the Church can not be altered, because it expresses divinely the truth. The article published by 'El Universal' on January 7th., to the effect that a campaign will be begun immediately against the unjust laws pertaining to the individual's right. The clergy and the Catholics do not recognize and oppose Articles 3, 5, 27 and 130 of the Constitution. This resolution cannot be altered without betraying our faith in our religion."

It is clearly understood that what the church fought in 1926 and is fighting today and will always fight, is the same thing. General Plutarco Elias Calles expresses his attitude very clearly. Following are some experts: "What shall the Government do with the social group which has tendencies that are religious or tendencias that are not religious, when it publicly denies the fundamental laws of the Nation, announces publicly that it will oppose those laws, and incites the people to non-recognition of that same Constitution? What could and what should my government do in this case other than regard the Articles of the Constitution and act accordingly. We have not needed a new law to deal with these actions. Up to this time we have merely limited ourselves in enforcing them, one extending back to the time of the Reform, more than half a century back, and the other one back to 1917 which is our present Constitution."

But if the clergy insists on being traitors to the country and if it insists on disobeying the laws the government will simply have to act in accordance with its duties. The Catholic church has acted in this manner a thousand times. It did it in 1926 and it is doing it in 1934. In 1926 this was done by abandoning the churches and complying with the threat made by Archbishop Mora. This provocation resulted in a rebellion, and though this uprising did not upset the stability of the government it certainly cost much blood

and much suffering. Although some of the Bishops were not in favor of this movement, not many of them really opposed it. On the other hand, some committed crimes that reflected on the same Catholics such as the derailing and burning of the Guadalajara train, without letting the passengers out of the coaches. This was work done by the Priest Angulo. Other acts of this kind were committed by the rebels of "El Mamey" and "Ahualica". This is not counting the atrocities committed by a vandal priest such as that of Torres, who was the head of a rebel band which attacked villages and ranches on the coast of Michoacan. And even the families, most of them fanatics of Guadalajara, helped the rebels with ammunition and with guns. Finally, it would be unfair to say that the clergy did not foment this revolution, although some of the Bishops were not in favor of it. This would be just as ridiculous as that Galileo was not condemned for heresy despite the tribunals of those days. The Pope knows this and so do all the other Bishops of Europe.

It is completely out of the question that the Mexican government permit the contentions of the clergy, because the State does not submit to the principle of the divine right of the Church, and the consequent contention that it has a right over the public. If the government has been lenient with those who took part in this rebellion, it was because these often could not even explain their religious purposes in the movement. Many of the rebel soldiers were forced through an influence of some special nature. Finally the government is resolved to carry on its plan of the revolution. It will remove with a firm hand all obstacles which come into its path. It is known that the clergy does not speak in good faith. When the Archbishop Mora y del Rio made his declarations with respect to Article 130 of the Constitution he did this completely in compliance with the doctrines of the church. Supposedly he was inspired by God. Therefore he was not subject to error. The clergy has always been known to fight against and to refuse the law. It could never submit to a registration of priests conducting the functions of the churches. Neither could it submit to an inventory of its properties. What did the objections of the priests consist in? Or do they insist on contending that though the doctrine is very severe it is also very elastic? The fanaticism which reached up to such an act as the assassination of General Obregon, and which has expressed itself by placing the country under the control of foreigners, has made seditious proclamations, affirming that it is dealing with the preservation of the youth in regard to a new Constitutional program of public education. But in affirming this, again the clergy misleads the public. It is merely another example of the clergy's ambition.

In the end, the State direct the education of the child. The child is an organic element of society and only by means of a collective well-being can it come to efficiently play a part in the world of today. It must be remembered that the education that the clergy has given children has been identically the same during all these centuries. Mexico wants no more of that form of instruction. The children need no longer feed on the words of the Master. We are referring to the Master of those unhappy beings who have lost

their property, who have sacrificed their health, and who have no place to put their heads when sleeping. Mexico wants an equality doctrine, a doctrine which limits the rich, one which has love and paternity for the poor, one which has regard for the children. The educational transformation is one of the greatest, the clearest and the noblest ideals of the revolutionary leaders. The State claims a right over the conscience of the child, the youth and the adult in order that these might comprehend their duties in living in this vibrating epoch. Up to this time nothing has been said regarding the function of an individual in society. Education consists in receiving scientific knowledge, manual training, and an orientation—all of which will contribute to a balanced life. Such training cannot be received through the antiquated methods of instruction employed by the church. People who received such instruction are not prepared for the task of life. The child listens with interest when we speak of the ridiculous methods employed up to the present time for the distribution of wealth. It has been precisely the clergy which contributed greatly toward such an unequal method, and such an unjust methods of property distribution. Much of this had been rendered possible through what the church calls culture—a direct negation of scientific truth.

We are aspiring, through a simple plan of educational training to define the necessities of human beings and the possibilities of the Nation to satisfy them. Simultaneously with Scientific training must be taught the limits of educational possibilities so that the student can choose a line of livelihood consistent with responsibilities to the State. The individual must be taught what obligations he has with respect to society. The society we refer to is a socialistic order. The Capitalistic order, such as we have today, has rendered it possible for wealth to be in the hands of a few, and as a result we have a stagnation in the process of production and distribution. The dispossessed have a fundamental right to claim a participation in ownership of properties. These groups are necessary for both production and distribution. It is within the line of reason to assume that a new social order must be ushered in as a result of new economic structures to which the world of today is subject.

In their ignoble task the enemies of the revolution may sneer at our transformation of instruction and at our solid principles of the revolutionary government; but from a pedagogical view-point and from a strictly scientific view-point it cannot be denied that the new methods are far superior to the old ones. And by the old ones we have reference particularly to that of religious groups. These old methods have been steeped in lies and have tended to confuse rather than to orientate the mind. The new method is completely in harmony with the phenomena of the universe. We are referring to the phenomena of natural and social sciences which through their truth will enable us to form complete concepts of a strictly socialistic order.

More than half a century ago the Patrician Ignacio Ramirez spoke as follows: "The Constitution states the character of the Mexican will be lost in serving the foreigner or in granting the foreigners titles and functions."

The clergy says: "We strictly obey the Pope with or without the sanctions of Congress."

The Constitution states: "The sovereignty of the Nation rests with the State."

The clergy maintains: "The Pope maintains that such a principle is inherited."

Upon listening constantly to this systematic opposition we ask ourselves, not why they cannot be deputies, but rather why they are tolerated in the Republic?

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The action of public power which limits and represses and diminishes the temporal functions of the church in Mexico may be explained and justified through judicial and political reasons sustained by the Constitution. We are dealing with a social reality which permits us to penetrate into the very bottom of this problem.

The secular struggle between the church and the State of Mexico may be traced fundamentally to profound and radical contradictions of these two respective functions.

Concepts which may be employed as a base for this struggle between civil and clerical power are fundamentally two:

One—which has resulted through the establishment of the church in Mexico has an entity maintained and nourished in our own land.

Two—in self-defence the Mexican State has always been called upon to resolve the material, temporal, and political contradictions of the church, attacking the clergy personally and collectively in the field of judicial, economic, and social politics.

Let us stress the first so as to prevent misinterpretation. The church in Mexico has carried on an existence completely different from that carried on by religious orders of other countries. Therefore, we have a singular problem. Although the church of Mexico is subject to the authority of the Pope in Rome, ever since its origin it has been a force in itself, in accordance with circumstances inherent in our country in being confronted with special conditions of geography and the primitive nature of the Indians.

The church in Mexico, with its regular and secular clergy, at one time consisted of a varitable caste which joined its power with the powers of the nobility and the dynasty. It realized the necessity of Monarchs.

It was this caste characteristic which permitted it to accumulate such immense wealth, to concentrate civil functions, to dictate economic prerogatives and to control the direction of the conscience. In this manner the church became an independent faction more or less openly in rebellion against civil authority. That is why it was such an enemy of the State in regard to the Reform.

Through necessity the Spanish crown limited the temporal power of the church. Through necessity also, and almost through instinct, both Mexico and Spain were forced to openly oppose the church and its growing wealth. Through necessity and through a patriotic duty the men of the Reform, assisted by the proletarian masses had to combat the clergy, being subject thereby to the unjust political, social and economic forces in foreign countries. In this manner the State and the men of the Reform and the proletarian masses attempted to establish a new order of things divested of the old dominant castes.

In the same fashion, for an analogous reason, the Revolution started in 1910. Finding the church acting through her clergy, and newly consolidated with the conservative class composed of remains of feudalism not yet entirely eliminated, by bourgeois elements and big business the Revolution has had to limit and suppress its temporal functions to the end that the present civil power can realize the integration of the Nation.

And in the present moment, the Government issued from the Revolution, the same as all of its predecessors in the history of the Country, in order to be able to realize its plan of social and economic action finds it necessary to suppress the clergy. The Clergy at one period struggled as a caste dividing power with the exploiting class, and afterwards transformed itself into a rebellious faction and now as a party secretly endeavors to conserve the positions, difficult to discover and to destroy as they are hidden, disguised and clandestine, that it succeeded in occupying during the Diaz regime, which permitted the church, in association with high finance in a tacit agreement of conciliation and tolerance, to elude the laws and adapt itself to the new formulas, by means of incorporated societies, and retain possession of rents and properties administered through intermediaries.

Always in the history of Mexico the same courage of the civil power has operated to prevent the existence of the Church as a temporal power, that is to say, the State preventing for reasons of social reality, almost as biological defense, the existence of another State.

The Mexican State is not now, as at the beginning of the past century, in an inferior material condition as compared with the Catholic Clergy, but in an equal defensive and offensive position, to reduce or destroy the the opposing force that attempts to take away its power. In order to maintain the restrictions now consecrated in the laws, it must stop a dangerous and upsetting development, and reinforce the commands and the legal standards according to the needs of the times.

In moments like these in which the world is now thrown, of social and economic change, and

of the crisis of the forces of production, and of the legal and political institutions, and when the Government has resolved to impress on the school a direction defined in social feeling, abandoning as sterile and antiquated the standard of unenlightened instruction, to the end of teaching the youth the defects of the Capitalist order, and particularly the true economic social state of Mexico, as a basis for the effort aiming towards the moral and economic emancipation of the country, it is necessary to suppress and if possible to do away with the temporal activities of the Mexican Clergy.

In the effort towards social change, in the interest of the workers, of the institutions created by the Revolution has clashed with the efforts of the clergy to conserve the source of revenue of educational institutions and maintain their economic position founded at times in spiritual and sentimental advantages, the Government of Mexico assumes the responsibility of its activity against the temporal functions of the church, with the conviction that it is for the good of the Republic and with the satisfaction of fulfilling a serious debt.

And as the Government has and needs to have the Law as a guide to its action, it is obvious right to demand of the church, ENTIRE SUBMISSION TO ESTABLISHED LAWS. Before the present conflict the activity of the State cannot be more clear and defined,—strict fulfillment by governed and governors of the legal dispositions of the Constitution and of the dictates of its enforcement.

Strict fulfillment of the Law by means of a permanent and preserving action by federal and local authorities, without the complacency of other times in which it was left alone when it should have been enforced and amounted to complicity.

To keep watch in a constant and tenacious manner for the exact observance of the law and have respect and veneration for it characterizes the institutional life of a nation.

Mexico, D. F., 1934.

EMILIO PORTES GIL

FAPECEFT

Mexico City. By Trens Agency—:

In order that foreigners may know the true facts in the case with respect to the Catholic Clergy against the Mexican government as the struggle has been carried on from the time of the Conquest up to the present time, the Trens Agency has made a newspaper version in English of the work written by Emilio Portes Gil Former Attorney General and Former President of Mexico and new Secretary of Foreign Relations in President General Lazaro Cardenas' Cabinet.

The book was written relevant to the indictment against Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, Papal Delegate to the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, and other former high clergymen, who are residing in the United States at present. But who will be placed under arrest subject to trial for exciting a rebellion against the Mexican republican institutions as soon as they come into the jurisdiction of the Mexican Courts.

This is a complete history of Mexico's efforts to liberate the people from the influence of the Catholic Clergy.

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