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MEXICO OF THE XXTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

The Spanish dominion—Military Governors—Royal Auditors—Viceroys— Religious Brotherhoods—Effect upon natives of brutal government— First Declaration of Independence—Benito Juarez—His fight against the Church—His justification—The baneful influence of the Holy Orders—What the Constitution provides—Forms of government from 1821 to the present time.

IF the history of the nations be diligently searched, there will probably be found no more striking evidence of a long, merciless and purposeless oppression than that of Mexico at the hands of Spain. During the whole of the three hundred years during which Mexico was subject to Spanish rule, not one single act of grace, of consideration, nor even of common fairness towards that Colony can be traced.

Commencing with the landing of the Spanish in 1521, when they met the Indians' courteous and kindly if timid reception with the display of firearms and slaughter, a long and uninterrupted series of cruel persecutions has characterised the government of "New Spain," as the country was called by its conquerors, but never by anyone else. Not only were the native Indians victimised, reduced to the position of mere slaves, being bought and sold with the land and compelled to work upon it like serfs, but all "Spaniards" born in America were treated with indignity, being classed as " Creoles" and ranking socially, and in every other way, with the low-class Indians of the country. No wonder, then, that hatred for Spain and for everything Spanish has become, and will long remain, a tradition in Mexico. Three centuries of 1 VOL. I.

Military Governors, Royal Auditors, Viceroys, Religious Brotherhoods and the Holy Inquisition have done their work only too well. The evil occasioned can still be traced in the natural gloom and sullenness of the Mexicans, their intense distrust of foreigners, and especially of the Spanish, their vindictiveness of disposition and their inability until recently to conduct a stable self - government. With the passing of the present generation and the gradual obliteration of these bitter memories, a different spirit is being manifested, and will increase as time goes on; but to-day the impress of the brutal treatment which the whole nation had so long to endure remains patent to anyone studying this people.

Although the first Declaration of Mexican Independence was published as far back as 1813, a Constitution was declared in 1820 and virtual separation from Spain took place in 1821, it was not until February 5th, 1857, that the Constitution now in force in Mexico became *un fait accompli*. Thus it took a quarter-of-a-century after the Republic had been established for the people to agree upon a Constitution, proving the contention that the long period of persecution to which they had been subjected at the hands of Spain, had unfitted the people for self-government at once.

Certainly no one who has visited the country to-day and witnessed its evidences of prosperity, cohesion and contentment would—knowing its past history—credit that but fiveand-twenty years ago the whole of this vast territory was being torn by internal and apparently unending dissension. Marvellous, indeed, is the transition which has been effected, no less for its completeness than for its comparative rapidity.

The new Constitution was not introduced nor accepted finally without much trouble and bloodshed, and in fact, owing to the complete overthrow of the Church for which it stipulated, the bitterest struggle that Mexico has ever gone through was entered upon by reason of this Constitution of 1857. Pope Pius IX. declared it "apocrypha," and placed it under anathema. The Mexican clergy in a body preached against it, and boldly incited the people to rebellion. Men fought each other like wild beasts in the streets and their homes, and the whole country was set by the ears. Then it was that



BENITO JUAREZ, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF MEXICO, 1861-1872. DIED JULY 18TH, 1872.

BENITO JUAREZ

Benito Juarez came into prominence, first as President of the Supreme Court of Justice and, after being thrown into prison by his own President (Comonfort) who was afraid of the Church and its fulminations, emerged more powerful and more determined than ever, being raised to the Presidency of the Republic in 1858, he being then fifty-two years of age, and continuing from that day the work of reformation which he had set himself to perform, *ruat cælum*.

Those who blame the memory of Benito Juarez, mainly on account of his harshness towards Maximilian, and those religious thinkers who deplore his attacks upon the power of the Church and all Church institutions, have but little conception of the shocking state of affairs which prevailed in Mexico in the middle days of the last century, mainly, if not entirely, the fault of the Roman Catholics who were then in control of the government.

Much controversy has prevailed among historians in regard to the personality of Benito Juarez, who has been regarded as no military adventurer, but a prudent and honest lawyer who had made his way, by the ladder of public service, to the head of the State. Although many prejudiced writers have denounced him, the prevailing opinion seems to be that he was a thoroughly honest man, who wished to rule righteously and meet his engagements. In regard to England's standing at the period of the Juarez-Maximilian imbroglio, Lord Russell wrote to Sir Charles Wyke, Britain's envoy in Mexico at the time,-" If the Mexican people by a spontaneous movement place the Austrian archduke (Maximilian) on the throne of Mexico, there is nothing in the Convention to prevent it. On the other hand, we could be no parties to a forcible intervention to this purpose." Mr. Herbert Paul in his "History of Modern England " writes in regard to President Juarez very enthusiastically. "Being," says he, "a very shrewd, capable man, he soon perceived who his enemies were. He was prudent and honest, and a painstaking and conscientious ruler." In view of all that is now known and acknowledged in regard to the condition of Mexico between 1860 and 1870, and now that all party-spirit and bitter feelings may be said to have died out, I believe that the general opinion may be taken as agreeing with that of Mr. Herbert Paul.

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Not content with having wrung millions of treasure from the country at a time when the people were abjectly poor, and when every penny should have been put back into the land for their benefit, the various religious orders were constantly struggling among themselves for fresh possessions, and were indeed united in but one single enterprise, that of stealing as much as possible primarily for their own purposes and secondly for the use of their beloved Church.

The Dominicans, to whose baneful influence the country owed the dreaded Inquisition, were at constant loggerheads with the Carmelites, and the Franciscans with both. It is impossible to deny that there were many good men and good women to be found among these numerous religious bodies; but what the unfortunate Indians may have gained on the one hand by being tended in times of sickness and trouble, they were deprived of on the other, for all of the brotherhoods alike demanded and insisted upon receiving tithes, while nearly all the valuable lands throughout the country were in their hands.

The people hated the Dominicans with a deadly hatred, for it was, as I have said, to them they owed the terrible persecutions inflicted by the Holy Inquisition. The Carmelites, who had been among the earliest of the "religios" to come to Mexico, owned over a hundred leagues of the finest land in the San Luis Potosi district, stretching from the city of that name to Tampico on the Gulf coast. The Franciscans owned other vast tracts of land stolen from the Indians or "bequeathed," under threats of eternal punishment, by prosperous but sinful sons of the Church; their monasteries and churches were likewise more numerous and more elaborately ornate than those of any other religious sect.

Finding his country under the thraldom of such a set of harpies and bloodsuckers, and knowing from the three hundred years'-old history of his people that nothing remedial was to be hoped for from Spain, Juarez may be excused for whatever vindictiveness he may have entertained for, and for all the bitterness which he displayed towards, the Spanish Government. No wonder that, from his poor and ignorant youth upwards, he cherished an intense hatred for the doctrines of a Church which seemed to him to fatten upon the blood and substance of its poor dupes. From his one fixed purpose to destroy root and branch the poisonous and pernicious political influence of the Church in Mexico, Benito Juarez never for a moment wavered or diverged. He succeeded in his mission even more thoroughly than he could ever have hoped for, and his work will never be rendered nugatory nor his example forgotten so long as Mexico continues to exist as a free and independent Republic.

The memory of Juarez is very carefully preserved in Mexico, and upon the occasion of his 100th birthday (March 21st, 1906), when I was in the country, the whole Republic celebrated the event with marked enthusiasm, the day being proclaimed a public holiday and free entertainments and public dinners being organised by the Government for the poorer people.

As most Constitutions are supposed—or at least hoped—to be, that of Mexico was proclaimed to issue "in the name of God and with the authority of the Mexican people." The strongest declaration, perhaps, was that "The Mexican people recognise that the rights of man are the basis and the object of social institutions. Consequently, they declare that all the laws and all the authorities of the country must respect and maintain the guarantees which the present Constitution establishes." Continuing, the great national document, which consisted of some 125 articles, pointed out that "the national sovereignty resides essentially and originally in the people, and is instituted for its benefit. The people have at all times the inalienable right to alter or modify the form of the government."

Herein the sense of the framers of the new Constitution manifested itself, particularly since they recognised that Constitutions grow, and cannot be made to order.

Any Written Constitution would be likely to eliminate the advantages possessed by the flexible machinery of the Unwritten Constitution. It would have to be more or less of a compromise, and, consequently, uncertain in its interpretation and working. While not preventing change, it would serve to excite the people and cause them to rush violently to sudden and unreasonable extremes. It stands to reason that however carefully and elaborately a Constitution is drawn up by one

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generation, it must prove irksome and unsuitable to a future generation; and the United States of America found out very bitterly what it costs to amend a Written Constitution. In allowing, therefore, the right to alter and modify the form of government of Mexico, the framers of the Republic's first Constitution displayed infinite prescience and good sense.

Proceeding in this matter, the document stated: "The Mexican people voluntarily constitute themselves a democratic, federal, representative Republic, composed of States free and sovereign in all that concerns their internal government, but united in a federation established according to the principles of this fundamental law."

Then came some sweeping clauses, aimed principally against the Roman Catholic Church, to the effect that "no corporation civil or ecclesiastical, whatever may be its character, denomination or object, shall have legal capacity to acquire in proprietorship or administer for itself real estate (landed property), with the single exception of edifices destined immediately and directly to the service and object of the institution. It is exclusively the right of the Federal authorities to exercise, in the matters of religious worship and external discipline, the intervention which the law may designate."

The Constitution goes on to abolish slavery, to establish free education, the free choice by the people of their profession or calling, freedom of speech, liberty of the press, religious toleration, the right of petition, of association and of carrying of arms. All titles of nobility were extinguished and forbidden; punishment by mutilation, torture or loss of property was abolished; corporations were forbidden to acquire property for speculative purposes; imprisonment for debt was disallowed if of a purely civil character, and special clauses related to the inviolability of private correspondence and the home. The death penalty for political offences was also abolished, but nevertheless this punishment has since been inflicted, although perhaps under a different guise.

As may be seen, however, the Constitution was framed in a liberal and broad-minded spirit, and it is this Constitution

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

which, with some few alterations and modifications, remains in force to-day.

The Supreme Government is divided into three co-ordinate branches—Legislative, Executive and Judicial. Under extreme provocation the President, with the advice of his Cabinet and the approval of Congress, or, during its recess, with the consent of the Congressional Permanent Committee, may suspend the Constitution.

The following tabulated List of Rulers will enable the reader to trace the forms of Government of Mexico from the date of the country's independence of Spain, finally established on September 27th, 1821. I have intentionally included the dates and the names of every ruler—Regents, actual and temporary, Emperors, pretended and appointed, Presidents, nominal and elected, Dictators, actual and assumed, since they all form part of the history of Mexico:—

Da	te.	Names of Rulers.	Nature of Office.	Government.
1821	1822	Gen. Augustin de Yturbide Don Juan O'Don- ojú Don Manuel de la Barcena Don Isidro Yañez, and Don Manuel de Léon Don Augustin de Yturbide Don Isidro Yañez Don Miguel Valen- tin Count de Casa de	Regents	Regency
1822 1828		Heras BrigGen. Nicolás Bravo Augustin de Ytur- bide Don Nicolás Bravo	Emperor	Monarchial
		Don Guadalupe Victoria, Don Pedro Negrete, with Don J. M Michelena and Don Miguel Do- minquez (as Deputies)	Supreme Coun- cillors	Provisional Government

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Da	te.	Names of Rulers.	Nature of Office.	Government.
1823	1829	Gen. Guadalupe		
1000	1000	Victoria	Constant Barriel	March Brillian
1829	1235	Gen. Vicente Guerrero	N TANK TRANSPORT	Construction of the
1829		Don José Maria	and a Salaran	and think a num
	1	Bocanegra		State of the state of the
1829		Don Pedro Valez		
1829		Gen. Luis Quin- tanór	The second second	
1829		Don Lucas Alamán		
1830	1832	Gen. Anastacio		The second second
	12	Bustamente	P B LABORE	Real State State of the
1832	into be	Gen. Melchior	1	A DESCRIPTION OF A
1832	1833	Musquiz Gen. Manuel Go-	Ducaidanta	Enderel Devel"
.004	1000	mez Pedraza	Presidents	Federal Republic
1833		Don Valentin Go-		and the second
		mez Farias	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	A PAL
1833	- 31	Gen. Antonio Lo- pez de Santa	EXPERIENCE STR	
-	C The S	Anna Anna		Contraction and the second
1833	1834	Don Valentin Go-		Real Landstein
		mez Farias		Name and Cold Res
1834	1835	Gen. Antonio Lo-	A State State	Section Con
	1.1	pez de Santa Anna		
1835	1836	Gen. Miguel Bar-		
		ragan		
1836	1837	Don José Justo	/	
	1000	Corro	, The states in the	and the second second
1837	1839	Gen. Anastacio		and the second
1839		Bustamente Gen. Antonio Lopez		
	1.5	de Santa Anna		PERS A
1839	200	Gen. Nicolás Bravo	(Substitute)	Central Republic
1839	1841	Gen. Anastacio		
1841		Bustamente	and the second	
1041		Don Iavier Echev- erria		CETTAR TELES
1841	1842	Gen. Antonio Lopez	A September of	La ser and a ser and a ser and a ser a
-ora		de Santa Anna	Walter an eller	
1842	1843	Gen. Nicolás Bravo		Distant
1843		Gen. Antonio Lopez	Dictators	Dictatorship
1843	1844	de Santa Anna	State Interior	1 (SS) - 1017 T
1040	1044	Gen. Valentin Ca- nalizo		
1844		Gen. Antonio Lopez		STELLY GARAGE
1011		de Santa Anna		
1844	124	Gen. Valentin Ca-	- Presidents	Central Republic
St.	19.51	nalizo]	AND THE REAL PROPERTY OF
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FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

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Da	ite.	Names of Rulers.	Nature of Office.	Government.
1844	1845	Gen. José Ignacio Herrera	Mar al	Control Depublic
1846		Gen. Mariano Par- edes y Arrillaga	> Presidents	Central Republic
1846 1846		Gen. Nicolás Bravc Gen. Mariano Salas	1	1 - + - TO -
1846	1847	Don. Valentin G. Farias		
1847		Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna		
1847		Gen. Pedro Maria Anaya	1. 20 7 1	and the
1847		Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna		
1847	1848	Don Manuel de la Peña y Peña Gen. Pedro Maria	Presidents	Federal Republic
1847 1848		Anaya Don Manuel de la		
1848		Peña y Peña Gen. José Joaquin	A States	A CAR
1851		de Herrera Gen. Mariano	PULL STREET	
1853	-	Arista Don Juan B.	1	
1853		Ceballos Gen. Manuel Maria		
1858	1855	Lombardini		Dictatorship
1855		de Santa Anna Gen. Romulo Diaz		and the second
1855		de la Vega Gen. Martin Car		Carlo Barris
1854	and the second second	rera Gen. Juan Alvarez	Dictators	Dictatorship
1850		onfort		Subsection .
185		onfort		
185	7 1860	Gen. Manuel Pez	•	
		uela Don José Ignacion Paucon	o Nominal Presi- dents	Dual Republic
		Gen. Miguel Mir amon	•	S. Brand Mar
185	and the state of t	Don Benito Juare		
186		Bishop J. B. Or machea	-	Ante-Monarchial
	-	Gen. Juan N. Al monte	- Regents ad interim	
1	L.H.	Gen. Mariano Sala	s I	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

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D	ate.	Names of Rulers.	Nature of Office.	Government.
1864 1872	1867	Maximilian Don Lerdo de	Emperor	Monarchial
1872	1876	Tejada Don Lerdo de Tejada	Presidents	Constitutional
1876 1876	1.6	Gen. Porfirio Diaz Gen. Juan N. Mendez) }(Substitute)	Republic
1877	1880		{	
1880	1884	Gen. Manuel Gon- zalez		
1884	1888	Gen. Porfirio Diaz		
1888 1892	1892 1896	Gen. Porfirio Diaz	Presidents	Constitutional
	1900	Gen. Porfirio Diaz Gen. Porfirio Diaz	1. 1. 1. + YE	Republic
	1904		in the second	State State
1904		Gen. Porfirio Diaz		

CHAPTER II

The political situation—The Post-Diaz possibilities—Reasons why perfect tranquility is assured—Popular contentment—Government strength and preparedness—Labour and prosperity—Attitude of official classes towards foreigners—Popular suffrage—The Church and the Constitution—The People can be trusted.

MADAME DE POMPADOUR'S well-known expression—" après nous le déluge "—would not seem to weigh much with the present body of politicians in Mexico, whose sole concern it seems is what is going to happen to them and the Republic when, in the ordinary course of things, General Porfidio Diaz takes his well-deserved rest. There are those who prophesy all sorts of trials and tribulations, and without giving any definite or tangible reason for their gloomy forebodings, purposely close their eyes to the many palpable evidences which exist why no bouleversement should necessarily occur.

Upon the principle that certain signs precede certain events, one looks around to discover, if possible, from which particular direction the disturbing elements foreshadowed are to comeand one looks in vain. If there is any lurking conspiracy on foot to make trouble when the Presidency becomes vacant, it is but fair to say that the most diligent search and the most exhaustive inquiries have failed to manifest any evidence of its existence.

On the other hand, there are, as I have said, innumerable reasons why the country as a whole should accept the new position, when it is presented, with placidity, since, to put the matter in a nutshell, it is not worth anyone's while to create a disturbance. Practically everybody is doing well and making money, or peacefully enjoying the privilege of spending what he already has. Whence, then, but from the ranks of the disaffected, is the threatened trouble to

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come? It would be extremely rash to assert that there are no disaffected individuals in Mexico, or that the Government of the day is so ideal and so popular that no protestants exist or complaints are current. But because this is the case in Mexico, as it is the case in every country—Monarchial or Republican—upon the face of the earth, no reason exists, in my opinion, why the inhabitants to any number should desire to go back to the bad old times of, say, twenty-five years ago, and indulge in a revolution which could have for its object merely the replacing of an individual rather than the removal of a system, and thus put back the clock some quarter-of-a-century; this is to credit the Mexicans with far less intelligence than they really possess.

It has been said with some truth that fighting is no longer a profession, at least with Mexicans, who have enjoyed a national peace so long that if they have not exactly forgotten how to fight, they have at least lost the taste for fighting. The Army, consisting of some 30,000 men, is distributed over the face of the country—well distributed, too, with sufficient troops in any one particular locality to maintain order there, and within such easy means of communication as to successfully handle any organised or concealed uprising—no matter in what portion of the Republic it originated.

Moreover, railway communication, the Government telegraph system and the excellent Intelligence Department maintained by the Government, suffice to prevent anything approaching a surprise being sprung upon the country, as was quite possible a couple of decades ago. Perhaps the greatest reason of all against any organised rising has yet to be adduced-namely, the indifference of the people, as a whole, to politics. It is equally the same to the peons, who form the great bulk of the population, who sits in the Presidential chair, or who may be the Ministers who form the Chief Magistrate's Cabinet. They have to pay their taxes precisely the same, no matter who rules at Chapultepec, and so long as they are earning sufficient to fill their stomachs with tortillas and frijoles (and at no previous time were they so well off for means to obtain these two much coveted possessions), they are perfectly willing to abstain from risings and revolts.

PEACEFUL CONDITIONS

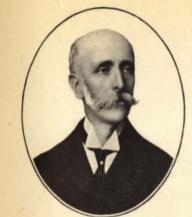
While Mexico is practically under a Dictatorship to-day, so mild and so unaggressive is that form of rule and so little are the people able to distinguish it from the freest of free Republicanism, that if you told any ordinary peon that he was being ruled by an autocrat he would probably reply that he liked autocrats, and felt perfectly satisfied to go on as he was. You cannot enthuse a peon except where his personal wants and beloved religion are in jeopardy; and since, as already stated, the condition of the labour market is better than it has ever been before, from the labourers' point of view bien entendu, and, as a consequence, the larder is always full; and since the President's personal inclinations towards the Church are to leave it alone, and not to either favour or oppose it, the people have really no cause of grievance upon which agitators could build any popular cry, and without that no cause could prosper in a Latin-American country.

Where, then, I again ask, are the recruits to come from? What pay that could be offered them would equal what they are earning by the peaceful pursuit of their various callings? And from whose purse or purses are the war funds to spring? Assuredly not from the wealthy hacendados, who have to-day everything to lose and absolutely nothing to gain from a popular rising, since their estates would be the first to be devastated and levied upon, their workmen pressed into service and their crops either destroyed or seized, their cattle stolen and their houses invaded by a roaming soldiery. Not from the official classes, who would discountenance anything likely to interfere with their present emoluments and wellsecured billets. Nor from the wealthy foreign element, who have so many millions invested in the country, and who would have so much to lose were any disturbance of the existing order of things to come to pass. There is no "second-party" to cause any trouble, and no possibility of it succeeding if there were one. Thus, the bugbear of revolution may be dismissed as practically non-existent except in the highlyimaginative minds of those Cassandras who have been thus prophesying for the last 10 years and more, in fact every time that President Diaz has talked of retiring or whenever he has suffered from a cold in his head.

At the next Presidential election, after General Diaz' régime

is ended, there will probably be three or more candidates; but no one need anticipate any trouble from that. The best and surest way to maintain tranquillity and contentment among the people is to give them an opportunity of exercising their votes at the polls without any sort of interference whatever. They will not abuse it.

There will be practically two parties in the political arena, the Liberal Union, which represents the great intellectual and cultured classes and the more advanced thinkers of the middle classes-for a decided middle-class, formerly unknown in Mexico, has of late years come into existence-and the Conservative or Clerical Party, probably the more numerous because it admits the whole of the lower classes, who are staunch supporters of the Church. But even if the Clerical party does regain some of its lost power in political matters, the day will never arrive when the nation will consent to denationalise the property of the Church, nor permit any recurrence of the absorption of the people's earnings for the service of Rome. The basic principles of Mexico's Constitution have procured for her people the extinction of the civil and ecclesiastical mortmain; the inviolateness of personal property of every kind; the freedom of human labour and the prohibition of crushing monopolies; the abolition of the " alcabalas " (octrois) and internal customs' dues; the annual revision of taxation and its limitations to public requirements; and numerous other equal benefits which few so-called "free" Republics in reality enjoy. With the increased amount of education now proceeding in all parts of the Republic, the people are learning, especially the rising generation, to appreciate the manifold advantages which their Constitution confers upon them, and concerning which they have for so many years been either woefully ignorant or astoundingly indifferent; and I feel assured that when the time comes for such demonstration, the people of this Republic will prove that they can intelligently exercise their ideas and suffrages and put into execution their desires without undue display of passion or loss of self-esteem. The country must learn to depend upon its laws and not merely upon its men; it must awake, as it will awake, from its long and peaceful slumber under the dominance of one powerful but beneficent individual, who cannot always be with it.



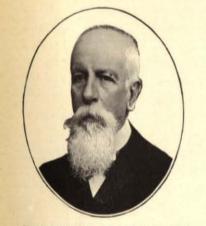
SENOR DON JOSÉ YVES LIMANTOUR, MINISTER OF FINANCE.



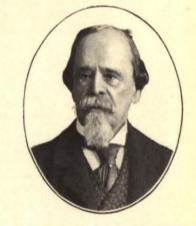
SENOR DON A. ALDASORO, SUB-SECRETARIO DE FOMENTO.



SENOR DON RAMON CORRAL, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.



SENOR DON JUSTINO FERNANDEZ, MINISTER OF JUSTICE



SENOR DON IGNACIO MARISCAL, MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

THE CABINET.