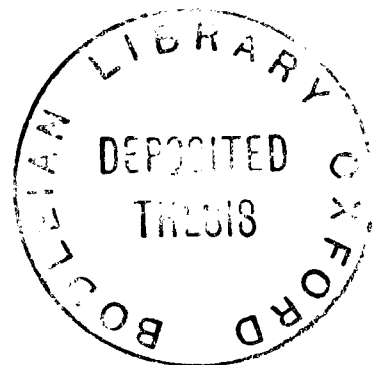


Mexican Catholic Women's Activism, 1929-1940

Thesis submitted to the Board of the Faculty of Modern History in
partial fulfillment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Kristina A. Boylan
St Cross College
University of Oxford
Michaelmas Term 2000



'Mexican Catholic Women's Activism, 1929-1940.'

Kristina A. Boylan
St Cross College, University of Oxford

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Michaelmas Term 2000

Abstract

This dissertation examines Catholic lay women's roles in the Church-State conflict in Mexico during the 1930s. After the Cristero Rebellion (1926-1929), clergy and laymen who publicly supported the Catholic Church were threatened with legal sanctions and government reprisal. Thus, Church leaders called upon Catholic women to assume public roles and to work creatively in defence of their faith, albeit following strictly delineated, gendered norms of behaviour.

The Introduction discusses the lack of nuanced analysis of women's participation in the Catholic Church in Mexico. Chapter 1 traces the history of Catholic Social Action as envisioned in Europe and as adapted to Mexico from the end of the nineteenth century through the Cristero Rebellion, and includes a discussion of the roles envisaged for women in the Church hierarchy's strategy to concentrate and centralise lay people's efforts into the *Acción Católica Mexicana* (ACM). The first chapter also includes an overview of the Church-State conflict in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mexico. Chapter 2 presents the reorganisation of various Catholic lay women's social and civic associations into the *Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana* (UFCM). Chapters 3 and 4 form a case study of the UFCM in the Archdiocese of Guadalajara and the state of Jalisco. Chapter 3 concentrates on the Guadalajara Diocesan Chapter of the UFCM and on Catholic women's activism in the context of urban and regional issues. Chapter 4 compares the experiences of women in smaller towns and rural communities throughout the diocese and state, examining women's collective and independent responses to anticlerical legislation, the Mexican state's programs of socialist and sexual education and agrarian reform, the Church hierarchy's calls to action, and their own perceived need for religious and social organisation. The Conclusion evaluates Mexican Catholic women's responses to the social conflicts of the 1930s, their accomplishments, and the legacies of their mobilisation.

Abstract

This dissertation examines Catholic lay women's roles in the Church-State conflict in Mexico during the 1930s. After the Cristero Rebellion (1926-1929), clergy and laymen who publicly supported the Catholic Church were threatened with legal sanctions and government reprisal. Thus, Church leaders called upon Catholic women to assume public roles and to work creatively in defence of their faith, albeit following strictly delineated, gendered norms of behaviour.

In the 1930s, the Church hierarchy in Mexico reorganised the remnants of lay Catholic unions, mutual aid societies and civic and social associations that had existed in Mexico prior to the Cristero Rebellion into the *Acción Católica Mexicana* (ACM) and endorsed it as the principal form of Catholic social activism. The ACM was divided into branches according to gender and age or marital status. The adult and married women's branch, the *Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana* (UFCM), almost always has been the largest and most active branch in Mexico's parishes and dioceses. The UFCM was followed numerically by the JCFM, the branch for unmarried women under 35 years of age, which provided much of the staff for the catechism programs of the Church. The women's branches were trailed in membership and activity by the *Unión de Católicos Mexicanos* (UCM--the Union of Catholic Mexican Men, for adult and married men) and the once-strong *Asociación Católica de la Juventud Mexicana* (ACJM--Catholic Association of Mexican Youth, for unmarried men under 35).

The ACM supported the Church hierarchy's efforts to reinstate ordinary Catholic practice as much as possible in as many parishes as possible while avoiding direct provocations of and clashes with the postrevolutionary government. During the first several years following the Cristero rebellion, such activity often conflicted with the anticlerical sentiments of educators, labour and agrarian organisers, and politicians at the local, regional and national levels, and of Mexican law. As the decade drew to a close, though, Mexican government leaders relaxed the strict

application and enforcement of anticlerical legislation, both in response to continued popular resistance and in the interest of achieving greater social stability. In this comparatively relaxed climate, Church leaders increasingly were able to re-establish their leadership over parishes and dioceses, and again clearly demarcated roles for clergy, vowed religious and laity, and for men and women. But this new era of informal conciliation in no way diminished the need for the ACM, the Church hierarchy's support of it or Catholics' willingness to participate in it.

The outcome of the Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State conflicts of the 1920s definitively showed Mexican Catholics that there was no possibility for a political or legal reversal that would favour the Church at that juncture. It would be extreme to say that the Catholicism in Mexico would have been eliminated entirely due to government hostility. However, the repercussions of the Cristero Rebellion had weakened the Church's position in Mexico significantly. The Church lost what it had gained in the early 1920s, when it recovered from the disorganisation and losses of the armed revolutionary period through popular Catholic mobilisation. Thus in the 1930s a return to normalcy in religious practice and a strengthening of loyalty on the civic and social level was even more urgent for Church leaders across Mexico. The anticlerical provisions of the 1917 Constitution and its enabling laws, which the government had successfully upheld through a civil war declared against them, were serious challenges to this goal. With the number of churches open and priests able to minister limited, it was difficult for Catholics to attend Mass and participate in the Sacraments regularly and frequently. With monasteries and convents dispersed and Church properties expropriated, and Catholic schools, hospitals and other charitable enterprises closed, the Church faced losing not only a significant part of its workforce but also its most effective ways to contact and educate lay people, especially children. The government's attempts to limit religious activity to church interiors (for example, prohibiting religious processions or substituting patriotic holidays for patron saint's feast day celebrations) also threatened the place of the Church in the fabric of public life. The Church hierarchy

in Mexico needed lay people to assume the social and civic work once performed by the clergy and vowed religious and to refuse compliance with the state's restrictions on religious practice until those laws were changed. And, because clergy and lay men's ability to act publicly on behalf of the Church (as well as the willingness of some) was lacking, the Church appealed to women's consciences, invoking their homes, children and communities, even the country that they nurtured, to encourage them to step forward in defence of Catholic practice.

However, Church leaders wanted the laity – especially women – to do so in organisations strictly supervised by the hierarchy, essentially because lay activity had got out of hand in the previous decade. Catholics had invoked their Church and their religious convictions not only in political interventions and protests, but also in the armed rebellion. Lay Catholics' antagonism worked to the detriment of the Church's position in Mexican society, namely the hierarchy's attempts to prove it an institution that encouraged the rule of law and stability, in this sense an ally rather than an enemy of the postrevolutionary government. The ruptures in religious practice during the armed revolution of the 1910s, the Cristero rebellion and the early 1930s had resulted in numerous irregularities in religious practice, some of which had been sanctioned temporarily by Church leaders, others not. Disregarding what had transpired earlier, the Church hierarchy now ordered that the laity co-operate with both their spiritual and government authorities (when the latter did not contravene Church doctrine or their consciences), to more closely adhere to Church doctrine and hierarchical pronouncements regarding individual and collective religious practice, and to campaign for a more secure position for their Church in their country. The position of Church leaders in Mexico followed the approach that the Vatican had developed to resolve its tenuous position within liberalising states in Europe: the Church would refrain from overtly political statements or inciting its followers to civil disobedience or uprisings, as long as states respected individual Catholics' religious choices and the Church's role in supervising public morality, as part of its caretaking of Catholics' private lives and the broader community's

spiritual well-being. The Church justified its position by citing the family as the basis and stability in society, and the Church as 'the defender of the family, guiding society through the family.' With its emphasis on good conduct, morality, charity, and, later, patriotism, the Church hierarchy endeavoured to show that being a good Catholic and a good Mexican citizen did not have to create a tension between loyalties; rather, the former would only strengthen the latter.

The Church identified women as the essential figures who maintained religious and moral practices within the home. Reinforcing gender norms of the time, Church leaders identified Catholic women's primary contribution to the ACM's 'ayuda laica a la jerarquía' as basing their family and social relationships on religious principles and extending them to childrearing and education, charitable activities, the moralisation of social conduct and encouragement of pious activities, and work to support the priests, seminarians, vowed religious and the churches and Catholic institutions in their communities. Yet, this public-private divide put forth by the Church in the 1930s domesticated neither Catholic religious practice as a whole nor women's participation in it.

This dissertation aims to show that the ACM, and women's participation in the ACM, consisted of more than a mechanical response of a small elite to the mandates of its canonical leadership, and, far from being a trivial, moralistic response, succeeded in addressing social issues and furthering its causes among the broader population. The UFCM transcended regional differences (though its growth was uneven) to link Catholic women activists across the country in a burgeoning organisation. The Church hierarchy approved of and sponsored the UFCM, unlike organisations that challenged canonical leadership and assumptions about women's behaviour, such as the Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco or the Unión Nacional Sinarquista. However, it also unwittingly provided Catholic women with a venue in which they could take initiative and act effectively to change conditions both in the private realms of home and church and in the public realms of schools, workplaces, and streets. The UFCM's campaigns, carefully couched in terms of

motherly care for youth and morality, also did not provoke excessive state reprisal after the early 1930s, although this also varied from region to region. The UFCM was able to establish offices and schools and carry out more of its programs in public view, contributing to the restoration of religious practice, the religious education of young Mexicans, and the training of the next generations of priests and vowed religious.

The case studies of Guadalajara and smaller towns and rural areas in Jalisco show how popular resistance wore down the determination of regional politicians to erode the religious practices for which the area was famous and supplant them with state programs. In the early 1940s, Guadalajara had more priests per inhabitant and more seminarians than any other Mexican diocese, attributes of a strong church infrastructure. The Guadalajara UFCM, the second-largest diocesan chapter in Mexico, contributed to the support of priests and seminarians, as well as to Catholic home schooling, catechism programs, protests to open churches and allow religious processions, and vocational training, activities and associations to attract and involve working -class and peasant Jaliscans in the Church.

The explorations of individual Jaliscans' experiences during the 1930s reveal a multiplicity of interpretations of the goals of the revolutionary government and variations in regional and local governments' commitment to maintaining them (the exemplary case being the vulnerability of official school teachers in rural Jalisco, who were threatened with physical attack if they implemented socialist or sex education curricula, but often lacked guarantees for their safety from the army or local authorities). Variations are also seen in the responses of Church leaders and individual Catholics. Many Jaliscan Catholics considered their religion an essential part of local culture and daily life, and were unwilling to comply with even nominal anticlericalism to receive benefits from the government. Others did replace Catholic beliefs and social paradigms with participation in state programs, organising *ejidos*, and radical agrarian committees, petitioning for public education and health programs in their communities, and complaining about clerical conspiracies or the

locals' backwardness and superstition in boycotting or subverting their efforts. Some Jaliscans tried to balance the demands for loyalty from the Church and the government, continuing their religious practices and committing themselves to state endeavours such as serving in local government or attending state schools, as long as the latter were not so virulently anti-religious as to contravene the former. Catholic programs like the ACM succeeded in communities where their members made them relevant to the needs of the local population and could gather sufficient material support and volunteers for its projects; very often, the women of the UFCM and Hijas de María stand out in popular memory as the ones who were '*siempre haciendo algo*' ('always doing something') for children, for poor people, or for the Church. In communities where endemic violence prevented such local '*arreglos*' (arrangements), remedies to social problems such as poverty and illiteracy were longer in coming, as was closer interaction and participation between the Catholic laity and its canonical leadership.

At this juncture, Catholic women activists helped link the religious and social traditions of the past to the present of postrevolutionary Mexico. They served in significant numbers in the crucial roles of catechists, volunteers, community liaisons, and support for the clergy, but are often overlooked in leadership-oriented histories of the Church-state conflict in Mexico. One reason for this oversight may be that, with the exception of the reversal of the socialist education program, drastic policy changes that can be directly attributed to Catholic women's activism alone are hard to identify. Extreme conflict between the Church and the state diminished, especially toward the end of the decade, when Catholic institutions, public practices, and social commentaries made by its canonical leaders gradually became more visible and frequent. Catholic women activists in the ACM also did not raise alarm by challenging the hierarchical structure of their Church, nor the focus on their canonical leaders, although in their actions they frequently transgressed the boundaries set for appropriate behaviour for women. Women have not figured greatly in the histories of conflicts or negotiations between upper-level Church and

state leaders, and yet their sustained activity helped set Mexican society on a course different from those imagined by Revolutionary leaders and by the Church hierarchy. To understand how the Church worked and survived in postrevolutionary Mexico, the roles that Catholic practice have played in Mexican culture, and how Catholics worked to support the Church in 1930s Mexico, it is essential to review the history of its women, both the prescriptions and the reality.

The Introduction discusses the lack of nuanced analysis of women's participation in the Catholic Church in Mexico. Chapter 1 traces the history of Catholic Social Action as envisioned in Europe and as adapted to Mexico from the end of the nineteenth century through the Cristero Rebellion, and includes a discussion of the roles envisaged for women in the Church hierarchy's strategy to concentrate and centralise lay people's efforts into the ACM. The first chapter also includes an overview of the Church-State conflict in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mexico. Chapter 2 presents the reorganisation of various Catholic lay women's social and civic associations into the Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana (UFCM). Chapters 3 and 4 form a case study of the UFCM in the Archdiocese of Guadalajara and the state of Jalisco. Chapter 3 concentrates on the Guadalajara Diocesan Chapter of the UFCM and on Catholic women's activism in the context of regional and urban issues. Chapter 4 compares the experiences of women in smaller towns and rural communities throughout the diocese and state, examining women's collective and independent responses to anticlerical legislation, the Mexican state's programs of socialist and sexual education and agrarian reform, the Church hierarchy's calls to action, and the need for religious and social organising that they identified. The Conclusion evaluates Mexican Catholic women's responses to the social conflicts of the 1930s, their accomplishments, and the legacies of their mobilisation.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

Introduction.....	1

Chapter One:

Origins: Catholic Action, Acción Católica Mexicana, and Women's Involvement In the Mobilisation of Mexican Catholics.....	25
The Origins of Catholic Action.....	29
<i>Reactions from Rome: Designing Catholic Action</i>	31
<i>How Catholic Action Would Work</i>	46
<i>Catholic Action's Right to Exist, alongside the State</i>	48
<i>Women and Catholic Action</i>	53
Catholic Action in Mexico.....	54
<i>Antecedents</i>	54
<i>Catholic Revolutionary Politics</i>	61
<i>Nationalising Regional Politics: The Maximato, the PNR, and Cardenismo</i>	69
<i>Catholic Alternatives in the Late 1930s</i>	76
Mexico, 1929: More Ripe for Catholic Action than Ever Before.....	79
<i>Negotiating Catholic Action in Mexico: Structure, Method, and Changing Definitions</i>	90
Mexican Women and Catholic Action.....	96
<i>The Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco</i>	103
<i>Onward to Catholic Action: The UFCM</i>	114
<i>Towards the Practice of Catholic Action in Mexico</i>	117

Chapter Two:

Catholic Women Activists Organised at the National Level–The Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana, 1929-1940.....	121
State and Radical Alternatives for Women.....	123
Catholic Women's Reactions to Postrevolutionary Feminism.....	131
Mexican Catholic Women's Organisation, Old and New: The UFCM	133
The UFCM's Campaigns in the 1930s.....	138
<i>The UFCM versus State Education</i>	141
<i>The UFCM and Working Women</i>	151
<i>For the Future of Catholic Women: Sofia del Valle</i>	157
<i>UFCM Campaigns for Priests and Seminaries</i>	165
<i>The Catholic Woman Militant: Refugio Goribar de Cortina</i>	166
<i>Catholic Women and Public Expressions of Catholicism</i>	172
Growth and Contraction: UFCM Membership, 1932-1942.....	174
Mexican Catholic Women Activists in Comparison.....	179
Conclusion.....	186

Chapter Three:

Mexican Catholic Women Organised at the Regional Level: The Archdiocese of Guadalajara, 1929-1940.....	190
Jalisco Politics Before and After the Cristero Rebellion.....	194
Guadalajara's Church Leadership.....	202
The UFCM in the Diocese of Guadalajara.....	215
The Guadalajara UFCM and its Connections: Catalina Palomar de Verea	220
The Guadalajara UFCM and Priests.....	222
The Guadalajara and Women Religious.....	226
The Guadalajara UFCM, Youth, Education and Schools.....	230
<i>Educating the Next Generation: The JCFM, Academías and Casas Amiga de la Obrera</i>	217
<i>The Guadalajara UFCM versus State Education</i>	235
<i>Creating Catholic Schooling Alternative</i>	223
<i>Teachers</i>	247

<i>The Practical Resolution of the Educational Conflict</i>	249
The Guadalajara UFCM and Working Women – Morality and Reality, Money and Finances.....	252
Conclusion: The Legacies of the UFCM and JCFM in Guadalajara.....	259
Chapter Four:	
Mexican Catholic Women Organised at the Local Level: The Parishes of the Archdiocese of Guadalajara, 1929-1940.....	266
<i>Defining Regions and Their Inhabitants</i>	273
<i>Defining religion, loyalties, gender roles and politics in provincial Jalisco</i>	279
<i>Tizapan el Alto--A Quiet Central Town with Controversial Central Issues</i>	283
<i>Tamazula--The Easing of Enforcement of Anticlerical Laws</i>	290
<i>Ciudad Guzmán--City of Catholic and Revolutionary Tendencies</i>	296
<i>Zapotiltic--Acción Católica's Ideal Form, Formed by Women</i>	302
<i>Hostotipaquillo--Women Creating Relationships with the Church and the Community</i>	307
<i>Education under Fire--The Norte de Jalisco</i>	315
<i>Education Under Fire, II--Los Altos</i>	337
<i>Tepatitlán--The UFCM Takes Hold in Los Altos</i>	343
<i>Tonalá--The Church-State Denouement</i>	348
Conclusion.....	354
Conclusion: Mexican Catholic Women's Activism in Perspective.....	359
Carrying Lay Catholic Women's Activism to the Present: Leonor Aida Concha.....	368
Appendices	
Maps	
Mexico with Ecclesiastical Boundaries, 1929.....	377
Mexico with Political Boundaries, present.....	378
Jalisco with Current Municipal Boundaries.....	379
Statistical Tables	
1a. Acción Católica Mexicana, 1945.....	380
1b. ACM Membership - Comparison to diocesan population, 1945.....	381
1c. Comparing the ACM to the UNS, early 1940s.....	382
2. UFCM Membership, 1932-1940 and 1945.....	384
3. 1940 Statistics (Jalisco as compared to all Mexico and several states).....	386
4. Population of Selected Municipios, Jalisco, 1940.....	388
Illustrations.....	389
Bibliography.....	393

Abbreviations

Associations

ACM	Acción Católica Mexicana
ACJM	Asociación Católica de la Juventud Mexicana
BF	Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco
CNCT	Confederación Nacional Católica de Trabajo
FUPDM	Frente Unico Pro Derechos de la Mujer
JCFM	Juventud Femenina Católica Mexicana
LMD	Liga Mexicana de Decencia
LNDLR	Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa
PNR	Partido Nacional Revolucionario
SEP	Secretaria de Educación Pública
UCM	Unión de Católicos Mexicanos
UDCM	Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas
UEC	Unión de Empleadas Católicas
UFCM	Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana
UNPF	Unión Nacional de Padres de Familia
UNS	Unión Nacional Sinarquista
SFUNS	Sección Femenina de la Unión Nacional Sinarquista

Archives

AGN	Archivo General de la Nación
AGN-RP-EPG	Ramo Presidentes, Fondo Emilio Portes Gil
AGN-RP-POR	Ramo Presidentes, Fondo Pascual Ortiz Rubio
AGN-RP-ALR	Ramo Presidentes, Fondo Abelardo L. Rodríguez
AGN-RP-LC	Ramo Presidentes, Fondo Lázaro Cárdenas
AGN-GOB	Ramo Gobernación/Dirección Nacional de Gobierno
AHAM	Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México
AHAM-PDB	Archivo Pascual Díaz Barreto
AHAM-LMM	Archivo Luis María Martínez
AHJ	Archivo Histórico del Estado de Jalisco
AHSEP	Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Educación Pública
CIDOC	Centro Internacional de Documentación
ILF-AC	Archivo Cristero, Instituto Libre de Filosofía
MPV	Fondo Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, Centro de Estudios de la Universidad, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
PEC/FT	Fideicomiso Plutarco Elías Calles y Fernando Torreblanca
PEC-FT-JA/AFC	Archivo General Joaquín Amaro, Archivos Fanáticos Católicos.
PHO	Archivo de la Palabra, Proyecto Historia Oral del Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, con el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia
SSM	Archivo del Secretariado Social Mexicano
UFCM-Guad	Archivo de la UFCM, Comité Diocesano de Guadalajara
UFCM-Ibero	Fondo UFCM, Archivo Histórico, Acervo Histórico, Universidad Iberoamericana
USDOS	United States Department of State, <i>Records Relating to the Internal Affairs of Mexico: Mexico, 1930-1939.</i>
USMIL	United States War Department, <i>Military Intelligence Reports: Mexico, 1919-1940.</i>

Publications

AF	<i>Acción Femenina</i>
BEG	<i>Boletín Eclesiástico de la Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara</i>
BLAR	<i>Bulletin of Latin American Research</i>
CSSH	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>
HAHR	<i>Hispanic American Historical Review</i>
IBFSJA	<i>El Informador de las Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco</i>
LARR	<i>Latin American Research Review</i>
JLAS	<i>Journal of Latin American Studies</i>

Introduction

In 1928, an American Catholic newspaper ran a headline at the top of its front page: 'CATHOLIC WOMEN OF MEXICO FAR BRAVER THAN MEN.'¹ At this time, much of Mexico's clergy and almost all of its ecclesiastical hierarchy lived in hiding or exile. The Archbishop of Mexico City, Jose Mora y del Rio, had recently died in exile in San Antonio, Texas. President Plutarco Elías Calles had closed church buildings in August 1926, to pressure priests to comply with the legal mandate to register with the government in order to minister. The Mexican Episcopate responded by declaring an interdict on public celebration of religious rites in government-controlled church buildings beginning on 1 September in protest of Calles' anticlerical policies. Both measures left many of Mexico's Catholics unable to engage in sacramental practices, except when itinerant priests ministered clandestinely, often at significant personal risk. The Cristero Rebellion, a civil uprising against the revolutionary state, raged across central-western Mexico. Labour conflicts, land disputes, and political and military factionalism at the local, regional and national levels were endemic, reflecting competing ideologies regarding the proper ways to organise, govern and live 'Revolutionary society.'

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, the religious conflict, like many others, appeared to be a man's world of public dispute, of gunshots and battles, of campaigns and orders, of leadership (official or not) and rebellion. Alan Knight, one of the foremost historians of the Mexican Revolution in *longue durée*, describes the debate regarding permissible forms of popular culture in revolutionary Mexico as a similarly masculine series of choices:

¹'Catholic Women of Mexico Far Braver than Men: Lead in Public Prayers While Husbands Fear,' *The Register* (Denver, Colorado), 6 May 1928, pp. 1 and 3 (citing excerpts from British reporter J. W. T. Mason's articles in the London *Daily Express*).

*cuando los jóvenes dejaban el hogar [itself a terrain contested by 'madres piadosas' and 'padres liberales, indiferentes o anticlericales'], se enfrentaban a una dicotomía sociopolítica: por un lado el mundo católico del cura, del confesionario, de la misa, de la romería, de la ACJM, del PCN, de la LNDR, del sindicato blanco; y por otro, la alternativa liberal, anticlerical, revolucionaria, organizada alrededor del maestro, del impresor, del farmacista, de la sala de billar, de la logia masónica, de la sociedad mutualista, del sindicato radical y del flamante partido 'socialista' o 'revolucionario.'*²

Did Mexican women – excluded from the priesthood, formal political parties and processes, Masonic societies, many professions and social gathering spaces – really play a part in these processes, much less merit evaluation as 'braver than men'?

According to contemporary observers in 1920s and 1930s Mexico, women certainly did. Catholic women supported in great part the secretive work of the priests who remained in Mexico. Women were especially active in co-ordinating recitations of the Rosary and other prayer rituals in churches where no priests were officiating, in catechising children and working-class adults, and in providing lodging and food for itinerant priests. Catholic lay women assumed the administration of Catholic schools from religious orders, also under legal attack, and negotiated with the government Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) to keep them open. When that failed, they supported Catholic home schooling, another illegal act. Wealthier women used their influence with powerful acquaintances to try to gain reprieves for Catholics who had been arrested by the police or the army, and to convince officials that the anticlerical laws did not have to be enforced strictly. Catholic women in lay organisations protested against government policy, co-ordinating petitions, interviews with ruling officials, and demonstrations. While less likely to be severely penalised, Catholic lay women did risk fines, confiscation

of property, arrest, and imprisonment. For example, *The Register* described Señora Josefina Montes de Oca's incarceration in the filthy cellar of Mexico City's police headquarters.³ Two other members of the Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas (UDCM) in Mexico City, Juana Pitman de Labarthe and Refugio Goribar de Cortina, were similarly arrested and confined several times, and they were not the only ones to undergo such an experience. Many more women worked and risked much to maintain Catholic practice during this time of crisis and to explicitly defend the Catholic Church from government incursions. Catholic women, in other words, took up the task from the Catholic men who were either living in exile, already involved in illicit rebellion, or who feared risking their personal safety or livelihood to become involved.⁴ Far from being absent from the history of Church-State conflict or the development of postrevolutionary Mexico (which were intimately related), Catholic women were involved deeply in the social and cultural debates and conflicts of the decades following the Revolution, an involvement that did not end with the Cristero Rebellion.

In 1934, President Abelardo L. Rodríguez declared in a letter to Attorney General Emilio Portes Gil that the Mexican government,

firmly adhering to its standards of strict compliance with the law, yet at the same time unwavering in its revolutionary principles, cannot allow that fruitless agitation of people's consciences stirred up by the Catholic clergy to pass unnoticed, *and although it cannot (fortunately for the country) consider that those activities constitute even a slight threat to the stability of the regimen and the*

²Knight, 'Estado, revolución y cultura popular en los años treinta,' in Marcos Tonatíuh Aguila M. and Alberto Enríquez Perea, eds., *Perspectivas sobre el cardenismo: Ensayos sobre economía, trabajo, política y cultura en los años treinta*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México, pp. 312-313.

³Catholic Women Far Braver than Men, p. 3.

⁴Randall S. Hanson, "'The Day of Ideals': Catholic Social Action in the Age of the Mexican Revolution, 1867-1929' (Ph. D. Dissertation, Indiana University-Bloomington, Aug. 1994), chapters 9 and 10; María Luisa Saldivar, interview with the author, Guadalajara, Jal., 11 Mar. 1997; Patience A. Schell, "Teaching the Children of the Revolution: Church and State Education in Mexico City, 1917-1926' (D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1998), chapter 8.

permanence of the principles of the Revolution, it has deemed it expedient that the Attorney General of the Republic should, within his constitutional functions, take cognisance of these facts, so that he may take such action as may be appropriate against the persons proving guilty thereof.⁵

In response, Portes Gil did not merely indict Archbishop of Morelia and Apostolic Delegate to Mexico Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores and Bishop of Huejutla José de Jesús Manriquez y Zárate for sedition as requested, but composed a book-length polemic enumerating the deleterious presence of the Roman Catholic Church⁶ in Mexico from colonial times to his present. Ruiz y Flores was not in Mexico at the time, as the Mexican government had deprived him of his citizenship more than two years earlier) and exiled him to the United States. The government took this action in response to Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Acerba Animi* (1932), which criticised the Mexican government's anti-Catholic policies for serving a 'foreign power' (the Vatican).⁷ This time, Ruiz y Flores was indicted on the basis of the content of his December 1934 pastoral letter, written in reaction to the mandate for 'socialist education' codified in the recent amendment of Constitutional Article 3. Ruiz y Flores had instructed Mexican Catholics to boycott the official school system and to campaign to have the educational laws overturned.

Evidence for Ruiz y Flores' indictment included his correspondence with several lay persons who apparently delivered messages from the exiled archbishop to ecclesiastical leaders in Mexico like Archbishop of Mexico Pascual Diaz Barreto.

⁵E. Portes Gil, *The Conflict Between the Civil Power and the Clergy: Historical and Legal Essay* (Mexico, 1934), p. 5-6. Emphasis in the original.

⁶Unless otherwise noted, all further references to 'the Church' indicate the Roman Catholic Church; similarly, all references to 'Catholicism' indicate Latin Rite, Roman Catholicism.

⁷USMIL reel #2 (0913) Military Attaché, Report #4180, 'Freedom of Religious Beliefs and Practices—Popes Encyclical: Expulsion of the Papal Delegate,' 4 Oct. 1932; also see Martaelena Negrete, *Relaciones entre la Iglesia y el Estado en Mexico, 1930-1940* (Mexico, 1988), pp. 99-100. Manriquez y Zárate had been living in exile in Los Angeles since 1926 (USMIL reel#2 Military Attaché, Mexico, Report #3697, 3 Jun. 1932, translation of *El Nacional*, 4 May 1932, 'Bishop of Huejutla Cited for Trial').

Many of the letters cited were addressed to Raquel Salinas, whom Portes Gil concluded was Ruiz y Flores' niece. It is not clear from documentary evidence if Raquel Salinas was a real person or if she, and others, were fictitious creations used to conceal controversial communication among ecclesiastical leaders in the guise of personal correspondence with laity.⁸ Either way, the choice of women correspondents is telling. It appears that Ruiz y Flores opted to use female correspondents, either as fronts or as real contacts, to avoid government seizure of 'suspicious' correspondence sent by exiled Church leaders to other, high-profile clergy or activist lay men. This may have worked for a time; the collection of intercepted mail now kept at the Fideocomisio Plutarco Elias Calles holds intercepted correspondence between Ruiz y Flores and other bishops from late 1932 onward, whereas the letters to Raquel Salinas are dated from September of 1934 onward. Furthermore, Ruiz y Flores' and other church leaders' letters indicate that Mexican Church leaders continued to collaborate with women activists and valued their support and collaboration, especially as the Church was beset by new legal and political challenges and their own mobility and scope of action were limited.⁹

⁸Portes Gil, *The Conflict Between...*, pp. 110-112, pp. 116-118. Letters to the same address, Dinamarca 32 in Mexico City, were also addressed to Julia Fragoso, Manuel Fregoso, an unnamed female correspondent ('My daughter in Christ'/'*Hija de mi alma*') and directly to Díaz Barreto. Copies of the letters cited by Portes Gil and more of their kind are located in PEC/FT-CR, exp. 9 and exp. 51; many read as if written in some sort of code. Also, there are no letters from Salinas to Ruiz y Flores in these files or in Portes Gil's book. However, in one letter (6 Sept. 1934), the archbishop refers to the unnamed addressee as '*mi Secretaria y mi Catalina*' (referring to St. Catherine of Siena, who traveled to Avignon to exhort the exiled Pope Gregory XI to return to Rome and address the conflict weakening the Church); also see letter of 1 Oct. 1934, instructing the unnamed addressee to communicate with 'Cata'), and another (12 Nov. 1934) expressing concern '*si ya han publicado quien es la verdadera Raquel*.'

⁹The AHAM-PDB holds correspondence between Díaz Barreto and lay women and men from many parts of Mexico, including Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Jalisco (see Chapter 4), Mexico State, Michoacan, Tabasco and Veracruz, as well as from New York, Chicago and other United States cities where he lived or visited while exiled during the Cristero Rebellion.

However, the regard that contemporary Mexican and foreign participants and observers held for Catholic women activists¹⁰ seems to have faded with the passing of time and the relaxation of overt tensions between the Church and the state. A recent study of the Secretariado Social Mexicano (SSM) cites the opinion of Catholic labour organisers that the SSM had declined from its pre-Cristero Rebellion position as the co-ordinator of Catholic labour and agrarian movements to little more than a '*casa de niñas bien*' under the directorship of Father Miguel Darío Miranda (1926-1939). Catholic women had supported the SSM's projects from their outset, and, in the difficult years after the Cristero Rebellion, formed the majority of the Acción Católica Mexicana (ACM), which the Mexican Episcopate placed under the SSM's auspices to channel lay Catholic activism into legal and doctrinally acceptable modes. Nevertheless, according to the study's author, Carlos Fazio, it was to the SSM's benefit that it separated from the ACM in 1946. Father Rafael Dávila Vilchis, who had supervised the activities of the women's branches of the ACM during the 1930s, had succeeded Miranda as the director of both in 1939, and remained director of the ACM. The SSM was placed under the leadership of Father Pedro Velázquez, a Mexican priest who had spent most of the previous decade in Europe working on his doctorate in Rome and observing Catholic social movements in European countries. Now separated from the cautious leaders and policies of the ACM, with its conservative, middle-class base and its focus on education and personal religious practice, the SSM again could engage with the working classes in more socially-relevant projects such as establishing co-operatives, mutual aid

¹⁰See, for example, José Castillo y Piña, 'El Primer Congreso de la "Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas," in his *Cuestiones Sociales* (Mexico, 1934); John Fitzsimons and Paul McGuire, eds., *Restoring All Things: A Guide to Catholic Action* (London, 1939); Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., *Mexican Martyrdom* (New York, 1936). For more citations, see chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this dissertation.

societies and groups like the Juventud Obrera Cristiana (JOC).¹¹ The '*niñas bien*' and their advisors (Miranda and Dávila Vilchis) would no longer hold back vigorous, important social and economic interventions, as they had when Catholic social activism was, essentially, emasculated after the Revolution and especially after the Cristero Rebellion.

A disturbing historical trend becomes evident here. First, women's involvement in the Church and their capacity to contribute constructively to its projects on their own terms is belittled, with the assumption that an organisation in which women members predominated would be concerned solely with personal morality and would promote pious narcissism. Such assumptions can lead to a more global ignorance of the contributions that women make to religious movements, the impact that they have on them, and the value that they themselves find in their self-definition as religious activists.¹² Secondly, it shows a degree of ingratitude. The resurgence of social Catholicism in Mexico in the 1940s and 1950s simply could not have come about as readily, if at all, if the previous generations of Catholics had not militated to maintain Catholic religious practice and education in the face of government hostility. Had the Catholic activists of the 1930s not stood their ground protesting against revolutionary anticlerical policies, it would have taken the Church much longer to recover from state restrictions on training and assigning clergy and to regain the use of Church buildings and public spaces.

¹¹Carlos Fazio, *Algunos aportes del Secretariado Social Mexicano en la transición a la democracia* (Mexico City, 1997), p. 9, pp. 11-13; also see Manuel Velázquez H., *Pedro Velázquez, H.: Apostol de la justicia, Vida y Pensamiento* (Mexico City, 1978), pp. 17-20. Note that Miranda, Dávila Vilchis and Velázquez were pontifically approved co-directors of their respective organisations along with the Archbishops of Mexico City Pascual Díaz Barreto (1929-1936) and Luís María Martínez (1937-1956). The first JOC chapter (inspired by the Belgian movement *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne*, founded by Father (later Cardinal) Joseph Cardijn in 1925) in Mexico was founded in Tlapujahua, Michoacán in 1949

¹²Agustín Vaca García noted a similar tendency while researching women participants in the Cristero Rebellion. *Los silencios de la historia: las cristeras*. Zapopan, 1998), pp. 54-55; pp. 63-64.

Furthermore, the Church would have lacked a generation of catechised young Catholics ready and willing to join such movements, who had been taught either in clandestine Catholic schools or extracurricular catechism programmes operated and supported in great part by lay women and women religious.

Women are by no means absent from the history of Church-state conflicts, including that of twentieth-century Mexico. All too often, though, they are absent from its telling, or relegated to brief mention as auxiliary supports to institutional negotiations or political or armed movements dominated by men.¹³ One historian of Mexican right wing politics during the 1930s comments that the 'success of the women's auxiliary reflects the importance of women in the education and anticlerical debates,' and his is one of the more generous of such portrayals. The problem with this portrait is that Catholic women's associations such as the Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana (UFCM) and the Juventud Católica Femenina Mexicana (JCFM) were organisations in their own right. Although founded as two of the lay organisations in a movement meant to aid the Church and its hierarchy, they enjoyed a degree of autonomy by being lay associations and not sodalities. The UFCM and JCFM certainly did not function as auxiliaries to the men's chapters of the ACM, as the term might be interpreted to imply; on the contrary, they were by far the more active and motivated part of the whole.¹⁴

This dissertation aims to show how Catholic women's activism was a mainstay of the preservation and growth of the Church in Mexico in the decade following the Cristero Rebellion. The Church's call to the laity to organise socially

¹³Margaret Lavinia Anderson, 'Piety and Politics: Recent Work on German Catholicism,' *Journal of Modern History* LXIII, 4 (Dec. 1991), pp. 694-696.

¹⁴John W. Sherman, *The Mexican Right: The End of Revolutionary Reform, 1929-1940* (Westport, Conn, 1997), p. 44. See Chapter 2 for the nature of women's ACM associations.

and civilly was answered by large numbers of women, whose activities ranged from teaching catechism to hosting illegal schools and Masses to petitioning, marching in demonstrations, and occupying buildings. A decade of anticlerical law and the loss of a civil war fought in its name had not eliminated the Church in Mexico, but had severely damaged it. Lay Catholic organisation, especially the range and extent of women's organisation for the maintenance of the communal practice of their religion and its transmission to another generation was key to the Church's recovery.

Ultimately, even Fazio had to admit that the ACM had contributed to the SSM's later accomplishments by sustaining '*un clima de participación laical en una Iglesia férreamente clerical*,' that is, the Church in Mexico in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and particularly after the Cristero Rebellion. Earlier chroniclers of Catholic social movements were more favourable in their treatment of the ACM and its female membership. Manuel Velázquez H., Pedro Velázquez H.'s brother, biographer and successor as SSM director, points out that his brother's first assignment upon returning to Mexico was as vicar to the Mexico City parish of San Antonio de las Huertas. There he began working among the people as an ecclesiastical assistant to the local chapter of the Asociación Cristiana de la Juventud Mexicana (ACJM) and the catechists and members of the JCFM. In this work he became acquainted with several lifelong collaborators, among them Carmen Ramírez and Emma Galán, the latter of whom helped found the Escuela de Formación Familiar y Social for the young women of the parish.¹⁵

The purpose of a historical enquiry into women's participation in religious movements should not be to unrealistically inflate contributions, whether of one

¹⁵Fazio, *Algunos aportes...*, p. 11; M. Velázquez H., *Pedro Velázquez H.*, pp. 21-22.

woman or of many. Rather, 'women's history' must be true to two missions: 'to recover the lives, experiences, and mentalities of women from the condescension and obscurity in which they have been so unnaturally placed' and 'to examine and rewrite the entire historical narrative to reveal the construction and workings of gender.'¹⁶ Although scholars have examined some extraordinary Catholic women and produced feminist analyses of the division and distribution of power within the Church, less work has been done on the many women who remain 'in the pews.'¹⁷ It is as biased to dismiss organised religion as a mere palliative for those who participate in it, as it is to dismiss Catholic women as 'cultural dupes,' subsumed into a false consciousness of patriarchal Christian ideology and local tradition. Such treatment overvalues the rhetoric of ecclesiastical leaders that favours formal church structures and male leadership, and undervalues the contributions women make to their churches as well as the opportunities religious participation provides for 'collective activism, initiative, and voice in the community at large.' The latter is of especial value for those normally lacking earthly power or much of a public voice for example in their community and in their church, from Revolutionary France to Revolutionary Mexico.¹⁸

In Mexican history, women have been portrayed as reflexively religious and as an explanation for conservatism *sui generis*, with little questioning of why or if their response was indeed thus: though consistently conservative on social issues,

¹⁶Susan Pedersen, 'The Future of Feminist History,' *Perspectives*, XXXVIII, 7 (Oct. 2000), p. 20.

¹⁷Tony Walter and Grace Davie, 'The religiosity of women in the modern West,' *British Journal of Sociology*, XLIX, 4 (Dec. 1998), p. 640.

¹⁸ Walter and Davie, 'The religiosity of women,' p. 645.; Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca, 1990), pp 208-209 and 'The Role of Women in Religious Riots during the French Revolution,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, XII, 3 (Spring 1989), pp. 462-463.

Porfirio Díaz's rapport with the Church hierarchy is often traced to his marriage to the young, devout Carmen Romero Rubio; Alvaro Obregón's shift to more conservative politics in 1928 is attributed to his 'fervent Catholic' wife; despite several generations of feminist and progressive mobilisation, the denial of full, effective suffrage to Mexican women until 1953 is explained by Mexican women's Catholicism.¹⁹

Yet as Caroline Walker Bynum observes, 'even traditional symbols can have revolutionary consequences.'²⁰ Even though Catholic rhetoric established specific limitations on the scope of women's social activity and behaviour in general, insisting on their basis in divine and natural law and on women's duty to adhere to them, Mexican Catholic women cited their beliefs and values as a motivating factor for their activism. Moreover, Church leadership, in Mexico as in other parts of the world, simultaneously sought the active participation of women in its campaigns. They asked and encouraged Catholic women to organise adults and children and to assume responsibilities, both in the absence of and alongside male clerical and lay leadership, in order to strengthen the Church and extend its influence. This dissertation explores Catholic women's activism in the decade following the Cristero Rebellion, when the boundaries of women's social and civic engagement were expanded according to the demands of the times and to the participants' own inclinations.

Mexican historiography also typically has undervalued the conscious choices and efforts of Mexican women to support the Catholic Church as part of their

¹⁹ Friedrich Katz, 'Mexico: Restored Republic and Porfiriato, 1876-1910,' *CHLA*, VII, 17, 40; Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 135; Mexican women's suffrage is discussed at length in Chapter 2.

²⁰ Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Introduction: The Complexity of Symbols,' in C. W. Bynum, Steven Harrel and Paula Richman, *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols* (Boston, 1986), pp. 15-16.

affirmation of their values and their vision of social organisation. I began my work on 'Catholic Women in Mexico' dissatisfied with histories that attributed postrevolutionary Church-State conflict and accord to the machinations of a select few presidents, governors, archbishops, and bishops, and only occasionally mentioned a handful of lay men, activists and intellectuals. To investigate these issues for women in postrevolutionary Mexico, it is necessary to question several 'generations' of history and problematise oversimplified portrayals of Mexican Catholic women. Early on, State and radical partisans interpreted Catholic women's resistance as unreasonably conservative reactions to new and necessary social experiments, the almost compulsory responses of women weighed down by tradition, social pressure, and clerical indoctrination and manipulation. Pro-Revolution (institutionalised or otherwise) authors presented Mexicans' mass support for the elite male actors of the Church hierarchy and of lay leadership as the co-optation of middle-class and working-class Mexicans into participation in religiously-oriented movements that in reality served the interests of the ruling class by means of fear and superstitious belief. They protested that Catholic leaders promoted negative publicity against the Revolutionary regime and radical reforms, and maintained a false consciousness among Mexican Catholics that the Church really cared about the poor and disadvantaged.²¹ At the other extreme, Catholic apologists briefly mentioned women's numerous and vociferous mobilisation for their Church as a supportive footnote to the leadership of the Church hierarchy and its negotiations with the state. Catholic critics of the Mexican government cite the

²¹For example, Ramón Beteta, ed., *Programa económico y social de México (una controversia)* (Mexico City, 1935) and *Pensamiento y Dinámica de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico, 1951 (2d ed.)); Arturo M. Elias, *The Mexican People and the Catholic Church* (New York, 1927); Portes Gil, *The Conflict between...* and *Quince años de la política mexicana* (Mexico City, 1941 (2d. ed)). Later works which share this viewpoint are

co-optation of the working class and rural population into state-sponsored movements by means of coercion, economic pressures, and perhaps some genuine fervour, produced by the false consciousness of revolutionary ideology.²²

Revisionist studies have produced new interpretations of the construction of Mexico's state and ruling party, revealing their contradictions and shortcomings; similarly critical studies have also been published regarding the Catholic Church.²³ In newer studies, historians endeavour to understand people's grassroots participation in these institutional battles, for which they must not only seek out new sources but re-examine those that have been used before, in order to problematise concepts of leadership and obedience, accommodation and resistance, and the agency individuals have in shaping their lives and the outcome of revolutionary struggles, contingent on their group affiliations, actions, and personal characteristics. New research on the Church in Mexico also includes explorations of regional and local histories, breaking the mould of a single, national model cast from events and organisation in Mexico City, and addressing former neglect of issues of

Robert E. Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution and the Catholic Church, 1910-1929* (Bloomington, 1973) and David L. Raby, *Educación y revolución social en México, 1921-1940* (Mexico City, 1974).

²²For example, Carlos Alvear Acevedo, *Elementos de Historia de México (Epoca Independiente)* (Mexico City, 1959 (4th ed.)) and *La iglesia en la historia de México* (Mexico City, 1975); José Castillo y Piña, *Cuestiones Sociales* (Mexico, 1934); Leopoldo Ruíz y Flores, *Recuerdo de recuerdos* (Mexico City, 1942). More recent works that mention Catholic women's participation, but in a solely auxiliary capacity, include: José Gutiérrez Casillas, S.J., *Historia de la iglesia en México* (Mexico, 1974), Elwood Rufus Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico, 1929-1941: A Church's Response to a Revolutionary Society and the Politics of the Modern Age' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1970); Marta Elena Negrete, *Relaciones entre la Iglesia...*; and Peter Lester Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution: The Catholic Church in Law and Politics Since 1929* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1995).

²³Jean Meyer, *La cristiada*, 3 vols. (Mexico City, 1973-74 (1st. eds.)) was a breakthrough study of the popular participation concurrent with institutional negotiations in the twentieth-century Church-State conflict; others have followed, including Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,'; José Miguel Romero de Solís, *El Agujon del Espíritu: Historia contemporánea de la Iglesia en México, 1895-1990* (Mexico City, 1994); and the essays in Roberto J. Blancarte, comp., *El pensamiento social de los católicos mexicanos* (Mexico City, 1996), and Manuel Ceballos Ramírez and Alejandro Garza Rangel, coords., *Catolicismo social en México: Teoría, Fuentes e Historiografía* (Mexico, 2000). Also see Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson, 1997), and the collections of essays in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and*

class, race and gender within as well as outside of the Church.²⁴ For my research, it has been necessary not only to re-examine the rhetoric directed towards Mexican Catholic women by the Church hierarchy, the state and radical organisers, but also to examine these women's own records of their actions, in order to better understand their motivations and goals and assess their accomplishments vis-à-vis the Mexican postrevolutionary State and the Church.

The aforementioned prejudices have several sources. Randall S. Hanson points out that the foundational thinkers of the sociological study of religion, first among them Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, ascribed to religion notably Catholicism - an inherently conservative social influence and considered it to be, in essence, an obstacle to social evolution. Following from these assumptions, many scholarly works on religion in Latin America, focus on events of the past forty years - charting the changes stemming from the Second Vatican Council and the 1968

the Negotiation of Rule In Modern Mexico (Durham, N.C., 1994) and in Heather Fowler-Salamini and Mary Kay Vaughan, *Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1880-1990* (Tucson, 1994).

²⁴The pioneer "microhistorical" study is Luis González, *Pueblo en vielo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (Mexico City, 1972) [in English *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition*, (Austin, 1974)]; also see Adrian Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora and the Mexican Revolution* (Wilmington, Del., 1998); Christopher Boyer, 'Old Loves, New Loyalties: Agrarismo in Michoacán, 1920-1928,' *HAHR*, 78, 3 (Sept. 1998), pp. 419-455; Matthew Butler, 'The "Liberal" Cristero: Ladislao Molina and the Cristero Rebellion in Michoacán, 1927-9,' *JLAS*, 31, 3 (Oct 1999), pp. 645-671; Robert Curley, 'El gran escollo: Religion and Revolution in Guadalajara, 1917-1919.' Paper presented at the XX Latin American Studies Association [LASA] Congress, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, 17 Apr. 1997, and 'Sociólogos peregrinos: Teoría social católica en el fin-de-regimen porfiriano,' in Ceballos Ramírez y Garza Rangel, coords., *Catholicismo Social en México*, pp. 195-238; Maria Teresa Fernández Aceves, "'Science, Work and Virtue": Lay Catholic Women Schoolteachers in Revolutionary Guadalajara, 1934-1942," Paper presented at the XXII LASA Congress, Miami, Florida, 16 Mar. 2000 and 'Women, State and Labor: The Nationalization of Politics in Revolutionary Guadalajara, 1930s,' Paper presented at the 114th American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Ill.; Barbara Ann Miller 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion: A New Chapter,' (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1981) and 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion: *Las Señoras y Las Religiosas*,' *The Americas*, 40 (1984), pp. 303-324; Laura O'Dogherty Madrazo, 'Restaurarlo Todo en Cristo: Unión de Damas Católicas Mejicanas, 1920-1926,' *Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México*, 14 (1991), pp. 129-158 and 'De urnas y sótanas: El Partido Católico Nacional en Jalisco' (Ph. D. dissertation, El Colegio de México, 1999); Yolanda Padilla Rangel, 'Algunas consideraciones en torno a la religiosidad alteña en Aguascalientes,' in José Antonio Gutierrez G. et. al., *Aguascalientes y los Altos de Jalisco* (Zapopan, 1997), pp. 59-71 and 'La silenciosa oposición: mujeres religiosas en Aguascalientes (México) en los años treinta,' Paper presented at the XXII LASA Congress, Miami, Florida, 16 Mar. 2000; and Jennie Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham, N.C., 1999).

meeting of the Latin American Bishops' Conference, for example, or the rising popularity of Protestant Christian faiths – and often fail to recognise that Catholicism has long contained 'a mixture of old and new religious ideas.'²⁵ Mexican Catholics, as well as their counterparts in the Americas and in Europe, began developing programmes of social reform even before the promulgation of Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891), which formalised the redefinition of the Church's relationship to society as that of spiritual and moral leader. Bereft of its political powers and influence – in Rome as in Mexico – the Church and its members aimed to promote the spiritual and moral betterment of society, but also sought the material well-being of its members by indirectly influencing the actions of politicians, business leaders, and other social and civic leaders.

In this way, what was called 'Catholic Social Action,' 'Catholic Action,' or 'Christian Democracy' indeed was a forerunner to Catholics' more strident calls for remedying social injustice from the 1960s onward. However, many 'objective' academics and social analysts have portrayed Catholic social action as a purely reactionary movement, both in its day and for a long time afterward.²⁶ This was not entirely without reason, as a great part of the Church's new social strategy did involve recovering and reinforcing the Church's social influence, with the right to express opinions and intervene in debates affecting not only the Church itself but also the populations of countries where Catholicism was present. In Latin America, and particularly in Mexico, this strategy specifically involved recuperating rights to administer church personnel free of government restrictions or influence, enact

²⁵Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' p. 4; also see William H. Swatos, Jr. and Kevin J. Christiano, 'Secularization Theory: The Course of a Concept,' *Sociology of Religion*, LX, 3 (1990), p. 215.

²⁶Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' pp. 4-7; also see Chapter 1 and the Conclusion.

rituals in public spaces, intervene in education (at times, in public as well as private), and to administer property, both for the institution's upkeep and to carry out charitable endeavours. But Catholicism could – and did – also act as a force of social change, and not solely as one committed to maintaining the *status quo* or reacting negatively to innovation.

It was not long before this new strategy set the Catholic Church at loggerheads with political leaders in Mexico. Early twentieth-century incidents in which Church leaders explicitly or implicitly supported reactionary leaders or social policies, particularly during the late Porfiriato and the Mexican Revolution, prompted an even stronger legal reaction from the new regime than had that of the mid-nineteenth century Liberals. Catholic activists and Church leaders continued to take part in social and economic debates during the 1920s, but this activity was curtailed by Plutarco Elías Calles' ascent to power, and culminated in the passing of the Calles laws in 1926 and the ensuing 'clerical strike,' civil boycotts and protests, and the armed uprising known as the Cristero rebellion. This conflict, ended by a truce that favoured the government, effectively ended the Catholics' ability to participate in political activities, labour organising and educational endeavours. Hanson declares that the Catholic social movement 'ended' in 1929, as Church leaders decided to focus exclusively on catechism and the 'social formation' of lay people. John W. Sherman concurs that as the Church lost political power, so it lost its social influence, because the strengthening government curtailed its clerical and lay leadership. Both authors note, with seeming regret, that at this point, only Catholic women's groups were left able to act in social and civic circles on behalf of the Church.²⁷

Such a conclusion relies on an assumption which is questionable at best – that when a movement loses its ability to operate in the political sphere, or loses its enfranchised (read: male) leadership, it is finished. Immediately following the Cristero rebellion, Catholic social action did retreat into homes, churches, and schools. To a great extent, its active leadership and participants were feminised; in other words, the majority of its protagonists lacked the vote, the ability to serve in public office, significant economic power, or control over other positions of leadership in social channels. Women also could not be ordained or advance very far in the Church hierarchy itself. But this does not mean that the Catholic social action movement disappeared, was rendered ineffective, or lost all political or socio-economic content. Miranda, as SSM director, did favour an approach that placed less emphasis on Catholic mass organising and more on personal, spiritual formation and the training of core of lay Catholics to lead this formation. It is also true that more women than men rallied to his organisation. However, this approach was at least in part a strategic response to increased government pressure and penalisation of Catholic mobilisations and enterprises. It also reflected Pius XI's general preference for Catholics to abandon party politics in name, in the face of political tensions with numerous regimes and of divisions among Catholics along political lines.²⁸

Mexican women could claim that their work did not constitute a Catholic incursion into politics, prohibited by the Constitution, as all women were formally

²⁷Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' p. 11; John W. Sherman, *The Mexican Right: The End of Revolutionary Reform, 1929-1940* (Westport, Conn, 1997), Chapter 3.

²⁸Anthony Rhodes, *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators, 1922-1945* (London, 1973), p. 15; also see Chapter 1. Of course, this assertion was cast into doubt at the time and in historical analyses, especially with regard to political movements where the Catholic nature of a political party and the involvement of laity and clergy was unabashed, such as the German Centre Party. See Anderson, 'Piety and Politics,' p. 707-713.

excluded from exercising suffrage and, for the most part, from party politics. Women's claims that their work was apolitical and thus non-threatening to the government or its programs worked more often – though not always, as seen above – than similar claims made by their clerical and lay male colleagues. After the Cristero rebellion, Catholic women capitalised on every gendered stereotype available to continue Catholic social projects: women were not interested in or capable of participating in politics, therefore their work was not political; women were not violent, but rather were the guardians of morality and maternal care for children (and hence should work extensively with the next generations, in and out of school); women did not wield significant social power, but only informal influence over others. What small groups of *beatas* (overly religious women) did had to be limited in scope, was not to be taken seriously, was irrelevant and inconsequential to larger social debates. Or was it?

Though mobilised Catholic women did not constitute the majority of Mexican women (or even of Mexican Catholic women), and though they did not effect many official changes in written law, they did contribute greatly to preserving and transmitting a religious tradition, standards of morality and behaviour that the Postrevolutionary government wished to eliminate. Catholic women activists' campaigns played a large part in the radical change of the practical application of government anticlerical policy in the official schools and churches, one of the few postrevolutionary projects brought to a complete standstill by popular resistance.²⁹ This occurred more due to persistent grassroots attempts to exert informal influence and effect gradual change and compromises than to upper-level negotiations, especially before inflammatory rhetoric and violent reprisals on both sides lessened.

This subtlety most likely has contributed to historians' lack of recognition of women's contributions to the resolution of the Church-State conflict in Mexico. All too often, historians have sought the source of compelling political, social and religious change from institutional leaders, who in this case were almost exclusively male, and very often acted on an issue *after* lay activists had blazed the trail for them. In twentieth-century Mexico, much of the mass mobilisation in defence of the Church and of Catholic tradition came from lay Catholics, including many women. Lay Catholic activism did not spontaneously generate without innovation, encouragement or instruction from clerical leaders, but it also did not depend wholly on them to develop, propagate, or thrive, proven by its endurance in their absences caused by armed conflict and exile. To recognise the contributions of Mexican Catholic lay women and the impact of their grassroots activism is to write a much-needed page, not only in Mexican history, but in Church history and women's history as well.

This dissertation aims to contribute to the growing body of work exploring the gendered nature of cultural politics after the Mexican Revolution by analysing this neglected theme in greater detail. We know that Catholics, and Catholic women in particular, resisted the revolutionary regime's attempts to diminish the influence of the Church in Mexican society. Leading historians of the period acknowledge that women spearheaded the '*resistencia pacífica, cotidiana*,' which may have done more damage to the state's anticlerical and radical educational policies than violent attacks against them or indifference in their enforcement.³⁰ But we do not know much about *how* these women mounted such a challenge, or about the reasons *why*

²⁹Fowler-Salamini and Vaughan, *Women of the Mexican Countryside*, p. \vii;

³⁰Knight, 'Estado, revolución y cultura popular,' p. 317.

they did. To begin, Chapter One traces the institutional history of Catholic Action and the Church's social theory behind its conceptualisation of lay activism, within which the Vatican's and Catholic intellectuals' evolving perceptions of political theory and gender roles played an important role. The first chapter then introduces the historical context of the Church-State conflict and of Catholic social activism in Mexico, leading up to and through the Cristero Rebellion to the key issues at stake in the 1930s. Finally, it explores women's roles in Mexico's earlier Catholic social action movements to 1929.

The second chapter looks at the Church's new social theory as applied to the national level, examining the reorganisation of the ACM by the SSM, based in Mexico City. This chapter focuses on the establishment of the UFCM (and to a lesser extent the JCFM), its growth from 1929 to 1940, and its principal social campaigns during that time. Through these campaigns, the women of the UFCM engaged in the principle social debates regarding religion and society of their day: the legal status of the Church and its personnel, educational policy, labour issues, land reform, and women's rights and roles.

The third and fourth chapters form a regional case study of Catholic women's activism in Mexico. Much of the literature concerning Catholic social activism in Mexico during the Revolutionary period concentrates on the activities of the Central Committees of Catholic social action organisations and of the Mexican Episcopate, based in Mexico City. I chose to study the Archdiocese of Guadalajara to examine how the orders and messages given by the "centre" were followed in another region and how that region's organisation interacted with the centre. Though not the capital, Guadalajara was and is one of Mexico's largest cities. The region has had considerable political and economic importance, and events there

had national repercussions. Guadalajara and its environs have a strong historical tradition of Catholicism, dating from the colonial era and from the structural revival of the Church in Mexico in the late nineteenth century. The region was also a major centre of Catholic labour and other social organisations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The third chapter, therefore, looks at Catholic women's activities in Guadalajara and as they applied to the diocese as a whole. Catholic women's causes and interests were often entangled in regional power struggles. Although a traditionally 'Catholic' region, there were a significant number of political, military and social leaders – women among them – who were willing to dispense with the Catholic legacy of the city and diocese of Guadalajara. Factions of regional government vied for support from national leaders by proving their loyalty, first to Plutarco Elías Calles' extreme anticlericalism and then to Lázaro Cárdenas' broad social reforms. Political swings and changes in fortune affected the opening and closing of parish churches, the expropriation of adjacent church properties, the approval of priests' licence to minister, the ability for Catholic schools to be opened and run, and the existence of vowed religious women's convents and their schools, hospitals and other enterprises. Statements made by regional and local government leaders and by Church leaders, whether at home or in exile, had a great impact on Catholics' lives. This chapter combines an examination of the internal workings of a diocesan chapter of the UFCM with narratives of the experience of Guadalajaran Catholics during this tumultuous period.³¹

³¹During the period examined in this dissertation, the archdiocese of Guadalajara oversaw the dioceses of Tepic (mostly in Nayarit state), Colima, Aguascalientes and Zacatecas, as well as the diocese of Guadalajara itself (see Appendices for maps). I have chosen to concentrate on the Guadalajara diocese alone, as its parishes are in great part in the state of Jalisco, as is its seat, which makes for a fairly neat comparison. Thus I was able to work thoroughly on materials available in one diocese, comparing that

The fourth chapter shifts the focus away from the capital city and archdiocesan seat, to explore Catholics' experiences and women's roles in social conflicts in Jalisco's provincial centres and countryside. Far from being removed from the fray due to their heritage of strong Catholicism and conservatism, the smaller towns and rural settlements of Jalisco were the sites of both support for the government's programs of socialist education, agrarian reform, anti-alcoholism campaigns, and even anticlerical and antireligious agitation, and of firm Catholic resistance to the postrevolutionary state's call for change in the social order. This chapter examines on the conflicts – peaceful and armed – resulting in Jalisco from the aforementioned social debates, and the roles that Catholic women played in them, within the UFCM, other Catholic associations, and independently. It also addresses the politics of labelling – who was a '*fanático*' versus who was acting in the best social interest – for these labels were often used to determine who would be allowed to act as a social leader by the state, the Church, or the local population – for example, teachers, catechists, priests, labour activists, and the like. Also in dispute were concepts of what was appropriate social behaviour for their followers, especially those seen as more malleable: campesinos, indigenous peoples, women, and children.

To conclude, I evaluate the contributions of Mexican Catholic women's activism to their country, their communities and their Church. I look at the subsequent roles of the UFCM and other Catholic women's groups in the years following the focus of this study, and at how participation in these groups (as an organiser, as a beneficiary, or both) has affected women's lives. The legacies of

information to the government records pertaining to one state. The UFCM did not have any special designation for archdiocesan chapters, but had separate diocesan chapters for Guadalajara and the other dioceses listed here. The diocese of Guadalajara includes several parishes in the neighbouring

Catholic social activism, and Catholic women's activism, can be seen to this day; both the conservatives in the Partido de Acción Nacional (the party of Mexico's first opposition party president in seven decades, Vicente Fox Quesada), and the Catholic activists in progressive human rights, indigenous rights, and women's rights groups in Mexico trace their activist heritage back to the ACM.

Throughout the dissertation, I use archival evidence and oral testimonies to describe not only the presence of the Church-state conflict of the 1930s in ordinary Mexicans' lives, but also more importantly, their appropriation of events and fashioning of roles for themselves within them. I use documents from state and Church archives to examine the work of the UFCM and other Catholic societies in rural areas. Private correspondence and interviews qualify the undivided loyalty to the Church and its clergy ascribed to its *beatas* by many authors. At times, the Church's and the postrevolutionary government's standards for women's morality and behaviour were strikingly similar, though the justifications to follow them were different. Both institutions vied for Mexicans' loyalties and asked their adherents, unrealistically, to completely eschew one for the other.³²

These explorations reveal that, alongside the relentless defence of religion and tradition, there was room for pragmatic solutions. Mexican Catholic women, like Mexican Catholic men, could be loyal to their Church, but also accept the modernising trends of their country. They realised that they could not steadfastly resist the consolidation and growth of the Mexican State on its national, regional or

states of Zacatecas and Michoacán; for these states I sought government information in the national archives and from other sources.

³²Schell, 'Teaching the Children of the Revolution,' pp. 343-345.

local levels. Rather, they would have to work with it.³³ Mexican Catholic women were not limited to choosing between the two institutions; in some cases, they chose both, preserving what they found useful from their cultural and religious heritage, but also accepting what was useful from the postrevolutionary political order.

Mexican Catholic women claimed the right to engage in social activism from a long tradition of Catholic women's activism – grounded in biblical accounts but also documented in political and social conflicts in Europe and the Americas. The frontispiece of the bulletin from the 1940 UFCM national convention bore a large illustration of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the exclamation, '*¡Con ella todo, sin ella nada!*' Mexican Catholic women activists believed that with their religious faith and their Church they could help rebuild Mexico, but without them, their cause, and Mexico's future, would be lost.³⁴

³³Alan Knight, 'Revolutionary Project, Recalcitrant People: Mexico, 1910-1940,' in Jaime E. Rodríguez O., ed., *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880-1940* (Los Angeles, 1990), 227-264; Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, p. 195.

³⁴Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana, *V Asamblea General* [program], Octubre de 1940, frontispiece (CIDOC microfiche #2347).

Chapter One:
**Origins: Catholic Action, Acción Católica Mexicana, and Women's Involvement
in the Mobilisation of Mexican Catholics**

The Mexican Episcopate organised the ACM in 1929 to direct the Mexican laypersons who wished to respond to the persecution that the Church had suffered in Revolutionary Mexico under the 1917 Constitution, and to the economic, social and moral problems that resulted from several decades of political unrest, demographic changes, and agricultural and incipient industrial development. Following several disastrous interventions of Catholics into Mexican politics,¹ the Mexican Episcopate and the ACM officially eschewed political comment, intervention and participation. Instead, Catholic leaders claimed, Mexican Catholics would work apolitically towards the moral regeneration of Mexican society as a necessary step towards remedying its social problems.

In order to end government persecution and create a more secure position for the Church in Mexico, the Episcopate sought to establish a relationship of 'mutual ideological support' with the political hierarchy by supporting the legitimacy of the Mexican State. At the same time, the Mexican Episcopate cultivated grass-roots support for its own social, religious and educational programs, in order to maintain its spiritual and *de facto* cultural leadership in Mexico.² Not wishing to repeat the events of the previous decade, the more moderate leaders of the Mexican Church hierarchy, such as Pascual Díaz Barreto, Archbishop of Mexico, and Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, Archbishop of Michoacán and Apostolic Delegate, worked with their supporters to rein in belligerently anti-state clergy and lay Catholics, and to convince

¹Most (in)famously, General Victoriano Huerta's coup (1914) and the interdict in protest of the government's anticlerical policies that helped spark the Cristero rebellion (1926-1929); these will be discussed in greater detail below.

² Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, p. 114 .

all Catholics to follow a unified plan for reasserting Catholic influence into daily life on all levels, by means of the ACM.³

However, the actions of the Mexican Church hierarchy, the ACM, and Mexican Catholics in general often constituted effective challenges to the authority and ideological program of the Mexican Revolutionary state; they included the tacit evasion of anticlerical laws, open opposition to socialist education, and the expansion of public practice of Catholicism. For Mexican Catholics, the position of the Church in the 1930s was characterised by confusion and contradiction. The Church hierarchy, clergy, and lay Catholics alike alternated between interventionist action and accommodation of the Mexican State, between resistance and adaptation to the consolidation of state power.

Catholic activist associations directly affiliated with the Church hierarchy in Mexico in the 1930s did not overtly challenge the legitimacy of the Mexican government. Nor did activist Catholics constitute a threat by forming an overwhelming majority of Mexicans; in the mid 1940s, approaching its peak years, the ACM had a membership of approximately 365,000, a little less than two percent of the population.⁴ The Catholic social movement did succeed in providing an alternative to the left wing, secular, nationalistic ideology offered by the Mexican State, one in which individual and collective Catholic and cultural practices could be preserved. Catholic associations also succeeded in mobilising large sectors of the population to achieve some of the stated goals of the Church, such as the cessation of the socialist education program and of anticlerical legislation. This widespread

³Negrete, *Relaciones entre la Iglesia ...*, pp. 333-334.

⁴Richard Pattee, *The Catholic Revival in Mexico* (Washington, DC, 1944), pp. 46-47; Alfredo Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes geográficos y estadísticos de la Iglesia Católica en México* (Mexico City, 1945), p. 25; please refer to appendices 1a-1c and 2 for ACM statistics.

resistance to and rejection of government initiatives eventually resulted in amendments being made to some controversial articles of the Mexican Constitution, and, preceding that, the development of a gradual lenience in the enforcement of the laws mandating the exclusion of the Church from education and social participation.⁵

Much of the existing literature concerning the role of the Church in the religious conflict in Postrevolutionary Mexico focuses more on the dictates of the Church hierarchy and the actions of the central, co-ordinating offices of the ACM and its auxiliary organisations in Mexico City, than it does on the responses of Catholics who were situated outside of these circles of influence. ACM and other lay Catholic group members groups who undertook the grassroots organisation played a significant part in maintaining the presence of the Church in postrevolutionary Mexico and transmitting Catholic values and traditions to succeeding generations of Mexicans, as well as effectively challenging some of the states' key legal and cultural tenets. Without the participation of lay Catholics, both within and outside of the framework of the ACM, the programs designed by the Church leadership would have had far less impact on the Mexican population.

Mexican Catholics demonstrated a variety of responses to the social trends and social movements of the early twentieth century, and reactions to the ACM were no less varied. The Catholic alternative⁶ to the state's proposed secular, 'modern' citizenship, offered to Mexicans by their ecclesiastical leaders, received mixed responses from lay Catholics. For women, men and children, it would have been as

⁵Fowler-Salamini and Vaughan, *Women of the Mexican Countryside*, p. xxii; Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, p. 19. This lenience developed unevenly in different regions and with different actors; some of these variations are treated below in this dissertation.

⁶Manuel Ceballos Ramírez calls this an attempt to establish '*una sociedad paralela y autónoma*' that dates from the 1860s (*El catolicismo social*, p. 52).

difficult to live one's life as a completely 'intransigent' Catholic, shunning all involvement with the state, as it would have been to live as a doctrinaire government ideologue, rejecting family and local traditions, and ignoring or superseding existent power relations and popular opinion. Opportunities offered by the state for use of agricultural land, education and self-advancement, organising in the workplace for better working conditions, and more general participation in the new, postrevolutionary society were hard to pass up. Furthermore, not all of these directives contravened the Catholic doctrines that Mexicans learned in catechism classes. Many of the state's goals coincided neatly with the goals that had been proposed by proponents of Catholic social action since the end of the nineteenth century regarding just wages, just distribution of property, education and self-improvement, and the integration of indigenous peoples into fuller participation in Mexican society. Thus it is not surprising that many Mexican Catholics combined elements from both ideologies and adapted them to their own needs, in order to be accepted both as participatory members of their own local communities and as Mexican citizens.⁷ Most Mexicans found themselves making compromises between Catholic doctrine on the one hand and Revolutionary Mexican ideology and regulations on the other, rather than strictly and exclusively adhering to either.

Rather than heed the call of the Mexican state to reject the Catholic Church as part of a program of social modernisation and self-improvement, many Mexicans who were, according to revolutionary ideology, disempowered by the hierarchical organisation of the Church—such as peasants, working-class poor, and women—chose to support at least some of its initiatives. In the political and social instability of the

⁷For the programmes of the Revolutionary state and the negotiations made by ordinary Mexican citizens, see Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, especially ch. 1; for the programme of Catholic social action, see Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social: Un tercero en discordia*; for comparisons, see Hanson, "The Day of Ideals," pp. 22, 126, 309-319, 619, 622, 624-627, and 629.

1930s, Catholic men and women directed and carried out local movements and national campaigns. Due to the legal restrictions on the number and mobility of practising clergy, these activists often had to respond to local exigencies independently and creatively, and then seek ecclesiastical approval. Catholic reactions to postrevolutionary government leaders' policies were not completely new responses invented in response to state harassment of the Church. Nor were these responses completely purged of the doctrines and social teachings, cultivated since the middle of the last century, which had led to overt Catholic resistance to the postrevolutionary regime in outbreaks such as the Cristero rebellion. Rather, the actions carried out by the ACM and other associations of Mexican Catholics were adaptations—some more successful than others—of an existing paradigm of social activism within the Catholic Church. This chapter will analyse the establishment of Catholic Action, internationally and in Mexico, and the call to involvement for women in Catholic social movements, so that these as theoretical constructions provided by ecclesiastical leaders can later be compared and contrasted with the experience of some of the Catholic Church's most ardent adherents, Mexican Catholic women activists.

The Origins of Catholic Action

The genesis of the Catholic social action movement itself, though a response to contemporary social and political change, was thrown far back into history and was portrayed as being an integral element of Catholicism, intended since its inception. In his *Manual de Acción Católica*, Joaquín Azpiazu, S.J., writes, '*no necesitamos bucear en antigüedades ni ahondar en documentos primitivos para penetrar en*

la verdad de esta afirmación.' He then proceeds to do just that, documenting the history of Catholic Action from the public ministry of Jesus Christ, through the activities of the early Church, and then through to papal documentation from the preceding half-century.⁸ 'Catholic Action has existed since that moment when our Lord gave a Mission to His first Apostles. [... It] is not a new thing, but a new technique, a new method of approach to the people of a changed world,' claimed John Fitzsimons and Paul McGuire, editors of a 1939 essay collection on the Catholic Action movement.⁹

In a similar vein, Mexican Catholic authors cited the Church's activities since the Spanish colonisation as evidence of the historical continuity of Catholic Action. Alfonso Junco cited Vasco de Quiroga, the first bishop of Michoacán (renowned for saving the indigenous inhabitants of Michoacán from the exploitation of the *encomienda* system by organising their villages into crafts co-operatives, as the first in a line of socially concerned and active Mexican prelates). According to Junco, this heritage had benefited Mexico, and by logical extension, should rightfully continue. The Church had been involved in works of '*instrucción pública*' since the colonisation of Mexico; to arbitrarily end this legacy would have been to deprive Mexico of one of its greatest educational resources. Junco also cited monastic religious communities as the '*únicos comunistas sinceros y efectivos que existen*' to illustrate the errors of modern, atheistic communism and socialism and to offer the Catholic alternative for social reorganisation instead.¹⁰

⁸Joaquín Azpiazu, S.J., *Manual de Acción Católica*, Madrid: Editorial 'Razón y Fé,' 1930, p. 18 (quote); pp. 18-33 and *passim*; also see Msgr. Luigi Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action* (London, 1935), p. 119 for much the same reasoning.

⁹John Fitzsimons and Paul McGuire, eds. *Restoring All Things: A Guide to Catholic Action* (London, 1939), p. 68.

¹⁰Alfonso Junco, 'Sociología: El Problema Social,' *Christus*, I: 4 (Mar. 1936), p. 237.

In his often-cited writings on Catholic Action in Italy, Antonio Gramsci asserted that the sole purpose of the movement was to assure the institutional survival of the Church, and that its ostensible focus on social reform was little more than a 'cynical "reserve element" in an arsenal of methods for preserving ecclesiastical interest.'¹¹ Other commentators focus on the Church hierarchy's use of Catholic Action in light of their apparent need to control and co-ordinate lay Catholic movements, to assure that they following the authority and doctrine of the Church and that they would not cause civil unrest or endanger the position of the Church in a given country.¹² The Church hierarchy feared an irrevocable loss of power and social influence, and aimed to create a movement of lay persons that would help consolidate a unified, Catholic front, defend the Church and address social problems.

Reactions from Rome – Designing Catholic Action

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, emerging secular governments aimed to diminish the political power and influence of bishops throughout Europe. At the same time that the Bishop of Rome permanently lost control of that city and the Papal States to the Kingdom of Italy, Pope Pius IX summoned the First Vatican Council (1869-1870). The Council declared the pope infallible in matters of faith and

¹¹A. Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 2 vols. (New York, 1992). I, 195. Here Gramsci also opined that, due to the combined forces of 'Jesuitism' and Catholic Action, Latin America was 'still going through a primitive Kulturkampf phase, that is, where the modern state must still struggle against a clerical and feudal past. It is interesting to observe this contradiction that exists in South America between the modern world of the great commercial coastal cities and the primitivism of the interior, a contradiction that persists because of the presence of great masses of native people on the one hand and, on the other, of European immigrants whose assimilation is more difficult than in North America.'; Also see P. L. Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, pp. 168-169.

morals and also strengthened the Tridentine policy to centralise Church authority over government and doctrine in the Holy See¹³ (Jean Meyer calls this codification of ultramontanist the '*apex del encierro católico*'¹⁴). This declaration of absolute right practically ensured that the Catholic Church would come to loggerheads, if not be involved in civil strife and instability, with secular states even as it sought to continue existing within them. A host of 'rivals' to Catholic doctrine as the basic pattern for social organisation – democracy, liberalism, socialism, communism, and anarchism – emerged as part of the secularisation and state-building processes of the nineteenth century. These rival philosophies contributed to the distancing of sizeable populations from the Catholic Church in Europe and the Americas, particularly urbanising and industrialising workers.

In Latin America, as in Western Europe, the Church underwent a serious transformation in social status from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century. In many countries, the Church lost its political power, leadership, and legal status, economic subsidies and ideological support formerly shared with or supplied by colonial administrations and some earlier independent governments.¹⁵ Church leaders were aware that, stripped of its temporal political powers, the Church could not defend itself against attacks from secular, unfriendly governments. Nor would its traditional pressure tactics, such as excommunication and spiritual prohibitions

¹²This certainly can be said regarding Mexico; see Barranco V. 'Posiciones políticas,' p.56; Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico,' p. 41, Negrete, *Relaciones entre la Iglesia...*, pp. 333-334.

¹³ J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 309-310; Hubert Jedin, *Crisis and Closure of the Council of Trent* (London, 1967).

¹⁴Jean Meyer, 'Una historia política de la religión en México,' *Historia Mexicana*, XLIII, 3 (1993), pp. 718-719 (quote) and p. 722. Meyer notes with interest its near concurrence with the brief reign of the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico, who had come to power in Mexico at the invitation of Conservatives opposed to the Liberal government of Benito Juárez. Accusations of the explicit involvement of Catholics in this plot contributed to the discrediting of the Church in Mexico.

¹⁵John Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America, 1830-1930,' *CHLA*, IV, 584.

for the citizenry, be enforced by new, liberal states. In independent Latin America, the Church had adopted a strategy of striking alliances with political conservatives, relying on the wealth, status, and power of these groups to defend itself as an institution and to exert influence. This strategy failed in two key ways: it not only made the Church dependent on the outcome of the Liberal-Conservative contests of the nineteenth century (in some cases, as in Mexico, this was a clear disadvantage, as the Liberals won the military, political and legal battles), but the Church also observed a disturbing trend of elite apostasy, losing the support of elite, politically-active men in particular to antireligious and anticlerical political philosophies. If the Church was unable to rely on social elites to set an example of religious observance and obedience for the lower classes, whose Catholicism more often consisted of informal, personal practice than consistent formal participation in Mass and the sacraments, and if its priests' preaching was circumscribed to the churches and religious education restricted, to whom could it turn to carry its doctrine to the people, and who would bring the masses of people to the Church?¹⁶

From the mid-nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth, the Catholic Church believed it could address these questions by training a lay, intellectual elite that it could organise and control, to replace the social elites-by-birth as its ally. From about 1870 onward, two currents of change affected the Catholic Church, which, though not the selfsame phenomenon, reinforced each other: a reform of Church doctrine and practice, and a growing consciousness of the need to address the economic and social problems of modern, industrial society. Proponents of Church reform and those of the Catholic social action movement

¹⁶Ivan Vallier, 'Religious Elites: Differentiations and Developments in Roman Catholicism,' in Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari, *Elites in Latin America* (NY, 1967), p. 192-194; Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' p. 527, pp. 530-531.

found their inspiration and justification in pontifical documents and in new or renewed institutions supported by the Church and European lay leaders, which soon spread to Latin America.¹⁷

Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) was not the first pontiff to find himself in the midst of 'times of persecution,' but the predicaments of his papacy and their resolutions shaped the policy of the Catholic Church towards secularising states (and for lay Catholics participating in both) for the next century. Lay people demonstrated their willingness to actively defend the Church in response to the attacks of Italian political activists, and, with clerical assistance, founded the *Associazione Cattolica per la Libertà della Chiesa* in Bologna (1866) and the *Società della Gioventù Cattolica Italiana* in Rome (1868). Though short-lived due to political persecution and in fighting, these associations received papal approval and served as Pope Pius IX's inspiration for the further organisation of secular forces, which he hoped would eventually form a 'union of Catholics.' These associations, along with other regional Catholic groups, attended the First National Congress of Italian Catholics, held in Venice in 1874; they held subsequent congresses until the First World War, providing an example of co-ordination of local efforts to Catholics in other countries.¹⁸ Pius IX's pronouncements shaped Catholics' role in emerging, secular states, setting the precedent with his *Non Expedit* (1868), which barred Italian Catholics from political participation in their newly-unified country's secular government. Of even more global application was Pius IX's encyclical *Quanta cura* and its appendix, the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864). *Quanta cura* denounced the principal errors of the time: liberalism, secularism, freethinking, the separation of Church and

¹⁷Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' p. 584; Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, pp. 169-170.

¹⁸Azpiazú, *Manual de Acción Católica*, pp. 133-135; Barranco V. 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 43.

State, the secularisation of the legal and educational systems, and religious toleration. Summoned by Pius IX, the First Vatican Council again condemned contemporary philosophies of pantheism, materialism, and atheism, and their manifestations, such as completely secularised education, in its constitution on faith, *Dei filius* (1870). Pius IX defined the role of the modern papacy (and the Church) – stripped of its political power, but absolute in its spiritual and moral power, and which would seek the support of those outside its hierarchy to regain influence where it no longer dominated.¹⁹

The enduring threat to the Church was much broader than the loss of its geographical territories. Every incursion that liberal or revolutionary states made onto the Church's ideological territory, whether in education, social welfare, instruction in moral conduct, or spirituality, was a potential reduction of the Church's dominion as recently redefined. To combat the "enemies" of the Church—identified as masonry, liberalism and socialism—from the ground up, Pope Leo XIII (1878-1904) expanded the project of the Italian Catholic Congresses in Italy, encouraging the development of lay organisations on the parish, diocesan, regional and national level, supervised by clergy and co-ordinated by central committees. The central committees in turn received guidance from the Vatican, to then diffuse a standardised ideology and praxis to their member associations throughout Italy. This chain of command became the model for Catholic associations worldwide.²⁰

Rerum Novarum (1891), Leo XIII's most famous encyclical, is often called the 'worker's encyclical,' as it proclaims workers' rights to just wages, decent working

¹⁹Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' pp. 541-543; Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, p. 310.

²⁰R. Blancarte, 'Introducción,' in Blancarte, ed. *El pensamiento social de los católicos mexicanos*, pp. 22-23; Azpiazu, *Manual de Acción Católica*, pp. 136-137.

conditions and organisation into trade unions. It advocates organising Catholic congresses, presses, and worker associations to secure social justice against a tide of almost completely unchecked economic domination by owners. In *Rerum Novarum*, Leo XIII enumerated the norms by which a just state should function: by 'morality, well-regulated family life, by respect for religion and justice, by the moderation and equal distribution of public burdens, by the progress of the arts and of trade, by the abundant yield of the land-by everything which makes the citizens better and happier.'²¹ But *Rerum Novarum* was as much a reaction as an innovation; it also upheld the right to private property and the inevitability of a degree of social inequity. Leo XIII attempted to maintain the presence of the Church as a principal force of moral direction in industrialising societies, competing with both dominant, secularising, capitalist upper and middle classes and developing, revolutionary socialist movements. The encyclical placed the new Catholic social doctrine-more an initiative to reach out to lay people of all social classes and stimulate their participation in Church and community building-in historical context, citing biblical texts, particularly the Gospels, and earlier Church teachings to insert a measure of social concern into Catholic doctrine.²² In practical terms, this meant building up a movement of Catholic social, labour and political organisations, which, as Leo XIII noted in his encyclicals, was already being undertaken by laypeople and clergy in Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, and other European countries.

Whether from an increased need for it or an increased appreciation of it, the organisation of the laity to defend the Church had grown in importance. Leo XIII

²¹Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum* (1891), reprinted in David J. O'Brien and Thomas A. Shannon, eds. *Catholic Social Thought: The Documentary Heritage* (Maryknoll, NY, 1992), p. 26.

²²Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, p. 40-41; Blancarte 1996, p. 20, 24; Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, p. 311; Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' p. 586.

and other Catholic writers began ascribing a distinguished role to lay Catholics who dedicated themselves to work for the Church. Naturally, these lay people and their organisations would submit docilely to ecclesiastical leaders, from the pope to the pastors, its representatives on the local level, as they were the '*cabeza y capitán supremo*' of the new movement.²³ Repeating the papacy's opposition to socialism, communism and nihilism in the encyclical *Quod apostolico muneris* (1878) and to Freemasonry in *Humanum Genus* (1884), Leo XIII advocated Catholicism as the only acceptable 'middle ground,' the best meeting place for members of the different strata of society to negotiate the socio-political order. Although the Vatican had initially doubted the efficacy of democratic governments, Leo XIII grudgingly gave them, and by extension broader mass participation in political and social life, papal approval in *Diuturnum Illud* (1881). The Vatican would not condemn any form of government, unless it directly contravened Catholic teachings. Leo XIII further defined the spheres of temporal and spiritual power in *Immortale Dei* (1885), but identified the Church as the custodian of liberty-'properly understood' as being circumscribed by Catholic doctrine.²⁴

Continuing on Pius IX's foundation, Leo XIII convened the first Latin American Plenary Council in Rome in 1899. Of 104 Latin American prelates, thirteen archbishops, and 41 bishops attended. The main discussion topics concerned departures from Catholic doctrine: Masonic activity, liberal and socialist political movements, ignorance and indifference to religion, and unorthodox and syncretic local practices. At the council, the bishops were urged to hold regional councils,

²³Barranco V. 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 44; the last quote is from Azpiazu, *Manual de Accion Católica*, p. 28, citing Leo XIII's letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, 17 Jun. 1885.

²⁴Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, p. 311; also see Frances Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1975* (Oxford, 1987), p. 123.

synods, and provincial councils, in addition to specialised conferences in their sees every three years, to disseminate instructions from Rome, to strengthen the national churches, and to stimulate socially-oriented projects and lay participation in their areas of jurisdiction. Taking advantage of the less overtly anticlerical Porfirian government, Leo XIII also sent his Secretary of State Cardinal Gasparri to negotiate the reinstatement of some sort of official presence of the Church in Mexico. There had been no Vatican representative there since 1865, due to governmental refusal to establish diplomatic relations. In 1896, Leo XIII dispatched an Apostolic Visitor to Mexico, and from 1897 onward, an Apostolic Delegate.²⁵

In *E supremi apostolatus* (1903), Leo XIII's successor, Pope Pius X (1903-1914) used a phrase later adopted by Catholic Action; the primary goal of the modern Church (implying the obligation of all to collaborate) would be to 'restore all things in Christ' (Eph. I, 10). Pius X took this phrase as his motto. Pius X prided himself in consistently supporting worker's causes; having joined a labor union as a young man, he continued paying his union dues through the time he served as Bishop of Mantua. In *E Supremi apostolatus* Pius X clearly outlined the goals for his papacy, stating, '[I]t is not priests alone, but all the faithful who must concern themselves with the interests of God and souls...' Pius X praised the members of explicitly religious associations that aimed to resolve social problems.²⁶ Having suspended the Italian Catholic congresses in 1904 for their growing political participation, Pius X firmly advocated the co-ordination of a Catholic movement which would distance

²⁵Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' pp. 543-544, Barranco V 'Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana,' p. 47. Since 1991 Mexico has had a Papal Nuncio, currently Leonardo Sandri, who has an official diplomatic relationship with the Mexican government, unlike the former Apostolic Delegates.

²⁶Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' pp. 197-198.

itself from political involvement and subordinate itself to the Church hierarchy in *Il fermo proposito* (1905). Considered the 'first Catholic Action encyclical,' *Il fermo proposito* set as the chief objective of Catholic social groups to restore Jesus Christ 'in the family, the school, the community in general.' The encyclical *Acerbo Nimis* (1905) addressed the growing need to provide catechetical instruction for the increasing numbers of Catholic children enrolled in secular schools, mandating that bishops and parish priests arrange for catechism programs in their respective countries. Pius X condemned Catholic Modernism and the *Le Sillon* movement in France, which respectively sought to integrate innovations in biblical criticism and the application of faith-based social teachings to Catholicism, but was more tolerant of the right-wing, monarchist *Action Française*, which actively sought the demise of liberal Catholic movements. Still, Pius X encouraged the co-ordination of groups in Italy and worldwide along the German *Volksverein* model: apolitical associations concerned with economic and social issues and education, supervised by central secretariats. Pius X was responsible for the reorganisation and standardisation of much of the Church's internal life: in addition to lay groups, he reorganised the Roman curia and the central administration at the Vatican, and sponsored a special commission to revise and codify the corpus of canon law.²⁷

The main preoccupation of Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922) was the First World War, but the social and economic upheaval caused by the conflict and its aftermath made for ample opportunity to advocate Catholic lay organisations. Having lost its political power and having not completely renegotiated its diplomatic positions before the war, the Church did not have much sway in the resolution of the conflict. Benedict XV, who had maintained a neutral position

²⁷Azpiazu, *Manual de Acción Católica*, pp.138-139 and p. 27; Barranco V 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 44; Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, pp. 313-314; William McSweeney, *Roman Catholicism: The Search for*

throughout the war, was accused by each side of having favoured the other afterwards; the Church was also, by agreement of the Allies, excluded from peace negotiations. As part of his efforts to organise works to alleviate suffering brought on by the war, Benedict XV continued to support Catholic social action groups across Europe, identifying them in his Christmas message of 1918 as those who would undertake the 'la obra restauradora de la sociedad.' In addition to many descriptions of Catholics' obedience and compliance, Benedict XV articulated what became a key operating principle for Catholic Action in Mexico and in other parts of the world where the position of the Church was even less secure: '*la misión de la Acción Católica [...] es esencialmente preparar las conciencias para la obra de restauración cristiana de la sociedad, fuera y encima de la acción estrictamente política que se deja a la libre iniciativa de los ciudadanos católicos.*'²⁸ The duty of Catholic social action groups like the Italian Popular Union was the '*defensa y actuación del orden social y de la civilización cristiana, según las enseñanzas de la Iglesia y de las direcciones de la Santa Sede.*' By promoting Catholic teaching at all instructional and social levels, activists would create a united front by encouraging organisation and involvement in all forms of Catholic Action.²⁹ In a later discussion of the growing movement, Benedict XV identified what the Church was looking for: '*selectas falanges*' comprised of people who possessed a '*conciencia exquisitamente cristiana*' and who would be '*los brazos dados por Dios y por la Iglesia a la mente y al corazón del Párroco; son los artífices verdaderos de todo progreso exterior de la acción religiosa y social del pueblo católico.*'³⁰

Relevance, (New York, 1980), pp. 80-84.

²⁸Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, pp. 314-315; Azpiazu, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 21; p. 22 (quote from *Settimana Sociale*, 8 Feb. 1919).

²⁹Azpiaz, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 139 (from statute 5, article 2 of the Popular Union of Italy, 13 April 1920),

Benedict XV did not promulgate doctrine-shifting encyclicals, but he did lift the restrictions on political participation from Italian laypeople in 1919, in order to encourage the development of political action more friendly to the Catholic Church. In other words, Benedict XV now allowed Catholics to participate—as individuals—in the political order, in the hopes that this would restore a regard for Catholic values to society. Benedict also promulgated the new Code of Canon Law (1917), compiled under Pius X, ended the conflict between Catholic Modernists and traditionalists in France with the encyclical *Ad beatissimi* (1914) and, in the encyclical *Maximum Illud*, encouraged a renewal of missionary activity via the formation and promotion of local clergy, reminding missionaries to seek the welfare of the people among whom they worked, rather than putting themselves at the service of colonial governments.³¹

Catholic writers contemporary to Pius XI (1922-1939) noted the parallels and continuity of his orientation, doctrine and motto, with those of his two predecessors: Pius X wished to restore all in Christ (*Instaurare omnia in Christo*), Benedict XV sought peace (*Pacem Dei*), and Pius XI put forth his program to work for 'the peace of Christ in the reign of Christ' (*Pax Christi in Regno Christi*).³² Pius XI institutionalised Catholic Action as the centralising, co-ordinating association for specialised groupings of lay Catholics in every nation, and joined them in an international network of support for the Church. In his first encyclical, *Ubi Arcano Dei* (1922), Pius XI designated Catholic Action to be '*la participación de los seglares en el apostolado jerárquico de la Iglesia*.' All Catholics, ultimately, would participate to some degree,

³⁰Azpiaz, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 141, quotes from Benedict XV's Christmas Encyclical of 1918 and from letter of Benedict XV to Count Pietromarchi, 19 May 1921.

³¹Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, pp. 315-316.

³²Azpiaz, *Manual de Acción Católica*, pp. 24-25.

different, perhaps, in authority or scope, but all were important for defending the rights of the Church and the Catholic family from modern encroachments. Lay people would do no less than '*comparte con la jerarquía la encomienda de recristianización de la sociedad.*' For the next several decades, Catholic Action was seen as a means of protection for the Church against states aspiring to monolithic power, whether communist, fascist, or unique versions of socialist, as in Mexico.³³ In addition to *Ubi Arcano Dei*, several of Pius XI's encyclicals were also of great importance to Catholics in Mexico and around the world: *Quas Primas* (1925) formalised the feast of Christ the King; *Divini Illius Magistri* (1929) emphasised the necessity of Catholic education; *Casti Connubi* (1930) defined Christian marriage and the Church's ban on divorce and contraception; *Quadregessimo Anno* (1931) reaffirmed *Rerum Novarum* and redefined some points regarding labour in the context of the world-wide economic depression. Pius XI also wrote encyclicals directed at specific nations and the plight of Catholics therein: for Mexico he promulgated *Paterna Sane Sollicitudo* (February 1926) and *Iniquis Afflictisque* (November 1926), which criticised the Calles government, but warned the Mexican Catholics to avoid violent reprisal; *Acerba Animi* (1932) condemned that state's renewed attack on the 'friends' of the Church; *Divini Redemptoris* (1937) attacked atheistic communism in general but included references to Soviet Russia, Spain and Mexico. Pius XI also continued the missionary drive of his predecessors, requiring every religious order to engage in missionary work, thus doubling the number of missionaries—who were often, importantly, educators—worldwide.³⁴

³³Azpiazu, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 24 (quote:from the *Rivista del Clero Italiano*, Oct. 1927, pp. 634-635); Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' pp. 44-45; Kelly, p. 316-317.

³⁴Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, pp. 316-317, and Philip Hughes, *The Pope's New Order: A Systematic Summary of the Social Encyclicals, from Leo XIII to Pius XII*. (London, 1943), pp. 95-103 and pp. 124-133. Pius XI's more political encyclicals also included *Dilectissima Nobis* (1933), which condemned

Intransigence

A strong strain of militancy was an integral part of Catholic Action, which removes some credence from its claim to be the co-operative solution for pacifically reintegrating Catholicism into societies as part of cohesive, national wholes. References in the encyclicals such as Leo XIII's calling the participants in Catholic Action 'apostles' or those of Pius XI calling them 'collaborators' of the priesthood do not seem to pose much of a threat to a state. However, Church leaders often made more explicit references to the 'defence' and 'restoration' of the Church's 'rights.' In a 1925 letter to the Archbishop of Naples, the Cardinal Secretary of State clarified the ends of Catholic Action: '*La restauración cristiana de la sociedad es fin de la Acción Católica [...] no sólo en su naturaleza y finalidad esencial, sino en sus contingentes aplicaciones a todas las condiciones de la vida, aún política y civil.*'³⁵ In *Ubi Arcano Dei*, Pius XI refers to the 'santa guerra' that had to be fought, 'para reivindicar a la familia y a la Iglesia los derechos que por ley natural y divina les corresponden en la enseñanza y en la escuela.'³⁶

Latin America and Mexico

Historians of the Church have labelled traditional, militant Catholics' unwillingness to comply with anticlerical state directives (often derived from

the strict legal separation of Church and State in Republican Spain. Pius XI attempted to protect the Church in totalitarian states and seized opportunities for negotiation. In 1929 he signed the Lateran Treaty with Benito Mussolini, which accorded the Church some indemnification for the loss of the papal states and established the independence of Vatican City, and in 1933 signed the Concordat with the National Socialist State in Germany. Later, due to Nazi persecution, Pius XI broke that agreement with the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (1937).

³⁵Azpiazú, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 26, citing a letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Archbishop of Naples, 18 Sept. 1925 (my emphasis).

³⁶Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana,' p. 40

continued Church-State conflict) 'intransigence.' The eighteenth-century Catholic Church had resisted compromise with any 'modern errors,' threats to the spiritual hegemony of Catholicism like those proposed by Enlightenment philosophy and its offshoot revolutions and independence movements. The necessity for intransigence was heightened in the nineteenth century, when the Church had to accede to secular political powers, give up yet more of its overt influence, and compete with socialism and communism as ideological alternatives. In the early twentieth century, events in Mexico such as the triumph of the *Carrancistas* and the renewal of government anticlericalism, plus continuing economic modernisation and socio-economic upheaval, only reinforced the uncompromising messages being sent from European Catholic leaders that were reactions to the First World War and the philosophical, social and political conflicts described above.³⁷ In response to the local versions of these global threats, Church leadership in Mexico repeatedly exhorted Catholics to minimise their contact with secularising and individualist influences by fortifying their own churches, their own schools, their own unions and associations. Mexican Catholics were to concern themselves with public policy and political affairs, but at the same time were expected to form a closed, integrated subgroup in society. Intransigent and loyal to Rome, they were to be socially active first and foremost on behalf of the Church, with the intent of enlarging its sphere of influence, rather than reconciling their ideology with that of social actors outside the Catholic 'sphere' or co-operating with them any more than was necessary.³⁸

The Church's insistence on resisting the trends that were gaining credence in modern society was in many ways close-minded and counterproductive.

³⁷Ceballos Ramirez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 37.

Nevertheless, Catholic leaders justified this extraordinarily stubborn reaction, which predominated from the end of the nineteenth through the first half of the twentieth century, as a necessary defence against overt attacks and insidious destruction of the one correct way of life.³⁹ The 'dual monopoly' that the Catholic Church had held as the official religion and the dominant religious culture in Latin America had been diminished in the nineteenth century, albeit in some places more than others. Newer, alternative value systems such as leftist political movements and salvation-oriented Protestantism also increasingly threatened the Church, as both could 'preach a new reward system, assume a militant posture against the existing social order, and articulate a cohesive set of anti-Catholic values,' chipping away further at the Church's former cultural stronghold. Prior to their incursions, the Catholic Church had not had to concern itself much regarding the loyalty of the masses in regions like Latin America. However, it was gradually forced to compete with more contenders at the level of individual values. Whether Catholic Action was an alternative to or just a continuation of the 'ill-equipped' tactics of scholastic and Thomist political philosophy, is debatable—and often depended on the local situation and the individual proponent. Either way, during the 1930s, Catholic Action embodied the paradigm that the Church chose to set against secular, public agencies like those of the Mexican State, as well as against the rival religious faiths and political ideologies increasingly threatened the Church's position in Latin America.⁴⁰

³⁸Blancarte, *Historia de la Iglesia católica en México*, p. 23, and 'Prefacio,' pp. 26-27; Ceballos Ramirez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 52.

³⁹Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 40.

⁴⁰Vallier, 'Religious Elites,' pp. 195-196; Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' p. 527, pp. 594-595.

At the first Plenary Latin American Council (1899), the Latin American bishops articulated the need to strengthen national churches, to train priests and religious (especially to co-ordinate their efforts with those of Rome), to place new emphasis on social works and to stimulate lay participation. The Church was acutely conscious of its losses of power in the upper echelons of Latin American society, among the intellectuals and the 'élites descristianizadas.' They also became increasingly aware that the shortage of clergy, reduced resources, neglect, and political and social unrest had led to the 'dechristianisation' of the urban middle and working classes. The Church sought to 'rechristianise' them through organised religious, social and political action, to encourage them to choose the Catholic option over secular alternatives. Lay people then could do what the clergy no longer could do outside the churches: promote the 'City of God' in the secular polis.⁴¹

How Catholic Action Would Work

In his *Manual of Catholic Action*, Monsignor Luigi Civardi wrote that an effect of protracted anticlerical secularism was the extremist view of the priest as 'a detestable parasite of society.' In such cases, even more than in places where there was a shortage of clergy or limited opportunity for priests to work in the community, the work of the lay apostolate was considered vital: 'The layman is not surrounded by that net of prejudice and distrust that secularism has woven around the sacred person of the priest; he is not suspect of pleading his own cause, or of fulfilling a professional job; and so he can penetrate into areas where the priest can

⁴¹Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 47; I. Vallier, 'Religious Elites,' p. 198. Vallier notes that a similar awareness of loss of influence among the rural population of Latin America occurred, to the Church's detriment, still later, as the Church lost significant ground to alternative religious and political movements in rural areas.

never set his foot.' In language which changed the status of the laity from passive followers to active protagonists, Pius XI declared that it was 'fitting' for the clergy to seek out 'chosen men' [sic] to evangelise in all sectors of society, and to undertake 'the apostolate of 'like on like,' workers with workers, students with students, mothers with mothers, and so on.'⁴² Other authors echoed Pius XI, ascribing new, active duties to the laity—Catholic Action was 'a reinsistence, a reaffirmation, of the laymen's part in the hierarchical apostolate of the Church,' which was 'to teach all nations. The layman to-day is reminded of his part in that charge and mission.'⁴³

Trained well, these modern missionaries could bring Christian values to all areas, in the "private" sphere of the family, friends, and customs, and the "public" sphere of society, law and even politics. Catholic Action had a dual objective: it was to defend the Church, but it could also take the offensive, openly attacking the enemies of Christian values.⁴⁴ According to Pius XI, lay Catholics ought to take all opportunities to 'educate' and 'convert', in a four-part process: they should form their own Christian conscience, foster piety, study religious and social issues, and, finally, act. In practice, participants in Catholic Action would engage with society and social institutions and would exercise their rights of citizenship in matters concerning religion, the family, property, and the mission of their government. Catholic Action would be the '*brazo largo*' of the Church, reaching all the 'strategic points that have been occupied and ravaged by the enemies of Christ.'⁴⁵

⁴²Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, p. 116-118, citing a letter of Pius XI to the Argentine Hierarchy, 4 Feb. 1931. Cited by Pius XI, 'the apostolate of like on like' was coined by French industrialist and Catholic Activist Léon Harmel (see n. 33 below).

⁴³Fitzsimons and P. McGuire, 'The World Scene of Catholic Action,' in *Restoring All Things*, p. 68.

⁴⁴Azpiaz, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 85, pp. 102-103.

⁴⁵Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, p. 117; also see J. Azpiaz, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 71, p. 75; Barranco V., "Posiciones políticas,"; Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico,' pp. 24-25.

Catholic Action's Right to Exist alongside the State

Plutarco Elías Calles, one of the presidents most reviled by Mexican Catholics, maintained throughout his political career that

Neither now nor before this have we proceeded through sectarian passion or anti-religious hate; we have maintained the same respect for all creeds...we are inspired solely by the political necessity of not tolerating the pretended existence of a State within a State...We have the Constitutional obligation of making all those who may live within the National Territory respect Mexican laws.⁴⁶

In a way, Catholic Action organisers and authors, concurred with Calles. Catholic Action was not intended to constitute a State any more than the institutional Church was—it 'is not political action, it is not economic action, it is not merely an intensification of the devotional life. It is the action of the Church on the world,' declared Fitzsimons and McGuire, two ecclesiastical assistants to the movement.⁴⁷

Yet in various descriptions of the goals, methods and achievements of Catholic Action, including Fitzsimons' and McGuire's own book, participants of Catholic Action were instructed to use their influence (albeit independently) in all of those areas to 'act on the world.' Rather than acknowledge the contradictory mandates, much less reconcile them, Catholic authors skirted the issue and stubbornly maintained that the Church had the right to exist within nations without any state interference, and that their Catholic citizens had the right to found ostensibly apolitical organisations and to undertake social action campaigns to alter

⁴⁶ USMIL reel #2, Lieut. Col. Edward Davis, Military Attaché, Report no. 1881, 'Situation as of 31 Dec. 1927,' 6 Jan 1928. The quote is from Davis' report of Calles' New Year's address, 1 Jan 1928.

⁴⁷Fitzsimons and P. McGuire, *Restoring All Things*, p. 67. Every section of the Catholic Action, from central or national offices to the smallest local branch, was assigned an ecclesiastical assistant, whose role was to assure that the group remained within the parameters of Church doctrine and to offer advice on practical issues.

the religious and social paradigms in their countries and communities. Catholic leaders maintained that Catholic organisations would ultimately contribute to, not detract from, the efforts of any 'just' state.

The root of Church-state conflict was often the question of the proper demarcation of their powers and spheres of influence. 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's' (Matt. xxi. 21; Mark xii. 17; Luke xx. 25), the biblical statement often quoted by the Mexican Church hierarchy to justify their stances vis-à-vis the loyalty of Mexican Catholics to their government and their Church, does little to clarify the proper relationship between a modern, secular state and an institutional church. After all, in Mexico the phrase was used both to justify civil disobedience during the 1920s and reconciliation during the 1930s.⁴⁸ Since the Middle Ages, the Church had used the concept to divide earthly power into 'two swords,' temporal and spiritual—but never questioned the supremacy of its spiritual power over temporal powers, nor the 'convenience' of the latter being guided by the former.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ For protests, see Anacleto González Flores. *La Cuestión Religiosa en Jalisco* (Mexico City, 1954 [1921] (2d ed.)), p. 61; Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, 'El sindicalismo católico, 1919-1931,' *Historia Mexicana*, XXXV, 4 (Apr.-Jun. 1986), p. 625, citing the Episcopado Mexicano, 'Carta Pastoral sobre la Acción Social Católica' (1921); *El Tribunal*, 17 Dec. 1928, pp. 1, 4; MPV, Sección Hemeroteca, Serie Artículos Periodicos, Caja 83, exp. 24, fojas 1073-1074, 'Venga la Escuela Católica a Solucionar un Problema: El de la Educación Nacional.' Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, an unreconciled supporter of the Cristeros and the LNDLR, reiterated the protest in his undated essay (citing expropriations from 1933-1936) 'Al Cesar Lo Que Es De Dios?' (MPV, Sección Personal, Serie Ensayos, Años 1934-1938, Caja 24, exp. 176). The editors of *Christus* also felt that the statement could be used to the Church's detriment, citing a passage from a letter of Voltaire that pledged to acquire Church properties and diminish Church power; see 'Estudios Históricos: México y la Revolución Mundial, *Christus*, I, 1 (Dec. 1935) p. 86. For conciliatory statements, see Azpiazu, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 121; L. Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, p. 125, also see Albert L. Michaels, "The Modification of the Anticlerical Nationalism of the Mexican Revolution By General Lázaro Cárdenas and its Relationship to the Church-State Détente in Mexico," *The Americas* XXVI, (1969), p. 53.

⁴⁹The Church had considered the issue resolved as far back as Boniface VIII's Papal Bull *Unam Sanctam* (18 Nov. 1302); however, emerging, secularising nation-states tended to disagree. Ernst Helmreich, ed., *A Free Church in a Free State? The Catholic Church, Italy, Germany, France, 1864-1914* (Boston, 1966), p. viii; Azpiazu, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 115.

This political theory had fallen out of fashion as the centuries progressed; the Church had since been forced to recognise the secular nature of modern states and its loss of influence with them. In the early twentieth century, the Church maintained that it could exercise both 'direct' and 'indirect' powers in modern nations: directly influencing individuals to improve and perfect themselves, and thus bringing about social reform; and indirectly influencing the organisation of society as a whole by encouraging the participation of individual, conscientious Catholics.⁵⁰ In places where Catholicism no longer enjoyed the status of state religion, Church leaders attempted to ensure that their institution would enjoy internal jurisdiction independent of the state, civil and political rights for its clergy and members, and the right to operate its own confessional schools. Catholic 'intransigents' qualified the concept of separation of Church and State; they insisted that the State remain excluded from Church administration, but asserted that the Church should be able to influence civil society by training its members to participate in a morally correct way, be it by teaching, voting, paying taxes, serving in office, or protesting.

Catholic leaders accepted the Church's exclusion from the field of "politics," narrowly defined as the actions and associations relating directly to the government of a political entity. However, they did not accept its exclusion from the broader definition of "politics," the '*sentido noble y elevado en cuanto significa gobernación, medio para el bien común, instrumento de mejora para la sociedad.*' The Church had a primary interest in the common good; having been founded for the spiritual well being of all people, by extension it should work for their temporal well being as well.⁵¹ To

⁵⁰Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 61-63; Azpiazu, *Manual de Acción Católica*, p. 116.

⁵¹Azpiazu, *Manual de Acción Católica*, pp. 113-114.

distinguish between interference and proper influence on the part of the Church, Catholic authors differentiated between politics in the 'strict, or technical sense'-meaning the procedures of a secular government-versus political issues that related to ethical principles and religious interests, such as marriage and the family, schools and education, public morals, and rights to property and free assembly. Pius XI maintained that laws and policies that in any way affected Church-State relations or religious practice fell under Church competency; the Church would avoid entering official, secular political processes, but '[w]hen politics lay hands upon the altar, then religion, and the Church, and the Pope who represents her, not only are within their rights, but are doing their duty, if they give guidance and direction; and Catholics have the *right* to demand these and the *duty* of following them."⁵²

Though not a political organisation itself, Catholic Action, according to Pius XI, 'not only does not prevent each man from joining in politics, but it creates a definite duty for them to do so.' Catholic leaders had realised that the Church lost much more by barring its members from political participation, thus allowing for completely anticlerical governments, than it might gain by encouraging the participation of Catholics, while simultaneously trying to 'immunise' them from philosophies contrary to Catholic dogma and their proponents with a program of religious education. If Catholics remained aloof, Leo XIII warned in *Inmortale Dei*, there would be no one to check governmental power wielded by anticlerical politicians. It thus became a concrete 'duty' for Catholics to defend and promote religious interests as part of the public welfare, to show themselves to be 'the *best* Catholics and the *best* citizens'; they would then earn the recognition of religion as a

⁵²Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, pp. 187-189, citing Pius XI's Speech to the International Pilgrimage of Catholic Young Men, 20 Sept. 1925 and his speech to University Students of the Italian Catholic Action, 8 Sept. 1934.

contributing factor to the greater good in the political life of their country. A 'good government' had nothing to fear from Catholic Action; by promoting the best interests of the Church and its members, it would promote the best interests of civil society. In return, states should not confuse religious and political action. To defend religion, the liberty of the Church, the sanctity of the family, proper instruction in the schools, and the right to observe holy days were religious acts fulfilling moral duties, not political attacks on a government.⁵³

The Church's 'right and duty' within its non-political jurisdiction to address problems of morality and of charity was also broadly defined. It considered an appropriate part of Catholic Action's mission of 'justice and charity' to promote marriage over divorce, private alms over public assistance, and, in general, the 'Christianisation' of the laws and public institutions that had been 'laicised' by governments which, in trying to appear as the protectors of the poor, were becoming monopolists of charity as part of their consolidation of social control. Possibly, Pius XI feared 'that complete lay political autonomy would undercut the institutional Church's ability to deal with secular governments.'⁵⁴ The state should have the power to curtail organisations that have destructive ends or means, but beyond this, from the Catholic point of view, the state had no right to restrict or interfere with the Catholics', or anyone else's, right to associate. Such restrictions were being set in Mexico, as in some European countries, during the 1920s and 1930s; the Pope stated that

'cuando nuestras más caras ambiciones corrieran peligro de ser combatidas o conculcadas con una ignorancia u hostilidad decidida del Gobierno; entonces también la Acción Católica tiene el derecho de levantarse unánimemente a

⁵³Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, p. 205-209; quote, p. 205; pp. 201-202.

⁵⁴Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, p. 95.

*defender el sagrado patrimonio de nuestras ideas, uniendo en un solo haz las fuerzas de quienes se glorian ser católicos.*⁵⁵

Catholic Action's right to exist was thus asserted; its members especially had to maintain discipline and unity in states that threatened or restricted this natural right.

Women and Catholic Action

Catholic authors credited the initial spread of Christianity by the apostles to have been the first incident of Catholic Action. In his citation of the 'litany of names' at the end of the biblical letters of St. Paul, Pius XI pointed out to the Young Women's Associations of the Italian Catholic Action that there were 'many layfolk, women included' among them. Even Paul, who was inconsistent in his exhortations for women to occupy or avoid public roles in the emerging religious movement, had written: 'Help the women that have laboured along with me in the gospel' (Phil. iv. 3). Using this citation to invite women to work with Catholic Action, Civardi adds, 'He seems to say: "They belong to Catholic Action!"'⁵⁶

The language of the public apostolate, if somewhat ambivalent about gender roles, was not exclusionary. Women Catholic activists, young and adult, were encouraged to educate themselves as diligently as any other member of Catholic Action, as they had to have a clear perception of social issues and the work of the Church in order to participate. Although *Rerum Novarum* and subsequent Church pronouncements declared women to be more naturally suited for domestic work than industrial and other outside, salaried employment, they made very clear the need for women's labour in the Catholic social action movement. The areas

⁵⁵Azpiazu, *Manual de Acción Católica*, pp. 60-64 and pp. 99-100; quote p. 62 (emphasis in text).

⁵⁶Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, pp. 119-120, citing Pius XI's Speech to the Young Women's Associations of the Italian Catholic Action, 19 Mar. 1927.

enumerated that could benefit from their participation were not circumscribed to the home: prayer, action, the Catholic press, encouraging Christian lifestyles, the 'maternal care dedicated to childhood' and the formation of good Catholics and good citizens took place not only in the home and the Church, but in the schools, in the streets, in offices and factories, and in society at large.⁵⁷ From Catholic Action's very beginnings, the Church's exhortations to women were, at times, logically inconsistent: in 1908, Pope Pius X instructed women to be 'sweet, silent and stay at home.' The next year, he exhorted women to follow the example of recently-beatified Joan of Arc and undertake 'duties outside the family circle that involve others.'⁵⁸ But the need for women to work for the Church was reiterated frequently, especially where clergy and lay men's options were curtailed by law, social convention, or conflict.

Catholic Action in Mexico

Antecedents

The Church in Mexico has a long history of social activism, and of conflicts with the central government: from Fray Bartolomé de las Casas' objections to the enslavement of the indigenous, to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies in 1767, to taking sides in the wars of Independence and the civil warfare during the mid-nineteenth century, to attempts at political, economic and social networking in the twentieth century, often in competition, if not at odds with, the

⁵⁷Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, p. 30; Azpiazu, *Manual de la Acción Católica*, p. 87 and p. 199.

⁵⁸Victoria de Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley, 1992), p. 11.

ruling regime.⁵⁹ The Church-state conflicts of Mexico's early national period stemmed from disagreements within the Church as much as they did from contests of power between it and other institutions. Particularly contested was the question of whether the *patronato*, the power to designate Church leaders and assign personnel had transferred from the Spanish Crown to the new government or if it had devolved to the Holy See. Attempts to curtail the control that the Church had over local government (especially the registry of the births, deaths, marriages and other life and legal milestones), wealth and resources, and legal privileges that began with the Spanish monarchy's Bourbon Reforms came to their post-Independence codification in the Reform laws of the Liberal government of Benito Juárez. However, not all the citizens and certainly not all clergy were convinced of the rectitude of increasing state power and diminishing that of the Church, eliminating corporate property ownership (both of the Church and of indigenous communities), and secularising the registry and education.

In a similar vein, late eighteenth-century reforms within the Church towards standardisation of religious practice and the imposition of diocesan clergy in areas formerly ministered to by missionary and mendicant orders provoked strong reactions from members of religious orders, poorer priests, nuns, members of tertiary orders and confraternities who had their parishes, monasteries, convents, *beaterios* and societies taken away from them, closed, severely altered or reduced. Despite injunctions to preach in Spanish (rather than in indigenous languages) and to tone down more colourful aspects of processions, rituals and feast day celebrations, many Mexicans clung to their popular, 'baroque' religious practices. These changes contributed to the lower clergy's breaking ranks with the Church

⁵⁹Junco, 'Sociología,' pp. 237-238; Meyer, 'Una historia política de la religión en México,' p. 740.

hierarchy, endorsing calls for independence from the Crown and joining the ranks of Fathers Hidalgo and Morelos rather than affirming the authority of the monarchy as a point of Catholic doctrine.⁶⁰

Following Ivan Vallier's analysis, the Mexican Church hierarchy's attempt to regain institutional security and influence by allying with monarchist and Conservative forces during the early national period failed, as Liberal forces won the day and the Church ended up further discredited in the victors' eyes. After this defeat, mobilising politically or militarily under a conservative or Catholic rubric was impossible; the title 'Conservative' has not been used by a Mexican political group since the mid-nineteenth century.⁶¹ In 1868, a decade after the War of the Reforma and the year after the fall of Emperor Maximilian, 'traditionalist' Catholics wishing to mobilise sentiment against the Liberal regime and promote conservative-Catholic causes organised the Sociedad Católica de México; the following year, Catholic women established a women's branch. Pope Pius IX and Archbishop of Mexico Pelagio Antonio Labastida y Dávalos gave their approval to the statutorily 'exclusivamente religioso' Sociedad. The Sociedad began by establishing committees on doctrine, schools, publications, and religious practice. While first concentrating on mobilising benefactors to donate generously, the Sociedad's work soon expanded to providing basic adult education and free schools for children, as well as establishing mutual-aid societies and co-operatives for the economically disadvantaged.⁶² This complemented a small number of Catholic mutual-aid

⁶⁰David A. Brading, 'Tridentine Catholicism and Enlightened Despotism in Bourbon Mexico,' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 15: 1 (May 1983), pp. 1-22; for more detail see his *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico* (Cambridge, 1994).

⁶¹Vallier, 'Religious Elites,' *passim*; Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' p. 51, p. 62.

⁶²Jorge Adame Goddard, *El pensamiento político y social de los católicos mexicanos, 1867-1914* (Mexico City, 1981), pp. 20-27.

societies, religiously-oriented publishing companies, childhood and adult education programs, and pious associations—many founded or maintained by women—that had existed in Mexico since the Independence era. Catholic social activity gradually took shape in Mexico City and in other parts of the country, despite the anticlerical Reform Laws and other pressures from the mid-nineteenth-century Liberal government, preceding the Church's own endorsements of Catholic social activism.⁶³

Pope Leo XIII had told Catholics world-wide to 'leave the sacristies and go to the people'; then, *Rerum Novarum* made it a Catholic duty to address the social problems created by industrialisation, liberal government and a free-market, capitalist economy. Like some of their co-religionists world-wide, not all Mexican Catholics were ready to adopt a militant program of social activism; many upper-class Catholics were content to continue to dispense charity to those less fortunate, if to take any action at all, rather than work for any sort of social change.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, as Manuel Ceballos Ramírez demonstrates in his comprehensive study, *Rerum Novarum* stimulated the significant growth of socially-oriented Catholic associations in late nineteenth-century Mexico and, as the years under the rule of Porfirio Díaz passed, political discussion and planning of alternatives to the *status quo*, including Díaz's dictatorship, increased among Mexican Catholics. The 'social Catholics' believed that Díaz had allowed too free a rein to liberal capitalism, which, in addition to adversely affecting the majority of Mexicans, also encouraged the disadvantaged to subscribe to atheistic, alternative political theories that had

⁶³ Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, pp. 22-26, p. 34, and *passim*; Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford, 1985), *passim*.

⁶⁴ Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 37; Vallier, "Religious Elites," pp. 203-204.

been condemned by the Church, such as socialism and communism.⁶⁵ Social activism-oriented Catholic organisations expanded, not only in Mexico City, but in urban centres such as Mérida (Yucatán), Puebla, Oaxaca, Morelia and Zamora (Michoacán), Guadalajara and Ciudad Guzmán (Jalisco), and Colima. In the last decade of the Porfiriato, Mexican Catholics met in a series of Catholic and agricultural congresses. Participants in Catholic congresses proposed positions both of social and political militancy and of 'prudence' and conciliation toward the state and acceptance of social norms.⁶⁶

At the same time, the Church hierarchy in Mexico engaged in a home missionary campaign of expansion and 're-evangelisation.' Church leaders intended to bring lapsed Catholics back to regular religious practice, to eliminate syncretic discrepancies in remote areas, some of them decades, if not centuries, old, and to address other differences in Catholic practice that had developed as a result of isolation, poor communications, war, endemic violence, and shortages of clergy and resources. Over one hundred new parishes were founded between 1851 and 1893; 19 new seminaries were founded by 1910, adding to the 10 existent in 1851. The number of priests increased with the population, although their distribution was uneven, favouring the central and central-western region.⁶⁷ Catholic education expanded significantly as part of this endeavour. Díaz's government relaxed enforcement of the legal prohibitions against the foundation of religious orders and

⁶⁵Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, p.36; p. 51; pp. 83-84; Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, p. 195.

⁶⁶Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, pp. 116-132, pp. 175-251.

⁶⁷Overall, the ratio of priests to population rose significantly (although the change may be exaggerated due to later census counts being somewhat more thorough). In 1851 there had been 3,232 priests, or approximately one per 2,400 inhabitants. In 1910 there were 4,461, averaging one priest per 3,400 Catholic inhabitants. Of these, 569 were in Jalisco, 457 in Michoacán, and 431 in the Federal District,

the presence of foreign clergy in Mexico (in part because it welcomed their educational and social services). As a result, established religious orders expanded (including the Jesuits, who were permitted to return to Mexico during his rule) and numerous new orders were founded in Mexico, many with a social and educational focus. Only eight men's religious orders had been present in Mexico in 1851, and most of their number had been expelled after the Reforma; by 1910, there were 18. Similarly, only nine women's religious congregations were present in mid-nineteenth century Mexico. They were joined by 14 new women's orders, founded between 1879 and 1910; of these, ten originated in Mexico but soon spread to other Latin American countries. During this time, membership grew steadily in men's and women's congregations.⁶⁸ The Catholic press also expanded significantly at this point; an 1890 census lists 35 Catholic publications. By the end of the nineteenth century, this campaign had enjoyed particular success in the region Ceballos Ramírez calls the '*eje geopolítico católico*,' a not-quite-straight axis running between Puebla and Zacatecas states and encompassing México City, Tulancingo, Querétaro, León, Morelia, Zamora, Colima, Guadalajara, and Aguascalientes.⁶⁹

This movement particularly gained momentum after the promulgation of the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in Mexico. Lay Catholics interested in social activism increasingly found sympathetic clergy who supported their efforts. One prime area these activists targeted, alongside the religious orders, was the education of poor, disadvantaged Mexicans, identified as workers, peasants, and the indigenous; this was seen as essential to the reform of their increasingly

whereas there were only 25 priests in Tabasco, 8 in Campeche and 5 in Baja California. Gutiérrez Casillas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, p. 291, p. 342 and p. 351.

⁶⁸Gutiérrez Casillas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, pp. 351-353; Hanson, "The Day of Ideals," p. 53, p. 63.

⁶⁹Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 17.

'secularising' society. This coincided with Pope Pius X's mandate that Catholics establish educational systems in their respective countries to counteract the negative effects of expanding systems of secular, public, and anticlerical education.⁷⁰ To Mexican Catholic activists, 'education' meant more than just religious instruction and basic literacy. Participants at the third and fourth Congresos Católicos (Guadalajara, 1906 and Oaxaca, 1909) and at the second and third Congresos Agrícolas Católicos (Tulancingo, 1905 and Zamora, 1906) placed special emphasis on the need for the clergy and the laity to support free schools for the urban and rural poor, technical training programs, religious and moral instruction (especially regarding the sacrament of marriage as a remedy to the evils of concubinage among the working class and rural poor), and religious and educational missions to the indigenous peoples of Mexico. Concurrently, more Catholic workers associations, mutual aid societies, and schools were founded, not only in cities but in smaller towns as well. As Jorge Adame Goddard summarises, '*La educación de obreros, campesinos e indígenas, fue entendida por los católicos como el remedio principal para la cuestión social.*'⁷¹

Educational needs in Mexico exceeded the aspirations and the capacities both of Catholic reformers who wished to combat state-sponsored biased and positivist education, and of the secular, liberal educators who battled against ignorance and 'superstition.' With great effort, and often with the support of religious congregations and lay societies (women's, in many cases), almost every diocese—including the poorest, Tabasco and Chiapas—had a parish school system, at least in

⁷⁰Pius X, *Acerbo Nimis* (On Teaching Christian Doctrine—15 April 1905), text available at www.ewtn.com/library/ENCYC/P10CHDOC.IITM.

⁷¹Adame Goddard, *El pensamiento político...*, p. 65, pp. 188-192, p. 220-221 (quote p. 221); Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social* p. 99, pp. 122-124; p. 154, p. 161, p. 230, p. 240-246.

its urban centres, by the end of the century. In many areas, though, the Catholic schools, like the public schools, suffered from insufficient funding, supplies, and staffs. In 1908, Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, then Bishop of San Cristobal, Chiapas, admitted that in some cases it was permissible for parents to send their children to the public schools, given the Catholic schools' scarcity and shortcomings; however, he did enjoin them to provide for their children's religious education. However, some urban centres, such as Mexico City, Guadalajara, Morelia, and Puebla acquired reputations as 'centres of Catholic learning.' Proponents also claimed that the Catholic schools in Morelia and Guadalajara attracted more students than the public schools. As of 1875, twenty percent of Mexican children attended Catholic schools; in ten years, this quantity increased by ten percent.⁷²

Catholic Revolutionary Politics

Lay Catholics were not content to remain non-partisan or at the sidelines of politics for long. They, like many other Mexicans, responded to the political unrest provoked by Porfirio Díaz's suggestion in his 1908 interview with journalist George Creelman that he might step down from the presidency. The conservative party that had opposed the Liberal regime of Benito Juárez and his followers had been dissolved in 1870, and the generation of Mexican conservatives who had conspired to overthrow the Liberal State had similarly passed on. In renewed suggestions to found a Catholic party, activist Catholics spoke of the duty of Catholics to participate in politics, and proposed working within the state to bring to it as much

⁷²Karl Schmitt, SJ, 'The Diaz Conciliation Policy on State and Local Levels, 1867-1911,' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XL 4 (Nov. 1960), pp. 516-519, and 'Catholic Adjustment to the Secular State: The Case of Mexico, 1867-1911,' *Catholic Historical Review*, XLVII, 2 (Jul. 1962), pp. 195-196; Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' p. 65-66. The most detailed study of schooling in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is Mary Kay Vaughan, *The State, Education and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928* (DeKalb, Ill., 1984), see chapters 1 and 2.

religious influence as possible, rather than leaving government to the anticlericals or trying to wrest it from them entirely.⁷³ Partido Católico Nacional (PCN) organisers, reflecting contemporary papal pronouncements, made it clear that they believed the bishops of Mexico should remain passive observers of politics. They also acknowledged that Mexican Catholics had the right to direct their allegiance towards any political party, so long as its platforms did not conflict with Catholic teachings on faith and morals.⁷⁴ While some Catholics had supported Díaz in the past, others made their disapproval manifest. The PCN was founded in May 1911, days before Díaz left office. The PCN did not put forth its own presidential candidate and supported Francisco I. Madero in the 1911 elections (although his substitution of liberal Justo Pino Suárez as the vice presidential candidate for Francisco León de la Barra caused a rift with more conservative Catholics). The PCN put forth many candidates of their own in regional and local elections, winning the governorships of Querétaro, Jalisco, Mexico State and Zacatecas, the mayoralties of state capitals Aguascalientes, Oaxaca, Puebla, Querétaro and Veracruz and key cities León and Irapuato, and numerous municipal presidencies (the majority of municipalities in Jalisco and Mexico State, 26 in Michoacán and several in Chiapas).⁷⁵ Initially, the strength that the PCN demonstrated, especially in the central-western region, indicated to its supporters that politics influenced by religion could be a lasting presence in the new political regime.

In the following year, two important lay Catholic associations were founded that endured the Revolution and Cristero Rebellion and formed the bases for the

⁷³Adame Goddard, *El pensamiento político...*, p. 16, pp. 31-32; Meyer, 'Una historia política de la religión en México,' p. 722.

⁷⁴Schmitt, 'Catholic Adjustment to the Secular State,' p. 202.

⁷⁵Adame Goddard, *El pensamiento político y social de los católicos mexicanos*, p. 176-177.

ACM, the UDCM and the ACJM. Also at this time, local and regional Catholic trade unions that had been founded in the late Porfiriato were consolidating into nationwide associations that later competed with the unions of the Mexican State: the Operarios Guadalupanos (1909) and the Unión Católica de Obreros (1907). Other religiously-oriented workers' associations, like the women's Obreras Guadalupanas and the Asociación de Sirvientas de Santa Zita (1908), also gained strength after the armed phase of the Revolution, reaching their peak membership and strength in the late 1910s and early 1920s. In 1922, Catholic labour unions reorganised into the Confederación Nacional Católica de Trabajo (CNCT).⁷⁶

Many Catholic militants in the PCN and in other associations initially welcomed the new opportunities for political and social dialogue brought by the end of Díaz's rule and Francisco I. Madero's coming to political power. However, the disapproval of some Catholics of more liberal politicians such as Pino Suárez, if not the entire Madero government, were made overtly. The indictment of Catholic elite involvement with and support of Huerta's military coup overthrowing the *maderista* government in 1913 followed Catholic leaders thereafter and often discredited Catholic claims to be working patriotically for the benefit of Mexico.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, pp. 312-399, also see Ceballos Ramírez, 'La encíclica *Rerum Novarum*,' pp. 23-33 and 'El sindicalismo católico, 1919-1931,' *Historia Mexicana*, XXXV, 4 (Apr-Jun 1986), pp. 643-656; 'La Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas en el XX Aniversario de su Fundación: 12 de septiembre de 1912,' *Acción Femenina*, I, 1 (Jan. 1933), p. 3; Andres Barquin y Ruíz, *Bernardo Bergöend*, S.J. (Mexico City, 1968), p. 81; Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' p. 589.

⁷⁷The PCN, independently-acting Catholic conservatives and senior members of the Mexican Church hierarchy have been implicated in supporting General Huerta's overthrow of Madero. The PCN was divided as to its support for the revolutionary regime, and certainly some Catholic conservatives within and outside the political movement made their antagonism towards Madero clear. Whether or not money or manpower was donated to Huerta by the clergy is not proven, but it is certain that representatives of the Church hierarchy in Mexico City manifested their approval of Huerta (and, perhaps, their survival strategy), shown by singing a *Te Deum* in his honour at the end of the *Decena Trágica*. Not surprisingly, this provoked strong anticlerical reactions among revolutionaries, who henceforth accused all Catholics of financially and symbolically supporting reactionary forces in Mexico, and used this to justify stringent laws limiting the powers of the Church. See A. Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, I, 404, and II, 202-203.

This in turned fuelled the anticlerical fires of many revolutionaries; radical anticlericals were joined by moderates in sharply limiting the prerogatives of the Church. The Constituent Congress that met in Querétaro in 1915 and 1916 promulgated a Constitution in 1917 that openly aimed to eliminate the Church's broader cultural and spiritual hold over Mexico, carrying anticlericalism far beyond the attempts of governments of the previous two centuries to target Church property and judicial privileges. The government would not recognise the juridical personality of the any church or religious association (article 130). The Mexican State hereafter would not recognise hierarchies within religious institutions, and would prosecute any forced obedience to those claiming authority within those hierarchies (article 6). The Constitution nationalised all Church properties (article 27) and declared the state's monopolistic control over education, the civil registry, the electoral process, and even the composition and distribution of the Mexican clergy and vowed religious. These were required to be Mexican citizens and to register with the Mexican government; all persons under religious vows were barred from voting as well as political participation. A prohibition was placed on the founding of new religious orders or the imposition of any temporary or permanent vows that would subtract from the freedom of an individual (article 6). The 1917 Constitution asserted the right of the individual states to assess the need for the presence of ministers of all Churches according to population and local necessity. All elementary schools were to be secular, and the involvement of clergy and religious in higher education was limited (article 3). Religious practice was limited to taking place within churches and private homes (article 24). Lay persons were also prohibited from founding religiously oriented political parties (article 130), thus eliminating the PCN as a valid competitor and the possibility of any other arising.⁷⁸

⁷⁸Documentación civil: Disposiciones civiles que atañen a los católicos y que es muy conveniente

Mexican Catholic activists, like other Mexican citizens, began to reconstruct and reconsolidate their social position, trying to recover from the losses incurred during the Mexican Revolution. In 1920, the Mexican Episcopate brought the Catholic social action groups that had survived the Revolution under the supervision of an umbrella organisation, the Secretariado Social Mexicano (SSM). The first director of the SSM, Father Alfredo Méndez Medina, S.J., based his plan through which Catholics could contribute to the reconstruction of Mexican civil society on a philosophy derived from favourable interpretations of medieval Catholic corporatism (with faith-based organisations an essential part of the 'body politic') and on a contemporary assessment of the failures of the Church and of civil society in Mexico's recent history (the false tranquillity of the *Pax Porfiriana* that had exploded into the Revolution, the negative reaction and civil war that had followed Huerta's coup, and the increasing circulation of class war rhetoric in postrevolutionary politics). The SSM's goals were to conduct research on social problems and promote social action that would help restore (as the SSM's periodical was named) *La Paz Social* in Mexico. Although originating from the Episcopate, the SSM was not intended to be entirely directed and driven by Mexican ecclesiastical leaders; much latitude was to be given for lay participation and leadership, which was the case under Méndez Medina's direction. The SSM encouraged and supervised the growing ACM, notably the UDCM, the ACJM, and other lay endeavours such as study circles, mutual aid and savings societies. Méndez Medina was particularly interested in questions of labour organisation, making this an

conozcan y recuerden los eclesiásticos,' *Christus*. I: 1 (Dec. 1935), pp. 37-41, citing articles 3, 6, 24, 27 and 130, and the Código Penal of 1935; see also 'Mexicano: Esta es tu Constitución,' (Mexico: Cámara de Diputados del H. Congreso de la Unión, XLVII Legislatura, 1968), pp. 24-33, pp. 89-91, pp. 93-102, pp. 109-116, pp. 330-338 (Note: many of these articles were amended in 1992 as part of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's efforts to improve Church-State relations. Romero de Solís, *El Aguñon del Espíritu*, p. 481 and pp. 486-502.

especial focus of the SSM through the mid-1920s (evidenced by its support for the organisation of the CNCT, mentioned above). Méndez Medina correctly sensed that a new political force was emerging from urban, organised labour, to be reckoned with even more in the new state and economy than that of the rural, agricultural sector, and that unions would contribute to the construction of a powerful relationship that was being negotiated among labour leaders, industrialists, and the Mexican government. Yet Méndez Medina did not wish only to bring a confessional and anti-socialist aspect to labour organising; he sincerely believed that Catholic social thought could make a valuable contribution to the struggles to better working conditions and wages.⁷⁹

Many Church leaders accurately sensed that the state was increasingly asserting its control over Mexican society. At first, the postrevolutionary government selectively enforced the anticlerical elements of the 1917 Constitution, usually at the provocation of militant Catholic action. For example, in 1923, President Obregón expelled the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Ernesto Fillippi, because of his participation in a highly publicised ceremony to dedicate a statue at Cubilete, Guanajuato, and the Mexican nation as a whole, to Christ the King.⁸⁰ For some time no federal regulatory laws existed regarding the implementation of the Constitution with regards to the Church, although some states—unsurprisingly, Tabasco, Yucatán,

⁷⁹Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' pp. 324-335 and ff, p. 360-368, pp. 268-280 and ff. For the emergence of labour as a crucial political player, see Jeffrey L. Bortz, 'The Genesis of the Mexican Labor Relations System: Federal Labor Policy and the Textile Industry 1925-1940,' *The Americas*, LII, 1 (Jul. 1995), p. 44.

⁸⁰John W. F. Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919-1936* (Austin, 1961), p. 298; NYT, 22 Jun. 1929 (1,2). Obregón had sufficient power and control in Mexico City to do this, and could have invoked his constitutional right to do so if necessary, as Fillippi was a foreign-born cleric.

Campeche, Veracruz and Michoacán—but also some with less radical traditions—such as Jalisco and Guanajuato—adopted stringent anticlerical measures.⁸¹

Avidly anticlerical Plutarco Elías Calles' succession to the presidency changed this. In 1926, Calles used his executive prerogative to deport foreign clergy, close Catholic schools, and order all clergy to register with civil authorities. Calles then pressured the Mexican Congress to pass laws implementing the anticlerical provisions of the 1917 Constitution. These, along with new penal codes, were put into effect in August 1926, which provoked several reactions from the largely Catholic population. In a move condoned by Pope Pius XI, the Mexican clergy responded with an interdict ceasing all public administration of the sacraments (although at times called a 'religious strike,' rhetorically placing religious protest alongside Mexico's vigorous labour movement, clergy continued to administer sacraments clandestinely, often aided by lay people). The year before, middle-class, urban Catholics, among them members of the UDCM, the ACJM, the Caballeros de Colón (Knights of Columbus – the international association for lay Catholic adult men), Catholic unions, and other organisations, founded the Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa (LNDLR) to co-ordinate civil action against the government's policies. The LNDLR was intentionally organised to be independent of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, to have more latitude to confront the government without jeopardising the institutional Church and without having to wait for ecclesiastical approval.⁸² In July 1926, the LNDLR, the UDCM, the ACJM, the

⁸¹Thomas Benjamin and Mark Wasserman, eds., *Provinces of the Revolution: Essays on Regional Mexican History 1910-1929* (Albuquerque, 1990), *passim*; Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' pp. 385-386; Anna Macías, *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940* (Westport, Conn., 1982), p. 79, p. 90; Martínez Assad, *El laboratorio de la revolución*, pp. 21-25; Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation*, pp. 49-50 and pp. 60-61.

⁸²The Mexican Episcopate never wholeheartedly approved of the LNDLR; it initially voiced strong disapproval, as the organisation had been created without any request for episcopal approval, and after a short period of hesitant appreciation for its alliance against the anticlerical government, the Mexican

Caballeros de Colón and other lay associations organised a boycott of goods produced and services rendered by government-owned industries, private industries and unions supporting the state's socialist program.⁸³

Calles had told Archbishop Leopoldo Ruíz y Flores of Morelia and other Church leaders that Catholics had only two means of protesting against his actions: 'either go to the Congress or take up arms.' Numerous Catholics, principally in the central-western region of Mexico, chose Calles' latter option, despite eventual censure from the Vatican and from the Mexican Episcopate.⁸⁴ The LNDLR also chose to fight the government, mobilising urban Catholics; this caused the UDCM and some other Catholic social action associations to split from the LNDLR coalition, obeying the Church hierarchy's prohibition against armed resistance. The majority of the religiously motivated fighting took place in the central-western states: Jalisco, Colima, Michoacán, Nayarit, Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, and parts of Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, and Durango. These, as noted above, had been the sites of the Church's most successful missionary and social mobilisations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸⁵

Episcopate again condemned the LNDLR when it maintained its position of armed rebellion, in opposition to later papal and episcopal mandates. Barbara Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion: A New Chapter,' Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1981, pp. 29-30.

⁸³J. Meyer, *La Cristiada*, I, 50-65.

⁸⁴Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico*, p. 306, 312-315. The Cristero Rebellion derived its name from the phrase "¡Viva Cristo Rey!," the last words of Father Miguel Pro (Miguel Enghien), S.J., executed in 1927 for his alleged participation in the attempted bombing of General Obregón's automobile as well as for performing illicit religious services. Pro's martyrdom was well popularised and became a rallying symbol for Catholics across the country. Mexican bishops initially exhorted Catholics to defend their religion by all possible means. The vagueness of their language was most likely deliberate, but all but two bishops (José de Jesús Manríquez y Zárate, Bishop of Huejutla, and Leopoldo Lara y Torres, bishop of Tacámbaro) came to support openly Pius XI's later prohibition against armed rebellion. Similarly, many laypeople saw more than passive resistance as necessary, and joined the rebellion. The most detailed study to date of the Cristero Rebellion is Meyer, *La Cristiada*.

⁸⁵Alan Knight, 'Popular Culture and the Revolutionary State in Mexico, 1910-1940,' *HAHR*, LXXIV, 3 (1994), pp. 432-433.

Nationalising Regional Politics: The Maximato, the PNR and Cardenismo

After three years of open military and social conflict, the Catholic hierarchy sought another chance to reconcile the Church with the ruling, secular state in the name of its adherents, belligerent and pacifist alike. To re-establish itself as one of the principal influences in the civic and private lives of the Mexican people, and to lessen the impact of state restrictions, the Church had to rein in its members who acted provocatively against the state. Militarily, the Mexican government had overpowered the Cristeros by mid-1929.⁸⁶ Catholics' armed and peaceful protests against government anticlericalism during the 1920s did not result in any clear attainment of their goals, such as the elimination of anticlerical provisions in the 1917 Constitution and federal, state and local laws, the establishment of co-operation between Church and state leaders, or securing the Church's cultural dominance of Mexican society. The national government, led by President Emilio Portes Gil, merely granted the Church a series of '*arreglos*' to cease direct attacks from each institution (or its members) on the other.⁸⁷

⁸⁶At the time and for decades afterwards, debates raged as to whether the Cristeros were on their way to being beaten by the Mexican military, whether power struggles between the LNDLR in Mexico City and those in the field (the Unión Popular, the Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco) jeopardised the Cristeros position, or whether they could have held out longer, but were undercut by the actions of the Church hierarchy; see Meyer, *La Cristiada*, vol. 1, p. 120, p. 285, and pp. 342-346, and Jim Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos: A Regional Analysis of Mexico's Cristero Rebellion* (Tucson, Ariz., 1982), pp. 123-124, pp. 171-172, and pp. 179-181. Cristero veterans who considered themselves beaten by both state and Church may have agreed heartily with the editor of *David*, a periodical published from 1952 to 1970 for and by Cristero veterans, who wrote that '*Los cristeros fuimos a defender a los derechos Sagrados de Cristo y los de Su Santa Iglesia, teníamos obligación de defender y no de ganar. Algunas personas capacitadas para opinar sobre este asunto, opinaban que podíamos triunfar, otros que no; unos dicen que obramos bien, otros que obramos mal. Nosotros, sin despreciar el juicio de los hombres nos atentamos al juicio de Dios. Si obramos bien que nos premie, si mal nos castigue; pero que nos perdone.*' Aurelio Acevedo, 'Porque fuimos a la lucha,' *David*, I, 1 (22 Aug. 1952), p. 3 (my emphasis).

⁸⁷The text of the *arreglos* can be found in José Ma. Muriá, dir., *Historia de Jalisco, Tomo IV: Desde la consolidación del Porfiriato hasta mediados del siglo XX* (Guadalajara, 1982), p. 393; also see Negrete, *Relaciones entre la Iglesia...* p. 338.

The *arreglos* did not close the breach between the Church and the State in which the Mexican Catholics were caught; they were a temporary arrangement-and widely recognised as such-intended to end the military conflict and concomitant Catholic protests and boycott campaigns. The *modus vivendi*, as Church leaders called the arrangement, did not prove satisfactory to many Mexican Catholics, whether they had participated directly in the armed rebellion, supported the rebellion indirectly, protested pacifically, or watched from the sidelines. The legal status of the Church was still precarious, as was that of its clergy and religious. Its buildings and their contents were still national property, and permission to use them could be granted or revoked by anticlerical bureaucrats; their capacity to organise in worker's associations was eliminated by law; their ability to open confessional schools and to publicly practice Catholic ritual (in processions, fiestas for patron saints, and so on) were still restricted.

The years between the assassination of President-elect Alvaro Obregón (July 1928) and the presidential term of President Lázaro Cárdenas (beginning December 1934) are known as the 'Maximato.' Despite the fact that Emilio Portes Gil, Pascual Ortiz Rubio, and Abelardo L. Rodríguez all served as presidents of Mexico, their administrations, and indeed, much of Mexican politics, were dominated and manipulated by the *jefe Máximo*, Ex-president Plutarco Elías Calles, and his supporters. Tzvi Medin classifies these presidents broadly in terms of their support of the radical anticlerical and antireligious program that Calles espoused. Portes Gil, interim president from 25 September 1928 to 5 February 1930, also strongly supported the Mexican state's achieving severe legal and social dominance over the Church. Ortiz Rubio, on the other hand, courted the 'white' (conservative and Catholic) factions in the Mexican legislature and elsewhere in an ultimately vain effort to limit Calles' influence over his administration (Ortiz Rubio resigned from

the presidency on 2 September 1932, under pressure from the dissatisfied *Jefe Máximo*).⁸⁸ During his administration (3 September 1932 to 18 December 1934), Abelardo L. Rodríguez actively supported the fulfilment of the anticlerical provisions of the 1917 Constitution and its operating laws; for example, the reform of Constitutional Article 3 and the plan for socialist education were formulated during his administration. Yet he was not as enthusiastic as Calles was about the radicalisation of the government's anticlerical campaign, anticipating the unrest it would cause.⁸⁹

The establishment of an official ruling party in Mexico in 1929, the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR), polarised some of the manifold factions of national, regional and local political organisation, and completely excluded others (such as religiously-oriented political parties and, increasingly, radical socialists and Communists).⁹⁰ The single party was meant to serve as a "broad church," not only to unify a membership ranging from conservatives to radicals, but also to homogenise it (as much as was possible) in support of a national program of political, economic and social reform. Calles could not run for re-election immediately after his presidential term (1924-1928); and later, given the protest and violence that Obregón's bid for a second term had caused, it simply did not seem politically expedient.⁹¹ Instead, Calles planned to stabilise the gains that the

⁸⁸Tzvi Medin, *El minimato presidencial: historia política del maximato, 1928-1935* (Mexico, 1991), pp. 86-87 and p. 115; Laura Patricia Romero, *Jalisco desde la revolución*, vol. 3, *La consolidación del Estado y los conflictos políticos* (Guadalajara, 1987), p. 24.

⁸⁹Medin, *El minimato presidencial*, p. 129; Lorenzo Meyer, *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana: Los inicios de la institucionalización*, vol 12, *La política del maximato* (Mexico, 1978), p. 181.

⁹⁰Sherman, *The Mexican Right*, pp. 54-55.

⁹¹The 1927 amendment that had reversed Carranza's 1916 absolute prohibition on re-election, allowing one, non-immediate second term, was not overturned formally until 29 April 1933, five years after Obregon's assassination; see *Mexicano: Esta es tu Constitución*, p. 225-226, Art. 83 and notes.

triumphant Sonoran politicians had won in the Revolution: the implementation of provisions of the 1917 Constitution, a reconciliation of social classes brought about by dominating unions and other economic organisations, and the laicisation of society, education in particular, concomitant with a strict anticlericalism, circumscribing the activities of the Church. For this it was necessary to establish a nation-wide network of supporters, reaching all levels of society; not only would the state, working with the co-operation of the new party and its loyal adherents in the private sector, control the national leadership in Mexico City, but it would also maintain control over regional and local leaders in public and civic positions, whether state governors, legislators, judges, municipal presidents or local government authorities, businessmen, newly created agrarian and co-operative leaders and members, or militarised caciques still dominating their 'territory.' The mechanism to organise such a political machine was the PNR. As a political party imposed from 'above,' the PNR consolidated Calles' power and influence over the many political groups, parties and clubs, and over caciques and local leaders of that time. There were many advantages to forming a political party nearly synonymous with the government and which it was imperative to form an alliance with or join. By presenting itself as the 'political organism of the Revolution' and as representative of all revolutionaries, Calles created the logical implication that either one was for the PNR, or against it, therefore one supported the Mexican Revolution in its institutionalised form, or one was a reactionary opponent.⁹² Because it lacked

⁹²Romero, *La consolidación del estado*, p. 15-18. Romero sees the influence of freemasonry, practised by Calles and many others in the Revolutionary government, particularly in proposals of a secularised nation in which the power of religious institutions, especially the Roman Catholic Church, are severely curtailed. The articles of the Constitution of 1917 regulating religion are not specific to the Church, but rather apply to all '*cultos*.' Because of the magnitude of the Catholic Church in comparison with any other in Mexico at the time and of overt preferences given, at times, to non-Catholic churches, the 'equality' of this regulation was more a theory than a practice.

a nationally-organised popular base of support at the outset, the architects of the PNR attempted to draw in regional political parties and local strongmen as well as capitalise on the experience of its left-leaning members in organising peasants and workers on local and regional levels, although here reducing class war rhetoric and emphasising worker-business co-operation. The PNR's centre-left faction 'aimed to build a national party based upon worker, peasant and middle-class support in opposition to the old land-owning elites, foreign property holders, and the Catholic Church,' incorporating them by means of both populist programs and inclusive rhetoric.⁹³ At same time, PNR leaders aimed to institutionalise the mediating processes being undertaken across the country in which authority, rule and control were legitimised and delineated, for example, in labour and land disputes.⁹⁴ Increasingly, the choice given was to go through the PNR, or go against it.

Originally expected not to alter the *Callista* order of things, Lázaro Cárdenas del Río, Rodríguez's successor, changed the Mexican presidency, and Mexican politics, over the course of his six-year administration. Cárdenas' activist presidency, especially his support of reform for the working class and peasants, won him an enduring place in Mexico's popular memory as one of its most beloved leaders. It would be impossible to include more than a very brief summary here, intended only to introduce events and issues, which are expanded upon in the following chapters. After rising in the military during the Revolution, Cárdenas had begun his political career as a radical, instituting the anticlerical and agrarian provisions of the 1917 Constitution while governor of his home state of Michoacán in the early 1920s. He then returned to the army, serving the federal government

⁹³Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, p. 6 and p. 30.

⁹⁴Guillermo de la Peña, 'Poder local, poder regional: perspectivas socioantropológicas,' en Jorge Padua y Alain Vanneph, comps., *Poder local, poder regional* (Mexico, 1993), p. 33.

loyally through several rebellions and upheavals, and became Minister of Defence in Rodríguez's cabinet. It was thought that Cárdenas would for the most part docilely follow Calles' lead while making some concessions to leftist organisers, but his presidential campaign, especially his tours around the nation, renewed his zeal for reform, which did not diminish after his election. Frustrated by the resistance of regional *caudillos*, industrialists, landowners and other party members unwilling to adjust to the more open embrace of labour, agrarian and social reform (and who were led by an increasingly dissatisfied Calles), Cárdenas purged the PNR, the army, and several state governorships of troublemakers, culminating in the April 1936 expulsion from the PNR and exile of the *Jefe Máximo* himself.⁹⁵

It was said that Catholics in Mexico City cried '¡Viva Cárdenas!' out of relief at the unseating of some of the Church's staunchest enemies (aside from Calles, Tomás Garrido Canabal, governor of Tabasco during the 1920s, Minister of Agriculture and sponsor of the anticlerical youth group of *rojinegros* (red shirts) in the early 1930s) was also stripped of his commission and 'sent on assignment' to Costa Rica). While Cárdenas was less concerned than Calles had been with the attempt to eliminate the Church through enforcement of legal limitations on clergy and churches, he had little sympathy for organised religion itself, believing that 'a moment spend on one's knees is a moment lost to humanity.' Cárdenas remained intolerant of religious practices that continued to engender social unrest, and although he did not implement further radically anticlerical policies like the 1932 law severely reducing the quantity of priests and churches available to Catholics or the 1934 educational

⁹⁵ The literature on Cárdenas' sexenio is enormous; analyses of each element of *cardenista* policy fill shelves themselves. This necessarily brief summary is taken from Luis González, *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana*, vol. 15, *Los días del Presidente Cárdenas* (Mexico City, 1981), pp. 74-78, Alan Knight, 'Mexico, c. 1930-1946,' in *CHLA*, VII, 10-16; and the essays in Aguila M. and Enriquez Perea, *Perspectivas sobre el cardenismo*.

reform, he continued to insist that 'fanaticism' had to be fought in all its forms. Cárdenas believed that education and social reforms would better diminish enthusiasms for 'superstition,' and paid special attention to rural and indigenous communities. His administration pressed ahead with implementing the socialist education curriculum and expanding the official school system (to the exclusion of virtually all others), expropriating Church properties for the purpose and sending 'missionaries' and 'brigades' all across Mexico, which continued to breed discontent. As Alan Knight writes, '[s]ocialism meant all things to all men'; some teachers interpreted it as a new lease on anti-clericalism, while others envisioned returning Mexico's communities to an (idealised) collective past, based on its indigenous heritage. Still others envisioned social and aesthetic reforms that would redeem Mexico's flagging economy, raise its educational standards, and produce an ideologically committed generation of children that appreciated both their country's past and its future as a modern, 'rationalised,' educated nation. Such lofty ideals fell flat in the face of insufficient funding, noncooperation from parents unwilling to send their children to the new schools, and violent attacks on the schools and their teachers. Local governments, if not themselves indifferent or hostile to the new educational programme, lacked the means to guarantee teachers' safety; numerous teachers were killed or wounded. The combination of lack of enforcement and danger quashed much of the radical elements of the programme; by the late 1930s, most teachers had given up on using the word 'socialism.' The radical element of public education was abandoned soon after Cárdenas left office, although the public education system remained predominant.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Cárdenas is quoted by Albert J. Michaels in 'The Modification of the Anticlerical Nationalism...', p. 37; Knight, 'Mexico,' pp. 17-20 and pp. 30-34 and 'Estado, revolución y cultura popular,' p. 305; Victoria Lerner, *Historia de la revolución mexicana, Período 1934-1940*, vol. 17, *La educación socialista* (Mexico City, 1979), p. 83; Salvador Camacho Sandoval, *Controversia educativa entre la ideología y la fe: la educación*

Though some peasants protested that they wanted '*culto*' more than land, Cárdenas gained much support for his programs from the communities that benefited from the new school system, the agrarian reform, and other social programmes. Cárdenas invited agrarians, teachers, unionising workers and other social activists to join the government's 'Frente Popular,' which lent massive support to his social and economic policies, and presaged the 1938 reorganisation of the ruling party into the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (PRM) along corporatist lines. The expropriation of the railroads in 1937 and foreign oil holdings in 1938 convinced many Mexicans that they were gaining greater economic autonomy and power as a nation. The oil expropriation garnered support ranging from radicalised university students to Archbishop of Mexico City and Apostolic Delegate Luis María Martínez of Mexico City, who encouraged Mexican Catholics to commit themselves to their government's assertion of the nation's subsoil rights. This co-operation came about only after significant soft-peddalling of the state's radical social policies (due to a combination of popular resistance, continued budget shortages, and labour unrest), but nonetheless heralded the beginning of calmer official relations between Church and state.⁹⁷

Catholic Alternatives in the Late 1930s

Not all Catholics found the policy of negotiation to win back a place for the Church in Mexico, begun by Archbishops Ruiz y Flores and Díaz Barreto, to be acceptable, and Martínez's appeals for national unity also fell on deaf ears. Catholics in San Luis Potosí supported their governor, Saturnino Cedillo, in his short-lived

socialista en la historia de Aguascalientes, 1876-1940 (Mexico City, 1991), pp. 17-19. See Chapters 2, 3 and 4 for more detail.

⁹⁷ Knight, 'Mexico,' pp. 40-44; González 167-184.

and half-hearted military uprising against *cardenismo*.⁹⁸ Of much longer duration was the Unión Nacional Sinarquista (UNS), founded in 1937. The UNS found its base in Catholics' continued resentment of the *arreglos* and the spate of anticlerical policies that followed. Rejecting the conservative pragmatism of the bishops and of organisations such as the ACM, the UNS rallied around a more purist conception of loyalty to God, country, and family. The *sinarquistas* looked upon the Revolution, socialism, communism, excessive materialism and liberalism with equal rancour, and called for an integralist society anchored in religion, private property, and social order and solidarity. Unsurprisingly, the UNS was strongest in the old *zona cristera*, especially in the Bajío region in Guanajuato. The UNS favoured mass demonstrations over party politics, and gained notoriety for rallying behind one of their leaders, Salvador Abascal to reopen churches in Tabasco in 1938. In the early 1940s the UNS divided into two factions, one that maintained its separatist stance, boycotting elections, founding a short-lived colony in Baja California and generally maintaining its distance from the Mexican mainstream, and another that drifted towards conservative party politics (supporting the 1940 opposition presidential campaign, the Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN, see below) or the UNS offshoot, the Partido Demócrata Mexicana) and ultimately lasted longer. Rubén Aguilar V. and Guillermo Zermeño P. claim that, although the *sinarquistas* were the '*hijos no queridos*' of the Church (their movement never gained episcopal approval, although some individual priests supported it enthusiastically), they formed a genuine '*movilización social*,' as opposed to the ACM, an '*instrumento institucional de la Iglesia*.'⁹⁹ The UNS was undoubtedly

⁹⁸ Carlos Martínez Assad, *Los rebeldes vencidos: Cedillo contra el Estado Cardenista* (Mexico City, 1990); also González, *Los días del Presidente Cárdenas*, p. 195-200; Knight, 'Mexico,' p. 55-57.

⁹⁹ R. Aguilar V. and G. Zermeño P., 'Ensayo introductorio: La iglesia y el sinarquismo en México,' in Aguilar V. and G. Zermeño P., eds., *Religión, política y sociedad: El sinarquismo y la Iglesia en México*

more of a rural phenomenon than the ACM, was somewhat less well-distributed geographically, and had a different appeal, to those less concerned with the strength of the institutional Church and more with regional and personal autonomy (occasionally couched in terms of *machismo* though many women did support the UNS and formed a women's section in 1943 xenophobia, and anti-Semitism). However, the two movements shared some similarities: both had peak membership levels of about 350,000 in the mid-1940s, found their greatest strength in the old *zona cristera*, and continued to represent minority factions of mobilised, lay Catholics who opposed leftist politics and discrimination against their religion and militated in their communities for their cause.¹⁰⁰

The presidential election of 1940 offered Mexicans little in the way of alternatives. After a period of debate within the PRM, fuelled in part by Cárdenas' refusal to hand-pick successor, General Manuel Avila Camacho was chosen over another Michoacán radical, General Francisco J. Múgica. Although more zealous social reformers were discontent, Avila Camacho had a wider base; he was moderate and conciliatory enough to please the right, especially on social issues such as religion and education, but still could garner some support from organised labour (although this did not always come without pressure) and some moderate progressive social activists. In terms of parties, the PRM's main competitor was the Partido de Acción Nacional, founded by Catholics and conservatives discontented with the regime in 1939, and led by intellectual Manuel Gómez Morín, former rector of the National Autonomous University, and Guadalajara lawyer Efraín González Luna. However, the PAN refrained as a party from endorsing the strongest

(*nueve ensayos*). (Mexico City, 1992), pp. 17-30. Jean Meyer, *El snarquismo: ¿un fascismo mexicano? 1937-1947* (Mexico City, 1979), pp. 133-138 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ Meyer, *El snarquismo*, p. 36, p. 47; Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes geográficos*, p. 25.

opposition candidate for president, General Juan Andreu Almazán. Almazán's support was diffuse - he appealed to principally Catholics, middle-class voters, small property owners, but also won the support of workers and peasants disenchanted with bureaucratic and increasingly corrupt unions and confederations and was only loosely organised in a party of his own devising, the Partido Revolucionario de Unificación Nacional. After an obviously rigged vote (including numerous clashes over ballot boxes and several dozen fatalities), Avila Camacho won by 2.5 million votes to 129,000. The United States refused to consider aiding Almazán, who, after a few appeals to Mexico's patriots, conceded the election, unwilling to become another martyr in an uprising against the strengthening state. Avila Camacho's policy of '*unidad nacional*' carried the day; although more indicative of Cupertino between business, labour organisations and government, Catholics could take some comfort in his pronouncement '*yo soy creyente*,' a fairly obvious indication that the new president would not expend much energy attacking the Church or zealously enforcing anticlerical laws.¹⁰¹

Mexico in 1929: More Ripe for *Acción Católica* than Ever Before

In the meantime, the Church in Mexico slowly recovered from almost two decades of institutional attacks and restrictions. Government partisans had claimed that they were liberating Mexicans from centuries of clerical oppression; Emilio Portes Gil effused, 'If the children of Mexico are to be Christians, let them learn Christian doctrine from the very founts, and lips of the Master, as taught by the

¹⁰¹ Sherman, *The Mexican Right*, pp. 27, 117-129; González, *Los días del presidente Cárdenas*, pp. 221-228, 301-307; Knight, 'Mexico,' pp.59-64.

Gospel...'¹⁰² Whatever the merits of individual theological study (which it is doubtful that Portes Gil truly wished to promote), there was no avoiding the fact that Catholicism is a religion based on participation in sacraments that only its ordained clergy can perform. In the end, Catholics, whether in the ACM, the UNS, or independently, pressured their government for priests and churches. It took some time for the Church to supply Mexican Catholics with the Church personnel they needed. In 1932, almost all diocesan seminaries had been closed, schools were closed and hospitals laicised, convents dispersed and any remaining foreign clergy were expelled from the country. While some observers claimed that many priests had 'heroically' stayed in their parishes and served the people until arrested and removed, it became evident that many Mexican churches still lacked permanent clergy. In 1945, several years after the impetus to be a '*comecuras*' politician had begun to subside, a Mexican priest estimated that the countrywide ratio of Catholics to priests was more than 5,000 to one, just about the upper limit of parishioners to whom one man could reasonably minister. In some regions, the ratio was much higher; the diocese of Tabasco still exceeded the rest of the country, with over 77,000 Catholics per priest, twenty two of Mexico's thirty-three dioceses had ratios that exceeded that limit. While the Church never approved of lay people assuming the sacramental duties of priests, lay volunteers could look after the education, catechism, spiritual devotions, church maintenance, and social services that were normally run or supervised by priests. Whether in regions with high inhabitant to priest ratios or in places where there were none at all, a corps of dedicated lay activists could provide the Church invaluable services. In 1945, all but three dioceses for which statistics are available had an inhabitant to ACM member ratio of

¹⁰² Portes Gil, *The Conflict Between the Civil Power and the Clergy*, p. 98.

less than 500 to one, a quantity of people with which it was easier for one person to work. Of course, geographic and demographic distribution affected the true capacity of Catholic lay volunteers to reach the populations of their dioceses, but even so, these numbers serve as a rough indicator that Catholic lay volunteers were indeed reaching where the clergy was limited.¹⁰³

The Catholic Church in Mexico was as much divided in the early 1930s as it had been for the past four decades, between militant clergy and laity who called for continued resistance to the Mexican State at all costs and more conciliatory sectors who saw the survival of the Church in Mexico as the primary goal, to be followed by the implementation of new programs of social and moral regeneration.¹⁰⁴ Proponents of both tendencies within the Church sought the support of lay Catholics, knowing that, in years past, the Church had not lacked for popular support—if not in overt defence of the institution against government incursions, at least in the form of defence of personal religious practice.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Galindo Mendoza, p. 22 and 25; Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 167-175, 254-257; Jedin, Repgen and Dolan, *The Church in the Modern Age*, pp. 307-308; Michael L. Budde, *The Two Churches: Catholicism and Capitalism in the World System* (Durham, N.C., 1992), p. 35, pp. 44-45. Karl Streit, SVD, a priest who undertook two world surveys of Church statistics, publishing ecclesiastical atlases in 1913 and 1929, complained in the preface to the latter that statistics from Mexico were impossible to obtain, given the religious persecution there (*Catholic World Atlas* (New York City, 1929), pp. 21-22 and notes to table XXV. The most reasonably comparable (although still not complete) sets of statistics - from the year closest to the time period discussed in this dissertation - on diocesan populations, numbers of priests (although it is possible that some areas were still undercounted), and lay volunteers can be found in Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes geográficos*, and the *Annuario Pontificio per l'Anno 1946* (Vatican City, 1946). Both relied on correspondence from bishops for their information, and thus were subject to inconsistencies due to estimates and failures to reply. For a table comparing ACMI Membership, diocesan population, and numbers of priests, see Appendix 1b.

¹⁰⁴ Blancarte, *Historia de la Iglesia católica en México*, p. 20; Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico,' p. 86; Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' p. 630-631.

¹⁰⁵ For incidents where popular class Mexicans of the colonial period chose to ally themselves with the Church, and others where they invoked the authority of their government, see William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford, 1996), p. 7 and ff., especially chapters 3, 10 and 13, and Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill 1995), especially chapters 4-8 and 11.

To be able to function again in the public domain and to lead socially as well as spiritually, without crossing the ideologues and politicians of the Mexican state, Church leaders decided that it was necessary to maintain a strong, unified front of doctrine and action among all Catholics and that they needed to establish stricter control over the laity to do so. As Marta Elena Negrete rightly states, Catholic leaders felt that they could not leave the future development of the Church in the hands of its lay members – although they again desperately needed lay support and action – as had been necessary during periods such as the previous decade of weak clerical presence and strict enforcement of anticlerical laws.¹⁰⁶ The Cristero rebellion had shown again that belligerent, violent attempts to impose a Catholic social order onto that of the secular state would not be tolerated, a fact which the majority of the leadership of the Church recognised and tried to instil over the next decade. 'Do not even consider armed defence,' Pope Pius XI ordered Mexican Catholics in 1932 (in the encyclical *Acerba Animi*). As the Mexican Jesuit Antonio Brambila elaborated, the right to self defence was not absolute in natural law and Catholic tradition, as had been claimed by the LNDLR, the Cristeros, and other Catholic militants, but was 'permissive,' subject to ecclesiastical restriction.¹⁰⁷

One historical analysis of Catholic strategy after the Cristero rebellion sees this rejection of violent defence as a break with earlier Church institutional practice, that the Church hierarchy sought 'new tactics and adaptation' in order to fully reintegrate the Church into modern Mexican society. Yet the tactics chosen – an

¹⁰⁶Negrete, *Relaciones entre la Iglesia y el estado mexicano*, pp. 333-334.

¹⁰⁷Antonio Brambila, SJ, '¿En qué se funda el Papa para prohibir a los Católicos Mexicanos el recurso de las armas?', *Gaceta oficial del Arzobispado de México*, 27: 2 (Feb. 1932), pp. 93-100; Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, p. 40.

attempt at indirect Catholic influence one step removed from direct action'¹⁰⁸ –were not new to the Catholic Church, in Mexico or in other parts of the world. Mexican Catholics had never been barred explicitly from political participation, as Italian Catholics temporarily had been in the nineteenth-century. Rather, pontiffs had emphasised the 'grave duty' of Catholics to interest themselves in political affairs, so as not to leave them in the hands of the irreligious, since the end of the last century.¹⁰⁹ However, it had been made very clear in Rome, and never was contradicted, that the clergy were to remain apart from political leadership and the Church from formal endorsement of political parties. This was not considered a concession so much as a co-operative exchange: the Church would recognise the political domain as secular and belonging to the state in return for the spiritual domain being recognised as its own. The Mexican Episcopate had recognised this restriction years before, as stated in article 398 of the conclusions of their Fifth Provincial Council:

*Por ningún modo se permitirán los clérigos inmiscuirse públicamente en asuntos políticos en que, según los fines de la doctrina católica y las leyes cristianas, puede darse libertad de ideas; sobre todo, deben precaverse de atacar injusta o imprudentemente en los papeles públicos (sic), o en diarios o periódicos, los actos de las autoridades civiles; y en cuanto a los diarios tendrán presente así las instrucciones y mandatos del propio obispo, como principalmente el artículo 42 de la constitución *Officium Ac Munerum* de 21 de enero de 1897.¹¹⁰*

Ceballos Ramírez remarks that the papal document *Officium Ac Munerum* had been promulgated several months after the council's closure in 1896, and that the publication of this 'conclusion,' complete with the citation, masked the debate that raged during the council concerning the extent of Catholic mobilisation and of

¹⁰⁸Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico,' p. 152; p. 155.

¹⁰⁹Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, p. 208.

¹¹⁰Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 117.

clerical participation therein. The conclusions of the Council did condemn the absolute separation of Church and state as 'deplorable,' seeing it as a deprivation for society, as the secular government rejected even the Church's indirect, positive moral influence. To reduce internal dissidence within the Church hierarchy and among the laity, however, a broad policy of caution, unity, co-operation, obedience to the laws, occasional utilisation of opportunities to advise or act, and a *de facto*, tacit, mutual agreement with the Porfirian government, had been adopted. Church leaders in Mexico did not adopt this strategy (nearly) unanimously again until after the Cristero rebellion.¹¹¹

The majority of the Mexican bishops at this time had studied at the Gregorian University in Rome at some point in their theological training. Many also had been affiliated with the Colegio Pio Latinoamericano.¹¹² During the mid-nineteenth century, both institutions, along with the Jesuit religious order (which included several hundred Mexican clergy), took part in Pope Leo XIII's revival of Thomist political philosophy (which emphasised the organic, relational nature of human society) and participated in the articulation and development of new plans for Catholic social action in Europe and in other parts of the world. The clergy at the Gregorian University were instructed to enforce meticulous obedience to Church doctrine as the means of preserving the health of the interrelated political, economic, civic and social mechanisms of organic society. At the same time that the pontifical universities imparted the tenets of Catholic social action, they also schooled their students in dealing pragmatically with secular governments. One important axiom

¹¹¹Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, pp. 116-120.

¹¹²Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' p. 543.

in the education of these institutions' students was that loyalty to Church leadership in Rome was the principal means of safeguarding its unity and security.¹¹³

The Church hierarchy in postrevolutionary Mexico was not an entirely 'new generation' of clergy. Although new designations and appointments to the Church hierarchy were made at the time (21 new bishops took office between 1919 and 1926, and ten out of 40 Mexican archbishops and bishops were appointed between 1929 and 1936), many of the Mexican prelates were alumni of these institutions and had been proponents of some form of an active Church for some time. They had witnessed and weathered the compromises, negotiations and incipient lay, social movements of the Porfiriato, the upheavals of the military phase of the Revolution, and the continued Church-State conflict of the 1920s.¹¹⁴ Church leaders looked to this training in negotiations with disinterested or hostile governments and to the cultivation of a strong, lay Catholic network to help steer the Church in Mexico on a safer course in the years to come.

The decision of the Mexican Church hierarchy to abandon military and belligerent anti-state tactics should not be seen as resignation to the ideological dominance of the Mexican State. Church leaders hoped that ceasing to provoke the state would enable the Church to recover lost time, personnel and territory, to reopen churches, reintroduce clergy, and rebuild their social networks on the parish, diocesan and national level. While the hierarchy were avoiding public debate and

¹¹³Blancarte, *Historia de la Iglesia católica en México* p. 24; Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 66; Gutiérrez Casillas, p. 352 (in 1910, 338 of Mexico's 4,461 priests were Jesuits), Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, p. 311. Scholars of religion in Mexico continue to view the Gregorian University as influential in shaping the approach of Mexico's canonical leadership, at once zealous in its defence of Church prerogatives and orthodox religious practice and willing to negotiate rather than battle the government; sociologist Roderic Ai Camp pointed out that 50% of Mexico's 106 bishops (as of 1989) had studied at the Gregorian University at some point. Rodrigo Vera, 'Derechos humanos y democracia, los futuros puntos del conflicto Iglesia-Estado,' *Proceso*, 1134 (26 Jul. 1998), p. 25.

¹¹⁴Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, pp. 18-19.

interventions, they trained an elite corps of lay Catholics that could act as an intermediary between the clergy and the state, and between the clergy and the masses of Mexicans who were not being reached by the Church, because of government restrictions, poverty, lack of religious upbringing, or distraction by other ideologies. In this way, the Church hierarchy could indeed influence 'indirectly' and operate within the restrictions of the 1917 Constitution and its enacting legislation, by having lay Catholics, organised into a disciplined elite, bring the messages of Church doctrine outside the confines of the churches and into civil society—into its schools, trade unions, mutual aid societies, social circles, study circles and so on, and, eventually, into secular politics.¹¹⁵

Even before the Cristero Rebellion, Pius XI had promoted the formation of the unified social organisation of 'Catholic Action,' closely supervised by the clergy, to Mexican Catholics as the correct alternative to openly hostile tactics in the encyclical *Paterna Sane Sollicitudo* (2 February 1926). One of the conditions that Pius XI imposed at the time of the *arreglos* was the development of a Catholic Action project in Mexico, contemporary with those undertaken in several other Latin American countries.¹¹⁶ It was hoped that the ACM would help the Church in Mexico weather challenges to old and new: from the still-consolidating Mexican

¹¹⁵Barranco V. "Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana," pp. 56-60; Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' p. 584.

¹¹⁶See UFCM-Ibero, Sección Correspondencia, Serie Liga Internacional Católica Femenina, Caja 13 (Años 1921-1930), Carpeta 61, "VI Congreso Internacional de la Unión de las Ligas Católicas Femeninas, Celebrado en Roma del 22 al 26 de Octubre de 1925. Informe rendido a la Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas por su Delegación a ese Congreso. Likewise, *El Universal* (Mexico, DF) opined that projects such as the CNCT were not '*aislado, sino que responde a un principio de organización continental que comprende todos los países de habla española pues se está tratando de organizar la Confederación Católica Latinoamericana...*,' cited in Jaime Tamayo, *Jalisco desde la revolución*, vol. 4, *Los movimientos sociales, 1917-1929* (Guadalajara:, 1988), p.94. Also see Asunción Lavrin, *Women, Feminism and Social Change in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, 1890-1940* (Lincoln, Neb., 1995), p. 291, p. 294, and p. 426 n. 42. Joaquín Azpiazu's *Manual de Acción Católica* was written from a series of lectures he delivered to Catholic Action youth groups in Argentina, see p. 7, p. 146; for Chile, p. 143. For Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Venezuela, see J. Fitzsimons and P. McGuire, *Restoring All Things*, pp.82-83; For Catholic Action in Brazil, see J. Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' p. 566.

state, led from not so far behind the scenes by staunch anticlerical Plutarco Elias Calles; from local political leaders equally hostile towards the Church; from the crises arising from the 1929 New York Stock Exchange crash and the ensuing international economic depression; and from the temptations and distractions of modern life that lead Catholics astray.¹¹⁷ Examining the construction and implementation of the ACM helps to understand the extent and limitations of Catholic social philosophy and action in Mexico after the Cristero Rebellion, and the appeal (or lack thereof) of the ACM to Mexicans who were neither part of the clergy nor already closely tied to the Church.¹¹⁸ Although in some ways the ACM, like the Mexican Episcopate, pursued a 'hesitant' course of action during its first decade of existence, the efforts of the "long hand" of the hierarchy were appreciable and appreciated.¹¹⁹

Part of the ACM's message was for Catholics to insulate themselves from secularising influences in their employment, schools, recreation, and political involvement. The ideal of Catholic 'intransigence' had been diffused effectively in Latin America and in Mexico, in particular by alumni of the Colegio Pio Latinoamericano, the Gregorian University, Jesuit, and other seminaries in Latin America.¹²⁰ This ideal was also taught at Catholic schools, colleges and junior seminaries, from which some Catholic lay leaders, though they did not continue on to holy orders, emerged well-versed in the concepts of Catholic religious and social practice acting as a preventative against the liberalisation of politics and morals. Lay

¹¹⁷Barranco V. 'Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana,' p. 41, p. 54.

¹¹⁸Blancarte, 'Prefacio,' p. 8.

¹¹⁹Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana,' p. 48; Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico,' p. 156; Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, p. 56;

¹²⁰Blancarte, *Historia de la Iglesia católica en México*, pp. 27-28 and "Prefacio," pp. 23-24.

Catholic study circles also perpetuated the study of Thomist political philosophy and dogmatic Catholic theology, sometimes to the exclusion of study of contemporary social conditions or alternative political and philosophical approaches. Some critics, Catholic and non-Catholic, regarded this educational programme as more of an inert and repetitive response than an intellectual challenge to philosophies such as utilitarianism, liberalism and positivism, as the Church still appeared to rely more on the 'dogmatic restatement of beliefs' than any new expressions of religious belief or practice. According to Ceballos Ramírez, Catholic 'intransigence' believed that the Church should return to its origins, now that modernity had rejected it; it should separate itself from the state and from secularised sectors of Western society, which '*retira el capital que había invertido en la religión y lo coloca en la nueva tecnología*.'¹²¹ From this perspective, the Church, to its detriment, did confuse 'faith with the forms of a particular culture,' and, in its withdrawal and attack on modern political and moral philosophy and scientific research, had helped transform the 'Enlightenment's emancipation of the critical intellect into an anti-Christian secularism and the French Revolution's drive for civil freedom into a virulent anticlericalism.'¹²² The negative effects of the Church's reaction to European problems repeated themselves in the Americas, particularly in Mexico.

However, the call of the Catholic social action movement to analyse critically the problems that beset Mexico was not completely silenced in 1929. In 1925, after being ordered by his Jesuit superiors to resign from directing the SSM, Alfredo Méndez Medina was replaced by Miguel Darío Miranda, a diocesan priest. As ACM

¹²¹Lynch, 'The Catholic Church in Latin America,' p. 541; Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 42.

director, Miranda placed more emphasis on centralising the ACM's organisation in Mexico City and bringing existing lay organisations under closer episcopal supervision. Although this heralded for some Catholic militants the loss of, in Méndez Medina's words, 'everything we had accomplished,' it did not mean that Catholic participation in social debates, legitimised in Catholic discourse since the Porfiriato, was no longer acceptable or encouraged. It is true that some Catholic social action projects, notably Catholic efforts at unionisation, were abandoned after 1929, but this was as much a reaction to legal reprisal and government hostility as a tactical change for the SSM. Miranda's more cautious approach shifted the focus of the ACM from direct attempts to organise workers and farmers through economic and political channels, from which the Church was barred by law and where the Mexican state and labour organisations were gaining ground, to the formation of Catholics, from their earliest days in the home and in school through to adulthood, through social channels, where the Church still held significant ground, especially among women adherents. Catholic activists may have 'entered the catacombs,' in Miranda's words, with the passage of the Calles laws, but they continued acting.¹²³ Not only did the moderate Catholic groups that survived the Cristero rebellion continue the Church's mission of having a lay apostolate acting on its behalf in secular society, but they also kept Catholic perspectives on social problems in the public eye. This was especially important because the institutional Church's traditional representatives, the ordained clergy and consecrated religious, were restricted in their actions and statements.

¹²² O'Brien and Shannon, 'The Classic Texts of Leo XIII and Pius XI: Introduction,' in *Catholic Social Thought*, p. 9.

¹²³ Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' pp. 451-456, p. 465, p. 630, p. 639-640.

Negotiating Catholic Action in Mexico: Structure, Method and Changing Definitions

Paterna Sane Sollicitudo (1926) encouraged organising the laity in passive resistance to the Mexican government's program as preferable to armed resistance. To implement a strong, nation-wide organisation would also put Mexico at the vanguard of Catholic Action in Latin America. The encyclical offered Western European Catholic Action, organisations as models for Catholic organisation in other countries, but also touted Catholic Action as a project that lent itself, and encouraged, adaptation to local circumstances. The Mexican Church hierarchy did not have to start from scratch to create the ACM in 1929. There were already existing "seed groups" that easily fit in to the European organisational pattern of division by age and sex: the UDCM, the Juventud Femenina Católica Mexicana (JCFM—a similar organisation for young and unmarried women, founded in 1926), and the ACJM, as well as the Catholic unions, mutual aid societies, student groups and locally-based prayer groups, study circles and devotional societies that also tended to be divided along lines of age and gender. As the Catholic union movement lost its ground, the SSM's network for co-ordinating Catholic trade unions, rural credit co-operatives and affiliated Catholic activists on the national level was seen as an ideal mechanism to maintain communication and a necessary degree of doctrinal parity among Catholic social organisations.

In the autumn of 1929, an SSM commission comprised of its director, Father Miguel Dario Miranda, Dr. Manuel Fulcheri y Pietrasanta, the Bishop of Zamora, Father Ramón Martínez Silva, SJ, and Father Rafael Dávila Vilchis, and several lay representatives, drew up new ACM Statutes, dividing it into four main sections: the Unión de Católicos Mexicanos (UCM) for men married or over 35; the UFCM, reorganised from the UDCM, for women married or over 35; the ACJM, purged of

its ties to the Cristeros, for young, single men¹²⁴; and JCFM for young, single women, kept essentially unchanged. As well as supervising the organisation of the Central Committees of each branch of the ACM, based in Mexico City, the SSM organised the Comisión Central de Instrucción Religiosa (CCIR) to co-ordinate religious education projects in conjunction with the clergy and the ACM, and began to develop training courses for clergy, lay leaders, and diocesan and parochial groups, propaganda, reading materials and fund-raising campaigns.¹²⁵

Besides being the *de jure* political capital of Mexico, Mexico City had been the *de facto* centre of Mexican political and cultural life for centuries. Mexico City almost automatically became the headquarters of many national organisations, not just Catholic ones. The ACM was no exception to this rule, as it was designed to be co-ordinated from a central committee in Mexico City, supervised by the Mexican Episcopate and the SSM. A Junta Central, comprised of representatives from each branch and advised by an ecclesiastical assistant, would study problems and techniques at a national level, and would exist as a resource for consultation by regional and local committees.

¹²⁴The ACJM was one of the principal sources of urban Catholic militants and of combatants in the Cristero Rebellion. Continuing the existence of belligerent organisations like the LNDLR was seen as jeopardising the Church's promises of co-operation in the 1929 arreglos. Nevertheless, the Church hierarchy did not wish to lose the organisational strength of the ACJM, which brought together thousands of young men in defence of Catholic causes who might otherwise be lost to non-Catholic organisations. Instead of dissolving it, the Church hierarchy chose to purge the ACJM of its connections to the Cristeros and the LNDLR during the early 1930s by replacing its leadership, rewriting its statutes, and then reinstituting it. From its inception, the ACJM had been supported financially and logistically by the UDCM, a duty that the UFCM continued to fulfil (AHAM-PDB, Gaveta 199, exp. 44, letter from Carlos M. Heredia to P. Díaz Barreto, 27 Jun. 1929; AHAM-PDB, Gaveta 197, exp. 72 (12), 'Solemne toma de posesión del Comité Provisional de la ACJM,' 16 May 1930, and the letter of protest from the ACJM's founder, Father Bernardo Bergöend, SJ, to P. Díaz Barreto, 7 Oct. 1930; also see AHAM, Caja 74-1, 'Acción Católica,' folletos 39 (Informe de la ACJM, 1931), 41 (Comité Central de la ACJM-Bergöend) and 48 (Cartas ACJM, CNCT).

¹²⁵SSM, *Carpeta Episcopado-Informes, 1924-1931*: Miguel Darío Miranda, 'Seis Años de Actividades del Secretariado Social Mexicano, 1925-1931,' pp. 13-16; B. Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana,' pp. 40-41.

On the next level, the Juntas Diocesanas, with a composition similar to that of the Junta Central, could promote Acción Católica in the dioceses, and more directly stimulate the development of its branch organisations and auxiliaries, by co-ordinating their share of the associations of Mexico's numerous parishes. The Juntas Diocesanas would also maintain closer contact with the Junta Central than each Consejo Parroquial, and would supervise the parochial groups under the general leadership of the Junta Central.

Work on the parochial level involved the closest contact with the Church's "lost sheep" and with non-Catholics. While expected to follow the statutes of the ACM and the UFCM, it was also recognised that activists in the parishes would have to respond to specific exigencies with their own analysis, development and creative action, and rely on these more than on formulae dictated from Mexico City. Also, individual dioceses could create ancillary secretariats, commissions, auxiliaries, and technical groups within the Acción Católica according to local necessity, in order to address problems occurring within or outside of the Church. A hierarchical, centralised scheme of organisation, such that of the ACM, was considered to be the 'typical' and ideal structure for Catholic Action groups in any country by the mid-1930s.¹²⁶

In spearheading the reorganisation of the Catholic social action movement after the Cristero Rebellion, the Catholic Church hierarchy attempted to centralise and maintain strict control of the ACM. From the perspective of formal organisation, the Mexican hierarchy and lay leaders succeeded in their goal—the ACM became a highly centralised, co-ordinated, unified organisation of Mexican Catholics that led a strong, non-violent movement to preserve the Catholic cultural

¹²⁶Fitzsimons and McGuire, eds. *Restoring All Things*, pp. 76-77; Azpiazu, *Manual de la Acción Católica*, p. 103-106.

paradigm in Mexico. Yet as Bernardo Barranco V. wrote, in practice it is '*imposible hablar seriamente de "la" Acción Católica, así en lo singular.*'¹²⁷ It was precisely because of the variations, innovations, and adaptations of its different branches and members that it enjoyed widespread success. It is clear from their design and planning that ACM organisers (the Central Committees, their ecclesiastical assistants, and other Church leaders) intended to have the ACM follow the key points of the Catholic Action program they had devised; but, almost inevitably, local variants from the SSM's pattern arose.

In March 1936, *Christus*, the monthly magazine begun in December 1935 by the Mexican Episcopate for the Mexican clergy, began to run a section called 'Acción Católica.' '*Se nos han preguntado repetidas veces el por qué de nuestra sección,*' began the editors, who then justified it by answering the question. 'Acción Católica' consisted of queries sent in by Mexican clergy and responses based on Church teachings and the ACM statutes. It seemed fairly straightforward for parish priests and other ecclesiastical assistants, to subdivide parishes into groups of older and younger men, and older and younger women. But what to do next, how to encourage Catholics to study, reflect and act for the Church, and how to influence those who were not active Church participants, was not as apparent.¹²⁸

Pius XI gave the clergy a simple formula to follow in *Ad Catholici Sacerdotii fastigium* (20 December 1935): 'work and preach.' Words were the last weapon left to the Mexican clergy, as they were barred from political participation and public display by the Mexican government, and were warned to be cautious by the Mexican Church hierarchy as well. The potential of priests' words was likened to

¹²⁷Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana,' p. 41.

¹²⁸'Acción Católica,' *Christus*, I: 4 (Mar. 1936), p. 277.

that of the instructions a mother gives a child; even if couched in the simplest terms, they would be the foundation for the moral training of another person. Mexican priests could spread Christian truths to the laity by offering the sacraments, preaching from the pulpit, lecturing at Catholic conferences, leading prayer and study groups, teaching catechism, and advising Catholic social groups. Concrete works were seen as the best proof of Catholic Action's validity. The priest's sphere of action was limited by Church and State, but he could delegate. Through a well-trained corps of lay catechists and volunteers, a priest could maintain contact with the community at large, and encourage the implementation of Catholic social principles.¹²⁹

Catholic Action's educational aspect proved to be one of its most provocative elements. Catholic religious instruction was dismissed as superstition by critics outside the Church, and its policy of careful study to promote harmony within the Church and its social groups could hardly have seemed objectionable. More problematic was one of Catholic Action's principle duties, to catechise the masses and encourage religious education. This clashed with the laws of anticlerical states, as when religious instruction was conducted outside the confines of church buildings in postrevolutionary Mexico. Through the educational debates of the 1920s and 1930s, the Church insisted that Catholics had the right to open their own schools and that it had the right to ensure that the curricula of both Catholic and public schools were morally sound. Mexican Catholics were encouraged to join these campaigns as part of the 'defence' of their Church and their families. Parents were especially bound to protect their children and to educate them in the Catholic faith, which included shielding them from negative influences. The Church deemed

¹²⁹Quoted in 'Acción Católica,' p. 279.

this the right of every Catholic, but the Mexican state did not include this among its citizens' rights; the federal and state government continued to enact laws against confessional education and in favour of radicalised public education. Catholic Action's educational impetus thus subtracted from the Church's post-1929 claim to be law-abiding and encouraging such behaviour in its adherents.¹³⁰

The Catholic Action program in Mexico was purportedly designed to 'avoid pre-1930 mistakes and disasters.' The course pursued by Catholic Action was in many ways 'hesitant,' and the Mexican Church hierarchy claimed to abdicate its position in public debates to its lay, secular organisations¹³¹. However, at times the Church hierarchy doubled back on its words, bypassing secular organisations and either publicly denouncing government policy or negotiating directly with the State. ACM members debated whether lay Catholics should imitate the hierarchy's position, removing themselves from direct participation in politics and taking on a purely educational role (although this was not necessarily apolitical, as shown above), preparing its members and Catholics in general to participate as individual citizens and voters, or whether they should act directly as secular pressure groups through the ACM and auxiliary organisations like the Unión Nacional de Padres de Familia (UNPF¹³²). Eventually, the ACM did emerge as more of a social and

¹³⁰Azpiazú, *Manual de Acción Católica*, pp. 88-89; 'Interrogatorio Sobre la Enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana,' *Christus* I, 1 (Dec. 1935), p.15; Garibi Rivera, 'Primera Carta Pastoral,' pp. 515-516.

¹³¹Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico,' pp. 155-157.

¹³²The UNPF was a secular organisation founded in 1917 to unite earlier efforts of concerned Catholic parents to resist the Mexican government's mandatory secular, and later socialistic and sexual, education programs, and other immoral influences on children. Although not officially part of the ACM, the Mexican Episcopate and the SSM supported its actions, and recommended that Mexican Catholics join on an individual basis. The Church hierarchy insisted on the fact that the UNPF was *not* a Church sponsored organisation, especially when it explicitly called for Mexicans to disobey the law. Catholic lay persons, members of the UFCM among them, were encouraged to collaborate with the UNPF. Their organisations were not to merge on an official level, as this would compromise the ACM's claims that it avoided political agitation. 'Datos Históricos Sobre la UNPF en Jalisco' (Guadalajara, n.d.); Narciso Aviña Ruíz, 'Circular 15, A los Sres. Párrocos y Vicarios Fijos del Arzobispado,' 25 Jul.

political factor, but this was due to its participants reactions to national and local events, such as the passage of new anticlerical laws, the reform of the educational elements of the 1917 Constitution and the state's program of socialist education, and other provocations.

Mexican Women and Catholic Action

Refugio Goribar de Cortina, in her capacity as Vice President of the UFCM, delivered an address to the Junta Central of the SSM in 1930, declaring that for women 'The family is our kingdom, and only in it will we truly reign. It is our camp. All other work of women is useless.' As part of the reorganised ACM, she continued, Catholic women would obey Rome and the Mexican Episcopate and unconditionally follow their directives. The Catholic Church hierarchy drew many distinctions between the private realm of the family and the public realm of government and society, and made it quite clear that ideally women were to be concerned with and situated in the former far more than the latter.¹³³ In Spanish-speaking circles, a popularly quoted statement from Monsignor Civardi's guide Catholic Action was that 'woman outside her home is like a sacred vessel outside the temple that is in danger of being profaned.'¹³⁴ In the dominant, Catholic rhetoric of

1933, *BEG*, IV, 8 (1 Aug. 1933), pp. 377-378, José T. Moreno, 'Circular Núm. 1,' 1 Aug. 1933, *BEG*, IV, 10 (1 Oct. 1933), pp. 463-464; for UFCM collaboration, see 'Conclusiones aprobadas en la Segunda Asamblea General de la Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana,' *BEG*, VI, 4 (1 Apr. 1935), pp. 159-160.

¹³³Barbara Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion: *Las Señoras y Las Religiosas*,' *The Americas*, XL (1984), p. 322; Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico,' pp. 36-37.

¹³⁴Mary Vincent takes this quote is cited from the translation of Civardi's manual into Spanish ('The Politicization of Catholic Women in Salamanca, 1931-1936,' in Frances Lannon and Paul Preston, *Elites and Power in Twentieth Century Spain* (Oxford, 1990), p. 112) and by María Refugio H. de Puga ('La socia de la UFCM en el hogar y en las costumbres sociales,' *Segunda Asamblea Diocesana*. León, Guanajuato, 14-16 Oct. 1935 (CIDOC fiche #2354), p. 6). This quote is nowhere to be found in the English translation, cited above. Also, Azpiazu's *Manual* contains the statutes of the Madrid Acción Católica de la Mujer and the Juventud Católica Femenina Española, as well as other statements regarding women

the time, women were portrayed as weak and easily corrupted, but also as potentially seductive and corrupting influences. As mothers, daughters, wives, and as peers (in teaching or social organising, for example), Catholic women could influence others toward the good or the bad, which is why the Church presented maintaining purity doctrinal adherence and passivity (or 'right submission to authority') as Catholic women's best guards against worldly contamination. Yet even in their purported weakness and ambivalence, the Church also saw women as the best agents for strengthening its position and standards of morality in society at large. Catholic Action proponents tried to resolve this contradiction by casting women's activism as an unfortunate necessity, but one that fit in with the duty of wives and mothers to protect their loved ones. This duty then could extend to educating husbands, children, other family members, and peers, supporting social and political movements that safeguarded Church institutions and teachings.¹³⁵

Because the line between secular, public society and spiritual, private society was so often blurred, the 'proper' place for women in Catholic Action and in social debates was not often as clear as Church leaders would have had it. Nor were all Catholic women in agreement with such an adamant return to the home. Former members of the Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco had not only debunked myths about women's physical and emotional weakness and lack of capacity to strategize, but also had heard Cristero proposals to grant female suffrage, at the very least to women veterans of the rebellion. Other conservative women, like the directors of the Centro Director Femenil Anti-Reeleccionista, who supported José

and Catholic Action, but in these, women's duties are enumerated in active, assertive terms ('representar,' 'defender a la obrera,' 'vigilar,' and especially 'defender el derecho de la mujer a intervenir en la solución de sus problemas'); see pp. 197-215 and *passim*. This raises questions about the ambivalence of the Church's exhortations towards women, a main theme of this dissertation.

¹³⁵Vincent, 'The Politicization of Catholic Women in Salamanca,' pp. 114-119.

Vasconcelos' presidential campaign in 1929, claimed that while there were still too many 'vain' and 'luxurious' women not 'morally ready' to vote, it was women's duty to educate men to select candidates according to their consciences rather than convenience, and to educate each other to be able to influence male voters.¹³⁶ But all Catholic women activists, even those who held opinions closer to the latter, were involved in the renegotiations of the status of the Catholic Church in Mexico. While generally acknowledging at some level their given, subordinate position in the Church, in their families and in the organisation of society, they responded actively and independently to the conflict between Catholic and State ideologies.

Twentieth-century Mexican Catholic leaders such as Anacleto González Flores of Guadalajara certainly were 'aware of the great dormant resource of Mexico, its women.' That Catholic women activists were interpreted as being 'dormant' women up to the 1920s is telling of the force of rhetoric, as they had been participating in many of the mutual aid societies, trade unions and pious associations organised by Catholics since the mid-nineteenth century. In 1895, in Zapotlán (now Ciudad Guzmán), Jalisco, Father Silvano Carrillo organised the *Mutualista Femenina de la Sagrada Familia*, an organisation that was fundamentally concerned with the themes of '*patria, mujer, democracia y cuestión social*.' Méndez Medina had been inspired by associations for Catholic women that he had seen in Belgium and France, and suggested in a 1911 article in the Jesuit periodical, *El Mensajero del Sagrado Corazon*, that a similar one be founded in Mexico. Associations for women workers were already being organised in Mexico at this point; by the turn of the century, more than 10,000 women had joined Catholic labour unions.

¹³⁶Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' pp. 122-127; Agustín Vaca points out that the 1928 Cristero constitution counted women as voting citizens, but ones that still could not hold elected office; it also prohibited 'immoral' dress for women (i.e. cut more than 10 cm. from the neck, 20cm from the knee, too tight or too transparent), *Los silencios de la historia*, p. 272.

However, Méndez Medina also concurred with Church teachings that woman's ideal place was in the home, and that Catholic labour activists should work towards the goal of having men earn 'family wages,' so that women and children would not have endanger their health or morality by entering the work force. However, Méndez Medina's plans for the women's organisation immediately contravened any real or implied circumscription of Mexican women to the home and any suggestion that women's waged labour would soon be eradicated, by assigning women to very public venues: founding and running educational and recreational centres for children and wage labourers, libraries, schools, catechism and apologetics classes, women's trade unions, employment agencies, domestic service schools, and consumer leagues—all this in addition to aiding Catholic men's organisations with their projects.¹³⁷

Although they were overseen by the Church hierarchy, women's organisations such as the UDCM, the Asociación de Sirvientas Católicas de Santa Zita, based in Mexico City, and the Liga de Señoritas Empleadas de Comercio y Oficina, based in Guadalajara, were far more than 'token responses to the new social concerns being expressed in Rome' in comparison with the direct actions taken by the Church hierarchy.¹³⁸ Archbishop José Mora y del Río of Mexico City approved Méndez Medina's idea and appointed another Jesuit, Carlos M. de Heredia, to found a national organisation for Catholic women. Building from a group of women he advised in Mexico City who had recently established a vocational school for itinerant paperboys, Heredia formally established the Asociación de las Damas

¹³⁷Miller, *"Las Señoras y Las Religiosas,"* p. 304. See also Ceballos Ramirez, *El catolicismo social*, especially chapters II, III, VI and VIII (quote p. 123); Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, p. 196; Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' pp. 175-178ff.

¹³⁸Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico,' p. 153.

Católicas (ADC) on 12 February 1912, giving as its stated purpose aid to the poor and educational action against 'ignorance.' Some of their first projects were providing material aid and moral support for the newly-founded Catholic association for young men, the ACJM, founding and maintaining schools, and providing hospitals and prisons with morally-sound reading materials for their clientele. In Mexico City, the women held weekly general meetings to discuss social and cultural concerns, sometimes hosting illustrious guest speakers like the Archbishop. The same year, the ADC began publishing a periodical, *La Mujer Católica Mexicana*, and chapters of the group were founded in Chiapas, Durango, Guadalajara, León, Saltillo, Tulancingo, and Zamora (over the next few years, the organisation gradually adopted the name of the UDCM).

The next year, in keeping with Méndez Medina's vision, the UDCM expanded its support for Mexican workers. From merely organising 'healthy entertainment' and reading materials, Catholic women collected supplies and raised funds at Masses and from private donors to open night schools and workers' halls; in late 1913, the UDCM received requests for financial support from several independent worker's newspapers. The UDCM also made monthly donations in support of religious congregations' free schools for children. UDCM funding also helped open the ACM's Centro de Estudiantes Católicos, paying the rent and expenses and supplying religious images for the centre.

Revolutionary violence following Huerta's coup caused some UDCM members to flee Mexico, and curtailed the activities of those who remained. The UDCM's finances were strained as donations from wealthy Catholics decreased (in 1916, Mexico City members sold some jewellery to try to fund their chapter), and as the Revolution created new charity projects for the association, such as food drives, soup kitchens, and funding prescriptions, medical supplies and services during

outbreaks of influenza. Some regional chapters disappeared entirely, and the UDCM had to stop printing *La Mujer Católica Mexicana* for some time.¹³⁹

However, Catholic women's organising enjoyed a revival as the military conflict of the revolution waned. The organisation, now christened the Unión de Damas Católicas, began publishing a monthly periodical again, *La Dama Católica*, and began preparations to bring women from all parts of Mexico together for their first national assembly. During the 1920s, the women of the UDCM dedicated themselves to issues of evangelisation, charitable works and the improvement of public morals in campaigns specifically targeting the growing print and film industries (especially combating what they deemed immoral displays and pornography), licentious music, dances, and women's fashions. Members of the UDCM worked to encourage lapsed Catholics to return to the Church, to attend Mass and participate in the sacraments (with particular attention devoted to receiving the sacraments and 'legitimising' common-law and civil unions into Catholic marriages), to worship in private homes (which included recitation of the Rosary, private devotions and altars, and 'Enthronements,' religious ceremonies popularised by the Jesuits that consecrated a household to a specific iconic image, such as the Sacred Heart of Jesus or the Virgin of Guadalupe). These projects, which in calmer times ordinarily were conducted by priests, employed women in much of the Church's ground-level community work.¹⁴⁰

In 1919, Catholic women were encouraged to take advantage of the gaps in the provision of public education caused by the financial difficulties of the

¹³⁹ 'La UDCM en el XX Aniversario de su Fundación,' pp. 3-4; 'Orígenes de las Damas Católicas,' *Acción Femenina*, III, 7 (1 Sept. 1937), p. 7, pp. 16-17; Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' pp. 180-186, and 'Mujeres Militantes,' pp. 3-11.

¹⁴⁰ On the Jesuit promotion of these ceremonies, see Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution and Prophecy*, pp. 29-30 and McSweeney, *Roman Catholicism*, pp. 49-50.

postrevolutionary Mexican government by founding more Catholic free schools. Catholic women's social work also extended to support work for hospitals and orphanages, and campaigns against prostitution and the spread of venereal disease. Women continued to be a focus of Catholic labour organising; the UDCM, as requested by the SSM, lent already existing worker's societies like the Sociedad de Empleadas Católicas del Sagrado Corazón financial and spiritual support, and sponsored workshops and conferences, led by Méndez Medina, to encourage women to organise in Catholic unions in cities from Monterrey to San Miguel de Allende. In the early 1920s, Catholic activists founded confessional trade unions were formed for seamstresses, telephone and tobacco workers, and a Catholic teachers' syndicate; these were later incorporated into the CNCT. The UDCM helped campaign for the 1924 'chair law,' ensuring that shop clerks had opportunities to get off their feet when not serving customers. Both the UDCM and working class Catholic women's organisations participated in campaigns for the 'moralisation' of Mexican workers. Catholic women's organisations were no different from any other branch of the Catholic Church in Mexico in terms of their organisation on a vertical hierarchical axis, requisites of unquestioning loyalty to the Church and obedience to its authority, and understandings that participation would not jeopardise the fulfilment of their familial duties—but within that structure, there was ample room for women's participation in public venues outside their homes. Catholic women activists worked to the extent that, compared to the other two Catholic Action groups of the 1920s, the Caballeros de Colón and the ACJM, the UDCM was seen as having the most vigorous social program.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹Katherine Elaine Bliss, 'Theater of Operations: Feminist and Catholic Social Action in the Mexico City *sifilicomio*,' paper presented at the XX LASA International Congress, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, 16 Apr. 1997; Hanson, 'Mujeres Militantes,' pp. 14-15 and 'The Day of Ideals,' p. 407; Miller, '*Las Señoras*

When Catholics rose up in military rebellion against the directives of the Mexican government, the UDCM chose to obey Pius XI's mandate against violence and formally disassociated itself from the LNDLR. However, the UDCM did continue to protest actively against the government and to participate in the economic boycott of goods produced by industries dominated by government unions. Detailed research in the archives of the LNDLR also reveals that the UDCM maintained contact with the belligerent organisation; local chapters of the UDCM continued to co-ordinate efforts with the LNDLR, and as late as May 1928, the UDCM signed a LNDLR memorial to the Pope attacking the idea of a negotiated peace with the government.¹⁴²

The Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco

Many Catholic women continued to support the rebellion as individuals, independent of their institutional affiliations; this included members of the UDCM, members of Catholic unions and pious associations, and Mexican women religious. Some Catholic women's organisations were transformed during the conflict: Jean Meyer traces the origins of the Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco (BF), the women's organisation that operated from Mexico City through the *zona cristera* and north to the border with the United States, to the Unión de Empleadas Católicas of

y *Las Religiosas*,' pp.304-305; O'Dougherty, 'Restaurarlo Todo en Cristo,' pp. 134-136 and 140-152; Patience A. Schell, 'An Honorable Avocation for Ladies: The Work of the Mexico City Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas, 1912-1926,' *Journal of Women's History*, X, 4 (Winter 1999) and 'Teaching the Children of the Revolution. According to Hanson, much of the initial motivation for the UDCM's medical and syndical work came less from fears of socialist or communist competition than from Protestant competition; Protestant sects had been allowed in Mexico since the Porfiriato, and worked extensively in schools, hospitals and missions to the indigenous; Catholic women's organisations were to serve as part of the effort to retain the Catholic character of education and charitable services (p. 202). Bliss and Schell's analyses, however, highlight the tensions between Catholic and radical women activists.

¹⁴²Hanson, 'Mujeres Militantes,' pp. 17-22. Hanson draws this conclusion from numerous documents located at the Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Archive at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, in Mexico City.

Guadalajara (UEC) and other working-class women's unions. Some of these working women had experienced on-the-job coercion to join secular or radical unions such as the Confederación General del Trabajo and the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana, or had lost their jobs for being members of the CNCT. Middle- and upper-class women joined as well: public schoolteachers who lost or left their jobs due to enforcement of laws mandating strictly secular education and pressure from radical supervisors, especially if they were affiliated with the UDCM or another Catholic association (such as the Liga de Profesoras, founded to aid the unemployed teachers), office workers, and homemakers. Many of these women had some contact with Church and the UDCM, whether as catechism or adult education students, as teachers and volunteers, or as labour organisers or workers organised. Members of the BF tended to be single (although some were married and had children) and young; Barbara Miller points out that many of these women were the first 'revolutionary generation,' coming of age in years when the weight of tradition and propriety on Mexican society was challenged and when Catholic social action campaigns were at their most publicly active.¹⁴³

For years, UEC advisor Luis Flores González had warned its members that the day would come when women would have to bear arms. Anacleto González Flores had insisted that passive resistance was the key approach to regaining rights for Catholics, along with the mobilisation of women. However, the Catholic boycott was not widely followed by the population, and more and more militant Catholics, even in the Catholic civil coalition, the 'Unión Popular,' began advocating armed rebellion, which the LNDLR had resolved to do in November 1926. González Flores

¹⁴³Meyer, *La Cristiada*, I, 60-62 and III, 120-122; L. O'Dougherty, 'Restaurarlo Todo en Cristo,' pp. 153-154; Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, pp. 197-198, p. 214 p. 238, p. 242; Jesús Flores Gollaz [Flores and

was arrested, charged with conspiracy, and executed on 1 April 1927. Soon afterwards, UEC members, led by their president, María Gollaz (María Ernestina Gollaz Gallardo, alias 'Jefa Generala Celia Gómez') and Flores González met at the shrine of the Virgen de Zapopan, outside of Guadalajara, to form the BF. The BF grew to mobilise over 25,000 women to support the armed movement.¹⁴⁴

The BF's key strategic activity was smuggling arms and ammunition to the Cristeros, often by carrying heavy loads in special 'chalecos' beneath their clothing. The BF also raised money, transported and provided food, medical supplies and nursing, information, and other support (including some participation in active combat) to the Cristero rebels. In retrospect, it could be said that they did their job too well. The BF was organised in cells in key cities and towns, which were headed by women given military rank. Since the Mexican Episcopate refused to appoint chaplains for the Cristeros or their auxiliaries, claiming that they did not have papal authorisation to do so, they relied on lay leaders and independently-acting clergy for advice. Members were required to take an oath not to reveal the organisation's existence or details of their work—even on pain of death—to anyone besides their organisational supervisors. However, they were never told to disobey spiritual leaders or family members, and were also required to keep detailed archives of their work. As a result, very few members were actually apprehended during the year and a half of their greatest activity, although fear of torture and rape at the hands of government soldiers ran high.¹⁴⁵

Gollaz's son], interview with Kristina A. Boylan, 28 Apr. 1997; Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' pp. 60-61.

¹⁴⁴Meyer, *La cristiada*, 2II, 146-147, 289-291 and III, 124; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, pp. 23-25, 37-38, 101-103; Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, p. 242.

¹⁴⁵Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' p. 29 and pp. 68-69. On rape during the Cristero rebellion, see below, n. 155.

Gollaz was one of the few arrested, seized during a police raid on the UEC office in Guadalajara (which occurred while they were holding a clandestine Mass for its members). She was released on bail after several weeks' imprisonment, but another warrant for her arrest was issued soon afterward. Gollaz Gallardo decided she could no longer work in Guadalajara without jeopardising her colleagues; she cut off her long braids, traded her conservative dress for more modern clothing and makeup, and moved to Mexico City, where she contacted the LNDLR and asked if the BF could continue working for the Cristeros there, in conjunction with them.¹⁴⁶

On 22 Jun 1928, 'Jefa General Celia Gómez' (Gollaz), and the LNDLR leader in Mexico City, Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, signed an agreement incorporating the BF into the LNDLR. Its main provision was BF recognition of the LNDLR as its sole superior organisation, but the BF was able to preserve its structure and leadership independent of the LNDLR, and remained free to recruit new members and initiate work throughout Mexico as it deemed necessary. Even though Palomar y Vizcarra initially had welcomed Gollaz's proposal, within several months he complained to Archbishop of Guadalajara Francisco Orozco y Jiménez that the BF's independent stance constituted '*ataques persistentes y sistemáticos a la Liga*' and contributed to the central-western region's continued separatism from the LNDLR's attempt to create a unified front. Convinced that his Mexico City organisation was the most capable of co-ordinating the counteroffensive against the Calles government, Palomar y Vizcarra increasingly manifested his disapproval of *zona cristera* leaders and especially the BF. Orozco y Jiménez had long been friendly towards Catholic women's organisations and unions, and it appears that he did little at this time to

¹⁴⁶Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, pp. 258-259.; Flores Gollaz, interview. Gollaz Gallardo's father was also imprisoned during the Cristero rebellion for printing *El Cruzado* and other Catholic papers in his shop.

reprimand the BF. The LNDLR pressured the BF to replace Flores González with a more co-operative advisor, but its members remained loyal to their founder. Leaders like Gollaz also publicly supported the protestations of Cristero leaders in the field, such as General Enrique Gorostieta, who questioned the LNDLR's ability to direct a rural guerrilla war from Mexico City, including its attempt to take control over the BF. L. Basurto (Luis Beltrán y Mendoza, the LNDLR representative in Guadalajara) replied to Gorostieta that it was unnatural and dangerous to have women following military orders; subject to such strong discipline and leadership, '*la influencia del Sacerdote se nulificaría*' among the women, and their organisation would surely degenerate in a morass of infighting and choosing personal favourites among the military commanders (there was no evidence of this occurring in November 1928). 'The LNDLR then tried to found an alternative women's group directly under its control, the Legión Guadalupana, which gained very little support. Finally, Palomar y Vizcarra sent his appeal for the BF's dissolution higher, not only to the Mexican Episcopate but to the Vatican, maintaining that the BF's secrecy was 'bad because they keep things from the authority of the country and from marital authority.' This approach proved successful; whether as part of their effort to rein in belligerent Catholics as a whole, or a manifestation of their greater concern to maintain ecclesiastical control over women than for violent conflict and power struggles among laymen, the Holy See replied reiterating its condemnation of secret societies. The Mexican Episcopate appointed a theological commission, headed by Ramón Martínez Silva, SJ, to determine the validity of the women's organisation. The commission found that its policy of secrecy violated church teachings, at which point both the Vatican and the Mexican Episcopate ordered Orozco y Jiménez to declare the BF illicit, which he did on 7 December 1928. The Archbishop threatened

BF members with excommunication if they continued to operate autonomously, claiming that without proper guidance from ecclesiastical lay, male supervisors, any women's 'action would absolutely fail, because isolated groups of women never work well and would prejudice their own cause.'¹⁴⁷

Archbishop Orozco y Jiménez instructed BF members that they could resume their work in support of local Catholic projects, provided that they changed their organisation's name, selected different leaders from those who had resisted central control, accepted ecclesiastical supervision and waited for authorisation of their proposed activities. Members of the BF continued to work with the LNDLR and other Cristeros, but with its absolute secrecy broken, the Federal army and police forces gained knowledge of the BF's covert actions, and apprehended many members in late 1928 and early 1929. Meanwhile, it soon became obvious that the LNDLR was less knowledgeable regarding local terrain and power structures than the BF had been. As a result, ammunition supplies to the Cristeros were significantly reduced and their military campaign weakened drastically until the time of the *arreglos*. The LNDLR never reconsidered returning the BF its former degree of autonomy, even as the armed movement degenerated.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷Meyer, *La cristiada*, III, 122-123; Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' pp. 70-74, p. 86, pp. 92-95; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, p. 103; Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, pp. 245-254. Miller notes that the Legión Guadalupeana later mobilized women to support the *Segunda Cristiada*, the violent Catholic uprisings of the 1930s (p. 117). Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra protested angrily after the Cristero rebellion that the LNDLR had been wronged, first by the Church hierarchy and then by history, and militated independently against Communism and American, Protestant incursions into Mexican society, Luis Beltrán y Mendoza, who before the rebellion had organized Catholic unions and the ACJM, accepted an appointment by Pascual Díaz Barreto to work with the Comisión Central de Instrucción Religiosa in 1931; later in the 1930s he became Secretary of the Comité Central of the Unión de Católicos Mexicanos; and he served as president of the Partido de Acción Nacional from 1946 to 1949. See Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana,' pp. 64-66, *Boletín de la Comisión Central de la Instrucción Religiosa*, I, 1 (May 1931 and ff.), p. 1; UFCM-Ibero, Caja 4, Folleto 25, 'II Asamblea Nacional UFCM, 1934,' Refugio Goribar de Cortina, 'Informe,' p. 17; AHAM-LMM, Carpeta: Oficiales Particulares/Música Sagrada, L. Beltrán y Mendoza to Archbishop L. M. Martínez, 25 Nov. 1939.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*

After the arreglos, Church leaders sought a way to contain the Cristeros who were dissatisfied with the hierarchy's solution and who continued to fight amongst themselves. As James Scott points out, the people who take theory and teachings most seriously are often considered the most dangerous, even by the regimes that taught them. In the case of the mobilised women of the BF, they really had taken the admonition to defend their faith and traditions to its utmost limit, and in doing so, violated Catholic norms for women's behaviour as well as the laws of the Mexican state. Pascual Díaz Barreto commissioned SSM director Miguel Dario Miranda to collect the archives of the BF and destroyed them.¹⁴⁹

It was not in Guadalajara but in Mexico City that the BF re-emerged. In July 1929, Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop of Morelia Leopoldo Ruíz y Flores communicated to the BF the Vatican's approval of its existence in a new, domesticated form. In August, Archbishop of Mexico Pascual Díaz Barreto communicated the new stipulations to Gómez (Gollaz) and other BF members; appealed to them to contribute to the new unifying organisation in defence of the Church, the Acción Católica Mexicana, and asked them for their 'obediencia y adhesión incondicional'; according to Barbara Miller, Gollaz agreed, desperate for funds to support the remaining members of the organisation. On 13 September 1929, two women in Mexico City, María and Berenise Ortiz, sent the archbishop a reply, on 'Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco: Consejo General' stationery, offering '*nuestra sumisión*' and announcing the First General Congress of the BF, to be held from 16-18 September 1929. On the 18th, Cardinal Gasparri, Vatican

¹⁴⁹Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, p. 104 and p. 107; Flores Gollaz, interview, 28 Apr. 1997; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, p. 103.

Secretary of State, telegraphed the Pope's benediction for the Congress to Archbishop Ruiz.¹⁵⁰

Over the next several years, the Mexico City-based BF appealed to former members to rejoin the Church's campaigns. In the first edition of the BF's new periodical, *El Informador de las Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco (IBFSJA)*, published in Mexico City), editor Berenise Ortiz thanked Archbishop Pascual Díaz y Barreto for '*la bondad verdaderamente paternal de poner nuestra organización bajo la dirección inmediata del H. Secretariado Mexicano.*' Díaz y Barreto also appointed ecclesiastical advisors to the BF, the first being Father Gregorio Aguilar, who had testified to Flores González's and Gomez's good characters as opposed to others who '*siembran la desunión y la discordia.*' After Aguilar was transferred to the Diocese of Tehuantepec, Díaz Barreto appointed Father Rafael Dávila Vilchis, later the ecclesiastical advisor to the UFCM Central Committee who encouraged women's public actions and campaigns. Despite the obsequious tone used by the women, it seems that they had not given up entirely on the organisation's providing a unique service to the Church in Mexico, albeit now through the ACM. In their new program, the BF committed itself to working for:

a-fomento de vocaciones eclesiásticas y sostenimiento del Seminario;
b-catecismos especialmente en las vecindades, ranchos e lugares abandonados;
c-beneficencia;
d-preparaciones técnicas de nuestras HH [hermanas], especialmente de las que han sido perseguidas y cuyo porvenir es oscuro.
*FIELES HERMANAS: al trabajo con el entusiasmo de siempre.*¹⁵¹

The BF continued to publish the *IBFSJA* for at least two years, filling the issues with articles advising women on proper comportment, both personal (articles

¹⁵⁰AHAM-PDB, Gabinete 197, Folleto 69-"Brigadas Femeninas," various letters; Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' p. 115.

such as '*Cuando la mujer es fea*,' and '*Dar*') and as ACM members ('*Adhesión*'). The contribution of the BF was summed up in '*De nuestra actividad*': '*ser UTILES A LOS DEMAS*.' The campaigns of the BF, to raise money for charities, to support seminaries and vocations, to teach catechism, to support Catholic schools and libraries, closely paralleled those of the UFCM; however, their concern for rural populations and women affected by the rebellion's aftermath preceded the UFCM's by several years. The Mexico City-based BF maintained correspondence with women in the *zona cristera*, sometimes publicising their accomplishments in the *Informador* and sometimes—both in the newspaper and individually—reprimanding those women who continued to engage in '*actividades que se han desaprobado por nuestros superiores*.' The IBFSJA reminded its readers in March 1931 that '*No tenemos que ver ahora nada con las luchas entre hermanos; no nos dedicamos, ni es nuestro intento engañar a nadie: nuestro programa de acción es público y públicos son nuestros trabajos*.'¹⁵² The post-Cristiada BF seems to have remained a small and not well publicised group within the UFCM; it is only mentioned in their 1936 statistics, and then as having a mere 391 members. The BF continued to hold biennial meetings in Mexico City for at least the next decade; their fifth was in 1939, the main themes being the IBFSJA and '*Grupos Infantiles*.'¹⁵³

¹⁵¹AHAM-PDB, Gabinete 197, Folleto 69-"Brigadas Femeninas," G. Aguilar to P. Díaz Barreto (28 Jun. 1929) and the Secretaria Episcopal (8 Oct. 1929); also '*Agradecimiento*' and '*Programa*,' IBFSJA, I, 1 (26 Jan. 1930), p.1, in *ibid*.

¹⁵²AHAM, Serie Conflict Religioso, Caja 1, 'Correspondencia,' Folleto 'Brigada Femenina de Santa Juana de Arco': for guidelines, IBFSJA, I, 6 (31 Jun. 1930), p.1 ('*Adhesión*'), I, 12 (28 Dec 1930), p. 4 ('*Cuando la Mujer es Fea*'), II, 4 (26 Apr. 1931), p. 1 ('*De nuestras actividades*') and II, 5 (31 May 1931), p. 3 ('*Dar*,' por Amado Nervo); for regional reports from Colotlán, Jal., Jerez, Zac., and other locales see *idem*, IBFSJA, I, 7 (27 Jul. 1930), p. 1-2, for published reprimands, see '*Importantísimo*,' IBFSJA, II, 3 (29 Mar. 1931), p. 1 and '*La Acción Católica y la Acción política*,' IBFSJA, II, 5, p. 4; for private communications see Overnight letter from Berenise Ortiz, México, DF a Sra. Concepción Salazar, vda. de Vázquez, Atotonilco el Alto, 12 Aug. 1930, and B. Ortiz to C. Salazar, 18 Aug. 1930.

¹⁵³For UFCM statistics, see Ch. 2 and Appendix 2; AHAM, Caja Acción Católica, Folleto 74-1, L.G. Oñate and M. Buelna to L.M. Martínez, 12 Sept. 1939.

Clearly, not many ex-brigadistas saw the resuscitated BF as a meaningful way to continue their activism for their faith. After the conflict and fear they experienced during the rebellion and the disappointment of the *arreglos*, many chose to retire from religious activism to private and professional life. Some joined religious orders, like Catalina Chacón. Some, like Antonia Castillo and Dolores Ortega, went to work in the private, Catholic schools founded clandestinely in the 1930s and more openly in the 1940s. Others, like Marina García de Alba, accepted work in the public school system, feeling that the state, and not the Church, offered her a realistic way to support herself after the war. Castillo commented that the Church, especially Archbishop Díaz Barreto, had erected a '*cortina de hierro*' around the past. Margarita Gómez reflected the choice of many who sacrificed their lives and reputations to defend Catholic practice: '*si he sabido, no me había metido, tanto trabajar, tanto sacrificio, tanto susto, tantas hambres, mojadas, para nada.*' Discouraged by Church and government officials alike, the safest option seemed to be to keep their pasts to themselves and move on.¹⁵⁴

According to Flores González and Gollaz's son (they married in 1930), Jesús Flores González, his mother commented that some ex-brigadistas joined the new Acción Católica, but '*muchas se casaron después*' and stayed at home. Although they continued to fear government reprisal afterwards and seldom discussed their past in front of their children, Flores González continued to organise for Catholic causes, participating in the UNPF, serving as president of the UCM, and operating a small Catholic press. Gollaz supported her husband's efforts, but, according to her son, suffered from an '*enfermedad de tipo depresivo*' for decades that kept her housebound

¹⁵⁴Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, p. 275-277; Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' p. 99-100.

and away from active involvement in groups such as the UFCM. She refused to set down any record of her past, asking why she should write a memoir, since the records the BF had kept had already been burnt. The only public indication Gollaz made regarding her role in the BF was to name one of her daughters Celia.¹⁵⁵

Decades later, women and men began to speak more openly about the Cristero rebellion and their involvement in the religious conflict of the 1920s. Flores González gave a speech about the BF at a gathering commemorating the 25th anniversary of the beginning of the Cristero rebellion. '*Me parece que es la primera vez que hablo lo que no se ha hablado*,' he said, and emphasised that the BF had played a crucial role in the Cristero movement. They were '*el ejemplo de la mujer fuerte, de la mujer cristiana, la que supo entregar a su esposo, a su hermano, a sus hijos, a su novio, a sí misma...*' Although overlooked by earlier historians of the movement, more recent scholarship has recognised their organisational, military, and spiritual contributions. Some women knew this all along, refusing to accept either omission or a secondary place to men in the historical record. Amparo Morfín de Gonzalez Luna, a long-time Catholic activist and member of a prominent Guadalajara Catholic family, spoke

¹⁵⁵Flores Gollaz, interview.

According to Flores Gollaz, male members of the ACJM and other Catholic organisations agreed at the end of the Cristero rebellion that they should marry ex-brigadistas, since it was known that some women had been raped and others would similarly be suspected of having been, on no more grounds than their relatively independent, mobile and unsupervised lifestyle of the past three years. At an oral history conference, regional historian Agustín Vaca regaled the audience with a quip that the *cristeras* he had interviewed obsessed about their greatest fear, being raped by government soldiers, '*pero nunca pasó, por gracia del Espíritu Santo o lo que sea*'—or so they said. ('Las cristeras: un olvido historiográfico,' paper presented at the II Seminario Internacional de Historia Oral, Colegio de Jalisco, Zapopan, Jalisco, 14 Nov. 1996). But for *zona cristera* women, rape was no laughing matter. Anthropologist Marigene Arnold documented the case of a woman in Cajititlán, the Jalisco village she studied, who as a teenager during the 1950s had been carried off to another village and raped by a male acquaintance. She managed to flee to her godfather's house there and sent word to her family to come fetch her. Her father sent someone to check that she was well, but also sent word that she should try and marry her assailant, as she was now a '*calabaza hueca*' [a broken squash, i.e., a non-virgin], she was 'of no use to him' and could not return home ('Mexican Women: The Anatomy of a Stereotype in a Mexican Village,' Ph.D. Diss., University of Florida, 1973, p. 83). Researchers also note that rape by *Cristeros* was and continues to be a taboo subject—according to many chroniclers, it simply did not happen (Miller (p. 97) and Vaca, 'Las cristeras;') In such a climate, it is no wonder that women were loath to speak of its actual occurrence, either to themselves or to their peers, knowing that it would permanently mark their reputations, truly continuing '*la violación*.'

proudly of her involvement in the BF, and identified with a heritage of women's strength and the dependence of the Church on them. 'The immediate response of women was nothing new,' she claimed, 'The apostles had run away during the crucifixion while the women remained.' Carmen Macías recalled, '*A mí me encantaba. ¡Aquel gusto con que trabajaba todo el mundo! ¡Aquel silencio que conservaban!*'¹⁵⁶

Onward to Catholic Action: The UFCM

Catholic women's organisations had provided organised support networks for housewives, domestic employees and women workers since the turn of the century, maintained schools and youth centres, collected funds and supplies for charitable works, and supported publications and conferences in Mexico for several decades by the time of the *arreglos*, and had survived two militarised civil conflicts while doing so. Even though both the state and the Church's reaction against militarised Catholic women activists had been fierce, it comes as no surprise that women were seen as a vital part of the new strategy of the ACM to be the vehicle for the Catholic hierarchy's 'indirect' influence on Mexican society and leaders. Mexican women would continue to be involved at all levels in the ACM campaign, for not only leaders were targeted for Catholic influence. Workers, peasants, students, and children, female and male, were recognised as the targets of liberal economics and socialist organising, and thus for Catholic social action as well.

Méndez Medina had suggested as early as 1925 that the 'Damas' rename their organisation the Unión 'Femenina,' in order to indicate that its membership was open to more than upper-class women were. At that point the Damas had refused, insisting that the name was important for them to be seen as *ladies*, as models of

femininity. However, in 1929, the concern to include all of society within Catholic social action's embrace (and thus not lose some to state campaigns) overrode concerns for perception of Catholic women's deportment. Some organisers welcomed the change, believing that it showed that UFCM membership would become more inclusive. '*La Iglesia abrió las puertas a todos,*' claimed Sofía del Valle, a long-time ACM activist; the UFCM and JCFM would now include urban and rural working women, rather than just carry out projects for them. Apparently some members of the organisation felt a certain nostalgia for the old name; President Elena Lascurain de Silva lamented, in her first report to the General Assembly in 1932, that to change the '*ya histórico nombre*' constituted '*un sacrificio que ofrecer en aras de la obediencia a nuestros amados Prelados; sin embargo, con toda sumisión y complaciéndoles de lo íntimo del corazón, aceptó.*' Whatever the feelings of the longstanding, *dama* members, over the next decade they proved their loyalty, respect, and obedience to the Episcopate and the Papacy when requested to '*militar en las filas de la AC.*'¹⁵⁷

During the early 1930s, the UFCM, reorganised from the UDCM, devoted much of its energies to reorganising, rebuilding and expanding its regional, diocesan and parochial organisations. UFCM members, mothers and older women professionals, and the young women of the JCFM, daughters and young working women, were assigned especially to follow issues in the education of the young. Members of the JCFM, as mothers and wives in training, were also given the tasks of training as catechists and teaching in their localities, and being propagandists for the

¹⁵⁶'Las Brigadas Femeninas,' *David*, 3a época, no. 3 (Jun. 1968), p. 42; Meyer, 3: 24 and 133; Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' p. 107; González Luna quote p. 63.

¹⁵⁷Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' p. 194, p. 204, p. 207, p. 349; Sofía del Valle, interview with Alicia Olivera de Bonfil, México, DF, 3 Nov. 1972 and 14 Feb. 1973, (PHO/4/11), p.26; Elena Lascurain de Silva, 'Informe que presenta la Presidenta del Comité Central a la Primera Asamblea General de la UFCM,' *AF*, I, 1 (1 Jan. 1933), pp. 13-14.

ACM. Not surprisingly, Catholic women spearheaded the vociferous protests of the 1930s against socialist education, and continued to take part in many social, spiritual and moral campaigns outside the confines of the household and the churches.¹⁵⁸

Examining only the advisory literature of the Papacy and the Mexican Episcopate, one could conclude that

The goals of these various organisations within the Mexican Catholic Action movement were separated into the apostleship in the family and the apostleship in society. The feminine organizations were responsible for the influence and protection of Catholicism in domestic and educational affairs. The male [sic] organizations were responsible for the defense, diffusion and application of Catholicism in the other areas of secular society. These groups gave special attention to the education of their members and the faithful in general. The male organizations within Mexican Catholic Action, particularly the Union of Mexican Catholics, which was probably the most important organization and pillar of the movement, were the most influential.¹⁵⁹

However, even before examining Catholic women's activism in detail, a simple look at membership figures casts doubt on the above statement. By the early 1940s, women made up more than three-quarters of the membership of the ACM.¹⁶⁰ ACM ecclesiastical advisors wrote articles on the progress and further development of the UFCM and JCFM, but also sent queries and offered suggestions about means to attract Catholic men to join the UCM in the first place.¹⁶¹ Although the remaining

¹⁵⁸"Informe que presenta la Presidenta del Comité Central a la primera Asamblea General de la UFCM," pp. 14-16; Garibi Rivera, 'Primera Carta Pastoral,' pp. 515-516; and 'JCFM, Las Propagandistas de la JCFM,' *Christus*, I, 1 (Dec. 1935), pp. 75-76; Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 65.; Chapter 2 treats the UFCM's national organisation from 1929 to 1940 in detail.

¹⁵⁹ Gotschall, 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico,' p. 37. Gotschall bases his conclusion on his use of the UCM's *Boletín*.

¹⁶⁰The 1945 membership count of the ACM was 365,088; of them, 177,456 (49%) were UFCM members and 102,491 (28%) were JCFM members; only 29,391 (8%) were ACJM members and 55,750 (15%) were UCM members. See Margartia G. de Méndez, "Síntesis Histórica de la UFCM," *Acción Femenina*, Sept. 1980 (número especial), p. 28; Pattee, *The Catholic Revival in Mexico*, pp. 46-47. Also see Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes geográficos*, p. 25; For more on UFCM and ACM membership during the 1930s and in 1945, see Chapter 2, and Appendices 1a-1c and 2.

¹⁶¹For example, 'Acción Católica,' *Christus*, I, 2 (Jan. 1936), pp. 84-93. Women's Catholic organisations comprising the majority of Catholic Action organisations and conducting much of their work was not a

quarter of the ACM may have made important contributions, it is clear that women were the sustaining force behind the ACM during the postrevolutionary period, a fact supported by examining their organisation on the national, regional and local levels.

Towards the Practice of Catholic Action in Mexico

In 1929, the Church in Mexico faced a social reality where it was almost powerless to impede the operations of the postrevolutionary government in political and economic arenas, and was threatened in the areas of moral and educational influence. Though the state had won its victory over the Church as an institution, the *arreglos* did not eliminate the Catholic social movement any more than it did other forms of personal religious practice. Furthermore, individual Mexicans had, as their revolutionary inheritance, the possibility for at least partial incorporation by the state of popular demands; if challenges to the government and the ruling party could be couched in the terminology of the Revolution and the nation, so much the better.¹⁶² During the 1930s, Mexican Catholics again claimed the right to freedom of religious practice based on ideals of citizenship, patriotism, and being part of the 'Mexican family.'

Lay Catholic associations were the key to the Church's survival through the Mexican Revolution and the turbulent decade that followed. Although initially

phenomenon unique to Mexico; in the United States, the National Council of Catholic Women was evaluated as having 'exemplified the procedural program of the National Catholic Welfare Council' and being 'decidedly more successful than its masculine counterpart, the National Council of Catholic Men,' during the 1920s and 1930s, although only partially realising its objectives of social service programs and the construction of a National Catholic Social Service School for women. See Aaron I. Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865-1950* (Garden City, NY, 1960), pp.219-224. for more comparisons, see Chapter 2.

¹⁶²Allen Wells and Gilbert M. Joseph, *Summer of Discontent, Seasons of Upheaval: Elite Politics and Rural Insurgency in Yucatán, 1876-1915*, (Stanford, Cal., 1996), p. 290.

more a middle- and upper-class phenomenon, the movement extended sufficiently to working class and rural Mexicans to build up an enduring base of support,¹⁶³ especially in the *zona cristera*. Based on a heritage of social commentary, adaptation, and action, the Mexican Catholic hierarchy, with the co-operation of the activists who remained loyal to it through the Cristero rebellion and the *arreglos*, offered the ACM as an 'alternative' to what was variously labelled the atheist, communist, socialist, or immoral way of life proposed by the revolutionaries. Through social organisations organised along lines of age and by gender, Mexican Catholics, like their European counterparts, tried to maintain as much as possible the existence of Catholic education, community interaction and religious practice in which their morals would be safeguarded, while the Church hierarchy cautiously negotiated its *modus vivendi* in contemporary Mexico.

Roberto Blancarte maintains that the '*integral-intransigente*' Mexican Catholics did not negate their stance of doctrinal allegiance to Rome and resistance to radical social reform. But as Catholics, they had to accept the pragmatic compromises of the generation of Roman-trained clergy elevated to leadership positions that preferred negotiating with the State as a superior tactic to fighting against it. On the official level, this is the 'hidden revolution,' the understanding which the Mexican Church hierarchy of the 1930s reached with the Mexican State to provide each other with mutual symbolic support. Catholics recognised that the secularisation, urbanisation and incipient industrialisation of Mexican society made any 'return' to the Church's comfortable position of the Colonia era, or to the parochial Catholicism of the nineteenth century, an impossibility, making doubtful

¹⁶³Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' pp. 205-206.

the assumption that the mission to 'restore all things in Christ' really constituted complete intransigence on the part of the Catholics.¹⁶⁴

But practical, pragmatic Catholic mobilisation did not take place solely in the upper echelons of the Church; nor, as many rebuffs and restrictions from state officials towards the Mexican clergy demonstrate, would it have been successful had it been limited to the activities of the bishops. Mexican Catholics had been making practical adjustments to changes in Church and state power alignments for decades, if not centuries. The Catholic Church's reorganisation of its 'missionary lay force' in Mexico, as in other Latin American countries, helped to revitalise the presence of the Catholic Church in many regions of Mexico, especially in those where the bishops and even parish priests, because of legal, numerical and practical limitations, could not go. Catholic Action was part of the Church's 1930s *realpolitik*. The Church had to recognise once and for all its loss of status as a state religion, and the loss of its right to intervene in matters of State and governance, no more likely to be restored in postrevolutionary Mexico than during the Porfiriato. The institutional Church could, however, make the postrevolutionary State's assertions of power over it relative, by mobilising and training a force of lay Catholics to enter politics, education and social organisations where it no longer could.¹⁶⁵ Though not a complete reconquest, Mexican lay Catholics achieved an impressive level of retrenchment regarding the presence of the Catholic Church and the clergy in their communities, relaxation of the enforcement of anticlerical laws, and a reduction in

¹⁶⁴Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 37; Blancarte, *Historia de la Iglesia católica en México*, p. 24; Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, pp. 82-83; Meyer, *Una historia política de la religión en México*, p. 720.

¹⁶⁵Vallier, 'Religious Elites,' pp. 202-204; Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana,' pp. 61-63.

the levels of anti-Catholic ideology circulated by the government.¹⁶⁶ Adaptation and compromise proved to be the keys to the survival of the Mexican Catholic Church, demonstrated by the practice of many Catholic activists demonstrates. Although the Mexican Catholic Church was recognised by concerned Catholics world-wide during the 1930s as a Church 'of the Catacombs in its devotion,' that had produced martyrs such as Father Pro and María de la Luz Camacho, the JCFM activist killed by communist students from a youth group supported by the government of Tabasco state in 1935.¹⁶⁷ However, the Mexican Church owed its survival and its emergence from underground to the calculated, long-term, grass-roots mobilisation of Catholics across the country, much of which was conducted by Catholic women.

¹⁶⁶García Ugarte, 'Movimientos Católicos Internacionales,' pp. 74-75.

¹⁶⁷Fitzsimons and P. McGuire, *Restoring All Things*, p. 96.

Chapter Two: Mexican Catholic Women Organised at the National Level–The Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana (UFCM)

As explored in the previous chapter, women had participated in the Social Catholic movement since the late nineteenth century. The UDCM, founded in 1912, became the organisation in which Catholic women could co-ordinate campaigns nationally during the Revolution and the early 1920s, under the guidance and leadership of the Church hierarchy. At the time of the *arreglos*, the Catholic hierarchy sought to reconcile itself with the secular State and to recover recognition of its moral authority and principal role in the civic and private lives of the Mexican people, without suffering attacks from the State or from leftist ideologues. With some male leaders exiled and their public influence curtailed, the Church again called upon its women members to mobilise for the preservation, defence and propagation of Catholic doctrine and practice. Having learned from the Cristero Rebellion that independent organisations such as the BF could be difficult for the hierarchy to control, the Church encouraged women to join their corresponding branches of the ACM.

Although there is at present no comprehensive, comparative study of the impact and efficacy of the different Catholic pious associations, civic associations and the ACM, it is fairly safe to say, as historian José Miguel Romero de Solís put it, that '*la UFCM, en cierta medida, fue la ACM*'.¹ Catholic women took up the task, publicly assigned by the Catholic hierarchy, of reintroducing the Church as a primary influence in the moral ordering of Mexican society. The actions of Catholic women also contributed to the gradual cessation of government attacks on the Church and the recognition of government officials that Catholicism was a legitimate component of Mexican postrevolutionary culture. It was in great part, though not exclusively, through the UFCM that Catholic women carried out their

¹Romero de Solís, *El Aguñon del Espíritu*, p. 405, my emphasis; also see p. 372.

work in support of the Church. This chapter will examine the UFCM primarily as a national organisation, delineate the ways in which the Church hierarchy planned to have Catholic women mobilise, describe Catholic women's responses to their calls to action, and assess the presence and efficacy which the UFCM had in Mexico during the 1930s. As we will see, the UFCM, as the new organisation for Catholic women activists, was established from its central offices in Mexico City outward. Women in the dioceses and parishes of Mexico began founding chapters of the UFCM in their own communities soon after its inception, which will be examined in the following chapters. These regional and local chapters also played significant parts in the construction and development of the UFCM.

Although in traditional Catholic rhetoric women were formally relegated to the more private realms of home, church, and childcare, in the conceptualisation of Acción Católica they were at the same time included the arena of the secular apostolate. UFCM members were called upon not only to be '*activa[s]*,' but to '*desarrollar su apostolado*.'² Once they had gained a superior understanding of Catholic doctrine and high moral standards, brought about by the study of Scriptures and Catholic commentary, these women, like the original biblical apostles, had to practice them externally, and make their personally-embraced faith publicly known. Catholic women would develop as active members of the apostolate by working in the various campaigns of the UFCM. More broadly, Catholic women were called upon to include '*oración, sacrificio y un celo indistinguible*' in all their actions, with a view to upholding and strengthening the Catholic Church.³ In other words, Catholic women were called upon to act publicly, albeit following prescribed methods, and in such a way that they did not alter their worldview to one that contravened Catholic doctrine. Church leaders asked Catholic women to be assertive, active and committed, when the situation

²R. Dávila Vilchis, 'UFCM: La mujer de Acción Católica es activa,' *Christus*, 2, 20 (Jul. 1937), p. 640.

³R. Dávila Vilchis, 'UFCM: Preciosas Normas Para la Formación,' *Christus*, 2, 22 (Sept. 1937), pp. 839-842, quote from p. 842.

demanded it. Lay Catholic women, young and old, married and single, were to stand up for their rights – not in the sense of individual rights discourse (with the exception of claiming the constitutional right to '*libertad de culto*'), but in a more collective sense, those of protecting their religion, traditions, and families, especially the children in their care, from the corrupting influence of the state's reform programme.

State and Radical Alternatives for Women

At this point it is useful to briefly examine the proposals and programmes for women that the Church in Mexico considered so threatening. The Mexican state offered women alternatives that were, in theory, a radical break with the limitations of doctrinal Catholicism and pre-Revolutionary social structures. The 1917 Constitution included women in its provisions for worker's rights, land rights and other protections for the disadvantaged. Venustiano Carranza's 1915 *Decreto sobre matrimonio y divorcio*, subsequently codified as the 1917 Law of Family Relations, began the process of removing traditional restrictions that the Church placed on married women and men – but by no means finished it. The law enabled both men and women to end civil marriages by mutual consent, and gave as valid grounds for divorce adultery, sexual exploitation of wives by husbands, abandonment, neglect, grave physical abuse, and even chronic alcoholism. Nevertheless, several conditions and restrictions applied that created a legal double standard to women's disadvantage. For example, Article 228 declared that women's adultery was always grounds for divorce. Yet men's adultery was only considered valid grounds if: the adulterous act took place in the married couple's home, the husband sustained an open relationship of concubinage that caused public scandal or insult to his wife, or the mistress in question attacked or mistreated the legal wife. Means for the spouses to live separately during litigation were also codified, which included, in article 244, the ability for a judge to place a wife in the house of a '*persona decente*' if her

character were questionable and if her husband requested it. Both men and women were free to remarry after divorce, but while men could do so immediately, article 287 of the divorce decree mandated that a woman wait ten months from either the conclusion of the proceedings or the point at which she ceased to cohabit with her husband.⁴ Obviously, Carranza had not fundamentally altered the perception of marriage as the transfer of legal supervision of women, from male guardians to husband. Thus even the 'revolutionary' order that purported to overturn Catholicism's oppression of women did not dispense with the regulation of women by men *per se*. As a result, women were subjected to legal discrimination and held to standards of social and sexual conduct that men were not.⁵

Mexican feminist organisers criticised the double standard in the Divorce Law, but nevertheless continued to work through government channels to improve the legal status and living conditions of Mexican women. Although most Mexican politicians were not eager to extend equal political and civil rights to Mexican women, at least some social reformers, such as Yucatán governors Salvador Alvarado and Felipe Carillo Puerto, implemented reforms along these lines at the

⁴Venustiano Carranza, 'Decreto sobre matrimonio y divorcio,' 29 Jan. 1915, in Isidro de Fabela, dir., *Documentos Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico City, 1963), IV, 131, 133, 135. Anna Macías points out that Hermila Galindo, a social activist who worked as Carranza's personal secretary, greatly influenced him to implement improvements in women's legal status (*Against All Odds*, p. 36).

⁵Of course, the law did nothing to alter the status of a Catholic (or any religious) marriage, as Church officials vehemently reminded Mexicans, though they feared that the laity would misinterpret it thus. In the encyclical *Casti Connubii* (1930), Pope Pius XI responded to the numerous divorce laws being passed world-wide by reminding Catholics that no civil law could break the bond of Catholic marriage. The spread of civil divorce, he declared, would only lead to the disintegration of the family (society's basic building-block), the victimisation of women (being abandoned by their husbands), and, worse still, a growing tendency to opt for civil marriage alone and to eschew the Catholic practice. Bishops, priests, and Catholic activists rallied to the cause and repeated the Pope's teachings. See Pius XI, '*Casti Connubii*: Carta Encíclica de Nro. Smo. Señor Pío Papa XI Sobre el Matrimonio Cristiano,' Rome, 30 Dec. 1930, *BEG*, II, 3 (1 Mar. 1931), pp. 773-817; also 'Los Peligros del Matrimonio,' *BEG*, II, 12 (1 Feb 1931), pp. 763-767; 'La Encíclica sobre el matrimonio,' *BEG*, II, 4 (1 Apr. 1931), pp. 901-902; R. Calvo, 'Variedades: El Divorcio,' *BEG*, III, 4, (1 Apr. 1932), pp. 215-219 (from *El Mensajero del Corazón de Jesús*, México); UFCM-Ibero, Sección Correspondencia, Serie Asambleas Generales, Caja 4, Carpeta 24, 'I Asamblea General de la UFCM, Oct. 1932' [I Asamblea General (1932)], Refugio Goribar de Cortina, 'Restauración Cristiana de la Familia'; 'Estudios Históricos: México y la Revolución Mundial,' *Christus*, I, 1 (Dec. 1935), pp. 82-89; Arzobispado de Guadalajara, *Estatuos del Primer Sínodo Diocesano del Arzobispado de Guadalajara de la República de México* (Guadalajara, Jal., 1938), p. 99. p. 184.

state level.⁶ But to gain equal rights nation-wide would take more time. After the Revolution, an increasing number of middle-class working women (teachers, secretaries, and other *empleadas*) mobilised for the reform the Civil Code, in order to implement Carranza's 1917 Law of Family Relations. The result of several decades of feminist mobilisation, the 1927 Civil Code—which affected the Federal District and territories, and was intended as a model for the other states – included provisions to equalise the legal status of men and women while implementing some protections for married women. The Code was designed to curtail the *patria potestad*, the automatic legal preference granted to husbands and fathers that continued to exist despite various legal reforms in Mexico, including those of the early years of the Revolution (for example, in the Law of Family Relations). The Code granted married women equal legal capacity to enter contracts and act as guardians. It also mandated that all single women, upon reaching the age of majority, were free to leave home and set up their own households, and could not be prevented from doing so by their families. The decision to marry was also placed solely in the hands of the parties involved; only medical impediments (such as hereditary or sexually transmitted diseases) could infringe this right. The law determined that spouses would decide at the time of their civil marriage whether to administer their property jointly (which would protect women who were economically dependent) or singly (to protect women who worked or maintained their own income). Women also gained the right to practise law without restrictions in all courts of justice. The feminists who had worked for the reform and the politicians and independent commentators (such as the Mexico City newspapers) that had supported it hailed the new Code as a great victory. However, the impact of the Code was limited mainly to middle- and upper class, urban women who valued juridical equality and property guarantees, and who were familiar with the mechanisms to gain their

⁶Macías, *Against All Odds*, p. 35. However, Alvarado certainly limited his faith in the reforming capacity of Mexican women; Carillo Puerto was willing to take more radical steps, but encountered great resistance in Yucatán and amongst his peers nation-wide. Their reforms were also short-lived, being quickly annulled or reversed by their successors. Sandra McGee Deutsch, 'Gender and Sociopolitical Change in Latin America,' *HAHR*, LXXI, 2 (May 1991), pp. 267-269.

enforcement. The great majority of working class and rural women were still more preoccupied with daily survival than with legal provisions, and were not likely to avail themselves of the Code's new provisions. Nor did the law eliminate the economic or social pressures that kept many women in their parental homes or in difficult marriages, still under patriarchal control. Feminist organisers such as Elena Torres also realised that the Code did not eliminate the double standards codified in 1917. Married women still needed their husbands' permission to work outside the home, while husbands could change occupation, residence, or leave the country altogether without any restriction placed upon them by their wives.⁷

The implementation and enforcement of enabling laws of the 1917 Constitution such as these varied from region to region. In a study of corn mill and tortillería workers during and after the Revolution, Dawn Keremetsis found that in what was once an all-female occupation, male workers soon came to dominate higher-paid positions in the mills. New labour laws were supposed to enable women to work in such positions through provisions for maternal duties (such as maternity leave, breaks for nursing, day care), employers reserved lower-paid, unskilled and storefront jobs for women, since these jobs more easily allowed women to take breaks to care for children without requiring employers to change or provide anything. The technological 'liberation' from the *metate* thus was not a real victory for women who now had to work for and provide for themselves and their families with comparatively lower wages. As late as 1942, Lillian Estelle Fisher reported that only Jalisco and San Luis Potosí states had implemented enforcement laws for these labour provisions for women, and that even in these cases, treatment of women workers often did not comply with the law.⁸

⁷Macías, *Against All Odds*, pp. 38ff, pp. 119-121.

⁸ Dawn Keremetsis, 'Del metate al molino: la mujer mexicana de 1910 a 1940,' *Historia Mexicana*, XXXIII, 2 (Oct.-Dec.1983), pp. 292-293, p. 302; Lillian Estelle Fisher, "The Influence of the Present Mexican Revolution upon the Status of Women," *HAHR*, XXII (Feb. 1942), p. 216.

Women were also promised a share in the benefits of state land reform. Reformers were aware that the reorganisation of communities into ejidos would require more than the mere enlistment of male farmers. Agrarian reformers, teachers and other state agents thus encouraged rural women to mobilise in auxiliary leagues supporting the ejidos. Rural women's mobilisation soon expanded into clubs supporting schools, campaigns for public health programmes and against alcoholism, subsistence and small-business enterprises (community gardens, aviculture, and handcrafts, for example), and their own education and advancement. In many cases, the women who mobilised in these leagues came to think in terms beyond aiding the cause of their menfolk or the new state, and began to seek greater access to economic resources and effective citizenship rights. However, these women too found that the degree of empowerment available from the agrarian reform on their lives had its limits. Through and beyond the 1930s, women still could not receive land grants or subsidies on the basis of their sex, and for the most part lacked the capacity to vote for or otherwise formally influence their leadership.⁹

Despite the economic downturn engendered by the world wide economic depression, feminist mobilisation increased in Mexico during the 1930s. Mexican women continued to campaign for labour reform, improved economic conditions, better access to education and health care, and legal and political rights through both government agencies and independent organisations, such as the Frente Único Pro-Derechos de la Mujer (FUPDM) and the Congress of Women Workers and Peasants. These campaigns gave rise to internal debates in women's organisations, showing up ideological differences between moderate, progressive and radical (many

⁹ Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley, 1995), p. 91 and *passim*. Becker points out that women's agrarian auxiliaries in Michoacán did encourage women to challenge their husbands' authority and allocations of wages. Jocelyn Olcott describes rural women's mobilisations and their drive for expanded legal rights in Michoacán, in the Comarca Laguna (north-eastern Mexico) and Yucatán in "'Without Legal Force but with Moral Force': Gender, Citizenship, and Collective Organizing in Cardenista Mexico." Paper presented at the XXII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Miami, Florida, 16 March 2000 and in greater detail in 'Las Hijas de la Malinche: Women's Organizing and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico, 1934-1940' (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2000). For women's leagues in Puebla and Sonora, see Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, p. 59 and *passim*.

Communist) members. For example, the debate on whether to eliminate or regulate prostitution and implement health care programmes to prevent sexually transmitted diseases disrupted the 1934 meetings of the International League of Iberian and Spanish-American Women in Mexico City and the Third National Congress of Women and Peasants in Guadalajara.¹⁰

The unification of progressive and radical activist women under one or several issues proved elusive for Mexican women organisers; however, the one cause that was closest to being unanimously accepted as central was women's suffrage. Regardless of their differences on other issues, Mexican feminists generally agreed that they could not depend on male politicians to improve conditions for women, and that they would have to gain the right to suffrage and political participation to implement real reforms for women.¹¹ Mexican women had campaigned for political rights since the nineteenth century, and continued to face considerable prejudice against women's political participation. Delegates to the 1915 Aguascalientes Convention protested that to leave something so '*varonil*' as government in the hands of women was '*immoral, perjudicial y peligroso, si se recuerda que la mujer pertenece en cuerpo y alma, al partido que no es liberal*' (meaning the Church).¹² At the 1916 Constitutional Convention in Querétaro, only Felix Palavacini brought up the issue of women's suffrage, and was roundly ridiculed by the other delegates. The Congress eventually concluded that '*[e]l hecho que algunas mujeres excepcionales tengan las condiciones para ejercer satisfactoriamente los derechos políticos no funda la conclusión de que éstos deban concederse a la mujer como clase [sic]. La dificultad de hacer la selección autoriza la negativa.*'¹³ The continuing prejudice

¹⁰ Two recent and thorough examinations of women's organising during this time are Gabriela Cano, 'Las feministas en campaña: la primera mitad del siglo XX,' *Debate Feminista*, II, 4 (Sept. 1991), pp. 269-292 and Esperanza Tuñón Pablos, *Mujeres que se organizan: El Frente Unico Pro-Derechos de la Mujer, 1935-1938* (Mexico City, 1992); also see Macías, *Against All Odds*, p. 135-137.

¹¹ Esperanza Tuñón Pablos, *Mujeres que se organizan: El Frente Unico Pro-Derechos de la Mujer, 1935-1938* (Mexico City, 1992), p. 93 and Chapter 3, *passim*; Macías, *Against All Odds*, p. 37 and Chapter 6, *passim*.

¹² Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, p. 203 (quote).

¹³ Quoted in E. Tuñón Pablos, *Mujeres que se organizan*, p. 22.

against women's political participation exposed a contradiction in the purported pro-woman stance of the Mexican postrevolutionary regime. Women were asked to dedicate themselves to the new regime, but ultimately were not trusted to make decisions; the great majority of Mexican politicians assumed that women would always side with the Church and Catholic tradition, despite several decades of women's progressive and radical agitation to the contrary.¹⁴ American Verna Carleton Millan, married to a Mexican and resident in Mexico during the 1930s, concluded that

Man is the Mexican woman's worst enemy. The very politicians, I soon found out, who drip with tears when they write about motherhood have fought tenaciously, with every weapon in their power, the efforts of organised women to secure the vote and thereby obtain really effective laws to protect maternity, which the country does not possess at present; the very revolutionaries who praise with tremulous emotion the glorious lives of Rosa Luxemburg, Krupskaya and other heroines of the revolutionary movement refuse to let their own wives attend the meetings they address.

'My husband is afraid I'll become infected with his ideas,' one woman said to me dryly when I asked her why she had never heard her husband speak in public.

'Mexican husbands are feudal Marxists,' another explained, 'Marxists outside and feudalists within their homes.'¹⁵

The '*jefe máximo*' Plutarco Elías Calles was extremely sceptical of women's ability to contribute to a revolutionary programme; likewise, interim president Abelardo L. Rodríguez (1932-1934) also did not have much faith in feminist organisation. President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940) had promisingly advocated women's political participation at the PNR's 1933 convention in Querétaro. After his election he openly expressed his approval of women's involvement in electoral politics, which raised the hopes of many Mexican feminists.¹⁶

¹⁴ Mexican liberal and radical political activists could also cite the case of Spain, where in 1933, 1934 and 1936 conservative women's mobilisation and votes proved crucial for right-wing and pro-clerical candidates; see Vincent, 'The Politicization of Catholic Women in Salamanca, 1931-1936', pp. 118-119ff. Even Catholic observers realised that this prejudice was keeping Mexican women from voting, delaying even proposals to enable women members of the PNR auxiliary vote in internal elections; Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, pp. 288-289.

¹⁵ Verna Carleton Millan, *Mexico Reborn* (Boston, 1939), pp. 160-161.

Article 34 of the 1917 Constitution defined the 'citizen' as any 'man or woman' of at least eighteen years of age keeping an 'honest' way of life, and Article 35 enumerated the citizen's political rights, including exercise of suffrage and holding elected office. Some women attempted to harness the constitutional ambiguity; María del Refugio Garcia, a political activist with Communist and feminist affiliations, ran for and won the majority of votes for deputy of her district of Uruapán, Michoacán, in 1938, but was denied her seat by the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber cited the 1918 Electoral Law, which did refer specifically to voters as men, to declare her election invalid. During the 1930s the Mexican Congress repeatedly refrained from passing an amendment that clearly granted women's suffrage, despite the fact that all the Mexican states had ratified a draft by 1939.¹⁷ The blockage stemmed from the same political prejudice; as one politician put it '*Veinticinco mil mujeres mexicanas católicas van a pedir el voto femenino ante la Cámara. ¡Qué horror! Significaría, si lograran su objeto, que pronto tendríamos un Obispo por Presidente.*'¹⁸ The PNR kept to a gradualist approach, maintaining that women should not exercise suffrage until they had been 'duly prepared by their social and educative effort.' Mexican women did not gain full suffrage until 1953 (first exercised in the 1958 presidential election), principally because many government leaders continued to view all women as conservative, despite the dedicated activity of many women – labour activists, political activists, teachers, social workers, and others – in its favour.¹⁹

The leaders of the Mexican State, much like Church leaders, made privileges contingent on the proper performance of predetermined feminine roles. The

¹⁶Macías, *Against All Odds*, p. 139.

¹⁷ Macías, *Against All Odds*, pp. 142-145; Millan, *Mexico Reborn*, pp. 160-161; Shirlene Ann Soto, *Emergence of the Modern Mexican Woman: Her Participation in Revolution and Struggle for Equality, 1910-1940* (Denver, 1990), p. 8; also see 'Mexicano: Esta es tu Constitución,' Articles 34 and 35.

¹⁸Quoted in Margarita Robles de Mendoza, *La evolución de la mujer en Mexico* (Mexico City, 1931), p. 84.

¹⁹Deutsch, 'Gender and Sociopolitical Change in Latin America,' p. 271; Macías, *Against all Odds*, p. 142; Millan, *Mexico Reborn*, p. 169; Francesca Miller, *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice* (Hanover, 1991), p. 91-92.

postrevolutionary regime also sought to harness the family as a mechanism of national development; in other words, as an efficient way for a state, still developing its own resources and infrastructure, to bring its economic and social reform projects to every household in the nation. Because the state principally conceptualised women as being central figures in the home, their co-operation was seen as essential to this effort. Whether serving as parent, spouse, educator, or social worker, women were seen as mothers to the incipient nation, the civilisers of unruly, revolutionary men and subsequent generations of children. Overall, the primary goal of the postrevolutionary programme was more to build Mexico's economy and a citizenry to support it than to expand individual rights, and the state often fell short of delivering on its promises of empowerment for women, children, and working class and rural men.²⁰ It is not surprising, then, that many Mexican women did not stake much in the new state's programmes, when they did not deliver much real change in women's lives while still demanding a rejection of their religion and traditions.²¹

Catholic Women's Reactions to Postrevolutionary Feminism

Catholic women often concurred with Church leaders in their attacks on radical proposals for social change, even those that promised improvement in women's status and living conditions, in great part because such proposals almost always entailed a strong degree of anticlericalism. Mexican women such as María

²⁰Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire*, p. 100; Millan, *Mexico Reborn*, p. 169; Mary Kay Vaughan, 'Modernizing Patriarchy: State Policies, Rural Households, and Women in Mexico, 1930-1940,' in Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds., *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America* (Durham, N.C., 2000), p. 195; Ann Varley, 'Women and the Home in Mexican Family Law,' *idem*, pp. 238-240.

²¹ However, new research indicates that rural women who committed to radical organisation did not regard themselves as ultimately betraying their religious faith, although they may have restricted themselves to private practise (e.g., secretly baptising their children or attending Mass) while publicly rejecting Catholicism as a member of a revolutionary organisation. See Stephanie Mitchell, 'La Noble Mujer Organizada: The Women's Movement in 1930s Mexico,' (D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, in progress).

del Refugio H. de Puga rejected the call to mobilise for women's rights issued by the Revolutionary government and by radical feminist organisers because they believed

El feminismo anti-religioso es una amenaza para el bienestar general y es contraproducente para los derechos de la misma mujer. He aquí la tesis suprema del feminismo sin Dios: "La mujer, mientras sea menos mujer, mientras sea más hombre, será más feliz en esta vida que es la única vida: "Ni altar ni hogar" Para desarrollar su programa y perseguir la realización de sus ideales, las feministas han celebrado muchos Congresos en los cuales han tratado muchos temas de marcado sabor anticatólico que pugna con el dogma y la moral.²²

To accept the feminism espoused by most Mexican progressives and radicals would mean rejecting their faith and the Church, an exchange that Catholic women evidently did not find promising.

It was a rare person in revolutionary Mexico who could reconcile Catholicism, feminism, and revolutionary politics. Margarita Robles de Mendoza, an upper-class feminist activist who served as Mexico's representative to the Inter-American Commission on Women, did not repudiate her religious faith even though she became a government appointee. Robles de Mendoza believed that Christianity could be 'essentially feminist,' citing the equal value of souls before God as the basis for equal rights to participate in politics, to work, and to obtain an education.²³ However, Robles reinforced her pronouncements on women's rights with assurances that the Christian social order and its concomitant gender roles did not have to be upset. To assuage fears that feminism would remove women from the home, Robles de Mendoza claimed that its ultimate goal was to assure that women were neither forced to work out of economic necessity, nor impelled by ruthless competition and ambition. She claimed that '*Mejores mujeres harán madres mejores*,' that educated women would be more capable of raising children and making the home a 'sanctuary.' She also repudiated Puga's charge that feminism would eliminate

²²Comité Diocesano de Guanajuato de la UFCM. *Segunda Asamblea Diocesana*, León, Gto., 14-16 Oct. 1935 (CIDOC fiche #2354), María Refugio H. de Puga, 'La socia de la UFCM en el hogar y en las costumbres sociales,' p. 6.

²³Macías p. 132; Macías notes that women activists within Mexico considered Robles de Mendoza out of touch with current events as her post kept her in New York City, and that her espousal of Catholicism provoked hostility from anticlerical quarters.

gender roles: *'Fuera de la fábrica, de la oficina o del laboratorio, alejados de la barra de justicia, cuando sin el grito de la lucha diario se reúnan, entonces, ahora y siempre, ayer y mañana, con más o menos refina mientos y matices, él será el macho y ella la hembra.'*²⁴ While impressive (and unique) in her defence of working, educated and activist women as not necessarily anti-religious, Robles de Mendoza still could not dispense with the rigid categorisation of gender roles that Catholic leaders espoused.

Mexican Catholic Women's Organisation, Old and New: The UFCM

The SSM gave the UFCM a structure similar to that of Acción Católica as a whole; it was founded and co-ordinated from a Comité Central (UFCM-CC) based in Mexico City. In 1929 and 1930, representatives of the SSM travelled to dioceses throughout Mexico to help bishops and priests set up Comités Diocesanas (UFCM-CDs). The local clergy and parishioners were encouraged to found Grupos Parroquiales (UFCM-GPs), to be supervised by the resident bishop and the UFCM-CD, as well as the corresponding ACM Junta Diocesana and the Consejo Parroquial. To provide spiritual and doctrinal guidance, an ecclesiastical assistant was assigned to each UFCM group, at every level of the organisation.

Archbishops and bishops typically selected the presidents of UFCM central and diocesan committees; in the case of parochial groups, the parish priest or ecclesiastical advisor selected the president. However, these choices often reflected years of previous involvement in earlier Church and Catholic social action activities, and also reflected the consensus of the group. Ecclesiastical advisors or other clergy sometimes appointed women or entire committees were named, at the creation of a new post, or a sudden renunciation, but in general the UFCM chapters voted for all other committee positions (vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and so on) at their national, diocesan or parish assemblies. As the decade progressed, some clergy

²⁴Robles de Mendoza, *La evolución de la mujer en México*, pp. 74-75; p. 100.

voiced their concerns that the UFCM chapters they supervised were acting too independently. To keep women from the wayward path of groups like the BF, authors like theologian Sebastián Tromp, SJ, reminded overenthusiastic and assertive lay women activists that the Pope himself had stated that Catholic Action '*por lo tanto, no es propia solamente de los seglares sino también del clero, o como lo dijo en otro lugar el Reverendísimo Padre es parte integrante del ministerio sacerdotal.*'²⁵

There is scant evidence of tension or over dissatisfaction between UFCM members and their ecclesiastical leadership.²⁶ Given the ACM's emphasis on co-operation between clergy and laity, and the UFCM's emphasis on '*obediencia*,' this is not altogether surprising. The ACM statutes stipulated that the clergy's role was to guide the UFCM (as with other branches of the ACM), rather than to direct its every move. As is shown below, the more vibrant UFCM chapters were those that could mobilise and take action themselves without waiting for clerical direction or approval; those dependent on their ecclesiastical assistant for direction tended to get little done.

In contrast, tensions arose at times between the UFCM and their fellow ACM members in the *Juntas Diocesanas* (usually presided over by the president of the UCM or another adult men's Catholic association, although women did serve in other positions). Elena Lascurain de Silva, the first UFCM president, remarked at the First General Assembly that the UFCM was developing more slowly than had been hoped due to 'abnormalities.' She went on to explain that some *Juntas Diocesanas* had been assigning their diocesan chapters of the UFCM work that interfered with the projects and goals set by the UFCM-CC. It was all very well and good for Catholics to work together in their parishes and dioceses, Lascurain de Silva continued. However, not only the UFCM statutes, but also those of the entire

²⁵Sebastián Tromp, SJ, 'Editorial: De los principios de la AC propuestos a los Obispos Mexicanos en la Encíclica "Firmissiam Constantiam,"' *Christus*, II, 21 (Aug. 1937), p. 674. Tromp taught theology at the Gregorian University in Rome.

²⁶ Only very rarely did UFCM members complain of clergy holding women or their work back, and even so, kept their remarks private; see the discussion of the Casa Amiga de la Obrera in Chapter 3 for an example from the 1930s, and the Conclusion for a more ample discussion of UFCM members' evaluations of their experiences in hindsight.

ACM dictated that the Central Committees of its branch organisations were the principal executive power over their respective diocesan and parochial chapters. Lascurain de Silva appealed to the directors of the ACM to ensure the UFCM's independence from being sidetracked by local lay men's directions. This '*confusión*,' as Lascurain de Silva put it, arose from '*desconocimiento de los Estatutos*,' and she hoped that '*una vez que vamos viviendo los Estatutos de la ACM, y conociéndolos más a fondo, con la práctica, se den a los acuerdos y disposiciones del Comité Central, la atención y respeto que se le debe*.'²⁷ Lascurain de Silva's complaints must have been heeded, because her successor, Refugio Goribar de Cortina, made no mention of Juntas Diocesanas assigning UFCM members to their own tasks at successive General Assemblies.

The Comité Central supervised the activities of the Comités Diocesanas and Grupos Parroquiales by means both of correspondence, which was expected to flow in both directions, and occasional visits, either by ecclesiastical leaders or members of the UFCM-CC. Delegates from the dioceses in Mexico were encouraged to attend the UFCM's biennial General Assemblies. Dioceses and parishes were to hold their own assemblies in alternate years, where members would assess their local work of the past two years, attend seminars on Catholic doctrine and social action, and plan for the next two years. The Comité Central diffused information through circulars sent to the Comités Diocesanas, and through the monthly magazine of the UFCM, *Acción Femenina*, which began publication in 1933.²⁸

At each level, the UFCM groups were organised into 'sections.' The sections provided opportunities for participants to focus on the issues or projects undertaken by the UFCM that interested them most. Initially, the sections dealt with concerns relating principally to the environments of the home, the Church, and the local

²⁷Elena Lascurain de Silva, 'Informe que presenta la Presidenta del Comité Central a la primera Asamblea General de la UFCM,' AF, I, 1 (1 Jan. 1933), p. 14. Unfortunately, Lascurain de Silva does not elaborate on what the '*anormalidades*,' or '*disposiciones...distintivas*' of the Juntas Diocesanas were.

²⁸The UFCM had voted to change the name of their existing periodical, *La Dama Católica* to *Acción Femenina* at the 1932 Asamblea General; Margartia G. de Méndez, "Síntesis Histórica de la UFCM," AF Sept. 1980 (número especial), p. 29.

community, and mostly involved contact with other women, children, or clergy. Each UFCM group was to have four principal sections, dedicated to religious instruction (Instrucción Religiosa), support for priests and seminaries (Pro-Seminario), mothers (Madres), and 'Enthronements' (Entronizaciones).²⁹ Additional sections were optional, such as those dealing with religious introspection and personal behaviour (Piedad) and Charitable Works (Obras Caritativas). However, as the UFCM became more involved in the ideological and social conflicts prevailing in Mexico during the 1930s, the requisite sections were adapted and new mandatory sections were created to address them. When seminaries were closed between 1932 and 1934, the Pro-Seminario sections worked to support priests and seminary students either to study secretly in Mexico or to leave the country. Women formed Escuelas sections to organise clandestine Catholic schools as alternatives to state schools, and Pro-Campesina and Pro-Obrera sections were created to compete with state programmes for rural and urban working women.³⁰

In a pastoral letter of 1934, Archbishop Leopoldo Ruíz y Flores, the Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, declared that women's prayers and their actions as mothers, as wives, as participants in their parishes and, ideally, as members of Acción Católica, were all essential for the protection of the Church, of families and of real Mexican 'values.' It was 'absolutely necessary,' Ruíz y Flores said, 'to have effective union and simultaneous action [...] to defend themselves and us' from the onslaughts of the Mexican state.³¹

Such 'union' implied strict discipline within Catholic ranks, specifically from women themselves. The Catholic Church as an institution was threatened not only by obvious challenges such as those which the Mexican Revolution and its

²⁹See Ch. 1, n. 140 for an explanation of 'Enthronments.'

³⁰UFCM-Ibero, Sección Correspondencia, Serie Asambleas Generales, Caja 4, Carpeta 25, 'III Asamblea General de la UFCM, Oct. 1936,' (III Asamblea General (1936)), 'Informe del Comité Central.'

³¹USMIL reel#3 (0064) Military Attaché, Mexico, Report #5817, 12 Jan. 1935, enclosure: Archbishop Leopoldo Ruíz y Flores, 'Pastoral Letter: To the Episcopacy, Clergy and Catholics of Mexico,' 12 Dec. 1934.

eponymous regime had presented since 1917, but also by the less palpable, but no less present, spectre of women abandoning the roles allocated for them within the Catholic world-view. Some Mexican women, notably educated women who worked outside of the home and lived apart from their families, were questioning their subordination to men.³² The women involved in Acción Católica were instructed to develop four key virtues: '*docilidad*' (towards God and their ecclesiastical superiors); '*exactitud*' (in complying with the statutes of the Acción Católica and Catholic doctrine in general); '*recta intención*' (to please God and abjure selfish, individualistic and petty behaviour); and '*obediencia*' ('*en todo lo que se ordene para el mejor provecho de las actividades*'). Rafael Dávila Vilchis, the priest who wrote the 'UFCM' column in *Christus*, argued that these virtues in particular were necessary because of the '*psicología particular de la mujer*,' which made them prone to interpersonal divisions and differences. Regardless of the fact that the UFCM was rapidly expanding as a national organisation, Dávila Vilchis insisted that women needed training in strict discipline in order to carry out their work.³³ Neither Dávila Vilchis nor other contemporary, male Catholic authors commented much on the social, political and economic pressures that drove some women towards feminist mobilisation or state programmes. Even when women's social challenges were recognised, Church leaders often applied the same rhetoric of obedience and self-discipline to them.³⁴

³²Macías, *Against All Odds*, pp. 105-106. That a significant number of these working women joined the secular political and feminist movements described by Macías struck even more fear in Church leaders.

³³R. Dávila Vilchis, 'UFCM: La Mujer de Acción Católica es disciplinada,' *Christus*, 2, 23 (Oct. 1937), pp. 885-887. It is interesting to note that Dávila Vilchis, though himself an ecclesiastical assistant to a Mexico City chapter of the UFCM, only cites a biblical example of internal division here, one which does not directly concern women. The incident he cites is that of the early Christians debating over which spiritual leaders to follow; the apostle Paul chides them for losing sight of their divine message and focusing on the "human level" of earthly leadership, jealousy and conflict (I Cor. 1: 12-13). Whether Dávila Vilchis did this for reasons of confidentiality, avoiding bad feelings or negative press, is not apparent, but he offers no concrete example of feuding women activists.

³⁴ For examples from the Vatican, see Christine E. Gudorf, 'Renewal or Repatriarchalization? Responses of the Roman Catholic Church to the Feminization of Religion,' *Horizons*, 11, 2 (Fall 1983), pp. 237-242; Mexican examples include José Garibi Rivera, 'Primera Carta Pastoral,' 12 Apr. 1936, *Christus*, 1, 7 (Jun. 1936), p. 513-514.

The UFCM's Campaigns in the 1930s

In 1920, *La Dama Católica* had declared that '*la mujer, sin dejar su encantadora misión del hogar, si quiere que su hogar viva pacífico en un ambiente social puro, trate de ocupar las horas que el hogar le deje libres en formar ese medio ambiente social.*'³⁵ Such proposals were reiterated in the mobilisation of Catholic women at the end of the Cristero Rebellion. Archbishop Ruiz y Flores stated that for women, nothing could be '*más digno de estima y de admiración que la mujer cristiana que comprende y practica sus deberes, puesta la mira en lo Alto.*' In another pastoral letter, he called upon women to pray unceasingly for the Church and to fulfil their womanly duties.³⁶ But in addition to gazing heavenward in the confines of the home, women were obliged to play a vital part in the new strategy of Catholic Action, the vehicle for the Mexican Catholic hierarchy's 'indirect' influence on Mexican society and leaders. In practice, Mexican women became involved at all levels in the new version of '*catolicismo integral*,' which would combat the compartmentalisation of religion as a cultural and personal practice rather than a key organising principle of Mexican society.³⁷

ACM organisers realised that they could no longer look only to elite members of society to promote Catholic influence. Catholic activists, aware that workers, peasants, students, and children were targeted by the Mexican government for ideological training, made these groups foci for Catholic social action as well. In doing so, Catholic women activist competed with progressive activists and government agents, for example, in their schools, adult education and community centres, hospital visits and counselling work with prostitutes. At times, Church and

³⁵O'Dogherty, 'Restaurarlo Todo en Cristo,' p. 139, quote from 'La Dama Católica' en *La Dama Católica*, 1: 1 (1 Oct. 1920), pp. 2-3.

³⁶USDOS 812.404/1902, 'Instrucción Pastoral del V. Episcopado Nacional Dirigida a los Obreros y Campesinos de toda la República,' from *Christus*, Jul. 1936; USMIL reel#3 (0064) Military Attaché, Mexico, Report #5817, 12 Jan 1935, enclosure, Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, 'Pastoral Letter: To the Episcopacy, Clergy and Catholics of Mexico,' 12 Dec. 1934.

³⁷Blancarte, *Historia de la Iglesia católica en México*, pp. 23-25; O'Dogherty, 'Restaurarlo Todo en Cristo,' p. 139.

state partisans who worked with women used such similar rhetoric regarding them that they seemed to be parroting each other in their efforts to embrace the masses and thus win their support.³⁸

In its first few years, the UFCM acted fairly cautiously and closely followed the lead of the Church hierarchy. Aside from concentrating on building its regional, diocesan and parochial organisations, its first main projects were to work for the propagation of Catholic doctrine in Mexican households and among Mexican children. The 1917 Constitution and its operating laws strictly limited the educational activities of priests and nuns as religious schools and convents were closed. According to the Constitution, all religious activity was restricted to the interior of church premises; public display of religious symbols, such as wearing clerical vestments or habits outside of Church buildings, displaying religious imagery on the exterior of buildings, or holding religious processions, was banned by law. Some priests, registered with the federal *Secretariado de Gobernación* and legally permitted to minister by state governments, were assigned multiple parishes with either numerous or dispersed populations, and thus experienced great difficulty in reaching all their parishioners. Many other priests lacked legal permission to minister or lived in exile. Lay Catholic men were threatened by government persecution of ex-Cristeros and anti-Catholic discrimination in employment and politics; giving men a valid reason to avoid outward demonstrations of their religious sympathies.³⁹

In comparison, lay Catholic women were able to circulate in their communities with less fear of legal reprisal. Organisers claimed that the ACM was dedicated to personal sanctification, not civic or political activity. Due to their formal

³⁸For Catholic projects, see 'La UDCM en el XX Aniversario de su Fundación,' p. 3, and 'Informe [...] a la primera Asamblea General de la UFCM,' p. 15; for insightful comparisons with state social work programmes, see Schell, 'An Honorable Avocation for Ladies,' and 'Teaching the Children of the Revolution,' and Bliss, 'Theater of Operations.'

³⁹Romero Solís, *El Aguijón del Espíritu*, p. 341 and p. 372; Meyer, *La Cristiada*, 1: 344-346; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, p. 181. For comparisons of ACM members, numbers of priests and diocesan populations, see Appendix 1b.

exclusion from electoral politics, women ACM members especially could make the claim that their work was non-threatening to the government or its programmes. Catholic women also risked arrest, property confiscation and dismissal from state employment when engaging in activity to support the Church, but in general suffered fewer reprisals than their clerical or lay male counterparts.⁴⁰ Thus, the UFCM took on several tasks to bring the Catholic religion back out of the confines of church buildings. Members visited private homes and encouraged the residents to dedicate their homes symbolically to the Catholic faith with an enthronement, to serve as visible sign of religious loyalty to both household residents and visitors. The UFCM hoped that such displays would serve to counteract the presence of the Mexican state, which increasingly penetrated the boundaries of the home, due to the presence of public school teachers (dubbed 'social missionaries,' as much community organisers for parents as teachers to children), hygiene and sanitation programmes involving home visits from government workers, and the organisations of women's auxiliaries or sections in unions, *ejidos*, peasant, worker, and anti-alcoholism leagues.⁴¹

In the 1930s, opportunities for Catholics to participate in the sacraments continued to be limited because of the restricted numbers of clergy licensed to minister and of churches opened by the government for religious use. UFCM members organised Masses in private homes and preparatory classes for children and adults to take sacraments such as Penance, First Eucharist and Confirmation. The UFCM was especially concerned with legitimising consensual unions, a category in which they included couples married solely by the Mexican government's civil ceremony. The UFCM encouraged women in such situations to

⁴⁰ See Parsons' definition of Catholic Action (*Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 143) and Chapter 1. Examples of women who were prosecuted under anti-religious law follow below and in Chapters 3 and 4. The one exception to law enforcement's greater lenience towards women were women religious, many of whom lost their schools, convents, and means of earning a living, in addition to the deportation of their non-Mexican members.

⁴¹ Mary Kay Vaughan, 'Women School Teachers in the Mexican Revolution: The Story of Reyna's Braids,' *Journal of Women's History*, 11, 1 (Spring 1990), 143-168 and *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, *passim*; Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire*, chapter 4.

'legalise' their marriages (a significant choice of words, since the Mexican government had not considered religious marriages legally binding since the Liberal Reforms of the 1850s), and in some cases paid the fees for those who could not afford to have church ceremonies.⁴²

The UFCM Versus State Education

As actual or potential mothers and wives, Catholic theorists saw the members of the UFCM and their younger counterparts in the JCFM as ideal teachers of the young. UFCM and JCFM activists were called upon to train as catechists and to teach in their localities, and to serve as propagandists for the ACM.⁴³ Such work required more than memorisation and recitation. When designing religious instruction programmes for their pupils, children and adults, UFCM members were told to study the pervasive, negative effects of other beliefs that had taken root in Mexico, such as Protestantism, Freemasonry, theosophy, spiritualism, atheism and socialism. They were encouraged to subscribe to *Acción Femenina* and to use standard Catholic literature, such as the Catholic Missal and several approved guides to Catholic Action, but could also seek out other resources (such as histories, biographies, and pedagogical materials), provided they were approved of by the

⁴²UFCM-Ibero, I Asamblea General (1932), R. Goribar de Cortina, 'Restauración Cristiana de la Familia,' and María Luisa Hernández, 'La Instrucción como fundamento de las socias de la UFCM.' The reports from the Asambleas Generales of 1934, 1936, 1938 and 1940 include statistics from each diocese on the number of *entronizaciones* and *matrimonios* carried out with the assistance of the UFCM. Citing roles of the ACM and/or in combatting *uniones libres* and *matrimonios civiles*: Curia Romana, Sagrada Congregación del Concilio, 'Enseñanza del Catecismo. Su Importancia,' Rome, 1935, *Christus*, I, 1 (Dec. 1935), p. 7; 'La Educación Cristiana: Doctrina de la Enciclica de Su Santidad Pio XI reducida a 13 puntos capitales,' *idem*, p. 52; 'Carta Pastoral Colectiva, del Episcopado Nacional Sobre la Moralización de las Costumbres,' 21 Nov 1936, *Christus*, I, 13 (Dec. 1936), p. 1092; Pius XI, 'Nos es muy conocida,' p. 397; for the implications of the 1857 constitution, see Macías, *Against All Odds*, p. 45.

⁴³'La UDCM en el XX Aniversario de su Fundación,' *AF*, I, 1 (1 Jan. 1933) pp. 13-16; José Garibi Rivera, Archbishop of Guadalajara, 'Primera Carta Pastoral,' 12 Apr. 1936, *Christus*, I, 7 (Jun. 1936), pp. 515-516 (also USDOS 812.404/1912, José Garibi Rivera, Archbishop of Guadalajara, 'First Pastoral Letter: Present Problems of the Church in this Archdiocese and Means Adapted to their Solution,' 12 Aug. 1936 (transl. Fr. John Burke, NCWC General Secretary, 14 Aug. 1936)); 'JCFM: Las Propagandistas de la JCFM,' *Christus*, I, 1 (Dec. 1935), pp. 75-76; Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 65.

Church. By educating themselves about anti-Catholic beliefs, women would be prepared to debate and to refute them when the need arose.⁴⁴

Members of the UFCM were instructed to work in co-ordination with the SSM's Comité Central de Instrucción Religiosa (CCIR) in order to promote the organisation of '*centros de doctrina*,' study circles and catechism classes for children and adults, usually based in the parish churches. Later in the decade, the UFCM was also instructed to sponsor the Asociación de Niños de la Acción Católica (ANAC), an educational effort to catechise young boys aged four through ten, and to encourage them to participate in the ACM. At this point, the recruitment of young girls to the ACM evidently was seen as being adequately fulfilled by the JCFM, which had a '*párvulos*' section for pre-teen girls and an '*aspirantes*' section for early adolescent girls. Young boys, on the other hand, were thought to be especially at risk of being led astray from Catholicism, hence in need of the 'motherly tenderness' and 'experience' that UFCM members possessed, before they entered into the 'Vanguardia' group for pre-teen boys organised by the ACJM. This most likely reflected widely held assumptions that Church participation was a '*cosa de mujeres*.' The Mexican Episcopate's and the UFCM's motivation to lay the groundwork for recruiting future male members also clearly was rooted in the low numbers of adult males participating in the UCM. Catholic activists hoped to reverse this trend by means of the early recruitment of boys by the ACM's more vigorous and numerous women's organisation, the members of which would be performing their "natural" maternal roles in doing so.⁴⁵ For both boys and girls, early and thorough catechism was seen as an important component of establishing Catholic practice, and thus assuring the Church's continued vigour, in younger generations. Involving adolescent girls and young, unmarried women in catechism programmes also

⁴⁴María Luisa Hernández, 'La Instrucción como fundamento'; "M.," 'JCFM: Dirigentes-Como Formarlas,' *Christus*, 2, 20 (Jul. 1937), p. 643.

⁴⁵R. Dávila Vilchis, 'UFCM: Remedio Urgentísimo,' *Christus* II, 24 (Nov. 1937), pp. 1001-1002; R. Dávila Vilchis, 'UFCM: Remedio Urgentísimo,' *Christus*, II, 25 (Dec. 1937), pp. 1090-1091. For ACM membership figures, see Appendices 1b and 1c.

continued their religious education and laid foundations for their continued participation in Catholic associations as adult women.⁴⁶

At the time of the *arreglos*, Catholic mothers in Mexico City expressed to Archbishop Pascual Díaz Barreto their fears that, because the Church seemed to have capitulated to government regulation (with the 1929 *arreglos*), their children would not 'have a truly Christian education.'⁴⁷ The UFCM responded quickly to signs that the Mexican government was continuing and elaborating its plans to monopolise the education of Mexico's children, in order to promote its ideology among younger generations. Like his predecessors, notably Pius IX (*Syllabus of Errors*, 1864) and Pius X (*Acerba Nimis*, 1905), Pope Pius XI inveighed heavily against worldwide trends to laicise education and even more vehemently against sex education programmes.⁴⁸ Mexican Catholics protested strongly against proposals to introduce a sex education curriculum in 1933, organising petitions, school boycotts, and large marches and rallies in cities. Although the campaign against this curriculum, co-ordinated by the Unión Nacional de Padres de Familia (UNPF), did not succeed in formally eliminating it from the state schools, it did generate immense amounts of negative publicity, and enough public pressure to force Minister of Education Narciso Bassols to resign from his post the following year. Many individual teachers either toned down the content or avoided teaching sex

⁴⁶ As noted earlier, priests seeking to rejuvenate social action projects such as Father Pedro Velásquez found willing and trained lay assistants in the catechists and JCFM members of their parishes, some of whom became lifelong collaborators; see M. Velásquez H., *Pedro Velásquez*, pp. 20-22. Also, in the 1970s anthropologist Marigene Arnold noted that in Cajititlán, Jalisco, children began catechism classes with either women religious or lay (mostly young and unmarried) women teachers before they began primary school. Thus, catechists constituted children's first social contact with adults outside of their families, and often became role models for adult behaviour. Most of Cajititlán's children in the 1970s attended the official school; Catholics saw this early catechism as a mechanism to offset several years of secularised education in which children would learn about, if not witness, less desirable models of adult behaviour. Cajititlán adolescent girls' and young women's involvement in catechism programs also constituted a longer 'apprenticeship in the religious sphere,' which for many led to continued participation in the Church as adult women. See Arnold, 'Mexican Women: The Anatomy of a Stereotype in a Mexican Village,' Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1973, p. 50, pp. 60-64.

⁴⁷ Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Cristero Rebellion,' p. 111.

⁴⁸ Pius XI, 'Sección Pontifica: Carta Enciclica de Nuestro Santísimo Señor Pio Papa XI Sobre la Cristiana Educación de la Juventud,' (*Divini Illius Magistri*), Rome, 31 Dec. 1929, *BEG*, 1, 3, 1 May 1930, pp. 97-131.

education entirely, as some parents threatened not only to keep their children out of school but to use violence against the teachers if they continued to 'corrupt' their children.⁴⁹ This campaign had a gendered edge to it; flyers asked Catholic parents, '*¿Quiere Ud. que su hijo, y sobre todo su hija pierda su conciencia?*'⁵⁰

At its convention at Querétaro in 1933, the PNR announced that it would work to expand the government's educational programme.⁵¹ Debates as to what extent state education should adopt a radical ideological slant had raged since the Constitutional Convention of 1916. Radical reformers gained the upper hand at Querétaro and in the Mexican Congress, and passed the amendment to Article 3 of the Constitution; rather than mandating that all education imparted by the state be '*laica*,' the first section of the article now read

*La educación que imparta el estado será socialista, y además de excluir toda doctrina religiosa, combatirá el fanatismo y los prejuicios, para lo cual la escuela socialista organizará sus enseñanzas y actividades en forma que permita crear en la juventud un concepto racional y exacto del universo y de la vida social.*⁵²

Thus, article 3 now mandated 'socialist' rather than 'secular' education in all schools, and prohibited confessional education in advanced levels of education as well as in primary schools.

⁴⁹ Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 41, p. 45. This was not a complete victory for the Catholics; President Abelardo Rodríguez gave Bassols the higher-ranking and influential post of Minister of Gobernación, and named Eduardo Vasconcelos as Minister of Education. John W. F. Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution* (Austin, 1961), p. 560.

⁵⁰ PEC/FT, Fondo 12 Serie 010806, exp. 21, inv. 7275, 'HOJA SUELTA que circuló en Puebla, contra la Enseñanza Socialista. [Padre de Familia Lea Usted],' (n.a, n.d.) and ILF-AC, Carpeta "Defensa de la libertad de enseñanza sin fechas-Manifestación Contra de la Educación Socialista, Expediente "Educación," document 'Padre de Familia Lea Usted,' (n.a, n.d.); both files that contained this pamphlet also held flyers and documents dating from the 1930s. Emphasis in the original. A number of teachers were violently assaulted, wounded and killed during the 1930s; the most detailed accounting is in David L. Raby, *Educación y revolución social en México, 1921-1940* (Mexico City, 1974), pp. 147-197, although the incidents are widely recognised. Even the Jesuit author Wilfrid Parsons acknowledged and condemned - Catholic parents threatening or using violence against teachers (*Mexican martyrdom*, pp. 225-226, 235, 259).

⁵¹ Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 70.

⁵² Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 11 and p. 82.

education entirely, as some parents threatened not only to keep their children out of school but to use violence against the teachers if they continued to 'corrupt' their children.⁴⁹ This campaign had a gendered edge to it; flyers asked Catholic parents, '¿Quiere Ud. que su hijo, y sobre todo su hija pierda su conciencia?'⁵⁰

At its convention at Querétaro in 1933, the PNR announced that it would work to expand the government's educational programme.⁵¹ Debates as to what extent state education should adopt a radical ideological slant had raged since the Constitutional Convention of 1916. Radical reformers gained the upper hand at Querétaro and in the Mexican Congress, and passed the amendment to Article 3 of the Constitution; rather than mandating that all education imparted by the state be 'laica,' the first section of the article now read

*La educación que imparta el estado será socialista, y además de excluir toda doctrina religiosa, combatirá el fanatismo y los prejuicios, para lo cual la escuela socialista organizará sus enseñanzas y actividades en forma que permita crear en la juventud un concepto racional y exacto del universo y de la vida social.*⁵²

Thus, article 3 now mandated 'socialist' rather than 'secular' education in all schools, and prohibited confessional education in advanced levels of education as well as in primary schools.

⁴⁹ Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 41, p. 45. This was not a complete victory for the Catholics; President Abelardo Rodríguez gave Bassols the higher-ranking and influential post of Minister of Gobernación, and named Eduardo Vasconcelos as Minister of Education. John W. F. Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution* (Austin, 1961), p. 560.

⁵⁰ PEC/FT, Fondo 12 Serie 010806, exp. 21, inv. 7275, 'HOJA SUELTA que circuló en Puebla, contra la Enseñanza Socialista. [Padre de Familia Lea Usted],' (n.a, n.d.) and ILF-AC, Carpeta "Defensa de la libertad de enseñanza sin fechas-Manifestación Contra de la Educación Socialista, Expediente "Educación," document 'Padre de Familia Lea Usted,' (n.a, n.d.); both files that contained this pamphlet also held flyers and documents dating from the 1930s. Emphasis in the original. A number of teachers were violently assaulted, wounded and killed during the 1930s; the most detailed accounting is in David L. Raby, *Educación y revolución social en México, 1921-1940* (Mexico City, 1974), pp. 147-197, although the incidents are widely recognised. Even the Jesuit author Wilfrid Parsons acknowledged - and condemned - Catholic parents threatening or using violence against teachers (*Mexican martyrdom*, pp. 225-226, 235, 259).

⁵¹ Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 70.

⁵² Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 11 and p. 82.

Former president and actual *jefe máximo* Plutarco Elías Calles declared in his 'Grito de Guadalajara' (a speech made to a teachers' union demonstration in that city on 20 July 1934) that Mexico's children belonged primarily to society and the nation, rather than to their individual families, and that it was the government's right, not parents', to decide by what moral, political, philosophical and pedagogical standards they should be taught.⁵³ In 1934, President Cárdenas declared that 'freedom of conscience,' 'freedom of teaching,' and 'economic liberty,' were 'empty phrases' which stood for clerical dictatorship, reactionary tyranny, and capitalist dictatorship.⁵⁴ Given this climate, the Church hierarchy protested against the reform from its start, and encouraged all Catholics to do the same. The UNPF initiated a campaign to boycott state schools, calling for the reform of Article 3 and other education laws in periodicals, petitions and demonstrations.⁵⁵

In November 1934 the Mexican government claimed that agents had discovered that an anonymous 'wealthy woman of a distinguished family of Spanish descent, herself the mother of grown children,' was organising a 'nameless secret organisation' of Catholic mothers to combat socialist education. According to the *New York Times*, thousands of mothers of all classes were joining her. The United States Military Attaché had also been shown a letter 'in ink, on good stationery, by an educated woman, and in excellent Spanish,' the text of which encouraged Mexicans to join in a two-week boycott of all luxuries, amusements and entertainment, to protest against the implementation of socialist education. The Military Attaché noted that this could substantiate the claims made in *El Nacional*, the Mexican government's newspaper, of a Catholic conspiracy against the government.⁵⁶ Since these women remained anonymous, one cannot know if they

⁵³Pablo Yankelevich, *La educación socialista en Jalisco* (Guadalajara, 1985), pp. 49-50 (text of 'Grito').

⁵⁴Lyle C. Brown, 'Mexican Church-State Relations, 1933-1940,' *A Journal of Church and State*, 6, 2 (Spring 1964), p. 205 and p. 207.

⁵⁵Lerner, *La educación socialista*, pp. 44-45.

were members of groups like the UFCM or the UNPF. Yet these rumours reflect actual women's mobilisation around educational issues, which also was not limited to a select few upper-class *madres*.

The work of the UFCM became more politicised and at times illegal as it expanded its educational programmes. The UFCM already collaborated in educational activities with the Sociedad EVC (co-ordinated by the SSM, this society promoted catechetical study and published educational resource materials), the Caballeros de Colón (the Church's answer to the Masons, an international Catholic association for older and married men), and the Bibliotecas Populares de Nuestra Señora del Sagrado Corazón (circulating libraries that provided Catholic reading materials, which Catholic women benefactors and the UDCM had sponsored since 1917).⁵⁷ The Mexican Episcopate now requested the UFCM to establish alternative schools, so that Catholic parents could comply with its injunction to withdraw their children from schools where 'socialist education' was to be taught.⁵⁸ Federal law required that all private educational establishments with more than nine students be incorporated into the SEP – which meant that they would have to comply with Article 3 and its enacting laws, follow SEP curricula, use approved textbooks, and pass government inspections.⁵⁹ But even if a Catholic school were limited to nine students, it would still contravene laws prohibiting religious activity being carried out outside of churches. To use homes or properties for clandestine Catholic schools put them at risk of legal sanction, and the teachers staffing them and students attending them likewise broke the law with their presence.

⁵⁶NYT, 25 Nov. 1934 (I, 18); USMIL reel#3 (0022) Military Attaché, Mexico, Report#5677, 'Public Interest in Education,' 30 Oct. 1934.

⁵⁷UFCM-Ibero, Sección Correspondencia, Serie Asambleas Generales, Caja 4, Carpeta 25, 'II Asamblea General de la UFCM, Oct. 1934' (II Asamblea General (1934)), 'Informe,' p. 13; also see M.A.R., 'Obras Nacionales: Las Bibliotecas Populares de Nuestra Señora del Sagrado Corazón,' *Christus*, 2, 16 (Mar. 1937), pp. 273-277.

⁵⁸Pius XI, *Divini Illius Magistri* (1929); Episcopado Mexicano, 'Carta Pastoral Colectiva...sobre la doctrina educativa de la Iglesia,' Mexico City, 21 Nov. 1935, *Christus*, 1, 1 (1 Dec. 1935), pp. 26-41.

⁵⁹Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 39.

Archbishop of Mexico Pascual Díaz Barreto protested publicly that the Catholic schools had been a logical, acceptable, and moderate solution to the differences in political and educational philosophy that existed between the Church and the state. Forcing them to close deprived Catholic parents of their freedom to raise their children according to their beliefs, thus placing them in the bind of choosing to violate their country's laws or betray their religious faith.⁶⁰ The Mexican government disagreed that this was a problem, and in many regions local officials actively sought out the Catholics' clandestine schools and retaliated with arrests and confiscation of houses used for illicit religious purposes. Despite these sanctions, at the 1936 UFCM General Assembly, it was reported that there were approximately 2,500 schools run or supported by the UFCM throughout Mexico.⁶¹

The SEP sought to eliminate education outside of state or incorporated private schools by barring students who lacked transcripts or diplomas from certified schools from taking the examinations necessary to advance to higher educational institutions (secondary or preparatory school, university, or vocational schools) or to acquire professional qualifications or licensing.⁶² Catholics who chose to study at clandestine schools, or those who sent their children to them, were therefore limited in their options for acquiring further education. As more Catholic schools closed, to attend a Catholic institution, a student would have to leave the

⁶⁰USDOS 812.404/1464, enclosure in letter to C Hull from J Daniels, 15 Jan. 1935. transl. 'Instruction to the Priests, Regarding the Problem of Socialistic Education,' *La Palabra*, 13 Jan 1935; UFCM-Ibero, III Asamblea General de la UFCM, (1936), 'Informe,' p. 6-7; 9.

⁶¹Miranda, "Informe," *passim*; UFCM-Ibero, III Asamblea General (1936), 'Informe,' p.9. It should be noted, however, that assuming a capacity of 10 student per schools, these schools could have only taken in about 0.5% of Mexico's school-age population (25,000 out of roughly 5 million children aged 5-14). Of course, the clandestine nature of Catholic home schools and lack of written records makes it difficult to quantify how many were open or how many student attended them. It seems likely that they accounted for a small but irritating, to the SEP - percentage of children kept out of schools. Many more simply did not attend schools during these years (see further discussion in Chapters 3 and 4). For school population figures, see *Sexto Censo General de la Nación, 6 de marzo de 1940: Resumen General* (Mexico, 1942), p. 4, and Appendix 3.

⁶²Documentación Civil,' *Christus* II, 25 (Dec. 1937), p. 1076, reprint of Prof. Joaquín Jara Díaz, Jefe del Depto., Departamento de Enseñanza Primaria y Normal, Mexico, DF, Circular No. 283-214, 20 Oct. 1937.

country, requiring significant financial resources. To continue in Catholic education in Mexico, a student either had to find or found a private, Catholic alternative for higher education or employment, or would have to hope to use personal connections (or bribery) to be permitted to take the examinations and obtain official qualification. For many Mexicans, especially in rural areas, their options were simply limited by geographical and economic circumstances. Thus they had to choose between attending a state school, if there was one nearby, or sacrificing even basic education.⁶³

Especially on the primary level, teaching had long been one of the few acceptable professions open to single women. Mexican Catholics reacted just as negatively to ex-president Calles' anticlerical call to action to the teachers' unions (exemplified in the 'Grito de Guadalajara') as they did to Bassols' or Cárdenas' radicalisations of the state educational programme. The Church encouraged Catholics to boycott the state-sponsored schoolteachers' unions as well as the schools. Despite the tension and animosity regarding public education between the Church and the state during the 1920s and 1930s, many Catholics, Catholic women among them, continued working in the public schools. Many Catholic students also continued studying in the schools, motivated by economic necessity and lack of other educational and employment alternatives. During periods when the state's educational programme had not emphasised anticlerical teachings, for example in the early 1920s and early 1930s, the Church had endorsed a policy of trying to 'win over' individual teachers to respect Catholic doctrine or to at least refrain from teaching anything directly hostile to it. The Church abandoned this conciliatory tactic after the reform of Article 3 and statements such as Calles'. The Mexican Church hierarchy did not instruct Catholics in so many words to break the law by keeping their children out of school. However, Church leaders did declare that to send children to schools where socialist and sexual education were taught was a grave sin, punishable by denial of the sacraments until special absolution was

⁶³See, for example, cases in chapters 3 and 4.

granted by a high ecclesiastical official, or even by excommunication.⁶⁴ Parents were explicitly instructed to find alternative schools for their children or to found their own. Likewise, Catholic teachers were instructed that teaching antireligious doctrines was a serious sin of commission, as they would lead not only themselves but also their students away from the truths of the Catholic faith. To sign the loyalty oaths demanded by the federal and state departments of education was also to gravely sin against the faith. As a consequence, many Catholic teachers left the public schools or were fired for not signing the oaths.⁶⁵

After several years, it became apparent in many places that maintaining alternative Catholic schools was difficult, if not impossible, due both to governmental enforcement of anticlerical laws, and to lack of funds, space and staff who were willing to accept low pay while putting themselves at legal risk.⁶⁶ However, faced with determined resistance from the population, teachers fearing for their safety and wishing to increase their class sizes began to omit antireligious teachings in their classrooms, and law enforcement officials came to overlook infractions of educational laws. As the anticlerical zeal of the state educational programme was toned down in the name of détente and national unity, the Catholic hierarchy opened loopholes for Catholics who wished to work in or attend public schools. Signing loyalty oaths would be sinful *only if* they were explicitly antireligious or anti-Catholic; otherwise, signing statements regarding state employment that could be carried out without contravening church doctrine was acceptable. The Church declared the government's exhortations to respect the laws and the Mexican nation to be not only acceptable, but also commendable, as a contributor to *Christus* magazine pointed out in mid-1937. At this point, the Church

⁶⁴Episcopado Mexicano, 'Carta Pastoral Colectiva...sobre la doctrina educativa de la Iglesia'(1935).

⁶⁵'Instrucción Pastoral del Comité Ejecutivo Episcopal dando a conocer a los fieles las "Normas de la Santa Sede" sobre la conducta que deben observar acerca de la enseñanza,' 12 May 1937, in *Christus*, II, 19 (Jun. 1937), p. 488.

⁶⁶Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 110; for Catholic teachers, Teresa Michel de Barba, interview with Kristina Boylan, Guadalajara, Jal., 27 May 1997.

hierarchy was very clearly trying to prove its goodwill toward the Mexican State, and was anxious to prove that, if not provoked, Catholicism could be a constructive rather than divisive element of Mexican society. However, this toleration had its limits. Catholics could not sign documents in which they promised to undertake antireligious education or 'defanaticise,' even in order to obtain desperately needed employment. Nor could Catholics sign such documents to open and incorporate their own private schools, even if their intent was to circumvent the anticlerical content of the state curriculum or include religious instruction once the school was opened. Besides being dishonest, such actions would weaken the Church's and lay groups' calls for a more drastic reform of the Constitution and educational laws that would formally eliminate their antireligious content.⁶⁷

At the same time, the SEP gradually became more permissive regarding the opening of private and confessional schools. Recognising that the state did not have sufficient resources to educate all school-aged children, even to the level of basic literacy, the government accepted the existence of private education rather than enforcing its ban. At the same time, popular pressure, ranging from boycotts and protests to brutal attacks on and assassinations of teachers in rural areas, had worn down the commitment of many teachers and administrators to a dogmatic programme of socialist education. Although educational law remained unchanged until the 1940s, the new regulation of article 3 in 1941 and its revision in 1945 ensured that the character of public education and SEP regulation of private education changed sufficiently to diminish explicitly anti-religious teachings and to allow for the presence of Catholic education in Mexico.⁶⁸

⁶⁷'Consultas,' *Christus* 2, 17 (Apr. 1937), pp. 366-367; and 'Instrucción Pastoral [...] acerca de la enseñanza,' pp. 487-493.

⁶⁸Ramón García Ruíz, interview with Julia Tuñón, 18, 20 and 28 Oct., 17 and 21 Nov. 1975 and 20 Jan. 1976, Guadalajara, Jal. (PHO/6/1), p. 104 and anexo; Knight, 'Revolutionary Project, Recalcitrant People,' p. 241; Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 184; Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, *passim*. The revised article 3 begins: '*La educación que imparta el Estado-Federación, Estados, Municipios-tenderá a desarrollar armónicamente todas las facultades del ser humano y fomentará en él, a la vez, el amor a la patria y la conciencia de la solidaridad internacional en la independencia y en la justicia.*' Religious societies, corporations and ministers were still barred from involvement in primary and secondary schools. 'Mexicano: Esta es tu Constitución,' p. 24 and p. 26.

Less controversially, the members of the ACM were also encouraged to imitate an institution that Catholics in the United States had borrowed from their Protestant countrymen. The editors of *Christus* admired summer Bible camps such as those run by the churches in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, which were used to make up for the deficiencies in religious education which were apparent in children who attended state schools. Summer Bible camps would not be a schools *per se*, nor would keep children out of school, thus it would not be illegal for Mexican lay people to organise such camps at their parish churches during long vacations. The editors suggested that members of religious communities (mainly women religious) could staff these schools, along with lay teachers. Since many of both groups had lost their employment due to the educational conflict, they could return to their profession by teaching in the summer camps. They would be grateful for the opportunity to work again, and furthermore, the *profesoras* – the word used in the article refers only to women – might even be paid for their efforts.⁶⁹

The UFCM and Working Women

Some historians consider Catholic activists to be little more than a tool manipulated by the hierarchy for the Church's institutional survival. Catholic Action has also been denounced as a group of Catholic economic and intellectual elites, isolated from the majority of the Church as well as from the rest of Mexican society.⁷⁰ However, the UFCM was, if not a complete cross-section of Mexican society, at least more diverse than its critics have made it out to be. The UFCM had a fairly clear perception of class differences and of its own class composition. At the UFCM's first General Assembly in 1932, María Luisa Hernández addressed differences in the organisational strategies, educational methods, and needs of its

⁶⁹David G. Ramírez, 'Las Escuelas de verano en California, *Christus* II, 24 (Nov. 1937), pp. 1015-1018.

⁷⁰Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, pp. 94-95; Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 46. Often, this is rooted in Antonio Gramsci's denunciations of Catholic Action; see Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks* (New York, 1996), II, 273-274; the same material can also be found in Antonio Gramsci, *Notas sobre Maquiavelo sobre política y sobre el estado moderno* (Mexico, 1986), pp. 221-223.

women members from the 'proletarian,' 'middle' and 'elevated classes' (she divided the latter into two types: those elevated by money, and those elevated by culture). Hernández stated: '*[t]enemos que tener presente que la Acción Católica no es para personas consagradas exclusivamente a Dios, sino para personas que viven en el mundo y frecuenten los distintos círculos sociales.*' Through the 1930s, the UFCM engaged in increasingly politically-charged work to offset the Mexican government's growing influence with working-class and rural, peasant women⁷¹

The Church hierarchy had recognised that a growing number of women were leaving the household for the work force, and expressed its concern that the 'weaker sex' would be overworked, especially in industrial employment.⁷² However, Church leaders often interpreted outward changes in women's behaviour and activity as inward treason. For example, they blamed the defection of working (especially working-class) women from the Church solely on the fact that women had begun to work outside the home, ignoring needs women might have had which were filled in the workplace or through government-sponsored unions and programmes.⁷³

Some UFCM members echoed these shortsighted sentiments and took a reactionary stance towards women's work outside the home, believing that women who left the home to find work left the place that Divine Providence had prepared for them. Some women, who surely never had to make such a choice, asserted that women should prefer privation and reliance on charity to taking on salaried work outside the home, thus abandoning their families to others' care or to none at all. A fairly large conceptual divide between UFCM helpers and their helped also can be seen, for example, in proposals to help impoverished rural women by evangelising

⁷¹Hernández, 'La Instrucción como fundamento,' p. 9; p. 11; Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, p. 11.

⁷²See, for example, Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum: The Condition of Labor* (1891) and Pius XI, *Quadregesimo Anno* (1931), in O'Brien and Shannon, eds., *Catholic Social Thought*, pp. 14-32 and pp. 42-79.

⁷³Garibi Rivera, 'First Pastoral Letter' ('Primera Carta Pastoral').

in the countryside and encouraging mothers not to neglect their children's Catholic upbringing.

At the very least, even these conservative commentators recognised some of the real problems of working women's conditions: long hours at low pay left them with little time to spend with their children, not only for religious formation but for enjoyment. They also identified an all too real element of much of women's work, that some employers sought young, pretty girls to work in offices, shops and restaurants (at times for questionable motives), but were not interested in women employees who were older or who did not spend as much time, effort and money on their clothes and appearance. This pressure to maintain one's appearance worked against women, UFCM members noted, as women (especially the young and single) often were victims of unscrupulous employers' and co-workers' sexual harassment. But rather than challenging employers to end discrimination and sexual harassment, the UFCM's final analysis was that working women should start saving (preferably in Catholic credit unions or mutual aid societies), so that they would not be economically destitute if they lost or left their jobs in an attempt to preserve their virtue or maintain their families.⁷⁴

Initially, UFCM activists intended to lend moral support to working women, whether white or blue collar, urban or rural, *'empleándose en mejorar su condición; ilustrando sus inteligencias, forjando rectamente su voluntad, y encaminando sus almas hacia la salvación'*. Catholic organisers during the Porfiriato had emphasised the example of St. Zita (a thirteenth-century Italian woman recognised for her piety, hard work and generosity by the wealthy family of weavers whom she served) who had been designated the patron saint of working women and servants. The UFCM continued to use St. Zita as an example for Catholic working women; they, too were to be productive, helpful, courteous, and obedient towards their employers and customers, as long as their demands did not contravene their religious and moral

⁷⁴UFCM-Ibero, III Asamblea General (1938), 'Empleadas,' p. 1-2 and 9-10; 'La Comisionada de Clases Trabajadoras,' pp. 1-2; 'Clases Trabajadoras,' p. 1-2.

standards.⁷⁵ But some UFCM members perspectives changed as they worked with less fortunate women, and they began to advocate more practical means to address the needs of working women. Building on earlier models (both Catholic and state), the UFCM inaugurated programmes of adult education, hygiene and health services, workers' associations and social organisations. Mothers' sections were encouraged to sponsor day-care for working women's children, and parochial and diocesan groups were instructed to found adult education academies and night schools for working women. These not only competed with government institutions, but were also given similar names; in some cities, both the state and the Church opened 'Casas Amiga de la Obrera.'⁷⁶

UFCM members also ran clothing and food drives to provide material aid to those who had suffered catastrophe, such as floods and earthquakes, and to the needy in poor rural and urban areas.⁷⁷ While for the most part the UFCM's efforts constituted charitable contributions more than calls for structural change, they nevertheless provided important services, such as bringing financial support, food and supplies to areas where they were not provided by employers or by the government, or where supplies could not meet demand. Naturally, these charitable acts were always combined with 'missionary work,' such as holding catechism classes in the workers' academies, or co-ordinating religious education in rural areas.⁷⁸

⁷⁵Catholic Online Saints, 'St. Zita' (<http://saints.catholic.org/saints/zita.html>); Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, 'La enciclica *Rerum Novarum* y los trabajadores católicos en la ciudad de Mexico (1891-1913),' *Historia Mexicana*, XXXIII, 1 (Jul.-Sept. 1983), p. 29; 'Para la Asociación de Sirvientas: Cualidades de la Sirvienta Cristiana,' *AF*, IV, 1 (Jan. 1938), p. 15.

⁷⁶This was the case in Guadalajara; see chapter 3.

⁷⁷For example, the Archbishop of Durango wrote: 'Bien quisiéramos remediar los males de nuestros amados hijos de la Parroquia de Canatlán y aún personalmente darles un consuelo. Pero no pudiendo hacer esto último; disponemos se haga una colecta en favor de los damnificados de Canatlán. Para hacer dicha colecta se valdrán los Párrocos de la UFCM. Remítase el producto a la Secretaría del Arzobispado.' Circular No. 8, 2 Oct 1936, printed in 'Diocesanos: Cartas, Edictos y Circulares,' *Christus*, II, 14 (Jan. 1937), p. 14. In 1936 the Comité Diocesano of Mexico reported that they had distributed 17,775 kilograms of seeds, over 1000 breakfasts, 3000 loaves of bread, and several thousand cans of food over the past year, and regularly aided 259 families on a monthly basis. UFCM-Ibero, III Asamblea General (1936), 'Informe,' p. 7.

⁷⁸UFCM-Ibero, 'III Asamblea General de la UFCM' (1936), 'Informe,' pp. 9-10; UFCM-Ibero, Sección Correspondencia, Serie Asambleas Generales, Caja 4, Carpeta 25, 'IV Asamblea General de la UFCM,'

In light of political, economic and social movements which continued to draw peasants and workers away from the Church, Pius XI in his 1937 encyclicals *Divini Redemptoris* and *Firmissiam Constantiam* reiterated the mandate to Mexican Catholics to devote 'special attention' to the working classes.⁷⁹ Mexican Catholic women already had been aware of these pressures and had begun to formulate approaches toward working-class women. In 1934, for example, the San Luis Potosí Diocesan Committee established the first '*Patronato de Obreras y Sirvientas*.' The 1936 UFCM General Assembly included a presentation on '*La Clase Trabajadora de la UFCM y la UFCM Campesina*.' Comités Diocesanos reported that numerous parochial groups of the UFCM were formed entirely of '*elementos proletarios*.' UFCM sections sponsored dispensaries and other charitable enterprises, as well as study circles, academies and associations for workers and servants that offered religious instruction and vocational classes. *Acción Femenina* proclaimed the need for UFCM members to be '*consciente de su responsabilidad social*,' and to promote genuine, grass-roots organising among working women, while also publishing more practical articles describing community gardening projects and other women's enterprises. Some of the UFCM's efforts to reach women in the countryside were not for delicate types, but rather took considerable effort. At the 1940 General Assembly, delegates from Colima described making the fourteen-hour trip on horseback from Colima to Zapotitlán (in southern Jalisco but in the diocese of Colima) to give *cursos de propagandistas rurales*. UFCM members began to realise that they would have to better acquaint themselves with women's working conditions and work in collaboration, rather than merely sending directives and issuing recommendations from their comparatively comfortable positions in the cities.⁸⁰

Oct. 1938'-R. Goribar de Cortina, 'Informe,' pp. 10-11 (also printed in *Acción Femenina*, IV, 11 (Nov. 1938), pp. 6-12).

⁷⁹Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris* (*Sobre el comunismo ateo*-19 Mar. 1937) in *Christus*, II, 18 (May 1937), pp. 422-426 and *Firmissiam Constantiam* (*Nos es muy conocido*), p. 393.

⁸⁰UFCM-Ibero, II Asamblea General (1934), R. Goribar de Cortina, 'Informe,' p. 8 and III Asamblea General (1936), 'Informe,' p. 9; Matilde del Valle, 'Delegación Central de Obreras: La conciencia de

The UFCM treated this theme in more detail at its 1938 General Assembly. The UFCM president reported that parochial groups of the UFCM ran 481 catechism programmes for rural women, and there were formal Grupos de Campesinas in 84 parishes and 121 subcommittees, involving 1,517 members. Several diocesan chapters sponsored programmes for urban working women in 29 parishes, involving 1,954 members. Adopting the language of the times, if somewhat belatedly, the UFCM now grouped its efforts into one section, '*Clases Trabajadoras*,' subdivided into concerns for *Campesinas*, *Obreras*, *Empleadas* and *Profesionistas*. The UFCM recognised that many women – including a good number in their ranks, needed and wanted to work, and that women in different kinds of employment (manual, clerical, professional) had different needs. Some concerns were common, however:

La vida de la mujer que trabaja es una continua lucha, en las actuales circunstancias la continua amenaza de cese hacen que la trabajadora, ya sea profesionista, empleada, obrera o campesina se aliste en los sindicatos en donde pelagra su fe y su moral, en donde queda sujeta a leyes exóticas que siempre van en contra de la Religión, y si a esto agregamos el alejamiento casi completo de su hogar, pues a él únicamente va para comer y descansar, la promiscuidad en que trabaja, el contacto con personas de otros sexos y religiones, y el corto tiempo que le queda para cumplir no digamos ya con los deberes de su estado y su religión, veremos que poco a poco le van faltando fuerzas para continuar en la lucha y va perdiendo los principios cristianos que le fueron infundidos por sus padres y superiores.⁸¹

The UFCM recognised that women were justified in entering salaried employment to address their own and their families' economic need. The UFCM now portrayed working women, not as traitors to their sex and dependents, but as

'llenas de generosos anhelos se lanzan a la lucha por la vida [...] las veamos presurosas y alegres a cumplir con la diaria tarea que les permite llenar una noble misión y que al iniciar su carrea aporten todo el entusiasmo y las nobles aspiraciones de su corazón, de ser útiles a sí mismas, a sus familias, a la sociedad.'⁸²

Clases Trabajadoras section leaders reminded the UFCM that the female workforce was not comprised solely of young, single women who sought independence from

responsabilidad,' AF 5, 20 (Sept. 1940) 9-10; Carmen Peñalosa de Del Río, 'La Granja de Santa Rosa,' *ibid.*, pp. 12-13, p. 19; UFCM, *V. Asamblea General* (México, DF: 1940-CIDOC microfiche #2347), p. 17.

⁸¹María Teresa R. Vda. de Avila (Comisionada Central de Clases Trabajadoras), 'Tu Apostolado...', *Acción Femenina*, V: 3 (Mar. 1939), p. 8.

⁸²UFCM-Ibero, III Asamblea General (1938), 'Empleadas' p. 2.

family and tradition; dutiful daughters, wives, mothers and widows also worked, and needed support and moral and spiritual guidance from women in more comfortable positions. However, the view never changed that alongside vocational education and training, women of the working classes needed a solid religious formation to remain good Catholics and virtuous women. The UFCM did not mobilise to organise women to radically change their workplaces. The goal of the UFCM remained to '*llevar a Cristo las almas que se están debatiendo en medio de los numerosos peligros que las rodean*,' and to prevent government or radical activist programmes and unscrupulous employers from drawing working women away from that goal.

For the Future of Catholic Women: Sofia del Valle

In addition to emphasizing its 'maternal' responsibility to inculcate modest and upright behaviour in the young, the UFCM sponsored the JCFM and took seriously its assignment to combat the loosening of morals among young Mexican women. Archbishop Garibi Rivera's words illustrate what the Church perceived it was up against: 'Now, young girls appear alone in public, when they should be accompanied by members of their families. Without religious instruction, public morals will decay.' Garibi Rivera assigned the ultimate responsibility to inculcate moral behaviour in Catholic families, schools and associations to parish priests, but, again, for the many communities where the priest was either overworked or absent, the duty fell to every Catholic to take part in this enterprise, and it was often Catholic women who took up the task. At times, this work seemed oddly counterproductive to their efforts to bring people to the Church. In Chihuahua, for example, committees of Catholic women monitored the entrances to churches (those that were open) and prevented women whose dress they did not approve of from entering.⁸³ UFCM members published articles in *Acción Femenina* and *Juventud*, the

⁸³USDOS 812.404/1912: Garibi Rivera, "First Pastoral Letter," 12 Aug. 1936, and enclosure.

JCFM's magazine, protesting against the use of 'immodest' fashions such as calf-length skirts and bobbed hair. The UFCM collaborated with the Liga Mexicana de la Decencia, another Catholic, social-civic group founded during the 1930s that monitored movies and other entertainment to ascertain whether Catholics should boycott them. The UFCM helped disseminate their recommendations in *Acción Femenina* and in low-cost leaflets for display in churches or distribution to communities.⁸⁴

But Catholic women's activism on behalf of younger women went beyond concern for their hemlines and movie-going habits. The Church's concern that Catholic women acquire a better knowledge of their religious faith opened an opportunity for them to expand their educational and professional horizons, sometimes beyond the point where the hierarchy wanted them to go. Sofía del Valle, the woman who best exemplifies this trend, worked tirelessly for the Church and for social action causes throughout her adult life. Del Valle may well have seemed atypical, even threatening, to some Church leaders: she was an unattached woman, never married, and not a nun; although a pillar of the JCFM and the Instituto Superior de Cultura Femenina, she never joined the UFCM; while not discounting the importance of personal piety, she repeatedly insisted that the Church prioritise practical as well as spiritual aid for urban and rural working women. In the 1920s, Del Valle easily gained the enthusiastic support of Alfredo Méndez Medina and other Catholic social activists for her plans to organise women workers into Catholic syndicates and to provide services for them. She was also able to convince more conservative leaders, like Miguel Darío Miranda and post-Cristero rebellion ACM officers that the Church had to recognise young women as more than house-bound daughters, future wives and women religious. Despite her unusual stance, the Catholic Church hierarchy did not pressure Del Valle into more standard

⁸⁴UFCM-Ibero, 'III Asamblea General (1936) 'Informe,' p. 10 and ' IV Asamblea General'; (1938) 'Informe,' p.7; María del Rosario Ortiz de Salazar, interview with Kristina Boylan, Guadalajara, Jal., 7 May 1997.

modes of Catholic organisation, because her work was indispensable for developing new generations of committed, Catholic women activists in diverse social strata, and for retaining the support of the ever-growing number of women who diverged from the Church's narrow view of ideal womanhood.

Del Valle was born in 1891, the daughter of a Spanish merchant resident in Mexico City and a Mexican mother. In 1910, her father, Francisco del Valle, took the family to Europe to escape revolutionary violence. Although comparatively wealthy, Francisco del Valle aimed to give his daughters a 'future' by means of education, rather than wealth. They lived in Spain, Switzerland and France, where del Valle and her sisters attended Catholic schools. The Del Valles also performed volunteer work alongside nuns in a Catholic hospital in Switzerland and with a Jesuit priest in France, who had been inspired by a Belgian Catholic social action programme to establish a professional union for the seamstresses and domestic servants in the area. Although geographically distant, the Revolution touched the lives of the Del Valles; after paying business expenses and rent on their house in the Colonia Roma with *villista* and *zapatista* currency, Francisco del Valle lost his business and properties under the *Carrancistas*, and moved to New Orleans to work in a friend's business. When his brother died in an accident in 1923, her father arranged for the family to return to Mexico the following year. In contacting the relatives and friends with whom the family had lost touch, Sofía del Valle sought opportunities to continue working in Catholic social action and was introduced to another Jesuit – Méndez Medina – who told her about the Catholic organisations in Mexico – the SSM, the UDCM, the CNCT – and their possibilities for further growth. Several of her sisters and cousins had decided to enter religious life, but Del Valle, felt she had neither a religious vocation nor one to marry; instead, she wanted to devote herself wholeheartedly to the Catholic social action movement. Thus, she began working closely with Méndez Medina and the SSM.⁸⁵

⁸⁵Sofía del Valle, interviews with Alicia Olivera de Bonfil, México, D.F., 3 Nov. 1972 and 14 Feb. 1973 (PHO/4/11), pp. 1-15; Comité Diocesano de la JCFM de Guadalajara, *JCFM*, Guadalajara, Jal: Comité Diocesano de Guadalajara, n.d., pp. 11-13; Miller, 'The Role of Women in The Mexican Cristero Rebellion', pp. 128-129; Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals', p. 363.

Del Valle first began working with non-unionised women workers in the tobacco industry, of whom she later claimed '*no querían tener que hacer cosas en contra de su conciencia*' and hesitated to join stridently anticlerical unions affiliated with the CROM. Del Valle used her contacts with friends and relatives who ran businesses that hired women, and with women white- and blue-collar workers (*empleadas* and *obreras*) to organise alternative, Catholic syndicates such as the Unión Profesional de Empleadas and the Organización del Magisterio Católico (1922). She also helped unemployed Catholic women workers find new jobs or gain new skills for self-employment. Del Valle and several women teachers began giving classes for women workers, and then opened a night school on the Calle Guatemala, in Mexico City. Collaborating with the UDCM, they expanded this educational work to several factories and neighbourhoods, offering classes in religion, English, French and Spanish (according to del Valle, her Catholic social work with women often began with teaching them to read), millinery, embroidery, hairstyling, drawing and painting. The school also provided a job placement service to help young women find posts in Catholic-owned businesses or homes, which became especially relevant when government-sponsored unions began expelling Catholic workers. Del Valle became the SSM's Secretary for Feminine Affairs, and also worked with SSM activist José Villelas to promote Catholic credit unions (the 'Cajas de Ahorro León XIII'), intended to help working Catholics '*evitar tiburones*' as they began to accumulate savings.⁸⁶

At times del Valle found it as difficult to convince young women as male Catholic leaders that women needed not only religious but cultural training to better their condition. Nevertheless, Méndez Medina shared Del Valle's belief and encouraged her work. Upon assuming the directorship of the SSM, Father Miguel Darío Miranda did not dissuade del Valle, but offered her his critique: she was conducting worthy, 'personal' work in aiding working women, but was not

⁸⁶Del Valle, PHO/4/11, pp. 16-17, p. 21; UDCM, *Primer Congreso Nacional de la UDCM*, Tlalpan, DF: Imprenta del Asilo 'Patricio Saenz,' 1922, pp. 32-34; Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' p. 364; Schell, 'An Honorable Avocation for Ladies,' p. 86, pp. 91; Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, p. 208.

contributing to the growth of the number of trained women involved in Catholic social work. On one level, del Valle agreed with Miranda's observation; comparing Mexican Catholic women activists to those she had known in Europe, she was struck by how little they read and concerned themselves with social issues or intellectual improvement. Under the auspices of the SSM, del Valle co-founded two key organisations in the spring of 1926: the Instituto Superior de Cultura Femenina (ISCF) and the JCFM. Both were intended to promote the formation of educated, trained young Catholic women and to enable them to join the Catholic social action movement. The ISCF gave young women the opportunity to advance their studies in a Catholic environment and to train as leaders, and the JCFM provided them with opportunities for participation. Del Valle envisioned the JCFM as mobilising volunteers to aid working women. She did not see herself as a '*dama católica*,' and knew that many of the women she worked with did not see themselves as *damas*, either. Thus she never joined the UDCM, though she continued her work with women's unions and other socio-economic projects.⁸⁷

Miranda gave his approval for the ISCF with one condition, that the students not be taught 'male subjects' such as philosophy, history and theology. However, not only Del Valle but also the priests and lay teachers who taught courses at the ISCF introduced these subjects as necessary parts of the curriculum for young female social activists. Opponents of the ISCF like the Jesuit pastor of the San Francisco church warned their parishioners about the institute: 'Please do not send your girls there, because they are teaching Latin and I don't know how many other things, and you know the refrain: 'A woman who knows Latin can't come to a good end.' Despite their difficulties in obtaining financial aid and students amidst such criticism, the ISCF faculty persevered in their teaching. According to del Valle, the students impressed the teachers and exceeded their own original expectations with their ability to master 'male subjects.' An American observer in the early 1940s

⁸⁷Del Valle, PHO/4/11, pp. 20-21, pp. 38-45.

commended the ISCF for giving its students a 'thorough grounding in Catholic philosophy, apologetics and action,' which produced an 'effective and intelligent leadership' trained to influence others.⁸⁸

As the religious conflict in Mexico intensified, Catholic working women's difficulties did as well. The expulsion and dissolution of religious orders meant that lay people would have to assume tasks of teaching, childcare, medical care, and operating co-operatives and mutual aid societies. Church leaders hoped that women trained at the ISCF and in the JCFM could help fill these gaps. Meanwhile, the worsening of Church-state relations created more difficulties for Del Valle to keeping her fledgling institutes running. The government expropriated the original site of the ISCF, based on unproven allegations that underground Catholic newspapers were being produced there. Del Valle rented another house, purchased a few inexpensive tables, had the students bring their own chairs, and opened the school for classes; the ISCF thus continued operating for the next three years. Del Valle tried to keep both the ISCF and the JCFM removed from the armed Cristero rebellion. She did not approve of the BF, although later she was aware that several of her students, as well as members of the women's unions she had helped organise, had joined the organisation. The Cristeros were courageous and right to defend their faith, del Valle averred, but as a self-proclaimed pacifist, she felt she could not support the armed rebellion. She also believed that, in their struggle against Mexican government policy, the Cristeros had been 'fighting for the present,' but that Catholic civic organisations would be the future of the Catholic Church in Mexico.⁸⁹

⁸⁸Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' p. 130; Pattee, *The Catholic Revival in Mexico*, p. 31. Pattee also notes that another women's school, the *Instituto Familiar y Social de México*, was operated by the ACM, but gives no founding date. According to Pattee, this women's institute was dedicated to teaching domestic sciences and the basic precepts of Catholic marriage and its responsibilities for young women 'who intend[ed] to form homes' rather than pretending to 'intellectualize' them or 'make them outstanding Catholic thinkers.'

⁸⁹Aurora de la Lama, 'La JCFM y Cultura Femenina,' *Juventud*, 16, 10 (Oct. 1946), p. 19; Del Valle, PHO/4/11, p. 24; Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' pp. 131-132, p. vi. One ISCF student who joined the BF was Dolores Ortega, who joined the JCFM, took courses at the ISCF and began organising tobacco and textile workers in Mexico City, before turning to clandestine

Del Valle continued to persevere for the future of Catholic women's activism after the *arreglos*. She sat on the committee that rewrote the ACM statutes in 1929, and was named the first president of the post-Cristero Rebellion JCFM. In this capacity Del Valle maintained correspondence with and collected information and statistics from JCFM chapters across Mexico. Since the 1920s, she had corresponded with colleagues in Europe affiliated with the International League of Catholic Women's Organisations. In the 1930s Del Valle established especially close ties with the National Council of Catholic Women (NCCW), part of the United States National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC). The NCWC took a close interest in the plight of Catholics in their neighbouring country during the 1930s. In 1933 and 1934, the NCCW sponsored lecture tours in the United States for Del Valle in which she raised awareness and funds for Catholic social work in Mexico. Del Valle was so successful in this endeavour that copies of her correspondence with Mexican bishops and Catholic activists filled folders in Plutarco Elias Calles' personal files on subversive Catholic activity, and were used to publicly accuse her of raising money for the Segunda Cristiada as part of a 'clerical conspiracy.' Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores wrote an open letter of protest to President Abelardo Rodríguez, defending del Valle's mission as being one that would '*intensificar la cultura femenina cristiana en México sin mezclarse para nada en político.*' American and Mexican Catholics also protested in her defence, until Del Valle was cleared of the charge and allowed to travel to and from the United States.⁹⁰

Under del Valle's leadership, the JCFM mushroomed alongside the UFCM. Between December 1929 and June 1930 alone, the JCFM established 22 diocesan organisations, 133 parish groups, and 124 study groups, incorporating 8,605

activity. She was later accused of taking part in the conspiracy to assassinate Alvaro Obregón. Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, pp. 176-177, p. 209.

⁹⁰UFCM-Ibero, Sección de Correspondencia, Serie Liga Internacional Católica Femenina, Caja 13, Carpeta 64, *passim*; PEC/FT, Fondo 12, Serie 010806, Exp. 1, Legajos 1 and 2; Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, 'Carta Abierta al Sr. Presidente de la República D. Abelardo Rodríguez,' San Antonio, Tex., 5 Nov. 1934, reprinted in *BEG* VI, 1 (1 Jan. 1935), pp. 4-6; *El Nacional*, 28 Oct. 1934; Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' pp. 133-134; also see Anna Dill Gamble, *An Introduction to Mexico* (Washington, DC, 1936), pp. 45-46 and Pattee, *The Catholic Revival in Mexico*, pp. 45-47.

members. Its membership increased rapidly: to 31,107 in 1934 (299 parish groups and 496 study circles), 74,103 in 1938, to almost 100,000 members in 1940, and to 102,491 in 1942, working in almost 1,000 parishes and making up almost one-third of the ACM membership of 365,088.⁹¹ Many UFCM activists of later years began their activities in the JCFM, and remember it as the organisation that allowed them as young women to do more than just stay at home, but rather (and with their families' approval) to work with young children in catechism programmes, with workers and peasant women, and in other charitable and social projects. Del Valle left the leadership of the JCFM in 1947, although she continued to act as a consultant afterwards.⁹²

The ISCF remained open through 1954, when it closed for lack of staff. Renaming themselves the 'Asociación Civil,' former faculty continued to sponsor cultural events for young women. Del Valle proudly noted that the ISCF counted among its alumnae numerous educators at Catholic schools and at universities, and several municipal presidents and politicians. In deference to the Church hierarchy, Del Valle consistently acknowledged the primacy of family responsibilities for women who chose to marry and have children. But she also continued to emphasise the duty of all women to engage with social issues, and the need for women to have an understanding of world problems and human psychology in order to participate actively. 'Realising the great influence women have over them,' she told researcher Barbara Miller, 'men have deliberately kept women in ignorance and subjection.' Del Valle's work with the Church, like her later work with international education programmes and the United Nations, did not conform to a view of household-bound lay Catholic women, but was devoted to advancing women's education and social and political activism.⁹³

⁹¹JCFM -CD de Guadalajara, *JCFM*, p. 13; R. Pattee, *The Catholic Revival in Mexico*, pp. 46-47.

⁹²For the relationship of JCFM membership to later activism, see Chapters 3 and 4. The JCFM operates in Mexico to the present, alongside other Catholic youth groups; see Junta Nacional de la Acción Católica, *La Acción Católica Mexicana Hoy* (Mexico City, 1993), pp. 63-65, and their website at www.geocities.com/BourbonStreet/3560.

UFCM Campaigns for Priests and Seminaries

The UFCM was very concerned with the effect that the government's closure of Catholic colleges and seminaries would have on the number of future priests, and the impact that legal restrictions would have on the number of priests in Mexico. As the government enforced the constitutional prohibition on religious communities and enterprises, the UFCM's work in support of seminaries, convents, schools and hospitals became illegal. Answers to questionnaires distributed by the SSM to the diocese report fairly frequent *cateos*, government searches of private residences, offices and schools. If government inspectors discovered clergy, nuns, religious education or work being undertaken, or 'contraband' religious materials, they could arrest the lay persons aiding the religious, impose fines, and confiscate the 'contraband' along with the real estate properties involved.⁹⁴

The UFCM Central Committee ordered its members to hold collections at their meetings and assemblies in order to raise funds to support both legally and clandestinely working priests. Because of the restrictions on religiously oriented higher education, it was difficult, if not impossible, to train seminarians within Mexico. The 1917 Constitution also forbade foreign ministers from working in Mexico. The Mexican Episcopate appealed to the Vatican for an alternative, interdiocesan seminary, to be located in the United States. The UFCM helped to raise funds and collected food and supplies for the Montezuma seminary (formally the 'Papal National Seminary,' under Jesuit supervision), which opened in Arizona in September 1937 specifically to enable young Mexican men to study for the priesthood. Pending a relaxation in church-state tension and of state laws restricting the numbers of priests allowed to officiate, these Mexican priests would then be able

⁹³Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' p. 135-138.

⁹⁴Miranda, 'Informe,' and SSM, Carpeta 'Conflictos Religiosos Por Diocesis, de 1926 a 1937,' *passim*.

to minister in Mexico.⁹⁵ The UFCM published letters of thanks and descriptions of the seminarians' activities regularly in *Acción Femenina*. UFCM president Refugio Goribar de Cortina reminded UFCM members that they had to do more than raise money to redress the shortage of priests. She called upon parochial groups to encourage vocations and sponsor at least one seminary student each.⁹⁶

The Catholic Woman Militant: Refugio Goribar de Cortina

'Oye, no voy a llegar a la casa porque estoy en la comandancia': so Refugio Goribar de Cortina told her husband on the telephone on the occasion of one of her four arrests during the Cristero Rebellion. It is telling that Goribar de Cortina had to make such a statement, for she dedicated two decades of her life to the ACM and yet consistently advocated women's proper place being in the home. Members of her family remember her as being '*excepcionalmente cariñosa, caritativa, muy activa para las causas de Dios.*' In the end, Goribar de Cortina's '*trabajo se acabó con la familia*' - when the needs of her family rose in the early 1940s, she withdrew from the ACM.⁹⁷

Goribar de Cortina had been active in the UDCM from at least the early 1920s. At the First National Congress of the UDCM in 1922 she gave two presentations, one on 'Bailes,' differentiating between those that were moral and

⁹⁵Attendance levels fluctuated at the Montezuma seminary throughout its 35 years of existence (1937-1972), but its roster held between 250 and 400 students annually. Sociologist Roderic A. Camp believes that, along with the Gregorian University (see Chapter 1) the Montezuma seminary functioned as a '*fuerza central del renacimiento de la enseñanza clerical mexicana y de las ideas suprimidas por la Revolución y la represión anticatólica durante los años veinte y treinta.*' In 1974, José Gutiérrez Casillas identified 16 bishops who had studied at the seminary. Indicating its enduring influence, Camp remarked that in 1989, 39 of Mexico's 106 diocesan bishops were Montezuma alumni. (Gutiérrez Casillas, *La Historia de la Iglesia*, pp. 431-435; Vera, 'Derechos humanos y democracia,' p. 25; also see Jedin, Reppen and Dolan, *History of the Church*, X, 744). It bears mentioning that the Montezuma students did not constitute the majority of Mexican seminarians, pointing to the resurgence of clandestine minor and major seminaries within Mexico during the 1930s, though these were more successful in some dioceses than others. As early as 1945, only 348 out of 4251 Mexican seminarians were studying at the Montezuma seminary (Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, pp. 254-257; Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes geográficos y estadísticos*, p. 22; also see Chapter 3).

⁹⁶Refugio Goribar de Cortina, 'La UFCM y su Ayuda al Seminario,' *AF*, IV, 2 (Feb. 1938), 1-4; Juana Pitman de Labarthe, 'Como se celebró la Navidad última en el Seminario Auxiliar de Montezuma,' *AF*, 5, 23 (Dec. 1940), 13-14

⁹⁷M. L. Saldivar, RSCJ, interview; Alfredo Saldivar, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Mexico City, 10 Apr. 1997-Goribar de Cortina's niece and nephew, respectively.

acceptable for Catholic girls and women and those that were not, and a similar analysis of fashions.⁹⁸ Within several years, the concerns of the UDCM had turned to more political matters. As vice-president of the Central Committee of the UDCM, Goribar de Cortina co-signed a letter to the International League of Catholic Women (ILCW), thanking them for recognising that the '*mendaz propaganda*' distributed by the Mexican government did not tell the truth about their sisters' suffering in Mexico. The letter also asked the ILCW them for their prayers, so that the Mexicans might earn '*la doble gloria del martirio y del triunfo*' during the Church-State conflict.⁹⁹ Although formally part of one of the organisations that officially withdrew from the league in compliance with papal and episcopal condemnations of the armed uprising, Goribar de Cortina's own conduct supports Randall S. Hanson's theory that the UDCM, as well as other Catholic women activists acting independently, maintained contact with the LNDLR and the Cristeros.¹⁰⁰ In early 1929, Goribar de Cortina acted as a contact between Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, the leader of the LNDLR in Guadalajara, and the Mexican Episcopate, as the LNDLR sought to include of its demands in the truce being negotiated by the hierarchy. Palomar y Vizcarra also appealed through Goribar de Cortina to Father Edmund Walsh of the NCWC to have the American organisation protest the plight of Cristeros from abroad. Goribar de Cortina hosted a dinner so that Pascual Díaz Barreto, then Bishop of Tabasco, could meet with other Catholic activists. The bishop proposed that the LNDLR compose a letter stating that they would be in agreement with whatever action the hierarchy were to take.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸Refugio Goribar de Cortina, 'Bailes,' y 'Modas,' in UDCM, *Primero Congreso Nacional*, pp. 40-48

⁹⁹UFCM-Ibero, Sección Correspondencia, Serie Liga Internacional Católica Femenina, Caja 13, Carpeta 62, Comité Central de la UDCM (Elena Lascurain de Silva, Presidenta, et. al.), México, DF, to the Consejo de la Unión Internacional de Ligas Católicas Femeninas, Utrecht, Netherlands, 14 Oct. 1926.

¹⁰⁰Hanson, 'Mujeres Militantes,' pp. 17-22

¹⁰¹Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, interview with Alicia [Olivera] de Bonfil, México, DF, 15 Aug. 1960, (PHO/4/4), pp. 41-43; also see Miller, 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion,' p. 109, citing documents from the INAH microfilm Serie Conflicto Religioso, Rollo 20. Palomar y Vizcarra later alleged that this letter, never made public by the LNDLR, was used by Alberto María Carreño to

In her public actions, though, Goribar de Cortina placed herself squarely on the side of the hierarchy, recommending that the laity undertake pious acts intended to strengthen the Church and the faith of its adherents. Goribar de Cortina participated, as did other members of the UDCM Comité Central, in the 'Obra del Voto Nacional a Cristo Rey,' one of Díaz Barreto's first campaigns as Archbishop of Mexico, intended to raise funds for the repair of churches in Mexico and for the eventual construction of a new monument to Christ the King.¹⁰² The leadership of the UFCM remained very similar to that of the UDCM; in 1930 and 1932, Elena Lascurain de Silva was named president, and Goribar de Cortina was elected vice-president of the Comité Central. At the First General Assembly of the UFCM in 1932, Goribar de Cortina gave a presentation entitled '*Restauración Cristiana de la Familia*,' concluding that the principal goal of the UFCM was '*la restauración de la familia y la sociedad*.' Catholic women could achieve this by: making sure that their homes were Christian homes, rejecting any doctrine, custom or practice which might threaten them; avoiding excessive socialising with people who persisted in living in 'illegitimate' or illicit unions, rather than in holy matrimony; making sure that all persons dependent on them – including children and servants – fulfil the obligatory Catholic practices of attendance at Mass on Sundays and on Holy Days of Obligation, especially those of the Easter season; intensifying the religious and moral instruction of family members, servants and employees; and encouraging *entronizaciones* to the Sacred Heart and the Virgin of Guadalupe in individual homes. Goribar de Cortina revealed the class bias of a *dama* at heart, declaring that '*las*

malign the group when he published it in the first edition of his book about Díaz Barreto. There is no mention of the LNDLR or any of its members by name in Carreño's *El Excmo. y Rmo. Sr. Dr. D. Pascual Díaz y Barreto, Arzobispo de México, Homenajes Postumos* (México, 1936) beyond a reference to a 'grupo de católicos exaltados' rejecting the *arreglos* and continuing their calls to arms (p.23). It appears that sparks flew between Carreño and former members of the LNDLR well through the 1940s, reverberations from the publication of Carreño's 1932 volume, *El Arzobispo de México, Excmo. Sr. Dr. D. Pascual Díaz y el Conflicto Religioso* that appeared in the form of a series of letters to the editors of *Excelsior* and *Omega*, only to be silenced for a time by an 'armistice' negotiated by Luis María Martínez, Archbishop of Mexico, in June 1943. See Archivo Histórico del AHAM-LMM, Carpeta 'Oficiales Particulares/Música Sacra,' Bases para un armisticio celebrado...' and various letters from J. Antonio López Ortega and Alberto María Carreño, May-Sept. 1943.

¹⁰²AHAM-PDB, Gaveta 196, Exp. 43 (96), 'Junta Directiva General de la Asociación del Voto Nacional,' 15 Aug. 1929.

mujeres de las clases elevadas que pudieran llamarse clases directoras' were the ones who had to set the example and lead the rest of Mexican society. This privileged social status conferred responsibilities; Mexican women had proven their moral superiority and capacity to instruct and lead in the past, and needed to do so again. Goribar de Cortina called on Catholic women activists to be like the '*mujer fuerte del Evangelio*' as a Catholic spouse. Using the oft-cited Biblical reference urging wives to obey their husbands, she reminded women that their husbands also were obliged to love their wives as Christ loved the Church (Eph. V, 22-30). She continued, '*Hoy esta enseñanza parece haberse olvidado, pues también es cierto que si pocos saben obedecer, también desgraciadamente hay pocas que saben mandar.*' By this Goribar de Cortina was not indicating a need for husbands to blindly reassert control over their wives; rather, she took Mexican Catholic men to task for failing to guide their families (and by extension, the country) according to Catholic faith. Mexican women, in turn, were to use their influence on men to bring back a measure of Christian morality to society.¹⁰³

Not surprisingly, given her role as vice-president and her working relationship with the Archbishop of Mexico, Díaz Barreto named Goribar de Cortina president of the UFCM for 1932-1934. She continued in that post for two additional two-year terms, from 1934 to 1938; during this time, UFCM membership quadrupled. As president, she maintained contact with the Comités Diocesanos by correspondence, and made several trips around the country to visit them. Goribar de Cortina called upon the women of the UFCM to act publicly, for example in 1936, when she circulated a telegram to be signed by representatives of each UFCM-CD, asking President Cárdenas to permit the return of exiled Mexican priests.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³UFCM-Ibero, I Asamblea General (1932), Goribar de Cortina, '*Restauración Cristiana de la Familia*,' pp. 1-10.

¹⁰⁴UFCM-Ibero, II Asamblea General UFCM (1934), '*Informe*'; UFCM-Ibero, III Asamblea General (1936), '*Informe de la presidenta del Comité Central*,' p. 3 and IV Asamblea General (1938), '*Informe de la presidenta del Comité Central*,' pp. 1-2; UFCM-Guad, '*Actas: Libro No. 1. Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana, Comité Diocesano. 16 de Jun. de 1930 á 8 de Aug. de 1935*,' [Actas I], p. 129b (10 Jan 1935); UFCM-Guad, '*Actas: Libro No. 2. Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana, Comité Diocesano. Septiembre de 1935 a Septiembre de 1937*' [Actas II], p. 28 (23 Apr. 1936-telegram), p. 33b (10 Jul. 1936-visits), p. 37

Goribar de Cortina transcended her own limits of emphasising pious acts within the home and church in order to take advantage of the state's political approaches to women. The celebration of 10 May as the 'Día de las Madres' was, according to Julia Tuñón, initially promoted by the newspaper *Excelsior* in 1922 as a conservative attempt to stifle campaigns for women's suffrage. It gained value as political currency for Mexican politicians, offering proof of the government's interest in women's issues.¹⁰⁵ In the 1920s and early 1930s, Mexican Catholics seized upon the Día de las Madres as a new opportunity to fuse civic and religious cultural practice. Bishops encouraged priests to hold special masses on the day, and Catholic protesters petitioned the government to allow for open, public Catholic celebrations, to be held in honour of Mexican mothers.¹⁰⁶ An anonymous flyer exhorted women to claim their rights, not the individual rights granted by the legal reforms of the 1910s and 1920s, but those of mothers of the nation's future:

DIA DE LAS MADRES
 PARA ELLAS:
 EL AMOR Y RESPETO DE SUS HIJOS.
 EL RESPETO Y JUSTICIA DE LAS AUTORIDADES.
 EL MEJOR HOMENAJE:
 LA VINDICACION DE SUS SAGRADOS DERECHOS.
 MADRE MEXICANA:
 EXIGE TU MEJOR HOMENAJE.
El diez de mayo a las diez de la mañana se reunirán las más dignas MADRES para pedirlo completo y definitivo en el HEMICICLO JUAREZ.

(27 Aug. 1936). Goribar de Cortina lists the locations that she and other members of the CC visited between 1936 and 1938: she attended the Asambleas Diocesanas in Cuernavaca, México, Guadalajara, Puebla, Saltillo, Monterrey, and Tulancingo; others visited Durango, Mérida, Tampico, San Luis Potosí, and Jalapa, as well as the Grupos Parroquiales in Monterrey, Saltillo, and Ciudad Durango, Tamazunchale, Río Grande, Sabinas, Apizaco, Zacapoxtla, Cuautla, Acapulco, Chilpancingo, Iguala, and Taxco (III Asamblea General (1936), 'Informe,' p. 11).

¹⁰⁵ Julia Tuñón, *Women in Mexico: A Past Unveiled* (Austin, Tex. 1999), p. 100; Mary Kay Vaughan, 'Rural Women's Literacy and Education during the Mexican Revolution: Subverting a Patriarchal Event?,' in Fowler-Salamini and Vaughan, *Women of the Mexican Countryside*, p. 120.

¹⁰⁶ F. Orozco y Jiménez, Circular 15-30, 'A los Sres. Sacerdotes del Arzobispado,' 28 Apr. 1930, and Circular 16-30, 'A los Sres. Curas y Rectores de las Iglesias de esta Ciudad,' BEG, 4, 1 Jun. 1930, pp. 190-191, AGN-GOB, caja 45. exp. 2.340(11)-10, Petition from vecinos de Zacoalco to Pdte. Lázaro Cárdenas, 14 Mar. 1926, Petition from Guadalajara, 9 May 1926.

*No faltes, el presente y el porvenir de tus hijos lo demandan.*¹⁰⁷

Goribar de Cortina pledged that the UFCM would help support the campaign to make the Día de las Madres a Catholic holiday in practice, if not in name. The UFCM Madres sections adopted the campaign, distributing thousands of flyers reminding Mexicans to celebrate the holiday in a Catholic fashion, with Masses, devotions and prayers dedicated to Christian and Mexican motherhood. In 1937, Goribar de Cortina placed almost as much emphasis on the UFCM's Día de las Madres campaign as its campaign to bring Mexican Catholics into compliance with their Easter obligation (taking part in Penance and Eucharist at least once annually, during the Easter season). Crediting both the work of Mexican Catholic women and the intervention of the Virgin of Guadalupe, Goribar de Cortina proudly stated that the civic celebration of 10 May '*adquiere de año en año un aspecto más espiritual y lo que parecía una fiesta meramente humana.*'¹⁰⁸

At the 1938 UFCM General Assembly, Goribar de Cortina was again elected to the Comité Central, this time to serve as treasurer from 1938 to 1940. She served as '*presidenta interina*' for some time afterward; Juana P. de Labarthe delivered the biannual president's report to the 1940 General Assembly, but it is not clear when Labarthe assumed that duty. Nor is it clear why Goribar de Cortina stepped down from the presidency of the UFCM (she later served once more, from 1946 to 1949). Her surviving niece and nephew suggest that she did so in order to attend to familial duties, as several close relatives suffered serious injuries or died during that time. While contributing to the UFCM's efforts, Goribar de Cortina also maintained strict Catholic practice, personally and in her household; '*nadie en la casa se murió sin sacerdote,*' remarked her niece, María Luisa Saldivar, RSCJ. Although relatives tried to convince Saldivar to follow in her aunt's footsteps, Goribar de Cortina had

¹⁰⁷ILF-AC, Carpeta 'Defensa de la libertad de enseñanza sin fechas-Manifestación Contra de la Educación Socialista,' Exp. 'Educación,' document "Día de las Madres" (n.p., n.d.). Documents in other files in this series date from the mid-1930s.

¹⁰⁸Goribar de Cortina, 'Balance del Año,' p. 2; UFCM-Ibero, IV Asamblea General (1938), Goribar de Cortina, 'Informe,' p. 18.

encouraged in her desire to enter religious life, rather than pressuring her to become involved in the social action projects of the ACM. Earlier, however, Saldivar and her brother distributed flyers and put up Catholic propaganda posters for their aunt, and remember her inviting Father Miguel Pro to her home in Mexico City.¹⁰⁹ Thus, Goribar de Cortina, who associated with Catholic militants like Pro and Palomar y Vizcarra in the 1920s, chose to heed the Church hierarchy's post-1929 call to focus the ACM on personal and spiritual matters. In doing so, Goribar de Cortina helped build up one of the strongest lay associations of the Church in Mexico, leading tens of thousands of women in support of the Church. While Goribar de Cortina espoused the conservative, Catholic stance on women's roles, she did so in a way that encouraged women to use their status as mothers and wives, both within their own homes and within the Mexican political 'family' to call others to Catholic practice and to create broader opportunities to do so.

Catholic Women and Public Expressions of Catholicism

Catholic women such as Goribar de Cortina helped to maintain the public presence of Catholicism throughout the 1930s, when the postrevolutionary regime acted strongly to suppress it. One key reason why the uneasy détente of 1929 soured after late 1931 was the outpouring of Catholics for the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the apparitions of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Sponsored by the ACM and other pious associations, Catholics made pilgrimages to the Basilica in their thousands; they also decorated interiors and exteriors of their homes and churches to commemorate the occasion. The state clamped down on Catholic activity afterwards; the federal government began to enforce federal religious laws even more strictly, and states and localities followed suit. Even simple acts provoked strong reactions; in 1932 and 1933, hundreds of Catholics were arrested in

¹⁰⁹Goribar de Cortina, 'Balance del Año,' p. 6; V Asamblea General (1940), Juana P. de Labarthe, 'Informe que presenta la Presidenta del Comité Central ante la V Asamblea General de la Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana, 1 Oct. 1940,' p. 10-26; 'Comité Central para el Bienio 1940-42' and Aurora Zertuche de Lobo, 'Mis impresiones de la V Asamblea General,' *AF*, 5, 23 (Dec. 1940), p. 3 and p. 16; Méndez, 'Síntesis Histórica,' p. 29; Saldivar, RSCJ, interview, and Saldivar, interview.

Guadalajara on Ash Wednesday for violating Article 130, in this case, for leaving churches with ashen crosses drawn on their foreheads.¹¹⁰

Catholic women persisted in public demonstration, for example in marches against the government's sexual and socialist education curricula, mentioned above. They organised delegations to petition municipal leaders, state governors, congressional representatives, even President Cárdenas, demanding the right to religious expression. Some locally organised endeavours were peaceful and fell within legal boundaries; others erupted into physical violence. In 1934, 400 hundred female students barricaded their convent school in Mixcoac (a Mexico City suburb) in order to prevent its closure; in 1935, 500 women in La Barca, Jalisco, stoned the municipal palace after authorities refused to grant a permit for a Catholic priest to officiate. Hundreds of Catholic women held a 'riotous demonstration' in Colima on the same day that the presidential train visited the city. A delegation of Catholic women, probably UFCM activists, met with Cárdenas to petition for the repeal of anticlerical laws. Even in some of the most officially anti-Catholic states, such as Veracruz, dissenting women made their voices heard. In November 1935, women occupied the Atzacan municipal palace to protest against the continued closure of churches, and faced down the federal troops sent to remove them. Catholics mobilised in the tens of thousands in Veracruz in 1937, when a young Catholic woman, Leonor Sánchez, was shot and killed in Orizaba by government agents who broke up a clandestine Mass. Led by women, angry citizens in many towns and cities occupied church buildings, demanding changes in the anticlerical laws. This forced Governor Miguel Alemán to reverse his strictly anticlerical policies, opening more churches and allowing more priests to officiate.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰USMIL reel 3 (0835), Military Attaché, Report #3686, 'Freedom of Religious Beliefs and Practices-Guadalupe Festival, 18 Dec. 1931,' and reel 2 (0841), Military Attaché, Report #3697, 'Freedom of Religious Beliefs and Practices-"Carta Abierta" of Archbishop,' 29 Dec. 1931; USDOS 812.404/1074 (1931), p. 6; Francisco Barbosa Guzmán, *Jalisco desde la revolución: La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil* (Guadalajara, Jal., 1988), p. 471, p. 483, p. 490.

¹¹¹'Mexican Girls Balk Seizure of School,' NYT 6 Feb. 1934, p. 23 (Mixcoac); 'Mexican Women Parade to Protest Church Curb,' NYT 31 Aug. 1934, p. 9 (Mexico City); 'Mexican Women Demand Churches,' NYT 26 July 1935, p. 10 (Colima); 'Mexican Women Riot,' NYT 1 Aug. 1936, p. 3 (Jalisco); NYT 4 Nov. 1935,

Gradually and unevenly, Catholics' efforts helped reinstate not only Catholic practice within more opened churches but also in public spaces. In 1940, the UFCM cited a mass pilgrimage to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Ocotlán (Jalisco), which included a street procession to the small chapel and an outdoor Mass, as being one example of pious actions being taken across the country.¹¹² Popular protest, in great part participated in and led by women, eased the enforcement of laws prohibiting public manifestations of religious practice, even though the constitutional provisions and enacting laws remained legally valid for years afterward.

Growth and Contraction: UFCM Membership, 1932-1942

UFCM statistics show that their organisation was became a substantial presence in Mexican society, and that a greater number of Mexican women preferred its initiatives, which were those of the Catholic Church, to those of the government. Through the 1930s, the membership and branches of the UFCM grew steadily, despite harassment of Catholic activists by government officials and sympathisers and occasional legal penalties. Over the course of the decade, the number of women organised under the auspices of the Catholic Church increased rapidly. In 1932, the UFCM counted 13,465 active, dues-paying members (*teseradas*¹¹³), along with 17,124 affiliated women, for a total membership of 30,589; in 1934, the combined total of *teseradas* and affiliated members reached 49,271. By 1936 *teseradas* numbered 67,775 members; in 1938 they numbered 114,736; and by 1940 the UFCM had 149,514 members regularly paying yearly *téseras* and monthly *cuotas*. In comparison, membership in the FUPDM, the coalition organisation of left wing and radical

p. 7 and 7 Nov. 1935, p. 22 (Atzacan, Ver.); USDOS 812.404/1945-1950 and NYT Feb. and Mar. 1937 *passim* for accounts of Sánchez's assassination and the following protests.

¹¹²'La UFCM en Ocotlán,' AF, 5, 21 (1 Oct. 1940), 12.

¹¹³ Members who paid their yearly membership fee were entitled to wear a *tésera*, a cross-shaped badge suspended on a blue and white ribbon around the neck, often worn at meetings and assemblies. Many of the UFCM members I interviewed proudly displayed their *téseras*, some of which were over fifty years old.

feminists, numbered about 50,000 at the height of its mobilisation for women's suffrage and social reform.¹¹⁴

By 1936, the UFCM had a committee in almost every diocese in Mexico. More indicative of its influence outside cities was the number of its parochial groups, those in most direct contact with the Mexican population. In 1932, there were 188 parochial groups and 9 sub-committees (subdivisions of UFCM-GPs within either particularly large parishes or groups of parishes ministered to by one or two priests due to legal restrictions), increasing to 493 parochial groups and 106 sub-committees by 1934, and to 592 parochial groups plus 183 sub-committees in 1936, giving a total of 775 local chapters of the UFCM.

Interestingly, two additional groups added to the total of UFCM members, apart from its nation-wide diffusion throughout the dioceses. Mexican women migrants in San Antonio, Texas founded a UFCM-GP. Their membership in the UFCM was approved at the 1934 General Assembly, and the case prompted the UFCM to draw up of model charter for chapters in foreign territories, basically the United States. The UFCM also worked with the NCWC to support communities of Mexican migrant workers and to make sure their spiritual needs were being met. Also, even though the BF had all but disappeared from view, the roster of UFCM members as late as 1938 includes a chapter of the 'Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco,' adding 391 members to the total.¹¹⁵

A closer look at regional membership figures reveals telling fluctuations in the prolific growth of the UFCM. Reports from the diocesan committees varied in

¹¹⁴These and all figures below are from UFCM-Ibero, 'II Asamblea General' (1934), 'Informe,' p. 3 and 'Reglamento de Centros en el extranjero; 'III Asamblea General' (1936), 'Informe,' p. 12; 'IV Asamblea General' (1938), 'Informe,' p. 1.; V Asamblea General (CIDOC fiche#2347), p. 23. For a complete listing, see Appendix 2, 'UFCM Membership, 1932-1940 and 1945.' For the FUPDM count, see Cano, 'Las feministas en campaña,' p. 284, Macías, *Against All Odds*, p. 142; E. Tuñón Pablos, *Mujeres que se organizan*, p. 111. However, Olcott ('Las Hijas de la Malinche') and Mitchell ('La noble mujer organizada') stress that the FUPDM does not account for all progressive and radical women's organising (such as local women's leagues, *ejido* women's auxiliaries, and school committees), especially in rural areas.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*; also see NCWC, Bureau of Immigration, 'In the Field of Immigration,' *Catholic Action*, Feb. 1933, pp. 26-27 and NCWC, 'Annual Report 1936' (Washington, DC, 1936), pp. 19-21. For more on the BF, see chapter 1.

quality; some diocesan chapters, most often the smallest ones like San Cristobal (Chiapas), Tepic (Nayarit), and Tulancingo (Hidalgo) merely reported '*se establece*' or '*hay un capítulo trabajando*' in response to UFCM-CC's request for periodic statistical reports. Meanwhile, other chapters sent in more detailed reports of the number of *teseradas*, of those owing dues or aspiring to join, of parishes in which the UFCM was established, and the sections established in the parishes of the diocese.

UFCM membership also fluctuated in areas where Catholic organisation was stronger. The UFCM-CDs of the archdiocese of Morelia and the dioceses of Zamora and San Luis Potosí reported high membership figures in 1932, not surprising considering the support that women of the old *zona cristera* had shown for the Church. Chapters in other dioceses of the region – Aguascalientes, Durango, Guadalajara, León and Zacatecas – had got off to promising starts as well. But in 1934, San Luis Potosí showed a significant drop in membership (2,599, down from the 1932 total of 4,873), as did several other dioceses; some, like Oaxaca, of more than fifty percent. The next year, several other *zona cristera* dioceses also lost significant quantities of UFCM members, Morelia and Zamora among them.

Several factors may have contributed to these changes. First, the UFCM became stricter about how it counted members. By including women who participated in UFCM activities without becoming full, dues paying members, the UFCM swelled its numbers, which may have helped boost morale in earlier years. However, by 1936, the UFCM listed only *teseradas* in its statistics, in keeping with its insistence that women show their commitment as members. Secondly, in some regions the drop in UFCM membership may have reflected increased anticlerical legislation and harassment of the church. In some regions where strong government and radical organisation of working class and rural women may have also kept or drawn women away from Church organisations. Not surprisingly, UFCM membership remained very low in the diocese in strongly anticlerical states such as Veracruz, Tabasco and Sonora. However, membership counts also dropped in areas typified as 'very Catholic' – albeit with sustained working class and rural agitation

such as Puebla, where UFCM membership dropped by a third between 1934 and 1936. The UFCM-CDs of Morelia and Zamora also reported losses of 500 to 900 members during this time.¹¹⁶ Other diocesan chapters of the UFCM, such as Guadalajara, Zacatecas, and Mexico, maintained or increased their membership steadily during the heyday of *cardenista* reforms.

The UFCM responded to such trends with its own programmes aimed at gaining the support of obreras and campesinas. The principal goal of these programmes was to strengthen the position of the Catholic Church vis-à-vis the state among women. Generally, the UFCM sought to gain working-class and peasant women's support for the Church and participation in its social programmes more than it sought them as members, although this differed among diocesan and parochial chapters. In general, UFCM membership in *comités diocesanas* across Mexico rose again after 1936. While in some dioceses the UFCM appeared to remain a small, elite organisation, in others (again, notably in Mexico and the central-western dioceses), the organisation took in a broader membership, including teachers, secretaries and other middle-class, white-collar working women, and in some cases, campesina and working class women. After all, the organisation had changed its name from the *Damas Católicas* to the Unión Femenina, indicating that its membership would become more inclusive. To some, this change was little more than rhetorical; to others, like Sofía del Valle, such a change signified new opportunities for growth and collaboration.¹¹⁷

These increases are reflected in most of the UFCM regional statistics. The diocesan chapters of Morelia and Zamora, among others, recovered quickly from the effects of radical organisation. After two years of decline, the Morelia UFCM-CD grew to 11,450 members in 1936; by 1938, membership had increased to 15,870,

¹¹⁶ On radical organising in Michoacán, see Olcott, "'Without Legal Force but with Moral Force,'" and 'Las Hijas de la Malinche,' and Mitchell, 'La noble mujer organizada.' On Puebla and Sonora, see Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*.

¹¹⁷ Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' p. 194, p. 204, p. 207, p. 349; Lascrain de Silva, 'Informe que presenta,' pp. 13-14; Del Valle, interviews (PHO/4/11), p. 26.

prompting Goribar de Cortina to remark at the General Assembly that the Morelia UFCM chapter was the largest in Mexico. In 1940, the Morelia chapter remained Mexico's largest, with a membership of 29,733. In 1945, the first year for which diocesan population figures are available, Morelia UFCM remained stable at 29,274, approximately 2.4 percent of the diocese's population.¹¹⁸ The membership of the diocesan chapter of San Luis Potosí more than doubled from 1936 to 1940 (from 5,825 to 11,173), and Zamora grew to become one of Mexico's largest UFCM chapters as well, almost tripling in four years (from 5,955 to 14,436). Again, broader social forces were at play, such as the rapport developing between Church and state leaders, the relaxation of the enforcement of anticlerical laws, and the mobilisation of Catholics prior to the 1940 elections, all of which encouraged Mexican women joining the organisation; however, credit for the increase must also go to UFCM members' organising and outreach campaigns during this decade.

By the 1938 General Assembly, membership in UFCM sections also ran into the tens of thousands. For example, there were over 15,000 members working in Pro-Seminario sections in 235 parishes throughout Mexico. Over 20,000 women were involved in the Piedad sections, which were distributed throughout 24 dioceses and 429 parishes, supporting, for example, the Mexican Episcopate's campaign to encourage Catholics to participate in Easter rituals and fulfil their annual obligation. Altogether UFCM members were registered in 2,058 sections. Again, almost 2,000 women participated in Comisiones de Obreras in 29 parishes, with participating, and 1,500 women participated in Comisiones de Campesinas in 84 parishes and 121 sub-committees.¹¹⁹ Even if the women of the UFCM themselves comprised a small percentage of their communities, they came into contact with and publicised the Church's work to tens of thousands of Mexicans, due to both the size and scope of their organisation and the increasingly public nature of their work.

¹¹⁸ Again, please refer to appendices 1b and 2 for comparisons of UFCM and ACM membership with diocesan populations.

¹¹⁹ UFCM-Ibero, IV Asamblea General, (1938), pp. 13-14; UFCM, V Asamblea General (1940), pp. 15-17.

In 1942, UFCM membership stood at 177,677, JCFM members numbered 102,491 and roughly 60,000 young men were involved in the ACJM. Thus even after ten years of ACM mobilisation, UCM membership still did not amount to more than 25,000. During the 1930s, *Christus* published upbeat articles in its 'Catholic Action' section describing the campaigns of the UFCM and the reports and inquiries of its ecclesiastical assistants. These were paired with less optimistic articles suggesting means to get Catholic men to join the UCM in the first place.¹²⁰ Adult lay men's participation in the ACM was proportionally low, which problematises portrayals of lay men as the leading element in Mexican Catholic mobilisation.

Mexican Catholic Women Activists, in Comparison

The Church's simultaneous injunctions to women to be 'sweet, silent and stay at home' *and* undertake 'duties outside the family circle that involve others' reveals an inconsistency in Catholic rhetoric towards women that was not unique to postrevolutionary Mexico.¹²¹ The need for women's labour in the Catholic social action movement in many countries had been made clear, and the areas that could benefit from their participation were not circumscribed to the home and the Church. After Pius X's exhortations, Italian women had mobilised on a large scale during World War I, as Mexican women had during the armed Revolution, and were then courted by both Catholic and Fascist groups to eschew radical feminism for the building of a domestic-based 'national women's subculture.'¹²² Similar rhetoric was used by the Catholic Church in Spain to mobilise women in its defence against socialist and anarchist onslaughts in Republican Spain. Spanish women contributed

¹²⁰Pattee, *The Catholic Revival in Mexico*, pp. 46-47, De Méndez, 'Síntesis Histórica,' p. 28; 'Acción Católica,' *Christus* 1, 2 (Jan. 1936), 84-93.

¹²¹Azpiazu, *Manual de la Acción Católica*, p. 87; Victoria de Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley, 1992), p. 11.

¹²²De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*, p. 22.

greatly to the revival of devotional practices in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spain. Faced with mounting political and social radicalism, Spanish Catholic women rallied to support the Church, their clergy, Catholic education, the Catholic organisation of working-class women, and increased personal piety, in social organisations such as *Acción Católica*, in sodalities such as the *Hijas de María*, and independently. This work was done with every intent of personal piety translating into conservative politics. Amidst renewed social conflict and the Civil War, supporters of Franco used quasi-religious logic regarding women's roles to gain women's support for the Falange. Many Catholic women campaigned for the *Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas*, contributed to its electoral victories, and rallied the opposition to the radical republic that fuelled the Civil War.¹²³

Much of the work done on Catholic activism in Latin America tends to focus on the programmes set out for lay Catholic associations by their canonical leadership and their elite nature, small numbers and conservative stances of these associations.; however, very few studies assess their actual membership or projects undertaken in great detail. During the 1930s, in Brazil, Argentina and Chile, Catholic women supported both moderate and extreme right wing movements as part of the Catholic Church's call to provide a 'third way' alternative to socialism or runaway capitalism. Such groups sought 'change within order' and to 'alter the meaning of life rather than social structure.' The Brazilian Catholic Action formed part of reformer bishop Dom Sebastião Leme's campaign to strengthen the institutionally weak Church. Although generally committed to conservative social mores and (with the exception of its disapproval of positivist and liberal philosophies in educational policy) not interested in militating against Getulio Vargas' administration, the mobilised middle class did help broaden the base of Catholic educational and lay spiritual

¹²³ Mary Vincent, 'The Politicization of Catholic Women in Salamanca,' pp. 107-126 and her more thorough study, *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic* (Oxford, 1996), especially chapters 4 and 5. William A. Christian, Jr. takes Catholic women's associations into account when analysing the political, religious, ethnic and social conflicts to which gendered contestations of religious authority were central that arose from the Marian apparitions in Ezkioga/the Basque country in the 1930s; see *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ* (Berkeley, 1996), pp. 36-40. Both Vincent and Christian point to differences in class, culture, language and regional background, which, as in Mexico, made for regional differences in the strength and extent of Catholic women's activism.

programmes, which in the following decades grew into larger, popular movements. Catholic women participated in this movement in the Feminine Alliance (founded in 1919) and Brazilian Catholic Action (founded in 1935), which in particular lent their support to Catholic university students, Catholic schools, and popular religious instruction.¹²⁴

Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., cites women's organisations among the 'dynamic' mobilisation of Catholic laity in 1930s Peru. Women religious teaching in Peru promoted *Acción Católica* to their students, and indeed many of the members of the Peruvian *Acción Católica de Señoras* were alumnae of Catholic middle- and upper class girls' schools. Peruvian Catholic women focused their energies on expanding Catholic educational and charitable programmes, and lent their support to Catholic university students and intellectuals, to the political campaigns of the Popular Union, and to outreach programmes for workers, peasants and indigenous. Young women white-collar workers (secretaries and teachers) and students joined small chapters of the *Juventud Obrera Cristiana* (JOC), the programme for young workers that had originated in Belgium. Older women in the ACS sponsored raffles to fund programmes for night schools, catechism programmes, free cinema events for children, and sewing workshops to produce clothing for the needy. However, the ACS, like Peruvian *Acción Católica* as a whole remained a principally urban phenomenon, principally based in Lima, Callao, Cuzco and Arequipa and simply not reaching the countryside. Peruvian Catholic Action groups also remained small; in 1936, the Peruvian Young Catholic Women had 918 members nationwide, and in

¹²⁴Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Las Derechas: The Extreme Right in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, 1890-1939* (Stanford, 1999), quotes p. 141; Scott Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985* (Stanford, Cal., 1986), pp. 22-37. For Argentina also see Cynthia Jeffress Little, 'Education, Philanthropy and Feminism: Components of Argentine Womanhood, 1860-1926,' in Asunción Lavrín, ed., *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, (Westport, Conn, 1978), 235-253; for Chile also see Ericka Verba, 'The Liga de Damas Chilenas: Angels of Peace and Harmony of the Social Question (1912-1925),' paper presented at the LASA XX International Congress, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, 16 Apr. 1997.

the early 1950s, only about 1,600 women were active members of any women's branch of Catholic Action.¹²⁵

In 1930s Colombia, Catholic reformers also focused on the need to safeguard the innocence, morality and chastity of women workers, and framed their protests against industrial exploitation in these terms, sometimes to the point of excluding exploited working men by linking their appeals for sympathy to images of imperilled females. Citing Colombian Catholic periodicals and Church pronouncements, Ann Farnsworth-Alvear criticises the Colombian Catholic Action's 'fictional' view of women, juxtaposing Catholic pleas for improved working conditions via moral safeguards in the workplace with those of organised women workers, who prioritised better pay, job security, and the right to organise over moral concerns. (Catholic and radical reformers did concur that sexual harassment and exploitation of women in the workplace was a serious problem.).¹²⁶

But the Colombian Catholic approach to working women was not limited to male Church leaders and journalists. Catholic women had organised in prayer and charitable associations since the early twentieth century. According to René de la Pedraja Tomán, those led by men tended to concentrate on pious subjects, while women-led groups often expanded into broader social projects. Colombian Catholic women founded and supported schools for the poor, orphanages, and food distribution programmes, some of which formed the basis of later, nation-wide charitable organisations. In 1916 Catholic women founded the earliest 'Organising Committee for the Protectorate of Household Service.' While largely functioning as

¹²⁵ Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Peru, 1821-1985: A Social History* (Washington, DC, 1992), p. 209-242. In 1935, the ecclesiastical advisor to the ACS, Father Benito Jaro, SJ, proposed changing the name to 'Catholic Action of Peruvian Women' in order to indicate that women of 'all social classes will participate in the movement.' Unlike the similar semantic shift from UDCM to UFCM, this change seems never to have occurred (p. 213). Also see Archivo General de la Nación, Peru, Ministerio del Interior, Legajo 363, María Álvarez Calderón de Mujica [vice-president of the Central Council of the ACS] to Ministro de Estado, 23 Sept. 1936 (asking permission to hold a raffle in on behalf of the Lima-Callao ACS) and 'Resolución Ministerial,' 13 Oct. 1936. I thank Paulo Drinot for showing me copies of these documents.

¹²⁶ Ann Farnsworth-Alvear, 'The Mysterious Case of the Missing Men: Gender and Class in Early Industrial Medellín,' *International Labor and Working-Class History*, XLIX (Spring 1996), p. 74, pp. 80-89.

a hiring mechanism for wealthy Colombians seeking domestic servants, its initial focus to intensify religious awareness of domestics was paired with a formalised hiring process that lent some support to working women domestics against manipulation and exploitation by their employers. Aside from some involvement with Catholic teachers, Colombian Catholics did not offer much toward labour organising until the 1930s, when, as in Mexico, leftist and revolutionary groups began to offer serious competition. In 1933, Colombian Catholic women founded a JOC for women; it later affiliated with the JCFC, in light of the two organisation's common goal of promoting Catholic spirituality and ethics among women. By 1938, the Colombian JOC had established a centre for women workers in Cali, and hosted a congress in Bogotá attended by over 800 women workers. While Colombian Catholic women's groups also did not directly challenge state or Church authority, they did provide women with institutional channels for social organisation and opportunities to serve in positions of responsibility.¹²⁷

As we can see, women's *Acción Católica* programmes in Latin American and European countries held to much the same ideals of promoting social improvement through spiritual and moral training. As in Mexico, their members principally came from middle- and upper class backgrounds, although this did not prevent some from developing a greater awareness of the need to engage in social action projects in support of and in collaboration with working-class women. Although detailed comparative data is lacking, one key difference seems to be the scale of Catholic women's organisation. The JCFM dwarfed Colombia's and Peru's young Catholic women's associations, and the membership of the UFCM seems to have been far more numerous and better distributed geographically than that of the Peruvian ACS.

¹²⁷ René de la Pedraja Tomán, 'Women in Colombian Organizations, 1900-1940: A Study in Gender Roles,' *Journal of Women's History*, 11, 1 (1990), pp. 99-119; Esther Villegas Molina, 'El Yocismo Femenino,' in *Acción Católica Colombiana, El Apostolado de la Juventud Femenina: Temas tratados en la Segunda Semana Nacional de Estudios de la Juventud Católica Femenina verificada en la ciudad de Cali*, (Bogotá, 1938), pp. 56-61. In 1938, the JCFC organised over 11,000 members in 183 parish centers in 15 out of Colombia's 20 dioceses; *ibid.*, p. 55. De la Pedraja Toman notes that political liberals did not see Colombian women's organisations as much of a threat and did not attack them amidst political battles with conservatives, because of their focus on treating symptoms rather than attacking societal structures and their lack of male involvement (p. 116).

Many historians believe that Mexico's social revolution gave rise to a stronger sense of the right to mobilise for political, civic and social causes. Women were not immune to this new enthusiasm; while lacking the exercise of suffrage, they could and did take part in labour, agrarian and educational reform as well as in political parties' mobilisations, among them the PNR, the Mexican Communist Party, the and the PAN.¹²⁸ Catholic men and women did not stay aloof; rather, they cited their religion motivation and justification for social and political activism.¹²⁹

In Mexico, much of the same Catholic-influenced gender rhetoric used by ACM was also used in the construction of the role of female *sinarquistas* as women who simultaneously adhered to high standards of purity, obedience and devotion to country, Church and family and yet also became independent, accomplished organisers and activists in the streets, the schools and other public venues. In practice, women were crucial to the formation of the UNS in 1937, and to its growth as an organisation. The *sinarquistas* believed that the conciliatory Catholic leaders – Ruiz y Flores, Díaz Barreto – and the more cautious associations that abstained from overt statements about Mexican politics – the ACM – were betraying the defence of the Catholic religion, Hispanic culture and the Mexican nation. Yet aside from the exhortation to place love of country before that of family and favour the UNS over other organisations, the '*Diez normas de conducta para la mujer sinarquista*' could have been composed by an UFCM member:

1a. *Sobre el cariño al padre, al esposo, al hijo y al hermano, pon el amor a México. Encima de la Patria sólo hay un amor superior: Dios.*

2a. *No son para ti los puestos de combate: pero a ti te toca empujar y decidir el hombre a la lucha, aunque vengas en ella peligro.*

3a. *Que el hombre que tú escojas sea el mejor. Sé su cabal complemento, ayúdalo en la dura tarea por México.*

¹²⁸Olcott, "'Without Legal Force but with Moral Force'" and Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, ch. 8.

¹²⁹This would not be the first time such a connection was made; Suzanne Desan notes that religious activists in Revolutionary France – notably women seeking to defend the public practise of Catholicism – understood and defended their actions by citing revolutionary ideology and laws that supported their claims for freedom of worship. (*Reclaiming the Sacred*, p. 3 and p. 205; also 'The Role of Women in Religious Riots,' pp. 452-454).

- 4a. Tú, que puedes hacerlo, cultiva en el corazón del hombre y del niño un grande amor a la Patria.
- 5a. No traiciones tu hermoso destino de mujer, dándote a tareas varoniles.
- 6a. Toma en cuenta que el Sinarquismo es hermandad. Lleva a todos los que sufren y están necesitados de ayuda, el auxilio que tú puedes prestarles.
- 7a. Entrégate abnegadamente a una tarea.
- 8a. Acepta con alegría los trabajos que te impongan y ejecútalos con gusto y buen ánimo.
- 9a. No descanses hasta que todos los tuyos participen en la Acción Sinarquista; no protejas cobardías ni consientas perexas.
- 10a. Ruega a Dios por los que luchamos y piensa en una Patria nueva y libre. ¡Viva México!¹³⁰

Like the women of the UFCM, *sinarquista* women were to maintain virtue among their families and impel their husbands to direct action for God and *Patria*. Soon, however, female *sinarquistas* organised formally to harness women's desires to contribute to the cause, and founded the Sección Femenina (SFUNS) in 1945. The SFUNS used their growing association to found community organisations, schools and literacy programs for children.¹³¹ In 1948, the SFUNS established a woman's adult education centre (*internado*) in Mexico City that offered academic, religious, moral and practical courses (the latter included nursing, hygiene, urban gardening, and cooking), much like the UFCM's *academías*.¹³²

There are no estimates of the number of female *sinarquistas* during the 1930s, nor are there statistics available in secondary sources for the SFUNS; thus it is not possible to judge the quantity of women mobilised within the UNS against the UFCM's and JCFM's prominence in the ACM. In his study of the *sinarquistas*, Jean Meyer also attests to women's '*importancia*' by including illustrations of women at UNS public events (a flag ceremony in rural Jalisco; women filling the crowd at a

¹³⁰ Laura Pérez Rosales, 'Las mujeres sinarquistas: Nuevas Adelitas en la vida pública mexicana,' in Rubén Aguilar V. and Guillermo Zermeño P., *Religión, política y sociedad: El sinarquismo y la Iglesia en México (nueve ensayos)* (Mexico City, 1992), p. 175; p. 179.

¹³¹ Within its first year, the SFUNS had organised 20 women's groups, 14 located outside of Mexico City). By the end of 1946, the groups sponsored 252 study circles for young women, 15 urban schools, 54 rural schools, 10 additional literacy groups and 72 children's groups. Pérez Rosales gives no locations for these groups, but they appear to have been most prevalent in the areas where the UNS was strongest: the central-western states of Aguascalientes, Colima, Guanajuato, Michoacán, Jalisco, Querétaro, and Zacatecas, plus pockets of organisation further north (San Luis Potosí, Tamaulipas, Chihuahua) and south-east (Puebla, Campeche), as well as in Mexico City ('Las mujeres sinarquistas,' pp. 184-185).

¹³² Pérez Rosales, 'Las mujeres sinarquistas,' pp. 188-191.

demonstration in Guanajuato) but offers little information about *sinarquista* women's actual mobilisation.¹³³ Pérez Rosales, in her more detailed study, notes that even though women were in the vanguard of their social movement, male UNS leaders did not demonstrate much enthusiasm for their new-found, assertive behaviour and actively lobbied to stifle women's activity outside of home and church. According to Pérez Rosales a high (unspecified) proportion of *sinarquista* women remained unmarried by choice, favouring their activism over a commitment to the household and family life, in direct contradiction of *sinarquista* rhetoric. Even as they ran instructional programmes and publicity campaigns extolling women's abnegation and selfless devotion to God, country and family (in that order), these women seemed to value more highly the more independent existence they could lead as Catholic activists.¹³⁴ Although differing in their evaluations of Church leadership and Mexican politics, women *sinarquistas* held many of the same beliefs regarding religion, morality, and the education of children as their counterparts in the UFCM. Although they differed in the reversal of the order of loyalties – God, family and then country – UFCM members shared with the female *sinarquistas* the desire to use their association to mobilise to achieve their social goals, while at the same time escaping some restrictions on women's behaviour and activities.

Conclusion

In his brief synopsis of the decade following the *arreglos*, José Miguel Romero de Solís bemoans the fact that the Mexican Church hierarchy *had* to recruit many of its militant members from the ranks of '*el elemento femenino, siempre generoso, sacrificado y ejemplar, pero los varones, cuando se mantienen en comunión con la Iglesia,*

¹³³Meyer, *El sinarquismo*, illustrations between pp. 112-113 and p. 47 for the general count of the UNS; also see Appendix 1c, where this can be compared with ACM totals.

¹³⁴Pérez Rosales, 'Las mujeres sinarquistas,' pp. 169-193.

reducen su participación...'. While his following point, that the cohesion and public appeal of the Catholic associations were weakened by the hierarchy's focus on training a lay elite and its exhortations to rigidly maintain a religious community as isolated from outside cultural influences as possible, merits consideration, his overall judgement of Catholic women's activism as the heroic but unfortunate alternative in the face Catholic men's inertia belittles the contributions of the UFCM to the preservation of the Catholic Church during a troubled decade.¹³⁵

At times, Catholic women's organisations, like the ACM as a whole, demonstrated a preoccupation with social class and finances, often insisting on the payment of monthly and yearly dues as the first and foremost basis of good membership.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, the UFCM and the JCFM were concerned with more than the bottom line, and were not comprised solely of elites carrying out charitable projects. As is demonstrated in their statements and documents, Mexican Catholic women activists recognised, to varying degrees, the problems of Mexican society and of different social groups' economic needs. Their organisations provided opportunities for lower-middle class, working class, and rural women to gain access to education and experience in social organisation, and in some cases to become members themselves. It is remarkable that by the end of the decade almost 150,000 women were participating in the UFCM, if we take into account the responsibilities that women of all social classes had in their households, if not in salaried or volunteer work as well. Catholic women activist groups provided forums in which women like Sofia del Valle could contradict stereotypes of unquestioning obedience followers. Even its more overtly doctrinaire *beatas*, like Refugio Goribar de Cortina, diverged from the institutional Church's prescribed doctrinal and behavioural patterns for women, and did so without jeopardising the future of the Church or their own fundamental beliefs. Throughout the 1930s, Catholic women participated

¹³⁵Romero de Solís, *El Aguijon del espiritu*, p. 375-376; quote p. 375.

¹³⁶UFCM–Nos acercamos al fin del año,' *Christus*, 1, 1 (Dec. 1935), pp. 72-73; and 'JCFM–La tésera,' *ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

in the UFCM and JCFM, in pious associations in their parishes, in letter-writing and petitioning campaigns, in public demonstrations and protests, and, if the Mexican government's 1934 statement to the *New York Times* is to be believed, even in 'secret organisations' that conspired against the state. Both women's organisations expanded yet further in the early 1940s, not only providing an extensive network through which social action projects could be undertaken, but also reinforcing a general recognition of the group by people who did not formally join.¹³⁷

It became evident toward the end of the 1930s that revolutionary state would never be supplanted by a Catholic alternative. However, there was room for adaptation, a fact of which the UFCM, and other Catholic associations, were aware. In return for the relaxation or non-implementation of anticlerical laws, Catholics curtailed their belligerent attacks on public schools and institutions: seen, for example, in the UFCM's 1937 initiative to co-ordinate groups like the ANAC or to sponsor religious summer camps, rather than boycotting state schools.¹³⁸

Mexican Catholic women played a large part in the day-to-day operations of the Church, as well as the larger campaigns to defend the Church from anticlerical attacks in Revolutionary Mexico and to gradually unravel some of its radical social reforms. The Catholic campaigns of the revolutionary period contributed greatly to the gradual increase of the presence and availability of clergy and churches, the increased latitude for clergy, vowed religious and lay Catholics to own and operate confessional schools, hospitals and residences, the evolution of a more religiously neutral character in official schools and curricula, and the ability of Catholics to practise their faith without fear of legal reprisal.¹³⁹ Catholic lay women's

¹³⁷NYT, 25 Nov. 1934 (1, 18); Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, p. 102-3. Nearly all of the forty-four elderly people I interviewed during my field research in Mexico City, Jalisco, Colima and Nayarit recognised the names and terminology of the ACM, and many recalled Catholic women activists in the parish church of their youth.

¹³⁸UFCM-Ibero, 'IV Asamblea General' (1938), 'Informe,' p. 3. The Junta Central of the ACM assigned the UFCM-CC this responsibility on 25 Aug. 1936; the UFCM designed and publicized the ANAC project the following year.

¹³⁹Radical activists in Mexico at the time were well aware that Catholic women were contributing significantly to the undoing of radical social reforms. Policarpo Sánchez, an agrarian organiser in Pátzcuaro, Michoacán, railed: 'The men play nothing more than secondary roles in this battle full of

organisations also addressed women's concerns regarding their own education, salaried work, and domestic conduct. In 1940, the combined UFCM and JCFM membership amounted to about 1.3 percent of the Mexican population, and to about 2.5 percent of the female population in Mexico. In absolute terms these figures are not overwhelming, but the effects of Catholic women's mobilisations are hard to miss. The UFCM and JCFM formed dedicated corps of activists, teachers and catechists in almost every diocese, and predominated in the lay societies that carried out Church leaders' directives for social change. Catholic women adapted some of these directives and also harnessed their organisations to carry out some of their own, developed through practical work in their communities. Through organisations like the UFCM, Mexican Catholic women both responded to global Catholic concerns and displayed loyalty to local tradition, while successfully defending their values against the revolutionary state's call for women to reject their religious heritage, which it condemned as anachronistic and superstitious. In doing so, they created an influential niche for themselves in their communities, in their country, and in their Church. We will now turn to case studies in the Archdiocese of Guadalajara and the state of Jalisco to see how Catholic women's resistance and organisation functioned - and fell short - on a more local and individual level.

ignominy and wickedness. It is the women who work the invisible strings of all the propaganda against the educational work. It is women who unite an infinite number of children [...] to teach them the catechism. [...] The priests always make use of the discipline and efficiency of fanaticized women to promote their ominous work.' Cited in Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire*, p. 139.

Chapter Three: Mexican Catholic Women Organised at the Regional Level: The Diocese of Guadalajara, 1929-1940

On 29 June 1930 a Solemn Mass was held to "inaugurate" a religious association that was not exactly 'new' - the *Acción Católica Social* of the diocese of Guadalajara. The irony of this was probably not lost on Archbishop Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, who celebrated the Mass, or on José Garibi Rivera, the Auxiliary Bishop of Guadalajara, who gave the sermon, nor to the lay members of Catholic Action who attended.¹ The concept of a Catholic social action movement, mobilising lay men and women for works of evangelisation, charity and support for the Church, had preceded this inaugural ceremony in Europe and in the Americas by at least half a century. Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical Letter *Rerum Novarum* (1891), by formally endorsing the formation of such associations, had inspired Mexican Catholics to form and join numerous social action groups, unions, and political associations from its time onward.² What had made an inaugural ceremony necessary was the social upheaval of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917) and the Cristero Rebellion (1926-1929). In Jalisco, as in the rest of Mexico, these phenomena had seriously disrupted political and social organisation. During these two decades, the Church had been attacked repeatedly as a reactionary, anti-revolutionary institution. This had adversely affected not only Catholic social organisations, but also the Church that sponsored and supervised them.

In the negotiations leading to the *arreglos* of 21 June 1929, Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, the Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, and Pascual Díaz Barreto, Bishop of Tabasco (who was created Archbishop of Mexico immediately following the *arreglos*), assured interim president Emilio Portes Gil that Mexican Catholics were willing to conform to the constitutional provisions and laws that restricted public religious practice and both regulated the number of priests registered and

¹'Solemne Inauguración,' *BEG*, I, 1 (1 Jul. 1930), pp. 287-288.

²Curley, 'Sociólogos peregrinos,' p. 217; also see Chapter 1 for the origins of the Catholic Action movement, worldwide and in Mexico.

licensed to minister publicly in Mexico and the number of church buildings (federal property according to the 1917 Constitution) open for use by Catholics. Echoing the words of Pope Pius XI's 1926 letter to the Catholics of Mexico, *Paterna Sane Sollicitudo*, they affirmed that the Church hierarchy would devote itself to its own affairs and that all Catholics would refrain from participation in partisan politics or violent protests in the Church's name. As part of this agreement, Orozco y Jiménez, who had defied government exile and remained hidden in his archdiocese during the Cristero war, agreed to Portes Gil's condition that it would be 'convenient' if he, one of the most defiant Mexican bishops, should live in exile in the United States for a short time.³

Even before Orozco y Jiménez was permitted to return to his archdiocese (and then only quietly, on the night of 28-29 March 1930) he was planning to reorganise the Guadalupean laity. *Paterna Sane Sollicitudo* and other papal and episcopal pronouncements prohibited violent actions, but explicitly encouraged Catholics to pray – and agitate – for the derogation of anticlerical measures, and to peacefully resist laws and provisions which went against their consciences.⁴ On 22 January 1930, following Pope Pius XI's recommendation, Orozco y Jiménez named Father Manuel Yerena as Diocesan Director of Acción Católica, who was to begin organising it as soon as its statutes were issued by the Mexican Episcopate. Yerena would nominate the presidents and diocesan committees of the four branches of Acción Católica, who would by then have already read about the social orientation of the new organisation in articles published in local Catholic periodicals.

³ Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, pp.430-436; Muriá, dir., *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 393-394; Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, pp. 54-57; Pius XI, '*Paterna Sane Sollicitudo*.' Orozco y Jiménez remained in exile in the United States from mid-August 1929 to March 1930.

⁴It should be noted that Orozco y Jiménez, among many others, resisted dropping "social" from the titles and terms of the Catholic organisations, even as the Mexican government and more conciliatory members of the Church insisted on the private aspect of Catholic associations, i.e. not only that they should be limited to meeting in churches and private homes, but that their content and actions should remain separate from issues in the public, social domain.

Preparations to found new groups and convert old ones were well underway by the time of the 29 June Mass.⁵

The tone of the Mass was optimistic. Catholics – this time peaceful, well-educated in Catholic doctrine, and under the strict direction of their bishops – would again respond to their Church's call in order to regain the ground it had lost over the past two decades. Yet even among declarations of co-operation and non-partisanship, the archdiocese made clear

*Más hay que entenderlo bien: la Acción Católica Social no se reduce, como algunos falsamente lo creen, a estar en los templos o en el fondo del hogar, pronunciando incesantemente VENGA A NOSOTROS TU REINO, no, hay que trabajar fuera del templo y del hogar, y trabajar mucho, y de cuantos modos sea posible, sin salirse de lo lícito, PARA ESTABLECER LA PAZ DE CRISTO EN EL REINO DE CRISTO.*⁶

These words show that the Guadalajara Church leadership had not resigned itself to passivity, nor would its newly organised lay activists, either, although they would take their Church's tenuous position vis-à-vis the government into account.

The social conflicts that arose in Jalisco after the Cristero war were provoked in part by the actions of several Catholic factions who insisted that they were following legal guidelines and provisions established by the *arreglos*.⁷ The cautious accord established in June 1929 was soon threatened by a Church hierarchy that claimed it was adhering to guidelines for peaceful, non-violent mobilisation and reorganisation, and that its legitimate efforts to rally its members were being unjustly restricted and penalised by the state and local governments. Conversely, Jalisco's political leaders, under pressure to align with the federal government and

⁵Pbro. Luis Radillo, Circular 2-30, 'A los Sres. Curas y demás Sacerdotes del Arzobispado,' (22 ene 1930), BEG, I, 1, p. 29; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 431; Vicente Camberos Vizcaino, *Francisco el Grande: Mons.Francisco Orozco y Jiménez*, Biografía, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1966), II, 301.

⁶'Solemne Inauguración,' p. 288.

⁷Militant *agraristas*, federal and state schoolteachers, and other government agents and partisans also provoked conflict with direct attacks on churches and religious beliefs, spurring Catholic rebels to take up arms again in the movement known as the '*Segunda Cristiada*.' There were also citizens who, while they did not take up arms, openly rejected government legislation and programs and criticised the Church leadership's attempts at conciliation. The government did not hesitate to link the rebels with the institutional Church, its leadership, and other lay associations, accusing all of sedition and justifying continued antireligious provisions. See Meyer, *La cristiada*, I, 353-391, and Chapter 4.

the recently-organised PNR, insisted that they were fulfilling their obligations and duties by enforcing the anticlerical laws and that rebellious Catholics were acting illegally to undermine Jalisco's political, economic and social reconstruction.

Yet not all Jaliscans insisted on ideological purity. Both their Church and state leaders sought their exclusive support for and alliance in political, social, and religious movements. In the 1930s, some Jaliscans participated in a variety of movements that appeared to contradict each other: for example, attending Church while accepting ejido land, or participating in the ACM while sending their children to state schools. To combine identities, beliefs and allegiances was often more practical than the idealistic demands of institutional leaders. Also, Church leaders at times gave Jaliscan Catholics conflicting orders: to accommodate or to resist legal provisions regarding Catholic practice, to keep their religion apolitical and private or to proselytise and organise outside their homes and churches. In such situations, Catholics' conscious decisions affected their Church's status in Jaliscan society more directly and immediately than did the cautious deliberations of the canonical hierarchy.

This chapter examines the responses of Catholic women in the city and archdiocese of Guadalajara to the power struggles between Church and state, manifested in their mobilisation in support of the Church and in their community work. Although both Church and state formally (and explicitly) disempowered women (they could not vote, hold leadership positions, or enter the priesthood), their allegiance and action were actively courted by both. Politicians, radical organisers and bishops were well aware that women's protests, social projects and grassroots organising had visible and significant effects on the status of the Church in society. This chapter examines the reorganisation of the official Catholic women's social action group, the Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana (UFCM), and its relationship to diocesan and state leadership. Like their regional Church leaders

and state government, the Diocesan Committee of the UFCM was based in Guadalajara, the seat of the archdiocese and the capital city of Jalisco.⁸

Jalisco Politics Before and After The Cristero Rebellion

Factional disputes had been part of Jaliscoan politics well before Cristero rebellion. In his more radical days, as he planned to take Guadalajara from the Huertistas in 1914, General Alvaro Obregón christened Jalisco '*el gallinero de la República*.' His presidential successor, Calles, often invoked this phrase to mock the vocal protests of its Catholics, especially women, against the central government's policies.⁹ In a country extolling the virtues of its revolution, Jalisco had gained the reputation of being a latecomer to the armed rebellion. Then, a good number of landowners, businessmen, and other prominent Jaliscans had cast their support for Francisco Villa, out of fear of the centralising and anticlerical pretensions of the Constitutionals. The incoming Sonorans looked warily on regions of Mexico that had recently fought against the *Carrancistas*, sending generals as provisional governors and attempting to strictly enforce the new laws, which had mixed results, as seen below.

Jaliscans' initial hesitation to join the fray did not have its origins in a uniform contentment with the Porfirian *status quo*. Catholic social mobilisation had raised a significant challenge to liberal and radical organisation in the prerevolutionary centre-west, and in Jalisco, came to the political fore. In the 1912 elections, the Partido Católico Nacional won the governorship of Jalisco (even after the liberal ex-governor strategically delayed the election), control of most of its

⁸In the following chapter, I will examine the organisation and actions of the UFCM in outlying towns and villages, in relation to local political organisations and power struggles, in order to contrast events around the diocese and the state with those of their regional centre.

⁹Jaime E. Tamayo Rodríguez, 'El Enfrentamiento Zuno-Calles,' *La Revolución en las regiones*, (Guadalajara, 1986), II, 509. According to Jean Meyer, José Encarnación López, a Cristero veteran, later quipped that for Calles, indeed it was, "*pero dentro de ese gallinero le salieron puros gallos que le dieron fatiga*." *La Cristiada*, I, 171.

municipalities, and a majority in the state Senate. Jalisco thus became a 'testing ground for the Catholic program of Catholic Action.' The PCN sponsored progressive legislation favouring the creation of labour unions, co-operatives, mutual aid societies, and family farms. The PCN government passed legislation that would later brand it as irredeemably conservative. The Ley de Instrucción Pública (1911) validated private schools' diplomas without subjecting them to official school regulation. The Ley de Bienes de Familia (1914), enabled families to register land that they cultivated and guarantee ownership in perpetuity; the law also exempted confessional credit unions from taxation, legally recognised Catholic labour unions, and included legal protections for workers.¹⁰

This experiment in religiously grounded social policy was brought to an abrupt halt when the Constitutionalists took Guadalajara in July 1914 and General Manuel M. Diéguez took control as provisional governor. Diéguez himself embraced the Constitutionalists' anticlerical ideology, and reacted to the Jaliscan Catholics' support for their Church (and their Church's seeming support for General Victoriano Huerta) by attacking its position and personnel. In August 1914 Diéguez expelled foreign clergy and vowed religious from the state, imposed fines and prison sentences for public servants who signed loyalty pledges to the Church (the Church had instituted this '*contrapotesta*' after the Constitution of 1857 was promulgated, to reaffirm the commitment of Catholics who worked for the state), and empowered municipal presidents to take possession of church buildings to be used as schools. He also closed the Escuela Normal Católica para Señoritas, and permitted the opening of a branch of the Casa del Obrero Mundial. The nuclei of radical activism that had developed in turn-of-the-century Guadalajara now became sizeable, vocal worker, peasant and teachers' movements. On 4 September Diéguez barred Catholic clergy from engaging in educational activity, and ordered all

¹⁰Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution and the Catholic Church*, pp. 32-33; Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, I, 220, 401-403 and II, 204-208, 272; Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, pp. 191-192.

seminaries closed for '*razones de seguridad pública*.'¹¹ Jaliscans reacted by endorsing Villa's revolutionary faction, and initially rejoiced when Villa's troops took Guadalajara in late 1914. However, Villista rule revealed itself to be disorganised and rapacious, and disillusioned Jaliscans actually welcomed Diéguez back to Guadalajara in April 1915.¹²

Nevertheless, Catholic opposition to the Constitutionalists' anticlericalism continued. Archbishop Orozco y Jiménez had opposed Diéguez since 1914. In June 1917, he sent out a pastoral letter endorsing the Mexican Bishops' condemnation of the new constitution and encouraging Catholics to organise against its imposition, while warning against seditious acts or violence, which would further provoke the new regime. Tensions came to a head after the deceptively uneventful election of Diéguez as governor; as in Puebla, Michoacán and other states, President Venustiano Carranza ensured the election of an executive who would implement the 1917 Constitution and follow his directives. Diéguez attempted to rein in the most troublesome element in his state, the Church, by issuing Decreto 1913, which limited the number of priests permitted to minister 'according to local necessity.' The governor computed local necessity to be a ratio of one priest and one church per 5,000 faithful (for Guadalajara, this meant 22 churches and priests for approximately 110,000 inhabitants), and in addition ordered Orozco y Jiménez's arrest and exile, in order to curtail Catholic mobilisation. In early 1918, the Guadalajara Public Works Department surveyed churches for possible closure or re-use as schools or public offices, targeting churches that were either parish seats or were located in working-class neighbourhoods where 'fanaticism' (i.e., Catholic social organisation) was strong. The Jalisco legislature passed Decreto 1913 as law on 3 July 1918. Two days later, Orozco y Jiménez was arrested, charged with treason, and 'advised to leave the country,' which he did, staying in Chicago for the next year.¹³

¹¹Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, II, 316; Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, pp. 196-197, p. 199.

¹²Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, II, 208, 272, 296.

¹³Curley, 'El Gran Escollo,' pp. 6-15.

The archbishop's physical presence was not necessary, however, for a strong Catholic reaction to build. Thousands of Catholics from parishes, men's and women's Catholic social organisations, unions, workers' associations, teachers, schools and catechism groups throughout both Guadalajara and its hinterlands signed petitions against the Decree and the Archbishop's exile. Catholics organised a demonstration to confront Diéguez at the Guadalajara railway station on 22 June 1918, planning to march on Diéguez's residence. However, after a short speech defending his actions, the governor withdrew and police attacked the demonstrators, beating many and mortally wounding two women. Soon after, the state legislature passed Decree 1927, amending Decree 1913; similar in content, it specified fines and imprisonment for noncompliant priests (i.e., those who did not register with the government). The Church's response was to abandon the churches - for if they were not officiating in them, no priests would have to obtain state licenses. As of 1 August, Mass would not be said in Guadalajara churches, and as of 1 September, in the rest of the state; Catholics would have to worship clandestinely. Catholics declared a state of 'mourning,' marking their houses with black bows, and organised an effective boycott of luxuries and government services such as public transport. In August the Archdiocese declared two days of holy obligation for Guadalajaran Catholics, who were enjoined to proceed out of the city to pilgrimage sites in neighbouring towns, the Basilica of Zapopan and the parish church of San Pedro Tlaquepaque, on 22 and 23 August. These became massive demonstrations of Catholic support, with thousands arriving, many on foot. As the Catholics proved themselves willing to keep up the protest, the Constitutionalist government capitulated, judging that the regulation was not worth continued protests, instability nor escalation from a local to a regional dispute. Toward the end of 1918, a new governor and legislature were elected; on 4 February 1919, Decree 1927 was repealed, and in August 1919, Orozco y Jiménez returned to his diocese. Jaliscan Catholics had set an important precedent when they successfully pressured the

revolutionary state government to reverse its policies; this later proved inspirational to Catholic mobilisation on the local, regional and national levels against government anticlericalism leading up to the Cristero Rebellion.¹⁴

However, circumstances were different in the late 1920s than in 1918. As president, Calles was more resolute than Carranza had been with regard to implementing the 1917 Constitution. Radical organisation had become stronger on the regional and national level, lending the state and national government more support. In 1926, Catholic support of the second boycott and civil resistance campaign proved neither as widespread nor as thorough as the first. The Church hierarchy's objectives were unclear; at first they made pointed suggestions to Catholics to 'defend' their religion and practice, but later disassociated the Church from the armed movement. As discussed earlier, while Catholic resistance to Calles' campaign, both non-violent and violent, was certainly determined, its internal divisions, among both leaders and rank and file, resulted in a victory for the emerging, Mexican state, which in turn had consequences on the regional level, notably in Jalisco.¹⁵

When running for re-election in 1928, Alvaro Obregón indicated that he would favour stability and regional autonomy over centralisation (not to mention radical social programmes), a position which conservative Jaliscoan politicians supported. But after his assassination, Calles was able to continue dominating national politics, upsetting any balance there might have been between combative and conciliatory factions in the Mexican government during the early 1930s. Many of the delegates representing Jalisco at the constituent convention of the PNR at Querétaro (March 1929) still held more *obregonista* than *callista* sympathies. *Anticallista* politicians fought a losing battle against the PNR's centralising

¹⁴For the protests, see Ignacio Dávila Garibi, y Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, *Colección de Documentos Relativos a la Cuestión Religiosa En Jalisco. Tomo II: 1918-1919* (Guadalajara, 1920), *passim*; Curley, 'El Gran Escollo,' pp. 15-29; Knight, II, 396, 481, 503; Meyer, *La Cristiada*, II, 102-108.

¹⁵See Chapter 1; also see Fernández Aceves, 'Women, State, and Labor,' pp. 3-5.

objectives; those from Jalisco retreated to the political background during the 1930s, only occasionally trying to balance the state government's orientation towards the federal government and the PNR with a degree of regional and local autonomy.¹⁶

In part because provisional military governor General Margarito Ramírez's efforts against the Catholic rebels were found insufficient, and in part because he was at odds with José Guadalupe Zuno, the *callista* ex-governor who continued to be a major regional *caudillo*, the Mexican federal legislature deprived the Jalisco government of its constitutional powers on 7 August 1929, only two weeks after the federal government and the Church hierarchy concluded the *arreglos*.¹⁷ Interim president Emilio Portes Gil sent Cuéllar a congratulatory letter after his appointment as provisional governor on 8 August 1929. The president noted both restoration of '*tranquilidad*' to the state and the establishment of PNR committees in every municipality, which made it the only strong, state-wide political organisation prepared for the December 1929 elections. In reply, Cuéllar assured the president that the PNR would be firmly established in the 116 municipalities of Jalisco. Indeed, in many of them, the PNR slate was the only one put forward.¹⁸ However, Cuéllar was obliged to resign less than a year later (11 July 1930) due to political changes in Mexico City that (briefly) favoured the partisans of Ortiz Rubio. He was provisionally replaced by General Ruperto García de Alba, who held an extraordinary election and declared Ignacio de la Mora to be the winner on 11 December 1930.¹⁹

¹⁶Romero, *La consolidación del estado*, p. 16; Carlos B. Gil, *Life in Provincial Mexico: National and Regional History Seen from Mascota, Jalisco, 1867-1972* (Los Angeles, 1983), p. 127.

¹⁷Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 437. This was not the only time a governor had been unseated occurred during the Cristero Rebellion; Ramírez attributed his removal to '*un grupo era muy amigo de Portes Gil, y hicieron que la Comisión Permanente me desconociera.*' Margarito Ramírez, interview with Julia Tuñón, 2 and 7 Sept. 1976, PHO/6/11, p. 28.

¹⁸AGN-RP-EPG, exp. 6/599, Portes Gil to Cuéllar, 22 Oct. 1929; Cuéllar to E. Portes Gil, 16 Dec. 1929.

¹⁹Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 473.

President Ortiz Rubio attended De la Mora's inaugural ceremony in Guadalajara on 1 March 1931, showing his recognition of a close supporter.²⁰ Perhaps because of this, or because of his friendly relations towards the Church, De la Mora was pressured to resign, on 11 September 1931, one week before Ortiz Rubio. For one month, Federal Senator Juan de Dios Robledo, a Calles supporter, served as governor, before being voted out by the State Legislature on 14 October. José María Ceballos served as governor for several days before the powers of the state were, once again, declared invalid; Robledo was then returned to office. Thus Jalisco politics reflected the chaotic tugs-of-war of Mexico City politics. The state's stability was affected by political polarisation over social and economic issues, both in Mexico City and at home.²¹

The winner of the next gubernatorial election, not surprisingly, was a staunch *callista* and president of the PNR's state commission, Sebastián Allende. Allende's loyalty was clear, and it was clear that his election would be unopposed throughout the state. The 1932 elections for federal and state senators and deputies also brought numerous victories for the PNR. Calles manifested his approval by attending Allende's inaugural ceremony on 1 April 1932, along with the Secretary of Guerra y Marina and other federal government representatives.²² Allende coordinated the incorporation of local political groups under the political leadership of the PNR and the *jefe máximo*. Though criticised by his opponents for compromising local autonomy, Allende aligned the state and local governments and power with *callismo*, and thus brought relative stability, at least for Jalisco's government. Allende served his full term (to 28 February 1935), and worked with generally co-

²⁰On the occasion of the inaugural ceremony, Orozco y Jiménez agreed to the request of the governor and ordered priests and lay persons responsible for church maintenance to decorate the exteriors of the churches in honour of the president's visit and the governor's inauguration. Orozco y Jiménez, 'Circular Núm 17, A los Curas y encargados de esta ciudad,' 27 Feb 1931, *BEG*, II, 4 (1 Apr. 1931), p. 855. See below for extended discussion of this event.

²¹Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 473-475.

²²Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 475; Romero, *La consolidación del estado*, pp. 69-82; Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 311.

operative state legislators and local officials.²³ Allende was also able to implement many of the *jefe máximo*'s reforms, including the passage strict enabling laws for the Constitution's anticlerical provisions and for the amplified programme of public schooling and the socialist education curriculum determined in the 1934 amendment of constitutional Article 3.

The elections that brought in Allende's successor, Everardo Topete, also occurred with relatively little violence or internecine conflict. Though formerly known as an *obregonista*, observers believed Topete's candidacy to be little more than a continuation of the *callista-allendista* axis, and that he would follow the *jefe máximo*'s party line. Indeed, newly inaugurated President Lázaro Cárdenas appointed General Antonio A. Guerrero as commander of the military zone which included Guadalajara in order to monitor Topete and weaken his administration if necessary (that is, if Topete's loyalty to Calles threatened Cárdenas). Cárdenas also paid 'special attention' to Jalisco civic organisations, supporting federal government allies in labour unions and the Liga de Comunidades Agrarias, and promoting the foundation of the Frente Unico Obrero-Campesino in Jalisco.²⁴

However, Topete was astute enough to discern which way the political winds of Mexico were blowing, and in addition retained his *obregonista* sympathies and a dislike for Calles. Topete chose to back Cárdenas against Calles when their disagreements over national policy and priorities became overt in mid-1935. When Cárdenas sent Calles into exile in early 1936, very few Mexican politicians protested. For his part, Topete declared that his mission as governor was simply to '*cumplir y hacer cumplir las leyes*.' Throughout Topete's administration, his policies followed those of Cárdenas in terms of land reform, education, and religious practices and

²³Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 476-480; Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 399-400.

²⁴Romero, *La consolidación del estado*, p. 100, p. 193, and p. 210. This occurred despite the fact that Topete had publicly supported Cardenas' candidacy in debates within the PNR as of Jul. 1934; it is also interesting to note that Barba González served as Cárdenas' personal secretary at the time of the elections. Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 407-408.

operative state legislators and local officials.²³ Allende was also able to implement many of the *jefe máximo's* reforms, including the passage strict enabling laws for the Constitution's anticlerical provisions and for the amplified programme of public schooling and the socialist education curriculum determined in the 1934 amendment of constitutional Article 3.

The elections that brought in Allende's successor, Everardo Topete, also occurred with relatively little violence or internecine conflict. Though formerly known as an *obregonista*, observers believed Topete's candidacy to be little more than a continuation of the *callista-allendista* axis, and that he would follow the *jefe máximo's* party line. Indeed, newly inaugurated President Lázaro Cárdenas appointed General Antonio A. Guerrero as commander of the military zone which included Guadalajara in order to monitor Topete and weaken his administration if necessary (that is, if Topete's loyalty to Calles threatened Cárdenas). Cárdenas also paid 'special attention' to Jalisco civic organisations, supporting federal government allies in labour unions and the Liga de Comunidades Agrarias, and promoting the foundation of the Frente Unico Obrero-Campesino in Jalisco.²⁴

However, Topete was astute enough to discern which way the political winds of Mexico were blowing, and in addition retained his *obregonista* sympathies and a dislike for Calles. Topete chose to back Cárdenas against Calles when their disagreements over national policy and priorities became overt in mid-1935. When Cárdenas sent Calles into exile in early 1936, very few Mexican politicians protested. For his part, Topete declared that his mission as governor was simply to '*cumplir y hacer cumplir las leyes.*' Throughout Topete's administration, his policies followed those of Cárdenas in terms of land reform, education, and religious practices and

²³Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 476-480; Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 399-400.

²⁴Romero, *La consolidación del estado*, p. 100, p. 193, and p. 210. This occurred despite the fact that Topete had publicly supported Cárdenas' candidacy in debates within the PNR as of Jul. 1934; it is also interesting to note that Barba González served as Cárdenas' personal secretary at the time of the elections. Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 407-408.

regulation.²⁵ Allende and Topete thus set a precedent in Jalisco for co-operation with the reigning political leadership in Mexico City. For this reason, Margarito Ramírez criticised Allende for being '*reaccionario*' and Topete plainly '*incoloro*.'²⁶

After 1932, the Jalisco state government displayed greater political consistency and continuity, especially with regard to decisions on religious issues made in Mexico City. This enabled Catholics to predict political sentiments and design plans of action regarding the religious laws. Everardo Topete campaigned against his eventual successor, Silvano Barba González, who later came to criticise the radical programmes of the 1930s. Barba González was elected in 1938, as the Cardenista reform was losing some of its momentum. Barba González promised to maintain a 'strict enforcement of the law' and compliance with the central government's directives. However, his administration (1 March 1939 to 28 February 1943), like that of President Manuel Avila Camacho, signalled a return to more conservative policies, including a more conciliatory stance towards the Church.²⁷

Guadalajara's Church Leadership

Ramírez later remembered his brief term as governor as '*pésimo*.' In early 1929 the state was nearly bankrupt, leaving him scarce resources to enforce federal and state laws. As he said, '*yo no pude hacer nada. Los cristeros no me dejaron, todo se me fué en echar balazos*.'²⁸ Church leaders and laity continued to attempt to obstruct the federal and state governments' programmes for years after the *arreglos*.

²⁵Romero, *La consolidación del estado*, p. 251; Lyle C. Brown, "The Calles-Cárdenas Connection," in *Twentieth-Century Mexico*, eds. W. Dirk Raat and William H. Beezley (Lincoln, Neb., 1986), pp. 185-198; Everardo Topete, 'Informe del gobernador constitucional del estado de Jalisco ante la XXXII Legislatura Local, rendido el 1 Feb. 1936,' in Aida Urzúa Orozco y Gilberto Hernández Z, investigación, compilación y notas. *Jalisco: Testimonio de sus Gobernantes. Tomo III: 1912-1939* (Guadalajara, 1988), pp. 1041-1105 and 'Biografía,' p. 1039, Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, p. 410.

²⁶Ramírez, PHO/6/11, p. 29.

²⁷Romero, *La consolidación del estado*, pp. 263-263.

²⁸Ramírez, PHO/6/11, p. 31 and p. 28; see also Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 477.

However, the gulf that divided ex-Cristeros and their supporters from the more conciliatory bishops, priests and lay persons who chose to follow the papal prohibition against armed violence only widened as a consequence of the religious conflicts of the 1930s. While Catholics successfully obstructed the full enforcement of anticlerical laws during the 1930s, they in no way seriously threatened the political survival of the state – in part because the Church hierarchy forbade violent and disruptive challenges, and in part because the factions that mounted such a challenge were too small to have widespread effect.

'*Providencialmente hubo cristeros,*' declared Cardinal José Garibi Rivera, and '*providencialmente dejó de haberlos.*'²⁹ As providence would have it, one of Mexico's more militant bishops remained to guide the archdiocese of Guadalajara through periods of reconciliation, co-operation and renewed conflict. Orozco y Jiménez had served as Archbishop since 1913, and had been exiled several times by revolutionary presidents and governors for seditious activities.³⁰ Although he had opposed reconciliation with the revolutionary government during the Cristero rebellion, Orozco y Jiménez returned from his latest exile and attempted to improve the position of the Church in Jalisco by acceding to government regulations and requests. The archbishop authorised the display of the Mexican flag outside

²⁹Meyer, *La cristiada*, I, 29. During his interview with Jean Meyer, Cardinal Garibi also declared that the *cristeros* were worse than government partisans in terms of creating disorder.

³⁰Orozco y Jiménez fled to the United States in June 1916, re-entering Mexico on 12 November under a pseudonym in order to return secretly to his archdiocese. He was then captured by *carrancista* forces and sent to the USA on 5 Jul. 1918, and returned legally in August 1919 (see above). He was called to Rome in May 1924, and was delayed in the United States several months on the way back, awaiting permission from the Mexican government to return to his archdiocese. After defying government orders to remove to Mexico City, an order was issued for his arrest on 25 October 1926. However, Orozco y Jiménez managed to remain in hiding in the archdiocese, ministering to his archdiocese during the rebellion. Orozco y Jiménez left Mexico voluntarily in June 1929, as a gesture of co-operation with the *arreglos* (see above), to return with government permission on 29 March 1930. The federal government exiled him again on 24 January 1932, but he re-entered Mexico, again clandestinely, in August 1934. Cárdenas granted Orozco y Jiménez legal guarantees in November 1935; he then emerged from hiding and officiated publicly in Guadalajara until his death in 1936. J. Ignacio Garibi Rivera, 'Síntesis Biográfica,' in *Homenaje a la memoria del Excmo. y Revmo. Sr. Dr. y Mtro. D. Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, Arzobispo de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara, 1936), p. 11, pp.18-19, pp. 21-29; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, p. 35. Orozco y Jiménez and the Bishop of Colima, Amador Velasco, were the only bishops to remain "underground" in Mexico during the Cristero rebellion.

churches on national holidays, such as President Ortiz Rubio's visit to Guadalajara for De la Mora's inauguration, and days of mourning.³¹ Significantly, Orozco y Jiménez ordered that the government's request be met, and that the bells of Guadalajara churches be rung at dawn, noon and midnight on 1 May 1930, the Día del Trabajo – a revolutionary holiday associated with socialism (although this gesture could indeed have been double-edged with the insertion of periodic Catholic mnemonics). Orozco y Jiménez wholeheartedly supported the government initiative to celebrate the Día de las Madres on 10 May; he celebrated a morning mass on the day, and encouraged parish priests, vicars and chaplains of other churches to do the same.³² Regarding the church buildings, Orozco y Jiménez encouraged strict compliance with the legal mandates for the submission of inventories of their contents and lists of their *juntas de vecinos* (the ten-citizen committees responsible for their opening and general upkeep), the legal registry of the priests officiating in them, and the notification of municipal presidents and the state and federal Gobernación ministries of any changes.³³

Orozco y Jiménez also extended to parish priests the prerogative of granting absolution to the adults (as parents or teachers) and children participating in state

³¹Orozco y Jiménez, Circulars 52/31, 'A los encargados de los Templos de la ciudad,' and 54/31, 'A los Sres. Curas y demás encargados de los Templos del Arzobispado,' *BEG*, II, 11 (1 Jan. 1931), pp. 634-635, and pp.636-638; Orozco y Jiménez, 'Circular Núm 17, A los Curas y encargados de esta ciudad,' 27 feb 1931, *BEG*, II, 4 (1 Apr. 1931), p. 855. Mexican Catholics priests and lay persons resisted such co-operative gestures until 12 September 1931, when Pope Pius XI decreed that, as the buildings were at present national property, such symbolism was appropriate, that some of the days of mourning were also observed by the Catholic Church, and that '*se puede tolerar que las banderas de esa Nación se enarboleen los días mencionados en los templos católicos, para impedir mayores males.*' Pius XI, 'A los venerables hermanos Pascual Díaz, Arzobispo de México, y a los demás arzobispos y obispos de la república mexicana,' *BEG*, III, 1 (1 Jan. 1932), pp. 1-3; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 466-467.

³²Orozco y Jiménez, Circular 15-30, 'A los Sres. Sacerdotes del Arzobispado,' 28 Apr. 1930, and Circular 16-30, 'A los Sres. Curas y Rectores de las Iglesia de esta Ciudad,' *BEG*, IV, 4 (1 Jun. 1930), pp. 190-191. Of course, this holiday was an opportunity to link motherhood to Catholic values. In 1926, hundreds of men and women in Guadalajara and Zacoalco had signed petitions for churches to be opened, which based the request for permission to celebrate a public Mass on the Día de las Madres (AGN-GOB-JAL, caja 45. exp. 2.340(11)-10, petitions 14 Mar. 1926, 9 May 1926). Throughout the 1930s, the Church continued to campaign to make Día de las Madres a Catholic holiday in practice, if not in name (see Chapter 2).

³³Orozco y Jiménez, 'Circular 14-30, A los Sres. Sacerdotes del Arzobispado,' 25 Apr. 1930, *BEG*, IV, 4, p. 190; Hundreds of related documents are found in the expedientes in AGN-GOB-JAL, cajas 45, 46, and 47 (exps. 2.340 (11)-x); also see Barbosa Guzman, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 453.

and federal schools and of lifting their exclusion from the sacraments. He had previously reserved these privileges to himself in order to demonstrate the severity of imperilling children with exposure to anticlerical curricula, coeducation and sexual education, because the repeals necessitated an appeal to the archbishop. Reversing the 1926 circular in which he had declared such actions intolerable, the Archbishop conceded that those pressured by economic necessity could again attend, or even teach in, public schools. To do so, though, Catholics had to demonstrate that catechism programmes and spiritual guidance in the home offset these activities, and that their conduct in the schools did not run contrary to Catholic teachings.³⁴

Orozco y Jiménez also actively discouraged recourse to armed rebellion, concurring with Pope Pius XI, Ruíz y Flores, and other Mexican prelates, who continually had to admonish Catholics who wished to use force to stave off government regulations, especially in areas where the Cristero rebellion had been strongest. Catholics who openly questioned the Church's motives and tactics of slow retrenchment and co-operation were deemed nothing less than 'anarchic.' Orozco y Jiménez condemned the '*grosera*' attitude of some critical, bitter Catholics, and ordered them to restrain their negative commentary – verbal or written, private or public – on the Church. He also prohibited reading literature that defended the Cristeros or encouraged further armed resistance.³⁵

³⁴P. Eduardo Huerta, letter (seeking advice on absolution of parents) to F. Orozco y Jiménez, 25 Nov. 1929, and Pbro. Luis Radillo, Prosecretary, 'Se conceden al Sr Cura las siguientes facultados,' 27 Nov. 1929 (copies), Parroquia del Dulce Nombre de Jesus, *Libro de Gobierno* #2, 12 Jan. 1864-17 Aug. 1960, p. 193; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 465.

³⁵Orozco y Jiménez, Circular 37, "Al M.I. Sr. Deán y V. Cabildo Metropolitano, al M. I. Sr. Abad y V. Cabildo de la Colegiata de Ntra. Sra. de San Juan, a los Sres Párcos y demás sacerdotes, y a todos los fieles," *BEG* I, 9 (1 Nov. 1930), p. 511; Circular 13-10 'Al Clero Regular y Secular del Arzobispado,' 7 Apr. 1930, *BEG*, I, 3 (1 May 1930), pp. 144-145; and "Circular," 22 Jun. 1930, *BEG*, I, 6 (1 Aug. 1930), p. 326. Regardless of their interpretation that other canonical leaders had betrayed them, it appears that many ex-Cristeros believed that Orozco y Jiménez had not, but was rather, like they were, "sold down the river," pressured to go into exile and to conform outwardly with the *arreglos*, by the autocrats Ruíz y Flores and Díaz Barreto. Such parity in their situations only reinforced the affection many Cristeros held for the archbishop, years after his death. See Meyer, *La Cristiada*, p. 331; also pp. 359-360.

Despite Orozco y Jiménez's efforts, several factors combined to provoke further violent outbursts in Jalisco, including a severe drought in the north and east. The historical record is scarce on the motivations of some rebellious acts; it would be difficult to generalise that acts of violence and banditry were religiously motivated, although some were openly so. In their reports, government officials consistently labelled insurgents '*Cristeros*' and blamed the Church, particularly priests' incendiary sermons, for the rural violence.³⁶ Rumours also spread of another suspension of religious services, which Church leaders vigorously denied. Tensions came to a head on 24 January 1932, when, after serving Mass at the Cathedral and confirming numerous children of Catholics who feared a possible cessation of religious services, government officials arrested Orozco y Jiménez en route to an evening service at the Church of Nuestra Señora de la Paz. A police officer stopped the archbishop's car and ordered the chauffeur to drive to the nearest airfield, six kilometres from the city centre. Along with another priest, his chauffeur, and Colonel Adalberto Torres Estrada, an agent in the president's service, Orozco y Jiménez was then flown north to the United States border. Colonel Torres, the officer supervising Orozco y Jiménez's arrest, later informed the archbishop that he had been arrested to avoid 'violence.' Orozco y Jiménez was told that Ortiz Rubio had ordered his expulsion, in light of intelligence reports that indicated a planned armed attack by radicals on the episcopal residence – unusual as well as legally inadequate grounds for exile.

After landing at Hermosillo, Sonora, the archbishop was escorted to a train. At the Arizona border Orozco y Jiménez was given immigration documents that enabled him to cross, and his fees were paid by the Mexican government. After spending the night in Nogales, Arizona, Orozco y Jiménez was invited by Bishop Kerke to reside in Los Angeles, where he arrived on 26 January. Orozco y Jiménez

³⁶Paul Vanderwood notes that such blanket labelling and condemnation of opponents can be expedient for a government seeking to consolidate power and justify the use of force; see *The Power of God Against the Guns of Government*, pp. 135-139.

protested against his exile in a statement written from the United States, where he lived for the next two and a half years. In his letter to Ortiz Rubio, included in the statement, he claimed that the Church leaders' observance of the religious laws since mid-1929 and their policy of encouraging the laity to abstain from rebellion had led to 'perfect peace' in Jalisco, which his present, unjust exile was likely to disrupt.³⁷

The administration of the archdiocese was turned over to José Garibi Rivera, who had been named Auxiliary Bishop of Guadalajara in early 1930, during Orozco y Jiménez's previous exile.³⁸ As early as 25 January, the office of the archdiocese circulated orders for the clergy to lead Catholics in 'humble and assiduous prayer' for their arrested archbishop. The Vicar General of the archdiocese, Manuel Alvarado – Orozco y Jiménez's administrative assistant since 1914 – encouraged priests that they should, now more than ever, set an '*ejemplo de paciencia, de modestia, de mansedumbre, de conformidad con la voluntad divina y de prudencia en todos nuestros actos*.'³⁹ Church leaders again denied rumours of a second cessation of religious practices, prompted by instructions sent from the Secretaría de Gobernación for the dissolution of the *juntas vecinales* and the cancellation of priests' licenses to minister in those churches where religious services were suspended. The archdiocesan administration succeeded in maintaining calm; little violence erupted as a result of Orozco y Jiménez's latest exile.⁴⁰

Garibi Rivera's first major confrontation with the Jalisco state government came soon afterward, provoked by Governor Allende's promulgation of Decreto

³⁷Orozco y Jiménez, 'Edicto,' 27 Mar. 1932, in *BEG* III, 5 (1 May 1932), pp. 247-256; USMIL,) reel 3, 0863, 'G-2 Report-Freedom of Religious Beliefs and Practices-Situation 14 Jan. and 29 Jan. 1932; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 469; pp. 479-481.

³⁸'Nuevo Capítular, Nuevo Obispo,' y Fidelior, 'El Ilmo. y Rvmo. Sr. Obispo Auxiliar de la Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara, Dr. D. José Garibi Rivera,' *BEG*, I, 2 (1 Apr. 1930), pp. 33 and 34-36; Orozco y Jiménez, 'Copia de las facultades concedidas al Ilmo. y Rvmo. Sr. Obispo Auxiliar,' 15 May 1930, *BEG*, I, 4 (1 June 1930), pp. 192-194. Garibi Rivera's new faculties included the power to perform marriages in the archdiocese and to absolve grave sins such as participation in rites of freemasonry.

³⁹Manuel Alvarado, Vicario General, Circular 3 "Al V. Clero Secular y Regular del Arzobispado," 25 Jan. 1932, *BEG*, III, 3 (1 Mar. 1932).

⁴⁰Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, pp. 480-481.

3742 on 26 October 1932. Decreto 3742 paralleled the Federal government's new restrictions imposed on the Church, similarly declared in reaction to Pius XI's encyclical *Acerba Animi* (September 1932). It set the ratio of ministers to population at one per 25,000 inhabitants (or fraction greater than 15,000), which implied 50 ministers for a state population of over 1,250,000. The decree also outlined the legal punishments (fines and expulsion) for those found ministering without registration. Although far more extreme than earlier measures, leftist agitators wrote to Allende complaining that the ratio was still too 'generous.' State deputy Tomás Arias also had considered the 250 ministers permitted by Decree 2601 of March 1926 to be excessive and contrary to revolutionary ideology, and Decreto 3742 was not enough of an improvement.

However, the new ratio meant that only one minister would be permitted to officiate for every two or three municipalities, and in extreme cases, like the sparsely populated northern zone of Colotlán, six. The city of Guadalajara had been allowed 65 ministers of each religion in 1926; it was now limited to eight, and these were to be shared with the neighbouring municipality of Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos. In addition, municipal presidents who did not enforce the decree were to be fined, arrested, and stripped of their powers (they would be removed from office and prohibited from serving again for five years). Owners of houses or properties where clandestine religious services were held were similarly threatened with fines, arrest, and confiscation of their real estate. In the case of rented properties where violations took place, only the perpetrators would be subject to fines and arrest.⁴¹

The *Boletín Eclesiástico de Guadalajara* (BEG) of November 1932 published the papal encyclical and the new state decree, along with a historical commentary on previous restrictions imposed by the state government. The BEG also published a circular from the exiled archbishop, addressed to all the clergy and faithful of

⁴¹S. Allende, 'Decreto 3742,' *El Estado de Jalisco*, CXXIII, 35 (29 Oct. 1932), pp. 321-322. The population of Jalisco in 1931, according to a government census, was 1, 235, 895; Urzúa Orozco y Hernández Z, *Jalisco: Testimonio de sus Gobernantes*, III, 731. Also see Barbosa Gúzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, pp. 490-491.

Guadalajara. Under *no* circumstances, Orozco y Jiménez emphasised, would recourse to arms be considered licit by Church authorities. He condemned not only the threats of uprising rumoured in the countryside, but also the belligerent attitude of some (unspecified) '*asociaciones cívicas*.' In their insistence on the right all citizens to defend their beliefs, the archbishop warned, they seemed to '*sustraer a los católicos de la subordinación a la Sta. Iglesia*.' These societies, he believed, planned to start their campaigns on 1 November and to demand of all members vows of secrecy, also explicitly forbidden by the Church hierarchy. Orozco y Jiménez appealed to the clergy of Jalisco to abstain from belligerent activity or interference themselves, on pain of suspension, and to remind the faithful to protest by peaceful and legal means only, in order to prevent further injury to the Church and to themselves.⁴²

Meanwhile, Auxiliary Bishop Garibi Rivera and Vicar General Alvarado had to steer their Church through this difficult course. Alvarado had carried out Orozco y Jiménez's instructions to register legally the maximum number of priests in Guadalajara and Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos, and ordered the same to be done throughout the diocese. He notified Governor Allende of the Archdiocese's compliance, but this did not earn the Church any favours. Governor Allende's refused to allow a gathering of the Cathedral Canons to say Mass in November 1932, as this would exceed the number of clergy allowed to minister by the law – for the state – and no substitutions for registered ministers were permitted without express government approval. Alvarado again mentioned the possibility of a suspension in church services pending the repeal of the decree and the archbishop's return (sparking the rumours mentioned above), but this was not the course the Church would follow. Rather, the Church would register priests to minister when and where it could, and would continue to pursue legal means of protest. As usual, parishes would be created and priests would be designated to serve them, and, in

⁴²Pio XI, 'Carta Encíclica ... "La dolorosa ansiedad" [*Acerba Animi*],' Roma, 24 Sept. 1932, *BEG*, III, 11 (1 Nov. 1932), pp. 601-608; "Variedades: Sobre la Nueva Reducción de Sacerdotes Decretada por el Congreso Local con fecha 26 de octubre de 1932...", *ibid.*, pp. 624-640; Orozco y Jiménez, 'Circular a los Sres. Sacerdotes y fieles del Arzobispado, Los Angeles, Cal., 11 Oct. 1932,' *ibid.*, pp. 609-612.

their absence, lay people would be organised to sustain Catholic practice in the parishes.⁴³

According to Francisco Barbosa Guzmán, Orozco y Jiménez also informally ordered parish priests who remained unlicensed to stay in their parishes and undertake clandestine ministry, administering sacraments in private homes and meeting with and co-ordinating lay people until the situation improved and more priests could minister openly. While providing more opportunities for worship for their parishioners, this, in the older style, was a patently illegal action. Priests ministering without a license risked arrest and fines (as a number were in Guadalajara between 1932 and 1935); those who helped priests carry out these duties risked arrest, fines and property confiscation.⁴⁴ Alvarado died unexpectedly on 31 December 1932, and in 1933, Orozco y Jiménez appointed to the position someone whom he could rely on to pursue more conciliatory tactics at the official level while fostering resistance and lay participation: José Garibi Rivera.⁴⁵

Thus, Garibi Rivera had to face the state government's second challenge – the imposition of sexual and socialist education curricula in 1933 and 1934 – with a significantly reduced staff. Not only was the number of priests able to work openly drastically reduced, but also Governor Allende had ordered all religious

⁴³N. Aviña Ruíz, 'A los sacerdotes encargados de los Templos de la Ciudad,' 29 Oct 1932, *BEG*, III, 12 (1 Dec. 1932), p. 662; M. Alvarado y N. Aviña Ruíz, 'Declaraciones de la Sgdo. Mitra de Guadalajara,' 29 Oct 1932, *ibid.*, p. 663; M. Alvarado, N. Aviña Ruíz, 'Ocurso al H. Congreso del Estado,' 5 Nov 1932, *ibid.* pp. 664-665; S. Allende, 'Contestación,' 12 Nov 1932, *ibid.*, p. 665; M. Alvarado et. al., 'Comunicación,' 9 Nov 1932, *ibid.*, pp. 666-667; S. Allende, 'Contestación,' n.d., *ibid.*, pp. 667-668; M. Alvarado, 'Nueva Petición,' 10 nov 1932, *ibid.*, p. 669; S. Allende, 'Contestación' a M. Alvarado, 12 Nov. 1932, *ibid.*, p. 669; Carlos G. Guzmán, 'Contestación,' 18 Nov. 1932, p. 670.

⁴⁴Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, pp. 494-495; also Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 174, noting the particular persistence of priests in the archdiocese of Guadalajara to minister, regardless of licensing.

⁴⁵J. T. L., 'In Memoriam: Muere el muy Ilustre Sr. Vicario General, Protonotario Apostólico y Dean, Mons. Dr. D. Manuel Alvarado y Aldana: La Iglesia de Guadalajara se viste de luto,' *BEG*, IV, 1 (1 Jan. 1933), pp. 33-36; 'El Nuevo Vicario General,' *idem*, p.39; for examples of priests' registration during Garibi Rivera's tenure as Vicar General, see AHJ-GOB-(4) Iglesia, Caja 342, Exp. 2161/1, 'Permisos rendidos a ministros (católicos y evangélicos).'

communities, convents and schools closed and their residents to disperse (living in common under religious auspices was criminalised as well).⁴⁶

The Church's approach toward secular, public education had varied in the past, depending on the intensity of the state's attack on Catholic education. When the state enforced its ban on religious education vigorously, Catholics were asked to respond with protest and non-compliance, as in the conflicts of 1914, 1918 and 1926. In the lulls between these conflicts, however, Catholics took a more accommodating approach, sanctioned by their canonical leadership. Before 1926, a good number of Catholic women taught in public schools, and a good number of Catholic students attended them. In theory, secular education would be supplemented (and in the case of anticlerical teachings, corrected) with Saturday or Sunday catechism classes, given by the parish priest or in a programme supervised by the parish priest. In practice, Catholic teachers in public schools often did not teach the anticlerical elements of the given curriculum; some even slipped in catechism lessons.⁴⁷ As shown in the example from the Parroquia de Jesús above, Orozco y Jiménez permitted a similar arrangement in the early 1930s. Church leaders encouraged parents to help 'win over' their children's teachers to at least diminish the offensive content of state education. However, both the leadership and the staff of the state schools became more radicalised, and with the advent of sexual education in 1933 and socialist education in 1934, it seemed less likely that this approach would work.⁴⁸

In 1933, the Archdiocese of Guadalajara would not go so far as to declare a campaign against the public schools, but it did indicate to its clergy that an officially

⁴⁶SSM, Archivo Histórico, Carpeta "Conflicto Religioso, 1926-1937," Sección Guadalajara, J. Aviña L., Srio, 'Datos sobre la actual persecución religiosa en el estado de Jalisco,' 27 Mar. 1935, and 'Apendice: Persecución de Religiosas.'

⁴⁷Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, p. 213. Vaca points out that many *brigadistas* who came from the ranks of teachers had received some or all of their training at the Escuela Normal Católica, closed in 1914, and that many were members of the JCFM, even if they had attended the state Normal or worked in public schools, during the 1920s (pp. 174-177ff.); see n. 34 for Parroquia de Jesús.

⁴⁸UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 15 (25 Nov. 1930); Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 501.

non-confessional organisation, the Asociación (later the Unión) Nacional de Padres de Familia, was building a movement to end anti-Catholic regulations that applied to public and private schools, and that lay people should be encouraged to lend their support to it.⁴⁹ In 1934, however, the Archdiocese of Guadalajara resolved to follow Ruiz y Flores' and Díaz Barreto's directives regarding the planned socialist education curriculum. This entailed not only keeping Catholic children out of the state schools but also providing them with alternative, Catholic education. Again, Garibi Rivera turned to the laity to help construct a clandestine school system, described in detail below.⁵⁰

Not long after President Cárdenas had exiled Calles, he took steps to conciliate opponents to the Mexican government. Although he never retreated from an anticlerical stance, the absolute subjection of the Church became a less pressing priority for him, especially as the resulting conflict served to undermine government projects to promote education, land distribution, and other social reforms. Although in 1934 Cárdenas had refused requests to repatriate exiled leaders like Orozco y Jiménez and Ruiz y Flores, in early 1936 it seemed more expedient to allay Catholic protests by allowing some to return, providing they agreed not to agitate or conspire against the government.⁵¹ Unknown to the Mexican authorities, Orozco y Jiménez had already re-entered the country in late 1934, remaining in hiding in his archdiocese. In June and again in November 1935, José Garibi Rivera applied for permission for the Archbishop to return to Guadalajara, seeking guarantees for his

⁴⁹N. Aviña Ruiz, 'Circ. 15, A los Sres. Párrocos y Vicarios Fijos del Arzobispado,' 25 Jul. 1933, *BEG*, IV, 8 (1 Aug. 1933), pp. 377-378.

⁵⁰Instrucción que el Excmo. y Rvmo. Señor Arzobispo de México, Dr. D. Pascual Díaz, dirige a sus Sacerdotes sobre el problema de la Enseñanza Socialista,' 30 abr 1934, *BEG*, V, 7, (1 Jul 1934), pp. 305-314; L. Ruiz y Flores, 'Al Episcopado, Clero y Católicos de México,' San Antonio, Tex., 12 Dec. 1934, *BEG*, VI, 1, 1 Jan. 1935, pp. 6-17 and 'A los Católicos Mexicanos,' San Antonio, Tex., 30 Dec. 1934, *idem*, pp. 18-19. In the latter documents, Ruiz y Flores outlined privileges granted to Mexican Catholics living in regions where their clergy were either limited or prohibited from ministering, such as being able to host clandestine masses in their homes or distributing Communion in private services; also see Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 279-280 and *passim*.

⁵¹Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia contra el gobierno civil*, p. 551; J Meyer, *La cristiada*, I, 365; Negrete *Relaciones entre la Iglesia y el estado...*, pp. 118-119.

safety. Cárdenas acceded to this request, which in turn enabled Orozco y Jiménez to appear publicly in the Guadalajara Cathedral on 1 January 1936.⁵²

Orozco y Jiménez was in poor health when he reappeared in public, and not long afterwards was again accused of involvement in recently discovered plots for armed insurrection in Jalisco. But the archbishop died not long after his official 'arrival,' on 18 February 1936, and with him died the imputations that the archdiocese was fomenting rebellion. Cárdenas diplomatically encouraged Gobernación to permit a funeral procession for the archbishop and his burial in the cemetery outside Guadalajara. Thus, thousands of Catholics filled the streets of Guadalajara mourning their archbishop rather than angrily protesting against government restrictions. Lay Catholic groups stood vigil in the Cathedral during his wake, which was also attended by thousands. Catholic associations carried banners and walked together to accompany his casket, as did groups of schoolchildren in uniforms indicating they were from private (and most likely Catholic) schools, with no legal reprisal. Several months later, when Archbishop of Mexico Pascual Díaz Barreto died (19 May 1936), Cárdenas and Gobernación showed the same acumen in permitting open Catholic mourning and religious ritual for the archbishop.⁵³

While tensions in the archdiocese of Guadalajara, or in other parts of Mexico, did not relax immediately upon the removal of Calles and the deaths of these stalwart Catholic leaders, the years that followed did show some signs of gradual improvement in Church-state relations. José Garibi Rivera was named archbishop of Guadalajara on 18 February 1936 and received the pallium on 12 August.⁵⁴ One of his first actions as archbishop was to suspend the emergency provisions granted

⁵²J. Garibi Rivera, 'Carta abierta al Presidente de la República,' *BEG* VI, 12 (1 Dec. 1935), pp. 556-557; Cárdenas' response follows; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, pp. 551-552; Negrete, *Relaciones entre la Iglesia y el estado...*, p. 118.

⁵³Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 552; 'Francisco Orozco y Jiménez,' *Christus*, I, 4 (Mar. 1936), pp. 193-197; Michaels, 'The Modification of the Anticlerical Nationalism...', p. 43; UFCM-Guad., *Actas II*, pp. 23b-24b (27 Feb. 1936); Maria Rosario Alejandre Gil, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 23 Jun. 1997.

⁵⁴Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 552.

by the Holy See to the Mexican Church in its state of acute persecution: in Guadalajara, priests would no longer hold more than two Masses per day, Mass would not be said in private homes, and laypeople would no longer take consecrated communion in private prayer services. Church life, it seemed, would return to normal; the new focus of the laity's attention was to be catechism, through the new Organización del Catecismo Familiar, the diocesan and parish catechism schools, and their *Hojas Parroquiales*, which would print weekly doctrinal explanations composed by the archdiocesan offices. Garibi Rivera also supported the ACM, encouraging them to reorganise their activities for parents in order to encourage the Catholic upbringing of children. In his pastoral letter of January 1937, Garibi Rivera emphasised Catholics' loyalty, rather their open opposition to the anticlerical state, as being the key to the Church's strength. Catholics were to be on their guard to reject '*sectas heréticas o anticatólicas*,' while priests were to emphasise preaching the word of God and bringing people to fulfil their sacramental obligations.⁵⁵

Garibi Rivera made clear to the federal and state government that he would continue to follow a conciliatory path. In his first pastoral letter, Garibi Rivera condemned the violent uprisings occurring in the Jalisco countryside in the name of the Catholic faith, and ordered all clergy and laity to abstain from such activity. In May 1937 he applied to Gobernación for permission to visit parishes throughout the archdiocese in order to conduct Confirmation ceremonies. In his request he specified that parish priests' license to minister should be cancelled for the duration of his visit, so that there would be only one minister officiating in the parishes, thus proving the willingness of Catholics to obey the law. However, Garibi Rivera complained that in some municipalities, local government officials rejected the substitution as invalid and prohibited the archbishop from officiating. Despite the

⁵⁵José Garibi Rivera, 'Primera Carta Pastoral,' 12 Apr. 1936, *Christus*, I, 7 (Jun. 1936), p. 513-514; 'Circular,' 21 Aug. 1936, *Christus*, II, 14 (Jan 1937), p. 14; 'Circular,' 6 Nov. 1936 and 'Circular,' 30 Nov. 1936, *idem*, p. 306; 'Carta Pastoral,' 12 Jan. 1937, *Christus*, II, 19 (Jun. 1937), p. 500; 'Circular No. 43,' 25 Sept. 1937, *Christus*, II, 25 (Dec. 1937), p. 1069.

continuing atmosphere of hostility in some towns, though, he reminded the priests of the diocese that they *must* reside in the places where they were assigned to work and could not leave without permission from the parish priest or the archdiocese – thus implying that he would rein in illegally ministering or conspiratorial priests. Garibi Rivera went so far as to approve tacitly of the agrarian reform, when the *BEG* published a favourable review of Father Ramiro Camacho's book, *La cuestión agraria*, which used Pius XI's encyclical *Nos es muy conocido* (1937) to demonstrate that peasants could accept expropriated land if the owner had been duly compensated.⁵⁶ The one stance from which Garibi Rivera would not retreat was that concerning Catholic education. In the document resulting from the first archdiocesan synod, he reminded Catholics parents still could not enrol their children in '*las escuelas [que] pretendan extirpar del corazón de la niñez todo sentimiento religioso, los padres de familia no podrán colocar en ellas a sus hijos.*' Only in situations of dire need, and with archdiocesan permission, could children attend schools in which they would be subject to such '*peligro.*'⁵⁷ Garibi Rivera intended to lessen government pressure on the Church, but dangers still abounded for Catholics in Mexican society. To counteract them, Garibi Rivera continued to need the support of lay Catholics, which he received in great part from the women of the *Acción Católica*.

The UFCM in the Diocese of Guadalajara

There were echoes of earlier historical events in the 1930 'inauguration' of the UFCM in Guadalajara as well. In April 1913, within two months of his consecration as archbishop of Guadalajara, Orozco y Jiménez had invited women from the

⁵⁶ Garibi Rivera, 'Primera Carta Pastoral,' p. 515; 'La cuestión agraria,' *BEG*, X, 1 (1 Jan. 1939), p. 23; Ramiro Camacho, *¿Son ladrones los Agraristas? Conferencia dictada...* (Guadalajara, 1940), *passim*.

⁵⁷ *Estatutos del Primer Sínodo Diocesano del Arzobispado de Guadalajara de la República de México* (Guadalajara, 1938), p. 196 (Art VII, 'De las escuelas').

diocese to form a chapter of the UDCM.⁵⁸ As mentioned above, the UDCM was one of the principal organisers of the protests against Governor Diéguez's attempt to enforce the anticlerical provisions of the new constitution in 1918. Thousands of women from UDCM chapters in Guadalajara and outlying towns, from the Unión Profesional de Empleadas and the Catequistas, Sirvientes y Obreras de la Asociación de Santa Zita (which the UDCM sponsored), associations of Catholic schoolteachers, the Hijas de María and other pious associations and parishes of Guadalajara and numerous towns signed petitions against the governor's Decreto 1913, Decreto 1927 and the expulsion of Orozco y Jiménez.⁵⁹

During the 1920s, the Guadalajara chapter of the UDCM built on the anti-Diéguez mobilisations and continued to work in support of Catholic schools, charities, unions, and workers' associations, establishing 32 Centros Locales throughout the diocese as of 1922.⁶⁰ Along with the Caballeros de Colón, the Confederación Nacional Católica de Trabajo, the Congregaciones Marianas de Jóvenes and other Catholic civic and pious associations, the UDCM initially joined the LNDLR and supported the economic boycott proposed in early 1926 as a way to pressure the government to negotiate with the Catholics. The UDCM, like other Catholic civic associations, formally withdrew their support from the LNDLR and the Unión Popular when they openly declared armed resistance against the Mexican government. Despite the fact that the Cristero rebellion for the most part paralysed Catholic social action programmes in Jalisco (as in almost all of Mexico),⁶¹ Catholic

⁵⁸Dávila Garibi, 'Síntesis biográfica,' p. 13. As Bishop of the diocese of Chiapas, Orozco y Jiménez had also helped found a chapter of the UDCM in February 1913, before he left for Guadalajara; he had also encouraged the growth of workers' and peasants' associations there. His auxiliary bishop and successor, José Garibi Rivera, had also worked on Catholic social action projects in the region, Fidelior, 'El Ilmo. y Rvmo. Sr. Obispo Auxiliar,' p. 35.

⁵⁹Dávila Garibi y Chávez Hayhoe. *Colección de Documentos Relativos...*, *passim*; Meyer, *La cristiada*, II, 104-109.

⁶⁰'La Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas [UDCM] en el XX Aniversario de su Fundación: 12 de septiembre de 1912,' *AF*, I, 1 (1 Jan. 1933), p. 7.

⁶¹Meyer, *La cristiada*, I, p. 52, p. 70; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, Part III, *passim*, and pp. 369-37; Schell, 'Teaching the Children of the Revolution,' pp. 318-323.

women clearly did not cease to work for the Church. Most famously, women joined the offshoot of the Unión de Empleadas Católicas, the BF, which supplied the Cristero rebels with food, ammunition, medical aid and information. Catholic women also cared for the priests hiding in their homes, gathered to pray and to clean and maintain church buildings while Masses could not be celebrated in them, and catechised their own and other children, in their homes and in clandestine schools.⁶² After the *arreglos*, the Church again called on women to come forward in its defence. While some women retired to private life, disappointed with the Church's rejection of the militant Catholic stance, other women rededicated their energies to the reorganised 'secular apostolate.'

The Comité Diocesano of the UFCM in Guadalajara (UFCM-CD) first met on 16 June 1930 in the house of a former member of the UDCM, Severa M. Rivas. Rivas and nine other women had been invited by the office of the Archbishop, Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, to form the first committee and to work with Jesuit priest Salvador G. Quintero, whom the Archbishop had appointed their general director. Quintero explained to the women that, as members of the ACM, they would be continuing the work of the Apostles themselves as they helped the Church carry out its missions; they would, he said, serve as '*la extensión de la Jerarquía Eclesiástica en el orden civil*.' The women were to study the new statutes sent from SSM to learn how the four divisions of the ACM should work together; how the ACM in general and the UFCM within it would be organised, and what their duties as adult, lay Catholic women should be.⁶³

⁶²Sister Consuelo Ardila, RSCJ, was a member of the JCFM and taught in a Sacred Heart school kept open by laywomen in San Luis Potosí during the Cristero Rebellion. After the war was over, she entered the religious order. Interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 16 Nov. 1996, the school's continued existence, along with other Catholic women's endeavors, is mentioned in Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 121. For more information on the BF, and Catholic women's remobilization after the *Cristiada*, see Chapters 1 and 2.

⁶³ UFCM-Guad., Actas I, pp. 1-2 (16 Jun. 1930). Directive committee: President Severa M. Rivas; Vice-President: Esther Franco de Martínez; Secretary: Dolores Orendain; Pro-Secretary: Ana Aldrete; Treasurer: María Castañeda; Pro-Treasurer: Ignacia Calderón, Members-at-large: Paz González Rivas de Castellanos, Elena G. Arce, María Bermejillo.

The diocesan committee in Guadalajara identified as their first tasks the co-ordination and consolidation of women's efforts to support the Church. Within two weeks of the committee's inception, members had visited several parishes in Guadalajara to assist in the formation of sub-committees in the city, which, according to their second ecclesiastical assistant, Father José Toral, was almost complete by the end of October. At the same meeting, Rivas reported that grupos parroquiales (GP) had been established in 26 parishes throughout the diocese.⁶⁴ Over the decade, many more were established and some re-established, having lapsed because of the continuing violence that ravaged the countryside, lack of funds, or lack of interest. Nevertheless, the Guadalajara UFCM-CD became one of the largest of the UFCM. In 1932, out of 30,589 members and affiliates nationwide, 1,504 were from Guadalajara (which was exceeded only by four out of the 23 other diocesan chapters), organised into over 70 parochial groups.⁶⁵ By 1940, the Guadalajara UFCM-CD had 20,014 members, out of the 149,514 UFCM members nation-wide (the second largest of 33 diocesan chapters), organised into 153 parochial and sub-parochial groups.⁶⁶

The Guadalajara UFCM-CD had to deal with disorganisation among Jaliscan Catholics and the confusion as to the nature and purpose of the ACM. Earlier Catholic social action groups like the UDCM had been active for years, and Catholics in Guadalajara had changed alliances and names in their efforts to support the Church and the Cristeros during the late 1920s. The UFCM-GP of Analco (a Guadalajara parish) was founded in October 1930, yet its president wrote to the UFCM-CD in 1932, asking if the study groups their priest were organising for young

⁶⁴UFCM-Guad., Actas 1, p. 9b (22 Oct. 1930).

⁶⁵ UFCM-Ibero, I Asamblea General (1932), "De Silva, 'Informe,' also printed in AF 1, 1 (1 Jan. 1933), p. 15; 'Fundaciones,' *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶⁶Labarthe, 'Informe' [V Asamblea General, 1940], p. 23.

people was part of the ACM; the diocesan committee replied in the negative.⁶⁷ Although a parochial group of the UFCM was founded in Zapotiltic, a town in southern Jalisco, in September 1930, women from the town wrote to the diocesan committee in March 1933, asking to be sent a copy of the statutes of the 'Madres Cristianas'.⁶⁸ The diocesan committee responded by sending the statutes of the UFCM. In 1936 another 'Asociación matutina de "Madres Cristianas"' applied to be admitted as part of the UFCM (the minutes do not specify from where). The diocesan committee initially replied that they would be glad to admit the Madres Cristianas as part of the UFCM once the statutes of their group had been submitted and approved by the ACM Junta Diocesana and the Guadalajara UFCM-CD; however, in 1937 the Junta Diocesana rejected these Madres Cristianas' petition, and sent their reply through the diocesan committee.⁶⁹

The Tepatitlán UFCM-GP complained in a letter to the diocesan committee that they could not work as they wished, because the people confused the ACM with the old, popular, militarised Catholic movement, and had very little confidence in it.⁷⁰ At a June 1933 diocesan committee meeting, Father Toral blamed the confusion on the fact that Catholics had not studied the ACM Statutes, and those of the UFCM in particular, sufficiently, making its progress '*más difícil*.' Furthermore, Toral continued, there were still persons who believed that the UFCM was the continuation of the Unión Popular. To prevent confusion, he concluded, '*hay que explicarles que es cosa diferente puesta la Acción Católica es una obra netamente religiosa, con fines religiosos y que es institución pontificia*' – meaning that unlike the UP, the ACM had the Pope's approval and would not be dissolved for actions contrary to

⁶⁷UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 76 (2 Jun. 1932); according to Agustín Vaca, a Catholic Asociación de Madres Cristianas had met at the Guadalajara cathedral and in Guadalajara parishes at the turn of the century; *Los silencios de la historia*, p. 192.

⁶⁸UFCM-Guad., Actas I, pp. 94-94b (23 Mar. 1933); UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 95 (20 Apr. 1933).

⁶⁹UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 39 (10 Sept 1936), UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 40 (24 Sept 1936), UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 47 (28 Jan. 1937), UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 60b (9 Jul. 1937), UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 56b (15 Jul. 1937).

⁷⁰UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 82 (4 Aug. 1932); foundation: UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 18 (16 Dec. 1930).

Church mandates.⁷¹ Also, Doña Emilia G. de Orendain represented the 'Asociación de Damas Católicas' – as an organisation separate from the UFCM – at the 1935 General Assembly. Toral's successor, Father Vicente Gutiérrez, found that in 1939 there was still a Damas Católicas (UDCM) group meeting in Guadalajara. Although the UDCM was the last women's group that the Church had endorsed, Gutiérrez opined that it was now time for them to join the UFCM.⁷²

The Guadalajara UFCM and Its Connections: Catalina Palomar de Verea

As noted before, the ACM has often been seen as an upper-class organisation. The UFCM in Guadalajara certainly had its share of members with surnames that had long denoted economic and social elites (some since the era of Independence), marking them as daughters or wives in important, well-to-do families. Among the signatures of the 1918 UDCM protests against Manuel M. Diéguez's implementation of the 1917 Constitution appear such surnames as Orendain (one of Jalisco's largest land-owning families and tequila manufacturers), Ibarra (similarly large chocolate producers), Yguiñiz (Guadalajara Catholic publishers), Garibi Rivera (probably relatives of the Auxiliary Bishop), Gonzalez, Luna and Palomar y Vizcarra (probably relatives of long-time Catholic activists Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra and Efraín González Luna), among other frequently recurring names (Aldrete, Arce, Barbosa, Cambero, Castañeda, De la Torre, Gómez, and so on). Not surprisingly, these names reappear in the rosters of the newly founded UFCM and its counterpart for younger women, the JCFM.⁷³ Many of these

⁷¹UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 97 (13 Jun. 1933).

⁷²UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 12 (Acta de la 4a y última sesión de la 2a Asamblea Arquidiocesana de la UFCM,... 12 Oct 1935) and p. 111b (17 May 1939).

⁷³ Jaime Olveda Legaspi, *La Oligarquía de Guadalajara* (Mexico City, 1991), appendices 1 and 2 (pp. 405-441) for elite surnames of the late colonial and Independence eras; 'Protesta de la "Acción Damas Católicas,"' in Dávila Garibi and Chávez Hayhoe. *Colección de Documentos Relativos...*, II, 27-30. : see note

families had traditionally supported the Church, and more recently, its pious and social campaigns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The name Catalina Palomar de Verea emerges not only in Catholic documentation but also in government documents. A member of the UDCM since at least 1918, Palomar de Verea also moved among political circles on the national level, useful since elite families who had sided with losing factions (such as hers) were excluded from state politics following the Revolution. In 1932, she appealed to her '*muy querida amiga*' Señora Esther Alba de Pani, to persuade her husband, Finance Minister Alberto J. Pani, to use his influence with associates in Gobernación to offset the petitions of the Episcopal Church of Mexico to gain use of Templo Aranzazú, a much-frequented church in the city centre. In addition to the general ambience of official hostility towards the Church and conversion of its buildings for public uses (such as libraries, schools, and offices), the city and state government at this point favoured the petitions of Protestant religious groups that sought to obtain the use of church buildings for their congregations. Palomar de Vera knew that Señora Alba de Pani '*ha[bía] vivido tanto tiempo en Guadalajara, y que conoce perfectamente el medio de nuestra Sociedad*'; thus she would be aware that Aranzazú was used by Catholic activists for meetings and ceremonies, and that greater numbers of Guadalaran Catholics suffered from the lack of churches and licensed priests to minister in them than did Protestants. Unfortunately, only Palomar de Verea's letter to Alba de Pani was copied into Plutarco Elías Calles' archive of Catholic correspondence; it is unknown whether the Finance Minister's wife lobbied her husband for her friend's cause. Certainly, the Aranzazú church did remain open and in use by Catholics through the 1930s, as UFCM records of diocesan assemblies and other ceremonies attest. Palomar de Verea, along with other Guadalajara Catholics, continued to petition federal government officials to open other churches for Catholic use, such as the Belén and La Soledad churches. The federal

50 above for the first UFCM Diocesan Committee; for the first JCFM Diocesan Committee, see below n. 91.

government tended to remit such matters to unsympathetic state officials for consideration; along with other churches, Belén was put to secular, public use. Despite numerous petitions to state and federal officials, La Soledad was given to the Episcopal Church for use in 1934.⁷⁴

The Guadalajara UFCM and Priests

Like Palomar de Vereia, many UFCM members in Guadalajara were conscious of the tenuous hold the clergy had on their churches and their ability to maintain a stable ministry in their parishes, and in their diocese as a whole. Relations between the Church and the Mexican government soured following the 1931 celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the apparitions of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Jalisco Catholics witnessed repercussions that year and the following year, as the state government began to enforce federal and state religious laws more strictly. During the 1931 festivities accompanying the yearly pilgrimages to the Virgin of Zapopan (which involves the figure of the Virgin Mary being transported to 'visit' parishes, markets and other public places throughout Guadalajara, from mid-June through 12 October), three priests were arrested at the Church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar for officiating without proper registration. The crowds attending the ceremony aggressively protested their arrest, which in turn provoked the Guadalajara police and fire department to disperse the protesters with fire hoses. In 1932 and 1933, hundreds of Catholics were arrested on Ash Wednesday for violating

⁷⁴Protesta de la "Acción Damas Católicas," p. 27; Aranzazú: PEC/FT, Fondo 12 Serie 010806, Exp. 55 inv. 7308, Palomar de Vereia to Alba de Pani, 22 Nov. 1932; AGN-GOB, exp. 2.341(11) 198 (various letters and petitions, 1932-1933), for continual use, UFCM-Guad.-Actas I and Actas II, *passim*. La Soledad and Belén: AGN-GOB, exp. 2.341(11)190, petición de 4 Nov. 1933; AGN-RP-ALR, Cultos Religiosos (514), Exp. 514.1/2-60 (various letters and petitions, 1933); Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 499; Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 176.

According to Luis Rodolfo Moran Quiroz, although small numbers of Protestants - principally foreigners - had been present in Guadalajara since the nineteenth century, Protestant churches with Mexican congregations began to establish themselves in Guadalajara in the 1920s. Significant growth did not occur until in the 1950s and 1960s, when migration swelled the city population; *Alternativa Religiosa en Guadalajara: Una aproximación al estudio de las iglesias evangélicas*, (Guadalajara, 1990), p. 42; also Bastian, *Protestantismo y sociedad en México*, pp. 77, 198-199. For numbers of Protestants in Jalisco, see Appendix 3.

the prohibition in Constitutional Article 130 against displays of religious rituals outside churches or private homes by leaving Mass with ashen crosses drawn on their foreheads.⁷⁵ Archbishop Orozco y Jimenez's exile, and the promulgation of Decree 3742, were intended to curtail such public displays of religious practice as well, by severely limiting the number of priests able to officiate, the number of churches available to Catholics, and their ability to occupy public spaces in ritual.

The Guadalajara UFCM consistently followed the directives of the UFCM Central Committee, as well as those of its ecclesiastical advisors and bishops, to support seminary students priests, both those working in the parishes and those unable to minister. From the very start, the Guadalajara UFCM-CD mandated that every UFCM-GP form a Sección Pro-Seminario. The diocesan committee also collected donations of money, food, and other supplies from parochial groups throughout the diocese. The UFCM-CD also invited other women's pious societies, such as the 'Asociación de las Marías' to collaborate.⁷⁶

Even before the promulgation of Decreto 3742, the UFCM-CD's ecclesiastical advisor, Father Toral, recommended that they found a new 'Comité Diocesano del Seminario' to help sustain the diocesan seminary and to help buy books for its students. Rather than having individual parochial groups spend their collections on small projects, its members, which could include parochial Pro-Seminario sections and individual priests, would buy ten-peso shares in the 'Comité Diocesano del Seminario,' a co-operative that would hold diocesan-wide fundraisers and negotiate directly with publishers and other suppliers to buy in bulk and obtain discounts. Any surplus funds collected would be allocated for other projects: ten percent would remain with the committee itself, ten percent would go to the UFCM-CD, forty percent would make up a fund for seminary students, and the remaining forty

⁷⁵USDOS 812.404/1074 (1931), p. 6; USMIL reel 2, 0875 'G-2 Report-Freedom of Religious Beliefs and Practices, 4 Mar. 1932'; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 483, p. 490.

⁷⁶UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 10b (29 Oct. 1930), p. 18 (16 Dec. 1930), p. 19b (23 Dec. 1930); p. 20b (30 Dec. 1930), p. 27b (10 Feb. 1931), p. 29 (24 Feb. 1931).

percent would be distributed among the members. The Guadalajara UFCM-CD approved the project and named Señorita María del Rosario Amezara, former president of the Santuario UFCM-CP. By 1934, the UFCM was able to raise over 2,000 pesos per year for the seminaries.⁷⁷

The Guadalajara UFCM went beyond supporting local priests and raising money for the Montezuma seminary in Arizona. The Diocesan Seminary in Guadalajara was closed and its building expropriated soon after the promulgation of Decreto 3742. In early 1934 the diocesan committee began to raise money, to gather supplies and foodstuffs and to make arrangements for a clandestine, diocesan seminary *in situ* to prepare young men for further religious study abroad or elsewhere in Mexico. The Guadalajara UFCM-CD also recommended that each parish group and subcommittee appoint one woman to be responsible for its collections for the new seminary. It is not clear exactly when the clandestine diocesan seminary began taking students; in 1934, the Guadalajara UFCM-CD was thanked in a letter from Father Ignacio de Alba for the '*protección*' they had given the seminary for the academic year ending in August. At first, UFCM members took seminary students into their private homes. As the numbers of students grew, they first used a house owned by a local UFCM member, Señora Tomasa Robles, and then rented a second house from a reliable third party, for the students who were coming from across the archdiocese to Guadalajara. Other members offered their own residences as collection points for supplies.⁷⁸

The Jalisco state legislature claimed that the police had discovered and closed '*varios seminarios*' as of November 1932, but evidently they did not find them all. The Guadalajara UFCM sustained the diocesan seminary materially and financially throughout the decade, and there is no report of the seminary being

⁷⁷UFCM-Guad., Actas I, pp. 69b-70b (7 Apr. 1932), p. 119b (9 Aug. 1934).

⁷⁸UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 108b (25 Jan. 1934), p. 110b (22 Feb. 1934), p. 112b (12 Apr. 1934), p. 121b (13 Sept 1934), p. 123b (8 Nov. 1934); Wilfrid Parsons estimates that about 340 seminarians were living and studying in small groups in Guadalajara in 1935, and reported that other seminaries had been opened in San Juan de los Lagos (in Los Altos) and Totatiche (*Mexican Martyrdom*, pp. 175, 255-256).

threatened by the authorities in the diocesan committee's archives. The rumour of another seminary being founded in San Juan de los Lagos, in Los Altos, was mentioned in a March 1937 circular from the federal Gobernación, directed to the state government and to local officials. However, local officials could not (or, possibly, would not) provide evidence to substantiate the charge. In September 1938, ecclesiastical assistant Father Gutiérrez announced that another new house was about to be opened as a seminary, supported by the UFCM's endeavours.⁷⁹

Salvador Sandoval Godoy, who as a teenager came from the remote town of El Teúl, Zacatecas, to study in the Guadalajara seminary, remembered the women of the UFCM: they ironed his shirts, did his laundry, cooked for him and housed him while he studied. Several of Sandoval Godoy's family members had died in the Cristero rebellion. For him and his ten siblings, there was no question of attending the official school in El Teúl, even though this would have enabled them to advance educationally later on. His parents instead sent them to the '*escuela parroquial a escondidas*,' taught by one Señora Lupe López, from which he progressed to the Guadalajara seminary. Although he would have been able to enter the Montezuma seminary from there, Sandoval Godoy chose not to continue his studies toward the priesthood. He has remained an adamant Catholic and lifelong participant in the Congregación Mariana (a pious association for men). One former classmate of Sandoval Godoy, who also did not join the priesthood, went on to edit and publish Catholic newspapers such as *Apostol*, the Congregación Mariana's newsletter, and the UNPF newspaper *La Epoca*, and later became an editor at the secular Guadalajara daily *El Occidente*. Sandoval Godoy emphasised that, without the support of the women of the UFCM, the seminary would not have remained open in the 1930s and 1940s to provide a Catholic alternative for young men's education. Although these

⁷⁹Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 496; AHJ-GOB, Sección 4 (Iglesia), Caja 342, Exp. G-4-937/21.60/3 (A. García Toledo to Governor of Jal., 20 Feb. 1937; Secretario General de Gobernación, to the Municipal President of San Juan de los Lagos, 26 Feb. 1937; J. Jesús Escote P. (Municipal President of San Juan de Los Lagos) to Governor of Jal, 1 Mar. 1937); UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 87 (22 Sept. 1938). According to Wilfrid Parsons, a minor seminary was opened clandestinely in Totatiche, in northern Jalisco, in the mid-1930s (*Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 176), but I have neither found other evidence regarding the school nor of UFCM members work to support it.

young men could not proceed to state institutions of higher learning, they were able to acquire education and credentials to obtain employment – often with relatives or friends who accepted loyalty to the Church as a credential as others would a diploma. The Guadalajara diocesan seminary remained hidden and supported by lay activists until seminaries could operate more openly in Mexico. This occurred during the 1950s, when a Minor Seminary (for high school-aged students) was opened in Analco and a Major Seminary (for university-aged men) was opened in Chapalita, outside of Guadalajara. To the present, the UFCM continues to arrange financial and practical support for the seminarians.⁸⁰

The Guadalajara UFCM and Women Religious

In the early 1930s, the Jalisco government undertook a series of *cateos*, searches of private homes, ostensibly to disband seditious meetings and to discover arms caches that Catholic rebels might use against the government. It was hoped that the *cateos* would also serve the purpose of discovering hidden convents and seminaries, illegal under the constitution and its operating laws. Jalisco law enforcement officers searched in vain, however, for contraband armaments, though they found clandestine convents. A raid on the Avenida Libertad on 21 October 1932, rumoured to be the site of seditious meetings and the storage of subversive propaganda and arms, revealed only eight nuns. They were arrested and charged with violating the religious laws; government agents also found a store of habits, crucifixes, candles and religious books and pamphlets. The next day, the state legislature passed a motion proposing to the governor that convents and religious schools be closed in order to '*poner un ejemplo, cuando los de la esfera civil se ponían puntillosos con la aplicación de la legislación relativa,*' a suggestion the governor accepted. In October 1932, Governor Sebastian Allende ordered the dissolution of

⁸⁰Salvador Sandoval Godoy, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, 14 Jun. 1997, Guadalajara; Ma. del Rosario Ortiz de Salazar, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, 7 May. 1997.

all convents remaining in the state and the immediate dispersion of all nuns, in a decree very similar to that passed by the federal government for the federal district and territories. For several years, strict enforcement of these laws in Guadalajara and outlying municipalities resulted in the arrest, fining and occasional imprisonment of numerous women religious, as well as the confiscation of their property.⁸¹

The federal reform of Constitutional Article 3, mandating that all primary education be not only secular but also 'socialist,' and complimentary state legislation forced Catholic schools in Guadalajara and Jalisco to close. Governor Allende announced in his 1935 address to the State Legislature that of the 86 private schools that had been operating in Jalisco in 1934, only 25 remained open – in other words, state inspection had forced the closure of 61 schools. Part of the rationale for their closure was that women religious who staffed the schools were not licensed by the State to teach. Previous government regulations had mandated that trained, licensed, lay women occupy the positions of director, subdirector, and teachers. Some Catholic schools under the auspices of women's religious orders complied with this regulation as part of their attempts to remain open. Many religious orders found that, even if they could find reliable Catholic women to employ, they could not afford to pay their salaries (the sisters, who worked as part of their religious community, most likely had worked only for their keep). And in spite of such efforts by Catholic school directors, by 1935, even Catholic schools that employed laywomen as teachers and directors were being closed on the grounds of constitutional violations regarding religious practice outside of church confines.⁸²

⁸¹ Aviña L. 'Datos sobre la actual persecución religiosa...' 27 Mar. 1935, mentions the arrest of the nuns at Donato Guerra 'entre otras'; Wilfrid Parsons, SJ, 'An Open Letter to Ambassador Daniels,' *America*, 1 Apr. 1933, p. 618 (recorte de prensa in AGN-RP-ALR Exp. 514/40, also *Mexican Martyrdom*, pp. 73-75 and 120-122; 'Por las Diócesis de la República: Guadalajara,' *Christus*, II, 14 (Jan. 1937), p. 96 (several *cateos* in mid-1936) and 'Información: Noticias tomadas del 'Diario Oficial,' *ibid.*, p. 94 (Convento de los Dolores turned over to the Secretaría de Guerra y Marina); 'Información: de la República,' *Christus*, II, 18 (May 1937), pp. 446-448 (Guadalajara police search and seize houses of Religiosas Adoratrices and Terceras Franciscanas); also Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, pp. 486-487.

⁸² Aviña L., 'Datos sobre la actual persecución religiosa...' 27 Mar. 1935, and 'Informe rendido al Excmo Sr. Vicario General acerca de las actividades docentes de algunas Casas Religiosas,' 2 May 1935. According to Maria Teresa Fernández Aceves, only 13 private schools remained open in Guadalajara at

Auxiliary Bishop Garibi Rivera asked the UFCM to find housing for the religious women and to provide them with food and other supplies, so that from these 'secure houses,' they could resume their schedules of prayer and their work. With the consent of the property owners, women religious continued to give clandestine classes in private homes, in defiance of the government's orders. However, the number of students fell because of the inherent danger of hosting gatherings of children (likely to attract the attention of police and federal or state inspectors), and the risks of arrest, fines and property confiscation in hosting or attending a hidden Catholic school. Consequently, many women religious lost their main source of income while the laws were being strictly enforced, and either turned to low-paying piecework or were forced to rely on the charity of the families sheltering them.⁸³

Not all government officials proved hostile. Lay teachers who worked with the Sisters of the Incarnate Word in Guadalajara found that sympathetic inspectors and policemen would provide warnings of when and where the next inspections would be, so that the religious sisters could vacate the premises and find new locations. Evidently numerous working relationships like this were developed, for a 1937 report from a state inspector noted the 'rumour' that nuns were not only living in Los Altos, but were again operating small schools in flagrant violation of the law. In 1938, a government *cateo* revealed the residences of the Siervas de Jesús Sacramentado and of a group of Franciscan Tertiaries; the first group was actually allowed to keep their house. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart, renowned for their extensive educational work, were also able to reopen their schools in Guadalajara later in the decade, as Church-state tensions lessened.⁸⁴

the end of 1935; after this point there are no records for private schools in the AHJ Archivo Escolar until 1940. See 'Science, Work and Virtue,' pp. 20-22.

⁸³J. Aviña L., "Datos sobre la actual persecución religiosa...", 27 Mar. 1935, and 'Informe rendido...', 2 May 1935.

⁸⁴Ibid. and 'Apendice, Persecución de religiosas,' pp. 5-6; UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 86b (24 Oct. 1932); AHJ-GOB, Sección 4 (Iglesia), Caja 342, Exp. G-4-937, report dated 3 Jun 1937; 'Información: Por la República,' *Christus*, 3, 29 (Apr. 1938), p. 294; M.C. Trujillo Villa, interview.

Although the normative literature coming from Church leaders rarely mentioned the needs of women religious, the UFCM consistently concerned itself with those who remained in Jalisco as part of their work of protecting the interests of the Church. One activist willing to risk her home and security by assisting women religious was María del Rosario Gil. Gil had joined the Sagrario UFCM-GP when her family moved to Guadalajara from Tamazula in the late 1920s, and worked in the Schools section. Immediately after receiving a notice of the closure of her daughter's Catholic school, Gil invited a group of her daughter's teachers to stay at her home, refusing to even consider sending her children to official schools. When the Mother Superior asked Gil if her husband, Teodúlo Alejandre, had given her permission to make the invitation, Gil replied in the negative, but said not to worry: '*él me apoya.*' Alejandre, also a Catholic activist, willingly blocked off one section of his house and constructed "cells" out of sheets and lumber; he then barred his family members from entering the nuns' section, to protect their privacy. He also would not accept money for their keep, telling the Mother Superior, '*Pobre aquí pero aquí comemos.*'⁸⁵

Six women religious lived on and off and conducted classes in the Alejandre Gil household from 1932 to 1937. Gil showed her sensitivity to their predicament when one began suffering from a menopause-related haemorrhage during the move to her household. The other nuns suggested waiting for their Mother Superior to decide on a course of action. Gil, having suffered several miscarriages, disregarded their fears of state reprisal and retorted '*No, esta no es que venga la Reverenda, esta es de ahorita y ya yo soy la que va a poner a ella.*' She then sent her daughter to a pharmacy for medical supplies that she had used before. Later, after a doctor and the Mother Superior commended Gil's swift action and discretion, the nuns affectionately told her, '*Pos, entonces Usted es nuestra Reverenda.*' '*Y así era, por necesidad,*' commented her daughter, María del Rosario Alejandre Gil.⁸⁶

⁸⁵Alejandre Gil, interview.

⁸⁶Ibid.

Alejandre and Gil forsook inviting all but close family members to their house during this time; their children were neither allowed to invite friends in nor to tell anyone about their extended guests. The family maintained their relationship with the women religious after prohibitions against convents and religious schools in Guadalajara began to be relaxed. Alejandre Gil, the only daughter in the family, continued her schooling with them and later took commercial courses at the Colegio America, the school that they reopened in lay teachers' names in the early 1940s.⁸⁷

The Guadalajara UFCM, Youth, Education and Schools

Throughout the decade, the diocesan chapter of the UFCM in Guadalajara identified the provision of Catholic education for children and adults as one of its primary tasks. The secular education provided by the state was quickly identified as an impediment to their goal of 'the moralisation of all social classes.' At a meeting in November 1930, Toral encouraged the women to fight the influences of the secular school and Protestantism; it was their task, he continued, to 'win over the teachers.' Toral acknowledged that some parents, for financial reasons, had no choice but to submit their children to the 'dangers' of what he called '*centros protestantes*' (meaning official schools) so that they could receive an education. But if the official school teachers (whom he consistently referred to with the exclusively feminine '*profesoras*') were allied with the Church, then even the secular school could collaborate in the mission of the 'moralisation of the working class.'⁸⁸

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 15 (25 Nov. 1930).

One of the UFCM's first projects in Guadalajara was the establishment of an academy that would offer vocational and catechism classes to both housewives and working women. By October 1930, the women had arranged for a location, teachers, internal regulations and students, and awaited only sufficient funding; the first Academia opened in the Santuario parish in February 1931.⁸⁹ Later in the decade, several of the subcommittees in the city of Guadalajara began their own academies for women, as did several of the parochial groups in the outlying towns.

In December 1930, the '*Reglamento para las Academías Femeninas de la A.C.M.*' (read: the UFCM) was published in the *BEG* for use throughout the diocese. The certificate to be granted by the academies was to give the title of '*Ama de hogar*,' homemaker, to the women who attended. Mexican women had been learning some of the subjects taught at the academy outside of degree courses for centuries: '*cocina completa*'; '*lavado y planchado de ropa*'; '*aseo general de la casa*'; '*atención de los niños*'; '*medicina doméstica*'; and '*repaso de ropa y accesorios, remendar, zurcir, etc.*' Yet other skills, although they could be utilised in the private home, could also be used as a way for women to make extra money: '*corte de ropa por cinta o por sistema*'; '*horticultura*'; '*avicultura*'; '*confección de flores*'; '*confección de objetos imitando mimbre*'; '*bordado en máquina*' and '*a mano*,' and other textile handicrafts. The '*cocina completa*' course included sections on arranging a dining room, serving foods according to etiquette, and methods of making exotic recipes ('*cocina extra*' versus '*cocina rudimentaria*'), pastry and candy making, and drinks, punch, cocktails and wines. These skills, like those taught in the optional drawing, painting, music and singing classes, could be used by a lady of leisure; but some could prove useful for a woman employed in domestic service. Similarly, classes in grammar and arithmetic could be utilised inside and outside the home. Classes in '*Moral*' were mandatory, as was

⁸⁹UFCM-Guad, Actas I, p. 3b (2 Aug. 1930); p. 5 (20 Aug. 1930), p. 7 (1 Oct. 1930); p. 25 (first Tuesday, Feb. 1931).

One of the UFCM's first projects in Guadalajara was the establishment of an academy that would offer vocational and catechism classes to both housewives and working women. By October 1930, the women had arranged for a location, teachers, internal regulations and students, and awaited only sufficient funding; the first Academia opened in the Santuario parish in February 1931.⁸⁹ Later in the decade, several of the subcommittees in the city of Guadalajara began their own academies for women, as did several of the parochial groups in the outlying towns.

In December 1930, the '*Reglamento para las Academías Femeninas de la A.C.M.*' (read: the UFCM) was published in the *BEG* for use throughout the diocese. The certificate to be granted by the academies was to give the title of '*Ama de hogar*,' homemaker, to the women who attended. Mexican women had been learning some of the subjects taught at the academy outside of degree courses for centuries: '*cocina completa*'; '*lavado y planchado de ropa*'; '*aseo general de la casa*'; '*atención de los niños*'; '*medicina doméstica*'; and '*repaso de ropa y accesorios, remendar, zurcir, etc.*' Yet other skills, although they could be utilised in the private home, could also be used as a way for women to make extra money: '*corte de ropa por cuenta o por sistema*'; '*horticultura*'; '*avicultura*'; '*confección de flores*'; '*confección de objetos imitando mimbre*'; '*bordado en máquina*' and '*a mano*,' and other textile handicrafts. The '*cocina completa*' course included sections on arranging a dining room, serving foods according to etiquette, and methods of making exotic recipes ('*cocina extra*' versus '*cocina rudimentaria*'), pastry and candy making, and drinks, punch, cocktails and wines. These skills, like those taught in the optional drawing, painting, music and singing classes, could be used by a lady of leisure; but some could prove useful for a woman employed in domestic service. Similarly, classes in grammar and arithmetic could be utilised inside and outside the home. Classes in '*Moral*' were mandatory, as was

⁸⁹UFCM-Guad, Actas I, p. 3b (2 Aug. 1930); p. 5 (20 Aug. 1930), p. 7 (1 Oct. 1930); p. 25 (first Tuesday, Feb. 1931).

a high degree of deference for the *profesoras*; failure to comply with these would result in expulsion from the academy.⁹⁰

The Guadalajara UFCM-CD, fulfilling its role as sponsor of young Catholic women's organisation, assisted in the reorganisation of the Guadalajara JCFM after the Cristero rebellion. Auxiliary bishop Garibi Rivera had approached Carmen de la Torre Heydereich, who had worked with the UDCM earlier, and named Father Rafael Regalado as their ecclesiastical assistant. The Guadalajara JCFM's first meeting was held at Catalina Palomar de Vere's house on 1 April 1930; there they elected their first officers and settled on their first project, '*a buscar manera de formarse y ayudar a formar a las militantes para que estas dieran un verdadero servicio a la Iglesia.*' After establishing a diocesan committee, the JCFM organised grupos parroquiales, the first being San José de Analco (where parish priest Higinio Gutiérrez López had organised a JCFM group before the diocesan committee was formed), then the parishes of Mexicaltzingo, Santísima Trinidad, Purísima Concepción and Santuario de Guadalupe. By 1932, there were 49 JCFM-GPs throughout the Diocese of Guadalajara, with over 1,000 members. Like the UFCM, the JCFM also maintained its unity and organisation by holding biweekly general meetings alternating with local meetings, and biennial general assemblies, the first in 1933.⁹¹

The JCFM collaborated in the UFCM's 'Academia de Cultura Femenina' project. Perhaps because of their influence, the academy soon began to offer practical courses such as stenography and typing, along with academic courses such as Philosophy, Geography, Literature, Sociology, Languages (Spanish, English and French). The Academy charged a fee for these courses, but the Religion and Catholic Action courses were free and open to all. The Church in Guadalajara consistently viewed the UFCM-JCFM academies as a worthwhile endeavour. In 1937, Garibi

⁹⁰Reglamento para las Academias Femeninas de la A.C.M. en la Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara,' *BEG*, I: 10, 1 Dec. 1930, pp. 580-582.

⁹¹JCFM. Guadalajara: Comité Diocesano de la JCFM de Guadalajara, s/f, in UFCM-Ibero, Fondo Anexo: Archivo de la ACM, Caja 22 [2276] #268 (catalog #53), pp. 16-18. First officers: President, C. de la Torre Heydereich, Vice-President, Josefina Chávez Peón, Secretary, Dolores Ibarra.

Rivera recommended that all JCFM members take classes at the 'Instituto de Cultura Femenina' in the Archdiocese—probably an extension of this earlier project – because *'bien formadas y sólidamente instruidas en la sana filosofía serán óptimas colaboradoras en la ulterior instrucción de los demás fieles.'*⁹²

From the names of the JCFM members and their UFCM sponsors, it is again apparent that upper class Catholics were sponsoring the academies. However, many participants in the various branches of the ACM also came from the middle class, especially former rural elites who had lost their properties and status and moved from provincial Jalisco to Guadalajara during the Revolution of 1910 or the Cristero Rebellion.⁹³ The academies were sufficiently affordable for working class and recent rural migrants to attend as well. In 1935, after her father died, María Guadalupe Valdez de León, moved from Concepción del Valle, Tlajomulco municipality, to the working-class neighbourhood of Mexicaltzingo, Guadalajara. Valdez de León wanted to work to support her mother, but as a staunch Catholic she refused to partake in public education courses. Instead, she took a three-year course in accounting at a Catholic academy. The material was complicated, she found, and the teachers thorough: the students had to practice balancing books, paying taxes in stamps (*timbres*), and exchanging information between public and private accounting offices. Model problems were often dictated to the classes, to see who could reckon the quickest. In one class, when Valdez de León finished first, the teacher admonished the class, *'¿ay señoritas, no les da vergüenza con esa rancherita, terminado primera la factura?'*⁹⁴

⁹²*Ibid.* and José Garibi Rivera, 'Circular No. 21,' 23 Apr. 1937, *Christus*, II, 20 (Jul. 1937), p. 605.

⁹³Fernández Aceves, 'Science, Work and Virtue,' p. 25; also M. R. Alejandro Gil, interview (land-owning families in Tamazula and Concepción de Buenos Aires), M. C. Trujillo Villa, interview (land-owning family in Sayula), and others.

⁹⁴María Guadalupe Valdez de León, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 5 Jun. 1997. The Hacienda La Concepción, where Valdez's father had worked as a sharecropper (sharing half his produce with the *patrón* in return for use of land and farming implements), became the town of Concepción del Valle when the hacienda was expropriated and redistributed in the early 1930s.

Nevertheless, Valdez de León's teachers recommended the *rancherita* for a job that became available several months before graduation. Also, at this time, Valdez de León was invited to join the Sección de Empleadas of the Mexicaltzingo JCFM-GP. Being a JCFM member did not conflict with her school and work schedule, she explained, because the Empleadas met on Sundays. While JCFM meetings were not used as forums to organise women workers, the ecclesiastical assistants did recommend that they study '*Rerum Novarum y todo eso*,' i.e. Catholic social documents related to the status of workers. Valdez de León saw the 'moral' focus of the meetings as valuable; after all, she said, the *empleadas* might eventually be responsible for large amounts of money, have other employees under their command, or be put in compromising situations by male employers or co-workers. Besides such themes, though, Valdez de León remembers that the young women tried to avoid talking about work beyond '*¿Cómo te ha ido?/Bien.*' Instead they concentrated on prayer, pious acts, volunteer projects and social activities. Valdez de León commented that Mexicaltzingo had a separate young women's group for '*independientes*,' i.e., those who did not have at salaried employment. For a very short time during the 1930s, the Mexicaltzingo JCFM-GP divided its Empleadas section between white-collar and blue-collar and domestic workers because of their different backgrounds and needs, which elicited complaints from both groups: the blue-collar and domestic workers complained that the separation implied they were somehow less smart than the others, and the white-collar workers complained that they were so few in number as to be ineffectual. That experiment was shelved, as the women members decided that what they shared in common (their faith, their interests) outweighed the differences in the nature of their employment, and that they could form one '*grupo bien unido*.'⁹⁵

The UFCM and JCFM did try to expand their social action activity to the very limits of post-Cristiada legality. In early 1935, the Guadalajara UFCM-CD announced it was going to open a '*una casa de servicio social, o sea "Amiga de la*

⁹⁵Ibid.

Obrera," to counteract the '*trabajo de protestantes*' in the city centre. The Jalisco state government had opened a 'Casa Amiga de la Obrera' in 1923, at the behest of radical women organisers, which functioned as a day-care centre for working women's children and a locale for union organising and night classes. The Catholic 'Casa Amiga de la Obrera' functioned primarily as another academy, targeted towards working women, although it collected food to provide free meals and tried to provide free classes with volunteer teachers as well. Despite the priority that the Guadalajara UFCM-CD had placed on opening such a house, UFCM members complained that many ecclesiastical assistants did not see the need for such a project and were not providing much help. Similarly, in 1936 the president of the women's auxiliary of the PNR in Guadalajara petitioned President Cárdenas, seemingly without answer, for use of the 'Instituto 'Casa de la Mujer,' and for funds to provide workshops for working-class and peasant women; no reply to her petition exists in the national archives. Both the state and the Church Casas were reported to be run down and lacking funds by 1938.⁹⁶ It is possible that, as Church-State tensions ceased and the institutions' need for allies lessened, male leaders' interest in maintaining social service centres and academies for them waned as well.

The UFCM versus State Education

The need for lay catechists increased in the 1930s as private, Catholic schools were closed and the number of priests able to organise catechism programmes in their parishes diminished. Garibi Rivera, like other Church leaders, envisioned lay women as the ideal solution to this problem.⁹⁷ The UFCM and JCFM began sponsoring religious instruction groups and catechism classes in the parishes, and

⁹⁶UFCM-Guad, Actas I, p. 129b (10 Jan. 1935), p. 130b (17 Jan. 1935); M.T. Fernández Aceves, 'Women, State, and Labor,' pp. 4-5; AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 562.5/83, extracto #67973, 23 oct 1936 (Socorro Suárez, Pdta. de la Acción Femenina del PNR, Guadalajara, Jal., to President Cárdenas, 18 Sept. 1936); Urzúa Orozco and Hernández Z, p. 1230 (Third Annual Report of Governor Everardo Topete, 1938); UFCM-Guad, Actas II, p. 85 (8 Sept. 1938).

⁹⁷Fernández Aceves, 'Science, Work and Virtue,' pp. 21-22.

encouraged younger women to work with children's groups. This work quickly evolved into the organisation of alternative primary schools for Catholic children. The Church's attitude toward secular schools hardened with the reform of Article 3 of the Constitution and the implementation of the socialist education curriculum in December 1934. The members of the Guadalajara UFCM-CD were advised to collaborate with the UNPF, but individually, rather than by collectively subsuming their religious instruction and schools sections into the organisation. Their ecclesiastical assistant reminded the women that '*la AC no es para resolver problemas de momento, pues le toca formar el criterio, la conciencia, para que conozcamos el deber de Cristianizar.*'⁹⁸ However, that task, as it turned out, involved close involvement with '*problemas de momento,*' which Church leaders explicitly asked women to address.

Catholic women in Guadalajara did not avoid provocative, even illegal, acts in opposition to the state's new educational programme, and were ready to accept the consequences of their actions. In November 1934 several Guadalajara women were arrested for distributing leaflets encouraging parents, children, and teachers to avoid demonstrations in support of the new curriculum, even if it meant sacrificing their jobs or schooling. The UFCM was mobilised in preparation for the demonstration, distributing guidelines for action which were quite similar to those of the Guadalajaran women reported in Calles' correspondence files: members were not to attend the demonstration themselves; propagandists (*celadoras*) were to endeavour to convince as many people as possible, children and adults, not to attend the demonstrations, either. All shopping was to be done as early as possible, and then all opponents were to stay inside their houses during the day, praying for Mexico's salvation, so that the streets would appear to be those of a '*ciudad muerta.*' Unfortunately for the Guadalajaran Catholic women, many people did attend the demonstration, for a variety of reasons: some, out of enthusiasm for the new project; others, including Catholics, for fear of losing their jobs, and some out of

⁹⁸UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 124(8 Nov. 1934).

simple curiosity. Nevertheless, the women continued to support Catholic opposition to radical organising, for example when they supported young, male Catholic activists' work against radical demonstrations, as when they supported the young Catholic students of the Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios de Jalisco who opposed the socialist curriculum in the state university.⁹⁹

Creating Catholic Schooling Alternatives

Catholics had tried at first to help keep private, Catholic schools open by changing their names (for example from those of religious figures and symbols to secular heroes), by arranging façades of lay directors, staff and sponsors for the congregations of vowed religious who ran the schools, and by hiding religious materials and decorations, such as Catholic textbooks and crucifixes. As state and local education inspectors grew more zealous in their *cateos*, however, it became much more difficult to keep the religious content of schools hidden. Catholic schools were closed and driven underground.¹⁰⁰ The UFCM took on the task of replacing private, Catholic schools with smaller home schools. UFCM-CPs were advised to keep school groups smaller than nine or ten children, to avoid suspicion of larger gatherings. In mid-1935, the Guadalajara UFCM-CD received advanced warning that the bishops would declare a '*huelga escolar*,' and worried that the 84 '*centros hogar*' they had already established would be insufficient for the upcoming demand.¹⁰¹ The Guadalajara UFCM-CD also encouraged its members to sign an

⁹⁹ PEC/FT, Fondo 12 Serie 010806, Exp. 9, Inv. 7263, 'Boletines de los rebeldes Villarealistas,' 'Boletín #38,' 22 Nov. 1934, UFCM-Guad., Actas I, pp. 124b-125 and , p. 132b (2 Mar. 1935); ILF-AC, Exp "Educación," Carpeta "MAN," Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios de Jalisco, 'Manifiesto al estudiantado y al pueblo de México,' 23 Oct. 1934, and other documents; Teresa Michel de Barba, interview with Kristina Boylan, Guadalajara, 27 May 1997; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 527; Armando Martínez Moya and Manuel Moreno Castañeda, *Jalisco desde la Revolución*, Vol. 7, *La escuela de la Revolución* (Guadalajara, 1988), p. 205.

¹⁰⁰ By 1935, only 13 private schools remained open in Guadalajara, where formerly there were more than 80; Fernández Aceves, "Science, Work and Virtue," p. 21, Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 232.

¹⁰¹ This worry was certainly justified. While I do not have figures available for the school-age populations of individual municipalities, the 1940 census demonstrates that about 25% of Jalisco's population were 5-14 years old (i.e., of primary and secondary school ages). In 1930, Guadalajara had approximately 210,000 inhabitants, making for roughly 52,500 schoolchildren - and in 1934, the UFCM only had 840 spaces for them, i.e. a capacity for about 1.6% of Guadalajara's schoolchildren. In 1940,

open letter to the president, joining the campaign of the Central Committee to voice mass disapproval of the socialist curriculum, in the hopes that this demonstration of popular opinion would convince Cárdenas to derogate the reformed Article 3.¹⁰²

Some authors conclude that it was never the intent of the Mexican government as a whole to apply a strict socialist education curriculum that would achieve its stated goal of eradicating all superstition, including religious belief. Francisco Barbosa Guzmán points out the improbability of a radical curriculum ever having been too widely applied in Jalisco, despite the dedication of many teachers to the cause of advancing learning and literacy in the cities and countryside, given the '*alianza católica en contra de alianza entre partidarios del gobierno*' and a '*diversidad de condiciones locales*' (putting it politely). Historians José María Muriá and Pablo Yankelevich (Muriá's student), are much less generous in their descriptions of the Catholic campaigns against socialist education. In their judgement, the social division engendered in the cities and the violence prevalent in the countryside set Jalisco back years, if not decades, in terms of providing its population with opportunities for basic education, and contributed to the demise of the radical education reform, which was sacrificed to growing concerns for national unity and economic (read: capitalist) growth.¹⁰³ Yet Catholic opposition to the official education programme was not solely a creation of conservatives, industrial bosses and landowners hoping to quash the radical ideologies being disseminated through the public schools in order to maintain their dominance. To assume this would be to imply that all Catholic activists had been hoodwinked by these reactionaries into quiescence, which for many was hardly the case. Catholic activists not only

with a population of almost 240,000, the school-age population (also 25%) increased to about 48,000. *Sexto Censo General de la Nación, 6 de marzo de 1940: Resumen General*, p. 4 and *Población Municipal* (1942), p. 20; UFCM-Guad, Actas I, p. 142 (11 Jul. 1935). Also see Appendix 3.

¹⁰²UFCM-Guad, Actas II, p. 132 (14 Feb. 1935), p. 142 (11 Jul. 1935), UFCM-Guad, Actas II, p. 3 (10 Sept. 1935).

¹⁰³Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, pp. 191-192, pp. 200-201; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, pp. 524-525; Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 567; Pablo Yankelevich, *La educación socialista en Jalisco* (Guadalajara, 1985), pp. 133-136.

mobilised to oppose the official schools and keep children out of them, but sought to create alternative schools or supplemental programs that had acceptable philosophical and pedagogical bases.

Furthermore, using the literacy levels as an indicator to assess basic access to education, the state of Jalisco does not come out as poorly as these historians indicate. In 1940, literacy in the Jalisco population over 6 years of age (47.5 percent) exceeded the national average (41.9 percent) and compared favourably to other central states of similar size and more radicalised administrations or populations (Puebla, 31.8 percent; Veracruz, 36 percent). Jalisco also displayed parity in its literacy levels; an equal percentage of men and women were counted as literate in the 1940 census, in contrast to states with significant inequities (in Puebla, literacy levels were 38.5 percent for men and 25.4 percent for women; in Veracruz, the breakdown was 41 to 31 percent). In her detailed study of education in the 1930s, Mary Kay Vaughan notes that while gender, ethnicity and religion were certainly important factors affecting school attendance and literacy levels, other demographic and cultural factors came into play and in some cases may have had greater effect, for example rural isolation versus urban proximity to schools, economic status, and views of 'proper' work versus idleness (i.e., studying).¹⁰⁴

Even with some figures available, it is hard to gauge the impact of alternative Catholic schools quantitatively, for several reasons. First, the numerical data that the UFCM had in its archives was, as they admitted, incomplete. The organisers of the schools had to maintain secrecy; Catholic home schools frequently changed locales and teachers to avoid arousing the suspicion of state inspectors. The Guadalajara UFCM-CD was also aware that its mail had been lost or tampered with

¹⁰⁴ *Sexto Censo General de Población*, pp. 7-8; Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in revolution*, pp. 80-82. It should be noted that Jalisco, unlike Puebla or Veracruz, did not have a significant indigenous population or its accompanying challenges (language barriers, cultural differences, etc.). Also, Jalisco still fell short of Mexico City's literacy level (74 percent) and that of the northern state of Sonora, the government of which was highly anticlerical (62 percent). But again, considerations of demographics and culture must be taken into account when making comparisons; see Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, p. 125. Also see Appendix 3 for figures.

several times, for which reason they obtained a post office box and instructed their members to use the post 'discreetly.'¹⁰⁵ This ruled out writing down detailed descriptions of illegal work and sending them to the diocesan committee, or the latter making them a matter of public record. It is entirely possible that the number of home schools in Guadalajara increased after 1934 or that there were some home schools of which the UFCM was not aware – memoirs and personal recollections seem to bear this out, but it is difficult to substantiate the point with statistics.

Another problem with Catholic schools was their licensing – not only were they operating illegally, but without certification from the SEP, their students could not use their diplomas in order to pass from primary to secondary school to train in a career, enter *preparatoria*, or, unless one's employer was sympathetic to the Catholic cause, be recognised as having qualified vocational training. Some Catholics, the SEP was aware, would educate their children at home schools for several years, and then either send them to official schools for the last year of primary school, as the students in the Santa Teresita parish did, or simply have them sit the qualifying exams for a diploma. The SEP tried to restrict such subterfuge by ordering school inspectors and teachers to demand proof that students had attended official schools for at least one year prior to the exams. Nevertheless, this solution seems to have endured for Catholic Guadalajarans until private schools again were certified by the SEP. Although the archdiocese of Guadalajara never formally relaxed its firm stance against the public school system and in favour of Catholic education, a good number of pragmatic Catholics chose this option for their children without too much moral compunction. Former Santa Teresita catechist and UFCM member Carmen Solano Vega explained it thus – parents endeavoured to give their children a solid grounding in faith-based education, but also wanted their children, who would have to work, to be able to use their education to progress in life. And, if they indeed

¹⁰⁵UFCM members were also advised to avoid using the telephone to discuss any of their organisation's campaigns. UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 126 (29 Nov. 1934); UFCM-Guad, Actas II, p. 39 (10 Sept. 1936), p. 41b (26 Oct. 1936), p. 91 (11 Aug. 1938).

continued in their moral guidance and vigilance over their children while they were enrolled in official schools, the parents were neither sinning nor placing their children at real risk. Father Ramón Ramo González, the parish priest of Santa Teresita, a middle-income and working class parish, approved of the five-year/one-year system, and encouraged the parish UFCM and JCFM to establish more home schools in the area.¹⁰⁶

As indicated above, Catholics who attended only confessional schools either had to hide the fact that they had done so or had to depend on *gente de confianza* to help them through bureaucratic processes or provide employment. Sandoval Godoy commented, '[e]ntonces no era tan difícil como ahora conseguir empleo.' After leaving the seminary, he was able to find work as a carpenter and as a home school teacher in El Teúl, but wanted to start a career in Guadalajara. At that time, Sandoval Godoy said, a young adult like himself could demonstrate '*conocimientos y buena conducta*' to people who knew (or knew of) his family or acquaintances, and, upon proving himself, could then be promoted, all without the benefit of a SEP-stamped diploma.¹⁰⁷ Such dual systems, compromises and glosses make it difficult to quantify how many parents and students chose Catholic against state education. Few historians, even of 'Catholic Jalisco' have tried to estimate, although with the figures available it seems that no more than a fraction of Guadalajara's school age children could have attended Catholic home schools.¹⁰⁸ Qualitatively, however, it is evident that the Catholic boycott and the clandestine, home school system were sufficiently prevalent to worry the SEP. The Catholic schools also had a strong influence on the generation of Catholic Guadalajarans educated in the 1930s who subsequently joined the Church's social action programmes.

¹⁰⁶ 'Documentación Civil,' *Christus* II, 25 (Dec. 1937), p. 1076, reprint of Prof. Joaquín Jara Díaz, Jefe del Depto., Departamento de Enseñanza Primaria y Normal, México, DF, Circular No. 283-214, 20 Oct. 1937; María del Carmen Solano Vega, interviews with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 27 May and 13 Jun. 1997.

¹⁰⁷ Sandoval Godoy, interview.

¹⁰⁸ Even rounding their capacity up to 1,000, the UFCM's given figure in 1935 indicates that Catholic home schools could only take in approximately one to two percent of Guadalajaran schoolchildren.

The issue of access to education is further complicated for women, as enabling girls to advance scholastically remained a low priority in the overall scheme of educational reform. Officially, the state committed to providing boys and girls an equal opportunity for basic education through either parallel or co-educational primary schools (depending on both a community's resources and level of resistance to coeducation), and at times indicted conservatives for maintaining girls (and women) in ignorance and superstition. However, a key component of the new curriculum was the attempt to inculcate in students '*una actitud igual hacía el trabajo*.' In other words, the downtrodden who were gaining access to education for the first time were not to be encouraged to use their education as a tool to advance socially, but to better fulfil their given roles in life – as workers, as peasants, as women. In some communities, schools and their satellite social organisations – anti-alcoholic leagues, parents' or mothers' groups, hygiene programmes – broadened opportunities for women to participate in public, social debates. However, this participation was often limited for women in the roles of mothers (to students), wives (of agraristas, of workers) and daughters. The state did promote vocational training for women, and especially directed ambitious female students toward normal schools. Women were seen as the ideal teachers of the young, and teaching was, in general, a respectable profession to which a woman could aspire (although the nature of co-educational training programmes and the sexual and socialist curricula raised doubts regarding the moral calibre of official school teachers in some minds, like those of more conservative Jaliscans). However, teachers' supervisors, administrators and union leaders were overwhelmingly male. University education and professional degrees also remained a mostly male enclave.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 46ff., p. 98 (quote), p. 132; Martínez Moya and Moreno Castañeda, *La escuela de la Revolución*, p. 133, p. 249ff.; Elsie Rockwell, 'Schools of the Revolution: Enacting and Contesting State Forms in Tlaxcala, 1910-1930,' in Joseph and Nugent, *Everyday Forms of State Formation*, p. 201; Vaughan, 'Rural Women's Literacy,' p. 106.

In the 1930s, many women, if they went to school at all, were privileged if they completed primary school. Young women were valued for their domestic skills and marriageability, not their intellectual prowess or professional qualifications. Young women's schooling gradually came to be seen as a benefit to families as skills such as literacy and job training became more valued – a process that occurred earlier and more quickly in cities and towns than in the countryside – especially as they made for more discriminating consumers and better-paid wage earners.¹¹⁰

In 1930s Guadalajara, too, it seems that it was not often a matter of great concern whether girls, Catholic or not, had diplomas that would allow them to proceed to institutions of higher education; most would not continue their studies beyond primary school, commercial or vocational courses, or at most, training as teachers or nurses. Even with the added benefits of an extra wage earner contributing to the family income, parents often told their daughters, '*no tengas necesidad de hacer una carrera así grande. ¿Por qué no tomas clases mejor para [que] te prepares para vivir, para tu madurez o, posiblemente te cases?*' It was assumed that the benefits of study and career training would be lost to both parents and the daughters when the latter married and stopped working outside the home. With the exception of teachers, nurses and some other professionals, far more women who continued working after marriage did so at unskilled or semi-skilled jobs that did not require advanced schooling. Thus there was comparatively little incentive to invest time and resources in women's formal education, much less to press for official certification of young women's studies.¹¹¹

Yet many Catholic parents considered a Catholic education, even if just through the primary level, to be essential, regardless of their ideas about their children's future. Encyclicals such as *Acerbo Nimis* (1905) and *Divini Illius Magistri*

¹¹⁰Vaughan, 'Rural Women's Literacy,' p. 117.

¹¹¹Lucila Luna Arias de Hernández, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 20 Jun. 1997; Luna Arias wanted to continue her studies in chemistry at a *preparatoria* to qualify to work in a pharmacy and received this reply from her father. Also Alejandro Gil, interview; Clementina Trujillo Villa, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 13 May 1997.

(1929) taught that an integrated, Catholic curriculum was preferable to a secular education, even one supplemented with catechism. The state's programmes of sexual and socialist education galvanised Catholic fears of the immoral influence that public education would have on children. Catholic parents, especially those who were activists themselves, resolved to create and support a clandestine Catholic school system to provide an alternative to the primary education offered by the state. María del Rosario Gil, a UFCM Sección de Escuelas activist who took in women religious from her daughter's closed school and allowed them to continue teaching in her home, was a prime example. Clotilde Villa de Corona, who participated in the Sección de Escuelas at the Santísima Trinidad UFCM-CP, also invited women religious and lay Catholic teachers to use the interior patio of her home for classes.¹¹²

Alumnae of the clandestine Catholic schools remember the difficulties and restrictions that the schools' secrecy imposed on their students, but also recall receiving a solid academic and religious education. María del Rosario Ortiz de Salazar attended the Colegio Medrano, a girls' school run by two sisters, María Luisa and María Ascensión Hernández, from 1934 through 1941 (she jested, '*Un año antes de que entrara los [private schools] clausuraron, y un año despues, los abrieron, ¿como ves?*'). The teachers rented rooms in private houses and changed location at least yearly. They visited the homes of their students to notify parents of the change of locale, not daring to send verbal or written notices home with the students. Often, the students met in storerooms or rooms without windows. Like the students at Alejandro Gil's house, they could not sing or play games, and there was no recess; '*era pura estudiar, estudiar, estudiar.*' Such a restrictive environment was difficult for children to adjust to; Ortiz de Salazar remembered her first year as particularly difficult. Also, the children had to arrive and leave alone or in pairs, at staggered intervals, to avoid suspicion. One day during her first year, another girl arrived at

¹¹²M.C. Trujillo Villa, interview; C. Trujillo Villa, interview. Wilfrid Parsons reported that 14 women's religious orders were continuing their educational work in home schools throughout Guadalajara (*Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 251).

the school very frightened, announcing '*¡Maestra, maestra, ya están los guaches [soldiers] en la esquina!*' The teacher had her students, girls from six to twelve years old, hide in a dark storeroom in the house where they met until its owner investigated and made sure there were no soldiers or police approaching. Even though this school was not searched or seized, such experiences left an impression on the students; the mere sight of a police officer or soldier, Ortiz de Salazar remembered, '*nos grabó de miedo.*'¹¹³

Nevertheless, Ortiz de Salazar did not feel that the tense environment had made her 'lose time.' Years later, after her children had gone to school, she decided to study English. The women religious who ran a school nearby told her that she would have to take secondary school courses first, which she began in 1969 – and passed with flying colours, because the subjects covered had been taught at the Hernández's primary school years before. Ortiz de Salazar remembered only one fellow student going on to study a career – teaching – and was not quite sure how she managed to have her first years of study validated, although she was certain that the Colegio Medrano was functioning legally by about 1942. This is entirely possible; the Colegio Aquiles Serdán, the girls' school researched by María Teresa Fernández Aceves, was opened clandestinely by lay Catholic women in 1937, but operated publicly and legally as an '*escuela laica*' by 1939.¹¹⁴

Ortiz de Salazar's mother, María Preciado de Ortiz, did not take the choice between Catholic and official education lightly. Originally from Rancho de Aguacate in the Juchitlán municipality, she left the hacienda where her parents lived to marry the public schoolteacher of the town of San José de los Guajes, Miguel Ortiz Santana. Ortiz Santana resigned from his position in 1926, when official schoolteachers were obliged to sign loyalty pledges to the government, committing

¹¹³Alejandro Gil, interview; María del Rosario Ortiz de Salazar, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 7 May 1997.

¹¹⁴Ortiz de Salazar, interview; Fernández Aceves, 'Science, Work and Virtue,' p. 30.

them to teach an anticlerical curriculum. Not only did Ortiz Santana sympathise with the Cristero cause, he also actively aided them, transporting arms and supplies while working as a trader. The Ortiz Preciado family was relocated several times as a result of the rural reconcentrations that the Mexican army used to combat the Cristero. From San José the family went to Juchitlán, and then to Ameca, where some of their children attended public school and Ortiz Santana's pro-Cristero activities were nearly found out. Moving again, to Toluquillo, Ortiz Santana turned down an opportunity to accept ejido land, and, fearing for his and his family's safety, settled in Guadalajara in 1933.¹¹⁵

Preciado de Ortiz claims that as a near-illiterate peasant, she felt that she could never quite have fitted in a group of cultured women like those of the UFCM. Also, at the time, she worked, taking in laundry and doing other temporary jobs to help support her family in the city, and had little time for meetings or campaigns. The state school in Ameca had not been '*tan mala*' in the early 1930s, but by 1934, she and her husband decided that they would not send their children to the Guadalajara official schools. Instead, they seized the opportunity to their youngest three children send them Catholic home schools.¹¹⁶

Fees were also a factor in Catholic education, and often determined, along with parents' convictions, which school young children would attend in the end. Many Catholic home schools tried to keep their fees low; Solana Vega remembered that the Santa Teresita schools charged five centavos a week, or 20 centavos a month. Not all homeowners were as generous as the Alejandro Gil and Trujillo Villa households; the economic difficulties of the times, combined with fear of legal reprisal, kept more property owners from opening their homes or real estate

¹¹⁵María Preciado de Ortiz, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 22 May 1997; Ortiz de Salazar, interview.

¹¹⁶María Preciado de Ortiz, (b. 1893), interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 22 May 1997; Ortiz participated in the rural evangelisation missions mentioned in Chapter 1, and remembered the spiritual exercises so precisely that her children took down her recitations and had them printed privately for devotional use (María Preciado de Ortiz, *Meditaciones para los misterios del Santo Rosario en honor de la Santísima Virgen María, Originalmente publicados por los Misioneros del Espiritu Santo en el año de 1903* (privately printed, 10 May 1988).).

(although the law stipulated that if tenants were found violating religious laws, properties would not be confiscated, in practice some Guadalarajan landlords lost property), to Catholic home schools for long periods of time.¹¹⁷

Teachers

The 1930s were not the first decade in which Catholic teachers in Jalisco experienced difficulties. Both in the first wave of laicisation in 1917-1918 and again in 1926, teachers had been pressured to sign loyalty pledges and to join radical associations. Catholic mobilisation in 1918 seemed to have dulled the anticlerical edge of state policy, including education; in the early 1920s, many Catholics returned to the Escuela Normal del Estado and the official schools. However, the Liga de Profesoras, founded to help Catholic teachers who would not sign the 1926 pledge (Circular 13134), could do little more than provide minimal assistance, or at best very low-paying jobs, to teachers who had been fired from the official schools. Catholics tried the same strategy again in the 1930s, offering alternative employment that did not entail teaching socialist or sexual education. But during the 1930s, an official schoolteacher's pay in Guadalajara was about 70 pesos per month; in the private schools, teachers rarely earned more than 20 pesos per month.¹¹⁸

Not all Catholic women were convinced of the virtues of the clandestine Catholic schools. Guadalajara Catholics had resented strongly ex-president Calles' 1934 'Grito de Guadalajara' speech made at a public school teacher's union rally in which he endorsed the government's socialist education programme. Even prior to the speech, Catholics had led a campaign for school employees to boycott the demonstration. For despite the enduring animosity between the Church and the

¹¹⁷ Aviña L., Srio, 'Datos sobre la actual persecución religiosa'; Solano Vega, interview; also see Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 251.

¹¹⁸ Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, pp. 229-230; Fernández Aceves, 'Science, Work and Virtue,' p. 27 and passim. The founders of the Colegio Aquiles Serdan were all graduates of the Escuela Normal del Estado who had lost their jobs in the early 1930s.

state, there were still Catholics – many of them women – who taught in the public schools, just as there were Catholic students in them, motivated by economic necessity and lack of alternatives. However, battle cries like Calles' mooted the Church's early 1930s policy to 'win over' public school teachers and students, as well as its approbation for Catholics to participate in the official school system. Women like Teresa Michel de Barba, a Catholic who had attended the state Normal school and who taught in a public school until 1934, were told that it was a grave sin, possibly unabsolvable in ordinary confession, to sign the government's loyalty pledges, join the teachers' union, or attend official rallies. Michel de Barba, whose father was a state school inspector (and less troubled by his participation), agonised over whether to attend the demonstration in June 1934, and ultimately decided not to – and lost her job. She later discovered that some of her Catholic colleagues had attended to the demonstration to comply with the government's demands, and then had gone to confession afterwards and were told by the priest that because of their need to work, their sins could indeed be forgiven. Michel de Barba quit teaching soon afterwards, as she found employment in Catholic home schools sporadic and underpaid. Although now a member of the UFCM, as she has been for years, Michel de Barba still finds the inconsistencies in the Catholic policy of the 1930s toward state education to be unfair.¹¹⁹

Jacinta Curiel, who taught in Guadalajara in the 1930s, estimates that ninety percent of female schoolteachers left or lost their jobs as a result of this 'Catholic purge.'¹²⁰ Catholic Normal students also jeopardised their studies when they formed the 'Unión Femenina Pro-Defensa de la Juventud' on 18 December 1934, declaring their unwillingness to '*corromperse*' or '*ser maestros corruptores de la niñez*,' instead committing themselves to protecting children from the '*hidra bolchevique*.' In

¹¹⁹Michel de Barba, interview.

¹²⁰ Fernández Aceves quotes Curiel in "Science, Work and Virtue," p. 13. Catholic teachers – who were in great part and formed the majority of teachers in their states – in Aguascalientes, Guanajuato and Colima also resigned *en masse* and in protest of the imposition of socialist education; Camacho Sandoval, *Controversia educativa...*, pp. 132-133; Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 234.

January 1935, the Catholic Normal school students, who had already been barred from joining the student's branch of the Liga de Maestras Revolucionarias at the Normal (recognised as the vehicle for better school assignments and advancement) called a strike against the imposition of the curriculum. The leaders of the strike, María Luisa Vargas, Rosa del Carmen Navarro, and María Salazar, along with other participants, were expelled from the Normal as a result of their actions. Without state certification, their employment options were limited to the low-salaried clandestine schools. After 1939, when lay-run Catholic schools began seeking SEP certification, they most likely fared worse, as the educational ministry, while willing to blur the lines between 'virtue' and 'good citizenship' and Catholic values, still demanded qualified teachers to staff schools.¹²¹

The Practical Resolution of the Educational Conflict

On the official level, it appeared that Catholics and government partisans had reached an impasse in their dispute over schooling. Garibi Rivera's statement to the Catholics of the archdiocese in 1938, prohibiting Catholics from enrolling their children in any school that could 'endanger' their consciences, was as vehement as any made in previous years. In the same year, the State Department of Education issued a circular to school inspectors regarding school vacations, which were to take place from 18 to 27 April. In 1938, Holy Week occurred precisely the week before the school holidays (14 April being Holy Thursday, 17 April being Easter). Schoolteachers were ordered:

no escatimen esfuerzo alguno a efecto de que la asistencia escolar no disminuya durante la llamada "Semana Santa", con cuya medida se logrará ir ausentando el fanatismo de la conciencia popular, con la única y noble mira de afianzar la liberación de las masas trabajadoras.

¹²¹Fernández Aceves, "Science, Work and Virtue," p. 13, pp. 16-17; according to Fernández Aceves, the average salary for a federal school teacher was 70 pesos per month, as opposed to the average of 20 pesos per month earned by a Catholic home school teacher. Also see Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, pp. 529-530.

It is highly unlikely that many Jalisco schoolteachers strictly enforced children's attendance on the holy days, which were the focus of the national and diocesan UFCM's second annual campaign to increase Mass attendance and participation in the sacraments among children and adults. Teachers in rural areas still had reason to fear violent reprisals for antireligious campaigns from the local population, and teachers everywhere had witnessed years of Catholic resistance to government programmes and persistence in celebrating Catholic religious feasts.¹²² Evidently there was a sufficient number of practising Catholic students in the official schools to make a noticeable difference in attendance levels on religious holidays. The SEP circular indicated that this was an enduring problem to be remedied, not a new development. Many Guadalajara Catholics had already made the decision to send their children to official schools and did not feel the need to seek episcopal permission to do so. Obviously, the admonitions of the 1938 synod did little to change such decisions. For many Guadalajarans, the need for Catholic resistance to anticlerical policies continued, but they were coupled with a need to utilise public resources.

Both the closure of Catholic schools and the limits placed on the number of priests able to minister and churches opened contributed to the growth of the population of school-age children not in Catholic schools. There was thus an increased the need for catechism programmes and teachers, for which the archdiocese of Guadalajara had appealed to lay women – especially unemployed teachers and JCFM members – for assistance.¹²³ Garibi Rivera continued to place great emphasis on catechism programmes, both for children and adults. For all his strident declarations, he seemed to recognise (though never would admit in so many words) that more Catholics either could not or chose not to participate in Catholic social institutions (such as schools, unions, sodalities or social groups) than were

¹²²AHAM-LMM, Carpeta 'Gobierno Civil,' Sec. 'G,' Dirección General de Educación Primaria Especial del Estado, Jalisco, 'Circular No. 6,' 9 Apr. 1938 (copy); UFCM-Guad, Actas II, p. 74b(3 Mar. 1938); p. 76b (10Mar. 1938), p. 78b (7 Apr. 1938). For rural schoolteachers, see Chapter 4.

¹²³ Fernández Aceves, "Science, Work and Virtue", pp. 21-22.

members. To reach these Catholics would necessitate extracurricular programmes and special reinforcement of Catholic practice. But in order to have these, the archdiocese still needed the dedicated volunteers who came from the Church's organised lay corps.

Later Catholic lay campaigns in Guadalajara also gradually took a gentler form. In the late 1930s, the Guadalajara UFCM-CD's Easter campaign promoted study of the Scriptures relating to the Passion in the home and among family members. The UFCM also assisted the archdiocese in distributing tickets to Catholics, which they received after attending the Easter liturgies, receiving the sacraments, or participating in a catechism class or spiritual exercise. Originally a system devised for school-age children, the archdiocese used the ticket system to gauge Catholic compliance with the Easter obligation for several years. The UFCM and JCFM reinforced Archbishop Garibi Rivera's general turn toward emphasising catechism and home rituals as the new key sites of Catholic practice. The women's organisations continued to provide catechism courses for all ages, and embraced the UFCM-CC's plans to introduce extracurricular programmes for children. At the 1936 General Assembly, the delegate from the Guadalajara UFCM-CD introduced the initiative for the 'Asociación de Niños de la Acción Católica' in which UFCM members would provide such programmes for boys aged 4 through 10.¹²⁴ Such programmes shifted the focus of Catholic youth activity away from contested public arenas like the schools and onto private associations. On the practical level, a greater degree of lenience was seen among Catholics; but this was only acceptable as state anticlericalism became more relaxed (the SEP's circular regarding Easter was blustery, but unenforceable) and as the Church subtly indicated to its members that compromises between Church and state systems might be acceptable after all.

¹²⁴For Garibi Rivera, see above; R. Dávila Vilchis, 'UFCM: Remedio Urgentísimo,' *Christus*, 24 Nov. 1937, pp. 1001-1002.

The Guadalajara UFCM and Working Women-Morality and Reality, Money and Finances

The priorities of the Mexican Church hierarchy regarding women's behaviour and morality often reflected its interpretations of outward changes in women's behaviour and activity as inward treason towards the Catholic faith. In 1930 Orozco y Jiménez had deemed the current challenges to traditional women's roles and behaviour important enough to send an edict from exile. He not only sent his archdiocese the current Vatican instructions regarding 'immoral dress of women,' but added two pages of his own commentary on the ruin that licentious practices (*risqué* dress, dancing, immoral books and movies, and so on) were bringing to the diocese of Guadalajara and to Mexico as a whole, evidenced by its social conflicts and by Mexicans abandoning the Catholic Faith.¹²⁵

When he was made Archbishop, Garibi Rivera used the occasion to criticise the increasingly public nature of women's lives. Not only women who frequented theatres, dance halls and other entertainment venues, but also women who worked outside the home were reverting to a 'life of paganism.' Garibi Rivera did not mean that women were turning to other religions. Echoing the gender theory popular among Church leaders at the time, he protested that women were once again being turned into the non-persons of pre-Christian Rome, treated either as objects for pleasure or working drones, since the Christian recognition of their dignity and their God-given role to care for the home and children was being ignored. In his first pastoral letter, Garibi Rivera recommended not feminist mobilisation but Catholic women's self-censure of their activities as the remedy to social problems.¹²⁶

¹²⁵F. Orozco y Jiménez, 'Edicto Pastoral,' 8 Mar. 1930, *BEG*, I, 3, 1 May 1930, pp. 137-142 (includes: *Sagrada Congregación del Concilio*, 'Instrucciones a los Ordinarios Diocesanos sobre la costumbre inmoral de las mujeres que visten deshonestamente,' Rome, 12 Jan. 1930, pp. 138-140).

¹²⁶ Garibi Rivera, 'Primera Carta Pastoral' (Aug. 1936); also see Christine E. Gudorf, 'Renewal or Repatriarchalization? Responses of the Roman Catholic Church to the Feminization of Religion,' *Horizons*, X, 2 (Fall 1983), pp. 237-240.

However, the Guadalajara UFCM had no intention of limiting their activities to self-censure in their homes and churches, and continued to interact with women in very public venues. As active participants in the shift in UFCM's objectives from the personal to the social, some members of the Guadalajara UFCM developed a degree of class consciousness. In order to combat the Mexican government's increasing influence over working-class and campesina women, through its programmes of adult education, hygiene and health services, unions and social organisations, they recognised that the UFCM's work had to become increasingly politicised as well. The differences among social classes and the needs of women in the cities and countryside could no longer be overlooked or blanketed over with calls to piety, if the UFCM wanted to gain recognition among the wider population.

Thus, along with the Academías it established in cities and towns, the Guadalajara UFCM-CD followed the Central Committee's advice to begin outreach programmes to rural areas. Like their projects in the cities, a significant element in this outreach to the campesinas was catechetical, and focused on establishing or maintaining UFCM-GPs. However, the women in the Campesinas section recognised rural women's need for material aid, and considered the root causes of these women's disadvantaged position when proposing social programmes for them. Clementina Trujillo Villa gave a presentation at the 1937 Diocesan Assembly of the UFCM based on her knowledge of Catholic social teachings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries regarding rural labour and her experience working with rural women. She pointed out to the assembly that the '*peligros*' that campesinos faced were not only government anticlerical laws and programmes, but also poverty and lack of access to land, farming implements, education and other resources.¹²⁷

Trujillo Villa describes her participation in the Campesinas sections as one of the most liberating of her life. She was born on a hacienda outside Sayula, in

¹²⁷C. Trujillo Villa, interview; UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 140-141b (28 Sept. 1937), 2a Sesión de la 3a Asamblea Diocesana, discurso de Srita Clementina Trujillo Villa: '*Peligros a los obreros.*'

southern Jalisco. During the Cristero rebellion, her father decided to send his daughters to live with relatives in Guadalajara, both to safeguard them from rural violence – including his own entanglements in providing supplies to the Cristeros and being forced to grant 'loans' to both rebels and federales, which ultimately cost him his sugar plantation – and to provide them with a more 'refined' education. Trujillo Villa had missed the countryside greatly, and relished the opportunity to travel in the countryside again, working with, or as her father chided her, 'adopting' the campesinos. Trujillo Villa and the other women in her section continued to visit UFCM-GPs in rural areas and to organise adult education classes and material aid for several decades after the commitment of the Church to compete with state programmes had diminished. They recognised that the need to do so had not.¹²⁸

In UFCM literature, a fairly clear divide was evident between the 'helpers' and the 'helped.' At its inception the ACM, like other Catholic Action groups, was envisaged as a trained elite, prepared to help the clergy and hierarchy of the Catholic Church in its apostolic works of evangelisation, conversion and moral guidance. The UFCM and JCFM raised funds for the Church's social programmes and schools, identifying charity as a demure, proper activity for women. In the late 1930s, the Mexican Episcopate created the Bolsa de Providencia, a nation-wide charity collection that would provide scholarships for seminarians and funds for the Church's new programmes directed toward indigenous communities. Individuals who made publicly-acknowledged donations to the fund included several women from Guadalajara: Carmen Macías (a former member of the BF), donated to the 'Beca María de la Luz Camacho,' which paid for one Mexican to study at the Montezuma seminary; Margarita Topete and Mercedes Navarrete gave to missionary funds for the Tarahumara and the Chinese.¹²⁹ These donations provided

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹'Bolsa de Providencia,' *Christus*, 3, 33 (Aug. 1938), pp. 735-739, 3, 36 (Nov. 1938), p. 977 and 4, 44 (Jul. 1939), pp. 662-663. Other funds included the 'Beca Pio XI' to fund one priest to study Catholic Action-related themes in Rome, the 'Beca Padre Pro' to help pay for the studies of a Mexican Jesuit, other scholarships for priests, and a fund to help the Catholics of Tabasco in their campaign to reopen their

an opportunity for former activists to show their continuing dedication to the Church and for lay women to contribute to broader causes in which they could not engage in themselves, such as advanced theological study and the missions.

Closer to home, the UFCM initially looked to urban and rural working women primarily as passive or wayward victims to be helped back into the Catholic fold, rather than active collaborators in the work of the UFCM. The charitable duties of the wealthy toward the poor (especially those who worked for them) had been emphasised in Catholic social thought since *Rerum Novarum*. It is not surprising that women like Clementina and Consuelo Trujillo Villa, daughters of a wealthy landowner, became involved in the Campesinas section. Yet for the Trujillo Villas, their work came to mean much more. Besides providing a way to escape the confines of home and city, it constituted meaningful social interaction in which they learned as much, if not more, from the Catholic women of the rural communities they visited than they had set out to teach in the first place. For these and other UFCM members, their participation in the ACM was a stepping-stone to further work in social justice issues.¹³⁰

The records of the Guadalajara UFCM-CD, like those of the Central Committee, demonstrate an almost constant preoccupation with the finances of the organisation and insistence on the payment of monthly and yearly membership dues (*cuotas* and *téseras*). The UFCM had a sliding scale of payment, and made allowances for women experiencing economic difficulties. But considering that 50 centavos, the monthly dues of some chapters of the UFCM, was more than the average daily wage of rural workers in some parts of Jalisco, the limits to UFCM membership become apparent.¹³¹

churches. On Carmen Macías, see Chapter 1, 'Brigadas Femeninas,' Meyer, *La cristiada*, vols. 1 and 3, and A. Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, *passim*.

¹³⁰C. Trujillo Villa, interview, and M.C. Trujillo Villa, interview; also see Conclusion.

¹³¹AHJ, Estadística, Caja 17, ES-4-930-940, "Informe del Secretaria de Industria, Comercio y Trabajo, 27 Apr. 1932," pp. 6-7 ("Jalisco").

Nevertheless, many parishes in poorer areas of Guadalajara, such as Mexicaltzingo and San José de Analco, and in the state, such as the Zona de Colotlán and Los Altos, organised UFCM-GPs, which numerous women joined at significant personal sacrifice. Soon after finishing her course of study at the Colegio Medrano, Ortiz de Salazar moved to Ahualulco, a sizeable town north-west of Guadalajara, in order to accompany an older brother who had been hired to supervise the local office of the Compañía Eléctrica de Chapala. As the adolescent sister of the town's '*jefe de la luz*,' she was invited to join the JCFM by its president, the daughter of Ahualulco's most respected doctor, and several other '*personas principalitas*,' who evidently saw her as a logical addition to their circle. Ortiz de Salazar did join, and became the local chapter's treasurer. Born in the countryside (she was born in San José de los Guajes, before her family moved to Guadalajara) and to a non-elite family herself, Ortiz de Salazar was aware of the difficulties Catholic young women might have in participating. She thus devised a sympathetic plan for aspiring JCFM members who had difficulties meeting the cost of the ten-peso *tésera* and the monthly *cuotas*. Rather than exclude lower-income members or have them wait while saving up to join, Ortiz de Salazar instituted a system of *abonos*, payment coupons that she and the president signed when members made their payments of one, two, or ten centavos, whenever they could. Though the president grumbled over having to sign so many *abonos*, the Ahualulco JCFM grew to be a fairly large and diverse group. The *tésera* was expensive, but important, Ortiz de Salazar stressed – it was like a *credencial*, proof of one's membership in and dedication to the ACM. Middle and working class members could thus demonstrate that they contributed equally to the parish, diocesan and national committees, rather than feeling like objects of charity or second-class members.¹³²

As mentioned before, UFCM-GPs were instructed to invest in books, pamphlets, and other literature, both for their own use and for use in clandestine

¹³²Ortiz de Salazar, interview.

schools and seminaries. At times, leaders recognised the need to provide this literature at lower cost, as when Father Toral encouraged UFCM members in Guadalajara to form a co-operative to lobby booksellers to lower the prices of Catholic textbooks. The UFCM Central Committee also offered less expensive flyers for mass distribution, such as the '*Breves Apuntos sobre la Acción Católica*,' and advertised similarly inexpensive catechism materials published by the Comisión Central de la Instrucción Religiosa, which were priced at one peso for 100 copies. At times, though, the UFCM's insistence on buying and reading Catholic literature (not to mention the implied assumption that members could, would, and had time to read) seemed to override considerations of economic difficulty. Parochial groups were expected to purchase at least one copy of the *Manual de Acción Católica* written by the Italian priest Monsignor Luigi Civardi, which cost three pesos. The UFCM considered subscribing to *Acción Femenina*, the periodical of the UFCM, to be the duty of every member, at 1.25 pesos per year. Parochial groups were to obtain at least one subscription for every five members, bringing the cost down to 25 centavos per member. Valdez de León commented that many working women in the JCFM, herself included, similarly shared the cost of *Juventud* subscriptions so. Nevertheless, the UFCM in Guadalajara noted that there were a number of parishes with no subscriptions on record.¹³³

In its concern for the good moral conduct of Guadalajaran youth, the UFCM echoed Garibi Rivera's advice to avoid immoral entertainment by publicising both the Archdiocese's and the Liga Mexicana de Decencia's recommendations regarding films. The UFCM printed circulars and posters for parish priests to post outside the churches, so that Catholics would know which films and other entertainment were suitable for viewing and which should be boycotted. However, not all ACM members took these recommendations too seriously. At Ortiz de Salazar's church, the Liga Mexicana de Decencia's rankings, from A (suitable for all ages) through C

¹³³UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 17 (9 Dec. 1930), pp. 62b-63 (17 Dec. 1931), pp. 89-89b (15 Dec. 1932), UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 16b(14 Nov. 1935), p. 41 (8 Oct. 1936), and p. 137 (25 Apr. 1935); Valdez de León, interview.

(prohibited for all ages), were posted on a blackboard. She and her friends diligently monitored the recommendations, because '*como en todos los tiempos siempre ha existido alguien, que busca lo prohibido para verlo [...] y decíamos "a ver vamos a verlas, a ver cuales son del C ¡porque esas son las buenas!"*'¹³⁴

Formally, the ACM and the UFCM shared the general Catholic concern regarding increasing social contact between men and women, a concern that grew even stronger when young people were concerned. Church leaders, from parish priests to the pope, condemned coeducational schools (this was one of their major objections to the official schools), and curricula containing detailed courses of hygienic and sexual education, which Pius XI condemned as 'exaggerated physiological education. [...] in which is learned rather the act of sinning in a subtle way, than the virtue of living chastely.'¹³⁵ JCFM and UFCM members urged to display '*su entera sumisión a la Autoridad Eclesiástica y por la observancia de los Mandamientos de Dios y de la Iglesia,*' and to avoid '*modas indecorosas, diversiones y reuniones mundanas en que pelagra su honestidad.*'¹³⁶ Young girls were to be trained in self-censorship, so that they too would avoid immoral movies, books, and leisure pursuits. Church organisers could control catechetical education, in which girls', boys', men's and women's classes were to be kept separate, meeting at different times if necessary. Catechists were even trained separately, although both men and women were expected to have a similarly high level of doctrinal and spiritual knowledge.¹³⁷

¹³⁴Garibi Rivera, 'Circular No. 21,' 23 Apr. 1937, *Christus* 2, 20 (Jul. 1937), p. 605; UFCM-Guad, Actas II, p. 52 (22 Apr. 1937), p. 52b (14 [May] 1937), Ortiz de Salazar, interview. Also see Anne Rubenstein, *Bad Language, Naked Ladies, and other Threats to the Nation* (Durham, 1998), pp. 78-80.

¹³⁵Pius XI, *Casti Connubii* (1930), quoted in Philip Hughes, SJ, *The Pope's New Order: A Systematic Summary of the Social Encyclicals, from Leo XIII to Pius XII* (London, 1943), p. 133.

¹³⁶Pedro Vera y Zuria, *Synodus Diocesana Tertia Angelopolitana, 13-15 de enero de 1937* (Puebla, 1937) (CIDOC fiche #2228).

¹³⁷J. Garibi Rivera *Sínodo Diocesano*, p. 147, pp. 149-150 (articles 561, 570 and 565).

However, UFCM and JCFM members were not solely preoccupied with thoughts of sin or ambitions to overturning the Mexican socialist regime, and their organisations served social as well as religious functions. The UFCM provided ways for married women to apply their knowledge and skills to educational and social projects not only within but also outside of their homes and churches. The JCFM often provided an acceptable venue for young Catholic women to socialise outside their homes and away from parental supervision. Many young members sought out their future partners, who as members of the ACM would probably prove acceptable to their families. Some were unsuccessful, as a spinster in Cajititlán, Jalisco recalled, although she added that she had particularly enjoyed the independence that participating in youth parish activities had provided her. Others were successful, like Valdez de León, who met her husband Alejandro León while they were both members of ACM youth groups.¹³⁸

Conclusion: The Legacies of the UFCM and JCFM in Guadalajara

Signs of reconciliation at the national level such as Cárdenas' 1936 statement that '*[n]o es atributo del gobierno, ni dentro sus propósitos combatir las creencias ni el credo de cualquier religión*' and Archbishop of Mexico Luís María Martínez's declaration of Catholic support for the oil expropriation in 1938, showed their effect at the regional and local level. Vocabulary such as 'defanaticisation' and even 'socialist education' were becoming a dead letter toward the end of the decade; indeed, teachers in Jalisco, especially in the rural schools, had been advised by the SEP to avoid using the word '*socialista*' in their classrooms, to avoid provoking animosity.¹³⁹ The conciliatory spirit reached local police, who increasingly overlooked infractions of the anticlerical laws, now that the threat of Catholic insurrection had been

¹³⁸ Arnold, 'Mexican Women,' p. 58; Valdéz de León, interview.

¹³⁹ Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, pp. 550-551; Yankelevich, *La educación socialista...*, pp. 114-115.

contained. As mentioned above, priests and parishioners had been arrested in the conflicts that arose over the annual celebrations leading to the feast day of the Virgin of Zapopan throughout the parishes of Guadalajara, Zapopan, and San Pedro Tlaquepaque during the early 1930s. In January 1936, the parish priest of Zapopan was arrested for allowing an unregistered priest to minister at a religious ceremony that took place prior to a civil ceremony, contrary to the legal requirement. Only three years later, however, Garibi Rivera was able to report that the 1938 cycle of 'visits' of the statue of the Virgin had taken place '*como en los buenos tiempos*': the car bearing the statue, festooned with flowers, had departed from the intersection of Avenidas Unión and Vallarta (one of Guadalajara's busiest), surrounded by pilgrims, musicians, and dancers, praying and applauding. Garibi Rivera tempered his own applause by publicly and sternly regulating such festivities. No other religious image could be taken from a church and used for public or private '*visitas*' without the express permission of the archdiocese; and the same requirement held in order to take an image from one town to another.¹⁴⁰ Garibi Rivera could justify the Virgin of Zapopan's public circulation and festivity in local tradition, and could defend it by citing the Catholics' recent record of orderly conduct. The archbishop could also argue that the practice was highly regulated by Church leaders to be in compliance of local and federal law, and that the Church would make sure no outbursts would result from Catholic crowds rallying spontaneously behind religious icons.

Pilgrims visiting the shrine of the Virgin of Zapopan or the church in San Pedro Tlaquepaque once had to walk (or, rarely, a drive) through open fields and farms. The two towns are now contiguous with Guadalajara, and one can easily take a neighbourhood bus to the old churches. Nevertheless, local religious festivals like the '*visitas*' of the Virgin of Zapopan endure, because they were preserved by

¹⁴⁰ 'Información por la República,' *Christus*, I, 7 (Jun. 1936), p. 593; 'Información por la República,' *Christus*, IV, 38 (Jan. 1939), p. 33; Garibi Rivera, 'Circular No. 22,' 20 Apr. 1939, *Christus*, IV, 47 (1 Oct. 1939), p. 869.

persistent Catholic participation when its existence was threatened in the 1920s and 1930s. The Virgin is carried not only to churches, but to visible public sites such as Catholic schoolyards and local markets as well.¹⁴¹

The new rapprochement between Church and State in no way eliminated the need for lay Catholic organisations such as the UFCM in the Guadalajara diocese. Towards the end of the 1930s, the Guadalajara UFCM-CD, following the directives of the Central Committee of the UFCM, placed more emphasis on campaigns for personal piety and religiosity and against intrusions by Protestant missionaries, than on social campaigns that pitted Catholicism and Catholic social projects against state ideology and programmes.¹⁴² Nevertheless, the UFCM continued its fundraising, its work with working women in the cities and the countryside, and especially its emphasis on education for children and adults as the way to preserve and to reproduce Catholic values and customs. Ortiz de Salazar, after her marriage and return to Guadalajara in 1948, joined the Santa Teresita de Jesús UFCM-CP. Her main focus in the group was '*obras sociales*.' Her section organised a series of free courses for poor women in sewing, cooking, basic medicine and nursing, hairstyling, and other marketable skills, and eventually rented an apartment to hold neighbourhood workshops and classes. The UFCM-CP arranged bazaars so that the women could sell their products and collect the profits, which many, Ortiz de Salazar noted, used to invest in equipment (sewing machines, hairstyling tools and the like) to be able to set up small businesses. The '*obras sociales*' group also collected used clothing and made new clothes for the needy, raised money for books and took in laundry for the Guadalajara diocesan seminary, and arranged theatre and movie

¹⁴¹ Preciado Ortiz, interview; Ortiz de Salazar, interview. The statue of the Virgin visited both the (city-owned) market and the parish church of the Colonia Jesús, in the Guadalajara city centre, when I lived there in June 1997.

¹⁴² The difference can be seen in the reports and conclusions of the UFCM General Assemblies of 1934 (UFCM-Ibero, II Asamblea General (1934)) and 1936 (UFCM-Ibero, III Asamblea General (1936)) versus those of 1940 (V. *Asamblea General de la UFCM* (1940)) and 1944 (VII *Asamblea General de la UFCM*: "*La defensa del hogar*" (1944)); and between the *informes* and conclusions from the General Assemblies of the UFCM of the Diocese of Guadalajara in 1935 (Second General Assembly, UFCM-Guad, Actas II, pp. 6-14) and 1937 (Third General Assembly, UFCM-Guad, Actas II., pp. 142b-144b) versus those of 1939 (Fourth General Assembly, UFCM-Guad, Actas II, pp. 126b-132).

days for local children. It was the '*contacto directo con la gente*' that kept Ortiz de Salazar in work at the e than 30 years. '*La promoción humana*' was a priority of the ACM, she explained, and watching people advance culturally and economically, in part due to the ACM's help, was immensely satisfying.¹⁴³

According to historian María Teresa Fernández Aceves, a commonly held value among the upper and middle class Jaliscans was for women to be simultaneously 'cultured' and 'Catholic.' Although their religion and their activism was much maligned by radical critics as '*burgués*,' retrograde and oppressive toward wome, Catholic women activists endeavoured to prove the opposite. They did not only mobilise to defend and maintain Catholic practice, but also worked so that Catholics would have opportunities to advance in their education, job training or employment, in ways that would not undermine their religious faith or identity. These subtle but effective forms of social Catholicism, particularly the emerging, lay Catholic schools, were made possible by Catholic resistance to anticlerical legislation and by the work of militant activists, many of them women, to create concrete alternatives to secular or radical proposals.¹⁴⁴

In addition to the criticism of radical organisers and government ideologues, Catholic women activists endured some criticism and downplaying of their public, activist roles from within the Church. Women had taken on some religious duties, such as singing sacred music in liturgies and collecting intentions (the petitions for prayer read after the Gospel) during Mass, in times of emergency, when priests were scarce and Catholic men hesitated to participate in Church activities for fear of being identified as Cristeros. The clergy in Guadalajara, like those in other parts of Mexico, found that lay people, including women, continued to engage in roles in the Church that ordinarily were solely the province of men, even of ordained men. In response, the canonical hierarchy in Guadalajara invested considerable energy in

¹⁴³Ortiz de Salazar, interview.

¹⁴⁴Fernández Aceves, 'Science, Work, and Virtue,' pp. 35-36.

regularising Church practice according to Canon law and other Church mandates. At the 1938 Diocesan Synod, Garibi Rivera made it clear that for church ritual to be '*decente*,' '*solemne y moderado*,' women had to remain in the background. Young girls and women were to come to church modestly dressed, with heads covered; they were not to approach the altar during services save to receive Communion. As for liturgical music and choirs, Garibi Rivera again expressed the canonical preference (and also his own) for men; if not available (because of poverty or lack of willing participants), then boys' choirs could be organised. Women's singing was to be used only as a last resort, and then under the strict vigilance of the rector of the parish. Garibi Rivera forbade women to sing in mixed choirs or even have male accompanists, and strictly barred them from performance in the Cathedral of Guadalajara. Women religious could form choirs for services in their convents, and women were encouraged to sing all the congregational responses throughout Mass, as well as hymns at extraliturgical gatherings, but during the '*música sacra*' at mixed Masses, all women were to remain silent. Nor would they be involved in related activities such as collecting intentions, as he added in a 1939 Circular.¹⁴⁵

Some women activists noted that, although Garibi Rivera clearly supported the ACM, he encouraged women to engage in prayer groups and other private, demure activities, while for public projects, such as the fundraising for and construction of the Expiatorio, a sizeable shrine dedicated to the Eucharist in the city centre that was built during his time as archbishop, Garibi Rivera obviously '*prefería trabajar con los señores*.' Now that the political attack on the Church had passed, the Church could restore the traditional order of things, which meant, for example, eliminating irregularities in sacramental practice: for example, documenting the clandestine baptisms and marriages that occurred during the Cristiada, and prosecuting and preventing bigamy. In contrast, the Church hierarchy extolled the virtues of solid, Catholic homes. Women were to step back from protagonist roles

¹⁴⁵Garibi Rivera, *Sínodo diocesano* (1938), p. 131 (article 496), pp. 144-145 (articles 549, 550, 552, 554, 555, 556); 'Circular No. 23,' 20 Apr. 1939, *Christus*, IV, 4 (1 Oct. 1939), p. 869.

when the head of the household – the husband or the father – asserted his religiously guided leadership.¹⁴⁶

Garibi Rivera wanted to apply this logic to the ACM as well, but for a time he was hard-pressed to find male participants. Similar to complaints made on the national level, repeated mention was made in the Guadalajara UFCM-CD's *Libros de Actas* as well as in the *BEG* of the very small numbers of Catholic men involved in Catholic social action groups and the need to engage them in concrete, pro-Church projects, laments that appeared alongside detailed descriptions of Catholic women's work. A chapter of the UCM was founded in 1933, but did not expand to engage in as much parish activity as the UFCM did.¹⁴⁷

Garibi Rivera's continual focus on Catholic education, in particular for women and especially for mothers, demonstrates that he, like many Catholic leaders of his time, saw more potential for actualisation of Catholic social action proposals in women than in men.¹⁴⁸ Even given (or perhaps evidenced by) his repeated declarations of preference for men in social and spiritual projects, the Archdiocese recognised and appreciated the actual extent of women's influence and the effectiveness of their work, as well as their willingness to work for the Church. As this chapter has shown, women joined the UFCM and engaged in its projects for reasons that went far beyond ecclesiastical recommendations to do so. UFCM members identified social problems and actively devised solutions for them. They saw the ACM as a means to develop themselves personally and professionally, and

¹⁴⁶Garibi Rivera, 'Tercera Carta Pastoral,' 25 Feb. 1938, *Christus*, III, 31 (Jun. 1938), p. 490, and 'Circular No. 20,' 29 Mar. 1939, *Christus*, IV, 45 (1 Aug. 1939), p. 681 (Congreso mariano femenino); M.C. Trujillo Villa, interview - quote, the emphasis is hers; Ortiz de Salazar, interview. She proudly stated that she was born in 1927, '*en plena revolución cristera*,' and was baptised secretly in the hills outside San Jose de los Guajes, but expressed some embarrassment at having had to obtain sworn depositions to her parents regarding her baptism when was to be married in 1948.

¹⁴⁷José T. Moreno, Dirección Diocesana de la AC, "Circular Núm. 2," 8 Sept. 1933, *BEG* IV, 10 (1 Oct. 1933), pp. 464-468; Orozco y Jiménez, "Edicto Cuaresmal," 12 Feb 1935, *BEG*, IV, 3 (1 Mar. 1935), pp. 101-111; UFCM-Guad., *Actas* I, hojas sueltas de la primera Asamblea Diocesana (27 Oct. 1933 - suggestion that the UFCM '*fomente la rama de la Acción Católica de la UCM que ahora está tan desorganizada*.')

¹⁴⁸ Gudorf, 'Renewal or Repatriarchalization?', *passim*.

worked to extend this opportunity to other women. Catholic women activists saw the ACM as a means of contributing to their community, both in terms of restoring Catholic practice and general morality, and to provide some material improvement. During this period of acute Church-state conflict and for years after *détente* had begun, Catholic women in Guadalajara sought to shape not only their own spiritual, educational, employment and social experiences, but those of family members, peers and fellow community members, according to Catholic spiritual and moral values, but also with a mind to their social and cultural advancement.

Chapter Four:
Mexican Catholic Women Organised at the Local Level: The Parishes of the
Diocese of Guadalajara, 1929-1940

Anduvimos por los callejones de Luvina, hasta que la encontramos metida en la Iglesia: sentada mero en medio de aquella iglesia solitaria, con el niño dormido entre sus piernas. ...

"¿Viste a alguien? ¿Vive alguien aquí?—le pregunté.

"—Sí, allí enfrente... Unas mujeres... Las sigo viendo. Mira, allí tras las rendijas de esa puerta veo brillar los ojos que nos miran... Han estado asomándose para acá... Míralas. Veo las bolas brillantes de sus ojos... Pero no tienen qué darnos que comer. Me dijeron sin sacar la cabeza que en este pueblo no había de comer. Entonces entré aquí a rezar, a pedirle a Dios por nosotros.

—¿Por qué no regresaste allí? Te estuvimos esperando.

—Entré aquí a rezar. No he terminado todavía.

—¿Qué país es éste, Agripina?

Y ella volvió a alzarse de hombros.¹

In Juan Rulfo's short story 'Luvina,' an ex-schoolteacher slowly gets drunk and tells a silent listener, presumably his replacement as leader of one of the postrevolutionary government's educational missions to rural enclaves, about the hopelessness of the town to which he had been assigned. Agripina, his wife (whom he had brought along with his children), had assessed the situation right away. Through Agripina, Rulfo speaks of the dilemma experienced in many parts of rural Jalisco after the Revolution and the Cristero Rebellion. Many people were poor and lacked access to land, but they were not willing to dispense with their religion and traditions or to let themselves be reorganised socially, try though the government and radical organisers might. The ex-schoolteacher had tried to convince the Luvina townspeople to petition the government for better land elsewhere, as was their right under the agrarian reform programme, but received this rude and desperate reply:

Yo les dije que era la Patria. Ellos movieron la cabeza diciendo que no. Y se rieron. Fue la única vez que he visto reír a la gente de Luvina. Pelaron sus dientes molenques y me dijeron que no, que el gobierno no tenía madre.

Y tienen razón, ¿sabe usted? El señor ese sólo se acuerda de ellos cuando alguno de sus muchachos ha hecho alguna fechoría acá abajo.

¹Juan Rulfo, 'Luvina,' in *El llano en llamas* (México City, 1996 [1953]), pp. 112-124, quote pp. 117-118.

Entonces manda por él hasta Luvina y se lo matan. De ahí en más no saben si existe.

Tú nos quieres decir que dejemos Luvina porque, según tu, ya estuvo bueno de aguantar hambres sin necesidad-me dijeron-. Pero si nosotros nos vamos, ¿quién se llevará a nuestros muertos? Ellos viven aquí y no podemos dejarlos solos.²

In the title story of *El llano en llamas*, another group of Jaliscan peasants walks across the cracked earth allotted them by the agrarian reform in order to approach the official who helped organise their ejido. They ask him for better land, or at least access to irrigation, but the bureaucrat no longer wants to listen. He insists, '*Eso manifiéstelo por escrito. Y ahora váyanse. Es al latifundio al que tienen que atacar, no al Gobierno que les da la tierra.*' The peasants are unarmed and powerless to challenge him; as the narrator comments ironically, '*Yo siempre he pensado que en eso de quitarnos la carabina hicieron bien. Por acá resulta peligroso andar armado. Lo matan a uno sin avisarle....*' Instead, the peasants return across the dry plain, down into the ravine where water flowed, trees and plants grew, and they rent and cultivate land. Indeed, as they part one cries, '*¡Por aquí arriendo yo!*'³

Certainly not all towns in Jalisco were as bleak as those that Rulfo depicts. Not every peasant was so resistant to government teachers and officials and not every Jaliscan saw government officials as little more than occasional assassins or opportunistic bureaucrats. Yet Rulfo's stories offer more than an extreme, 'humorous demolition of populism.'⁴ In his stories, Rulfo seeks the solutions for which Agripina is praying - a process that Rulfo indicates is still ongoing. If a social

²Ibid, pp. 122-123.

³Rulfo, 'El llano en llamas,' in *El llano en llamas*, pp. 9-15, quotes p. 13, p. 11 and p. 15.

⁴William Rowe and Vivian Schelling argue that Rulfo uses a lack of communication between peasant popular culture and government officials to 'make' the equation of government, nation and great family and the 'assumptions which guide daily life and its meanings' 'inoperative' in his fiction (*Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America*, London, Verso, 1991, pp. 208-209). Clearly, Rulfo is setting down for the record the fact that the symbolic equations and assumptions of the Mexican revolutionary government were, if not inoperable, at least incompatible, with those of Jaliscans such as the people of Luvina and the llano. His character Agripina sees that the people of Luvina will resist planned change from outside, but it crushes her schoolteacher husband to discover this belatedly.

revolution (1910-1917) and a civil war (1926-1929) had not significantly bettered conditions for the people of rural Jalisco, what could?

Prior to the Cristero Rebellion, both state and Church reformers had made some inroads into this difficult terrain in the earlier part of the century. The SEP, created in 1921, was designed to be a leader of postrevolutionary change, bringing not only basic literacy but also political consciousness to the vast majority of Mexicans who had been unable to afford schooling or had no access to it. In the early 1920s, the SEP proposed a programme of 'missionary' work in rural areas nation-wide, designed to bring the peasants and townspeople into step with the government's new political, economic, social and cultural paradigms. Teachers and cultural missionaries would not only educate children, but would dedicate the '*labor social del maestro*' to all residents of areas needing socio-economic improvement. Committed to visions of political, economic and social reform, these teachers found some support among the campesinos who were beginning to organise agrarian leagues and petition for ejidos.

In Jalisco, SEP missions travelled throughout the state in the early 1920s. Teachers reported a high degree of resistance to outsiders in the rural communities, notably among the Huichol, the indigenous population who inhabited parts of northern Jalisco. The Cristero Rebellion severely disrupted the government's public education programme in rural Jalisco, as participating in the revolutionary state's social programmes came to have broader implications. Teachers and students were often caught in the crossfire between Catholic rebels and federal troops, and some took part in the conflict. After the war, government partisans saw the secular, nationalistic education of the next generation of Jaliscans, along with social programmes designed for their parents, as the best means of preventing a second uprising. Beginning in 1930, cultural missions again criss-crossed the state and held sizeable workshops in scattered locations like Encarnación de Díaz, Arandas, Tizapán el Alto, Colotlán, Autlán, Mascota and Tlaquepaque.⁵

However, the SEP was not the only institution that perceived that outreach work in the countryside would broaden its base of support and bolster its standing with the population. Well before the Revolution of 1910, the Catholic Church hierarchy began a similar missionary campaign of 're-evangelisation,' designed to address discrepancies in religious practice (fusing indigenous and Catholic ritual, improper use of church space, and so on) and to revive participation in Catholic ritual. Some parishes, many in remote areas, had been neglected for decades, if not centuries, lacking both clergy and material resources to provide the very Catholic rituals that the hierarchy wanted the laity across Mexico to engage in with any sort of regularity. At the end of the nineteenth century, this ecclesiastical campaign had enjoyed particular success in the regions along the '*eje geopolítico católico*,' revitalising dormant parish life and stimulating greater lay engagement with the Church.⁶

In Jalisco, as in much of Mexico, the Catholic social movement enjoyed a period of rapid growth in the years between the promulgation of *Rerum Novarum* and the outbreak of the Revolution. Father Silviano Carrillo Cárdenas, the parish priest of Zapotlán (later Ciudad Guzmán), was one of Jalisco's most energetic proponents of social Catholicism. Carrillo Cárdenas founded the Sociedad Mutualista Femenina de la Sagrada Familia (1895) for working women, a branch of the Unión Católico Obrera (1897), for working men, an Escuela de Artes y Oficios del Espíritu Santo para Niños (1898), to teach trades to poorer boys, and its Sociedad Mutua San Crispín Guadalupana (1900), which encouraged subsequent, confessional trade unionism among its students. Guadalajara was not the only city printing a Catholic newspaper—they also appeared in provincial centres and towns like San Juan de los Lagos (*La Esperanza*, *La familia cristiana*) and Cocula (*Hoja de propaganda*)

⁵Muria, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 347-348; Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, p. 3; Yankelevich, *La educación socialista en Jalisco*, p. 22, p. 30 and pp. 79-80. Please see the maps at the end for the location of these and other municipalities, and Appendix 4 for their populations.

⁶ According to William B. Taylor, Jaliscans had been noted for their relatively careful observance of Catholicism; colonial clergy in Nueva Galicia were as likely to praise even their Indian charges' devotion as criticize their retention of 'superstitions.' Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, pp. 246-246. Taylor does not mention the Huichol by name, but they seem to have endured as an isolated exception. On Catholic rural revival, Gutiérrez Casillas, *Historia de la Iglesia*, p. 342, Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 172.

as well as Zapotlán (*La Sagrada Familia*). Activist Catholics believed that this combination of education, practical assistance, and moral guidance would constitute the remedy to the 'social questions' of the day.⁷

Charitable and educational projects did not cease completely between 1910 and 1917, but as has been discussed, the work of groups such as the UDCM was severely curtailed due to disorganisation, threats of violence, and economic crisis of the Revolution. The SSM's foundation in 1921 heralded a renewal of the campaigns of social Catholicism.⁸ At the same time, the Church hierarchy struggled to re-establish its leadership in civil society and to combat the new constitution and legislation, which also involved a concerted effort to reach out to rural areas and disadvantaged groups.

The Cristero Rebellion interrupted these projects again in Jalisco and other parts of Mexico. For this reason, the Archdiocese of Guadalajara planned a new campaign of missions to reach out to its isolated, poverty-stricken and war-torn communities in 1930. Archbishop Orozco y Jiménez exhorted the Catholics of the archdiocese to contribute to this 'necessary' endeavour with their prayers, donations, and volunteer labour as catechists and assistants to the clergy. The first round of Orozco y Jimenez's and Auxiliary Bishop José Garibi Rivera's visits through the diocese began in January 1931.⁹ Although the physical mobility of the diocese's clergy was soon curtailed by renewed government enforcement of anticlerical laws, lay people helped continue the Catholic outreach programme throughout the decade, competing with the government's programmes of socialist education and agrarian reform.

⁷Adame Goddard, *El pensamiento político*, p. 65, pp. 188-192, p. 220-221 (quote p. 221); Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, p. 99, pp. 122-124; p. 154, p. 161; pp. 169-170; PEC/FT-JA/AFC, legajo 2: *La Sagrada Familia*, Zapotlán, Jal., 14 Sept. 1913, III, 7; 1.Mar. 1914, III, 51.

⁸Adame Goddard, *El pensamiento político*, p. 10; for a review of social Catholicism during and after the Mexican Revolution, see chapter 1 of this dissertation.

⁹Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, 'Edicto Diocesano,' 17 Mar. 1931, pp. 917-919; N. Aviña Ruíz,, "Circular Núm 60-30, A los Sres Curas y Fieles de las Parroquias interesadas" 16 Dec. 1930, in *BEG*, II: 11, 1 Jan, 1931, pp. 700-702.

Both during and after the Cristero Rebellion, the police and other government agencies in Jalisco considered Catholic priests and lay men who made public their support of the Church to be likely to be involved in seditious activity; thus it was in their interest to keep a low profile. Ex-Cristeros were not only actively persecuted; government soldiers or police assassinated a significant number. Even priests registered in compliance with the religious laws were threatened and some repeatedly arrested while trying to minister to their parishes.¹⁰ Catholic women, on the other hand, could work for Catholic causes without incurring the same degree of legal or extralegal reprisal. For this reason, as in other parts of Mexico, the Catholic Church called upon women, lay and religious, to be its 'apostles' and to take on public, activist roles. This chapter examines women's responses to political, social and cultural disputes in provincial and rural Jalisco in the 1930s. I use documents from state and Church archives in order to examine the work of the Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana (UFCM) and other Catholic activists in rural areas. The greater part of women's mobilisations fall under the umbrella of Catholic resistance to post-*Cristiada* state directives, but was not entirely unquestioning of the directives of the Catholic Church, either. Archival records, private correspondence, and interviews qualify the portrayal of the *beatas*' uncritical obedience to their Church and clergy given by many authors.

The 1930s were an eventful period for Jaliscan Catholics. In the aftermath of the Cristero rebellion, at a time of spiritual as well as social and economic crises, their key spiritual leader, Orozco y Jiménez, was exiled again. Government agents introduced to their communities programmes that interfered significantly in individual, private lives: socialist education, agrarian reform, and increased social, public health and medical services. Some communities became the loci of the *Segunda Cristiada*, the second Catholic uprising of the mid-1930s, and the victims of ensuing Federal retaliation. Broader socio-political debates over labour, the

¹⁰Meyer, *La cristiada*, III, 344-346; Aviña L., 'Datos sobre la actual persecución religiosa en el estado de Jalisco,' pp. 2-3.

autonomy of the universities, and the 1938 oil expropriation, also proved relevant to their personal experiences. The smaller towns and villages of Jalisco generated both firm Catholic resistance to the postrevolutionary government's social engineering and of staunch support for government campaigns. Jaliscans were not limited to choosing between the two institutions; in many cases, they chose both, preserving what they found valuable from their cultural and religious heritage and practice, but also accepting what was useful to them from the Mexican state.¹¹

Catholic women participated in the campaigns of the UFCM *grupos parroquiales* (UFCM-GP) and chapters of the UNPF, in the organisation of clandestine Catholic schools (along with, or independent of, the UFCM, the UNPF, or the institutional Church), in support of continued armed resistance against the government, and in hostile acts, threats and arbitrary, mob violence directed against official schoolteachers and other government representatives in rural communities. Their reactions and mobilisation had a major impact on the outcome of the reform programme across the state and the diocese.

It would be impossible to discuss every one of Jalisco's 121 municipalities or the 128 parishes that lay outside Guadalajara in one chapter. For this reason, I have selected key examples from around the state on the basis of the relative abundance of historical evidence that can be usefully compared. Incorporating and contrasting sources from official Church and state archives, archives of lay groups and individuals' personal correspondence and interviews, I use vignettes from different times and places to explore the everyday issues in Jaliscan women's lives in the

¹¹Examples of individuals in rural Jalisco reconciling ideological contradictions implicit in their actions are presented below. Similarly, a number of scholars question the impermeability of loyalties to state or radical ideology or religion elsewhere in the *zona cristera*, noting both extremes and compromises as well. See Marjorie Becker, 'Black and White and Color: *Cardenismo* and the Search for a *Campesino* Ideology,' *CSSH*, XXIX (1987), pp. 453-465; Christopher Boyer, 'Old Loves, New Loyalties: Agrarismo in Michoacán, 1920-1928,' *HAHR*, LXXVIII, 3 (Sept. 1998), pp. 419-455 and Jennie Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham, NC and London, 1999); for postrevolutionary Sonora, see Adrian Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora and the Mexican Revolution* (Wilmington, Del., 1998) and Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, also for Puebla. In her later work on women and *cardenismo* in Michoacán, Becker's perspective hardens. She divides Michoacán *campesinos* into pro- or anticlericals, but even some of the eyewitnesses she interviewed spoke of the need for compromise and room for more than one belief system (*Setting the Virgin on Fire*, see p. 68, p. 80, and p. 100).

1930s that at times had regional and national implications. This material comes from both the provincial cities and larger towns considered as strategic strongholds for either state or Catholic mobilisation and from the more remote villages, *rancherías* and *congregaciones*, which, though less significant in population or tactical importance, were nonetheless the sites of heated cultural conflicts. Finally, I discuss the legacy of the campaigns of the Church and the state in the 1930s to evaluate them and their impact on Jalisco women's lives.

Defining regions and their inhabitants

Before examining different towns and villages within the diocese of Guadalajara and the state of Jalisco, it is useful to consider some issues about the historical treatment of the area's regions and population. Some authors have used broad-brush categories to divide Jalisco into zones of either co-operation with (the south and west) or resistance to (the northern municipalities and the eastern region of Los Altos) the Mexican state's postrevolutionary projects. This is done in a way very similar to the scholarly shorthand that divides Mexico into regions with dominant ideological tendencies ('Catholic' Jalisco versus 'revolutionary' Veracruz or Tabasco, the *zona cristera* versus the southeast or the north). But defining regions in Jalisco as wholly won over or lost because of the presence of '*núcleos de agrarismo*' or '*rebeldes fanáticos*,'¹² based on the record of actions of some of their population (campesinos organising ejidos, incendiary clergy or lay persons joining armed rebellions) can be misleading. Care should be taken before labelling a region

¹²For example, Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, 4: 552-554, Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, pp. 114-119. These regions appear to be based on the division of Jalisco into *cantones* during the early national period, and have endured beyond the declaration of the '*municipio libre*' in 1917 and into postrevolutionary bureaucracy and scholarly analysis. For example, the SEP's division of the state into Zonas Escolares in 1926 grouped together the '*ex-cantones*' as follows: Primera Zona, municipalities which formed the ex-cantón of Guadalajara (central zone); Segunda Zona, municipalities which formed the ex-cantones of Cd. Guzmán, Sayula and Chapala (south-central); Tercera Zona, municipalities of ex-cantones of Lagos, La Barca and Teocaltiche (the east/Los Altos); Cuarta Zona, municipalities of ex-cantones of Autlán and Ameca (central- and southwest); Quinta Zona, municipalities of ex-cantones of Mascota and Ahualulco (north-west); Sexta Zona, municipalities of the ex-cantón of Colotlán (north). María del Carmen Orozco Cano, *La educación en Ciudad Guzmán* (Guadalajara, 1986), pp. 102-103.

conclusively. Without belittling the commitment and vehemence of partisans on both sides, closer examination of sources often reveals a variety of tendencies and choices among the inhabitants of the same regions or towns, not to mention among families and individuals.

Evidence of co-operation with Mexican state initiatives and desires for a real change in the social order can be found for parts of Jalisco denoted as staunchly Catholic, just as evidence of Catholic mobilisations, negligence in the enforcement of anticlerical and anti-religious laws, manifestations of faith and practice is for supposed '*zonas de franca cooperación*.' One can find dedicated—and successful—Catholic organisers in the south¹³ as well as dedicated agrarian reformers and government sympathisers in Los Altos.¹⁴ Even more surprising, but not entirely unexpected, are the fusions of the two ideological currents made by actors at the local level, such as the *Casa del Agrarista* in Los Altos which, to Inspector Alfredo Félix Díaz's dismay, was found to be violating the Constitution by offering Catholic religious instruction classes.¹⁵ Heated conflicts also occurred in regions not typified as either fanatically Catholic or committed to government or radical causes (such as Guadalajara and the municipalities of central Jalisco). Recognising this multiplicity

¹³For example, in Tamazula, the seat of the Grupo de Acción Anti-Religioso del Estado de Jalisco (Adherido al PNR), AHJ-Gob.-(4) Iglesia, Caja 342, G-4-932, Exp. 360, legajo #14: Andrés V. Magaña al C. Gobernador Constitucional Lic. Sebastian [sic] Allende, Guadalajara, Jal., Carta de la fundación del "Grupo de Acción Anti-Religioso del Estado de Jalisco, Adherido al PNR, de Tamazula de Gordiano, 12 Dec. 1932 (complaints of '*fanáticos*' in the area); AGN-RP-ALR, Exp. 514 1/2-19, Andres V. Magaña to C. Presidente de la República, 4 Dec. 1932 (complaint regarding priest's seditious activity) and Andres V. Magaña to C. Presidente de la República, 15 Dec. 1932 (requesting chapel of the Catholic Hijas de María for use as a public library).

¹⁴Ann L. Craig expertly documents agrarian mobilization in Los Altos and the *agraristas*' need to address local religious sentiment during the 1920s and 1930s in *The First Agraristas: An Oral History of a Mexican Agrarian Reform Movement* (Berkeley, 1983). On 5 Feb. 1938 the parish priest's house in Atotonilco el Alto was occupied by soldiers, after which the Secretaría de Hacienda quickly conceded it to agrarian organizers as a *Casa del Agrarista*. 'Información: Por la República,' *Christus*, III, 31 (Jun. 1938), p. 504.

¹⁵AGN-GOB, Serie 340, Caja 46, exp. 2.340(11) 10515, Inspector Alfredo Félix Díaz, Departamento Agraria, to Lic. Silvestre Guerrero, Secretario de Gobernación, 26 Oct. 1936 and to R. Median Guzmán, Jefe del Departamento, Departamento de Gobernación, 3 Nov. 1936. This may have been a strategy to invite the interest and support of determinedly Catholic *campesinos*, Craig notes that one of the key agrarian organizers in Lagos de Moreno, Aniceto Martínez, an itinerant merchant, used to smuggle manifestos into towns and distribute them in 'prayer books and song-sheets he carried' and sold, and often obtaining signed petitions from the people he worked with as a result; *The First Agraristas*, p. 84.

of influences and responses can help to explain seemingly contradictory historical processes, such as why and how the Mexican state was able to consolidate in regions where resistance to its programmes was strong. At the same time, Catholics found ways to negotiate the continued existence and practice of their Church in the new, legally anticlerical system, and to pass on their traditions and values to succeeding generations. Such contradictions help clarify why the gradual calming of Church-state relations and looser enforcement of religious laws emerged and lasted, especially after years of contentious debate.¹⁶ Both the Church and the state had to compromise, even in 'Catholic' Jalisco.

Another label that recurs frequently in the case studies described below and that needs clarification is '*rebelde fanático*' or '*bandido*,' which was often used to discredit Catholics. Teachers, who were often the victims of rural violence, along with some state and local government officials, repeatedly complained to the federal government that they could not undertake reforms in rural areas as their superiors in Mexico City or Guadalajara wished, due to the threat of rebels, bandits and fanatics. In state documents, perpetrators of violence, arson and robbery were frequently identified as 'Cristeros,' whether they were allied with General Lauro Rocha and other declared participants in the *Segunda Cristiada* or not, and whether a religious motive was apparent or not. Representatives of the Mexican state deliberately used rural violence as a justification for continued military presence in the *zona cristera* and strict enforcement of legal limitations on religious practice.¹⁷

¹⁶This process, dating from the late 1930s to the 1992 constitutional reforms, has been defined both as an ongoing process of gradual political and legal relaxation and as an abrupt legal change; depending on the context, both analyses can be seen as historically 'true.' See Blancarte, *Historia de la Iglesia católica en México*, p. 20 and ff.; Roderic A. Camp, *Crossing Swords: Politics and Religion in Mexico* (New York and Oxford, 1997), pp. 28-41.

¹⁷Meyer, *La cristiada*, I, 366. Interestingly, Secretary of War, General Joaquín Amaro, favored targeting youth as part of his preemptive strategy against a future Cristero uprising. Aside from replacing all officers in the *zona cristera* over age 55 in 1934, Amaro advocated instituting a year's obligatory service for all youth, intended to bring about the edification of the campesinos. In addition, Amaro maintained a permanent force within the army dedicated to building roads and highways, installing and maintaining telephone and telegraph lines, and other tasks necessary for improving infrastructural links in the troublesome countryside.

The Church, for its part, condemned rural violence as much as the State did, disowned armed uprisings called for in the name of Catholicism, and strictly forbade Catholics from participating in them. In addition to causing continued suffering, the violence interrupted the Church's own campaigns to reorganise and reinforce Catholic practice in the countryside, as well as to rehabilitate itself in the Mexican social order. The Church hierarchy, adopted a '*política realista*' to defend the religious practices that '*los cristeros fanáticos*' were compromising.¹⁸

Catholics rebels who continued to fight for the next decade against the policies of the government were openly attacked by the Church hierarchy as well as the Mexican army and air force. '*Si la primera etapa de la cristiada era ya una guerra de pobres,*' writes Jean Meyer, '*la segunda fue una guerra de miserables.*' In spite of the obvious risk of taking such a clearly solitary stance, some persisted in their struggle for the primacy of local culture, custom, and belief.¹⁹ General Lauro Rocha, the former army veterinarian who had defected to the Cristeros, called for Mexicans to join the Ejército Popular Libertador in the fight for '*libertad de la Patria,*' and gained supporters all along the *eje católico*, from Sinaloa through the Valle de México. In a 1935 call to action cited by Francisco Barbosa Guzmán, Rocha openly encouraged all Mexicans, particularly Jalisco *alteños*, to '*empuñar las armas y "derrocar a los tiranos" perseguidores de los católicos que pretenden apoderarse del alma de los niños" a través de la educación.*'²⁰ Consequently, teachers across Jalisco reported to federal and state

¹⁸Leopoldo Ruíz y Flores, 'El Delegado Apostólico se dirige a la nación: Expone los deseos de la Santa Sede sobre nuestra grave situación religiosa,' 12 Feb. 1932, in *BEG*, III: 4, 1 Apr. 1932, pp. 192-199. J.Meyer, *La Cristiada*, 1: 370.

¹⁹ Although the *arreglos* were generally seen as bringing welcome relief, they could not prevent a strong sense of betrayal among the *Cristeros*. They had risked their lives to defend their religion and in the end their canonical leaders condemned their actions. Bitterness and a kind of anticlericalism thus developed among some *Cristeros*, *ligueros* and other discontented Catholics, who saw themselves as more loyal than the bishops and the true defenders of their faith. Meyer, *La cristiada*, I, p. 331-336.

²⁰Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil*, p. 546; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, p. 27.

officials that *gavillas* directed by Rocha had threatened them if they continued their work.²¹

But much of public sentiment in Jalisco towards the continued uprising ranged from indifference to hostile rejection, due both to the double condemnation from Church and state and from rural dwellers' continued poverty and exhaustion;. Rebels found that Jalisco campesinos became ever more unwilling to fight or provision armies. And as frustrated officials and teachers relaxed their enforcement of anticlerical laws and provisions, the Segunda guerrilleros lost what little support they had. In his 1936 manifesto, Rocha desperately appealed to Mexican women to help swell the ranks of his army, claiming that '*es necesario que las mujeres mexicanas de valerosa estirpe empujen con su denuedo y su convicción patriótica la voluntad vacilante de los hombres,*' but to little avail.²² As compared to the late 1920s, when Cristero combatants numbered in the tens of thousands, only about 7500 lent their support to Rocha in the *zona cristera* in 1935, and by 1939 less than 2000 remained. Aurelio Acevedo, a former Cristero leader living in hiding in Mexico City, who followed the progress of the Segunda, estimated that by 1937 over 80 percent of the Mexican population disapproved of the Segunda.²³ By the end of the decade, there were probably very few people who did not look upon rural violence as the product of hotheaded fanatics or criminal bandits.

²¹Meyer, *La cristiada*, I, 368; Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 107, citing circular from Juan Aviña López, Secretario General e Gobierno (Jal.) to the municipal presidents, 27 Nov 1935, reporting numerous complaints from teachers. Yankelevich comments that some small, armed bands were '*bajo la dirección de Rocha*' while others were '*actuando autónomamente.*' Also see AGN-RP-LC, exp. 559.1/23: informe de Victor Contreras, Maestro Federal en Arandas, Jal, Sept. 1936 and telegram to Luis I. Rodríguez del Comisionado Oficial, Alfredo C. Parra, Arandas, Jal, 10 sept. 1936; Contreras claimed to have been given a sealed letter by Rocha himself, which he would deliver to Mexico City as soon as he was sent for. Also AHJ, Gob. (4) Iglesia, Caja 342, G-4-938, Exp. TOA/3680, Agustín Lanuza, Jr. oficial mayor, to Gobernador del Estado (de Jalisco), 5 Jun. 1938, containing transcription of letter from Luis N. Rodríguez, Director de la Escuela Federal de Tonalá, Jal., oficio no. 70, 20 May 1937; Rodríguez claimed that the Catholics of Tonalá had sheltered Rocha the year before.

²²AGN-GOB, Caja 48, exp. 2.340(11)22095, 'Ejército Popular Libertador: Manifiesto' and leaflet "¡¡Llamamiento al pueblo mexicano!!," 7 Nov. 1936.

²³Meyer, *La Cristiada*, I, 371.

The labels of 'fanatics,' 'bandits' or 'criminals', used by both Church and state, were as much rhetorical devices as objective reports. As Paul Vanderwood notes for *fin-de-siecle* Chihuahua, to label malcontents as '*fanáticos*,' sometimes paired with the term '*indios*,' could have relatively little to do with indicating their religious fervour or ethnic background. Instead, these terms implied that the people in question were uneducated, gullible, incapable of having their reason rule their emotions, and thus were prone to manipulation as well as to violent behaviour. Such labels belittled rebel causes, as they implied that actions or associations were not based on rational thought and lacked any serious political or social content. There was a 'right' kind of religion, one that did not question the Church's version of moral behaviour or its policy toward the ruling regime, just as state ideologues envisioned a "right" way to be peasants and Indians after the Revolution, that is, to be willing subjects to the modernisation programmes of the regime. There were also wrong ways to be both, which apparently involved insisting on the continuation of local autonomy and tradition and engaging in confrontational or violent campaigns to defend them, actions which – according to the views of officials – did nothing but block progress and reconciliation.²⁴ In 1930s Jalisco, the Church vociferously disowned the second armed uprising in the name of religion. The government, for its part, denied that priests and lay people were being harassed or threatened, and placed the blame squarely on the Church for violence that in fact stemmed from multiple sources, not just religious discontent.

On the other hand, not every act of violence, theft, or vandalism can or should be construed as 'resistance,' still less be called 'revolutionary.' In reading archival accounts, one must be wary of 'allowing strategic treatments of violent acts either during or after the events to recast them into crimes or "badges of honour" in an attempt to reshape allegiances and public sentiment.'²⁵ In the early 1930s, many

²⁴Vanderwood, *The Power of God Against the Guns of Government*, pp. 136-140.

²⁵Gilbert M. Joseph, 'On the Trail of Latin American Bandits: A Reexamination of Peasant Resistance,' *Latin American Research Review*, XXV, 3 (1990), p. 22, p. 29, p.34

parts of Jalisco were affected by droughts, bad harvests, and post-war reconstruction taxing already limited resources. Some *bandidos* terrorised towns without any apparent ideological objective, looting the schools, farms, and homes of Catholics and *agraristas* alike. There are records of *bandidos* who were not accused of being in the service of the clergy, such as those who killed teacher Francisco González in El Calixtle in July 1932. Officials believed the motive behind his murder was not objections to an anticlerical curriculum, but rather the teacher's anti-alcoholism campaign. The proprietors of a nearby, large maguey plantation were suspected of committing or commissioning the crime.²⁶ Like these murderers, some bandits appear simply to have looted and used the religious conflict as a cover. As Gil Joseph writes, 'a line must be drawn between "avengers" and genuine thugs'; not all were criminals, but not all were heroes, either.²⁷ The line between the two is often unclear in official reports – from partisans of Church and state alike – which describe conflict and violence in the Jalisco countryside.

Defining religion, loyalties, gender roles and politics in provincial Jalisco

On 5 March 1930, Vicar General Manuel Alvarado issued a stern message to the Catholics in and around the small town of Atotonilquillo, in the parish and municipality of Poncitlán: under no circumstances were they to recognise Florencia Valladolid's claims to have seen and communicated with the Virgin Mary. The archdiocese investigated her case found '*indicaciones que se fraude*,' and prohibited visits or pilgrimages to the woman. Valladolid's transgression – continuing to publicise her vision without ecclesiastical approval – was important enough to draw Alvarado's attention away from the multitude of problems the Church faced at the end of the Cristero rebellion, including negotiating the Archbishop's return to Guadalajara several weeks later. Archdiocesan censure did not quash the

²⁶For brief summaries of school-related attacks in the different regions of Jalisco, see Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 99, pp. 114-119, and pp. 128-130.; for F. González, pp. 33-34.

²⁷Joseph, 'On the Trail,' p. 21-22.

enthusiasm of her followers; in the midst of the tumult surrounding the imposition of Decreto 3742 in Jalisco, closures of convents and Catholic schools, and a new sexual education curriculum in the official schools, the archdiocese again found it necessary to reprimand not only Valladolid, but the parish priest of Poncitlán and the vicariate of Atotonilquillo, Don Ladislao Lupercio, as well. From exile in Los Angeles, Orozco y Jiménez reiterated his prohibition on Masses being said in private homes, as well as any veneration of the image of the Virgin Mary advertised by the 'ciegucecita' (Valladolid) as a holy object. Since the archdiocese had found no proof that the image was of supernatural origin, it was therefore pure superstition and to be avoided by good Catholics. The prohibition against Valladolid was renewed, and the faithful were warned that disobeying it would merit '*más severa reconvención*.'²⁸

The Guadalajara archdiocese had no problem with the Virgin Mary, or with her apparitions to the Mexican faithful *per se*. Less than two years before, the archdiocese had mandated one year's worth of celebrations in every parish, leading up to the celebrations of the four-hundred-year anniversary of Juan Diego's vision at Tepeyac.²⁹ What was at stake for Church leaders after the Cristero rebellion, in the archdiocese of Guadalajara and across Mexico, was a return to normalcy in religious practice. At the close of the Cristero rebellion, normalisation of Catholic religious practice was still a distant possibility, and its coming to fruition could be threatened by many variables. The archdiocese of Guadalajara had much to fear in Valladolid's vision. Her claiming prophetic status in an already highly charged area; Poncitlán bordered Los Altos and had witnessed some *Cristero* violence; later, agrarians in the area requested arms from the federal government to protect themselves against fanatics.³⁰ A self-proclaimed visionary could rouse locals; large gatherings at her

²⁸Manuel Alvarado, V.G., 'A los fieles de la población de Atotonilquillo, de la parroquia de Poncitlán y de los lugares circunvecinos,' 5 Mar. 1930, *BEG*, IV, 2 (1 Apr. 1930), pp. 76-77; Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, 'Prohibición, al Sr. Cura D. Ladislao Lupercio y a los fieles de la Parroquia de Poncitlan, Vicaría de Atotonilquillo y Parroquias limítrofes,' 29 May 1933, *BEG*, IV, 7 (1 Jul. 1933), pp. 318-319.

²⁹"Excitativa," *BEG*, III, 1 (1 Jan. 1932), pp. 26-27 [this article reviews the previous year's activities and calls on Jaliscans to participate in local Guadalupean celebrations on 12 January, delayed because of the volume of pilgrims leaving for Mexico City the previous December].

home or even in the nearby church could invite government or radical harassment. Valladolid's refusal to acknowledge higher clerical authority, even convincing the local priest to believe her error, could destabilise the relationship of the Church to its adherents in the area. As Church leaders had seen in the recent past, it did not necessarily take a member of an elite social class, a resident of a large-size town or city, or the dominant racial group or sex to start or fuel an revolutionary movement, or at least to lead others to error, disobedience and sin. Thus Valladolid had to be trivialised as a little blind woman who claimed to have seen the Virgin, not because she was ridiculous, but because she was dangerous. Such challenges to Catholic orthodoxy, authority and gender roles were not uncommon in rural Jalisco, and complicates the portrait or caricature (depending on the artist) of the Jalisco countryside as an unquestioning bastion of mainstream Catholicism and its concomitant vision of social order. Jaliscan Catholic women's support for their Church was, in general, strong, but variations on piety and religious complicate assumptions of women as unquestioning allies of the Catholic Church and its canonical leadership as well.

It seems likely that many Catholic women were aware that outright rebellion against family and community structures would do little more than invite negative reprisal. The Catholic Church as a rule recognised patriarchal authority – for women, obedience to their ecclesiastical leaders, fathers, and husbands – in many of its declarations on social issues. Only in situations of severe 'crisis,' for example if a father were coercing his spouse or children to sin by participating in an official, socialist school, would a wife be justified in disobeying his mandate.³¹ However,

³⁰AGN-LC, exp. 559.1/23, Rafael Fila to L. Cardenas, 29 Apr. 1936.

³¹For the contemporary Catholic delineation of spousal relationships, see Pius IX, "*Casti Connubii*," Carta Encíclica de Ntro. Smo. Señor Pio Papa XI Sobre el Matrimonio Cristiano," Roma, 31 Dec. 1930, *BEG*, II, 3 (1 Mar. 1931), pp. 773-817. The rhetoric regarding gender roles within and outside of marriage was reproduced in innumerable Church pronouncements in Mexico; some examples are Conferencia Episcopal Mexicana, "Carta Pastoral Colectiva...sobre la doctrina educativa de la Iglesia" (21 Nov. 1935), *Christus*, I, 1 (Dec. 1935), p. 34 and CEM, "Carta Pastoral Colectiva: Sobre los deberes de los Pabres [sic] de Familia en materia de Enseñanza," (12 Dec. 1936) in *Christus*, II: 14, enero 1937, p. 10; from Guadalajara, "Los Peligros del Matrimonio," *BEG*, II, 12 (1 Feb. 1931), pp. 763-767.

women disobeyed or disregarded spousal and priestly authority more often than the stipulation of spiritual crisis (not to mention some of their own rhetoric) allowed. Rather than openly resist the strictures of the institutions, most women aimed to live under their rule, and live well – morally and spiritually, if not materially.

The majority of these women's actions can also be interpreted to be an attempt 'not to overthrow or transform a system of domination but rather to survive – today, this week, this season, within it'³² – within an often offensive state and often constrictive Church and family. Subtler, more diffuse modes of resistance were safer, and possibly more effective for rural women, whose capacity for collective action was (like that of all peasants) limited by small numbers, distance and scarce resources. Given the choice to opt for the radical social programmes and networks of the Mexican state or to continue supporting and working with the Church, it should not come as a surprise that many Jalisco women chose the latter.

For many women, the Church and Catholic religious practice formed part of their local and personal traditions. Meeting in Catholic women's associations and sodalities also provided women with rare opportunities for socialising outside of their homes and family circles (although many women held meetings in their homes and worked together with their relatives). In addition, the Church could and did provide for a framework for mobilisation, on the grassroots, local, regional and national levels, a fact of which a good number of rural Catholic women in Jalisco were aware. The women's organisations of the ACM also connected members with Catholics across Mexico and with other Catholic activists worldwide. From the strictly statist point of view, the Catholic Church was 'out of the loop' of power and influence in postrevolutionary Mexico. From a Catholic point of view, however, joining the ACM or other lay associations made possible an effective challenge to the anticlerical forces that were intruding in household life, childrearing, and religious practice. For women attempting to confront the state, the logic of allying themselves with the Church is clear.

³²James C. Scott, quoted in Joseph, "On the Trail," p. 27.

Catholic women organisers, especially those at the grassroots level in provincial chapters, rarely envisioned comprehensive schemes for political or educational alternatives, addressing rural or urban poverty, or women's social disadvantages. It would be unrealistic, not to mention anachronistic, to judge these women as unsophisticated with regard to the broader picture of Mexican society, or as pre-political or apolitical, because they did not adopt the radical programmes of the time. Just as 'peasant resistance was all about politics-but popular, rather than elite, politics,¹³³ women's resistance was all about politics – a popular (but by no means unified) and often personal practice of politics, broadly defined, which was not limited to following the rhetorical confines of their Church or their state.

Tizapán el Alto—A Quiet Central Town with Controversial Central Issues

Tizapán el Alto is located on the far side of Lake Chapala, across from the diocesan seat and state capital of Guadalajara, a good distance from the lakeside towns that benefit more from tourism. The municipality was not an affluent one, its inhabitants focusing mainly on agricultural production and fishing for subsistence and local markets, rather than reaping profits from export-based agriculture, mining, or industry. Despite its relative isolation, Tizapán el Alto witnessed its share of postrevolutionary sociocultural conflict, in which Catholic activists, including a chapter of the UFCM, radical activists, and people caught in the middle of the cultural battles were involved. In Tizapán el Alto we can trace women's active involvement in the religious and social issues of the 1930s: the renewed debate over the registration of churches and priests; competition between Catholic and federal or state schools; and outbreaks of violence, provoked by severe droughts as well as by discontent with local, state and federal government policy.

³³Joseph, "On the Trail," p. 27-28.

As explored in the previous chapter, Jalisco was not a site of early revolutionary activity. Few *rancheros* or *campesinos* responded to Francisco I. Madero's calls to rebellion. Very few great haciendas existed on the scale of those in the north, and many Jaliscans either owned small landholdings or at least enjoyed access to land (and kept relatively decent shares of the crops raised), making peasant grievances somewhat less urgent. Salvador Gómez, a Guadalaran who moved north to Chihuahua to join the revolution, complained about the undue 'patience' of the *campesinos*. Most likely the small- and medium-scale as well as large-scale and multiple property holders were more interested in defending their land from incursions than joining rebellions themselves. On the southeastern side of Lake Chapala, however, an undercurrent of popular agrarianism eventually spurred some revolutionary mobilisation, which spread to communities on its Jalisco shores. According to the United States Consul in Guadalajara, as early as the summer of 1911 there were 'armed Indians organised for the purpose of dispossessing landowners around Lake Chapala ... [claiming] lands once belonging to their ancestors, because 'Madero promised we should have them.'³⁴

Tizapán el Alto appears not to have witnessed much fighting during the Revolution and the Cristero Rebellion, although soldiers and rebels did pass through, occasionally demanding food or supplies.³⁵ After the Cristero Rebellion, the municipal government publicised its support of the state government's social reforms. In 1932, when Governor Sebastian Allende promulgated Decreto 3742 (limiting the number of priests allowed to officiate in Jalisco to 50), Tizapán el Alto was one of the municipalities whose *ayuntamiento* sent a congratulatory note, expressing support for the governor's policy of eradicating religious fanaticism.³⁶

³⁴Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 1 220-221; Gil, *Life in Provincial Mexico*, pp. 20-21.

³⁵Maria Guadalupe Díaz, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Tizapán el Alto, Jal., 14 Mar. 1997; Elpidia Solís de Díaz, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Tizapán el Alto, Jal, 14 Mar. 1997

³⁶Sebastian Allende, 'Decreto 3742,' *El Estado de Jalisco*, CXIII, 35 (29 Oct. 1932), pp. 321-322;. The population of Jalisco in 1931, according to a government census, was 1, 235, 895. Urzúa Orozco y

Support for federal and state educational initiatives was shown in smaller settlements in the municipality as well. According to Pablo Yankelevich, Tizapán hosted an 'outstanding' cultural mission during the SEP's post-Cristiada campaign of 1929-1930 – which would mean that the response of the residents was satisfactory as well.³⁷ However, in 1929, teachers in the federal school in El Atracadero complained that their work was being sabotaged by 'rebeldes fanáticos.' Yet despite continuing rural unrest, some schools in the municipality seemed to have been able to maintain local support and renew their efforts: in 1930, a teacher from Mismaloya sent to the SEP central offices an exemplary student's essay on the victories of the Mexican Revolution, and in 1934, schoolteachers in El Atracadero petitioned the federal government to expropriate the local priest's residence for use as a larger school building.³⁸

However, the efforts of the teachers were not universally supported. Local landowners had a vested interest in sabotaging the Escuelas Artículo 123, schools which landowners, mining companies and industrialists were required to construct and fund if more than twenty children of their enterprise's workers lived on or near their enterprise and further than three kilometres from the nearest town. The schools were administered by the state or federal government and were subject to their regulations. Wishing to prevent what they perceived as the '*escuelas del agrarismo*' from gaining strength and adherents, landowners frequently neglected to pay the teachers or provide for the schools, and they also turned a blind eye toward (or, at times, actively assisted) threats or violent attacks on the teachers. The 1934 federal educational reform included an initiative to close the Escuelas Artículo 123 (correctly seeing them as manipulated by wealthy individuals who were hostile to

Hernández Z, Jalisco: *Testimonio de sus Gobernantes*, III, 731; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 492.

³⁷Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 30.

³⁸AHSEP, Sección Departamento de Escuelas Rurales, Serie Escuelas Rurales Federales, JALISCO, Caja 6783, Exp. IV/161(IV-14)/10155 (El Atracadero), Exp. IV/161(IV-14)/5478 (El Refugio, drought, local unrest), Exp. IV/161(IV-14)/1004 (Mismaloya-unfortunately, the essay is only mentioned in a letter in the file; to my knowledge no copy exists at the AHSEP).

progressive and radical pedagogy) and to replace them with federally funded and administered rural schools.³⁹

Meanwhile, in response to the reform of constitutional Article 3, the Church hierarchy instructed parents, children and school employees to boycott state schools, because to comply with the new socialist education programme would be to commit sins so grave that only a bishop could absolve them and that could be punished denial of the sacraments or even excommunication. The latter options were rarely if ever used, but remained an effective rhetorical device used by local priests to sway their parishioners. In 1935, schools on the haciendas around Lake Chapala suffered the lowest levels of attendance in Jalisco, mainly because of the sabotage of the Escuelas Artículo 123. As a consequence of the threat of violence, and upper and lower-level Church admonitions, day schools for children, night schools and educational programmes for adults faced severe difficulties. The adult programmes had included literacy training, hygiene workshops, anti-alcoholic leagues, and workshops in farming and animal-raising techniques. Many had been specifically intended for the campesinas of the region.⁴⁰

The agrarian organisers in Tizapán el Alto had another complaint besides the landowners' obstruction: local complicity. In April 1935 the Comisariado Ejidal of Tizapán el Alto addressed a letter to Governor Everardo Topete, reiterating earlier complaints to the state Director of Education. According to the *agraristas*, the director and the head teachers at the Escuela Superior para Niñas, located in the municipal capital, were subverting the goals of the government's educational programme, opposing revolutionary curricula with '*reaccionaria y clerical*' teaching.

³⁹ However, the Escuelas Artículo 123 were phased out in a manner much more gradual than originally intended, because, in a way very similar to its changing views regarding private schools, the government realized that it did not have the resources to replace all these schools at once. The number of Escuelas Artículo 123 decreased throughout the late 1930s, due to the expropriation and redistribution of land, which eliminated the presence of large landowners to fund the schools, and the growth of towns near mines and industries. See Lerner, *La educación socialista*, pp. 127-128.

⁴⁰ Episcopado Mexicano, 'Carta Pastoral Colectiva', 21 Nov. 1935; Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, 'Indicaciones que pueden servir para orientar y unir a los buenos elementos que se interesan por la libertad de la Iglesia y la prosperidad de la Patria,' 27 Oct. 1935, *Christus*, I, 2 (Jan. 1936), pp. 22-25; Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, pp. 544.

The 58 signatories to the petition (all men) blamed '*uno de los más grandes retrocesos de la historia de Tizapán el Alto*' (i.e., the school's inadequacy) on the work of these teachers, and claimed that as good '*padres de familia*' they could not and would not send their daughters to such a desecrated '*Templo del Saber*.' The fathers requested that the director and teachers be replaced with more reliable personnel, committed socialist teachers who would '*apreciar nuestros sentimientos a que aspiramos como es el de nuestro mejoramiento social y el de nuestros hijos*.'⁴¹

According to several women residents whom I interviewed, the ACM was present in Tizapán el Alto and was active in local affairs and schooling. María Díaz, a lifelong resident of Tizapán el Alto, was a young girl when the SEP opened the federal rural school in the town. Díaz and her mother, Elpidia Solís de Díaz, recall cooking scarce food for Cristero soldiers who would sneak through town, and the very rare occasions in the 1920s and early 1930s when they could attend a clandestine Mass and receive Holy Communion. These masses were frequently held in private homes big enough to hide a priest and accommodate a number of people, and wealthy enough to pay the fees for the Mass. Hence clandestine Masses were often a privilege of the upper classes, only occasionally made accessible to poorer Catholics as a pious act of charity.⁴²

Nevertheless, Díaz's parents allowed her to go to the state school. As Díaz explained, Tizapán el Alto did have a small chapter of the UFCM, which held catechism classes for the village children in the church on Sundays and with some difficulty, also set up a clandestine Catholic school. In order to sustain the school, they charged tuition – a barrier which poorer families such as Díaz's could not

⁴¹AHJ, Instrucción Pública, (11) Personal, Caja 222, IP-11-933, exp. TIA--s/n, carta al C. Gobernador de Doroteo Vasquez et. al., (Comisariado Ejidal Tizapan el Alto), 13 Apr. 1935. At the time, primary school in Mexico was sometimes divided into *primaria elemental*, years 1-4, and *superior*, years 5 and 6; this school would have had female students between ages 11 and 14.

⁴²Díaz, interview; Solís de Díaz, interview. The security risks inherent in hosting home masses have been explored earlier in this thesis; at times this may have formed part of the rationale for limiting them to a close circle of family and trusted friends. However, poverty and scarcity of clergy – especially those charging fees – affected Catholics' ability to maintain religious practice while anticlerical laws were being strictly enforced; also see Meyer, *La Cristiada*, III, 277.

surmount. According to Díaz, her father, who himself stood for a position in the municipal government in order to establish his social position and protect his family, also believed that the Revolution (which meant the Cristero Rebellion as well as the Revolution of 1910-1917), was a war of adults, not of children.⁴³ Díaz still remembers the lessons she learned at the Federal school. One song was sung after the government had redistributed land in Tizapán el Alto in the early 1930s:

*¡Marchemos, agraristas, ¡a los campos!
A sembrar la semilla del progreso
Marchemos, muy unidos, sin tropiezo
Laborando por la paz de la nación
No queremos ya mas luchas entre hermanos
Que se llenen de trigo los graneros
¡Y que surja la ansiada redención!*

*Muy lento voy a cantar,
la canción del agrarista
Los que con tantos sudores
Señores capitalistas
(coro) Ay ay ay
Lucharon por nuestro anhelo
Murieron muchos hermanos
Que Dios los tenga en el cielo*

Save for the last line, the song Díaz sang from memory is very similar to the text of the '*Corrido del Agrarista*' reprinted in Victoria Lerner's study of socialist education in Mexico. It is interesting that Díaz weaves a line about God into a revolutionary *corrido*. Telescoping memories of events or influences in an oral interview is not uncommon, and, after seventy-four years, understandable. For the purposes of understanding the differences between State and Church ideologies, analytically separating the two is imperative. However, as Paul Thompson points out, 'this very reorganisation of the memory will be a precious indication of how a

⁴³ Díaz's father was not the only man to make such a pragmatic move (see below, regarding Moisés Luna, municipal president of Tamazula). While Catholics were not forbidden to take part in politics *per se*, the Church hierarchy did for a time prohibit Catholics from joining the ruling party, the PNR, because of its anti-religious platform (See L. Ruiz y Flores, 'Normas del Comité Ejecutivo Episcopal A los Sacerdotes y a los Católicos,' 4 Jan. 1935, in *BEG* VI, 1 (1 Jan 1935), p.). Again, it is not apparent that the Church admonished such minor officeholders, but its disapproval and censure were clear.

people's consciousness is constructed.⁴⁴ Díaz's memories are those of a child of both the Mexican Revolution and Catholic culture.

Díaz was evidently well trained by her catechism teachers, not only in Catholic doctrine also but in practical matters. She also remembers cautioning her younger brother not to answer if asked, '*¿Quién vive?*,' for fear that the interrogator was seeking an incriminating response, also one of the first refrains that Catholic children learned: '*Viva Cristo Rey.*' At a very tender age, Díaz knew that such responses could endanger her parents and others. Díaz does not consider herself any less a Catholic, or somehow marred for life for having attended a state school teaching a socialistic curriculum. After all, she points out, Tizapán el Alto only had a *primaria*, and she attended only the *elemental*, three-year programme. Díaz joked that there had not been too much time between learning the basics for her to be converted to atheistic socialism.⁴⁵

Porfiria Corona, also a lifelong resident of Tizapán el Alto, harbours harsher memories of the decade following the Cristero rebellion. Corona's parents had worked as peons on a local hacienda to support their many children. Although he had fought in the Revolution of 1910-1917, her father, Ramón Corona, a staunch Catholic, chose to follow the mandates of the Mexican Episcopate afterwards. He rejected a share in the ejido allotted to the campesinos of Tizapán el Alto, created when nearby haciendas were expropriated. The Church branded the land distributed under the Mexican programme of agrarian reform as stolen property and goods,¹ which would be sinful to acquire, and, again, would possibly lead to denial of the sacraments, public condemnation, or even excommunication of the participants. Later, in order to prove its goodwill towards the end of the Cárdenas administration, the Church hierarchy gradually reversed its position, declaring that campesinos could accept expropriated land if the owner had unjustly deprived

⁴⁴Díaz, interview; V. Lerner, *La educación socialista*, p. 106; Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 137-138.

⁴⁵ M. G. Díaz, interview.

resident campesinos of their livelihood or had been properly compensated. Pope Pius XI approved this reversal, asking for 'special attention' to be paid to needy Mexican workers and farmers in his 1937 encyclical *Nos es muy conocido*. The Church hierarchy also reversed its earlier instructions to parish priests, permitting *agraristas* and others who had accepted land to participate in the sacraments and the absolution of their sins. This was too late for many campesinos, as much of the expropriated land of the region had already been distributed.⁴⁶

Porfiria Corona is still furious at her father's decision to remain a day labourer. As one of the oldest of fifteen children, Corona was expected to help her mother with the younger children and the chores. Her father would not permit her to attend the public school, and besides being needed at home, her parents could not afford the tuition for her to attend clandestine Catholic classes. Corona, now a successful shopkeeper, taught herself to read by secretly listening to classes of both the state and the Catholic school – whichever had its windows open on hot days. Corona remains a practising Catholic, active in the parish church's social programmes; but she emphasises that the latter, created during the 1960s, answer the needs of Tizapán el Alto far more than the Church, and the ACM, had during the 1930s.⁴⁷

Tamazula–The Easing of Enforcement of Anticlerical Laws

⁴⁶Porfiria Corona Sánchez, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Tizapán el Alto, Jal., 14 Mar. 1997; Ramón Corona, interview with Kristina Boylan, Tizapán el Alto, 14 Mar. 1997; Pius XI, 'Nos es muy conocido,' 28 Mar. 1937, *BEG* VIII: 5, 1 May 1937, pp. 201-215, also in *Christus*, II, 18 (May 1937), pp. 388-398; 'Consultas,' *Christus*, II, 15 (Feb. 1937), pp. 112-113; Camacho, *¿Son ladrones los Agraristas?*, *passim*. This belated reconciliation did prove useful for the gradual reconciliation between Church and state in the late 1930s and early 1940s, and also helped ease tensions for those Catholics who had accepted ejido land, or wanted to after 1937.

⁴⁷ P. Corona Sánchez, interview. I am grateful to the Hermanas del Buen Pastor of Tizapán el Alto for introducing me to the Corona and Solís-Díaz families.. The Sisters established a house in Tizapán el Alto during the 1960s to co-found a Comunidad Eclesiál de Base and provide services to the town. For more on the evolution of Catholic social programs, see the Conclusion.

Strong anticlerical activity and strong Catholic organisation also coexisted in Tamazula de Gordiano in southern Jalisco. On 10 July 1929, shortly before the publication of the *arreglos*, General Gabriel R. Guevara (*Jefe del Sector*) ordered an investigation into the disappearance of the municipal authorities of Tamazula. In his telegram to the Minister of Gobernación, provisional military governor Margarito Ramírez reported Guevara's recommendation to replace rather than reinstate Tamazula's municipal government. The *ayuntamiento* had proved itself 'apathetic' in achieving the pacification of the region, and was suspected of collusion with Cristero rebels in the area (possibly the reason for their absence).⁴⁸ Three and a half years later, the local authorities of Tamazula were again suspected of anti-revolutionary complicity. In his letter announcing the chapter's foundation, Andrés Magaña, president of Tamazula's Grupo de Acción Anti-Religioso del Estado de Jalisco (Adherido al PNR) reported to Governor Sebastián Allende that not only were there numerous '*elementos perfilados en las filas de Cristo Rey*' hypocritically involved in local government, but that none other than the municipal president, Moisés M. Luna, was a recognised Knight of Columbus who received orders directly from the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Guadalajara. Magaña requested that his organisation's work against these '*BAMPIROS [sic] CLERIGOS*' be recognised and supported, and that the municipal government of Tamazula be put into 'revolutionary' hands.⁴⁹

The slogan of the Tamazula chapter of the Federación de Grupos Anticlericales y Antireligiosos de Jalisco (FGAAJ) was: '*Dios es un mito; la religión una fábula; los clérigos, unos burócratas de la farsa teológica,*' somewhat more emphatic than the Guadalajara headquarters' modest motto '*Por la emancipación del pensamiento.*' Indeed, the FGAAJ in Tamazula rivalled its archenemies, the Catholic

⁴⁸AGN-GOB, Exp. 2.340(11)40, Margarito Ramírez to Secretario de Gobernación, 10 Jul. 1929. Ramírez temporarily installed Jesús Barriga as '*hombre encargado Administración.*'

⁴⁹AHJ, GOB, Serie (4) Iglesia, Caja 342, G-4-932, Exp. 360, legajo 14, Andrés V. Magaña to Gobernador Constitucional Lic. Sebastián [sic] Allende, 12 Dec. 1932.

activists, in its incessant, vehement complaints against public officials, clergy and lay people, for infractions against the Mexican Constitution and laws.⁵⁰ In December 1932, the FGAAJ petitioned President Abelardo Rodríguez to grant them by decree the chapel formerly used by the Hijas de María of Tamazula, in order to convert it into a public library.⁵¹ Whether or not this request was fulfilled is unknown, but the issue becomes overshadowed in state and national archives by a series of accusations by the FGAAJ, beginning about the same time, that the Catholics of Tamazula were illegally renovating the parish church. Magaña pointed out that such renovations were illegal without express government permission, and expressed his belief that the Catholics did not have the skills to restore this object of national patrimony professionally. His request for the government to intervene to prevent the threatened ruin to the interior of the church was duly forwarded to the Minister of Hacienda y Bienes Públicos. The Minister replied that the parish priest had undertaken the correct procedures to apply for permission to renovate the interior, that the Departamento de Bienes Públicos had approved the plans in terms of structure and content, and that there was no danger of the church collapsing because of the renovations.⁵² Undaunted, Magaña directed a second complaint to the President, declaring that the wall that the parish priest of Tamazula was constructing (still '*posiblemente sin permiso*') would disrupt aesthetically the facade of the church, and should be stopped. Meanwhile, the FGAAJ also applied to the attorney general's offices in Guadalajara for the use of two houses that it deemed '*no necesarios*' for religious worship. They had been reallocated for parish use soon after

⁵⁰Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 489 and p. 496. The Tamazula FGAAJ was more in step with the Mexico City-based Frente Unico Antiguadalupano, its slogan being '*Por el exterminio del Fanatismo Religioso*'; PEC/FT-JA/AFC, exp. 'Liga Anticlerical Revolucionaria' (1931 Clero), folleto del Comité Central de la Liga Anticlerical Revolucionaria [sic], 'Convocatoria para la formación de un Frente Unico Antiguadalupano,' México, DF, June 1931.

⁵¹AGN-RP-ALR, exp. 514.1/2-19, Magaña to Rodríguez, 15 Dec. 1932 (17 Dec. 1932, extracto #10267).

⁵²AGN-RP-ALR, exp. 514.1/2-19: Magaña to Rodríguez, 4 Dec. 1932 (extracto #8691, 5 Dec. 1932); F. Javier Gaxiola, Secretario Particular, to Ing. A.J. Pani, Secretario de Hacienda, 6 Dec. 1932; Emilio I. Aguilar, Subjefe de la Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, to the C. Presidente de GAAR, Tamazula, 13 Dec. 1932.

their seizure under the regulating law of constitutional Article 130, and apparently were occupied by the *campanero*. These requests were also turned over to Hacienda y Bienes Públicos for consideration in early 1933,⁵³ and enquiries were made to Gobernación. Magaña's later complaint, that the parish priest's collection of donations from the working classes was prohibited by law, was acknowledged by federal inspectors. However, they also reiterated that the Department of Public Resources had authorised the construction work almost three years earlier, on 17 June 1930, and would continue despite the FGAAJ-Tamazula's objections.⁵⁴

Faced with legal and administrative difficulties propagated by groups like the FGAAJ, it is not surprising that some Catholics considered their own involvement in local government and civic affairs to be essential, rather than morally unsound or hypocritical. Like María Guadalupe Díaz's father in Tizapán el Alto, Moisés Luna, the reported Knight of Columbus, served as municipal president in part in order to protect both his lands (a sugarcane plantation) and the status of his family. Yet, according to his daughter, Lucila Luna Arias de Hernández, he also believed strongly in the value of public institutions, as long as they reflected the '*voluntad del pueblo*,' represented by people like himself. In Tamazula, he insisted his children attend state schools, regardless of his own activity in Catholic organisations, or those of his wife, Angelina Arias de Luna, a member of the UDCM, or his daughter, a member of the JCFM. Luna Arias and her siblings began their

⁵³AGN-RP-ALR, exp. 514.1/2-19: Grupo de Acción Anti-Religiosa del Estado de Jalisco, Tamazula, Jal., to Rodríguez, 17 Dec. 1932 (extracto #821, 7 ene 1933); letter from the Agente 1o. Substituto [name illegible] of the Procuraduría General de la República, to the Agente del Ministerio Público Federal adscripto al Juzgado 2o. de Distrito en Guadalajara, 28 ene 1933; Office of the Secretario Particular, México, DF, to Magaña, Tamazula, 9 Jan. 1933; Magaña and J. M. Gutiérrez, to Rodríguez, n.d., Dec. 1932 (extracto #822, 5 Jan. 1933); letter from the Secretario Particular to Magaña y demás formantes, Tamazula, 2 Jan. 1933; Manuel Banderas to Magaña, Tamazula, 12 Jan. 1933.

⁵⁴AGN-GOB, Serie 341 (Clasificación Antiguos Templos) Caja 30, exp. 2.341(11)11709: Balderas to Magaña, 9 Jan 1933 (exp. 514.1/2-19), Magaña to Presidente de la República, Dec. 1932; E. Vasconcelos, secretario, Departamento de Gobernación (México, DF), 16 Jan. 1933; Lic. Carlos G. Guzmán, Secretario General de Gobierno, Guadalajara, Jal., 28 Jan. 1933; Sebastián Allende, Guadalajara, Jal. to the Secretario de Gobernación, México, DF, 18 Mar. 1933; Juan. G. Cabral, subsecretario del Departamento de Gobernación (México, DF), to the Secretario de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 29 Mar 1933; Marte R. Gómez, subsecretario encargado del despacho, Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, Departamento de Bienes Nacionales, México, DF, to the Secretario de Gobernación, México, DF, 12 Dec. 1933; Juan G. Cabral to the Secretario de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 22 Dec. 1933; Juan G. Cabral to the Gobernador de Jalisco, 22 Dec. 1933.

education in public schools. After the 1926 official school purge of Catholic teachers, Moisés Luna (who had moved his family to Ciudad Guzmán, close to a military outpost) sent his children to complete their primary education at a clandestine Catholic home school for the duration of the Cristero Rebellion. In the relative calm of the early 1930s, his position changed again, for a variety of reasons. When his thirteen-year-old daughter asked to attend *secundaria* or *preparatoria* in order to continue studying science, her favourite subject, her father replied that he would not send her to a private school. Moisés Luna did not differ greatly from many of his peers, Catholic or revolutionary, in telling his daughter that there really was no need for her to train for a career, as she would probably get married and stay home rather than use her studies in employment. Determined to continue, Luna Arias gained his permission to move to Guadalajara in 1929 and live with relatives while attending the official Escuela Industrial, where she studied industrial chemistry, English, photography, and singing.⁵⁵

According to Luna Arias, the UFCM founded a chapter in Tamazula in 1932, at about the same time that she finished her course of study and returned to the town. The Tamazula chapter is mentioned in the Diocesan Committee's November 1930 list of *grupos parroquiales*; the next month its parochial committee sent in its nominations. Apparently, the group soon engaged in routine business; in January 1931 the Tamazula UFCM treasurer asked the diocesan committee for receipt books for collecting dues, and the parochial committee sent in answers to a diocesan questionnaire about women's activities and asked advice on several issues.⁵⁶ However, the Tamazula UFCM-GP parish committee did not submit its official *acta*

⁵⁵Luna Arias vda. de Hernández, interview with Kristina A. Boylan, Guadalajara, 20 Jun. 1997. It is not clear whether M. Luna became a member of the PNR; if he did not, his action would not have fallen under the Mexican Episcopate's prohibition (see note 43 above).

⁵⁶UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 14 (18 Nov. 1930); UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 17 (9 Dec. 1930); UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 22b (20 Jan. 1931).

de fundación to the Central Committee until 12 August 1933, which corresponds better with Luna's date.⁵⁷

Whatever the reason for the delay, it did not take long for Tamazula Catholic activists to re-enter the fray in Tamazula. When the reform of constitutional Article 3 was publicised, the Liga Antirreligiosa of Tamazula complained that Catholic activists were rallying in opposition to the public school system.⁵⁸ At the same time, the UNPF, which had established a municipal centre in Tamazula, lobbied the director of public education to end the divisive agitation propagated in the schools in support of the new socialist education programme.⁵⁹ This could not have had much effect, as Señora Silva de Rivera announced to the UFCM-CD that in Tamazula they were to hold a '*manifestación colosal*' of schoolchildren and their families against socialist education in March 1935.⁶⁰ Meanwhile the UFCM in Tamazula continued collecting dues, initiating members into the group, facilitating private devotions and ceremonies in private homes, and sponsoring a Sunday school where, according to Luna Arias, vocational classes as well as catechism were offered in the working-class *vecindades*.⁶¹

In March 1937 Lieutenant Colonel C. Guzmán Cárdenas informed the federal government of the complaint he had received from civil authorities of Tamazula, that citizens were violating Constitutional Article 130 by demanding church weddings. It is not clear what the colonel objected to; Catholic weddings were permissible as long as they were preceded by a civil ceremony and performed by a licensed priest in a legally open church. Guzmán Cárdenas had sent a telegram to

⁵⁷UFCM-Ibero, Sección Correspondencia, Serie Comités Parroquiales, Caja 9, Años 1929-1944, Carpeta 46, Diócesis de Guadalajara, carta del CP de Tamazula, 12 Aug. 1933.

⁵⁸AGN-RP-LC, exp. 533.3/17, Protestas de la Liga Antirreligiosa, Tamazula de Gordiano, Jal., 7 Nov. 1934, and flyer 'Manifiesto a la Conciencia Revolucionaria,' Tamazula, Jal, 12 Oct 1934.

⁵⁹Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 529.

⁶⁰UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 132b(2 Mar. 1935).

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 133; UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 4 (17 Sept. 1935), p. 25 (12 Mar. 1936); Luna Arias de Hernández, interview.

the Minister of Gobernación, asking for permission to address this 'outrage' (*desafuero*), which he knew was being perpetrated in three municipalities, the only response from Mexico City was that his information had been passed on to the state governor for consideration.⁶² By then, the accusation of possibly illegal Catholic ceremonies in provincial towns probably did little to provoke the ire of federal officials, as their prioritisation of the strict application of anticlerical laws began to diminish.

In March 1938 the Tamazula UFCM-GP informed the Guadalajara Diocesan Committee that '*el conflicto de Tamazula ya terminó*.'⁶³ Exactly what this means is unclear – it could have referred to the continued rural violence of the Segunda, which significantly affected the southern part of Jalisco, or to continued social unrest and conflict between the local officials and Catholics. Catholic social organisations like the UFCM outlasted the blustery protests of anti-religious forces in the town. In 1939, the UFCM-GP informed the Diocesan Committee of its elections, and sent in funds raised for the recently proposed construction of the new monument to Cristo Rey in Cubilete, Guanajuato.⁶⁴ At the end of the 1930s, it seemed that Catholic practice was becoming comfortably reinstated in a revolutionary town.

Ciudad Guzmán: City of Catholic and Revolutionary Tendencies

Ciudad Guzmán, Tamazula's neighbouring city and municipality, had a longer history of competing ideological allegiances. An important centre of manufacturing and commerce since the colonial era, Ciudad Guzmán had both a strong Catholic and a radical heritage dating from the turn of the century. As

⁶²AGN-GOB, exp. 2.347(11)24186, telegram, Tte. Corl. C. Guzmán Cárdenas, Tamazula, Jal. to Secretario de Gobernación, México, DF, 22 Mar. 1937; A. García Toledo, México, DF to Tte. Corl. C. Guzmán Cárdenas, Tamazula, Jal. 25 Mar. 1937.

⁶³UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 77b (24 Mar. 1938).

⁶⁴UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 110b (17 May 1939).

mentioned above, parish priest Silviano Carrillo Cárdenas introduced social Catholicism to Ciudad Guzmán (formerly Zapotlán el Grande) in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and gained lay support in order to found Catholic trade unions for men and women, mutual aid societies, newspapers (*La Unión Católica*, *La Luz del Occidente*), and schools (including an Escuela Elemental y Superior para Niñas and an adult education centre, in addition to the Escuela Católica de Artes y Oficios para Niños). The Colegio de las Siervas de Jesús Sacramentado offered girls the opportunity of a high quality education, including a rigorous science, mathematics, and foreign language curriculum. One school could not remake girls' education for an entire town, though; its small number of students either came from wealthy families or was recipients of 'charitable' scholarships.⁶⁵ The Catholic press continued to operate in Ciudad Guzmán during the Revolution, as General Joaquín Amaro's collection of *La Sagrada Familia* attests, and many of the groups founded by Carrillo Cárdenas remained strong through the mid-1920s.⁶⁶

Progressive public education found its way to Ciudad Guzmán during the late Porfiriato, when several public kindergartens and primary schools were opened under the auspices of the Secretaría de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes. In 1904 a 'Casa Amiga de la Obrera' was founded in Ciudad Guzmán, most likely at the behest of local agitators Laura and Atala Apodaca. The public Escuela Superior para Niños, founded in 1910, hosted a conference in 1915 at which Atala Apodaca, a radical feminist, teacher, and union activist, argued alongside General Manuel Diéguez for the *Carrancista* cause. Apodaca not only failed to convince her audience, the majority of whom declared their sympathies for General Villa, but she also

⁶⁵Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, p. 40; Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*, pp. 123-124; pp. 162; Orozco Cano, *La educación en Ciudad Guzmán*, pp. 89-90.

⁶⁶PEC/FT-JA/AFC, legajo 2. According to Ceballos Ramírez, the town's name was changed from Zapotlán to Ciudad Guzmán in 1856, but it seems that the popular use of 'Zapotlán el Grande' persisted for years afterwards (*El Catolicismo Social*, p. 122).

scandalised much of the local population with her strident atheism and radical social proposals.⁶⁷

In the wake of the armed revolution and Diéguez's election as governor, Ciudad Guzmán, an economically and socially important regional centre, became a target of educational reform. The SEP founded a public library in Ciudad Guzmán in 1923, which was evaluated as 'outstanding' for its contents (some of which had come from the library of the 'Ex-seminario conciliar'). Several public schools for children and night schools for adults were also opened during the 1920s, and proposals were made to open a Normal school that '*no pertenece al bienes [sic] del clero.*' To co-ordinate its efforts in the region, the SEP cultural mission founded an Instituto Social para Maestros in 1927, choosing Ciudad Guzmán, it would seem, for its strategic location as well as the presence of an army garrison. The Instituto offered classes in home industries, agriculture, and gymnastics, but school inspectors judged that this was not the training that teachers really needed. They estimated that only about 30 percent of the population could read and write. Not only was the '*totalidad de la población católica,*' but they feared that '*es crecido el número de los que se manifiestan como verdaderos fanáticos.*' Those who sympathised with the Cristeros distinguished themselves not only by their religious fervour, but also by their antipathy towards public school teachers.⁶⁸

⁶⁷Orozco Cano, *La educación en Ciudad Guzmán*, p. 96, pp. 84-85, p. 102. Afterwards a corrido was composed locally in Apodaca's 'honour,' which casts aspersions on her radicalism in part by denouncing her 'reversal' of gender roles (p. 85):

*Cierre la puerta señora,
No la vayan a matar,
Ahí vienen los carrancistas,
hermanos de Sábanas.
Vienen Diéguez y Berlanga
con Manzano y Obregón.
Es decir lo más selecto
que el infierno vomitó.
Viene también doña Atala,
con el rebozo al revés.
Esa galleta catrina,
que blasfema por los pies.*

⁶⁸Orozco Cano, *La educación en Ciudad Guzmán*, p. 100; Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, 4: 343; Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 20, p. 25. For Diéguez's election, see Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, II, 481, and Chapter 3 above.

It was not just the common people of Ciudad Guzmán who were deemed unsatisfactory. The director of federal education for the state of Jalisco found that the women federal teachers (*maestras federales*) '*carecían en lo absoluto de preparación y se manifestaron en general con poca voluntad para trabajar,*' although it seems that their ideology rather than their pedagogical skills were in question. Women state teachers were also seen as problematic: '*ellas igualmente dieron señales de indisciplina.*' The report concluded that '*tanto las maestras federales como las del Estado, se muestran descreídas respecto de los principios de la Escuela Nueva, porque muchas de ellas no alcanzan a comprenderla y las más son completamente refractarias a dichos principios.*' If the 1927 workshops at the Instituto were any indication, training these women to institute radical educational programmes was at best an uphill battle. In another SEP report, School Inspector Javier Uranga spoke derisively of the majority of female schoolteachers in Jalisco as '*beatitas,*' unwilling to teach the anticlerical, revolutionary curriculum which had been mandated the year before.⁶⁹

Revolutionary partisans in Ciudad Guzmán rallied at the close of the Cristero rebellion. More than one hundred anticlerical petitions from Ciudad Guzmán alone were sent to the Jalisco Congress and to the Governor in 1932. The Liga Anticlerical Guzmanense published *El Faro*, a weekly '*Periódico doctrinario, de combate e información.*'⁷⁰ The Liga Anticlerical Guzmanense, in turn, was affiliated with the FGAAJ, and considered itself one of the leaders of the fight against religious fanaticism in the region. In 1933, the FGAAJ in Guadalajara sent President Rodríguez a letter relaying information it had received from the Liga Anticlerical Guzmanense. Ramón Paniagua, the Municipal President of Ciudad Guzmán, had verbally communicated to the Tamazula FGAAJ that Governor Salvador Saucedo of

⁶⁹Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, 4: 344-345. Muriá cites the 'Informe del Director de Educación Federal en el Estado de Jalisco. Noviembre de 1927,' *Boletín de la SEP*, VII, 1 (Jan. 1929), pp.190-191.

⁷⁰Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 489. Barbosa Guzmán comments that the petitions were '*muy parecidas en la forma y estilo de redacción,*' indicating that they may have been based on a common form letter, as part of an organized anticlerical campaign; for *El Faro*, see illustrations on p. 497 and p. 502.

Colima had come to their town to attend the baptism of the son of Roberto Jazo. This news had been printed in *El Faro*, but since it constituted '*una violación a la ideología que los altos funcionarios del país están obligados a sustentar*,' the FGAAJ also was duty bound to report his infraction directly to government authorities.⁷¹

In Ciudad Guzmán itself a critical mass of local politicians, agrarians and activists gave impetus to the government and its programmes. Some workers responded enthusiastically to the new benefits won by radical agitation. The Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Eléctrica in Ciudad Guzmán petitioned the Governor to employ María R. Zapien as the group teacher of the night school which they attended, since she was '*competente, de conducta intachable y está plenamente identificada con las clases trabajadoras*.' Ciudad Guzmán's workers' *centros de cooperación* continued to provide a base from which teachers, workers, and peasants could campaign for their rights under the new laws of agrarian, labour and educational reform.⁷²

Meanwhile, the UFCM and other Catholic groups apparently kept a low profile in Ciudad Guzmán. Luna Arias, who moved to Ciudad Guzmán after her marriage in 1934, recalled that she was invited to help organise the ACM there about one year later. There were several churches in Ciudad Guzmán, but the AC was organised out of the *parroquia*, the central parish church. Luna Arias remembers the UFCM mainly giving courses and holding meetings and conferences in the church. As this was the time that she began to raise her children, she did not participate in many of the activities, but she does not remember the ACM being particularly

⁷¹AGN-RP-ALR, Exp. 514.1/40, J. Jesús Cisneros (Secretario General) and Heliorodo Rubalcaba, Secretario de Acuerdos, FGAAJ, Guadalajara, Jalisco, to C. Presidente de la República, 12 Aug. 1933.

⁷²AHJ, Instrucción Pública, (11) Personal, caja 223, IP-11-937, Exp CIE/2259, Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Eléctrica en Ciudad. Guzmán, Jal, to Gobernador del Estado, 20 Aug. 1937. The matter was turned over to the state education office for consideration; see *ibid.*, Miguel Guevara (Secretario General de Gobierno) to Director General de Educación, 11 Nov. 1937. Profesora María Mercedes Madrigal, a longtime teacher and director of the official Escuela Superior para Niñas, also taught classes in the electrician's union offices from her retirement to her death in 1949. Orozco Cano, *La educación en Ciudad Guzmán*, pp. 115-116. Also see Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 100.

extensive.⁷³ There is no mention of the Ciudad Guzmán chapter of the UFCM in the diocesan committee's minutes in Guadalajara.

Even so, the SEP's foothold in Ciudad Guzmán did not consolidate, despite the strength of the local government and radical labour organisation. In September 1935 Ramón Silva, the mayor of Ciudad Guzmán, reported that attendance at official schools had not improved, while '*las cuatro escuelas particulares que funcionaban en esa localidad se encontraban colmadas de niños, planteles que como no llenaron los requisitos legales para el desenvolvimiento de sus tareas fueron clausurados.*'⁷⁴ Apparently, a significant proportion of the population continued to support clandestine schools rather than cooperate with the state system.

The local and state governments continued to target Church property in Ciudad Guzmán for expropriation and reappropriation in support of postrevolutionary social programmes. In November 1935, the Federal Agrupación de Obreros-Sur de Jalisco (FAOSJ), based in Ciudad Guzmán, declared that it needed a meeting space and petitioned for the use of a house which had once belonged to a '*Convento de Monjas denominado San Francisco.*' The Frente Unico de la Confederación General de Obreros y Campesinos de Ciudad Guzmán reiterated this request in December. As proof of their need for office space in which to co-ordinate their activities, they cited local landowners' illegal acquisition of lands that had been allocated for campesinos. Despite the fact that these requests were endorsed by President Cárdenas, they were denied by Hacienda y Bienes Públicos because, according to the information it gathered, the latter '*agrupación*' was not legally recognised in Ciudad Guzmán and therefore was not eligible to be granted the use

⁷³Luna Arias de Hernández, interview. In 1936, her family moved to Rosario, Sinaloa; between family responsibilities (her children were born in 1935 and 1938), she participated in the founding of the UFCM-GP, the fundraising effort for the reconstruction of the parish church, destroyed by an earthquake, and the opening of another Escuela Dominical. Luna Arias continued to participate in the UFCM upon her return to Jalisco in the late 1940s and remains active in Guadalajara to the present.

⁷⁴Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 100.

of real estate by the government. The following year, however, a presidential decree converted a Ciudad Guzmán priest's residence into a Casa del Agrarista.⁷⁵

Towards the end of the decade, rumours circulated that the '*gavillas*' which plagued the various regions of Jalisco were approaching Ciudad Guzmán. A party of more than one thousand '*vandoleros*' [sic] had been sighted outside of Atequizallán, not far from the city. Nevertheless, the Ministry of National Defence did not consider them to be a significant threat.⁷⁶ Ciudad Guzmán was considered one of the strongholds of government regulation and labour and agrarian mobilisation in Jalisco, a provincial city more pacified and sympathetic towards the government. Nevertheless, Catholic women activists managed to organise in the churches, and the socialist education programme failed to thrive, due to the understated but concerted efforts of Catholic parents and religious to co-ordinate alternatives.

Zapotiltic-Acción Católica's Ideal Form, Formed by Women

The municipality of Zapotiltic lies directly between Tamazula and Ciudad Guzmán, yet seems to have avoided tensions between Church and state partisans. During the 1930s, Zapotiltic was a small town laid out in an uneven grid of seven by twelve streets; it was surrounded by several haciendas and rancherías.⁷⁷ Unlike

⁷⁵AGN-RP-LC, exp. 562.5/94, Sabilo L. Jalomo (Secretario General), FAOSJ, Ciudad Guzmán, Jal, to C. Presidente Lázaro Cárdenas, 22 Nov. 1935; Manuel Contreras, Aurelio Mendoza y otros, Frente Unico de la Confederación General de Obreros y Campesinos, Ciudad Guzmán, to Cárdenas, 31 Dec. 1935; Luis I. Rodríguez (Secretario Particular), México DF, to Secretario de Hacienda y Créditos Públicos, cc Contreras y demás, 13 Jan. 1936; R. Pérez Ayala, subdirector, Secretaria de Hacienda y Créditos Públicos, México, DF, to Leopoldo R. Rojas, Ciudad Guzmán, Jal, n.d.; 'Información: Noticias tomadas del "Diario Oficial" (expropiaciones por el país,' *Christus*, II, 14 (Jan. 1937), p. 94.

⁷⁶AGN-RP-LC, exp. 559.1/23, José Aguilar Navarro, Guadalajara, Jal. to Agustín Leñero, México, DF, n.d.; memorandum, acuerdo del secretario particular, 17. Mar. 1939; Leñero to Secretario de Defensa Nacional, 20 Mar. 1939.

⁷⁷María Isabel Contreras, *La Parroquia de Zapotiltic y la Congregación de la Doctrina Cristiana* (Querétaro, 1940), p. 151 and p. 113. The rancherías and haciendas were: Huescalapa, Lundero, San Jose de la Tinaja, San Rafael, Santa Maria de Guadalupe, Aserradero, Taxinaistla, Santa Gertrudis, San Antonio, Espíritu Santo, El Mirador and El Ojo de Agua.

Ciudad Guzmán, a good deal of information is available on Catholic activity in Zapotiltic during the postrevolutionary period, in great part due to the detailed memoir compiled by María Isabel Contreras for Father Francisco Quintana, the town's departing parish priest and ecclesiastical advisor to the ACM. Apparently, the 'Persecución' of 1926 to 1929 had not interfered much with cycles of Catholic religious practice. Catholics could even ring the church bells to call children to catechism classes, with the support of the local authorities:

Desde la primera llamada empezaban a llegar los niños al Atrio, otros se quedaban en la plaza y era divertido ver como muchas veces los policías, encaminaban a los chiquillos, que entretenían el tiempo jugando en la plaza, a donde las campanas los estaban llamando.⁷⁸

It is not surprising that Quintana was able to organise and a large number of townspeople in the ACM; he merely had to build upon the resources already available.

Quintana was named parish priest of Zapotiltic on 24 July 1929, and arrived in the town in August. The parishioners organised a commission to greet and introduce him to the ongoing works in the parish, which were principally a pious association dedicated to the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament (*Vela perpetua del Santísimo Sacramento*) and a group of adults dedicated to teaching catechism (*Congregación de Doctrina Cristiana*). The first group was severely disorganised; the second had a team of officers and a working structure, but relied heavily on didactics of rote memorisation and granting rewards or punishments. Rather than impose changes immediately, Quintana spent several months becoming acquainted with the parish and observing his parishioners' organisations before initiating a new programme. He began with the pious associations in early 1930: apart from naming new officers for the Vela Perpetua del Santísimo Sacramento, he called upon lapsed members and other parishioners to reorganise the Asociación Josefina (a pious association for fathers), the Cofradía del Escapulario de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, the Hijas de María (a pious association which recommended strict and intense

⁷⁸Contreras, *La Parroquia de Zapotiltic*, p. 15.

spiritual exercises for women) and other such groups. Catechism classes at the parish church were briefly suspended while Quintana recruited and trained women to teach in new schools, which he organised for each of the four neighbourhoods (*cuarteles*) of the town. Quintana also sought to establish satellite catechism classes and pious associations in outlying haciendas and rancherías. In late 1930, he set his parishioners to studying the Statutes of the ACM, putting special emphasis on the participation of young women (his catechists) in the JCFM, the parochial committee of which began meeting regularly in January 1931. Older women formed the Zapotiltic UFCM-GP, notifying the diocesan committee of their organisation in November 1930.⁷⁹

The Zapotiltic UFCM-GP began working immediately, requesting more copies of the ACM Statutes and guidelines for Catholic education, moralisation and propaganda campaigns, and suitably moral entertainment for children and adults. Close contact was maintained with the diocesan committee by means of subscriptions to the diocesan ACM bulletin and to *Acción Femenina* and fairly regular *informes* sent to Guadalajara. The Zapotiltic UFCM-GP sent delegates to the biennial diocesan assembly and contributed to diocese-wide collections made for the Guadalajara seminary. In 1935 the Zapotiltic UFCM-GP began to hold its own parochial assemblies, in keeping with the directives from the diocesan committee, and continued to order *téseras* (the cross-shaped badges symbolising full membership) by the hundreds in order to accommodate their growing membership. In 1937 Quintana founded a local Secretariado Social which would co-ordinate the works of the ACM and the numerous pious associations in the parish.⁸⁰

⁷⁹Contreras, *La Parroquia de Zapotiltic*, p. 13, pp. 19-25, and the 'Libro Segundo'; UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 13b (18 Nov 1930).

⁸⁰UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 27 (10 Feb. 1931); p. 35b (24 Mar. 1931), p. 60 (18 Nov. 1931), p. 69 (7 Apr. 1932); p. 83 (1 Sept. 1932); pp. 101b-102b (26 Oct. 1933–primera asamblea arquidiocesana); p. 126b (29 Nov. 1934); UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 2 (4 Sept. 1935), p. 51b (22 Apr. 1937); Contreras, *La parroquia de Zapotiltic*, pp. 148-150.

The Zapotiltic UFCM-GP aimed to organise sections of 'Madres de Familias,' which was sometimes confused with other associations with similar names. In March 1933, the Zapotiltic UFCM asked the UFCM-CD to send the statutes of the 'Madres Cristianas' so that they could organise a chapter. The diocesan committee initially responded by sending the statutes of the UFCM, but later had to clarify that this group was neither part of the ACM nor any of its current programmes for women.⁸¹ In addition to the UFCM, JCFM, ACJM and UCM (which consisted of a very small group of men), Zapotiltic now had: an Asociación de Padres de Familia (affiliated with the UNPF); a group dedicated to the Familia del Espíritu Santo; a Congregación Mariana; a chapter of the Hijas de María (divided into *célibes* and *casadas*); an Asociación de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe; an Apostolado de la Oración, Cofradías del Perpetuo Socorro, San Vicente, and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores; a Venerable Orden Tercera de San Francisco (with separate groups for male and female devotees); as well as the Vela Perpetuo del Santísimo and the Culto Perpetuo de Señor San José (Asociación Josefina) mentioned before. The cuarteles also had their own rosary societies in which people gathered to recite the Rosary on a regular basis.⁸²

In 1932 there were 750 children registered in catechism classes in Zapotiltic. By 1933 the JCFM had to introduce catechism classes on Saturdays as well as Sundays in order to accommodate all the children whose parents wanted them to participate. About 25 teachers gave classes at the weekend in the six catechism schools established in town. There was also a school dedicated to training catechists, the great majority of whom were young women, and a '*Sección de Párvulos*' at the parish church in which the very youngest children involved. There were also 11 catechism centres in outlying *rancherías*, which gave classes on

⁸¹UFCM-Guad., Actas I, pp. 94-94b (23 marzo 1933); UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 95 (20 Apr. 1933). There may have been some fear of confusion with Protestant associations, such as the Young Women's Christian Association, although this was more of a concern in areas with Protestant populations (Mexico City, Guadalajara, the north); see Chapters 2 and 3.

⁸²Contreras, *La Parroquia de Zapotiltic*, p. 140-142.

Sundays; attendance varied, with the smallest, in Santa Gertrudis, having 17 students and 5 teachers, to the largest, Hacienda el Rincón, with 240 students and 20 teachers. To compile records of children's attendance, Quintana adopted the system used elsewhere in the archdiocese of distributing and collecting *boletos*. At every Mass, catechism class or sacrament, a child was given a ticket to demonstrate that he or she had participated. Once every month, a '*Jefa de Manzana*' would collect the tickets and record the children's levels of participation. The willingness of their parents to cooperate with the endeavour was also recorded, as were the attendance and diligence of the catechists themselves. The names of children and adults who had achieved levels of '*suprema*' y '*buena*' in their attendance and performance in yearly exams were read aloud at Mass, along with the numbers (but not the names) of the children and adults who had ranked as '*pésima*' or '*mala*.' Quintana was so pleased with this system that he introduced a set of tickets for all ages for the Lenten exercises in 1936, although these were collected in boxes in the churches, rather than by UFCM or JCFM members.⁸³ Keeping accurate tallies of participation was an important way of proving the efficacy of the ACM, a requirement that certainly was fulfilled in Zapotiltic.

According to Contreras, many children in Zapotiltic enjoyed collecting their tickets and having their parents submit them to the catechists or to the Church. Women participants revealed a problem in the system, however, when they asked for the Lenten tickets to be given or sent directly to them, not to their husbands. The women asked that the catechists '*no pensarán que es cosa nuestra*,' an ill-conceived request due to some womanly whim. Zapotiltic women experienced difficulties in getting their spouses to participate in the sacraments, much less to record their participation in them; often the *padre de la familia* showed little interest in submitting tickets for himself, his wife and his children. Rather than having the tickets sent to their husbands, who would ignore them, the women hoped that with their

⁸³Contreras, *La Parroquia de Zapotiltic*, p. 30-31; p. 40, pp. 48-52, p. 113, p. 130-132, p. 137-140. Also see Chapter 3.

insistence they could make Mass attendance and proof of it seem important, and meanwhile prove their and their children's compliance. Nevertheless, they tacitly demonstrated that religion was generally considered a *cosa de mujeres*, and that the registry would be more likely to grow if women did the paperwork.⁸⁴

Contreras does not mention any harassment from local government, *agraristas* or other radical activists, and national and state archives reveal little information about the town as well. The Catholics of Zapotiltic did not need to engage in belligerent protest, as their ability to practice their religion, both inside and outside churches, was not compromised. They also followed the rules: Quintana complied promptly with Gobernación's request, sending his biographical data to the state government to be legally registered as Zapotiltic's parish priest in the autumn of 1929. However, it is possible that the local leadership was conscious of the need to placate the state and national governments. In 1940 the deputy from Zapotiltic sent a letter of support when the Federación de Trabajadores de Ciudad Guzmán petitioned for office space in a church building.⁸⁵

Hostotipaquillo: Women Creating Relationships with the Church and the Community

A striking aspect of Catholic women's activity in the 1930s is the personal relationships that some women established with their canonical leadership. This was not limited to close work with their parish priest, although as we have seen in Zapotiltic, such co-operation could be very fruitful. Far from passively watching the *arreglos* that ended the Cristero Rebellion, women addressed their ecclesiastical leaders on a variety of issues. Archival collections reveal that some women did not hesitate to engage their ecclesiastical superiors, even those at higher levels in the

⁸⁴Contreras, *La Parroquia de Zapotiltic*, p. 130-132.

⁸⁵AGN-GOB, Caja 47, exp. 2.340(11)33, J. M. Cuéllar to Secretario de Gobernación, México, DF, 11 Feb. 1930; AGN-RP-LC, exp. 562.5/94, telegram from Diputado Tomás Palomino Rojas to C. Presidente de la República, 3 Jun. 1940.

hierarchy, in discussions of the political and economic state of affairs in Jalisco and Mexico. At times these women sent very personal entreaties for assistance, but did so without being overly deferential or obsequious. While not lacking in respect, they addressed them more like friends than distant dignitaries. '*Desde tu llegada deceavamos [sic] escribirte, pero dando tiempo a sus numerosas ocupaciones ni lo habíamos echo [sic],*' wrote Juana Cueva de Valdivia to Pascual Díaz Barreto, who had just been created Archbishop of Mexico. She then requested that the archbishop accompany her and her son when they came to Mexico City to visit the Basilica of Guadalupe, '*pues Usted formó el corazón de mi hijo.*' Díaz Barreto replied, '*pues mucho gusto me dará.*'⁸⁶

In order to understand why ordinary lay women from provincial towns in central-western Mexico could address Church leaders like Díaz Barreto with relative familiarity, it helps to note some of the Church's leaders in the 1930s had their roots in the countryside of the *zona cristera*. Díaz Barreto was born and raised in San Pedro Tlaquepaque, Jalisco, studied at the Colegio Apostólico de Zapopan and the Seminario de Guadalajara, and was ordained a diocesan priest at the latter. Díaz Barreto served as assistant at the church of San Pedro Analco (a *vicaria fija* of the parish of La Yesca, Nayarit, but located in the Tequila municipality in Jalisco), then taught in the Guadalajara seminary and served as Prosecretary of the Provisorate and Personal Secretary to Archbishop José de Jesús Ortiz (Orozco y Jiménez's predecessor) until 1903, when he began his studies to enter into the Order of the Society of Jesus in Mexico City and in Rome. It is likely that Díaz Barreto made the acquaintance of many Jaliscans, men and women, during his education, his service as a secular, parish priest, and his participation in the Church's social action congresses and evangelisation campaigns of the early twentieth century.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ AHAM-PDB, Gabinete 199, Expediente 50: Cueva de Valdivia to Díaz Barreto, 26 Aug. 1929; Díaz Barreto a Cueva de Valdivia, 29. Aug. 1929;

⁸⁷ Díaz Barreto (1875-1936) received his doctorate and took his final vows in Rome in 1913; he then returned to Mexico and taught at the Jesuit Seminary in Tepotzotlán, Mexico State. He also served as the superior prefect to the Sagrada Familia church in Mexico City. Díaz Barreto was named Bishop of Tabasco in 1922. On 10 Jan. 1927, Tomás Garrido Canabal, Tabasco's extremely anticlerical and anti-

Both Juana Cueva de Valdivia and Hermelinda Gil wrote to Díaz Barreto from Hostotipaquillo, a small town in the centre-north of Jalisco. In the late colonial era, Hostotipaquillo was a small, provincial town located nearby several intermittently worked silver mines. It grew to be a fairly important centre of opal mining and regional trade by the late nineteenth century. Local revolutionary leaders such as *Villista* Julián Medina based their campaigns in the area, but Hostotipaquillo maintained its comfortable existence through the armed revolt. Its economic and social decline came in the mid-1920s, when workers' agitation, strikes, and local violence (from the Cristero war as well as other malcontents) prompted American owners' decision to close the mines in the late 1920s.⁸⁸ Hostotipaquillo had been a regional centre of labour organisations and pre-Revolutionary Catholic social action programmes – though this in itself does not explain why or how Pascual Díaz Barreto and these women made each other's acquaintance. Cueva de Valdivia, along with her son, Arnoldo Valdivia (a farmer and small-scale merchant), wrote to Díaz Barreto concerning the state of the religious conflict at the end of the *Cristiada* and of their own hardship, brought on by bad corn harvests, poor sales and other economic difficulties resulting from drought and the after effects of the religious war. She alluded to the acquaintance they had made two decades earlier in

religious governor, sent Díaz Barreto into exile to the United States. After serving as one of the negotiators of the end of the Cristero rebellion (working with exiled Apostolic Delegate Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, American diplomat Dwight Morrow and others), Díaz Barreto was created Archbishop of Mexico in July 1929, and lived and served in Mexico City until his death in May 1936. From 1929 to 1936 Díaz Barreto presided over the Mexican Episcopate as well as one of the most populous dioceses of the country, centered in the political capital, where the national offices of most Catholic lay societies were based as well. Consequently, he also served as both *de facto* and honorary spiritual director of many Catholic lay societies. Francisco Sosa, *El Episcopado Mexicano. Biografía de los Ilmos Señores Arzobispos de México, Desde la Época Colonial hasta Nuestros Días*, Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1962, 2: 254-294, Carlos Martínez Assad, *El laboratorio de la revolución: El Tabasco garridista*, Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1991 [1979], p. 35; Romero de Solís, *El agujón del espíritu*, p. 334, n. 76. The AHAM-PDB holds correspondence that Díaz Barreto maintained with the lay women and men with whom he lived and worked, with many letters from addresses in the centre-west (Jalisco, Guanajuato and Michoacán), but also from Tabasco, Veracruz, Hidalgo, Mexico State, and various cities in the United States.

⁸⁸Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, p. 38; Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, II, 297; Benjamín Hernández Rubio, interview with Kristina Boylan, Hostotipaquillo, Jal., Mexico, 18 Jun. 1997. According to Hernández Rubio, born in the neighboring town of Cinco Minas, his mother-in-law would remind him repeatedly that Hostotipaquillo had once been a "*pequeña Guadalajara*," referring to the cosmopolitan capital of the state, versus his small-town birthplace.

asking for his prayers for the wellbeing of her family. Díaz Barreto sent her long, detailed personal replies: for example, in the final exchange found in the archdiocesan archive in Mexico City, he asked for her and her family (naming her husband, Diego, her son, Arnoldo, and her daughter, Petra) to pray for him as he embarked on his 1931 trip to Rome for a pilgrimage and an audience with the Pope.⁸⁹ Hermelinda Gil, meanwhile, seems to have had a less personal relationship with the archbishop, but she capitalised on their acquaintance. In a series of insistent letters, Gil successfully badgered Díaz Barreto to personally arrange for a reliquary, a treasured family heirloom, to be appraised and sold in order to alleviate their poverty.⁹⁰

Neither Díaz Barreto's archives nor those in Hostotipaquillo nor Guadalajara revealed much more about these two women.⁹¹ Interviews conducted with some of Hostotipaquillo's elderly residents fill in some gaps in the historical knowledge regarding the Catholic women activists of this community. Graciela León Reynada and Lucila Mejía Siordia had been well acquainted with Juana Cueva de Valdivia and also knew Hermelinda Gil. Not surprisingly, both were said to be '*muy apegada a la Iglesia*.' Cueva de Valdivia figured more prominently in León Reynada's and Mejía Siordia's memories. She had been a catechist and had taught many of

⁸⁹ AHAM-PDB, Gabinete 199, Exp. 50, Arnoldo Valdivia to Díaz Barreto, 31 Mar. 1931; Cueva de Valdivia to Díaz Barreto, 1 Apr. 1931; Díaz Barreto to Cueva de Valdivia, 6 Apr. 1931; Cueva de Valdivia to Díaz Barreto, 24 Jul. 1931.

⁹⁰ AHAM-PDB, Gabinete 199, caja 4, exp. 50, Gil to Díaz Barreto, 2 Aug. 1930; Gabinete 196, Carpeta G-87 (67) SEGLARES: Díaz Barreto to H. Gil, 6 Aug. 1930; Gil to Díaz Barreto, 15 Aug. 1930; Díaz Barreto to Gil, 25 Aug. 1930, Gil to Díaz Barreto, 2 Sept. 1930, Díaz Barreto to Gil, 6 Sept. 1930.

⁹¹ Among other difficulties, the municipal archivist informed me that '*revolucionarios*' (it was not clear if he was referring to the revolutionaries of the 1910-1917 or the Catholic rebels of 1926-1929) had burnt down the municipal palace, which meant that few or no records were available for persons born before about 1920. The archivist recommended that I speak to Ezequiel Hidalgo, the elderly man considered the town's local historian; with the help of the parish priest I subsequently located him and several elderly women to interview as well. Hidalgo informed me that Cueva de Valdivia was indeed Arnoldo Valdivia's mother – but could not tell me much else about her or her work in the community, unlike the women (Ezequiel Hidalgo, interview with Kristina Boylan, Hostotipaquillo, Jal., Mexico, 19 Jun. 1997). Lucila Mejía Siordia informed me that Valdivia later served as Recaudador de Oficinas de Correos, and upon his death somehow managed to donate his house to the church, which is now the residence of the parish priest; Lucila Mejía Siordia, interview with Kristina Boylan, Hostotipaquillo, Jal., Mexico, 18 Jun. 1997.

Hostotipaquillo's Catholic children, including León Reynada, in the 1930s. Cueva de Valdivia also had offered her home as a location for clandestine Catholic classes. Cueva de Valdivia had worked with the local chapter of the Hijas de María, which had been directed by Josefina Reyes. Not only was Cueva de Valdivia a long-standing member of the town's ACM, but at one point she served as president. As part of the ACM's work, Cueva de Valdivia and others had opened a Catholic academy that taught vocational skills to young girls.⁹²

Mejía Siordia remembers taking sewing and tailoring classes from the *Academia*, and recalls that Josefina Reyes ran a small clothing business, selling the clothes that her pupils made. While it was not a huge enterprise, the *Academia* thus offered an economic opportunity for young women in a time of economic difficulties. The *Academia* also offered cooking, knitting, and machine-sewing classes. According to Mejía Siordia, the *Academia* grew from about eight to ten pupils to about sixty students when she was a young woman in the late 1930s. Many young women in Hostotipaquillo belonged to the JCFM, recalls Mejía Siordia, and many of them enrolled in the *Academia*'s classes.⁹³

During the Cristiada, Mejía Siordia also recounts, the parish priest had organised a clandestine Catholic school. However, the priest was eventually forced to flee, and could return only rarely, in disguise, to his parish. Communicants had to go to Guadalajara to attend Mass and to receive the sacraments. She remembers the early 1930s as being '*pésimas*,' in general heralding little or no improvement in local residents' lives, despite the fact that leaders in the Church, state and local industry had declared the formal 'end' of religious and labour conflicts, whether by concluding *arreglos* or closing mines.⁹⁴

⁹²Graciela León Reynada de Hernández, interview with Kristina Boylan, Hostotipaquillo, Jal., Mexico, 18 Jun. 1997; Mejía Siordia interview.

⁹³L. Mejía Siordia interview.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*; Mejía Siordia continues to be active in her church, but in a newer bible study circle called "Los renovados."

León Reynada was also born in Cinco Minas. Soon after her birth, her parents sold their one long-term investment, the pig that they had been raising, and moved to Guadalajara for two years. León Reynada gives two reasons for her parents' move; first, they were fleeing the violence in the countryside resulting from the Cristero rebellion; secondly, '*no había culto.*' Loyal to their place of origin, her parents had their daughter's name entered into the Hostotipaquillo parish baptismal registry by her godparents, who promised to do so '*bajo un juramento de Dios.*' Prior to their move, León Reynada's father had also worked as a miner. In Guadalajara and after their moving back to Hostotipaquillo, both he and León Reynada's mother worked as *comerciantes*, selling clothes and sundries that they bought in Guadalajara and transported by train and horse-drawn cart or burro to Hostotipaquillo.⁹⁵

León Reynada lived in Hostotipaquillo until she was ten years old, when her father died, and her mother decided to move back to Guadalajara. During this time, León Reynada attended the *escuela oficial*. There had been a parish school, she noted, but it was opened only sporadically and ultimately was short-lived. Fortunately, the teacher was one of the *gente de confianza*: '*házte cuenta que me tocó una de las maestras que no se metía en cosas de eso y ya, pues, era libre y todo que no, y no nos daba, no nos impartía en cosas en contra de la religión, no nada, nada, nada.*' León Reynada completed the fourth year of primary school in Guadalajara. Later, as a young woman (her family returned to Hostotipaquillo again in 1948), she assisted in the revived parish school opened by the parish priest in the late 1940s, staffed by his nieces. León Reynada also taught catechism classes on Sundays, serving at one point as the president of the catechists, and was an active member of the JCFM. '*Eramos mucho,*' said León Reynada, concurring with Mejía Siordia in her description of the organisation and its academy, where she took sewing classes as well. Her mother sold some of the clothes she made during her trips to Guadalajara, enabling León Reynada to help support her family until her marriage in 1956.⁹⁶

⁹⁵León Reynada de Hernández, interview.

Regardless of the personal links some women had to ecclesiastical leaders, Hostotipaquillo, Cinco Minas and the surrounding settlements were among those visited by the auxiliary bishop of Guadalajara, José Garibi Rivera, in 1931, as part of the archdiocesan two-month campaign to give mission courses in outlying areas. The archdiocese targeted certain areas, notably the poorer parishes of northern Jalisco, Nayarit, and Zacatecas. This selection probably responded to the political agitation around agrarian, labour, indigenous, religious and educational issues of the past decade, and thus included the mining region of central-west Jalisco.⁹⁷ Several different accounts exist of the causes of the closing of the opal mines that once fuelled the local economy. Some say the mines were looted repeatedly by the Cristeros, causing foreign investors to pull out of the region; others claim that it was the violence perpetrated by belligerent, leftist organisation in the late 1920s (led in part by the artist David Alfaro Siqueiros) that alienated foreign investment. Although some mines' veins clearly gave out as a matter of course, and others flooded naturally, local legend also tells of their destruction as an act of divine retribution, which came about when a *gringo* administrator insulted the patron saint of Hostotipaquillo, the Virgen del Favor, by forbidding her procession to stop at the mine for veneration.⁹⁸

Scarcity led residents of the municipality to compete for resources. Unlike Catholic projects, social reforms were not self-funding in Hostotipaquillo, and obtaining government aid took persistent petitioning; it comes as no surprise that local campesinos resorted to asking for Church properties to aid their cause. In 1935, Fidel Camarena and Paula Salas of Jocotlán wrote to President Cárdenas asking him to concede to them the use of the local priest's house as an office for agrarian

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷N. Aviña Ruíz, "Circular Núm 60-30" (16 Dec. 1930), *BEG*, II, 11 (1 Jan, 1931), pp. 700-702; Hostotipaquillo, visit 7 Jan. 1931, missions 7-14 Jan. 1931.

⁹⁸Zenon Vallarta Loreto, interview with Kristina Boylan, Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 19 Jun. 1997; Pilar Ayala, interview with Kristina Boylan, Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 18 Jun. 1997; Roberto León, interview with Kristina Boylan, Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 18 Jun. 1997; B. Hernández Rubio, interview; Ezequiel Hidalgo, personal communication, 26 Feb. 1999.

organising, as the chapel which had existed alongside it had been destroyed in 1918. They were informed that this would not be possible, as the building was not used for the celebration of religious acts and therefore did not legally fall under the jurisdiction of the government. Other representatives of the agrarian community of Jocotlán and Teimillo again asked for the use of the room that had once been the *curato*, and which they claimed to have 'always' used for their meetings. Barring that, they reiterated their original request, to be given 400 pesos in order to construct a meeting hall.⁹⁹

It is certain that the mining industry almost completely ceased in the area in the late 1920s, and that this contributed to the economic depression of the early 1930s. Whether the closure of the mines and the economic depression was due to Catholic *fanáticos*, union radicals, divine retribution or natural exhaustion – or some combination of these factors – is still a topic of local conversation and debate. Some Hostotipaquillans still hold strong opinions on the matter, blaming the violent behaviour of others for the destruction of the industry and the ensuing decline of their community; differing interpretations of the causes of the region's poverty endure to this day.¹⁰⁰ During that time of crisis, Catholic women in Hostotipaquillo sought more from their Church. Some women looked for support from the hierarchical leaders that they had become acquainted with earlier when they had lived in the same communities, worshipped and worked together. They also took the pattern for organisation offered them after the Cristero rebellion, the ACM, and used it not only for the defence of the Church in the face of radical activity, but also as a means of obtaining economic support for themselves and their families. The

⁹⁹AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 547.4/183: Fidel Camarena and Paula Salas, Jocotlán, to Lázaro Cárdenas, 4 Aug. 1935; José Hernández Delgado to the Secretario de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 13 Aug. 1935; Ing. Rodrigo Pérez Ayala to Camarena and Salas, 20 Aug 1935; Guillermo Ulloa and Aniceto García, (president and secretary of the Comunidad Agraria de Jocotlán y Teimillo, Municipio Hostotipaquillo), to Cárdenas, 14 Sept. 1935; Hernández Delgado to the Secretario de Hacienda y Crédito Público (cc G. Ulloa and García), 28 Sept. 1935.

¹⁰⁰The discovery of new opal lodes in the 1950s revived the mining industry, which continues to the present.

practical applications of women's allying with the Church strengthened its position in the community.

Education under Fire: The Norte de Jalisco

Two regions of Jalisco acquired the reputation of being particularly beset with problems of rural violence, poverty, and social backwardness, all of which purportedly had religious origins: the northernmost municipalities of Jalisco, sometimes called the 'Zona de Colotlán' or simply 'el norte', and the eastern part of the state, known as 'Los Altos.' The next two sections will explore social issues and women's experiences in each of these regions, similar in their history of economic decline, as centres of Cristero organisation, as targets of Church and state missions after the Cristero rebellion, and as locations of continued protest and unrest.

On a map, the Zona de Colotlán resembles a hand or claw reaching northwards into the state of Zacatecas. The region's mountainous terrain determined its odd boundaries, which follow the rise and fall of different sections of the Sierra Madre Occidental, and its pattern of scattered settlement, mostly in dispersed, small communities.¹⁰¹ Historically there had been a rough east-west division in settlement between the Huichol population, centred in the municipality of Mezquitic in the west, and the Hispanic, mestizo population, which based itself in the east when Colotlán was founded as a garrison for the Spaniards in the late sixteenth century. Indigenous rebellions continued to break out in the Sierra Madre Occidental for over a century, until the Spanish Crown granted the Huichol their lands in the mid-eighteenth century. From this point the Huichol maintained essentially self-sustained and isolated communities. Some of the mestizo communities were fairly significant way stations on mining and trade routes,

¹⁰¹ Jesus Manuel Macías M., 'La organización social del espacio en el norte de Jalisco,' in Angel Bassols Batalla, *Norte de Jalisco: Una región remota de occidente* (Mexico City, 1988), p. 106. According to Macías, the municipality of Colotlán had the highest proportion of inhabitants living in the municipal seat, roughly 53%; in the other municipalities, population of the *cabecera* ranged from 15.5% (Mezquitic) to 40% (San Martín de Bolaños), the rest living in smaller communities throughout the municipalities.

particularly the silver and mineral mines in Colotlán and Bolaños. The mines were the main reason for the Crown's interest in the area and were profitable enough to attract foreign investment after Independence until their depletion in the 1840s.¹⁰²

At the time of the Reforma, the main source of income in the area again was subsistence agriculture, and communication and transport networks linking the Zona de Colotlán to larger centres such as Guadalajara and Zacatecas had deteriorated. Despite the isolation of the region, in which '*inclusive la Iglesia había perdido su control religioso*,' the area became a contested zone during the uprising of Manuel Lozada against the liberal government. Lozada attracted a following among both the indigenous and mestizos of the region by rallying them around issues of communal land rights (the Huichol objected to the encroachment of mestizo government and legal control as much as their seizure of Huichol land) and '*defensa de la religión*.'¹⁰³ Roughly half a century later, the Revolution of 1910 afforded further opportunities for the Huichol to challenge mestizo landowners' domination. Further west, near Tepic, the Huichol in and around Camotlán rose up in rebellion against the Espinosa y Lopez Portillo family, which had encroached not only on their land, but on the municipal buildings and the church of their pueblo as well. Although isolated from the mainstream revolutionary programme *per se*, the upheaval renewed the impetus for the defence of Huichol territory and social organisation against outsiders.¹⁰⁴ Thus, land rights and religious issues were far from new to the area at the time of the Cristero rebellion.

¹⁰²A. Bassols Batalla, 'Pobladores y economía en la historia,' in Bassols Batalla, ed., *Norte de Jalisco*, p. 152; on colonial mining, *ibid.*, pp. 155-162; Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, p. 38; Macías M., 'La organización social,' p. 95, p. 113 and p. 123. Four out of the five principal communities of the Huichol, Santa Catarina, San Sebastián Teponahuastlán, San Andrés Cohamiata, and Tuxpan de Bolaños, are located in the municipality of Mezquitic; the fifth, Guadalupe Ocotán, lies in the municipality of La Yesca in Nayarit.

¹⁰³Bassols Batalla, 'Pobladores y economía,' pp. 163-164 and p. 171. Bassols Batalla takes the quote used here (p. 163) from M.A. Aldana Rendón, *La rebelión agraria de Manuel Lozada: 1873*. México, DF: SEP 80, 1983.

¹⁰⁴Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, I, 110 and 221.

After the Mexican Revolution, the new Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas (DAI) targeted the north of Jalisco as one of the sites of government 'mission' to the Mexican countryside. The DAI established fourteen schools for Huichol children in northern Jalisco and Nayarit, but as of 1924, only those in Mezquitic (Jalisco) and Tuxpán (Nayarit) remained open. The state government opened several schools throughout the area, but attendance levels were low or non-existent. Several factors contributed to the schools' ineffectiveness. The De la Huerta rebellion against Obregón (1923-1924), supported by some Jaliscan landowners, created a climate of '*verdadera inseguridad*' in the area. DAI school inspector Diego Hernández Topete found that the Huichol were suspicious, if not downright hostile, to incoming teachers, and avoided the school. Furthermore, parish priests reacted quickly to the presence of the new, cultural missionaries, and preached against the 'new doctrines' of the schools to the local residents, which only intensified as the Cristero Rebellion broke out.¹⁰⁵ Cristero rebels attacked and burned schools, and several teachers, such as the schoolteacher of Tlacozahua, in the Huejúcar municipality, were assassinated. The Fortieth Battalion of the Mexican army was sent to occupy the area, establishing its headquarters in Colotlán. The battalion requested an adult literacy school for the troops, which took in local residents as well. Of the students, school inspector Jiménez de la Rosa complained that '*hasta me dediqué a explicar la significación de la Bandera Nacional, pues los campesinos argumentaban que es un peligro esta bandera porque se hacen acreedores de venganzas por los rebeldes.*'¹⁰⁶

Because it had been a locus of Catholic insurrection, the northern region of Jalisco was again targeted for intense cultural missionary activity after the *arreglos*. The Cristeros of the region debated at length whether to accept the *arreglos*, and

¹⁰⁵Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, pp. 22-24. Hernández Topete also complained that the teachers lacked a clear policy and methodology for interacting with indigenous communities. In the early 1930s, teachers found that adults were unwilling to lend support or donate materials for the new schools and their teachers. When the teachers argued for the necessity of educating their children, the parents '*sólo exigen que se les enseñe a sus hijos a leer y escribir, porque todos o en su mayoría salen a los Estados Unidos de América en busca de horizontes más amplios.*'

¹⁰⁶Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 26.

some apparently did so only grudgingly. Not long after the *arreglos* were publicised, Jiménez de la Rosa, still working out of Colotlán, reported to Mexico City that Catholic rebels had begun their activities anew in the area, destroying houses and the school in El Carrizal, and threatening the people in various *rancherías*.¹⁰⁷ The region also remained severely economically challenged after the Cristero rebellion. The Colotlán region was hard hit by the drought that affected Jalisco in the early 1930s, when the government distributed corn to rural communities.¹⁰⁸

The sparse population and economic decline had not completely diminished the Church's institutional presence, although Jesuit missionaries in the area reported that they saw little '*más que sincretismo*' in remote communities in the mid-1920s. Catholics in municipal seats, at least, had strengthened their ties to institutional church during the '*segunda evangelización*' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapters of the Hijos de María had been established in the northern parishes. A good number of their members aided the Cristeros during the rebellion; Carmelita (María del Carmen) Robles, the president of the Huejuequilla chapter, was executed in 1927 for her participation.¹⁰⁹ In its 1931 outreach campaign, the Archdiocese of Guadalajara marked the northern parishes of Jalisco as meriting special missionary attention, scheduling episcopal visits, retreats and courses to be held in Chimaltitán, Bolaños, San Martín de Bolaños, El Salitre, Temastlán and

¹⁰⁷Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 347, 387, and 390; Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 30. Also see 'Testimonio de Prelados que si sufrieron la persecución en México,' letter from F. Orozco y Jiménez and Ignacio Plascencia y Moreira, Bishop of Zacatecas, to Pius XI, 22 June 1928, reprinted in *David* VI, 122 (22 Sept 1962), pp. 24-27.

¹⁰⁸R. García de Alba, "Informe rendido por el Señor General Ruperto García de Alba, Gobernador Provisional del Estado de Jalisco, ante la H. XXX Legislatura de la Propia Entidad Federativa," 1 Feb. 1931, in Urzúa Orozco and Hernández Z., eds. *Jalisco: Testimonio de sus Gobernantes*, III, 714.

¹⁰⁹Meyer, *La Cristiada*, III, 301, 304-305. According to residents interviewed by Meyer, Robles had been courted and pressured by General J. B. Vargas, but resisted his advances by engaging him in lengthy theological discussions until, apparently, even this could not restrain him. Robles was regarded as a 'saint' throughout the area, and when her remains were found and exhumed in 1963, numerous pilgrims came to venerate them in a week-long vigil.

Totatiche.¹¹⁰ Instituting the ACM was part of this mission, and some women of the region rallied to the new cause. By 1930, a UFCM-CP had been organised in San Sebastián. At the same time, however, Catholic women in San Martín returned the Guadalajara UFCM-CD's letter encouraging priests and women to organise, explaining that the parish priest still could not return to the town. Other grupos parroquiales were founded successfully in the *cabeceras*. In 1931 the UFCM-GP began planning to start its own academy in Totatiche and asked the Diocesan Committee for advice on textbooks. In Villa Guerrero, the parish priest took an active interest in the UFCM, holding new elections in 1932 and asking for more *téseras* for new members.¹¹¹

As the UFCM committees were being organised, the Diocesan Committee sent out a circular encouraging women activists to form Pro-Seminary sections to help poor young men to become priests, because of the restrictions placed upon their training by the state government.¹¹² This must have resonated strongly in the north, as priests had long been few and far between in the area. Decreto 3742 only worsened the situation; due to the area's sparse population, only one priest was allocated to minister for six municipalities.¹¹³

The memory of the Cristero rebellion remained fresh in the North, and Church leaders capitalised on the devotion that residents showed to the memories of its victims. In 1934, the archdiocese of Guadalajara canvassed the north of the diocese to collect documentation for the beatification of priests assassinated by federal troops during the *Cristiada*. The archdiocese sought information on the life

¹¹⁰Aviña Ruíz, Circular Núm. 60-30, 16 Dec. 1930, pp. 701-702. Huichol settlements and other especially poor communities of the Archdiocese of Guadalajara that lay within the boundaries of Nayarit were also marked for extended visits: Amatlán de Jora, Huajimic and Camotlán among them.

¹¹¹UFCM-Guad., Actas I, 18 Nov. 1930, p. 13b (San Sebastián); UFCM-Guad., Actas I, 23 Dec. 1930, p. 18b (San Martín de Bolaños); UFCM-Guad., Actas I, 17 Mar. 1931, p. 33b (Totatiche); UFCM-Guad., Actas I, 18 Feb. 1932, p. 66b and 14 Apr. 1932, p. 70b (Villa Guerrero).

¹¹²UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 13b (18 Nov. 1930); according to Wilfrid Parsons, a minor seminary was opened clandestinely in Totatiche in the mid-1930s (*Mexican Martyrdom*, p. 176), but I have not found other evidence of this school, nor of UFCM members' work to support it.

¹¹³Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 491.

and works of Cristobal Magallanes and Agustín Caloca, executed at Colotlán on 25 March 1927, and of Andrés Galindo, killed at Chimaltitán on 24 July 1928. The archdiocese meant the gesture to demonstrate that it had not forgotten the sufferings of Catholics in the region during the religious persecution. However, it was made very clear that these men had *not* participated in the Cristero Rebellion. In its appeal, the *BEG* attributed to Magallanes a statement that the Church did not need arms for its defence. Whichever new saints and martyrs were beginning to be venerated in the region, to win archdiocesan, let alone Vatican approval, the persons in question had to have followed the Church's official policy of non-violence. Yet before and during the rebellion, many priests had reiterated Church leaders' exhortations to resist government anticlerical policies and defend the Church *at all costs*; to many, it remained unclear whether the Church had endorsed an uprising or not.¹¹⁴ The *BEG* at this time did not mention any lay men or women who were persecuted or martyred by the *federalistas*. However, for decades following the rebellion, Catholics in the *zona cristera* petitioned to have other participants in the Cristero Rebellion beatified.¹¹⁵ It was well-known during the 1930s that some clergy had actively participated in the rebellion, yet in these instances they were

¹¹⁴J. Garibi Rivera, 'Promoción de beatificación de Cristobal Magallanes y Agustín Caloca, sacerdotes seculares fallecidos en Colotlán, Jal., 25 mayo 1927,' 26 Dec. 1933, *BEG*, V, 2 (Feb. 1934), pp. 65-66; 'Beatificación...', V, 11 (1 Nov. 1934), pp. 514-515; Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, pp. 462-463; J. Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Apuntes para la historia de la Iglesia en Guadalajara*, México, ed. Libros de México, 1977, 5: 282-283.

¹¹⁵The first Catholic 'martyrs' from the *zona cristera* – mostly priests, but some lay men – were beatified in 1992. Twenty-seven Mexicans were canonized on 21 May 2000, among them Cristobal Magallanes. Recent biographies still do not mention any participation in the armed movement, although some of the laymen are identified as having been leaders or members of the openly belligerent ACJM or the LNDLR. All in all twenty-five of the saints '*murieron al grito de Cristo Rey y Santa María de Guadalupe, por lo que su lucha no fue en vano*,' declared Monsignor Oscar Sánchez Barba, who promoted their cause at the Vatican. Only one woman was canonized, María de Jesús Sacramentado Venegas, founder of the religious order of the Hijas del Sagrado Corazón. Rather than die '*al grito de Cristo Rey*,' Venegas had to work for forty years, founding hospitals for the poor, to merit sainthood. See 'Canonizará el Papa el 21 de Mayo a 27 Mexicanos,' *Excelsior*, 11 Mar. 2000; 'Abogados del Diablo' impiden la canonización del beato Juan Diego,' *El Informador*, 14 Mar. 2000; ; 'Canonización de santos reestablece buenas relaciones entre la Santa Sede y México,' *Excelsior*, 25 May 2000; 'Santos de México,' <http://www.aciprensa.com/santmex2.htm>; 'Canonización de beatos mexicanos, mártires de la Guerra Cristera, el 21 de mayo de 2000' (<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Agora/3660/orac/canonizacion.html>). Pope John Paul II's 22 May 2000 Jubilee address in which the Mexicans were canonized can be read at the Vatican's website (<http://www.vatican.va/holy-father/john-paulii/speeches/documents/hf-jp-ii-spe-20000522-canonization-sp.html>).

rhetorically set apart from the laity, perhaps as a reprimand to some of the latter, who had not yet altered their defensive stance to the ecclesiastical hierarchy's new standards.

Meanwhile, local attitudes toward schoolteachers again became violent: in 1933 Juan Jesús Sevilla was lynched in Pegueros, a '*víctima de los Cristeros*,' and the schoolteachers of Colotlán, Huejúcar and Santa María de los Angeles feared similar fates. Nevertheless, government missionaries pressed onwards in their campaign to convert the inhabitants of the *norte* to their side. The Misión de Cultura Indígena distributed a leaflet in Colotlán that read:

*USTED es padre de familia. Usted quiere dejarle una herencia a sus hijos. ¿Sabe cuál le conviene? Una que les dure siempre. El dinero con la mala distribución termina. Déjeles pues una enseñanza que en cualquier circunstancia de la vida les aproveche. Mándelos a las escuelas federales, ahí se les enseñará a trabajar, ahí su hijo sabrá ser hombre que sirva a su Patria y a sus semejantes; ahí su hija sabrá ser la mujer que su hogar necesita.*¹¹⁶

Federal teachers often had to prove to sceptical rural populations that their schools were not going to introduce social disintegration or questionable morality into the communities, especially as they took girls and young women out of the home and involved them in public and sometimes co-educational activities. Besides providing a 'lasting inheritance' for children, teachers in the Jaliscan north promised that the schools would reinforce proper behaviour. Children of both sexes would learn practical skills to be able to work, which would have seemed more realistic than academic or artistic training for local residents. Boys were to learn to be good citizens and patriots, but girls were to learn to take care of their homes. The explicit preservation of gender roles was an attempt to appeal to both traditionalist Catholic and indigenous communities that feared that the schools' influence would undermine their homes and communities.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, p. 348, my emphasis.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*; Similar rhetoric regarding the preservation of gender roles was used in a UNPF pamphlet designed to keep Catholic children out of the state schools; (PEC/FT, Fondo 12 Serie 010806, exp. 21, inv. 7275, "HOJA SUELTA que circuló en Puebla, contra la Enseñanza Socialista. [Padre de Familia Lea

The Dirección Federal de Educación formulated a new 'Plan Educativo para la Región de los Huicholes' in May 1933 that included three new centres in San Sebastián, La Lata de Santa Catarina and San Andrés Cohiamata (in Mezquitic municipality). The centres' goals were to '*enseñarles a hablar [Spanish], a trabajar en sus campos de cultivo y en sus talleres, a criar animales, a mejorar sus costumbres en la alimentación, y a leer, escribir y contar elementalmente.*' The only school able to remain open and functioning was that of San Sebastián, where one teacher worked out of several huts, imparting to residents no more than '*los conocimientos elementales.*'¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, residents of Chimaltitán and other rural municipalities petitioned the state government to repeal Decreto 3742 and to restore religious services. They justified their request in economic terms, pointing out that commercial interests were being affected by the loss of business. Masses and fiestas were no longer being held, and people's general fear of violence kept them from leaving their homes and patronising these businesses. The state legislature explicitly rejected these petitions on 13 June 1933.¹¹⁹

Northern landowners reacted violently, sabotaging the Colotlán *internado*. They also sabotaged the Escuelas Artículo 123 that they were supposed to sustain by refusing to provision schoolteachers. Some landowners also offered the land that by agrarian law should have been set aside for a school to the campesinos to work for themselves, thus 'losing' the school site to subsistence cultivation, which was, of course, a campesino demand. Churchgoing campesinos were threatened with denial of the sacraments and excommunication if they complied with the government's educational programme, and were reminded that a sin so grave would necessitate the archbishop's absolution. Priests preaching this message were known

Usted], " (n.a, n.d.) and ILF-AC, Carpeta "Defensa de la libertad de enseñanza sin fechas-Manifestación Contra de la Educación Socialista, Exp. "Educación" ("Padre de Familia Lea Usted," (n.a, n.d.)). For similar issues in Puebla, see Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, pp. 88-90, pp. 99-100.

¹¹⁸Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 35.

¹¹⁹Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 495.

to have visited *ranchos* in Colotlán, Santa María de los Angeles, and Huejúcar, and doubtless circulated throughout the northern part of the state.¹²⁰

In March 1934, the mayor of Colotlán, school inspector Francisco J. Huizar, and Tomás Huerta, municipal president of Cihuatlán, were assassinated, strengthening the denunciations of local Ligas Antirreligiosas that '*en esta región se nos está amenazando muy a menudo con un nuevo movimiento cristero.*' Not surprisingly, Jalisco educators declared the main mission of the new educational drive to be '*desfanatizadora,*' to eliminate the influence of the Catholic clergy, identified as the principal enemy of the schools in the area. At their behest, Church buildings and properties were confiscated and turned over to government offices to use. Teachers sought the co-operation of sympathetic groups such as agrarian communities and Masonic lodges. Some north Jaliscan campesinos also began to endorse government programmes. In 1935 a group calling itself the '*padres de familia*' of Huejúcar, among other parents' associations in Jalisco towns, denounced Catholic opposition to official schools and socialist education to the Jalisco Departamento de Gobernación. However, in that same town, parents assembled at a meeting to promote the official school told the convenor, a government school inspector, that they would never accept socialist education and threatened to stone him if he did not leave.¹²¹

Some inspectors commented that the teachers, who often had only recently completed the sixth year of primary school themselves, were not properly trained to work in such a difficult area. Also, the region had no libraries, and there had been very few or no visits by Misiones Culturales for teachers or students. From the point

¹²⁰Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 550; Even before the declaration of the program of 'socialist education' in December 1934, the Catholic Church issued injunctions against public education and in favor of religiously-oriented education for Catholic children. Documents which circulated in Jalisco in the early 1930s include: Pío XI, 'Sección Pontífica: Carta Encíclica de Nuestro Santísimo Señor Pío Papa XI Sobre la Cristiana Educación de la Juventud [*Divini illius magistri*],' 31 Dec. 1929, *BEG*, I, 3 (1 May 1930), pp. 97-131; F. Orozco y Jiménez, 'Circular Núm 59-30, Al V. Clero y Fieles del Arzobispado,' 16 Dec 1930, *BEG* II, 12 (1 Feb. 1931), pp. 709-710; L. Ruíz y Flores, Carta 'A los Católicos,' 12 Sept. 1931, *BEG*, II, 10 (1 Oct. 1931), pp. 1273-1277; N. Aviña Ruíz, 'Circular 15, A los Sres. Párrocos y Vicarios Fijos del Arzobispado,' 25 Jul. 1933, *BEG*, IV, 8 (1 Aug. 1933), pp. 377-378; F. Orozco y Jiménez, 'Edicto,' 12 Jan. 1934, *BEG*, V, 2 (1 Feb. 1934), pp. 55-62.

¹²¹Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 351, 549; Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 89; Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 535; Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, 234.

of view of the SEP, these teachers were confronted with dual resistance: on the one hand from an indigenous group (the Huichol) which persisted in maintaining its isolation; and on the other hand from the '*cultura blanca*,' the alliance of clergy and landowners whom they faulted for conspiring to keep the campesinos in check. Twenty-four schools were opened in the *norte* in early 1935, but most remained in '*pésimas*' conditions, lacking supplies and the land for gardens, workshops, and other facilities due to them under the provisions of Article 123.¹²² Try as the teachers might to attract children and their parents to the new schools, attendance remained at best low. This was due not only to their misgivings about sending their children to the new schools, but also to Catholic activist organisation among campesino parents. To express his concern about the 'seditious clerical propaganda' that was circulating in the region, a government agent sent Lázaro Cárdenas a UNPF circular printed in January 1935. Addressed to '*todos los padres de Familia de la República Mexicana*,' the flyer declared a '*huelga escolar*' from the first day of the year onward in response to the atheistic curriculum of the state schools. (The UNPF had proposed the school boycott in a November 1934 circular, when the possibility of such a curriculum was on the horizon). The UNPF claimed that it was '*sin ánimo alguno de obstruccionar al nuevo gobierno*,' but asserted that the most basic of duties of parents obligated them to take a stand. According to the UNPF, this was not belligerence, but an act of self-defence. Under the slogan '*POR NUESTRO DEBER Y NUESTRO DERECHO*', the flyer concluded, '*Si es usted padre digno y respetuoso de sus hijos, haga usted circular con toda profusión este volante, con el objeto de que nos agrupemos todos los padres afectados a defendernos de la malediciencia de los políticos*.'¹²³

Many Jaliscans from the north joined in the wave of opposition to the socialist education programme in late 1934 and early 1935. Schoolteachers and

¹²²Yankelevich pp. 90-92, Barbosa Guzmán, p. 527..

¹²³Barbosa Guzmán, p. 537; AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 533.3/20, Legajo 4: extracto #11312, 11 Jan. 1935, (from Teodosio Martínez, Agte. de Información y Propaganda Agrícola, Mezquitic, Jal., to L. Cárdenas, 6 Jan. 1935); José Hernández Delgado to T. Martínez, 11 Jan. 1935; and typed copy of flyer 'Union Nacional de Padres de Familia, Comité Nacional, Segunda Circular Extra Urgente' Enero 1935.

inspectors in the region constantly petitioned the federal government, either directly, through the state government or through the SEP, calling for armed troops to provide guarantees for their security. It was clear to the teachers that the instigators of hostility towards the state school were none other than the Catholic clergy. In February 1935, when the school building in Juanacatic was destroyed, the Villa Guerrero priest was said to have exhorted his parishioners to expel the *profesora* from the town. Soon afterward, in Cerro Colorado, the teacher and her husband were assaulted when the school building was attacked. Even where schools were not actually attacked, the teachers complained that the villagers were intimidated from lending any support by priests who threatened them with excommunication.

At this time, school inspector Federico A. Corzo wrote to Ignacio García Téllez, the Secretary of Public Education, asking him to request a military campaign against the small bands of rebels who were raiding towns. Corzo argued that '*si no estos grupos crecerán y se volverá a presentar la Revolución Cristera de hace unos cuantos años.*' Initially, Mexico City bureaucrats only responded to these entreaties by ordering the municipal presidents of the region to provide *guarantees* to the teachers in their schools. Ramón García Ruíz, the state director of federal education in Jalisco, was dissatisfied with this response. García Ruíz pointed out that the mayors were unable to comply with the order, as they lacked police forces, were scared of the reactions of the inhabitants of their towns, or themselves were '*de extracción burguesa o clerical, y en consecuencia, lejos de ayudar al maestro, son los primeros en provocar su ruina convirtiéndose en cómplices más o menos descarados de los que patrocinan la lucha contra la reforma escolar.*' In these circumstances it was impossible achieve any sort of educational advance, García Ruíz argued:

la situación del maestro rural es insostenible...debido a que la gente ignorante fanatizada y mal aconsejada por los explotadores de nuestro pueblo trabajador, nos considera como enemigos y así aunque en el lugar de residencia no se vea una oposición franca...hay enemigos encubiertos y solapados dispuestos a sacrificar al maestro en la sombra y en el misterio.

Celso Flores Zamora, Jefe del Departamento de Escuelas Rurales at the SEP, echoed García Ruíz's opinion, and insisted that police and military authorities either provide guarantees to teachers endangered by 'fanatics' or, if that were not possible, distribute arms to the teachers so that they could defend themselves. At this time, García Ruíz authorised teachers who felt endangered in isolated, rural schools to move to the *cabeceras municipales*. Apart from this, however, the teachers' dire situation was not addressed practically. On 15 May 1935, the nationally celebrated 'Día del Maestro,' these imperilled teachers were accorded an '*acto de homenaje*.' From the safety of the courtyard of its Mexico City headquarters, the Secretary of the SEP unveiled a column engraved with the names of teachers who had been martyred in the line of duty. Among them were teachers who had worked in the *norte de Jalisco*: Apolonio González, killed in Mezquitic, and Ramiro Martínez, killed in San Diego de Alejandría.¹²⁴

The schoolteachers of the region continued their petitions; according to them, they had no other option if they were to continue working in the region. They complained to the SEP that the military detachment for the entire region consisted of only 25 soldiers, apart from the '*precarias defensas rurales*' made up of local agraristas. Meanwhile, armed groups swept through Santa María de los Angeles, Colotlán and Mezquitic, destroying schools and threatening teachers to the cry of '*Viva Cristo Rey*.' The teachers who attended the Fourth Convention of the Confederación Mexicana de Maestros in June 1935 sent a letter of protest to the Jalisco state government, reiterating the statements of teachers in Totatiche, Mezquitic and Bolaños that they still lacked guarantees and were at risk of becoming the victims of '*grupos de fanáticos*.'¹²⁵

¹²⁴Muriá, pp. 549-550; Barbosa Guzmán, p. 535-537; Yankelevich, p. 103-104. The name of Alfonso Negrete, killed in Acatic, in Los Altos, also appears on the column. Teacher R. Galván represented the teachers of Jalisco at the ceremony.

¹²⁵Muriá, p. 550; Barbosa Guzmán, p. 536.

Some of the schoolteachers' few allies in the region were to be found in the ejidos. Residents of the *norte* had begun to petition for land during the 1920s, but the largest number of ejidos in the region were granted during the Cárdenas administration. Within the ejidos, co-operatives and sports groups were founded to benefit their members. However, the organisation of the ejido was also to include an anticlerical element; 23 of the ejidos in the region formed the 'Liga Regional Agustín Rivera' to co-ordinate anti-Catholic actions. The Catholic Church reacted strongly. During the mid-1930s, priests rather unrealistically counselled their parishioners not to accept ejido land and even to leave their communities if their neighbours considered forming such an association. At the Agrarian Convention in Zacatecas in October 1935, delegates from Tlacosahuac (Huejúcar municipality, Jalisco), complained that the parish priest and his assistant were conducting '*labor antiagraria y estaban contra la educación socialista*.' To redress the Church's ongoing sabotage of progress, the agraristas suggested that the Huejúcar church and its accompanying building be taken from the Church and given to agrarian groups to establish schools, granaries or libraries. However, it seems that no government action ensued. Instead, the town resolved tensions by literally dividing itself; through the 1980s two almost identical communities existed alongside each other, one of ejidatarios, the other of small property owners and renters, both raising corn and wheat, cattle and pigs.¹²⁶

Very few resolutions such as Tlacosahuac's were arrived at in the region. Far more common were conflicts and continued violence. Teachers consistently pointed to priests as the *agents provocateurs* of bands of '*rebeldes fanáticos*.' These priests often did not even have legal permission to minister; according to the teachers, both the municipal and even military authorities were complicit in the violation of religious laws which had such disastrous consequences for the SEP's educational missions.

¹²⁶Bassols Batalla, *Norte de Jalisco*, p. 130-131; Barbosa Guzmán, p. 538, pp. 540-541, Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 118. Other communities given land during the Cárdenas administration were Tenasco de Arriba, Tenasco de Abajo and Santa María de los Angeles. Other communities finally acquired their land allotments during the administration of Adolfo Ruiz Cortines.

According to Romualdo Avila Vázquez, the Director of the Internado Indígena Huichol y Cori in Mezquitic, Father Norberto Reyes had incited six members of the '*defensa social*' to attack Professor Gilberto Ceja Torres, outside of Monte Escobedo, Zacatecas. Far from defending the area from such Cristero bands, Avila Vázquez alleged, General Panfilo Natera even helped the local priest organise Masses. Avila Vázquez asked that the Jefe Militar of the zone inspect the area, in order to witness and eliminate the threat and to remind this '*hijo del Colegio Militar*' to remember his military duties. Avila Vázquez also asked that military escorts be assigned to enforce attendance at the schools in the indigenous pueblos.¹²⁷ Towards the end of the year, bandits near Monte Escobedo shot at school inspector Gilberto Ceja Torres. This, in conjunction with other assassinations and kidnappings, finally prompted Lázaro Cárdenas to order the governor of Jalisco and military commanders of the region to provide the security the teachers requested.¹²⁸ Though the embattled teachers gained explicit recognition from the president, it is not clear if these orders at all changed conditions for them.

Ceja Torres himself petitioned the president soon afterwards, reporting that on 24 January 1936, rebels attacked and burned the schools in Ojo de Agua and Sotoles. In the *cabeceras municipales*, teachers had some chance of keeping schools open safely; in April 1936, Cárdenas authorised the use of a priest's residence (*curato*) in Colotlán as a primary school. But for those outside larger towns, Ceja Torres again asked for *guarantees* for the *maestros rurales* who '*a pesar del peligro sostienen abiertas las Escuelas.*' Another federal rural schoolteacher, Delfina de León, petitioned the president from Boquilla, in the Santa María de los Angeles municipality; two days prior to the attacks mentioned above, rebels had also come through her town, killing one reserve soldier and wounding three others. In the last

¹²⁷AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 559.1/23, extracto #74468, 5 Nov. 1935 (Avila Vázquez to Cárdenas, 29 Oct. 1935), and Exp. 533.3/20, Legajo 2, extracto #80095, 6 Dec. 1935 (Avila Vázquez to Cárdenas, 2 Dec. 1935).

¹²⁸AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 533.3/16, Diego Huizar Martínez, telegram to Cárdenas, 7 Nov. 1935; Luis I. Rodríguez, telegram to Huizar Martínez, 11 Nov. 1935; Rodríguez, telegrams to the Gobernador de Jalisco and the Comandante Zona Militar, 11 Nov. 1935.

two weeks of January 1936 a total of 7 schools were burned down. As a result of the violence, many schools closed.¹²⁹ The schools that remained open had very low attendance, often only two to five percent of the school-age population of the towns.¹³⁰

In Huejuequilla el Alto, Municipal President Eufemio Rentería complained of the '*situación caótica*' to which his municipality was condemned by continued assaults of '*elementos cristeros*.' Twice Rentería asked for either a permanent detachment of federal troops or arms for government supporters. Oddly, reports from nearby military installations denied the presence of rebels in the area, and Rentería's requests went unfulfilled.¹³¹ Teachers and inspectors in the region certainly would have upheld Rentería's allegations; Lázaro Cárdenas himself had denounced such reactionary violence when he visited Guadalajara in 1936. In a letter to the state governor, Ramón García Ruíz used this opportunity to decry continued clerical obstruction of the laws regarding education and the civil registry and called for the representatives of the state to become '*guardianes del cumplimiento al extremo del decreto 3742*.'¹³²

In early 1936, several more teachers were assassinated in northern Jalisco. Ramón Quintanilla, president of the Comité de Educación in Mezquitic, where García Ruíz claimed that priests were actively campaigning against the socialist school, was killed in March 1936. Near Totatiche, where a similar situation prevailed, rural teachers J. Dolores Iñiguez and J. Guadalupe de León were taken

¹²⁹AGN-RP-LC, exp. 559.1/23, extracto #8513, 27 Jan. 1936 (Ceja Torres to Cárdenas, 27 Jan. 1936); extracto #9501, 30 Jan. 1936; De León to Cárdenas, 27 Jan. 1936; AGN-GOB, caja 48, exp. 2.340 (11) 10523, L. Cárdenas, 'Decreto que concede al Gobierno del Estado, el uso de la casa núm. 27 de la calle de Niños Héroes, en Colotlán, Jal....(24 Feb. 1936),' *Diario Oficial: Órgano del Gobierno Constitucional de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, XCV, 29 (3 Abr. 1936), p. 4; Yankelevich, *La educación social*, p. 117.

¹³⁰Yankelevich, *La educación social*, p. 118.

¹³¹AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 559.1/23, extracto #24767, 2 Apr. 1936, Rentería to Cárdenas, 26 Mar. 1936; extracto #40237, 8 Jun. 1936, Rentería to L. Cárdenas, 30 May 1936.

¹³²Barbosa Guzmán, p. 534. Barbosa Guzmán cites L. Cárdenas, *Palabras y documentos públicos de Lázaro Cárdenas*, México, DF, Siglo XXI, 1978, v.I, p.199, and AHJ, sin caja, R. García Ruíz, carta al C. Gobernador de Jalisco, 3 Apr. 1935.

from the 'La Cementera' school by five armed men on 3 May 1936. However, substantial proof of the identification of their murderers or their motivations is not found in archival records. According to León, their assailants had demanded their guns and their money; having neither, they were dragged about 300 meters away from the school building – most likely a sign of criminal banditry rather than clerically-motivated attack. León escaped, but Iníquez was beaten and killed.¹³³

The military, however, continued to favour the teachers' withdrawal from the zone. In October 1936 the Colonel Jefe de la Guarnición ordered a new *reconcentración* of the residents of Tortugas, Presa, Cieneguitas, Ranchito and Mesa del Fraile to Mezquitic. Schoolteacher Benjamín Sánchez of Colotlán protested against this order, writing to President Cárdenas that there was not sufficient housing in Mezquitic to absorb 300 new residents, and that the campesinos would have to abandon their crops. By far the better option would be to order the Colonel to ensure guarantees to the villages' residents and their schools.¹³⁴ As this and the examples below demonstrate, the military of the region either saw this as impossible, or chose not to provide *guarantees* or enforce the laws.

Rebel bands continued to attack state schools over the following year, and the state and federal governments apparently did very little about it. The federal school in Acaponeta, only three kilometres away from the *cabecera* of Colotlán, was burned down on 17 January 1937. Ceja Torres pleaded for the Secretaría de Gobernación to intervene, as the municipal authorities and the local military detachment remained 'ignorant' of the problem, despite incidents occurring before their very eyes. Letters were exchanged between Colotlán, Guadalajara and Mexico City, indicating that some sort of investigation was undertaken, but the conclusion

¹³³Yankelevich, p. 117; AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 533.3/16, extracto #32819, 4 May 1936, F. Madrigal, Presidente Debates 5a. Gran Convención Confederación Mexicana Maestros, Puebla, Pue., 4 May 1936, to Cárdenas; extracto #35429, 14 May 1936, Maxima Ramirez Vda. de Iníquez to Cárdenas, 9 May 1936; Miguel Guevara to Luis I. Rodríguez, 4 Jun. 1936; E. Topete, to Rodríguez, 5 Jun. 1936; José Hernández Delgado to Secretario de Educación Pública, 6. Jun. 1936; Rodríguez to Guevara, 13 Jun. 1936.

¹³⁴AGN-RP-LC, 559.1/23, extracto #63342, 3 Oct 1936 (Sánchez to Cárdenas, 3 Oct. 1936).

announced by the state ministry of the interior was that there was no evidence of arson and that '*no se tienen ningunas noticias de REVOLUCIONARIOS*'.¹³⁵ In early 1937, Francisco Robles O., rural federal schoolteacher in Saúz de los Márquez (Santa María de los Angeles municipality), accused the Colotlán municipal government itself of obstructing his work, charges that Faustino Hernández V., municipal president of Colotlán, emphatically denied.¹³⁶

Other government supporters besides teachers were victimised in 1937. On 27 September, agrarista Salvador Parras was assassinated by a rebel band that marauded between Jalisco and Zacatecas, according to the Comité Ejecutivo Agrario de Nóstic (Mezquitic municipality). Apparently the ejido had been under the protection of a military detachment, which had been withdrawn to Jerez, Zacatecas the day before Parras was killed. Francisco Martínez, President of the Comité Ejecutivo, cabled President Cárdenas immediately to inform him that the 22 unarmed '*compañeros*' of the region were once again without protection, asking him to take action so that they could work their lands without threat of attack or meeting a fate similar to Parras'. It seems that some action was taken as a result of Parras' death; Cárdenas' secretary transmitted Martínez's request for *guarantees* to the Secretaria de Gobernación, the Secretaria de Guerra y Marina, the Departamento Agrario, and the state government in Jalisco.¹³⁷

But even the presence of military detachments proved ineffective in the case of schoolteacher Lucia Curiel, murdered at a teachers' fiesta at the Escuela de

¹³⁵AGN-GOB, Caja 46, Exp. 2.340(11)10515, Gilberto Ceja Torres, Inspector Educación Federal, Colotlán, Jal, telegram to Secretario de Gobernación, México, DF, 19 Jan. 1937; Silvestre Guerrero (Gobernación), telegram to Gobernador de Jalisco, 20 Jan. 1937; G. Meillon, Secretaria General de Gobierno, Guadalajara, Jal., to Secretario de Gobernación, 3 Feb. 1937; A. García Toledo to Gobernador de Jal., 12 Feb. 1937.

¹³⁶AHJ, Instrucción Pública, (11) Personal, Caja 223, IP-11-937, Exp s/n--Colotlán, Rafael Méndez Aguirre to Juan Manuel Sánchez Robles, 7 Apr. 1937; Faustino Hernández V., Presidente Municipal, Colotlán, Jal., to C. Director de Educación Federal, Guadalajara, Jal., 14 Oct. 1937.

¹³⁷AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 559.1/23, extracto #49286, 5 Oct. 1937; Francisco R. Martínez, Presidente Comité Ejecutivo Agrario de Nóstic, Mezquitic, Jal., to Cárdenas, 1 Oct. 1937; Agustín Lanuza to Secretario de Gobernación, 6 Oct. 1937; Lanuza, telegram to C. Corl. J. Manuel Nuñez, 6 Oct. 1937; Lanuza to Martínez, 6 Oct. 1937; Lanuza to C. Jefe Departamento Agrario, 6 Oct. 1937; Corl. Nuñez to C. General de Brig. Sub-secretario de Guerra y Marina, 30 Oct. 1937.

Canoas, only one kilometre from Colotlán (the rest of the teachers fled the scene). An investigation was begun, but revealed little about the crime's perpetrators. If anything, the archival record reveals more about the government officials involved in the process. Benjamín Tobán, Oficial Mayor of the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM), sent a letter to President Cárdenas and the Minister of Gobernación expressing the CTM's solidarity with Curiel and the schoolteachers in such rebel-infested regions: '*Actos de esta naturaleza ponen en evidencia una vez más las fuerzas retardatarias que se mueven para combatir la Escuela Socialista y la necesidad de que los maestros cuenten con mayores garantías.*' The response of those who were supposed to be providing protection is more puzzling. The Commander of the Eleventh Military Zone (Zacatecas) responded to the demands for *garantías* for teachers by denying that there were rebel bands in the area. At the time of Curiel's assassination, detachments had been stationed in Colotlán, a quarter of an hour's walk from Canoas and also in Santa María de los Angeles. The troops could have responded, had the teachers notified the garrisons, or even the local police, of their intended gathering, which they had not done. The Commander asserted that Curiel had not been killed by a party of '*rebeldes*'; the band that the teachers accused as the attackers were known to be at large over 80 kilometres away in the Sierra de Morones (Zacatecas). Rather, the commander claimed, a lone individual had surreptitiously entered the teachers' kermesse and fired on Curiel. Only three bullet shells had been found where Curiel was killed, and there had been no evidence of the presence of a large, armed group (such as numerous bullet shells or hoofprints). Furthermore, the Commander commented, it was well known that '*esta maestra era mal vista por el Inspector de Zona y por el grupo de maestros de la Región.*'¹³⁸

¹³⁸AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 533.3/16, extracto #65250, 30 dic 1937, Tobán to Cárdenas, 17 Dec. 1937; Godofredo Beltrán, to Secretario de Gobernación, to Tobán, 11 Jan. 1938; Secretaria de Gobernación to C. Gobernador del Estado, 9 Feb. 1938; AGN-GOB, caja 34, exp. 2/012.2(11)30025, Lic. J. Carlos Osorio, Secretario General de Gobierno, Guadalajara, Jal., to Secretario de Gobernación, México, D.F., 8 Feb. 1938 (transcribe oficio del C. General. Comandante de la 11a Zona Militar (Zacatecas), 24 Jan. 1938); also see Yankelevich, p. 128.

The Commander thus blamed Curiel, along with her colleagues, for her own death. By this point, federal offices in Mexico City were belatedly becoming more aware of the dire conditions of teachers in northern Jalisco. Yet teachers' complaints were often trapped in webs of correspondence between government agencies, many of which evaded the responsibility for addressing these problems. All too often, bureaucrats, local authorities and military personnel appeared more concerned with covering up their own negligence, whether it resulted from scarce resources or from co-operation with landlords, belligerent clergy, or independent rebels targeting government agents, all of which remain possible interpretations of the above cases.

The municipal president of Huejuequilla el Alto, J. Jesús García, also contacted the state government in Guadalajara regarding local schools. By May 1937 there was only one *profesora* teaching in a two-year primary school. García commented that he was aware that other teachers had been appointed to work in the area, but they clearly had not come for fear of rebel bands marauding through the region.¹³⁹ Towards the end of the year, inhabitants of pueblos in Huejuequilla and Mezquitic asked for protection from rebel bands that were active through the Huichol settlements of northern Jalisco, ostensibly at the behest of General Quintero. Francisco Montoya of Santa Catarina (Mezquitic municipality) protested to President Cárdenas that his people were peaceful and wanted to serve the government. To do so, however, they needed access to schools, of which there were none, and the protections of military detachments. As an alumnus of the Internado Indígena in México City, Montoya offered his services to the president as an educator and negotiator between his people and those of the Mexican government.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹AHJ, Instrucción Pública, (11) Personal, Caja 223, IP-11-937, Exp. HUA/2241, J. Jesús García to Gobernador del Estado, 26 May 1937; Gobernador del Estado to Director General de Educación, 5 Jun. 1937; Gobernador del Estado to García, 5 Jun. 1937.

¹⁴⁰AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 559.1/23, extracto #103, 3 Jan. 1938; Montoya to Cárdenas, 13 Dec. 1937; G.F. Beltrán to Secretario Gobernación (cc F. Montoya), 12 Jan. 1938; Agustín Lanuza to Secretario de Educación Pública, 27 Jan. 1938; A. Lanuza to Secretario de la Defensa Nacional, 27 Jan. 1938.

The Mexican army turned its attention towards the *norte* of Jalisco again in 1940, as the campaigns for the presidential election heralded a possible uprising in support of the opposition candidate, Juan Andreu Almazán. The local regiment and police of Bolaños exchanged some gunfire with a group of Huicholes in September 1940, but little evidence of *Almazanista* organisation in the region emerged.¹⁴¹ In February of that year, school inspector J. Alcázar Robledo had reported that '*una verdadera anarquía*' reigned in the educational services of the Colotlán zone. Some schools had one or two teachers, but virtually no students; elsewhere, teachers were assigned to the schools, but never arrived. Historians Muriá and Yankelevich describe the municipalities of the *norte* of Jalisco, along with those of Los Altos, as being some of the poorest and most backward in the state towards end of the Cárdenas *sexenio*. In their view, this was due to the stranglehold that the Catholic Church and landlords had on the inhabitants, in collusion with violent rebel bands who threatened agents of the revolutionary government.¹⁴²

It is clear that there was strong opposition to the programme of socialist education and explicit clerical campaigning against the agrarian reform in northern Jalisco. This opposition included some Catholic social organisation; women began organising UFCM-CPs in the early part of the decade, although this effort seems to have faded as local violence again rose and the educational and agrarian conflict superseded other concerns. The UNPF remained active in the area, calling on mothers and fathers to protect their sons and daughters from disruptive teachings. Northern Jaliscans kept their children from official schools for other reasons besides religious objections, such as fears of losing local culture and of violence. Whatever the motivations, it is clear that the state's educational program was unable to penetrate the area.

¹⁴¹AGN-RP-LC,, exp. 544.1/34-13, extracto #36463, 17 Sept 1940, Pedro Villalobos, Presidente Municipal, Bolaños, Jal., to L. Cárdenas, 11 Sept. 1940.

¹⁴²Muriá, p. 567; Yankelevich, pp. 128-129, p. 136.

Archival evidence indicates numerous incidents of violence and discontent regarding antireligious laws and the land reform. However, local authorities, bureaucrats and military officers are also implicated by historical records for their negligence and possible complicity in the violent events that contributed to the failure of the Mexican state's programmes in the region during the 1930s, which authors like Muriá and Yankelevich do not acknowledge. Resentment of outside interference and economic scarcity also motivated violence, but the religious conflict made for easy excuses and explanations. The ideological and economic conflicts that wracked the state and the nation by no means passed by these otherwise isolated communities, and men and women, Catholics, agraristas, schoolteachers and ordinary townspeople and campesinos were deeply involved and concerned with their outcome.

The tensions of the 1930s seem not to have produced much in the way of constructive resolutions. In 1943, Father Silverio Hernández, of San Juan de los Lagos, Jalisco, sent a copy of a proposal for a project to the office of the Archbishop of Mexico, Luis María Martínez. Entitled '*Sierra y Misiones de los Huicholes*,' it again called for missionary activity in the north of Jalisco and parts of Nayarit and Durango. Hernández reminded Catholics that '*No necesitamos ir a la China o al Japón para encontrar infieles; en nuestro mismo estado de Jalisco se encuentran familias enteras sin bautismo*.' The goal of the mission was to spread the Catholic faith, encourage participation in the sacraments, and to found schools, catechetical groups, and societies for adults. According to Hernández, some communities of Huicholes, Coras (Nayarit), and Tepehuanes (Durango) had not been visited by a priest in thirty years. Very few churches offered regular services; some dilapidated chapels did not even have roofs, and others were only beginning to be repaired. It was said that the Huichol language was used in baptisms and other sacraments, strictly against the canonical dictate to use Latin. Also questionable were the dances and fiestas held afterwards where *toche* (a strong alcoholic beverage) was consumed in large quantities; the same happened during planting and harvesting festivals.

Echoing age-old complaints about the region's isolation, Hernández pointed out that many municipalities with populations over 8,000 lacked schools. He failed to explain why this might be, aside from mentioning the extreme poverty and remoteness of the indigenous communities; fear of violent reprisal did not enter into his analysis. Of the three indigenous groups, those with the lowest level of education were the Huicholes; most of their caciques were illiterate, and xenophobically resisted the help proffered them to better their communities. Interestingly, Hernández stated that at the state *internados* where teachers were trained '*se entiende bien con los de la Iglesia.*' He believed that the state school and the Church could work together – only half a decade after battles had raged and teachers had been harassed and assassinated in the area. As for the communities that did not have *internados*, Hernández enthusiastically pointed out that the Catholic mission could fill this vacuum, starting with larger towns that could provide schools and residences for '*profesoras.*'

The mission would be staffed by two priests, the younger of whom would serve as a catechist, sacristan and notary, a woman catechist (*señora catequista*), two servants, and a group from the Huejuequilla el Alto ACM. The UFCM had supported missions from its beginnings, raising funds for campaigns to evangelise the Tarahumara of Chihuahua and other indigenous groups throughout the country. Now, in the Guadalajara archdiocese, a new mission again called on women teachers, catechists and volunteers to take more active roles, to leave the confines of their homes and parishes to work in indigenous communities as teachers and catechists.¹⁴³ These were tasks for which Catholic women had been training for nearly a decade. Years after both state educators and Church leaders had sought to reclaim the region, northern Jalisco was deemed just as worthy of missionary

¹⁴³AHAM-LMM, Carpeta "Gobierno Civil," section "M," Presb. Silverio Hernández, 'Sierra y Misiones de los Huicholes,' typed manuscript, San Juan de los Lagos, 15 Mar. 1943, 5pp. At the time Bolaños also had an active chapter of the UFCM, see UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 95 (24. Nov. 1938).

activity as it had been before. And Catholic women, alongside Catholic men, were once again called upon to organise and to leave their mark.

Education under Fire, II: Los Altos

Official schoolteachers in Jalostotitlán, San Juan de los Lagos, Encarnación de Díaz, and Lagos de Moreno municipalities reported to the SEP in early 1935 that parish priests were using the '*ejercicios espirituales*' associated with Lent as a forum to denounce socialist education and to threaten parents and children not to participate in the official schools. Even more brazenly, the priests read the Mexican Episcopate's letters that called on Catholics to boycott the school system from their pulpits. Catholics distributed flyers across the region, warning parents of the moral dangers inherent in the official school and of the risk of excommunication for participating in them. The teachers also reported that the '*Acción Católica*' associations, particularly the '*Ligas de Padres de Familia*,' the '*Madres Cristianas*' and the '*Jóvenes Religiosas*,' were beginning to '*dejar sentir su peso*,' prejudicing local people against the schools. Indeed, schools in many municipalities had few or no students, even though in towns like Jesús María, the municipal president had arrested and fined parent for not complying with the new educational laws. The main impetus behind this campaign, the teachers complained, came from the seminary that still illegally functioned in San Juan de Los Lagos, training up to twenty priests at a time and organising numerous young people to join the '*campana antisocialista*.' The teachers' fears for their safety grew with rumours that gangs of bandits intent on attacking rural schoolteachers were on the loose. These fears were reinforced when the state governor answered municipal presidents' requests for military or police protection for their teachers was the statement that all that was necessary was the '*estricto cumplimiento de la Ley*.'¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, pp. 93-94.

Although, as we have seen, it was not a unique case, the Los Altos region of Jalisco gained the reputation of being the '*principal foco de resistencia a la nueva escuela*.' This large, eastern section of the Jalisco, bordered by Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Guanajuato and Michoacán, also had a long history of fervent Catholicism and conservatism. The indigenous population of Los Altos had disappeared almost completely by the late nineteenth century, being either expelled, pushed into very isolated communities, killed off, or absorbed into the colonising population. However, the indigenous pattern of settlement in small *ranchos* endured. In the seventeenth century, Spanish colonists established large *latifundios*, but the population remained sparse; landowners rented land or sold off small parcels to the Spanish and other European immigrants who began to arrive in the next century, rather than absorbing employees onto their farms. The provincial towns of Los Altos were stops on muleteers' trade routes, between San Juan de los Lagos and La Piedad, Michoacán, and between Guadalajara and León, Guanajuato. Several towns grew to become important commercial and agricultural centres, notably Lagos de Moreno (formerly Santa María de los Lagos) and La Barca, but many other towns remained small and of little economic importance. In the early 1800s, support for Father Miguel Hidalgo and the independence movement was strongly discouraged by the clergy; as a consequence, much the population sided with the Crown until its defeat in 1817. In 1822, Los Altos ayuntamientos expressed their support for the elevation of Agustín Iturbide as emperor. At this point many Spanish *latifundistas* decided to cut their losses and leave, selling off their lands to return to Europe or to consolidate their holdings in other parts of Mexico, leaving a sizeable population of small- to medium-scale property owners.¹⁴⁵

The alteños continued to demonstrate their loyalty to the Church under the new regime; towns like Arandas declared themselves opposed to religious toleration

¹⁴⁵ Tomás Martínez Saldaña and Leticia Gándara Mendoza, *Política y sociedad en México: el caso de los Altos de Jalisco* (Mexico City, 1976), pp. 48-53, p. 56, pp. 176-177; Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, p. 39; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, pp. 3-5.

in the 1830s and 1840s, and some factions rose up against the Reform Laws in the 1850s and 1870s. Local elites gradually gained control of lands and municipal government, and many outside the principal provincial towns were relatively poor, but in general Los Altos was not characterised by the glaring contrasts that were seen in other parts of Mexico during the Porfiriato. For this reason it is said that the Revolution of 1910 'surprised' many *alteños*, as they had considered their region free of the '*mal social*' prevalent in other parts of Mexico. What upset *alteño* political cliques more was the intrusion of the new, centralised regime empowered by the 1917 Constitution, which had as key components centralisation and control of regions by outsiders. For several years, interference from Guadalajara and Mexico City were staved off by means of electoral politics. *Alteños* organised local parties to defeat the candidates of the anticlerical Partido Liberal Jalisciense, which had been content to organise from Guadalajara, but they were no match for the *obregonista* and *callista* factions who brought their politics to the provincial towns and rural settlements, intent on imposing their dominance.¹⁴⁶

Early twentieth century *alteño* Catholic spirituality had retained characteristics of medieval and early modern Spain, the source of many of the region's settlers. Worship focused on intense devotion to the Virgin Mary and to the Christ Child (especially in local shrines (such the Virgin of Lagos and the Santo Niño de Atocha) to towns' patron saints, and to saints relating to agricultural cycles and other aspects of daily life (for example, Saint Anne, for childbirth and mothers, Saint Joseph, for fathers San Isidro Labrador, for farmers).¹⁴⁷ In communities that were

¹⁴⁶Martínez Saldaña and Gándara Mendoza, *Política y sociedad*, pp. 59-65, pp. 242-244; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁴⁷ Examples of *alteño* devotions to the saints and folk tales told about them that endured through the middle of this century can be found in Anthony John Campos, *Mexican Folk Tales* (Tucson, 1977) and Stanley L. Robe, *Mexican Tales and Legends from Los Altos* (Berkeley, 1970). Robe comments that he found the number of religious folk tales to be "not excessive, in light of the extremely devout nature of the *alteño*" (p. 32). Nevertheless, they do not so much "show up" weaknesses in institutional Catholicism as demonstrate how religious belief has been part of *alteño*'s daily life, regional identity, and logic, as well as their morality. In general, *alteño* Catholicism has been vehement, but not necessarily 100% reverent; some folk tales poke fun at priests or bishops who are less in the know than their peasant charges (Robe, pp. 104-109, p. 173, pp. 527-528) and others mock the simple piety of people in other towns (Robe, pp. 529-539). One tale, 'El Militar,' recounts the repentance of a federal soldier saved by the *Señor de Misericordia*; when he visits a chapel to pay his respects, the priest

only infrequently visited by clergy, religious practices such as praying the Rosary and making pilgrimages became important markers of piety, alongside the sacraments, which marked milestones in life as well as filled unique spiritual functions.

However, the institutional Church was not weak in Los Altos. Under the direction of Archbishops Munguía and Orozco y Jiménez, new parishes were founded and old ones revived during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Families traditionally aspired to have at least one child enter the religious life, and were willing to invest much in the Church's upkeep. Priests were encouraged to form pious and social associations for their parishioners; a good number founded mutual aid societies, unions, and other social action projects according to the European, Catholic Action model.¹⁴⁸

In Los Altos, the Cristero rebellion forged an alliance of opponents of government anticlericalism and to land reform. Large-scale landowners appreciated the Catholic rhetoric defending '*pequeña propiedad*,' which helped them win over their smaller-scale counterparts and the tenants and workers on the haciendas and ranchos. But Cristeros of all social classes, from poorly-paid day labourers and sharecroppers to property owners, agreed with the Catholic teaching that the government land reform was a fraudulent, corrupt programme based on theft, and saw it as an intrusion of outside, social control. Alteños' loyalty to their Church, its leaders and their pronouncements ran high, especially since their own Archbishop,

incharge fears he will be arrested (Robe, pp. 512-513). Many have deeply-embedded messages regarding gender roles and piety: a 'fallen' woman who prays to the Santo Niño is given a second chance (Campos, ed., pp. 80-83), a woman is protected from a jealous husband by her devotion to the Holy Cross (Campos, ed., pp. 58-61); a wife saved by her husband's devotion to the Virgin Mary (Robe, pp. 513-514); Saint Teresa learns God's logic behind sending women good or 'bad' husbands; both exist so that women's souls might be saved, either by living with virtuous spouses or by suffering tribulations (Robe, pp. 365-367).

¹⁴⁸Meyer, *La cristiada*, III, 303-310; William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 1981), p. 3, p. 21, p. 158, pp. 178-180; Yolanda Padilla Rangel, 'Algunas consideraciones en torno a la religiosidad alteña en Aguascalientes,' in José Antonio Gutiérrez G., et. al., *Aguascalientes y los Altos de Jalisco: historia compartida* (Zapopan and Aguascalientes, 1997), pp. 60-63; Andrés Antonio Fábregas Puig, *La formación histórica de una región: Los Altos de Jalisco* (Mexico City, 1986), pp. 200-201. According to Fábregas, in the 1980s, 22 percent of Mexico's clergy came from the region,

Orozco y Jiménez, defied government exile, remained in hiding in his archdiocese, and organised anti-government activities in the region during the Revolution and the Cristero Rebellion.¹⁴⁹ Earlier, lay Catholics had mobilised to defend the Church against revolutionary incursions: numerous alteño men's and women's Catholic social groups signed petitions protesting against Diéguez's anticlerical decrees in 1918, and the ayuntamiento of Mexicacán even supported its residents' petitions and sent its own petition to the state legislature on their citizens' behalf. In the early 1920s, alteño Catholics continued to circumvent government regulations regarding religion, disregarding laws that prohibited establishing Catholic schools, convents and seminaries, and that limited the number of priests and the public display of religion. Official schoolteachers such as Antonia Castillo of Atotonilco el Alto, later a member of the BF, even taught catechism classes in the public schools. Not surprisingly, alteño Catholics heeded the call of Church leaders and of Catholic lay activists such as Anacleto González Flores to mobilise to defend the church. They joined the UP and the LNDLR in the mid 1920s, and entering into full-scale warfare (or supporting the rebels) during the Cristero Rebellion.¹⁵⁰

Despite the federal soldiers' 'concentrations' of local inhabitants into the municipal seats during the Cristero Rebellion – a tactic both preventative and punitive, as farmers lost their crops and livestock when forced to leave – Los Altos remained a region of small towns and scattered settlements. Through the 1930s, only 20 percent of the population lived in the municipal seats and principal towns. Because of its isolation and the continued resentment against the federal government, official schoolteachers considered the *tercera zona escolar* – Los Altos – to be one of the most dangerous in the entire state. In 1927 Inspector Manuel

¹⁴⁹Fábregas Puig, *La formación histórica*, pp. 203-207; Martínez Saldaña and Gándara Mendoza, *Política y sociedad*, pp. 66-68; Meyer, *La cristiada*, III, 75; Parsons, *Mexican Martyrdom*, pp. 54-57; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, p. 35. For Orozco y Jiménez's career, see Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁰Dávila Garibi and Chávez Hayhoe, *Colección de Documentos Relativos*, *passim*; Curley, 'El Gran Escollo,' pp. 25-26; Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, pp. 212-213; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, pp. 32-34ff.

Fernández de Castro complained that the local population was hostile and 'innumerable grupos de rebeldes' roamed the area, making travel treacherous and the chances of obtaining local assistance almost non-existent. Schools were dilapidated, since the populations were unwilling or unable to support them, or they were abandoned completely by teachers fearing for their safety.¹⁵¹

The economic losses suffered during the rebellion combined with several years of drought afterward did not make for an easy recovery. Thieves plagued roads and smaller towns. Many manifested no religious motivation whatsoever, but nonetheless their activity curtailed trade and transport. Poverty and resentment over the arreglos had motivated some alteños to continue in their opposition to the government; some chose to retreat to the mountains rather than to surrender their weapons. But in the 1930s more of the population appeared unwilling to support an armed rebellion, despite continuing poverty and state-sanctioned anticlericalism. Many chose the path of less violent, but by no means less effective resistance to government intrusions, now manifested plainly in the form of official schools. Parents kept their children out of the town schools; large landholders neglected to pay or supply the Escuelas Artículo 123 mandated in their area; and small towns refused to contribute materials or labour to help federal or state teachers (if they could afford to in the first place). Thus, alteño official schools remained dilapidated and sparsely attended. School inspector Agapito Constantino complained in 1932 that the people he observed in Los Altos '*viven en la completa ignorancia y aferrados a las prescripciones curales, es muy poca la colaboración que proporcionan.*'¹⁵²

The anticlerical legislation and educational reforms of the early 1930s only worsened relations between the government and the communities, and fortified Catholic opposition. Religious activists held demonstrations in La Barca, where in

¹⁵¹Martínez Saldaña and Gándara Mendoza, *Política y sociedad*, p. 66; Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, pp. 71-75, pp. 120-122; Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 344; Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 478.

¹⁵²Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p.478; Martínez Saldaña and Gándara Mendoza, *Política y sociedad*, p. 66; Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 349, 576.

1935 a group of women stoned the municipal palace, after authorities refused to grant a permit for a Catholic priest to officiate, Atotonilco el Alto and other alteño towns. Catholics like Ana Pérez de O. reproduced Church documents at their own expense for distribution- in this case, Archbishop José Garibi Rivera's first pastoral letter. Teachers identified the '*Acción Católica*' as the organisation they needed to target if the government's mission to defanaticise the area was ever to succeed.¹⁵³

Teachers' fears of violence were justified soon; in 1935, rural teacher Alfonso Negrete was killed in La Vibora, in Ayo el Chico municipality, and Professor León E. Fernández was killed in Atoyac. Others were threatened, physically attacked, or run out of town, like their colleagues across Jalisco. Teachers petitioned the state and federal governments to guarantee their safety in rural areas, but the authorities lacked the resources to garrison every small town in the *zona cristera*. The Mexican army succeeded in eliminating identified leaders of the Segunda like José María Ramírez and Lauro Rocha, but small clusters of rebels remained at large, issuing manifestos in the name of the 'Ejército Popular Libertador.' In a speech in Guadalajara in March 1936, Lázaro Cárdenas praised the efforts of the army and of Jalisco's agraristas to combat fanaticism in the countryside. However, not all rural violence was religiously based; Los Altos roads and towns remained unsafe for years after the SEP told their teachers to avoid using the word 'socialist' in the classroom.¹⁵⁴

Tepatitlán-The UFCM Takes Hold in Los Altos

¹⁵³AGN-RP-LC, exp. 559.1/23, Andres Flores Casillas and Pedro Rodríguez to Cárdenas, 23 Sept. 1935; 'Mexican Women Riot' *NYT*, 1 Aug. 1936, sec. 1, p. 3; AGN-GOB, Caja 48, exp. 2.340(11)22095, 'Carta Pastoral'; Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 537, p. 547; Yankelevich, *La escuela socialista*, pp. 93-94.

¹⁵⁴AGN-RP-LC, Exp. 533.3/16, various letters, 4 May-5 Jun. 1936 and Exp. 559.1/23, telegram, Gral. Antonio A. Guerrero to Cárdenas, 28 Nov. 1935; Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, IV, 555-556; AGN-GOB, Caja 48, exp. 2.340(11)22095, 'Ejército Popular Libertador: Manifiesto,' 20 Nov. 1936; Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, pp. 535-536, p. 538; AGN-RP-LC exp. 559.1/23, extracto #11916, 1 Feb. 1938 (Daniel I. Alvarado, La Barca, Jal. to Cárdenas, 25 Jan. 1938).

In December 1930, a group of Catholic women in Tepatitlán informed the Guadalajara UFCM-CD that they were forming a parochial committee in December 1930; they had been delayed, they reported, because the parish priest had been absent until that time.¹⁵⁵ An already sizeable town in Los Altos, Tepatitlán had been one of the centres of considerable Cristero activity during the civil war. One of the UP's *jefaturas civiles* had been based in Tepatitlán, as had been a complete brigade of the BF. The Cristeros often passed through the municipality, and obtained food from the residents of the small pueblos and ranchos before targeting the larger *cabecera*. Tepatitlán itself was also one of the centres of the federal army's concentrations, where the military evacuated potential supporters of the Cristeros from the countryside. Tepatitlán's population increased fivefold after the concentration began in April 1927. A good number of people stayed on in the town, as rural violence, harassment by federal soldiers, drought, and economic depression continued.¹⁵⁶

Two months after its inception, the treasurer of the Tepatitlán chapter of the UFCM reported that they had 500 members, and asked for *téseras*. The diocesan committee replied, asking for payment in advance (a policy reiterated to parochial committees throughout the diocese and throughout the decade). The Tepatitlán UFCM-GP had its finances in order by March, sending in the registry of its *mesa directiva*, and money for 200 *téseras*. In September, women in Rancho 'Las Latillas' in the Tepatitlán municipality began a separate UFCM-GP.¹⁵⁷

In 1932, the Tepatitlán UFCM, along with other CPs (including those of alteño towns San Miguel el Alto and San Julián), submitted a questionnaire to the diocesan committee in Guadalajara. According to their report, they were unable to

¹⁵⁵UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 18 (16 Dec. 1930).

¹⁵⁶Francisca Hernández Ruíz, interview with Kristina Boylan, 26 Jun. 1997 (Hernández Ruíz was born in Rancho de la Mota, Municipio Tepatitlán, in 1919); Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos*, p. 102 and p. 74; Meyer, *La cristiada*, III, 128 and 164.

¹⁵⁷UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 28 (10 Feb. 1931), p. 30(24 Feb 1931), p. 33b (17 Mar. 1931) and p. 56 (9 Sept. 1931).

work as they wished, because residents '*pues confunden la AC con la antigua acción popular y toda la gente tiene desconfianza*.'¹⁵⁸ This was not surprising, considering the town's history. Several years later, though, the UFCM showed strong progress along the lines desired by the central and diocesan committees. In 1935, the parochial committee volunteered to send off the required percentages of its budget to the committees in Guadalajara and Mexico City; the diocesan committee congratulated them and recommended that they continue to '*trabajar con empeño*.' The Tepatitlán UFCM took an active interest in the diocesan assemblies, and dedicated itself to diffusing the conclusions of the 1936 General Assembly throughout the parish and to having more women join as full members and acquire *téseras*. The parish committee also reported that they were selling subscriptions to *Acción Femenina*.¹⁵⁹

The Tepatitlán UFCM-CP began alternative educational activities at that time, and requested educational materials for parents from the UFCM-CD. Francisca Hernández Ruíz, whose schooling had been delayed during the Cristero rebellion, began to attend the official school in the rancho outside of Tepatitlán where she grew up. However, her parents pulled her out before she finished the four-year course, under the influence, she believes, of her older sisters who were members of the Hijas de María. In 1935, school inspector J. Jesús Rodríguez Tostado reported that the official schools in Tepatitlán, along with those in Zapotlanejo, Valle de Guadalupe, and San Miguel el Alto, were empty, and the teachers had retreated due to threats of violence. Even the incipient public transport system fell victim to assaults; according to Pablo Yankelevich, bus drivers' reported to the SEP that '*rebeldes*' singled out teachers and agraristas when they assaulted vehicles.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 82 (4 Aug. 1932).

¹⁵⁹UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 2 (4 Sept. 1935), p. 28b (23 Apr. 1936).

¹⁶⁰UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 15b (24 Oct. 1935); Hernández Ruíz, interview; Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 96, pp. 118-119.

Catholic activity in Tepatitlán did not mean unanimity of antigovernment feeling. The ayuntamiento of Tepatitlán, along with other alteño municipalities such as San Juan de los Lagos and Valle de Guadalupe, sent Governor Allende notes expressing their congratulations and allegiance after the promulgation of Decreto 3742. Pegueros, a town in the Tepatitlán municipality, also protested to the state government that its inhabitants opposed the Catholic clergy's threatening tactics designed to deter Jaliscans from supporting the socialist school. The Partido Revolucionario 'José María Morelos' reported the subversive activities of individuals who distributed Catholic propaganda and encouraged parents not to send their children to schools.¹⁶¹

At the end of the decade, the SEP reported that progress in Los Altos, as in Northern Jalisco, was abysmal. In some municipalities, such as Teocaltiche, up to 85 percent of the population was illiterate. Muriá and Yankelevich fault the noncooperation of the local population for the low educational standards. However, both authors note that neither the federal nor the state government could provide guarantees of security for the teachers whom they sent out with a controversial curriculum; the schools were also undersupplied, and the already beleaguered teachers were paid neither well nor regularly.¹⁶²

Apparently, some parents tried to reconcile the two systems. According to the Jalostotitlán parish *Libros de Gobierno*, Archbishop Garibi Rivera granted Felipa Gómez's 1936 request for a dispensation allowing her to enrol her children in the official school. To do so, the children were also required to attend Mass and take the sacraments frequently, and attend catechism classes three times per week. If they were reported to have missed more than two weeks, the dispensation would be rescinded. Just as with the Parroquia de Jesús and doubtless other parishes in

¹⁶¹AGN-RP-LC, exp. 559.1/23, extracto #69448, 16 Oct. 1935, Partido Revolucionario 'José Ma. Morelos' to Cárdenas (10 Oct. 1935); Barbosa Guzmán, *La iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 492, p. 535, p. 537.

¹⁶²Muriá, *Historia de Jalisco*, p. 567; Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, pp. 129-130.

Guadalajara, Garibi Rivera evidently examined the cases that parents set before him and allowed for some exceptions in the face of economic need. Overall, though, his position remained one of frank disapproval and covert opposition to the state schools. In 1938 Garibi Rivera surveyed the archdiocese, asking parishes to report on the number of official schools and the names of their teachers, their professed ideological loyalty, and, if they claimed to be Catholic, proof of their dispensation from the archdiocese to continue working in the official schools. Likewise, parish priests were to monitor Mass attendance and other activities, such as signing compromising loyalty oaths, attending socialist conferences, or diffusing '*propaganda para que asistan los niños a la escuela.*' In a way, Garibi Rivera's dispensations were less of a loophole for needy Catholics to obtain some form of education or employment than they were attempts to subvert the official school system from within.¹⁶³

In some alteño municipalities, the tensions between state directives and local belief were resolved by the negotiations of what Tomás Martínez Saldaña identifies as '*intermediarios políticos.*' Local leaders emerged who had some connection with bureaucrats in Mexico City or Guadalajara, but who also had relatives or friends among the Cristeros or other bandit groups. In Arandas, Don Flavio Ramírez, municipal president during the 1930s, managed to maintain alliances with both government officials in Guadalajara and Mexico City and among the Cristeros and Catholic activists. According to Tomás Martínez Saldaña, Ramírez '*hizo la vista gorda*' with regard to the socialist schools in the municipality, and did very little to advance the agrarian reform in the area as well. Such tactics established a compromise among the goals and directives local, regional and national leadership, but also maintained the status quo, doing little advance the state's social reforms or otherwise improve the lives of their constituents.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³Fábregas Puig, *La formación histórica de una región*, Apéndice 4, 'Documentos de la Iglesia' (from the *Libros de Gobierno* del Notario Parroquial de Jalostotitlán), pp. 263-265; my emphasis. See Chapter 3 for the Parroquia de Jesús.

¹⁶⁴Martínez Saldaña and Gándara Mendoza, *Política y sociedad*, pp. 69-71.

The enduring poverty of the region and its inhabitants also contributed to low educational standards, but this was seldom of their own design. María Ascención Durán Salas, who grew up in Teocaltiche, attended neither the official school nor the Catholic school there, because she, like all her siblings, worked to contribute to the family income after being abandoned by their father. Durán Salas remembers the Hijas de María and the JCFM establishing their groups in Teocaltiche after the Cristero Rebellion, and that all Catholic groups, it seemed, focused on intensely on educational issues. She took some sewing classes offered by the UFCM, but besides participating in the Adoración Nocturna after a day's work, did not participate in Catholic social activities, for lack of money and time.¹⁶⁵

Tonalá-The Church-State Denouement

The exact date of the establishment of the AC and UFCM in Tonalá, a town famed for its pottery on the outskirts of Guadalajara, is lacking. However, from the historical record we know that a chapter of the UFCM was organised and in contact with the diocesan committee by late 1934. The Tonalá parochial committee maintained its correspondence with the UFCM-CD, and received a visit from the Diocesan Campesinas Committee in August 1937.¹⁶⁶ According to May Díaz, in popular memory here, as elsewhere, the Mexican Revolution and the Cristero Rebellion figure more largely than global events such as the World Wars or subsequent developments in Mexican national politics. Tonalá had not been greatly affected by revolutionary violence beyond several skirmishes on its outskirts, although the town boasted of several revolutionary participants. Two ejidos were

¹⁶⁵ María Ascención Durán Salas, interview with Kristina Boylan, Guadalajara, Jal., 20 Jun. 1997.

¹⁶⁶ UFCM-Guad., Actas I, p. 126b (29 Nov 1934), UFCM-Guad., Actas II, p. 22b(9 Jan. 1936), p. 58 (22 Jul. 1937), p. 63 (5 Aug. 1937) and p. 64 (19 Aug. 1937-visita de la Comisionada Diocesana de Campesinas); May N. Diaz, *Tonalá: Conservatism, Responsibility and Authority in a Mexican Town*. (Berkeley, 1966), pp. 115-116.

formed in Tonalá in 1927, but the greater part of the municipality apparently followed the Catholic Church's condemnation of accepting 'stolen' land, rejected the agrarian reform programme as 'atheistic and permeated by agents of the devil,' and instead allied itself with the Church. Supporters of the Cristero rebellion predominated in Tonalá. Townsmen joined the ranks of the cristeros, and local legend credits the Tonaltecs for a minor miracle. Once, when federal troops passed through Tonalá in pursuit of Cristeros retreating from Guadalajara eastward to Los Altos, the Tonaltecs locked themselves in the priest's residence next to the parochial church and prayed for deliverance. A fog appeared and slowed down the federal soldiers – some even claim that Saint James appeared on horseback within the fog – allowing the cristeros to escape.¹⁶⁷

In 1935, members of the *comunidad agraria* of Zalatitán in the Tonalá municipality complained to the state director of education and to the governor that the teacher of the rural school had received anonymous threats of violence if he did not abandon his post. According to the *agraristas*, the teacher suspected the '*fanáticos*' of the area and the local priest, José María González. The following year, the *agraristas* reported to the Jalisco state congress that the *Ley de Cultos* was violated on a regular basis in Tonalá, that priests were officiating without proper license and furthermore were actively campaigning against the government's programme of socialist education. The *agraristas* asked that the local government be removed from power and replaced by one more dedicated to enforcing the law and protecting the socialist school.¹⁶⁸ Such entreaties seemed to be a common feature of rural Jaliscans' petitions for land and aid during the 1930s, at the peak of enthusiasm for the socialist schools and other government programmes.

¹⁶⁷Díaz, *Tonalá*, pp. 29-30, pp. 24-25. The communities that organized to form ejidos were Tonalá, San Martín, El Salto, Tatepozco, and Los Puestos; for more detail, see pp. 192-194. The local legend echoes centuries of Mexican popular culture, in which Saint James, symbolizing military might and spiritual conversion, is said to have appeared amidst battles, from Cortes' conquest of central Mexico and Nuño de Guzmán's conquest of the centre-west to the wars of Independence. Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzacoatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531-1813* (Chicago, 1976), pp. 198-199.

¹⁶⁸Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 535 and p. 542.

Several years later, however, in the supposed denouement of Church-State tension (after such benchmarks as the oil expropriation of 1938 and Church endorsement of the cause), the Tonalá federal schoolteacher still found cause to report local religious violations to the state and federal government. Luis N. Rodríguez, the director of the school, described the spiritual exercises conducted by the parish in May 1938 as a sadistic cycle of castigation and fear. According to Rodríguez, the parish priest announced that those who did not repent of their sins would be seized and clawed at by the devil. Then, the priests leading the retreat made sure that all participants flagellated themselves before allowing them to go to sleep. If any refused, they were forced to sleep in a separate room; the priests then came to the room in the middle of the night, dressed as devils and bearing whips. Thus, Rodríguez concluded, the people saw each others' wounds and were terrorised into taking this event as 'dogma.' Perpetuating their belief in superstitions, he continued:

Aquí los curas tienen organizado absolutamente a todo el pueblo en sociedad denominada 'Acción Católica.' Los niños tienen su sociedad, las señoritas, los jóvenes, los padres y las madres; durante toda la semana, por actividades en la iglesia; todas las sociedades sesionan y tienen doctrina chicos y grandes y, lo peor del caso, es que los curas han hecho creer a los padres de familia, que "es mejor que los niños entren burros a la gloria y no sabios al infierno, que las actuales escuelas son del diablo y amenazan con la ex-comunión a los que manden sus hijos a ellas. En consecuencia, los niños no asisten a clases; la población escolar es no menos de 500 a 600 niños (pues este pueblo es cabecera de Municipio), de los cuales se inscribieron 42 en el presente período escolar hasta el día 20 de marzo próximo pasado, fecha en que yo me hice cargo de la Dirección de este plantel, y, mediante una labor de persuasión que he venido desarrollando, la inscripción ascendió a 93 en el curso diurno, además abrí el curso nocturno en el cual se han matriculado 36 alumnos.-Este lugar ha sido siempre guardia de cristeros, aquí estuvo oculto Lauro Rocha, jefe del movimiento rebelde en este Estado; cuando se implantó la "Escuela Socialista", aquí una chusma de viejas beatas apedrearon a las maestras que estaban al frente de la escuela.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹AHJ, Gobernación, (4) Iglesia, Caja 342, G-4-938, Exp. TOA/3680, Agustín Lanuza, Jr. to C. Gobernador del Estado, 5 Jun. 1938 (transcripción del oficio de la SEP a Gobernación, oficio de 11 Jun. 1937, transcripción del Oficio#70 de Luis N. Rodríguez, Director de la Escuela Federal, Tonalá, Jal., 20 May 1937). Rodríguez's description reads very much like Agustín Yañez's depiction of a men's religious retreat in an *alteño* parish church before the Mexican Revolution in his novel *Al filo del agua* (Mexico, 1967 [1947], pp. 60-62). While Yañez's characters knew that it was self-flagellation and not devils that had caused their companions' wounds, they were shaken (some to fear of God, some to resentment of the Church) by the morbid atmosphere that the supervising priest created (complete with coffins and midnight noises) and his encouragement of attacks on oneself, both physical and mental.

Rodríguez reported that, of the men who organised the ejidos ten years earlier, about sixty percent had withdrawn due to the pressure applied by the priests. To prevent townspeople from attending community events and parents' meetings, the priests organised counter-activities. The priests were "slackers" (*viven como zánganos*'), impoverishing the poor potters of Tonalá with their constant demands for tithes, donations, and fees for sacraments and masses. '*Aquí las autoridades Municipales y Estatales no mandan, vivimos en pleno siglo XVIII,*' lamented Rodríguez. He begged that the federal authorities intervene, otherwise Mexican law would never be enforced.

Rodríguez's letter was forwarded to the SEP, and then to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, in June 1937; in June 1938, a reply was sent from Mexico City stating that the matter would be investigated.¹⁷⁰ The negotiation of cultural politics remained tense for a time in Tonalá, as in many other places in Jalisco and across Mexico. Archives in Guadalajara and Mexico City do not reveal much about the resolution of the conflicts between Catholics and representatives of the Mexican state in Tonalá. Yet apparently a *détente* was reached in the town. By the time May Díaz conducted the research for her ethnographic study of Tonalá between October 1959 and August 1960, there were numerous visible instances of co-operation and collusion on the part of the two institutions, although these did not always occur without conflict. Both the elementary school teacher, Isidro Ramos, and the parish priest, Reverend Carlos González Becerra, aided Díaz in carrying out a census of the town, as it 'was of interest to them both, to increase their knowledge of their students and parishioners respectively, and they were also interested in furthering social science research.'¹⁷¹ The sole school of the town remained the federal school,

¹⁷⁰ The copy of Rodríguez's letter, forwarded to the Secretaría de Gobernación, can be found in AGN-GOB, Caja 46, Exp. 2.340(11)10515, as well as a copy of A. Lanuza's reply to the Governor of Jalisco of 5 Jun. 1938.

¹⁷¹ Díaz, *Tonalá*, p. 11. According to Díaz, González Becerra had also exhorted his parishioners to answer the national census honestly, as in the previous one (1950), Tonalá had come out with an

in a building that used to be a monastery. Despite some local opposition to elements of the curriculum, for example anatomy classes, Díaz observed that the townspeople had very little autonomy in matters of appointments of teachers, policies, or textbooks.¹⁷²

To the Tonaltecs, Guadalajara was seen as an important centre of government activity, but even more importantly was recognised as the region's ecclesiastical centre, being the residential seat of (at the time) Mexico's only cardinal, also the bishop of their diocese (who was, of course, José Garibi Rivera).

Decisions reached in the city as to the policy and personnel of the church in Tonalá have direct effects in the village. Matters like the degree of co-operation between school and church, the attitude to be taken toward the federal census, the particular sins and omissions to be stressed in sermons, and the elements of ritual to be discouraged as heathen practices are considered by the bishop. Such decisions are of daily concern to Tonaltecs, who listen attentively to the admonitions of the priest, even when they do not follow them.¹⁷³

Díaz also noted the continued presence of the ACM in Tonalá. According to Díaz's informants, the ACM had been organised (at least partially) in response to inter-*cuartel* fights which broke out during the celebration of the feast day of Tonalá's patron saint, St. James, sometimes to the point of exchanges of gunfire. In response, the priest encouraged people to join the ACM or devotional groups which had no association with the different *cuarteles*, unlike traditional *hermandades* which had existed at least since the previous century in order to perpetuate the celebration of local, neighbourhood festivals and devotions to particular patron saints.¹⁷⁴ As of

unusually large percentage of *comerciantes* rather than farmers, eaters of white bread rather than tortillas, and wearers of shoes rather than huaraches. Díaz concluded that '[a]nswers to questionnaires often tended to reflect aspirations rather than cold reality,' thus necessitating her own (pp. 98-99).

¹⁷²Díaz, *Tonalá*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁷³Díaz, *Tonalá*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁷⁴Díaz, *Tonalá*, pp. 115-116. Interestingly, at just about the time that the priest had succeeded in 'depistolizing' the St. James festivities and the town, thus improving Tonalá's reputation (from being a backward, violent town to being a quaint destination and shopping excursion from Guadalajara), a new vehicle for rivalry arose in Tonalá: football. Since the 1940s, the *cuarteles* have sponsored their own teams and compete regularly. In 1959-1960, the ACM sponsored the 'Santiago' team, which in

1960 there existed a familiar roster of Catholic pious and civic associations: the ACM, in its four sections for adult men, married women, young men and young women; the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Refuge, the Association of the Perpetual Vigil, the Association of the Apostolic Society of Prayer (Sacred Heart of Jesus), the Daughters of the Immaculate Mary (*Hijas de María*), the Gardeners of the Host, the Association of the Holy Angels, the Mexican Nocturnal Adoration, the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and the Association of St. Joseph.

According to Díaz, even the organisations which welcomed members of both genders and all ages would meet as separate sections, each with its own set of officers. While Díaz felt that this roster 'gives some idea of the devout religious flavour of Tonalá' and provided their members with a good measure of social activity, she observed that the associations were not lay-driven but were dependent on the leadership of the priest (either the curate or his assistant) who was assigned to meet with them. Without the priest, no decisions would be made nor actions taken, and meetings would often devolve into informal chat sessions. Furthermore, Díaz felt, Tonaltecs' fascination with the Catholic associations lay chiefly in the opportunities they afforded for manifestations of religious devotion, such as sponsoring masses, decorating the church and displaying the banners of their societies on religious holidays, taking part in religious processions, taking turns at nocturnal Eucharistic vigils, and organising bazaars and occasional fundraisers. Members of the young men's and women's sections of the ACM followed a strict dress code of starched white shirts and trousers or pleated skirts, and the members of the *Hijas de María* wore black dresses and head scarves. The Church's social groups were safe, reliable ways for Catholics, especially young people, to meet and participate in the town's social and civic activity, but remained rigid in terms of gender roles and behaviour.¹⁷⁵

theory drew players from the entire town, but was perceived to be representative of the upper class and the people who lived in the center of town (p. 117).

¹⁷⁵Díaz, *Tonalá*, pp. 124-126.

Conclusion

Catholic women founded organisations and otherwise acted in support of the Church in markedly different contexts. It comes as no surprise that thriving chapters of the UFCM existed in comfortable towns like Zapotiltic, or that women participated in obstinate resistance to government programmes in traditionally Catholic areas such as Los Altos. But the UFCM also mobilised in radicalised atmospheres like Hostotipaquillo, reached backwater towns like Tizapán el Alto, and even established a presence, albeit temporary, in some of the poorest and most remote parts of the state and diocese, like the Jalisco north. This testifies both to the Church's concern to spread the organisation of the ACM, which the archdiocese of Guadalajara communicated to its residents, and of Catholic women's readiness to participate at some level in the Church's campaigns.

Catholic resistance helped subvert and modify some of the Mexican state's revolutionary social programmes. Their most obviously successful campaign was directed against socialist education. By 1936, even in parts of Jalisco that once had been reported to be '*zonas de franca cooperación*,' teachers were advised to refrain from the mere use of the word 'socialist,' even as they continued to advance their work according to the Constitution, federal and state laws, and the mandates of the public school system.¹⁷⁶ In the south, a region considered less adamantly Catholic and more swayed by radical agrarianism, municipal presidents complained to the government that "reactionary" parents in Zapotiltic, Sayula, Tamazula and other towns kept their children out of the public schools. Even in Ciudad Guzmán, the region's centre for agrarian activism and site of a SEP Centro de Cooperación for teachers, attendance levels remained low through the mid-1930s, while several private schools operating without government license were known to have higher

¹⁷⁶Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, pp. 114-115.

attendance.¹⁷⁷ However, although attendance levels suffered, some Catholics opted to take part in the public school system (with or without archdiocesan dispensation), because it was available and it was all their families could afford. Other Catholics who grew up during that time, like Porfiria Corona, and María Ascensión Durán Salas, wished they had. Some historians darkly conclude that Jaliscan Catholics condemned a generation to illiteracy and ignorance, especially in the *norte* and Los Altos, but it is not entirely clear that religious resistance undid education. Figures available from the 1940 census show that, on the state level, Jalisco had a higher level of overall literacy (47.9 percent of the population above age six) than the national average (41.9 percent). A greater percentage of Jaliscan women over six (47.5) were literate than those in central states with greater degrees of radical organising (Puebla, 25.4 percent; Veracruz, 31.0 percent; national average, 38.8 percent), and were on par with the men in their state. However, the census does not give figures for regions or municipalities; until more precise information is available, we are left to judge from individuals' impressions of the era.¹⁷⁸

Catholic women activists became experts in working around the public school system. If unable to organise an effective network of alternative schools, as they did in Ciudad Guzmán, they set up programmes of extracurricular catechism instruction, as in Zapotiltic, Hostotipaquillo, and Tizapán el Alto. Where parents and children could be persuaded to take part in these programmes, the UFCM and JCFM were able to provide a measure of doctrinal education to children who otherwise lacked it because they did not attend Catholic schools. Particularly in Hostotipaquillo, it is clear that even a few motivated, activist women were enough to train and influence a generation of children, many of whom grew up to

¹⁷⁷Yankelevich, *La educación socialista*, p. 100.

¹⁷⁸ Secretaría de la Economía Nacional, Dirección de Estadística, *Sexto Censo de Población, 1940: Resumen General* (Mexico, 1942), pp. 7-8 and pp. 44-45; also see Appendix 3 for comparisons. At the time I was conducting my field research, the AHSEP had just begun to organise and catalogue their tens of thousand boxes of records, starting with Mexico City and then proceeding through the states in alphabetical order. In the autumn of 1997 they had only reached "G"; it is to be hoped that the process is by now complete, in order to make systematic research easier (one could begin with Jalisco Caja 1 and proceed through more than one thousand, given the time, but coming upon information for a specific location was a matter of pure luck).

participate in the institutional Church as well. Women were crucial to the process of reconsolidation of the Church in Jalisco at the ground level, proven not only in the archival and printed record, but also in Jaliscans' memories and in their continued involvement in the Church.¹⁷⁹

The disadvantages of the Catholic programme, however, were also evident in places like Hostotipaquillo, Tizapán el Alto, and Los Altos. Supporting the Church and religious tradition certainly appealed to a broad sector of the population, but the Church often proved as incapable as the state of answering all its members' needs. Papal encyclicals and directives from the Mexican Episcopate called on employers and landowners to treat their employees in a Christian manner, by paying them living wages with which they could support their families, and by providing adequate opportunities for schooling, health care, and of course, religious practice. These idealistic sentiments were echoed in the Mexican Episcopate's messages to its followers, but often to little avail. By the early 1930s, the state had suppressed Catholic union organising and political lobbying. Faced with material deprivation, the land redistribution programme, schools, unions and other enterprises offered by the state and its affiliates seemed not only more attractive than maintaining strict obedience to Church prohibitions, but necessary, in the eyes of many less-privileged Mexican men and women.

The Church also could not stop its members from adapting their religious and social practices and incorporating elements of secular, "modern" culture into their lives as they saw fit. Catholics did not always obey the prohibitions of the hierarchy, but struck compromises with the revolutionary regime at various levels, as in the case of the Catholics who attended public schools, served in public office, or accepted ejido land. Many Mexican Catholics jettisoned some or all of their Church's anxious warnings and prohibitions against suspicious innovations, ranging

¹⁷⁹Granted, this involvement takes place more often in groups established after the Second Vatican Council that have a rather different ethos (organizing explicitly around social justice principles, for example) than the ACM. See the Conclusion to this dissertation for more discussion.

from films and short-sleeved blouses to coeducation and hygiene classes, long before the Church hierarchy gradually came around to relaxing its stand. They also re-evaluated their hostile reactions to government programmes encouraging adoption of innovations such as fertilisers and vaccinations.¹⁸⁰

Guadalajara's urban sprawl has extended its influence in the centre of the state, and other towns have become cities. Cultural change in the Jalisco countryside did not derive solely from the urbanisation; it has also been imported by the Jaliscans who migrate to Mexican cities and to the United States.¹⁸¹ Muriá argues that migration has created a '*tierra de hombres ausentes*,' where women take charge of the local economy and of community and cultural relations while the vast majority of the young and middle-aged men in their town are gone. Small surprise, he concludes, that Catholic religiosity remains strong in the region.¹⁸² Such a conclusion is borne out in Martha Chávez Torres' detailed ethnographic research; she notes that much of the local culture is shaped by women and reinforced by the early childhood education they impart in the home, in schools and catechism programs.¹⁸³ Of course, Catholic women's insistence on maintaining their religious traditions antedated the migration phenomenon, just as migration patterns

¹⁸⁰Knight, 'Revolutionary Project, Recalcitrant People,' *passim*; Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, p. 23.

¹⁸¹A trickle began in the 1890s, increased due to violence during the Revolution and the Cristero rebellion, exploded when the United States began the *bracero* programme for Mexican workers in the 1940s, and continues to the present. Díaz, *Tonalá*, pp. 217-220; Gil, *Life in Provincial Mexico*, pp. 176-178; Martínez Saldaña and Gándara Mendoza, *Política y sociedad*, p. 67; Macías M., 'La organización social del espacio del norte de Jalisco,' p. 106, p. 109.

¹⁸²José María Muriá, 'Una Tierra de hombres ausentes,' in J. A. Gutiérrez G. et al, *Aguascalientes y los Altos de Jalisco*, pp. 73-81; Monique Nuijten, an anthropologist who studied the village of Las Canoas in southern Jalisco, convincingly argues that gender relations remain unbalanced in favor of male leadership, and remain much more complex, despite men's absence generated by migrant work and women's assumption of ejido control or other economic and social roles; see *In the Name of the Land: Organization, Transnationalism, and the Culture of the State in a Mexican Ejido*, (Wageningen, 1998), pp.86-90, 109-116.

¹⁸³M. Chávez Torres, *Mujeres de rancho, de metate y de corral* (Zamora, 1998), pp. 229-306. Unlike Muriá, she places greater emphasis on the positive contributions of women to communities in southeastern Jalisco and northwestern Michoacán than to the lack of men in them, and also notes the increasing number of women migrants and settlers in the United States.

antedated the religious conflict. However, it seems very probable that popular religiosity, and women's religiosity, have contributed to the sustaining of Catholic culture among migrant communities, both in the United States and in Mexico.

In the 1930s, the exiled archbishop Orozco y Jiménez noted that Jaliscans in Los Angeles maintained their devotions to local religious icons like the Virgen of Talpa.¹⁸⁴ To this day, many still return to their villages for patron saints' festivals and other religious holidays, which endured several decades of state and radical suppression. For better or worse, Jaliscan women clung tenaciously to their Catholic faith and to their local traditions, in the face of government opposition and widespread violence. Economic crises and social conflicts hampered the UFCM's work, but the organisation registered some successes, notably in places where its members shaped the organisation to suit the needs of their communities.

¹⁸⁴F. Orozco y Jiménez, 'Variedades, Crónicas de Los Angeles, Cal.,' 10 Jun. 1932, *BEG*, III, 7 (1 Jul. 1932), pp. 373-375.

Conclusion: Mexican Catholic Women's Activism in Perspective

In the 1930s, the ACM gained ground in Mexico as the principal form of Catholic social activism endorsed by Church leaders. ACM members generally supported the Church hierarchy's efforts to reinstate ordinary Catholic practice as much as possible in as many parishes as possible while avoiding direct provocation of the postrevolutionary government. Nevertheless, in the first years following the Cristero rebellion, even this activity often ran afoul of the anticlericalism of educators, labour and agrarian organisers, and Mexican law itself. As the decade drew to a close, though, Mexican government leaders relaxed the strict enforcement of anticlerical regulations, both in response to continued popular resistance and in the interest of achieving greater social stability. In this comparatively relaxed climate, Church leaders increasingly were able to re-establish their leadership over parishes and dioceses. But this new era of informal conciliation in no way diminished the Church's need for the ACM, the hierarchy's support of it, or Catholics' willingness to participate in it. Through the 1950s, membership in the four principle sections of the ACM continued to grow. The ACM established new, specialised sections and expanded its charitable and educational programs.¹

The outcome of the Cristero Rebellion, which had originated in the Church-state of the preceding century, showed definitively that there was no possibility for a political or legal reversal of state policy regarding religion that would favour the Church. To say that Catholicism in Mexico was in danger of being eliminated entirely due to government hostility at this point would be an exaggeration. But it did not exist comfortably, either. The Church was weakened significantly, having

¹Newer sections include the Movimiento Estudiantil y Profesional (1944), the Juventud Obrera Católica (1949), the Movimiento de Enfermeras de Acción Católica (1951), and numerous individual associations for industrial workers, domestic workers and homemakers. Charitable programs include medical dispensaries, soup kitchens and breakfast programs, day-care centers, used clothing collections, vocational and nursing training programs, work in hospitals and prisons, cooperatives and mutual aid societies. Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 64; Fazio, *Algunos aportes del Secretariado Social Mexicano*, p. 13-19ff.; Gutierrez Casillas, *Historia de la Iglesia Católica en México*, p. 463; Junta Nacional de la ACM, *La Acción Católica Mexicana Hoy*, pp. 48-49; Velázquez H., *Pedro Velázquez H.*, pp. 31-38ff.

lost its gains from the early 1920s, when it recovered from its losses of the armed revolutionary period through popular Catholic mobilisation in labour, rural and social sectors. The Church was threatened as it entered a new phase of ideological competition with the state with limited legal, material and human resources. In this state, it could not administer its sacraments, educate, or encourage participation to all Mexican Catholics. Because the prohibition on confessional organisation in politics, industry and agriculture was strictly enforced in the 1930s, Church leaders found a return to normalcy in religious practice and a strengthening of loyalty across Mexico to be even more urgent than before. The anticlerical provisions of the 1917 Constitution and its enabling laws were serious challenges to this goal; President Calles had been determined to enforce them in 1926 and that his successors would follow suit. As we have seen, the presidents of the *maximato* did so with varying intensity. Ultimately, even the long-time anticlerical Lázaro Cárdenas encouraged political leaders to diminish the extreme aspects of dechristianisation in the interest of furthering other social programs.

However, this softening of anticlerical orthodoxy did not occur for a good six or seven years after the Cristero Rebellion, and even then occurred unevenly. Meanwhile, with the number of churches open and priests able to minister limited, it was difficult for Catholics to participate in Catholic rituals regularly and frequently. Monasteries and convents had been dispersed, Church properties expropriated, and Catholic schools, hospitals and other charitable enterprises closed or restricted. The Church thus faced losing not only a significant part of its workforce but also its most effective ways to contact and educate lay people, especially children. The government's attempts to limit religious activity to church interiors (for example, prohibiting religious processions or substituting secular and patriotic holidays for religious celebrations) also threatened the Church's place in the fabric of public life. The Church hierarchy in Mexico needed lay people to assume the social work once mainly performed by the clergy and vowed religious and to refuse compliance with the state's restrictions on religious practice until those laws were changed. And,

because clergy and lay men's ability to act publicly on behalf of the Church was lacking (as was the willingness of some), the Church appealed to lay women, invoking the foci of their nurturing -- their homes, children, communities, even their country that they nurtured -- to encourage them to actively defend Catholic practice.

However, Church leaders wanted the laity -- especially women -- to do so in organisations strictly supervised by the hierarchy, essentially because lay activity had escaped its control in the previous decade. Catholics had invoked their Church and their religious convictions not only in political interventions and protests, but also an armed rebellion. Lay Catholics' antagonism jeopardised the hierarchy's assertions that the Church supported stability and the rule of law in Mexican society, that it was (in this sense) an ally rather than an enemy of the postrevolutionary government, and that it deserved the legal right to exist without government interference. The violence, dislocation and disorganisation of the armed revolution of the 1910s, the Cristero rebellion, and the early 1930s had resulted in numerous irregularities in religious practice, some of which had been sanctioned temporarily by Church leaders, others not. Retracting the exceptions and dispensations of earlier years, the Church hierarchy now ordered that the laity carefully adhere to Church doctrine and hierarchical pronouncements regarding individual and collective religious practice and work to ensure a more secure position for their Church. This included co-operating with both their spiritual and government authorities, although for the latter, only when they did not contravene Church doctrine or their consciences.²

Church leaders in Mexico followed the approach that the Vatican had developed to resolve its tenuous position within liberalising states in Europe: the

²As late as February 1935, Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores advocated home Communion services and other surreptitious Catholic rituals in places where '*no hay sacerdote ni templo*' ('Programa Nacional de Renovación Espiritual,' San Antonio, Tex., 11 Feb. 1935, printed in *BEG*, VI, 5 (1 May 1935), pp. 237-247) that Church leaders in Mexico prohibited soon afterward (e.g., Archbishop José Garibi Rivera, 'Circular,' 18 Feb. 1937, *Christus* II, 20 (Jul. 1937), p. 603; Manuel Gamio, 'Rúbricas,' *ibid.*, pp. 627-628; *ibid.*, p. 633, 'Moral,' *Christus*, I, 13 (Dec. 1936), p. 1162; 'Rúbricas,' *Christus* II, 22 (Sept. 1937), pp. 790-791 and p. 794; and *Estatutos del Primer Sínodo Diocesano del Arzobispado de Guadalajara*, *passim*). Ruiz y Flores did specify that in areas where priests were licensed to minister and churches were open, clandestine Catholic practices--with the exception of schooling--were to be avoided.

Church would refrain from overtly political statements or inciting its followers to civil disobedience or uprisings, as long as states respected individual Catholics' religious choices and the Church's role in supervising public morality (perceived as an essential function of its care for Catholics' private lives and the broader community's well-being). The Church justified its position by citing the family as the basis and stability in society and the Church as 'the defender of the family, guiding society through the family.'³ With its emphasis on good conduct, morality, charity, and, later, patriotism. Towards the end of the decade, the Church and the Mexican government found their common enemy in Communism and a common cause in nationalism. The Church hierarchy endeavoured to show that being a loyal Catholic and a loyal Mexican citizen were not mutually exclusive; rather, the former, allowed to flourish, could effectively strengthen the latter.⁴

The Church's new *modus vivendi* included its re-establishment of distinct roles for clergy, vowed religious and laity, and of those of men and women as well. The Church identified women as the key figures who maintained religious and moral practices within the home, this being their principal contribution to the ACM's '*ayuda laica a la jerarquía*.'⁵ Church leaders in Mexico strongly applied their concern with regularising Catholic practice to women, reasoning that this, too, would start in the home and with the young. Mexican women's participation in the Cristero Rebellion and other ecclesial anomalies contradicted the Church hierarchy's ideals for women's behaviour and in great part contributed to their rationale for reining in organisations like the BF, women's participation in the liturgy, choirs and other exclusively male areas of Catholic practice, and disobedient mystics like Florencia Valladolid (chapter 4). The Church hierarchy in Mexico re-emphasised the moral content of associations like the UFCM and the JCFM and sodalities like the Hijas de

³ Gudorf, 'Renewal or Repatriarchalization?', p.232.

⁴Barranco V. 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 67; Knight, 'Mexico,' p. 47, p. 57.

⁵Gudorf, 'Renewal or Repatriarchalization?', pp. 235-238; '*Ayuda laica a la jerarquía*,' *Christus*, II, 20 (Jun. 1937), pp. 750-755.

María over their community roles, and on the complementary role that Catholic women's groups should play to those of Catholic men. Church leaders again identified Catholic women's primary contribution as: basing their family and social relationships on religious principles and extending them to childrearing and education, charitable activities, the moralisation of social conduct and encouragement of pious activities, and working to support priests, seminarians, vowed religious, and the churches and Catholic institutions in their communities.

Yet this public-private divide put forth by the Church in the 1930s domesticated neither Catholic religious practice as a whole nor women's participation in it. Naturally, it was not meant to do the former. Even relatively conciliatory Church leaders like Pascual Díaz Barreto and José Garibi Rivera demanded that lay Catholics take strong stances against government policies that were an affront to the Church, albeit by acting within their rights as independent citizens and not as representatives of the institutional Church. The Church's call to action also mobilised a significant number of lay Catholic women to engage in activity that had them overstep the boundaries of the domestic realm and of the law. Catholic women activists broadened the proposed focus on the home, children, churches and parishes to participation in some very public campaigns: the effective challenge to the radicalised official education system; the support for the women religious, seminarians, and priests training and working in Mexico and abroad; educational and social programs aimed at working class and rural women (drawing them closer to the Church and away from radical or state-sponsored organisations) as well as aiding them materially and spiritually; the reintroduction of public Catholic ritual outside of home and church confines; and the encouragement of stricter moral standards in media and leisure activities.

However, the position of Church leaders in Mexico on women's public activities remained ambiguous. On the one hand, the bishops and clergy generally recognised that Catholic women's activity was desperately needed at a time when the clergy's capacity to act was limited and lay men's support was low, appreciated

their energetic response and sizeable mobilisation, and applauded their accomplishments. On the other hand, Church leaders repeatedly insisted upon limited roles for women within the Church and in society at large: they could volunteer and teach, but not direct, at least not without male supervision; they could work out of economic necessity, but should not forsake the household entirely for a career, unless they entered religious congregations and committed themselves to an alternate (but still clearly feminine) role. Church leaders in Mexico wanted something not at all unique to their place, time, or position – for Catholic women to be active in their work for the Church, yet obedient and unchallenging in their participation in its spiritual and social activities.

In great part, this is what the Church hierarchy got – the UFCM and JCFM did not challenge Catholic or other social paradigms for women. If anything, their work helped to offset Mexican women's defection to anticlerical government programs or radical groups. Also, women ACM members loyally supported the conciliatory stance of the Church hierarchy; the UFCM and JCFM were rarely, if ever, linked to violent protests, and did not lend support to the vociferously anti-government Unión Nacional Sinarquista (UNS) or its women's groups.⁶ Aside from its exhortations about proper behaviour and roles for men and women, the Church's one constant complaint was that membership in Catholic women's groups consistently outnumbered men's. Even through the ACM's peak in the 1950s, women's membership eclipsed that of the other branches, and formed the '*núcleos más pujantes de esta percepción social y religiosa*' in Mexico.⁷

It is difficult to identify a 'smoking gun' or distinct mark that the UFCM, or the ACM as a whole, left on Mexican political or legal affairs during the 1930s. They formed an organised, energetic and important part, though not the entirety, of

⁶Pérez Rosales, 'Las mujeres sinarquistas', p. 172, pp. 179-180.

⁷Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' pp. 64-65, p. 68. In 1952 the UFCM had 194,753 members, the JCFM 85,491, the UCM 53,332 and the ACJM 14,847. However, Barranco rightly points out that motivated Catholic men often found opportunities for social activism elsewhere, as seen in the '*flujo casi constante*' from the UCM leadership to the conservative PAN.

opposition campaigns to the socialist education curriculum, the one area in which Catholic resistance won a clear victory. But other policies and practices that the Church opposed remained in effect through the decade and beyond. The land reform program and agrarian mobilisation proceeded apace through Cárdenas' administration. The government re-opened more churches and permitted more priests to minister, but Catholic activism in no way altered the government's ultimate legal control over Church properties and the presence of its clergy. Enforcement of anticlerical laws gradually lessened, Catholic schools cautiously opened, clergy and vowed religious slowly emerged into public life again, and Catholics engaged in more communal, public religious practices - these processes are visible in the long term, but are difficult to attribute to particular individual or group efforts.

However, it can be said definitively that Catholic activists, the great part of them women, contributed to the strengthening of the Church in Mexico at a time when its social standing was weakened. Seen from an institutional perspective, lay volunteers and activists serve as an important link between a distant hierarchy and ordinary believers. The stated purpose of Catholic Action organisations was to help the hierarchy reach the broader population of believers and nonbelievers.⁸ Mexican Catholic women activists enthusiastically took up this task. During the 1930s, these women helped maintain a connection between the Church leadership and Mexican Catholics when the former was either limited in its scope of actions or, as in the case of charismatic leaders such as Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, again in exile. These women did not only perpetuate individual, devotional Catholicism, but placed emphasis on the preservation of Church structure and autonomy from government interference in their campaigns. In doing so, they rallied Catholics to demand not only '*culto*' in their local churches but greater latitude for their Church and their beliefs as a whole.

⁸Gudorf, 'Renewal or Repatriarchalization?', p. 233. Jedin, Repgen and Dolan, *The Church in the Modern Age*, pp. 307-308; also Budde, *The Two Churches*, p. 35, pp. 44-45; Vallier, 'Religious Elites,' pp. 190-191.

Towards the end of the 1930s, the ACM rallied Catholics less to peacefully resist or circumvent government directives. However, the ACM did continue to provide Catholics with an avenue for direct collaboration with their canonical leadership and participation in the Church's social programs. In justifying the organisation, Catholic Action ideologues had claimed that such lay support of the Church and its leaders dated to the Church's very foundations. While plausible in a broad sense, Catholic Action was novel in that it was the first large-scale invitation to the laity to participate directly in the Church's social and educational work and assume significant responsibilities without entering religious life. Indeed, for the first time, Church leaders acknowledged that being part of lay society might give lay Catholics certain qualifications and advantages in reaching their peers that the clergy and vowed religious lacked. In Catholic Action, Catholics could relate their faith to political and social issues on a personal and intellectual level, before acting publicly – as individuals – on their convictions. This was of especial value in postrevolutionary Mexico, given the prohibitions on formal, confessional organisation.

Some scholars link early twentieth-century Catholic Social Action movements to the social movements of *basismo* and Liberation Theology that developed in Latin America after the Second Vatican Council and the 1968 meeting of the Latin American Bishops' Conference in Medellín, Colombia. For Mexico, Catholic Action was an important step in-between – lay activism provided a continuity of sustained Catholic social action through periods of government repression. The ACM also provided opportunities for the laity to gain a more profound education in the Church's social and spiritual undertakings and to design and participate in them.⁹

⁹Joseph A. Komonchak, 'Returning from Exile: Catholic Theology in the 1930s,' in Gregory Baum, ed., *The Twentieth Century: A Theological Overview* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1999), p. 36-42; David Lehmann, 'Introduction,' in *BLAR*, XVIII, 2 (April 1994), p. 141; Vallier, 'Religious Elites,' p. 202; for Mexico, Hanson, 'The Day of Ideals,' pp. 5-6, p. 633, p. 638 and M. C. Trujillo Villa, interview. However, Romero de Solís notes that during the 1950s and 1960s, Mexican bishops who disapproved of Catholic lay groups intent on meeting and acting autonomously from clerical supervision continued to support ACM as the ideal form of lay mobilization, *El aguijón del espíritu*, p. 417.

Some ACM participants concur with scholars that the organisation's period of greatest social and spiritual relevance has passed.¹⁰ They were not afraid to admit that the ACM has been supplanted by Catholic associations more attuned to contemporary conditions, expectations and issues: for example groups that do not separate members by age and gender, or groups that place greater emphasis on spiritual or social concerns than on hierarchic order, like Christian Base Communities, Hostotipaquillo's *Los Renovados* or *Mujeres Para el Diálogo* (discussed below). Nevertheless, they identify this aperture in the Church as Catholic Action's most important development. This was especially true for Catholic women, for whom the ACM provided opportunities for education, spiritual reflection, job training, and community organising, venues in which to do so that were often more acceptable to their families and communities, and formal recognition of the volunteer work they did for the Church.¹¹ Sofía del Valle (chapter 2) is the prime example of someone who contributed to her Church and society as a lay woman (and an unmarried one, no less) through the ACM. Although with less far-reaching results, Guadalajara women like Clementina Trujillo Villa and María del Rosario Alexandre Gil (chapter 3) were able to work independently in their city and in the surrounding countryside. Juana Cueva de Valdivia and the other women of the Hostotipaquillo UFCM (chapter 4) used their organisation to help the young women in their town gain income-earning skills and advance their education. Furthermore, despite stern Church pronouncements regarding work outside the home endangering family life, women did not necessarily eschew salaried work to participate in the ACM, nor did they have to withdraw from the organisation once married. On combining salaried work, family life and Catholic Action, Estela Flores de Sandoval, a bookkeeper and the treasurer of the Guadalajara UFCM-CD opined, '*sí se puede, si se organiza, hay que programar el tiempo.*' When asked if her Catholic

¹⁰ For example, Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' pp. 68-69.

¹¹ Estela Flores de Sandoval, interview with the author, Guadalajara, Jal., 14 Jun 1997; Mejía Siordia, interview; Solano Vega, interview; M.C. Trujillo Villa, interview; also Del Valle, interview (PHO/4/11).

elders or peers ever doubted or criticised choices like hers, she commented that some had, but '*no les hacía caso*.'¹² This dissertation has presented several examples of women who took the ACM formula of working for Church and family, which at first glance seemed to be little more a repetition of conservative Catholic rhetoric aimed towards women, and used it to develop intellectually and spiritually, and to bring to bear concrete changes in their communities and in women's lives.

Carrying Lay Catholic Women's Activism to the Present: Leonor Aida Concha

Leonor Aida Concha, who collaborated with Samuel Ruíz García, Bishop of San Cristobal, Chiapas from 1968 to 1978 in the Centro Nacional de Ayuda a los Misioneros Indígenas (CENAMI) and founded Mujeres Para el Diálogo (MPD) in 1980, points to her training in the JCFM as one of the first vehicles for her social activism. Although a shy and retiring child, one of Concha's teachers recognised her potential, and invited her to join the JCFM in Chihuahua City. Concha attended official schools at her Freemason father's insistence; however, it was clear that some of the women teachers were catechists ('*jalaban a las niñas*,', she recalled). Concha took readily to the group's training in public speaking and focus on community work. After obligatory training in Catholic doctrine and preparation for the sacraments (which she had not received at home), Concha, like many other JCFM members, became a catechist herself. In the 1940s, the Chihuahua ACM's catechism program did not focus solely on young children, but aimed to encourage Catholic practice among the city's working-class adults. Armed with her new training, Concha approached bricklayers and construction workers at their worksites, and recruited them as her first students. Working with these men provided Concha with her first '*contacto con la realidad*' of living conditions for much of the population. Collaborating with other women catechists gave Concha her first '*experiencia colectiva*' in community service.¹³

¹²Flores de Sandoval, interview.

¹³Leonor Aida Concha, interview with the author, Mexico City, 12 Nov. 1996.

During her participation in the JCFM, Concha decided to join a women's religious community for several reasons. She felt no desire to marry and commit herself as a housewife (as she put it, '*no me quería echar al hacer tortillas en la hacienda*'), and there were not many other opportunities for young women in provincial cities to live and work independently at that time. Most of all, she wanted to continue to work in social service; for this reason she chose a newer religious community, the Hermanas del Servicio Social (HSS), founded in 1945 by Imelda Mirande, a member of the Monterrey UFCM. Rather than being an 'escape' to a cloistered existence, Mirande envisioned that the HSS would fully commit to engaging with working-class communities with the militancy of the ACM and seek solutions to the problems of industrialisation and over-rapid development (which were incipient in northern Mexico and only spread with time). For this purpose, the HSS' constitution gave its members greater latitude in their choice of ministries and living arrangements (presaging Vatican II changes for women's religious congregations) and education in the social sciences to systematically approach social problems. The order gained Vatican approval, but with the stipulation that it focus on providing social services for workers' families, a mandate which the HSS have interpreted loosely (although not without dedication to their mission) ever since.

Concha entered the HSS in 1954, and first worked with the Movimiento de Familias Cristianas, a Catholic organisation dedicated to strengthening family unity and morality through reflection and education. In 1968 she began working with CENAMI, collaborating with Ruíz García and other Catholics, clergy and lay, who transformed the focus of CENAMI from missionary instruction aimed to convert the indigenous to advocacy for indigenous rights. However, it was at this time that the Mexican Church hierarchy grew uneasy with clerical and religious involvement in radicalised indigenous, student and other social movements. In 1978, after two priests died as a result of their participation (one was killed in *guerrilla* crossfire, the

other was assassinated in Mexico City), the Mexican Episcopate removed Concha and other more radicalised members from the CENAMI commission.¹⁴

Concha decided to focus on working with women, and obtained permission to begin a new ministry in Mexico City. In 1980, Concha and several other women founded MPD. Based on the biblical passage that in the Church there is 'neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, woman nor man' (Gal. iii. 28), MPD promotes women's equality within the Catholic Church and closer ecumenical relations among women of diverse religions. Concha wryly remarked that the organisations she has participated in – the JCFM, the HSS, CENAMI and MPD – all had their origins in and were sustained by the laity (and all except CENAMI were grounded in lay women's initiatives), and were only subsequently approved of and adopted by Church leaders.¹⁵

Of course, not all women who participated in the ACM took progressive, liberal or radical turns, although others mentioned in this dissertation, like Porfiria Corona and Lucila Mejía Siordia (chapter 4), also identify post-Vatican II Catholic organisations as those more relevant to contemporary social and spiritual affairs, and participate in them. Other women have continued to militate against – or at least condemn – the infiltration of Protestantism into Mexico, pervasive secularisation and loss of social values, leftist and anti-religious political agitation, and continued government persecution and harassment. Many mobilised Catholic women supported conservative opposition parties like the PAN, founded in 1939, and the Partido Revolucionario de Unificación Nacional, which supported opposition candidate Juan Andreu Almazán in 1940. In the years before Mexican

¹⁴Ibid. According to Concha, CENAMI began as an initiative for the Tarahumara of the North; its emphasis shifted to the Maya of the south due to Ruiz García's involvement in the organization.

¹⁵Ibid.; L. A. Concha, 'Mujeres Religiosas en la Iglesia Católica,' in María Consuelo Mejía et. al., *Somos Iglesia* (Mexico City, 1996), pp. 119-128; Patricia Cardona, 'Entendido como hasta ahora, la vida religiosa "no tiene destino" ni significación histórica,' *unomásuno*, 17 Mar 1980, p. 16 and 'La Iglesia ha sido "castigada por la realidad"; debe rehacerse la vocación "a partir del pobre",' *unomásuno*, 19 Mar 1980, p. 19; Carlos Fazio, 'Mexican Woman Theologian Evaluates Role of Religious,' *LatinAmerica Press*, XII, 17 (24 Apr 1980), p. 1.

women were granted suffrage, women activists aided political parties substantially by contributing logistical and financial support and disseminating information.¹⁶ María del Carmen Solano Vega is proud of the fact that she and her husband, Jesús Mata Martínez, hosted the first meetings in Santa Teresita, their Guadalajara neighbourhood, in support of the PAN, attended by party leaders like Manuel Gómez Morin and Efraín González Luna. Though Solano Vega never worked formally for the party, she has served as a neighbourhood representative at her voting station and actively promotes the PAN in her community. '*Hay que quitar este regimen comunista,*' she said gravely in 1997. Solano Vega believed that Mexicans needed to recognise their apathy as one root cause of Mexico's crisis of governance. '*Conozco señoras que son muy católicas pero no saben nada de política y no quieren saber,*' she said. '*Dicen "¿para qué sirve?" – Y entonces gana el partido oficial.*' Solano Vega had long believed that it was women's responsibility to educate themselves and others about political and social issues, a responsibility that only increased in the 1950s with their ability to participate in electoral politics and government.¹⁷

Not all Catholic activist projects addressed social problems or politics as seriously. In certain instances, the ACM has merited portraits that criticise its misdirection of energies into relatively ineffectual endeavours while clinging to a prudish morality and narrow social vision. Historians of popular culture in Mexico note that Catholic groups like the LMD and the UNPF expended considerable amounts of energy criticising the immoral and foreign (especially *gringo*) content of movies, rock music and comic books. In efforts praised by the Mexican Episcopate, they dedicated more energy to petitioning government offices and private manufacturers to cease producing such materials than to alleviating causes of the

¹⁶Macías, *Against All Odds*, p. 144; Morton, *Woman Suffrage in Mexico*, p. 39ff. Sherman notes that Almazán's last appeal against recognizing Camacho's electoral 'victory' was directed towards Mexican women, asking them to 'compel the men of Mexico to defend their votes and save her dignity.' *The Mexican Right*, p.126, also p. 119.

¹⁷Solano Vega, interviews. During our second interview, I watched Solano Vega explain quietly, but firmly, to a young woman campaigning door to door for the leftist Partido de la Revolución Democrática that '*esta casa es del PAN,*' and that her party addressed the social and political problems that beset Mexico better than the PRD or the PRI.

'dissolution of the family' such as: migration to the cities or to the United States, urban sprawl, inadequate salaries and long working hours, and the lack of public libraries and other cultural programs to offset the popularity of inexpensive, pulp media. In the 1950s and 1960s, the LMD managed to gain representation on the media industries' private censorship boards, which made for the appearance of having an impact on them. However, publishing, film, and recording companies – even those on the censorship boards – followed the mandates of profit more often than did those of morality. Similarly, government bureaucrats claimed responsiveness by hearing out conservative activists' charges of 'pornography,' but often did very little to address them, seeing little reason to attack booming industries. Catholic and conservative activists succeeded in raising much discussion and bluster, but achieved little noticeable change in products or consumption patterns.¹⁸

It was also true of a good number of lay Catholic groups, like the 'Family Union' lampooned by novelist Angeles Mastretta, that they existed at the beck and call of their ecclesiastical advisor.¹⁹ As mentioned in Chapter 4, in Tonalá in the 1950s, anthropologist May Díaz observed that the town's numerous Catholic associations very much depended on the priest assigned to meet with them, and seemed to focus on the opportunities provided them for manifesting their religious

¹⁸Rubenstien, *Bad Language*, pp. 79-81, p. 102; Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley, 1999), p. 31p. 53-61. Zolov notes that the 1960 Federal Law of Radio and Television, passed under pressure from conservative activists, would have prohibited songs with excessive references to 'low' or foreign culture, grammatical errors, double meanings, apologies for crimes or violence, and defamations of public heroes and religious beliefs. Fortunately for fans of *corridos* and *ranchero* music, genres considered essentially Mexican, the law was never strictly enforced.

¹⁹Mastretta's protagonist, a political wife in early 1940s Mexico, shudders at the thought of having to join the Mexico City 'Family Union' to aid her husband in establishing his anticommunist credentials. The group's director, Padre Falito (who heard *all* the women's confessions – here Mastretta alludes to enduring stereotypes of sexual sublimation and misconduct among Catholic women and priests), had gone to hear confessions at the Lecumberri prison and returned to tell the members of its filthy, overcrowded conditions. In response, the bevy of upper- and middle class matrons did not protest, but rather applied to the prison officials for permission to organize a prisoner's party. They poured their energy into dividing batches of sweets into bags for each prisoner, filling piñatas, and collecting religious cards and scapulars to be raffled off to the inmates, during one afternoon of 'prayer and festivity,' the ultimate efficacy of which the protagonist, with reason, doubts. *Tear this Heart Out* (New York, 1997), pp. 137-141).

devotion.²⁰ As discussed above, many women activists recognise that the ACM had decreased in size and influence due to lack of interest and replacement by newer Catholic or secular social action groups which place less emphasis on authority and hierarchy and greater emphasis on democratic participation. Although ACM groups still exist for young Catholics (some even have web pages), the greater part of its membership is middle-aged or elderly. The overwhelming majority is in the UFCM, a characteristic that remains unchanged.²¹

In this dissertation I have aimed to show that Catholic women's activism consisted of more than a mechanical response of a small elite to the mandates of its canonical leadership. Far from being a trivial, moralistic response, Catholic women's activism, both right and left wing, conservative and progressive, genuinely has addressed social issues and furthered Catholic spiritual and social causes among the broader population. The UFCM overcame distances and regional isolation (albeit with uneven growth) to link Catholic women activists across the country in a fast-growing organisation that rapidly became the largest branch of the ACM. The Church hierarchy approved of and sponsored the UFCM, unlike the UNS or the BF, organisations that challenged canonical leadership or gender roles. Yet at the same time, it provided Catholic women with a venue in which they could act effectively to change conditions not only in the private realms of home and church but also in the public realms of schools, workplaces, and streets. The UFCM's campaigns, carefully couched in terms of motherly care for youth and morality, also did not provoke excessive state reprisal after the early 1930s (although this also varied from region to region). The UFCM was able to establish offices and schools and carry out more of its programs in public view, contributing to the restoration of religious practice, the

²⁰Díaz, *Tonalá*, pp. 124-126; Arnold, 'Mexican Women,' p. 61, for a similar phenomenon in Cajititlán; also M.C. Trujillo Villa, interview, Solano Vega, interview.

²¹As of 1985, the UFCM had 72,000 members, the JCFM 9,000, the UCM 8,000 and the ACJM 2,600. Barranco V., 'Posiciones políticas,' p. 68; the JCFM has an interactive website at www.geocities.com/BourbonStreet/3560.

religious education of young Mexicans, and the training of the next generations of priests and vowed religious.

The case studies from Guadalajara and smaller towns and rural areas in Jalisco show how popular resistance wore down the determination of regional politicians to erode the religious practices for which the area was famous and supplant them with state programs. In the early 1940s, the archdiocese of Guadalajara had more diocesan priests per inhabitant and more seminarians than any other Mexican diocese, one indicator of strong church infrastructure.²² The Guadalajara UFCM-CD, at that time the second largest in Mexico, contributed to the support of priests and seminarians, at home and abroad. The Guadalajara UFCM-CD also promoted Catholic home schooling, catechism programs, protests to open churches and allow religious processions, and vocational training, activities and associations to attract and involve working-class and peasant Jaliscans in the Church.

The explorations of individual Jaliscans' experiences during the 1930s reveal a multiplicity of interpretations of the goals of the revolutionary government and variations in regional and local governments' commitment to maintaining them. The vulnerability of official school teachers in rural Jalisco was an exemplary case; they were threatened by locals with physical attack if they followed mandates to implement socialist or sex education curricula, but often lacked guaranteed protection from local authorities or the army. Variations are also seen in the responses of Church leaders and individual Catholics to social conflicts and contests. Many Jaliscan Catholics considered their religion an essential part of local culture and daily life, and were unwilling to comply with even nominal anticlericalism cooperate with or to receive benefits from the government. However, some willingly exchanged religious loyalties for radical politics, organising *ejidos*, agrarian committees and unions, petitioning for public education and health programs in their communities, and complaining about clerical conspiracies or the locals

²²Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes Geográficos...*, p. 22.

backwardness and superstition in boycotting or subverting their efforts. Other Jaliscans tried to balance the demands for loyalty from the Church and the government, continuing their private religious practices while committing themselves to state endeavours, such as serving in local government, staffing or attending state schools. They found the compromise morally acceptable (if not beneficial) as long as the latter were not so stridently anti-religious as to contravene the former. The ACM succeeded in communities where its members made its programs relevant to the needs of the local population and were able to gather sufficient material support and volunteers for its projects. Very often, the women of the UFCM and Hijas de María stand out in popular memory in these communities as the ones who were '*siempre haciendo algo*' for children, for poor people, or for the Church.²³ In communities where endemic violence prevented such local '*arreglos*' and community work, remedies to social problems such as poverty and illiteracy were longer in coming, as was a closer, collaborative relationship between the clergy and the laity.

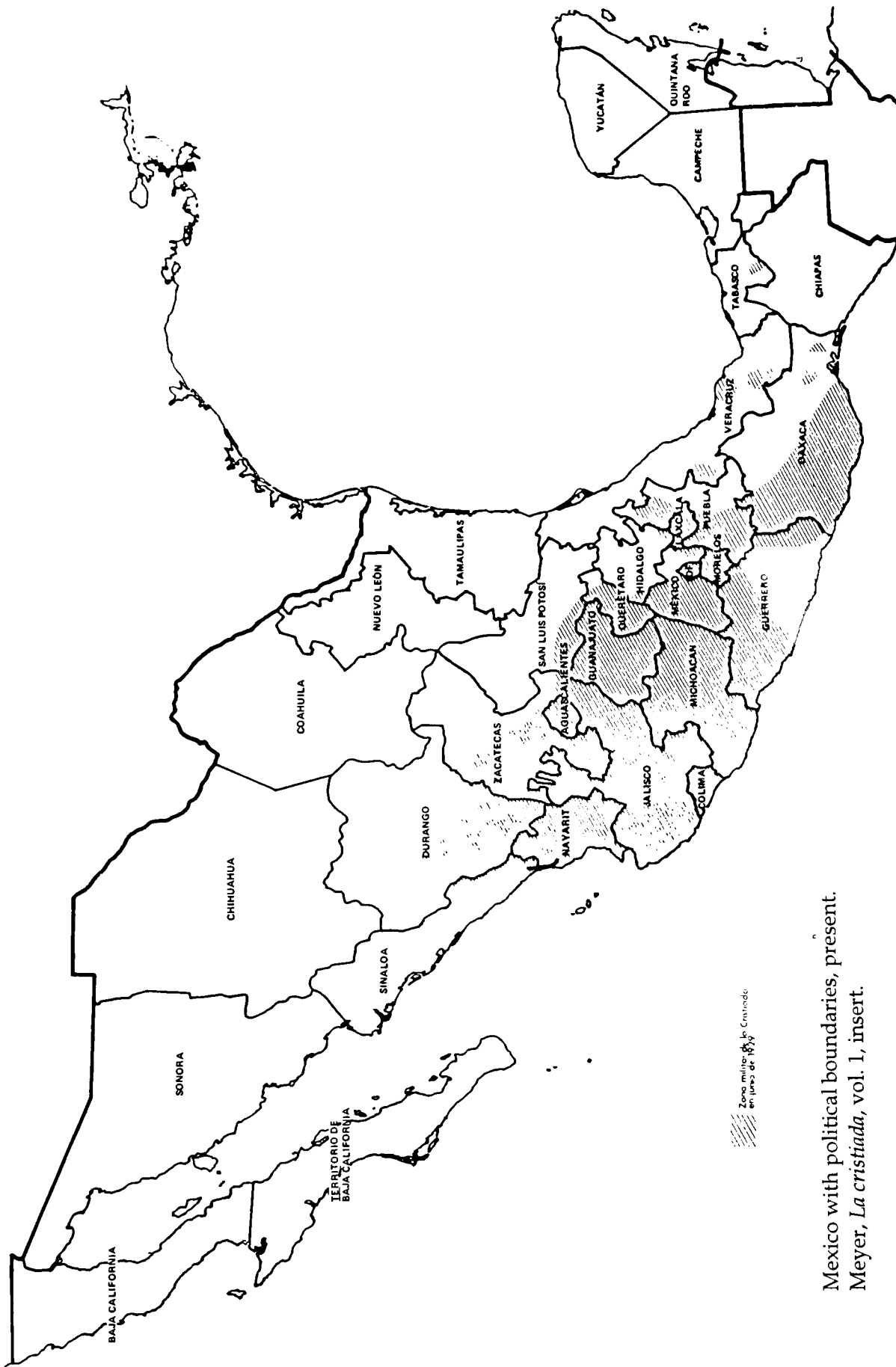
At this juncture, Catholic women activists helped join the religious and social traditions of the past to the present of postrevolutionary Mexico. They served in significant numbers in the crucial roles of catechists, volunteers, community liaisons and support for the clergy, but are often overlooked in leadership-oriented histories of the Church-state conflict. Catholic women activists of the 1930s did not raise alarm by openly challenging the hierarchical structure of their Church or its focus on their canonical leaders, although in practice they often disregarded the boundaries it set for appropriate behaviour for women. Women have not figured greatly in the histories of conflicts or negotiations between upper-level Church and state leaders, despite the fact that their sustained activity helped set Mexican society on a course different from those imagined by both Revolutionary leaders and by the Church

²³The phrase is Francisca Barba Brisio's (interview with the author, Juanacatlán, Jal., 12 Mar. 1997). Most of the people I interviewed did not recall details of the directives issued by the bishops or the UFCM's national assemblies, but they did remember and placed great importance on the activities of motivated Catholic women in their communities who organized schools, catechism programs, workshops, fundraisers and other charitable and social activities.

hierarchy. But to understand how the Church worked and survived in postrevolutionary Mexico, the roles that Catholic practice have played in postrevolutionary Mexican culture, and how Catholics supported their Church in 1930s Mexico, it is essential to review the history of Catholic women, both the prescriptions and their reality.

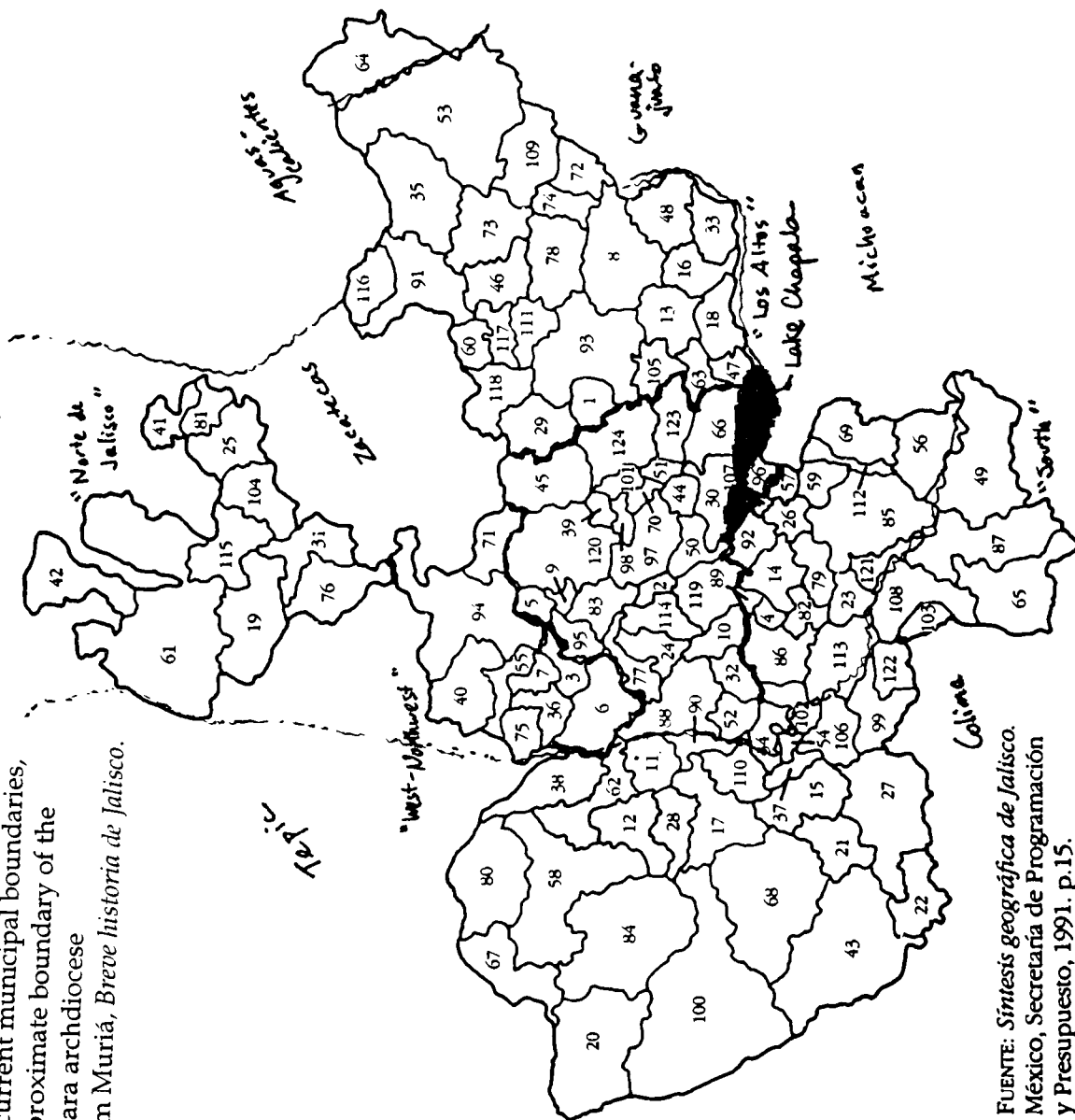
11 ☐ arch.
bened.





Mexico with political boundaries, present.
Meyer, *La cristiada*, vol. 1, insert.

Jalisco with current municipal boundaries,
With approximate boundary of the
Guadalajara archdiocese
Adapted from Murriá, *Breve historia de Jalisco*.



1. Acatic	45. Ixtlahuacán del Río	85. Tamazula de Gordiano
2. Acapulco de Juárez	46. Jalostotlán	86. Tapalpa
3. Ahualulco de Mercado	47. Jamay	87. Tecalitlán
4. Amacueca	48. Jesús María	88. Tecolotlán
5. Amatlán	49. Jilón de los Dolores	89. Techaluta
6. Ameca	50. Jocotepec	90. Tenamaxtlán
7. Antonio Escobedo	51. Juanacatlán	91. Teocaltiche
8. Arandas	52. Juchitán	92. Teocuitlán
9. Arenal El	53. Lagos de Moreno	93. Tepic
10. Atemajac de Brizuela	54. Limón El	94. Tequila
11. Atengo	55. Magdalena	95. Teuchitlán
12. Atenguillo	56. Manuel M. Diéguez	96. Tizapan el Alto
13. Atotonilco el Alto	57. Manzanilla de la Paz La	97. Tlaxiaco
14. Atzac	58. Mascota	98. Tlaquepaque
15. Autlán	59. Mazamitla	99. Toluca
16. Ayo el Chico	60. Mexicacán	100. Tonalá
17. Ayula	61. Mezquitic	101. Tonala
18. Barca La	62. Mixtlán	102. Tonayá
19. Bolaños	63. Ocotlán	103. Tonila
20. Cabo Corrientes	64. Ojuelos de Jalisco	104. Tototche
21. Casimiro Castillo	65. Pihuamo	105. Tototlán
22. Cihuatlán	66. Poncitlán	106. Tuxcacuesco
23. Ciudad Guzmán	67. Puerto Vallarta	107. Tuxtepec
24. Cocula	68. Puntacón	108. Tuxpan
25. Colón	69. Quitupan	109. Unión de San Antonio
26. Concepción de Buenos Aires	70. Salto El	110. Unión de Tula
27. Cuautlán	71. San Cristóbal de la Barranca	111. Valle de Guadalupe
28. Cuautla	72. San Diego de Alejandria	112. Valle de Juárez
29. Cuquío	73. San Juan de los Lagos	113. Venustiano Carranza
30. Chapala	74. San Julián	114. Villa Corona
31. Chimaltán	75. San Marcos	115. Villa Guernero
32. Chiquitlán	76. San Martín de Bolaños	116. Villa Hidalgo
33. Degollado	77. San Martín Hidalgo	117. Villa Obregón
34. Ejuta	78. San Miguel el Alto	118. Yahualica de González Gallo
35. Encarnación de Díaz	79. San Sebastián Ex. 9 Cantón	119. Zacoalco de Torres
36. Ezzatlán	80. San Sebastián Ex. 10 Cantón	120. Zapopan
37. Grullo El	81. Santa María de los Angeles	121. Zapotitlán
38. Guachinango	82. Sayula	122. Zapotlán de Vadillo
39. Guadalupe	83. Tala	123. Zapotlán del Rey
40. Hostotipaquillo	84. Talpa de Allende	124. Zapotlanejo
41. Huejúcar		
42. Huejuquilla el Alto		
43. Huerta La		
44. Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos		

FUENTE: *Síntesis geográfica de Jalisco*, México, Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto, 1991. p.15.

Appendix 1a - Accion Catolica Mexicana, 1945

Arch/diocese	UCM	ACJM	UFCM	JCFM	Dioc. Total
Aguascalientes	2578	1585	6343	3250	13756
Antequera/Oaxaca	1568	936	1990	985	5749
Baja California	80	30	359	252	721
Campeche	62	92	243	473	870
Chiapas	464	271	1567	908	3210
Chihuahua	165	306	2420	3010	5901
Chilapa-Chilpancingo	293	35	1555	559	2442
Colima	1568	541	4737	2803	9649
Cuernavaca	141	267	810	871	2089
Durango	1349	1271	6586	3985	13191
Guadalajara	6163	3526	23411	11190	44290
Huajuapam de Leon	575	159	1548	--	2282
Huejutla	--	--	89	250	339
Leon	1109	1083	6263	3871	12326
Mexico	5015	3501	16258	10039	34813
Monterrey	717	579	2405	2421	6122
Morelia	10567	2056	29274	13338	55235
Papantla	--	--	234	242	476
Puebla de los Angeles	1899	1851	6035	5747	15532
Queretaro	4401	1677	6866	3486	16430
Saltillo	370	230	2998	2062	5660
San Luis Potosi	3989	1618	12038	5906	23551
Sinaloa	103	--	156	585	844
Sonora	--	--	--	--	--
Tabasco	24	--	364	50	438
Tacambaro	2259	917	3696	2350	9222
Tamaulipas	214	251	1477	1181	3123
Tehuantepec	--	--	64	--	64
Tepic	1460	1027	3617	2280	8384
Tulancingo	156	144	1127	1042	2469
Veracruz/Jalapa	121	397	2119	1172	3809
Yucatan	877	473	3423	2421	7194
Zacatecas	2729	2390	10022	5491	20632
Zamora	4734	2178	17372	9090	33374
TOTAL	55750	29391	177456	102491	365088

Source: Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes geograficas*, p. 25.

Appendix 1b - ACM Membership - Comparison to diocesan population, 1945											
Arch/diocese	UCM	ACJM	UECM	JCFM	ACM Dioc. Total	Catholic Pop.	Total Pop.	% Cath in ACM	Dioc. and Relig. Priests (AP)	Inhabitants per priest (AP)	Inhabitants per ACM member
Aguascalientes	2578	1585	6343	3250	13756	257404	260000	5.3	103	2524	2528
Antequeria	1568	936	1990	985	5749	895000	900000	0.6	148	6081	5990
Baja California	80	30	359	252	721	no numerical info		--	--	--	10864
Campeche	62	92	243	473	870	--	110000	--	28	3929	6866
Chiapas *	464	271	1567	908	3210	--	600000	--	76	7895	24259
Chihuahua	165	306	2420	3010	5901	595417	624044	0.9	--	--	10399
Chilapa-Chilpancingo	293	35	1555	559	2442	no numerical info		--	--	--	7326
Colima	1568	541	4737	2803	9649	no numerical info		--	--	--	3875
Cuernavaca	141	267	810	871	2089	no numerical info		--	--	--	6090
Durango	1349	1271	6586	3985	13191	no numerical info		--	--	--	6760
Guadalajara	6163	3526	23411	11190	44290	1280000	1300000	3.5	599	2170	1918
Huajuapam de Leon	575	159	1548	--	2282	299350	300000	0.8	70	4826	4284
Huejutla	--	--	89	250	339	449000	450000	0.007	10	45000	23684
Leon	1109	1083	6263	3871	12326	554500	550000	2.2	211	2607	2392
Mexico	5015	3501	16258	10039	34813	2500000	3700000	1.4	728	5082	4870
Monterrey *	717	579	2405	2421	6122	no numerical info		--	--	--	9660
Morelia *	10567	2056	29274	13338	55235	1201448	1225993	4.6	326	3760	3424
Papantla	--	--	234	242	476	no numerical info		--	--	--	13372
Puebla de los Angeles *	1899	1851	6035	5747	15532	1240000	1260000	1.6	340	3706	3511
Queretaro	4401	1677	6866	3486	16430	no numerical info		--	--	--	3333
Saltillo	370	230	2998	2062	5660	435000		--	50	8700	10198
San Luis Potosi	3989	1618	12038	5906	23551	750000	775000	3.1	111	6982	6067
Sinaloa *	103	--	156	585	844	482281	502823	0.002	29	17339	18954
Sonora	--	--	--	--	--	120000	365000	0	30	12167	13484
Tabasco	24	--	364	50	438	no numerical info		--	--	--	77226
Tacambaro	2259	917	3696	2350	9222	212435	212743	4.3	38	5599	6562
Tamaulipas *	214	251	1477	1181	3123	431543	454255	0.7	60	7571	9513
Tehuantepec	--	--	64	--	64	120000	450000	0.0005	21	21429	20000
Tepic	1460	1027	3617	2280	8384	262000	270000	3.2	73	3699	3240
Tulancingo	156	144	1127	1042	2469	615000	620000	0.4	67	9254	5714
Veracruz/Ialapa	121	397	2119	1172	3809	1012634	1088853	0.4	134	8126	8781
Yucatan	877	473	3423	2421	7194	400000	450000	1.8	68	6618	5971
Zacatecas	2729	2390	10022	5491	20632	no numerical info		--	--	--	5449
Zamora	4734	2178	17372	9090	33374	no numerical info		--	--	--	2430
TOTAL	55750	29391	177456	102491	365088	1900558*	1965352*	1.9*	[ACJM 3.863]	--	+5000

* Galindo Mendoza takes these figures from the 1940 Census Sources Galindo Mendoza. *Puntos geograficos y estadisticos* pp. 22, 24-25; *Anuario Pontificio per l'anno 1946, passim*

Appendix 1c - Comparing the ACM to the UNS, early 1940s

Arch/diocese	UCM	ACJM	UFCM	JCFM	ACM Dioc. Total	Catholic Pop.	Total Pop.	% Cath in ACM	% Dioc. Pop. in ACM	State (not listed by dioc.)	Efectivos Sinarqui- stas 1940- 1943 (Meyer)	State Pop.	% sinar- quista*
Aguascalientes	2578	1585	6343	3250	13756	257404	260000	53	53	Aguascalientes	8600	160000	5.4
Antequer/Oaxaca	1568	936	1990	985	5749	895000	900000	0.6	0.6	Oaxaca	410	1188000	0.03*
Baja California	80	30	359	252	721	no numerical info	no numerical info	--	--	Baja California	600	130000	0.5
Campeche	62	92	243	473	870	--	110000	--	0.8	Campeche	500	89000	0.6
Chiapas	464	271	1567	908	3210	--	600000	--	0.5	Chiapas	360	660000	0.05
Chihuahua	165	306	2420	3010	5901	595417	624044	0.9	0.9	Chihuahua	4855	614000	0.8
Chilapa-Chilpancingo	293	35	1555	559	2442	no numerical info	no numerical info	--	--	Guerrero	4500	750000	0.6
Colima	1568	541	4737	2803	9649	no numerical info	no numerical info	--	--	Colima	6000	75000	8
Cuernavaca	141	267	810	871	2089	no numerical info	no numerical info	--	--	Morelos	1500	182000	0.8*
Durango	1349	1271	6586	3985	13191	no numerical info	no numerical info	--	--	Durango	4915	472000	1
Guadalajara	6163	3526	23411	11190	44290	1280000	1300000	3.5	3.4	Jalisco	20695	1400000	1.5
Huapam de Leon	575	159	1548	--	2282	299350	300000	0.8	0.8	(Oax.)			
Huejutla	--	--	89	250	339	449000	450000	0.08	0.08	(Hgo., Ver.)			
Leon	1109	1083	6263	3871	12326	554500	550000	2.2	2.2	Guanajuato	75000	1000000	7.5
Mexico	5015	3501	16258	10039	34813	2500000	3700000	1.4	0.9	Mexico	1000	1100000	0.09
Monterrey	717	579	2405	2421	6122	no numerical info	no numerical info	--	--	DF	1000	1749000	0.06
Morelia	10567	2056	29274	13338	55235	1201448	1225993	4.6	4.5	Nuevo Leon	600	525000	0.1*
Papantla	--	--	234	242	476	no numerical info	no numerical info	--	--	Michoacan	85000	1166000	7.3
Puebla de los Angeles	1899	1851	6035	5747	15532	1240000	1260000	1.3	1.2	(Ver.)			
Queretaro	4401	1677	6866	3486	16430	no numerical info	no numerical info	--	--	Puebla	16000	1286000	1.5 1.2**
Saltillo	370	230	2998	2062	5660		435000	--	--	Flaxcala	2000	220000	1.0 9**
San Luis Potosi	3989	1618	12038	5906	23551	750000	775000	3.1	3	Queretaro	25000	243500	10.0
Sinaloa	103	--	156	585	844	482281	502823	0.002	0.2	Coahuila	4500	543000	0.83*
Sonora	--	--	--	--	--	120000	365000	0	0.2	San Luis Potosi	20000	668800	3.0
Tabasco	24	--	364	50	438	no numerical info	no numerical info	--	--	Sinaloa	2000	486000	0.4*
Tacambaro	2259	917	3696	2350	9222	212435	212743	4.3	4.3	Sonora	1200	363800	0.3*
										Tabasco	1000	285000	0.4*
										(Mich.)			

Arch/diocese	UCM	ACJM	UFCM	JCFM	ACM Dioc. Total	Catholic Pop.	Total Pop.	% Cath in ACM	% Dioc. Pop. in ACM	State (not listed by dioc.)	Efectivos Sinarqui- stas 1940- 1943 (Meyer)	State Pop.	% sinar- quista *
Tamaulipas	214	251	1477	1181	3123	431543	454255	0.7	0.7	Tamaulipas	2900	462000	0.6*
Lehuantepec	--	--	64	--	64	120000	450000	0.0005	0.0001	(Oax.)			
Tepic	1460	1027	3617	2280	8384	262000	270000	3.2	3.1	Nayarit	2000	213000	0.9
Tulancingo	156	144	1127	1042	2469	615000	620000	0.4	0.4	Hidalgo	2500	750000	0.3
Veracruz/Jalapa	121	397	2119	1172	3809	1012634	1088853	0.4	0.3	Veracruz	3000	1610000	0.2*
Yucatan	877	473	3423	2421	7194	400000	450000	1.8	1.6	Yucatan	1400	416000	0.3*
Zacatecas	2729	2390	10022	5491	20632	no numerical info	--	--	--	Zacatecas	8330	553000	1.5
Zamora	4734	2178	17372	9090	33374	no numerical info	--	--	--	(Mich.)			
TOTAL	55750	29391	177456	102491	365088	19005585	19653552^	1.9^	1.9	USA ***	3000	--	
										TOTAL	310365	19449290	1.6

Diocesan boundaries and state boundaries differ (see maps): a rough pairing has been made to provide some comparability

* % not given by J Meyer

** my calculations differ

***4 committees in Los Angeles and Bakersfield, Cal. and El Paso and Mc Allen, Tex., but also in Ill., Ind. and N. M.
^ total from Galindo Mendoza

Sources: *Anuario Pontificio per l'anno 1946*, *passim*; Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes geograficos*, p. 25; Meyer, *El Sinarquismo*, p. 47.

Appendix 2 - UFCM Membership, 1932-1940 and 1945

Comite Diocesano (fd.)	1932	%tot	1934*	%tot	1935	%tot	1936	%tot	1937	%tot	1938	%tot	1940	%tot	1945	%tot
Aguascalientes	613	4.6	4479	9.1	3640	6.9	4590	6.8	5009	5.7	5636	4.9	4331	2.9	6343	3.6
Baja California (1940)													174	0.1	349	0.2
Campeche (1938)											60	>0.1	128	0.1	243	0.1
Chihuahua (1934)			1009	2	n.g.	--	n.g.	--	1493	1.7	1748	1.5	1197	0.8	2420	1.4
Chilapa [Chilpancingo] (1934)			se establece	--	12	>0.1	n.g.	--	492	0.6	119	0.1	781	0.5	1555	0.9
Chiapas	se establece	--	graves dificultades	--	30	>0.1	n.g.	--	n.g.	--	238	0.2	1139	0.8	1567	0.9
Colima (1934)			786	1.6	1155	2.2	1830	2.7	1976	2.3	2901	2.5	3038	2.0	4737	2.7
Cuernavaca (1935)					145	0.3	191	0.3	580	0.7	773	0.7	1089	0.7	810	0.5
Durango	389	2.8	2564	5.2	1468	2.8	2216	3.3	2610	3	3752	3.3	4928	3.3	6586	3.7
Guadalajara	369	2.7	5269	10.7	8821	16.8	9553	14.1	11490	13.1	16229	14.1	20014	13.4	23411	13.2
Huajuapam de Leon			142	0.3	110	0.2	192	0.3	445	0.5	605	0.5	915	0.6	1548	0.9
Huejutla			132	0.3	n.g.	--	n.g.	--	126	>0.1	134	0.1	148	0.1	89	0.1
Leon	1625	12.1	1872	3.8	2668	5.1	3425	5.1	3204	3.7	4365	3.8	5302	3.5	6263	3.5
Merida [Yucatan]	265	2.0	1720	3.5	1541	2.9	2093	3.1	2212	2.5	2371	2.1	2869	1.9	3423	1.9
Mexico	2842	21.1	5362	10.9	7993	15.2	9409	13.9	12199	13.9	12029	10.5	14870	9.9	16258	9.2
Monterrey	978	7.3	1747	3.5	1708	3.3	1766	2.6	2139	2.4	2146	1.9	2278	1.5	2405	1.4
Morelia	4290	31.9	9359	19	8839	16.8	11450	16.9	15870	18.1	22945	20.0	29733	20.0	29274	16.4
Oaxaca [Antequera]	316	2.3	1057	2.1	549	1.0	959	1.4	940	1.0	1175	1.0	2039	1.4	1990	1.1
Puebla	181	1.3	3319	6.7	2089	4.0	2440	3.6	3218	3.7	3790	3.3	5464	3.7	6035	3.4
Queretaro	269	2.0	433	0.9	454	0.9	1025	1.5	2142	2.4	3285	2.9	5548	3.7	6886	3.9
Saltillo	404	3.0	897	1.8	489	0.9	531	0.8	946	1.1	1143	1.0	1954	1.3	2998	1.7
San Luis Potosi	460	3.4	2599	5.3	4805	9.2	5825	8.6	6770	7.7	8613	7.5	11173	7.5	12038	6.8
Sinaloa (1937)									30	>0.1	105	0.1	180	0.1	156	0.1
Sonora																
Tabasco (1940)													58	>0.1	364	0.2
Tacambaro (1936)							305	0.5	499	0.6	1105	1.0	1871	1.3	3696	2.1
Tampico/Tamulipas* (1936)							270	0.4	495	0.6	391	0.3	1007	0.7	1477	0.8
Tehuantepec (1938)											35	>0.1	29	>0.1	64	>0.1
Tepic (1934)			se establece	--	n.g.	--	581	0.9	809	0.9	1437	1.3	2906	1.9	3617	2.0
Tezuitlan [Papantla] (1940)													150	0.1	234	0.1
Tulancingo (1935)					35	>0.1	230	0.3	463	0.5	738	0.6	1111	0.7	1127	0.6

Appendix 3 - 1940 statistics (Jalisco as compared to all Mexico and several states)

Population, 1930	Mexico	% tot.	Jalisco	% tot.	Mexico, DF	% tot.	Puebla	% tot.	Sonora	% tot.	Veracruz	% tot.
Total	16552722	100.0	1255346	7.6	1229576	7.4	1150425	7.0	316271	1.9	1337293	8.1
Men	8119004	100.0	603302	7.4	559372	6.8	559110	6.9	159728	2.0	685143	8.4
Women	8433718	100.0	652044	7.7	670204	7.9	591315	7.0	156543	1.9	692150	8.2

Population, 1940	Mexico	% tot.	Jalisco	% tot.	Mexico, DF	% tot.	Puebla	% tot.	Sonora	% tot.	Veracruz	% tot.
Total	19653552	100.0	1418328	7.2	1757530	8.9	1294560	6.6	363976	1.9	1619338	8.2
Men	9695787	100.0	686897	7.1	807575	8.3	635792	6.6	181232	1.9	806505	8.3
Women	9957765	100.0	731413	7.3	949955	9.5	658828	6.6	182744	1.8	812833	8.5

Religion, 1940	Mexico	%pe*	Jalisco	%pe	Mexico, DF	%pe	Puebla	%pe	Sonora	%pe	Veracruz	%pe
Catholic	18977585	96.6	1402827	98.9	1675438	95.3	1273047	98.3	355645	97.7	1508998	93.2
Men	9326547	96.2	678213	98.7	763218	94.5	624295	98.2	176411	97.3	746047	92.5
Women	9651038	96.9	724614	99.0	912220	96.0	648752	98.5	179234	98.0	762951	93.4
Protestant	177954	0.9	2203	0.2	29124	1.7	9482	0.7	2901	0.8	16250	1.0
Men	88408	0.9	1076	0.2	13815	1.7	4834	0.8	1408	0.8	8084	1.0
Women	89546	0.9	1127	0.2	15309	1.6	4648	0.7	1493	0.8	8166	1.0
None	443671	2.3	12012	0.9	37919	2.2	10582	1.0	5348	1.5	90031	5.5
Men	251161	2.6	6924	1.0	22706	2.8	5762	1.0	3235	1.8	50053	6.2
Women	192510	1.9	5088	0.7	15213	1.6	4820	1.0	2113	1.2	39978	4.9
Other**	54342	negl	1268	negl	15049	0.9	1509	0.1	282	0.1	4059	0.3
Men	29671	negl	684	negl	7836	0.9	901	0.1	178	0.1	2321	0.3
Women	24671	negl	584	negl	7213	0.8	617	0.1	104	0.1	1735	0.2

(*Percent of the population of the entity)

(**Buddhist, Jewish, Other, Not Known)

Literacy, 1930	Mexico	%pe>6*	Jalisco	%pe>6	Mexico, DF	%pe>6	Puebla	%pe>6	Sonora	%pe>6	Veracruz	%pe>6
Pop. over 6 yrs	13542305	100.0	1053177	100.0	1046735	100.0	936891	100.0	263937	100.0	1082648	100.0
Men	6591853	48.6	500704	47.5	466872	44.6	450801	48.1	133336	50.5	535497	49.5
Women	6950452	51.3	552473	57.5	579863	55.4	486090	51.9	130601	49.5	547151	50.5
Can read, write	4525035	33.4	396106	37.6	702459	67.1	242569	25.9	134595	51.0	310988	28.7
Men/tot. men	2460614	37.3	192861	38.5	344084	73.7	147550	32.7	69075	51.8	182803	34.1
Women/tot. women	2064421	29.7	203245	36.7	358375	61.8	95019	19.5	65520	48.7	128185	23.4
Read only	261384	1.9	26836	2.5	16979	1.6	17489	1.9	3373	1.3	18418	1.7
Men/tot. men	119740	1.8	9846	2.0	4590	0.9	9582	2.3	1245	0.9	9800	1.8
Women/tot. women	141644	2	16990	3.1	12389	2.1	7907	1.6	2128	1.6	8618	1.6
Cannot read, write	6962517	51.8	495592	47.1	215597	20.6	551008	58.8	91506	34.7	628066	58.0
Men/tot. men	3100946	47.0	229971	45.9	62267	13.3	230147	51.1	45651	34.2	277965	51.9
Women/tot. women	3861561	55.6	265621	48.1	153330	26.4	320861	66.0	45855	35.1	350101	64.0

Literacy, 1940	Mexico	%pe>6	Jalisco	%pe>6	Mexico, DF	%pe>6	Puebla*	%pe>6	Sonora	%pe>6	Veracruz	%pe>6
Pop. over 6 yrs	16220316	100.0	1187207	100.0	1506377	100.0	1068189	100.0	302871	100.0	1324693	100.0
Men	7955056	49.0	569511	47.9	681068	45.2	520961	48.7	150555	49.7	656859	49.6
Women	8265260	50.9	617696	52.0	825309	54.8	547228	51.2	152316	50.3	667834	50.4
Can read, write	6809241	41.9	564466	47.5	1115315	74.0	339562	31.8	187669	62.0	476237	36.0
Men/tot. men	3600917	45.3	270463	47.5	543222	79.8	200446	38.5	92305	61.3	269417	41.0
Women/tot. women	3208324	38.8	294003	47.5	572093	69.3	139116	25.4	95364	62.6	206820	31.0
Read only	454263	2.8	33449	2.8	64277	4.3	24338	2.3	6275	2.1	30963	2.3
Men/tot. men	225802	2.8	14811	2.6	27171	4.0	13237	2.5	3014	2.0	16373	2.5
Women/tot. women	228451	2.8	18638	3.0	37106	4.5	11101	2.0	3261	2.1	14590	2.2
Cannot read, write	8956812	55.2	589292	49.6	326785	21.7	704289	65.9	108927	36.0	817493	61.7
Men/tot. men	4128337	51.9	284237	49.9	110675	16.3	307278	60.0	55236	36.7	371069	56.4
Women/tot. women	4828475	58.4	305055	49.4	216110	26.2	397011	72.5	53691	35.2	446424	66.8

(*Percent of the population of the entity over 6)

Source: *Sexto Censo de Poblacion, 1940: Resumen General*, pp. 7-8 and 44-45; undercounts apparent for 1930 literacy.

Appendix 3, continued - 1940s statistics (Jalisco as compared to all Mexico and several states)

Clergy, 1945	Mexico	%tot	Guadalajara	%tot	A. Mexico	%tot	Puebla	%tot	Sonora	%tot	Veracruz	%tot
Cath. pop.*	18977585	100.0	1402827	7.4	1675438	8.8	1273047	6.7	355645	1.9	1508998	8.0
Priests	3683	100.0	601	16.3	631	17.1	336	9.1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Seminarians	4251	100.0	930	21.8	358	8.4	209	5.0	54	1.3	120	2.8

* from the 1940 census

ACM, 1945	Mexico	%tot	Guadalajara	%tot	A. Mexico	%tot	Puebla	%tot	Sonora	%tot	Veracruz	%tot
UCM	55750	100.0	6163	11.1	5015	9.0	1899	3.4	--	--	121	0.2
ACJM	29391	100.0	3526	12.0	3501	11.9	1851	6.3	--	--	397	1.4
UFCM	177456	100.0	23411	13.2	16258	9.2	6035	3.4	--	--	2119	1.2
JCFM	102491	100.0	11190	11.0	10039	9.8	5747	5.6	--	--	1172	1.1
TOTAL	365088	100.0	44290	12.1	34813	9.5	15532	4.3	--	--	3809	1.0

Source: Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes geograficos*, pp 22, 24-25, 32, 45

UFCM	Mexico	%tot	Guadalajara	%tot	A. Mexico	%tot	Puebla	%tot	Sonora	%tot	Veracruz	%tot
1932	13465	100.0	369	2.7	2842	21.1	181	1.3	--	--	--	--
1940	177456	100.0	20014	11.3	14870	8.4	5464	3.1	--	--	1477	0.8

Sources: UFCM-Ibero. I Asamblea General (1932), II Asamblea General (1934), III Asamblea General (1936), IV Asamblea General (1938), V Asamblea General (1940)

School-age children, 1930

	boys, 5-9	girls, 5-9	total, 5-9	boys, 10-14	girls, 10-14	total, 10-14
Mexico	1168736	1124529	2293265	882039	804025	1686064
Jalisco	86568	83968	170536	74437	69881	144318

School-age children, 1940

	boys, 5-9	girls, 5-9	total, 5-9	boys, 10-14	girls, 10-14	total, 10-14
Mexico	1441081	1387439	2828520	1246808	1155925	2402753
Jalisco	95240	92807	188407	87303	83640	170943

1930	Mexico	%pop	Jalisco	%pop
boys, 5-9	1168736		86568	
girls, 5-9	1124529		83968	
total, 5-9	2293265		170536	
boys, 10-14	882039		74437	
girls, 10-14	804025		69881	
total, 10-14	1686064		144318	
Total, 5-14	3979329	24	314854	25

1940	Mexico	%pop	Jalisco	%pop
boys, 5-9	1441081		95240	
girls, 5-9	1387439		92807	
total, 5-9	2828520		188407	
boys, 10-14	1246808		87303	
girls, 10-14	1155925		83640	
total, 10-14	2402753		170943	
Total, 5-14	5231273	26	359350	25

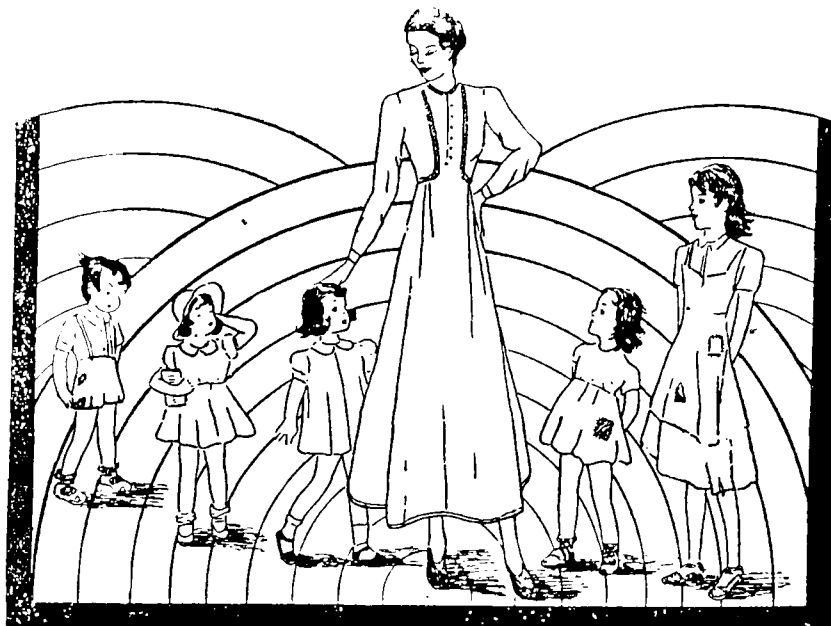
Appendix 4 - Population of Selected Municipios, Jalisco, 1940

Jalisco	1418310
CENTER	
Ahualulco de Mercado	10463
Guadalajara	236557
Ixtlahuacan de los Membrillos	5466
Poncitlan (Atotonilquillo)	11225
Tizapan el Alto	9133
(San Pedro) Tlaquepaque	20672
Tonala	9146
SOUTHERN JALISCO	
Ciudad Guzman	23144
Sayula	13189
Tamazula de Gordiano	22892
Venustiano Carranza (San Gabriel)	11311
Zapotiltic	11389
WEST-NORTHWEST	
Hostotipaquillo	9337
San Sebastian (ex-10o Canton)	6575
NORTE DE JALISCO	
Bolanos	3553
Chimaltitlan	2523
Cihuatlan	5694
Colotlan	11352
Huejucar	6478
Huejuquilla el Alto	6815
Mezquitic	5487
San Martin de Bolanos	3996
Santa Maria de los Angeles	5658
Totatiche	6509
Villa Guerrero	4619
LOS ALTOS	
Arandas	28436
Atotonilco el Alto	22989
Atoyac	8236
Ayo el Chico	16024
La Barca	27716
Cocula	15777
Encarnacion de Diaz	20955
Jalostotitlan	15612
Lagos de Moreno	37097
Mexicacan	7397
Ocotlan	20728
San Diego de Alejandria	5056
San Juan de los Lagos	18244
San Julian	4631
San Miguel el Alto	15617
Teocaltiche	21533
Tepatitlan de Morelos	39614

Source: Secretaria de la Economia Nacional, Direccion de Estadistica, *Sexto Censo General de Poblacion de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, 6 de Marzo de 1940* (Mexico, 1942), pp.19-21.

A C C I O N F E M E N I N A

Pequeño Curso de Pedagogía Catequística



LA
Granja
DE
Santa Rosa



The UFCM's projects, as they saw them. AF, V, 20 (Sept. 1940) p. 10 and p. 12.



From the ILF-AC, Carpeta 'Educación'
(photograph taken by the author).

SUBLEVANDO PUEBLOS CATOLICAMENTE.



El fraile "cabecilla". — ¡Hijos míos!, vamos a tomar las armas en contra del Gobierno, porque quiere aplicarnos la Ley de cultos, y porque ayuda a los campesinos y a los obreros

Los rancheros: — No, señor cura, mejor váyase a gastar los diezmos en una parranda y déjenos tranquilos, pues nos vamos a hacer agraristas, porque los dos reales que nos paga el hacendado no nos ajustan para comer

Caricatura publicada en El Faro, órgano de la Liga Anticlerical y Antirreligiosa Guzmanense, el 22 de julio de 1934. (Archivo IES/U. de G.)

From Barbosa Guzmán, *La Iglesia y el gobierno civil*, p. 497.

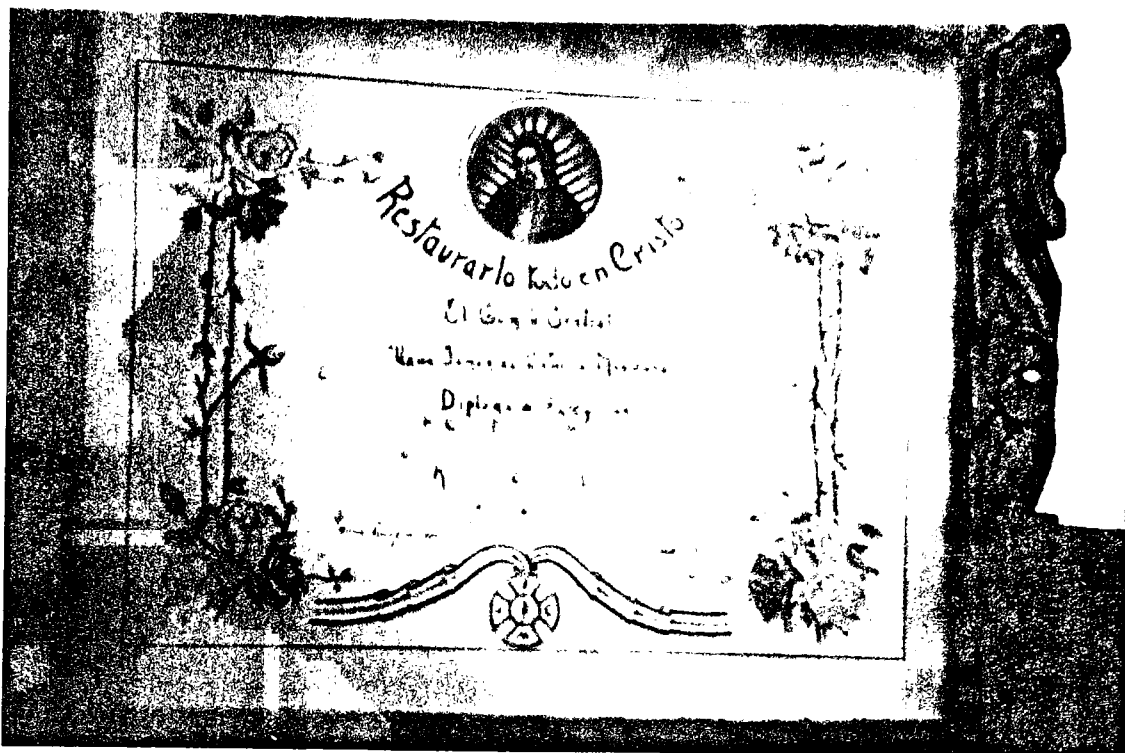


Sección de Aspirantes de la J.C.F.M. Zapotiltic, Jal. 1938



Comisión de Accmodo en el Templo de la U.F.C.M. Zapotiltic, Jal. 1938

The UFCM, Then and Now



The Guadalajara UFCM Comité Diocesano Diploma de Agregación, 1940
(*photograph taken by the author*)

The Offices of the Colima UFCM Comité Diocesano, 1997
(*photograph taken by the author*)



Bibliography

Manuscript Sources:

Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico:

Archivo de la Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana, Comité Diocesano de Guadalajara (UFCM-Guad).

Archivo Histórico del Estado de Jalisco (AHJ).

Instituto Libre de Filosofía, Archivo Cristero (ILF-AC).

Parroquia del Dulce Nombre de Jesús. *Libro de Gobierno* #2, 12 Jan. 1864-17 Aug. 1960.

Mexico City, Mexico:

Archivo del Secretariado Social Mexicano (SSM).

Archivo de la Palabra, Proyecto Historia Oral del Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, con el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (PHO).

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico (AGN).

Ramo Presidentes (RP): Fondos Emilio Portes Gil (EPG), Pascual Ortiz Rubio (POR), Abelardo L. Rodríguez (ALR) and Lázaro Cárdenas (LC).

Ramo Gobernación/Dirección Nacional de Gobierno (GOB).

Archivo Histórico, Acervo Histórico, Universidad Iberoamericana.
Fondo Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana (UFCM-Ibero).

Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Educación Pública (AHSEP).

Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México (AHAM).

Archivo Pascual Díaz Barreto (PDB).

Archivo Luis María Martínez (LMM).

Centro de Estudios de la Universidad, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Fondo Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra (MPV).

Fideocomiso Plutarco Elías Calles y Fernando Torreblanca, Mexico City, Mexico (PEC/FT).

Archivo General Joaquín Amaro, Archivos Fanáticos Católicos (JA/AFC).

Mexico/The Netherlands:

Centro Internacional de Documentación/ InterDocumentation Company,
Cuernavaca, Mexico/Leiden, the Netherlands.

Comité Diocesano de Guanajuato de la UFCM. *Segunda Asamblea Diocesana*,
León, Gto., 14-16 Oct. 1935 (fiche #2354).

Pedro Vera y Zuria, Archbishop of Puebla, 1937. *Synodus Diocesana Tertia Angelopolitana*. 13-15 de enero de 1937. Puebla: La Enseñanza, S.A., 1937. (Cuernavaca/ InterDocumentation Company (fiche #2228.)
UFCM. *V Asamblea General de la UFCM*, Oct. 1940 (fiche #2347).
UFCM. *VII Asamblea General de la UFCM: La defensa del hogar* (fiche # 2336).

Washington, DC, USA:

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, USA.
United States Department of State. *Records Relating to the Internal Affairs of Mexico: Mexico, 1930-1939*. (USDOS).
United States War Department, *Military Intelligence Reports: Mexico, 1919-1940*. (USMIL).

Periodicals:

Acción Femenina (AF), Mexico City, 1933-1940 and 1980-1997.
Boletín Eclesiástico de la Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara (BEG), Guadalajara, Jalisco, 1930-1935, 1937-1940.
Christus, Mexico City, 1935-1940.
David, Mexico City 1952-1968.
El Informador de las Brigadas Femeninas de Santa Juana de Arco (IBFSJA), Mexico City, 1930-1931.
New York Times (NYT), New York City, 1929-1941.

Interviews with the author:

Alejandro Gil, María del Rosario (b. 1927), Guadalajara, Jal., 23 Jun. 1997
Ardila, Consuelo, RSCJ (b. 1906), Guadalajara, Jal., 16 Nov. 1996
Ayala, Pilar (b. 1922), Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 18 Jun. 1997.
Barba Brisio, María Francisca (b. 1929), Juanacatlán, Jal., 12 Mar. 1997.
Corona Sánchez, Porfiria (b. 1924), Tizapán el Alto, Jal., 14 Mar. 1997.
Corona, Ramón (b. 1898), Tizapán el Alto, 14 Mar. 1997.
Díaz [Solís], María Guadalupe (b.1923), Tizapán el Alto, Jal., 14 Mar. 1997.
Durán Salas, María Ascensión (b. 1909), Guadalajara, Jal., 20 Jun. 1997.
Flores de Sandoval, Estela (b. 1934), Guadalajara, Jal., 14 Jun. 1997.
Flores Gollaz, Jesús (b. 1932), Guadalajara, Jal., 28 Apr: 1997.
Hernández Ruíz, Francisca (b. 1919?), Guadalajara, Jal., 26 Jun. 1997
Hernández Rubio, Benjamín (b. 1914), Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 18 Jun. 1997.
Hidalgo, Ezequiel (b. 1916), Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 19 Jun. 1997.
León, Roberto (b. 1917), Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 18 Jun. 1997.
León Reynada de Hernández, Graciela (b. 1928), Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 18 Jun. 1997
Luna Arias de Hernández, Lucila (b. 1916), Guadalajara, Jal., 20 Jun. 1997.
Mejía Sordia, Lucila ((b. 1920), Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 18 Jun. 1997.
Michel de Barba, Teresa (b. 1912), Guadalajara, Jal., 27 May 1997
Ortiz [Preciado] de Salazar, María del Rosario (b. 1927), Guadalajara, Jal., 7 May 1997.
Preciado de Ortiz, María (b. 1893), Guadalajara, Jal. 22 May 1997

Saldívar, Alfredo (b. 1917), Mexico City, 10 Apr. 1997
 Saldívar, María Luisa, RSCJ (b. 1914), Guadalajara, Jal., 11 Mar. 1997.
 Sandoval Godoy, Salvador (b. 1929), 14 Jun. 1997, Guadalajara, Jal.
 Solano Vega, María del Carmen (b. 1917), Guadalajara, Jal., 27 May and 13 Jun. 1997.
 Solís de Díaz, Elpidia (b. 1908), Tizapán el Alto, Jal., 14 Mar. 1997.
 Trujillo Villa, Clementina (b. 1906), Guadalajara, Jal., 13 May 1997.
 Trujillo Villa, María del Consuelo (b. 1917), Guadalajara, Jal., 10 Jun. 1997
 Váldez de León, María Guadalupe (b. 1917), Guadalajara, Jal., 5 Jun. 1997.
 Vallarta Loreto, Zenon (b. 1934), Hostotipaquillo, Jal., 19 Jun. 1997.

Archived Interviews:

Del Valle, Sofía, interviews with Alicia Olivera de Bonfil, Mexico City, 3 Nov. 1972 and 14 Feb. 1973 (PHO/4/11).
 García Ruíz, Ramón, interviews with Julia Tuñón, 18, 20 and 28 Oct., 17 and 21 Nov. 1975 and 20 Jan. 1976, Guadalajara, Jal. (PHO/6/1).
 Ramírez, Margarito, interview with Julia Tuñón, 2 and 7 Sept. 1976, Guadalajara, Jal. (PHO/6/11).

Printed Sources:

Primary Sources:

- Acción Católica Colombiana. 1938. *El Apostolado de la Juventud Femenina: Temas tratados en la Segunda Semana Nacional de Estudios de la Juventud Católica Femenina verificada en la ciudad de Cali*. Bogotá, Editorial Aguila.
- Annuario Pontificio per l'Anno 1946*. 1946. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- Arzobispado de Guadalajara. *Estatutos del Primer Sínodo Diocesano del Arzobispado de Guadalajara de la República de México*, Guadalajara: Imprenta Font, 1938.
- Azpiazú, Joaquín, SJ. 1930. *Manual de la Acción Católica*, Madrid: Editorial 'Razón y Fe.'
- Beteta, Ramón . 1951. *Pensamiento y Dinámica de la Revolución Mexicana*. Mexico: Editorial Mexico Nuevo (2d ed.).
- ed. 1935. *Programa económico y social de Mexico (una controversia)* . Mexico City: n.p.
- Camacho, Ramiro. 1940. *¿Son ladrones los Agraristas? Conferencia dictada por su autor en la Quinta Asamblea Nacional de la Acción Católica Mexicana, celebrada en México, DF, del 15 al 18 de agosto de 1940*. Guadalajara, n.p.
- Camberos Vizcaíno, Vicente. 1966. *Francisco el Grande: Mons.Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, Biografía*, 2 vols., México: Editorial Jus.

- Campos, Anthony John, ed. 1970. *Mexican Folk Tales*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Cardona, Patricia. 1980. 'Entendido como hasta ahora, la vida religiosa "no tiene destino" ni significación histórica,' *unomásuno* (17 Mar 1980), p. 16
- , 1980. 'La Iglesia ha sido "castigada por la realidad"; debe rehacerse la vocación "a partir del pobre",' *unomásuno*, (19 Mar 1980), p. 19.
- Carranza, Venustiano. 1963 [1915]. 'Decreto sobre matrimonio y divorcio,' 29 Jan. 1915, in Isidro de Fabela, dir., *Documentos Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana*, vol. IV, *El Plan de Guadalupe*. Mexico City and Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Carreño, Alberto María, SJ. 1936. *El Excmo. y Rmo. Sr. Dr. D. Pascual Díaz y Barreto, Arzobispo de México, Homenajes Postumos*. Mexico: Ediciones Victoria.
- Castillo y Piña, José. 1934. *Cuestiones Sociales*. Mexico: Impresores, S.A.
- 'Catholic Women of Mexico Far Braver than Men: Lead in Public Prayers While Husbands Fear,' *The Register*, 6 May 1928, pp. 1 and 3.
- Civardi, Luigi, Msgr. 1935. *A Manual of Catholic Action*. Trans. C.C. Martindale, SJ. London: Sheed and Ward.
- Contreras, María Isabel. 1940. *La Parroquia de Zapotiltic y la Congregación de la Doctrina Cristiana*. Querétaro: Imprenta 'Paulín.'
- Dávila Garibi, J. Ignacio. 1977. *Apuntes para la historia de la Iglesia en Guadalajara*. 5 vols. Mexico: Ed. Libros de México.
- , ed. 1936. *Homenaje a la memoria del Excmo. y Revmo. Sr. Dr. y Mtro. D. Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, Arzobispo de Guadalajara*, Guadalajara: Imprenta Font.
- Dávila Garibi, J. Ignacio and Salvador Chávez Hayhoe. 1920. *Colección de Documentos Relativos a la Cuestión Religiosa En Jalisco*. 2 vols. Guadalajara: Litografía y Encuadernación de J.M Yguíñez.
- Elías, Arturo M. 1927. *The Mexican People and the Catholic Church*. New York: Arturo M. Elías.
- Fazio, Carlos. 1980. 'Mexican Woman Theologian Evaluates Role of Religious,' *LatinAmerica Press*, XII, 17 (24 Apr. 1980), p. 1.
- Fisher, Lillian Estelle. 1942. 'The Influence of the Present Mexican Revolution upon the Status of Women.' *Hispanic American Historical Review* XXII (Feb. 1942), pp. 211-228.
- Fitzsimons, John and Paul McGuire, eds. 1939. *Restoring All Things: A Guide to Catholic Action*. London: Sheed and Ward.

- Galindo Mendoza, Alfredo, M.Sp.S. 1945. *Apuntes geográficos y estadísticos de la Iglesia Católica en México*. Mexico City: Administración de la Revista 'La Cruz.'
- Gamble, Anna Dill. 1936. *An Introduction to Mexico*. Washington, DC: Catholic Association for International Peace.
- González Flores, Anacleto. 1954 [1921]. *La Cuestión Religiosa en Jalisco*, Mexico City: Ed. Jus (2d ed.).
- Junta Nacional de la Acción Católica. 1993. *La Acción Católica Mexicana Hoy*. México, DF: Comisión de Formación de la Junta Nacional de la ACM.
- Mastretta, Angeles. 1997. *Tear this Heart Out*. Trans. Margaret Sayers Peden. New York, Riverhead Books (originally published in Spanish as *Arráncame la vida*, in English as *Mexican Bolero*).
- 'Mexicano: Esta es tu Constitución.' 1968. México: Cámara de Diputados del H. Congreso de la Unión, XLVII Legislatura, 1968.
- Mejía, María Consuelo, et. al. 1996. *Somos Iglesia*. Mexico City: Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir, A.C.
- Millan, Verna Carleton . 1939. *Mexico Reborn*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- National Catholic Welfare Conference. 1936. 'Annual Report 1936' (Washington, DC: privately printed by the NCWC Administrative Board).
- National Catholic Welfare Conference, Bureau of Immigration, 'In the Field of Immigration,' *Catholic Action* (Feb. 1933), pp. 26-27.
- Parsons, Wilfrid, SJ. 1936. *Mexican Martyrdom*. New York: Macmillan..
- Pattee, Richard. 1944. *The Catholic Revival in Mexico*. Washington, DC: Catholic Association for International Peace.
- Portes Gil, Emilio. 1934. *La lucha entre el poder civil y el clero*. Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación.
- , 1934. *The Conflict between the Civil Power and the Clergy* Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación.
- , 1941. *Quince años de la política mexicana* Mexico City: Ediciones Botas (2d. ed).
- Robe, Stanley L. 1970. *Mexican Tales and Legends from Los Altos: Introduction, Classification and Notes*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Robles de Mendoza, Margarita. 1931. *La evolución de la mujer en Mexico* Mexico City: Imprenta Galas.
- Ruíz y Flores, Leopoldo. 1942. *Recuerdo de recuerdos* . Mexico City: Buena Prensa.

- Rulfo, Juan. 1996 [1953]. *El llano en llamas*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica (19th. ed.).
- Secretaría de la Economía Nacional, Dirección de Estadística. 1942. *Sexto Censo General de la Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, 6 de Marzo de 1942, Población Municipal*. Mexico.
- , 1942. *Sexto Censo de Población, 1940: Resumen General*. Mexico.
- Sosa, Francisco. 1962. *El Episcopado Mexicano. Biografía de los Ilmos Señores Arzobispos de México, Desde la Época Colonial hasta Nuestros Días*. 2 vols. Mexico: Editorial Jus.
- Streit, Karl, S.V.D. 1929 [2d ed.]. *Catholic World Atlas: containing a geographical and statistical description with maps of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, with historical and ethnographical notices*. New York City: Society for the Propagation of the Faith (Paderborn, Germany: St Boniface Press, 1928).
- Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas. 1922. *Primer Congreso Nacional de la Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas, Noviembre de 1922*. Tlalpan, D.F.: Imprento del Asilo 'Patricio Saenz.'
- Unión Nacional de Padres de Familia. n.d. 'Datos Históricos Sobre la UNPF en Jalisco' (photocopied pamphlet distributed by the UNPF offices in Guadalajara).
- Urzúa Orozco, Aida y Gilberto Hernández Z., investigación, compilación y notas. 1988. *Jalisco: Testimonio de sus Gobernantes. Tomo III: 1912-1939*. Guadalajara: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaría General, Unidad Editorial.
- Yañez, Agustín. 1967 [1947]. *Al filo del agua*. México: Editorial Porrúa (7th ed.).

Secondary Sources:

- Abell, Aaron I. 1960. *American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865-1950*. Garden City, NY: Hanover House (Doubleday and Co.).
- Aguila M., Marcos Tonatiuh and Alberto Enríquez Perea. 1996. *Perspectivas sobre el cardenismo: Ensayos sobre economía, trabajo, política y cultura en los años treinta*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México.
- Alvear Acevedo, Carlos. 1959. *Elementos de Historia de Mexico (Epoca Independiente)*. Mexico City: Editorial Jus (4th ed.)
- , 1975. *La Iglesia en la historia de Mexico*. Mexico City: Editorial Jus.
- Adame Goddard, Jorge. 1981. *El pensamiento político y social de los católicos mexicanos, 1867-1914*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

- Aguilar V., Rubén and Guillermo Zermeño P. 1992. *Religión, política y sociedad: El sinarquismo y la Iglesia en México (nueve ensayos)*. Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Andersen, Margaret Lavinia. 1991. 'Piety and Politics: Recent Work on German Catholicism.' *Journal of Modern History*. LXIII, 4 (Dec. 1991), pp. 681-716.
- Arrom, Silvia Marina. 1985. *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bamat, Thomas and Jean-Paul Wiest. 1999. 'The Many Faces of Popular Catholicism, in Bamat and Wiest, eds., *Popular Catholicism in a World Church: Seven Case Studies in Inculturation*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Bantjes, Adrian. 1998. *As if Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora and the Mexican Revolution*, Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, Inc.
- Barbosa Guzmán, Francisco. 1988. *Jalisco Desde la Revolución: La Iglesia y el Gobierno Civil* (v. 6), Guadalajara, Jal.: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco y la Universidad de Guadalajara.
- Barquin y Ruíz, Andres. 1968. *Bernardo Bergöend, S.J.* México,DF: Editorial Jus.
- Barranco V., Bernardo. 1996. 'Posiciones políticas en la historia de la Acción Católica Mexicana,' in Roberto Blancarte, ed., *El pensamiento social de los católicos mexicanos*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Bassols Batalla, Angel, ed. 1988. *Norte de Jalisco: Una región remota de occidente*, Mexico City: UNAM-Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas.
- Baum, Gregory, ed. 1999. *The Twentieth Century: A Theological Overview*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books (with Novalis and Geoffrey Chapman).
- Becker, Marjorie. 1987. 'Black and White and Color: Cardenismo and the Search for a Campesino Ideology,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 29, pp. 453-465
-----, 1995. *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Benjamin, Thomas and Mark Wasserman, eds. 1990. *Provinces of the Revolution: Essays on Regional Mexican History 1910-1929*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Blancarte, Roberto. 1992. *Historia de la Iglesia católica en México*. Mexico City: El Colegio Mexiquense y el Fondo de Cultura Económica.

- Blancarte, Roberto, ed. 1996. *El pensamiento social de los católicos mexicanos*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Bortz, Jeffrey L. 1995. 'The Genesis of the Mexican Labor Relations System: Federal Labor Policy and the Textile Industry 1925-1940.' *The Americas*, 52, 1 (Jul.), pp. 1-22.
- Boyer, Christopher. 1998. 'Old Loves, New Loyalties: Agrarismo in Michoacán, 1920-1928.' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 78, 3 (Sept.), pp. 419-455.
- Brading, David A. 1983. 'Tridentine Catholicism and Enlightened Despotism in Bourbon Mexico,' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, XV, 1 (May), pp. 1-22.
- , *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán, 1749-1810*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Lyle C. 1964. 'Mexican Church-State Relations, 1933-1940.' *A Journal of Church and State*, 6, 2 (Spring), pp. 202-222.
1986. "The Calles-Cárdenas Connection," in *Twentieth-Century Mexico*, eds. W. Dirk Raat and William H. Beezley. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 185-198.
- Butler, Matthew. 1999. 'The "Liberal" Cristero: Ladislao Molina and the Cristero Rebellion in Michoacán, 1927-9,' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 31, 3 (Oct.), pp. 645-671.
- Camacho Sandoval, Salvador. 1991. *Controversia educativa entre la ideología y la fe: La educación socialista en la historia de Aguascalientes, 1876-1940*. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes.
- Camp, Roderic A. 1997 *Crossing Swords: Politics and Religion in Mexico*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cano, Gabriela. 1991. 'Las feministas en campaña: la primera mitad del siglo XX,' *Debate Feminista*, II, 4 (Sept.), pp. 269-292
- Ceballos Ramírez, Manuel. 1983. 'La encíclica *Rerum Novarum* y los trabajadores católicos en la ciudad de México (1891-1913).' *Historia Mexicana*, 33, 1 (Jul.-Sept.), pp. 3-38.
- , 1986. 'El sindicalismo católico, 1919-1931,' *Historia Mexicana*, 35, 4 (Apr.-Jun.), pp. 621-673.
- , 1991. *El catolicismo social: Un tercero en discordia*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México.
- Ceballos Ramírez, Manuel and Alejandro Garza Rangel, coords. 2000. *Catolicismo Social en México: Teoría, Fuentes e Historiografía*. Monterrey, México: Academia de Investigación Humanística.
- Christian, William A. (Jr.). 1981. *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- , 1996. *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Craig, Ann L. 1983. *The First Agraristas: An Oral History of a Mexican Agrarian Reform Movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Curley, Robert. 2000. 'Sociólogos peregrinos: Teoría social católica en el fin-de-régimen Porfiriato,' in Manuel Ceballos Ramírez and Alejandro Garza Rangel, coords., *Catolicismo Social en México: Teoría, Fuentes e Historiografía*. Monterrey, México: Academia de Investigación Humanística.
- De la Pedraja Tomán, René. 1990. 'Women in Colombian Organizations, 1900-1940: A Study in Gender Roles,' *Journal of Women's History*, II, 1, pp. 99-119.
- De la Peña, Guillermo. 1993. 'Poder local, poder regional: perspectivas socioantropológicas,' in Jorge Padua y Alain Vanneph, comps. *Poder local, poder regional*, Mexico: Colegio de México y Centre d'Etudes Mexicaines et Centramericaines.
- Desan, Suzanne. 1989. 'The Role of Women in Religious Riots during the French Revolution,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, XXII, 3 (Spring), pp. 451-468.
- , 1990. *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Deutsch, Sandra McGee. 1991. 'Gender and Sociopolitical Change in Latin America,' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 71, 2 (May 1991), pp. 259-306.
- , 1999. *Las Derechas: The Extreme Right in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, 1890-1939*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Diaz, May N. 1966. *Tonalá: Conservatism, Responsibility and Authority in a Mexican Town*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dore, Elizabeth and Maxine Molyneux, eds. 2000. *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Dulles, John W. F. 1961. *Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919-1936*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Fábregas Puig, Andrés Antonio. 1986. *La formación histórica de una región: Los Altos de Jalisco*, Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social.
- Farnsworth-Alvear, Ann. 1996. 'The Mysterious Case of the Missing Men: Gender and Class in Early Industrial Medellín,' *International Labor and Working-Class History*, XLIX (Spring), pp. 73-92.
- Fazio, Carlos. Algunos aportes del Secretariado Social Mexicano en la transición a la democracia. Mexico City: Academia Mexicana de Derechos Humanos, 1997.
- Fowler-Salamini, Heather and Mary Kay Vaughan. 1994. *Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1880-1990*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

- García Ugarte, Marta Eugenia. 1996. 'Movimientos Católicos Internacionales: Comunión y Liberación y Opus Dei,' in R. Blancarte, *El pensamiento social de los católicos mexicanos*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Gil, Carlos B. 1983. *Life in Provincial Mexico: National and Regional History Seen from Mascota, Jalisco, 1867-1972*. Los Angeles: University of California/UCLA Latin American Center Publications.
- González, Luis. 1972. *Pueblo en vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México.
- . 1974. *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition*. Transl. John Upton. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- . 1981. *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana*, vol. 15, *Los días del Presidente Cárdenas* . Mexico City, El Colegio de México.
- Gramsci, Antonio . 1986. *Notas sobre Maquiavelo sobre política y sobre el estado moderno*. Trans. José María Aricó. Mexico: Editorial Juan Pablos.
- 1992 and 1996. *Prison Notebooks*. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press. Vol. 1, ed. Joseph A. Buttigieg, trans. Joseph A. Buttigieg and Antonio Callari. Vol. 2, trans. Joseph A. Buttigieg.
- Gudorf, Christine E. 1983. 'Renewal or Repatriarchalization? Responses of the Roman Catholic Church to the Feminization of Religion,' *Horizons*, X, 2 (Fall), pp. 231-251.
- Gutiérrez Casillas, José, SJ. 1974. *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa.
- Gutiérrez G., José Antonio, et. al. 1997. *Aguascalientes y los Altos de Jalisco: historia compartida*, Zapopan and Aguascalientes: El Colegio de Jalisco y el Gobierno del Estado de Aguascalientes.
- Helmreich, Ernst, ed. 1966. *A Free Church in a Free State? The Catholic Church, Italy, Germany, France, 1864-1914* Boston: D.C. Heath and Company.
- Hughes, Philip. 1943. *The Pope's New Order: A Systematic Summary of the Social Encyclicals, from Leo XIII to Pius XII*. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd.
- Jedin, Hubert. 1967. *Crisis and Closure of the Council of Trent* . London: Sheed and Ward.
- Jedin, Hubert, Konrad Repgen, and John Dolan, eds. 1981. *History of the Church*, vol. 10, *The Church in the Modern Age*. New York: Crossroad.
- Joseph, Gilbert M. 1990. 'On the Trail of Latin American Bandits: A Reexamination of Peasant Resistance.' *Latin American Research Review*, 25, 3, pp. 7-53.

- Joseph Gilbert M. and Daniel Nugent, eds. 1994. *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule In Modern Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Kelly, J.N.D. 1986. *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keremetsis, Dawn. 1983. 'Del metate al molino: la mujer mexicana de 1910 a 1940,' *Historia Mexicana*, 33, 2 (Oct.-Dec.), pp. 285-302.
- Klaiber, Jeffrey, S.J. 1992. *The Catholic Church in Peru, 1821-1985: A Social History* Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press.
- Knight, Alan. 1986. *The Mexican Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2 vols.
- , 1990. 'Mexico c. 1930-1946.' in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Cambridge History of Latin America*. 10 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. VII, 3-82.
- , 1990. 'Revolutionary Project, Recalcitrant People: Mexico, 1910-1940,' in Jaime E. Rodríguez O., ed., *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880-1940*. Los Angeles and Irvine: UCLA/Latin American Center Publications and Mexico/Chicano Program, pp. 227-264.
- , 1992. 'The Peculiarities of Mexican History: Mexico Compared to Latin America, 1821-1992.' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24 (annual supplement), pp. 99-145.
- , 1994. 'Popular Culture and the Revolutionary State in Mexico, 1910-1940.' *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, 74, 3, pp. 393-444.
- , 1996. 'Estado, revolución y cultura popular en los años treinta,' in Marcos Tonatíuh Aguila M. and Alberto Enríquez Perea, eds., *Perspectivas sobre el cardenismo: Ensayos sobre economía, trabajo, política y cultura en los años treinta*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México, pp. 297-324.
- Komonchak, Joseph A. 1999. 'Returning from Exile: Catholic Theology in the 1930s,' in Gregory Baum, ed., *The Twentieth Century: A Theological Overview*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books (with Novalis and Geoffrey Chapman), pp. 35-48.
- Lafaye, Jacques. 1976. *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531-1813*. Transl. Benjamin Keen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lannon, Frances. 1987. *Privilege, Persecution and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1975*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lannon, Frances and Paul Preston, eds. 1990. *Elites and Power in Twentieth Century Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lavrin, Asunción. 1978. *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*. Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press.
- , 1995. *Women, Feminism and Social Change in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, 1890-1940*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.

- Lehmann, David. 1999. 'Introduction,' in *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 18, 2 (April – *Special Issue: Social Movements and Religious Change*, guest editor, D. Lehmann), pp. 139-144.
- Lerner, Victoria. 1979. *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana, 1934-1940*, vol. 17, *La educación socialista*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Aldo Solari. 1967. *Elites in Latin America*, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Little, Cynthia Jeffress. 1978. 'Education, Philanthropy and Feminism: Components of Argentine Womanhood, 1860-1926,' in Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*. Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press.
- Lynch, John. 1986. 'The Catholic Church in Latin America, 1830-1930,' in Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 4: 527-595.
- Macias, Anna. 1982. *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Macías M., Jesus Manuel. 1988. 'La organización social del espacio en el norte de Jalisco,' in Angel Bassols Batalla, ed., *Norte de Jalisco: Una región remota de occidente*. Mexico City: UNAM-Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas.
- Mainwairing, Scott. 1986. *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil. 1916-1985*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press.
- Martínez Assad, Carlos. 1991 [1979]. *El laboratorio de la revolución: El tabasco garridista*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI (2d. ed.).
- , 1990. *Los rebeldes vencidos: Cedillo contra el Estado Cardenista* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica).
- Martínez Moya, Armando and Manuel Moreno Castañeda. 1988. *Jalisco desde la Revolución* (vol. 7), *La escuela de la Revolución*, Guadalajara: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco/Universidad de Guadalajara.
- Martínez Saldaña, Tomás and Leticia Gándara Mendoza. 1976. *Política y sociedad en México: el caso de los Altos de Jalisco*. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones Superiores Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- McSweeney, William. 1980. *Roman Catholicism: The Search for Relevance*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Mecham, J. Lloyd. 1966 (revised edition). *Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Medin, Tzvi. 1991. *El minimato presidencial: historia política del maximato, 1928-1935*, México: Ediciones Era.
- Meyer, Jean. 1973-4 and 1996. *La Cristiada*. México, DF: Siglo XXI. 3 vols. (15th ed. 1996).
- , 1979. *El sinarquismo: ¿un fascismo mexicano? 1937-1947*. Mexico City: Editorial Joaquín Mortiz, S.A.
- , 1993. 'Una historia política de la religión en México.' *Historia Mexicana*. 42, 3 (Jan.-Mar.).
- Meyer, Lorenzo. 1978. *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana*, vol. 12, *Los inicios de la institucionalización: La política del maximato*. Mexico: El Colegio de México.
- Michaels, Albert L. 1969. 'The Modification of the Anticlerical Nationalism of the Mexican Revolution By General Lázaro Cárdenas and its Relationship to the Church-State Détente in Mexico.' *The Americas*, 26, pp. 35-53.
- Michel, Sonya and Seth Koven, eds. 1993. *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Miller, Barbara Ann. 1984. 'The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion: *Las Señoras y Las Religiosas*.' *The Americas*. 40, pp. 303-323.
- Miller, Francesca. 1991. *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice*. Hanover: University Press of New England.
- Moran Quiroz, Luis Rodolfo. 1990. *Alternativa religiosa en Guadalajara: Una aproximación al estudio de las iglesias evangélicas*. Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara.
- Morton, Ward M. 1962. *Woman Suffrage in Mexico*. Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press.
- Muriá, José Ma., director. 1982. *Historia de Jalisco. Tomo IV: Desde la consolidación del Porfiriato hasta mediados del siglo XX*. Guadalajara: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaría General, Unidad Editorial.
- , 1997. 'Una Tierra de hombres ausentes,' in J. A. Gutiérrez G. et al, *Aguascalientes y los Altos de Jalisco: historia compartida*, Zapopan and Aguascalientes: El Colegio de Jalisco y el Gobierno del Estado de Aguascalientes, pp. 73-81.
- Negrete, Marta Elena. 1988. *Relaciones Entre la Iglesia y el Estado en México, 1930-1940*. Mexico: El Colegio de México and la Universidad Iberoamericana.
- Nugent, Daniel. 1993. *Spent Cartridges of Revolution: An Anthropological History of Namiquipa, Chihuahua*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Nuitjen, Monique. 1998. *In the Name of the Land: Organization, Transnationalism, and the Culture of the State in a Mexican Ejido*. (Ph.D. Thesis, Landbouw Universiteit Wageningen, 21 Dec. 1998), Wageningen: Ponsen en Looijen bv.

- O'Brien, David J. and Thomas A. Shannon, eds. 1992. *Catholic Social Thought: The Documentary Heritage*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- O'Dogherty [Madrazo], Laura. 1991. 'Restaurarlo Todo en Cristo: Unión de Damas Católicas Mejicanas, 1920-1926.' *Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México*, 14, pp. 129-158.
- Olveda Legaspi, Jaime. 1991. *La Oligarquía de Guadalajara*. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes.
- O'Malley, Ilene V. 1986. *The Myth of the Revolution: Hero Cults and the Institutionalization of the Mexican State, 1920-1940*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Orozco Cano, María del Carmen. 1986. *La educación en Ciudad Guzmán, Guadalajara: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaria General, Unidad Editorial*.
- Padilla Rangel, Yolanda. 1997. 'Algunas consideraciones en torno a la religiosidad alteña en Aguascalientes,' in José Antonio Gutiérrez G., et. al., *Aguascalientes y los Altos de Jalisco: historia compartida*, Zapopan and Aguascalientes: El Colegio de Jalisco y el Gobierno del Estado de Aguascalientes, 1997.
- Padua, Jorge and Alain Vanneph, comps. 1993. *Poder local, poder regional*. México: Colegio de México y Centre d'Etudes Mexicaines et Centramericaines.
- Pedersen, Susan. 2000. 'The Future of Feminist History,' *Perspectives*, XXXVIII, 7 (Oct. 2000), p. 1, pp. 20-22, pp. 24-25.
- Pérez Rosales, Laura. 1992. 'Las mujeres sinarquistas: Nuevas adelitas en la vida pública mexicana,' in Rubén Aguilar V. and Guillermo Zermeño P., *Religión, política y sociedad: El sinarquismo y la Iglesia en México (nueve ensayos)*. Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, pp. 169-193.
- Purnell, Jennie. *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Quirk, Robert E. 1973. *The Mexican Revolution and the Catholic Church, 1910-1929*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Raby, David L. 1974. *Educación y revolución social en México, 1921-1940*. Mexico City: Sep-Setentas.
- Reich, Peter Lester. 1995. *Mexico's Hidden Revolution: The Catholic Church in Law and Politics since 1929*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Rhodes, Anthony. 1973. *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators, 1922-1945*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

- Rockwell, Elsie. 1994. 'Schools of the Revolution: Enacting and Contesting State Forms in Tlaxcala, 1910-1930,' in Gilbert M Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule In Modern Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 170-208.
- Romero, Laura Patricia. 1987. *Jalisco desde la revolución*, vol. 3, *La consolidación del Estado y los conflictos políticos*. Guadalajara: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco y la Universidad de Guadalajara.
- Romero de Solís, José Miguel. 1994. *El Aguijon del Espíritu: Historia Contemporánea de la Iglesia en México (1895-1990)*. Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano de Doctrina Social Cristiana.
- Rostas, Susanna and André Droogers, eds. 1993. *The Popular Use of Popular Religion in Latin America*. Amsterdam: Centro de Estudios y Documentación Latinoamericanos *CEDLA Latin American Studies 70); includes 'The Popular Use of Popular Religion in Latin America: Introduction,' pp. 1-16.
- Rowe, William and Vivian Schelling. 1991. *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America*. London: Verso.
- Rubenstein, Anne. 1998. *Bad Language, Naked Ladies, and other Threats to the Nation*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Schell, Patience A. 1999. 'An Honorable Avocation for Ladies: The Work of the Mexico City Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas, 1912-1926.' *Journal of Women's History*, 10, 4 (Winter).
- Schmitt, Karl, SJ. 1960. 'The Díaz Conciliation Policy on State and Local Levels, 1867-1911.' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 40: 4 (Nov.), pp. 512-532.
- 1962. 'Catholic Adjustment to the Secular State: The Case of Mexico, 1867-1911.' *Catholic Historical Review*, 48: 2 (Jul.), pp. 182-204.
- 1966. 'The Mexican Positivists and the Church-State Question, 1876-1911.' *Journal of Church and State*, 8, 2 (Spring), pp. 200-213.
- 1984. 'Church and State in Mexico: A Corporatist Relationship.' *The Americas*, 40, 3 (Jan.), pp. 349-376.
- Sherman, John W. 1997. *The Mexican Right: The End of Revolutionary Reform, 1929-1940*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Soto, Shirlene Ann. 1990. *Emergence of the Modern Mexican Woman: Her Participation in Revolution and Struggle for Equality, 1910-1940*. Denver: Arden Press.
- Stern, Steve J. 1995. *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men and Power in Late Colonial Mexico*, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Swatos, William H. Jr. and Kevin J. Christiano. 1990. 'Secularization Theory: The Course of a Concept,' *Sociology of Religion*, LX, 3 (Fall) , pp. 209-228.

- Tamayo Rodríguez, Jaime E. 1986. 'El Enfrentamiento Zuno-Calles,' in *La Revolución en las regiones..* 2 vols. Guadalajara: Instituto de Estudios Sociales, Universidad de Guadalajara. 2: 509-530.
- Taylor, William B. 1996. *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Thompson, Paul. 1988. *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2d ed).
- Tuck, Jim. 1982. *The Holy War in Los Altos: A Regional Analysis of Mexico's Cristero Rebellion*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Tuñón, Julia. 1999. *Women in Mexico: A Past Unveiled*. Trans. Alan Hynds. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Vaca García, Agustín. 1998. *Los silencios de la historia: las cristeras*. Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco.
- Vallier, Ivan. 1967. 'Religious Elites: Differentiations and Developments in Roman Catholicism,' in Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari, *Elites in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 190-232.
- Vanderwood, Paul. 1998. *The Power of God Against the Guns of Government: Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Varley, Ann. 2000. 'Women and the Home in Mexican Family Law,' in Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds. *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 238-261.
- Vaughan, Mary Kay. *The State, Education and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982.
- 1990. 'Women School Teachers in the Mexican Revolution: The Story of Reyna's Braids,' *Journal of Women's History* 2, 1 (Spring), 143-168.
- 1994. 'Rural Women's Literacy and Education during the Mexican Revolution: Subverting a Patriarchal Event?,' in H. Fowler-Salamini and M.K. Vaughan, *Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1880-1990*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, pp. 106-124.
- 1997. *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- 2000. 'Modernizing Patriarchy: State Policies, Rural Households, and Women in Mexico, 1930-1940,' in Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds. *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press. pp. 194-214.
- Velázquez H., Manuel. 1978. *Pedro Velázquez, H.: Apostol de la justicia, Vida y Pensamiento*. Mexico City: Secretariado Social Mexicano, A.C.

- Vera, Rodrigo. 1998. 'Derechos humanos y democracia, los futuros puntos del conflicto Iglesia-Estado,' *Proceso*, 1134 (26 Jul. 1998), pp. 22-27.
- Vincent, Mary. 1990. 'The Politicization of Catholic Women in Salamanca, 1931-1936,' in Frances Lannon and Paul Preston, *Elites and Power in Twentieth Century Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- , 1996. *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walter, Tony and Grace Davie. 1998. 'The religiosity of women in the modern West.' *British Journal of Sociology*. XLIX, 4 (Dec.).
- Wells, Allen and Gilbert M. Joseph. 1996. *Summer of Discontent, Seasons of Upheaval: Elite Politics and Rural Insurgency in Yucatán, 1876-1915*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press.
- Yankelevich, Pablo. 1985. *La educación socialista en Jalisco*. Guadalajara: Departamento de Educación Pública del Estado de Jalisco.
- Aguilar V., Rubén and Guillermo Zermeño P., eds. 1992. *Religión, política y sociedad: El sinarquismo y la Iglesia en México (nueve ensayos)*. Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana. 'Ensayo introductorio: La iglesia y el sinarquismo en México,' pp. 17-30.

Unpublished Works:

- Arnold, Marigene. 1973. 'Mexican Women: The Anatomy of a Stereotype in a Mexican Village,' Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida.
- Bliss, Katherine Elaine. 1997. 'Theater of Operations: Feminist and Catholic Social Action in the Mexico City *sifilicomio*,' paper presented at the XX LASA International Congress, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, 16 April 1997.
- Curley, Robert. 1997. 'El Gran Escollo: Religion and Revolution in Guadalajara, 1917-1919,' Paper presented at the XX Latin American Studies Association Congress, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, 17 April 1997.
- 'Datos Históricos Sobre la Unión Nacional de Padres de Familia en Jalisco,' Guadalajara: UNPF, n.d.
- Fernández Aceves, María Teresa. 2000. 'Science, Work and Virtue: Lay Catholic Women Schoolteachers in Revolutionary Guadalajara, 1934-1942,' Paper presented at the XXII meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Miami, Fla., 16 March 2000.
- , 2000. 'Women, State, and Labor: The Nationalization of Politics in Revolutionary Guadalajara, 1930s.' Paper presented at the 114th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, 9 January 2000.
- Gotschall, Elwood Rufus. 1970. 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico, 1929-1941: A Church's Response to a Revolutionary Society and the Politics of the

Modern Age.' Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1971).

Hanson, Randall S. 1994. '"The Day of Ideals": Catholic Social Action in the Age of the Mexican Revolution, 1867-1929,' Ph. D. Dissertation, Indiana University-Bloomington, August 1994.

-----, 1997. 'Mujeres Militantes: Las Damas Católicas and the Mobilization of Women in Revolutionary Mexico, 1912-1929.' Paper presented at the Conference on Latin American History Annual Meeting, New York, January 1997.

Miller, Barbara Ann. 1981. 'The Role of Women in The Mexican Cristero Rebellion: A New Chapter.' Ph. D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1981 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1981).

Mitchell, Stephanie. 'La Noble Mujer Organizada: The Women's Movement in 1930s Mexico.' D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, forthcoming.

O'Dogherty Madrazo, Laura. 1999. 'De urnas y sótanas: El Partido Católico Nacional en Jalisco,' Ph. D. dissertation, El Colegio de México.

Olcott, Jocelyn. 2000. 'Las Hijas de la Malinche: Women's Organizing and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico, 1934-1940.' Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University.

-----, 2000. '"Without Legal Force but with Moral Force": Gender, Citizenship, and Collective Organizing in Cardenista Mexico.' Paper presented at the XXII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Miami, Florida, USA, 16 March 2000.

Padilla Rangel, Yolanda. 2000. 'La silenciosa oposición: mujeres religiosas en Aguascalientes (México) en los años treinta.' Paper presented at the XXII LASA Congress, Miami, Florida, 16 Mar. 2000.

Schell, Patience A. 1998. 'Teaching the Children of the Revolution: Church and State Education in Mexico City, 1917-1926.' D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1998.

Vaca García, Agustín. 1996. 'Las cristeras: un olvido historiográfico.' Paper presented at the II Seminario Internacional de Historia Oral, Colegio de Jalisco, Zapopan, Jalisco, 14 Nov. 1996.

Verba, Ericka. 1997. 'The Liga de Damas Chilenas: Angels of Peace and Harmony of the Social Question (1912-1925).' Paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association XX International Congress, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, 16 Apr. 1997.

Websites:

Acción Católica Mexicana de Querétaro (Contact address: acm_mex@hotmail.com)
http://pages.whowhere.lycos.com/community/acm_mex

UFCM:

http://pages.whowhere.lycos.com/community/acm_mex/yacq05d.html

JCFM:

http://pages.whowhere.lycos.com/community/acm_mex/yacq05e.html

'Canonización de beatos mexicanos, mártires de la Guerra Cristera' (21 May 2000)

<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Agora/3660/orac/canonizacion.html>

Catholic Online – Saints and Angels

<http://www.catholic.org/saints/>

Eternal Word Television Network–Documents Library

<http://www.ewtn.com/library/>

Excelsior (Mexico City daily newspaper)

www.excelsior.com.mx

El Informador (Guadalajara, Jalisco daily newspaper)

www.informador.com.mx

Juventud Católica Femenina Mexicana – interactive website (Webmaster María del Carmen Villareal Martínez: jcfm99@yahoo.com)

<http://www.geocities.com/BourbonStreet/3560>

'Mexican Saints'

www.aciprensa.com/santmex2.htm.

The Vatican--official web page:

<http://www.vatican.va/holy-father/john-paulii/speeches/documents/hf-jp-ii-spe-20000522-canonization-sp.html>. (Pope John Paul II's 22 May 2000 Jubilee address in which the Mexican saints were honoured).