OUR GOOD NEIGHBOR HURDLE

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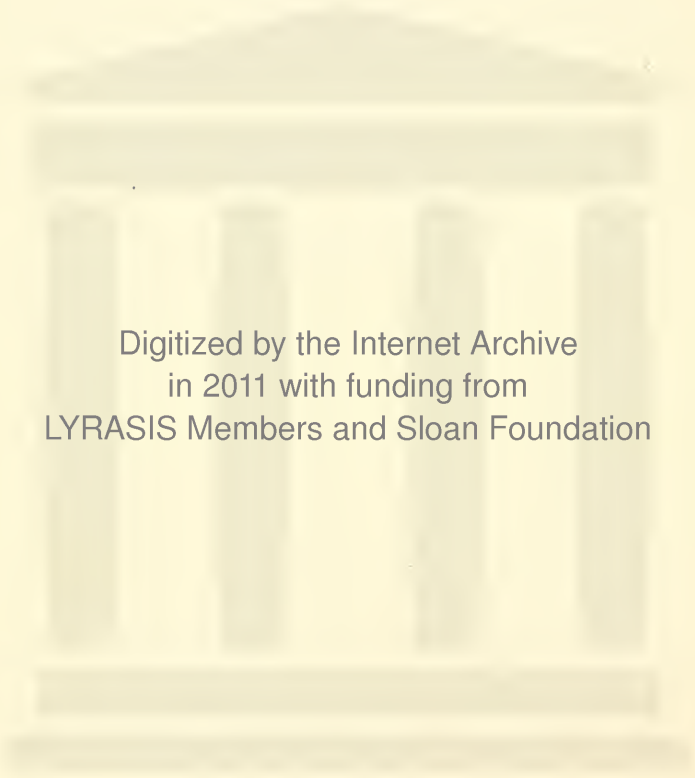
To
My greatly admired Indian friend,
The Very Reverend Pedro Corvera, O.F.M.



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EDITORIAL NOTE

AT THIS critical moment, when hemispheric unity of all Americans, under their respective governments, is recognized as a permanent need, the voice of a veteran Protestant correspondent is raised to make possible the happy attainment of this objective, and to remove the one obstacle that else would inevitably impede any Good Neighbor Policy.

Sincere and candid in its expression, the volume should promote good will, clear away unfortunate misunderstandings, clarify the atmosphere on both continents, and render possible a truly patriotic cooperation of all Americans. In this spirit it is written, and in the hope that it may facilitate a friendly and finely enduring relationship among all Americans, North and South, of whatever race or creed or color.

More than that — by the removal of an otherwise insuperable obstacle to inter-American good will, it should substantially aid in advancing the cause of Christianity itself, which can only be the gainer by an impartial and realistic study of the facts here submitted with malice toward none and charity toward all, yet with that "full measure" of freedom and devotion which under the circumstances the common good demands.

J. H.

FOREWORD

IT SHOULD be established at the outset that I am not a Catholic. Nor do I hold any brief for the Catholic Church as organized and operated South of the Rio Grande. One of the leading Protestant weeklies of the United States has classified me as an alleged Protestant. That is close enough.

This book is inspired by my fixed conviction that the future peace and prosperity of the United States is dependent on our ability to be good neighbors with the people to the South of us. That, in turn, depends on our ability to convince them that we really are sincere in our desire to be friends with them, in spite of our somewhat frantic and often comical efforts to express that desire.

For the purposes of good neighborliness it is immaterial whether the people of the southern Americas are Catholics, Buddhists, or Holy Rollers. Consequently, I have absolutely no interest in the religious aspect of the serious problem that has been created by sending Protestant missionaries from the United States to the capital cities of Central and South America "to save the heathen and preach the gospel to them," to quote the missionary organizations themselves. My concern with the problem is exclusively political and patriotic. I am not siding with the Catholic Church, as the Protestant missionaries charge. Nor am I a Nazi agent engaged in devisive propaganda, as the Methodist Episcopal missionary organization in Buenos Aires has charged in the newspapers of that city. I am siding only with the United States of America.

The one most serious obstacle to closer friendship and under-

standing between the people of the United States and those to the South of us is the proselytizing activity of the army of North American Protestant missionaries who have been sent to the southern republics "to bring Christianity to them."

This conclusion is the result of more than 25 years spent as a traveling newspaper correspondent in the southern Americas, attempting to study objectively the problems and difficulties of our relationships with the countries and people South of the Rio Grande. It also is the conviction of thousands of non-Catholic business men and other North Americans who have had the opportunity, as I have, of knowing our southern neighbors well enough to hear them express some of the reasons why they do not like us and why they believe us to be insincere and hyprocritical in our efforts to get closer to them.

Unity and good neighborliness require mutual respect above everything else. How can we expect any respect from the people of Mexico and Central and South America so long as we set ourselves up as the only Christian people in the Americas and send our missionaries to christianize them? The Protestant foreign mission boards in the United States constantly use the word *Christian* in their reports and other publications as an antonym to *Catholic.*

If our Good Neighbor Policy is anything more than a wartime expedient of self-interest, as many of our southern neighbors are inclined to suspect, the burden of proof is upon us. We have much to answer for in our past relations with the people of the other Americas, so we need not feel hurt and resentful at any doubt or suspicion they may have. It is up to us to prove that for once we are sincere. We have not always been so in the past.

If we really desire to make the western hemisphere safe for democracy, we *must* have the friendship and confidence of our southern neighbors. The first and most important step in winning that friendship would be to call home our missionaries

and show the people to the South of us that we recognize them, not as infidels and heathen, but as educated, civilized, and cultured people with whom we really desire to be good neighbors.

This book is addressed, therefore, to the millions of intelligent, thinking Protestants in the United States in the belief that they will agree that it is much more important that the southern Americans be friends of the United States of America than that they be communicants of any particular religious sect.

The issue is not: "No more Protestants!" It is: "No more missionaries!" The distinction is most important. Practically all the southern republics guarantee liberty of worship in their Constitutions, even in those cases where the Catholic Church is established as a State religion. There are Protestant Churches in all the American nations and Protestants are not molested while worshiping in them. Our southern neighbors object very strenuously, though, to our sending missionaries to "save" them, just as we would object under similar circumstances.

I am very grateful to the Rev. Paul Bussard, editor of *Catholic Digest,* for having opened the columns of his magazine to me for the exposition of some of the problems which are here discussed in more detail; to *Inter-American Monthly* for permission to use material from "Uruguay: Bulwark of Pan Americanism"; and to *The Sign* and *St. Anthony Messenger* for permission to use material that first appeared in their columns.

J. W. W.

Mexico City, March, 1943

I

GOOD NEIGHBORS, BUT . . .

THE FUTURE peace and prosperity of the United States of America depends on our ability to unite all the American nations behind democracy. We dare not again run the dangerous risk of having strong nations of the southern Americas on the side of the enemies of democracy, as was Mexico in the First World War and Argentina in the second one. In both those cases we were fortunate in being able to prevent the war reaching the American continent. We might not be so fortunate in another war.

Unless we are more foolish than any North American would care to admit, we must have learned this time our rather bitter lesson that we cannot isolate ourselves from the politics of the world and at the same time insist on our right to take a prominent part in its commerce. We would do well also to realize that as the richest and most powerful nation in the world we are going to be the object of resentment and jealousy from all the rest of the world. This is a simple and inevitable matter of human nature. So, if we are going to continue with our democratic way of life, we cannot delay in uniting the Americas into a great continental democratic family.

True, we have suddenly become very fond of the 126 million people who live between the Rio Grande and Tierra del Fuego. There is nothing wrong with this, of course, except that it would have been much better for all concerned if our almost passionate love had been awakened about fifty years ago and under circumstances that looked less like expediency.

Let us be realistic for once in our lives and admit to ourselves that when peace comes again we are going to be on trial before a jury of our peers and that the jury is going to have approximately 126 million members — all the people we are now calling neighbors. The people of the southern Americas are not particularly flattered by our very tardy recognition of them, but they are willing to be convinced. In the meantime, they are perfectly willing to accept all the rich presents we are tossing onto their doorsteps, feeling with a good deal of reason, perhaps, that many of them should have been forthcoming long ago. Whether or not our overtures are going to be successful depends on our ability to show our neighbors that we are in earnest this time and that this is not just another fickle infatuation.

We must, first of all, convince the people of the other Americas that we are not as selfish as they believe and that our Good Neighbor Policy is not merely a matter of expediency, dictated by the necessities of war. Let us recognize the unromantic fact that nations love one another only when it is profitable for them to do so. This is not cynicism; it is realism. The Second World War has made it profitable for us, at long last, to love our southern neighbors. From a political point of view it also is expedient to love them. Now we have to make it profitable and expedient for our neighbors to love us. Otherwise the Good Neighbor Policy will not work.

But in dealing with the educated, cultured, and highly sensitive people of the southern Americas profit and expediency are not enough if we desire our wartime friendship to develop into a permanent policy. And it must develop into a permanent policy if democracy is to be safe in the western hemisphere.

United States business houses have found it necessary to change their methods of dealing with the southern countries. Among other reforms, they now send representatives who can speak the language of the people among whom they work.

North American exporters have found it profitable to study the social and cultural background of their customers as well as their economic problems. This all tends toward good neighborliness because in dealing with the people of Ibero-America the personal relationship is more important than any other factor. The people of the southern Americas do business with people they like even when the goods and prices are not the best offered, as the Germans learned to their profit.

We must establish the same successful relationship in the political and cultural fields that we have in the commercial field. But this is a much more difficult undertaking because we have very little understanding of either the political or cultural situation in the southern countries and know practically nothing about their religious situation. In fact, truth compels the confession that we are grossly ignorant of the political, cultural, and religious problems of our neighbors and also of their aspirations in those fields. Because of our failure to understand these important matters, much of our good neighbor effort is directly harmful and self-defeating.

Cultural relations among nations are simply the international exercise of good manners. Good manners among nations, as well as among individuals, are a matter of education. In neither case can they be acquired hurriedly overnight as a polite veneer. Cultural relations among the Americas cannot be put onto a satisfactory basis until they get beyond the stage of governmental agencies and become a matter of individual interest and practice. That is why it is imperative that we all enlarge our education regarding our southern neighbors and take a personal interest in our relationship with them.

What kind of relationship can we expect to establish with them when we start off by classifying them with the unchristianized natives of Nigeria, the Congo, and the Cannibal Islands, as do the Protestant foreign mission boards of the United States?

The people of the other Americas always have feared political

and economic domination by the United States much more than political domination by any European power. Many educated and intelligent people to the South of us still do not believe that the Nazi war machine could invade and occupy their countries. But they are certain that the United States could because on various occasions we have proved our ability to do so.

Silly as it may sound to any well-informed North American, the people of the southern Americas, and especially Mexico, always have looked upon the Protestant missionaries as advance agents of a Washington plan to dominate them, first economically and then politically. Both British and German propaganda have been devoted for many years to convincing our southern neighbors that the one thing they have to fear most in this world is the United States of America. It is not sufficient that we deny this; we must convince them to the contrary.

Upon our ability to so convince them depends that unity of the American continent which is so essential for the safety of democracy. It is useless for us even to think of such a united continent unless we can create a feeling of unity between the people of the other Americas and ourselves. There can be no such feeling of unity, of course, unless there is a feeling of mutual respect. And there most certainly can be no feeling of respect toward us as long as we consider our southern neighbors to be poor heathen who need the ministrations of the same missionaries we sent to Japan in the attempt to Christianize that heathen race.

As long as we assume the arrogant attitude of a superior race and underestimate our southern neighbors as belonging to an inferior race we need expect no respect from them, since we are showing them none.

Two of the least attractive of our national traits are part of our English heritage, just as some of the traits we do not admire in our southern neighbors are part of their Spanish

heritage. We are born with the English disdain for the Spaniard and with the English certainty that white people, always and *per se,* are superior to the colored and mixed races. Unfortunately, the objects of both these intolerant attitudes predominate in the countries to the South of us. Those countries were discovered, colonized, and developed by the Spaniards and Portuguese and, with the exception of Argentina and Uruguay, the mixing of the Iberian and Indian bloods has produced the *mestizo* race which forms the bulk of the population among the 126 million people whose friendship we now seek.

Consequently, while we proudly set ourselves up as the ultimate criterion in democracy, we at the same time assume toward the people South of us the same White Sahib psychology that the British hold toward the colored and mixed races of India and Asia. Why be surprised, then, that the southern attitude toward us closely resembles the infuriated attitude of the people of India and Asia toward the British?

It can be argued in favor of the British that while they have exploited the people of India and Asia they at least have conferred many benefits upon them. We, on the other hand, have been too busy with our own tremendous development to bother about the needs of our southern neighbors. Our big corporations have exploited them mercilessly without either the corporations or the United States government conferring upon them any of the benefits of colonial government.

The immediate answer to that, of course, is that governmental intervention was impossible because the other Americas are independent nations; not colonies. They do not want to be treated as colonies; they want to be treated as equals and neighbors. Nevertheless, our government has intervened repeatedly in the internal affairs of the southern countries whenever it has wanted to, so the argument is not a sound one.

Mexico and the countries of the Caribbean are more or less reconciled to the fact that, because of our size and our economic

power, our political influence is inescapable. They ask only that it be a beneficial influence; not one designed solely to exploit them for our profit.

After the establishment of their independence the young southern republics naturally looked to the United States for political guidance and economic cooperation, since the democracy of the North was the example they were trying to follow. But we were too busy developing the West to pay any attention to them, so they were forced to look to Europe for what they should have received from us. It is our own fault, therefore, that our American neighbors have felt much closer to Europe than to the United States. Winning them back again is a matter for constructive thought and continuing effort. To the people of the southern Americas friendship is something of great value. But it cannot be bought, no matter how many millions we spend in the endeavor. It can be won, however, by sincerity, honest dealing, understanding, and real friendship on our part.

We are now frantically pouring our millions into the southern Americas to help them develop their huge resources of tin, rubber, iron, fibers, and many other of the so-called strategic materials which we have been importing from the East instead of from the South. Is this going to lead to a resumption of an imperialistic policy or are we going to treat the people of the other Americas as good neighbors? That is the question that has interested them more than any other since the Second World War forced a sudden change in our economic policy toward them.

If we glance only superficially over the history of our relations with the southern republics during the past 50 years, we cannot blame the people of those countries for their dubious attitude toward the Good Neighbor Policy. They have known the Big Stick Policy and Dollar Diplomacy so long and with so many unfortunate results that they cannot believe the Good Neighbor Policy is permanent. Although that policy was an-

nounced several years before the Second World War started, its operation almost immediately became so involved with war measures that our neighbors are inclined to believe that the new policy is a matter of expediency growing out of the war and likely to terminate with the signing of peace.

The Lima Conference provided an unfortunate precedent toward which our southern neighbors can point in support of their reluctance to believe that the Good Neighbor Policy is a permanent policy of the Washington government rather than merely a party policy destined to expire with the Roosevelt administration. Several of the South and Central American delegations at Lima attempted to have the conference implement the Good Neighbor Policy by writing it into a treaty or a convention. The United States delegation prevented consideration of this project on the technical grounds that it was not on the agenda and had been suggested after the deadline for the introduction of unlisted new business. Rightly or wrongly, the delegations which were supporting the measure went home with the conviction that the United States was not ready to discuss the question of making the Good Neighbor Policy the basis of permanent treaty relations and that it remains, therefore, merely a unilateral declaration of policy which Washington can terminate at any time that it may seem expedient to do so.

Washington has done a magnificent job in convincing the southern governments of its good intentions. But satisfactory relations with our neighbors cannot be established on a permanent basis until the people, as well as the governments, are convinced of our sincerity. That is an objective which we have not yet attained.

The objective is not likely to be attained until we make a serious attempt to understand the people of the other Americas a great deal better than we now do. The first step toward understanding them is to stop thinking of them as Latin Amer-

icans. History provides no greater misnomer than this one. When we speak of Europeans we use the term as a convenient geographical designation and have stored away in the back of our minds the knowledge that Europe is made up of many widely different nationalities. But we use the term Latin America as a designation for nationality, forgetting that the people so designated differ from one another as widely as do Germans and Frenchmen or Russians and Italians.

Our southern neighbors do have one important advantage over the Europeans in having a common language (Brazilians have no difficulty in conversing with and understanding their Spanish-speaking neighbors). They also have a common ideal of American democracy, using the word *American* in the continental sense they ascribe to it. But otherwise they are as distinct in their nationalities as are some of the Europeans.

The people of Bolivia and Mexico, for example, are so predominantly Indian that they differ widely from almost all the other American people. Yet the Indian races of Bolivia and Mexico are as far apart as are the Slavs and Latins of Europe. The traditions of the Mexican Indians indicate that the pre-Columbian civilization of the Aztecs may have come from ancient Carthage, while the Incas of Bolivia were of Mongolian descent. These widely different races have not been brought any closer together because the Spaniards erroneously called them both Indians after Columbus had reported having found India.

Argentina has less contact with Venezuela than Italy has with the Scandinavian countries in times of peace, and has practically no contact with the Central American people. Argentines and Brazilians hate each other with the bitterness they have inherited from their Spanish and Portuguese ancestors who in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the world's greatest navigators and such bitter rivals for world domination that Pope Alexander VI tried to keep peace between them by draw-

ing a line across the explorable section of the globe and dividing it between them. Peru and Colombia are still separated by frontier quarrels which they have harbored since the days when they were rival viceroyalties of the Spanish Crown. Paraguay, once the proud and progressive capital of the great River Plate zone, is now one of the poorest of all the republics, alone and practically forgotten in the center of the continent.

So it behooves us to forget about Latin Americans and to think of Argentines, Brazilians, Colombians, and Paraguayans. (Incidentally, we might stop calling the Argentines by that horrible North-Americanism *Argentinian.*) And in thinking of them it would be well to keep in mind that we have no legitimate basis for assuming a superior attitude toward the people of the southern Americas unless we are going to continue considering the dollar to be the sole standard for measuring all values. As a people we have acquired great wealth very rapidly and with comparatively little effort. But by concentrating on production efficiency and the acquisition of wealth we have neglected to acquire other things that would make us a greater people and better fit us for the world leadership toward which we are now headed. They also would make us more congenial as neighbors.

There are many things we could learn to our advantage from our southern neighbors besides the Spanish and Portuguese languages. For one thing, the people of the southern Americas always have been much more internationally minded than we. They were Panamericanists 60 years before we became interested in the idea. Simón Bolívar, who liberated northern South America from Spain, proposed the formation of a federation of American nations and called a Panamerican conference at Panama to consider it. We were so little interested that we did not get our delegates there in time for the assembly, and our friends to the South always have blamed the collapse of the project on our failure to support it.

Our southern neighbors are better read than North Americans of corresponding social and economic position. They are much more tolerant than we toward the ideas of others. They are more loyal than we in their personal friendships, and they have made the family a much stronger social institution than we have. The people of even the smaller towns are infinitely better informed on world affairs than are the residents of our largest cities. There is no newspaper in the United States that gives such a thorough day by day picture of what is going on in the world as do several Argentine papers and as did the leading papers of Brazil before they were put under State control. Their news editors have international minds; ours have provincial minds.

The southern Americas were enthusiastic supporters of the League of Nations from its very inception, and several of their statesmen have served as president of the League Assembly. Some of the world's most famous authorities on international law are Ibero-American jurists. The United States never has had as secretary of state a worldly-wise internationalist of the type of Alberto Guani who was foreign minister of Uruguay, smallest of all the South American republics, when the Second World War broke out. But other South American countries have.

The people of the southern Americas have a much more humanistic outlook on life than we. In setting up the Monroe Doctrine we declared the principle: America for Americans. Argentina countered with the famous Drago Doctrine: America for Humanity. Argentina abolished slavery fifty years before we did and wrote an emancipation clause into its Constitution of 1853 providing that if there were still any slaves in the country they were to be free from the moment the Constitution was adopted and that any slaves from other countries who could manage to get into Argentine territory would automatically become free men. Chile freed its slaves in 1823.

This larger humanistic outlook is nowhere better demon-

strated than in the absolute lack of racial prejudice throughout the southern Americas. A folder on Brazil published by the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, commenting on the absence of racial and color prejudice in Brazil, says:

"The Portuguese are more color-blind than any other people in Europe. They are so color-blind that they will look straight at a black man and see only a man."

Which would seem to indicate that the Brazilians and other southern Americans are less in need of missionaries than we are.

In trying to understand our American neighbors we would do well to recognize the fact that the *mestizo* population over which we feel so superior is the result of a much more noble attitude toward the Indian on the part of the Spaniards and the Catholic Church than was the attitude of our Puritan ancestors. The Puritans considered the North American Indians to be no better than wild beasts and deliberately set out to exterminate them. For fifty years, from 1694 to 1744, the Massachusetts colony paid as high as £100 each for scalps of male Indians, a lesser bounty for scalps of females, and as high as £10 for the scalps of Indian children. Indians taken as prisoners of war in New England were sold as slaves in the West Indies, and several of the colonies legalized the selling of Indians who were in debt or caught stealing. The Spaniards and the Catholic clergy in the southern countries set out to convert the Indians and incorporate them into civilization. They did not succeed very well in either of these aspirations, but we cannot begin to understand the problems that exist today South of the Rio Grande unless we understand the underlying causes and the historical background of those problems.

Mexicans are amazed that the people of the United States should make heroes of the men who killed off the Indians, and they simply cannot understand a motion picture like "They Died With Their Boots On." Mexicans consider the Indians to

be the real Americans and the white people the intruders. They resent and feel hurt by North American motion pictures which glorify the slaughter of the Indians. Since many of our national heroes are the men who killed off the red men and since our wars of extermination against the Indians form a cherished part of our tradition, this is one of many things about which nothing can be done. But it serves to show that the little stream we call the Rio Grande is much more formidable as a psychological barrier than as a geographical frontier.

If we are going to make any serious attempt to understand our southern neighbors and to see clearly "how they get that way," to use a popular expression, our study must go much farther back than 1775, the year from which we are inclined to date all history. Their history, their religion, and their tradition are the result of the accumulation of events which began in the year A.D. 710, when the Mohammedan religion invaded Europe at Gibraltar and challenged Christianity.

We must remember that when Columbus discovered the Americas for Ferdinand and Isabella there was no Protestant religion. Christianity consisted of only two churches: the western or European church which took its leadership from the Popes at Rome, and the eastern or Greek church which formerly had looked to the High Priests at Constantinople for leadership. After the fall of the Byzantine Empire the Greek church survived in Russia simply because a niece of the last Roman Emperor at Constantinople had married Ivan III, first of the Russian czars, and taken her religion with her.

It had been only by the narrowest of margins seemingly that Christianity had escaped destruction in western Europe, just as it had been destroyed in eastern Europe by the invasion of the Turks.

During the first 32 years of the eighth century the Mohammedans had almost succeeded in conquering the whole Christian world. After sweeping across the Iberian Peninsula and carrying

their victorious campaign to almost within sight of Paris they finally had been defeated near Poitiers in 732. Pushed out of France, they had settled down in Spain and remained there for 750 years until 1492. That is more than twice the time that has elapsed since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.

It was only after Ferdinand and Isabella had driven the Mohammedans out of Spain that they finally permitted Columbus to sail westward in search of a new maritime route to the East, a route which they hoped would permit the Christian world to circumvent the barrier which the Turks had thrown across the trade routes between Europe and Asia when they had conquered Constantinople forty years before.

The continent which Columbus unexpectedly ran into was a nuisance because it offered an even more insurmountable barrier to India, Cathay, and the Spice Islands than the land barrier set up by the Mohammedan armies in eastern Europe. The two great maritime powers of Europe — Spain and Portugal — sent their most daring navigators to find a way through or around the barrier Columbus had found, and it was the discoveries and explorations of these navigators which led to the conquest and colonization of the southern Americas.

The Puritans came to North America much later to establish liberty of worship and religious tolerance — for all those who worshiped and believed just as they did. Later on, freedom of worship eventually did become one of the cornerstones of our democracy and one of the most cherished principles in our tradition. Yet, we must recognize the indisputable fact that it is an idea that never was in the minds of the persons who settled the Spanish and Portuguese nations to the South of us. Ferdinand and Isabella — the Catholic Kings — and their successor, Carlos V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, set up their American empire as a new Catholic realm for the glory of the Church of Rome in its war against the Mohammedans. Having rescued Spain from the Moors and saved it for the Catholic

Church, the Spanish Crown set out to conquer and Christianize the new-found continent in the same spirit that had inspired the Crusades — the victory of the Cross over the infidels. That there might be no doubt as to the intention of setting up a Catholic empire, the law prohibited the practice of other religions. Several of the South American republics maintained this ban against non-Catholic religions until the early years of the twentieth century.

This new Catholic empire had been firmly established one hundred years before the Mayflower carried the first Pilgrims to North America. Mexico was conquered in 1519 and Peru in 1535, the year in which the Bible was first translated into English. Asunción, Paraguay, was founded in 1537 as the seat of Spanish power on the east coast of South America. In 1583, Buenos Aires was founded on the River Plate. Spain had thus set up a Catholic domain that extended from the River Plate northward to beyond the Rio Grande long before the English and the Dutch brought Protestantism to our own shores.

This is not an argument in favor of excluding Protestants from Catholic America; it is simply an exposition of some of the circumstances we must take into consideration when confronted with the traditions and viewpoints of our southern neighbors. For we differ greatly from our neighbors in our system of government, in our traditions, in our family life, and in our religion. Even the Catholic Church in the southern Americas is very different, in certain nonessential respects, from the Catholic Church in the United States.

A very good Mexican friend outlined for me the conflicting traditions and viewpoints of Anglo and Ibero America as follows:

"We have one tradition; you have another. There is hardly a single point at which they meet. Yours is the greatest democracy on earth; we never have known real democracy, although in our hearts we are ardent admirers of democracy and have

been striving all through our history to achieve it. You have a white race and a colored race which do not mix. We have a white race and a colored race which have united and created an entirely new type of humanity which did not exist before. We are Catholics; most of you are not. We look upon you as the most immoral people on earth; you look upon us as the most ignorant. Maybe both of us are correct in our estimate of the other. But we should stop criticizing and finding fault with each other and accept each other as we are instead of as each thinks the other ought to be. Then there would be no more difficulties in our international relations. There is no reason whatever why ignorant people should not be able to trade with, converse with, and associate with immoral people, and vice versa, without either being harmed by the other's immorality or ignorance. Most of our misunderstandings arise from our intense desire to reform each other."

This conviction that we are the most immoral people on earth is the dominant opinion throughout the Americas. It is very largely the fault of our motion pictures and our news agencies. During the First World War the two big American press associations established themselves in South and Central America in competition with the French Havas Agency and the British Reuters, arguing that these latter misrepresented the United States and the North American people by featuring news of lynchings, divorce, sex offenses, and crime. But our own news services have made the situation worse instead of better. Where Havas and Reuters cabled 30 or 50 words about a sensational crime or divorce in the United States, our news services cabled 300 or 500 words. We have impressed upon the newspapers South of the Rio Grande our own pattern of coloring and sensationalizing the news, as well as our worship of The Scoop which makes it more important to get a "story" through first than to get the facts correct. Along with our silly "funnies" we also have introduced our Sunday "feature" section to Ibero-American

readers so that they now spend their Sunday morning leisure absorbing full-page "feature" stories of sensational sex crimes and divorces in the United States because it is cheaper and easier for the southern newspapers to print these syndicated pages than to send reporters out to get and write stories about their own communities.

Underlying all the differences between ourselves and our southern neighbors is the inescapable difference in blood, and one of our most hackneyed expressions is that blood is stronger than water. In the case of England, we have used the phrase to mean that blood is strong enough to overcome the water which separates us. In the case of our American neighbors, blood is strong enough to overcome the land which joins us.

The union of American nations which we are trying to cement is an artificial geographical union with people who are separated from us by race, religion, language, and tradition. For in spite of their separate nationalities and their quarreling among themselves, all the southern Americas, except Brazil and Haiti, feel a common attraction toward Spain because of the Spanish tradition which runs in their blood and sets them apart from the things that run like instincts in our blood. They have a word — *Hispanidad* — which cannot be translated satisfactorily into English but which embraces the whole Spanish tradition of race, language, and religion, and which tends to bind them to Spain in a much closer family tie than any we feel toward England.

The most notable feature of this spirit of *Hispanismo* is that it is the antithesis of everything Anglo-Saxon. It runs clear back to the bitter wars which raged between England and Spain during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries and which created the antipathy which has existed ever since between the Englishman and the Spaniard.

It is almost impossible, in fact, for the North American mind to comprehend *Hispanidad* unless we have lived with it. It is

the very basis of what the Ibero-Americans call their "spiritual relationship," which they consider the most intimate of all their relationships. Here again is a most important element in their psychology and we do not even understand the name of it. "Spiritual relationship" is so foreign to North American thought that editors in the United States invariably blue-pencil "spiritual" and write in some other word, usually "cultural," which they think is a synonym, thereby destroying the thought itself. *Hispanidad* has proven a very effective barrier between the United States and Argentina, and it is one of the most important factors in the nascent Nationalist movements in several of the South American republics. So it might be a good idea for us to try to understand something about it.

Yet in spite of all the differences between the northern and southern Americas, the political union of the American nations is perfectly feasible because the southern nations have another very important common denominator. It is their ardent admiration of democracy and their intense desire to live under democratic governments. This naturally tends to attract them to us in spite of *Hispanidad* and in spite of all the things about us which they do not like.

Here we run into the important distinction that must be made between the people and the governments of the southern Americas. The people are belligerently democratic; most of the governments are not. Any effective and permanent union of the Americas can be based only on a close friendship and understanding among the people rather than among the governments. The exigencies of war made it imperative for Washington to reach the best possible understanding with the governments which happened to be in power, several of which are as antidemocratic as it would be possible to imagine. One of the deep-rooted causes of suspicion against the Good Neighbor Policy on the part of the people of the southern Americas is their fear that after the war Washington will support the undemo-

cratic governments against the efforts of the people to establish democratic ones.

If we are to achieve any measure of success in the position of world leadership toward which we seem to be moving, we shall have to lay aside our Puritanical urge to reform the world and accept many people and many conditions as we find them, even when we do not agree with them and would have arranged them in some other manner. This is nowhere more true than in our relations with our southern neighbors. We must accept them as they are instead of trying to make them over as we think they ought to be. More important than almost anything else in our Ibero-American relationships is recognition of the fact that one of the strongest elements in *Hispanidad* is the Catholic religion; that all our efforts to win our southern neighbors away from their faith will be self-defeating, politically as well as religiously; and that if we force them into a position where they have to choose between democracy and their religion, democracy will be the loser.

Let us lay aside our urge to reform and our own pet religious prejudices long enough to study the troublesome religious problem of our southern neighbors objectively as though it were a political problem, because that is exactly what it is so far as we are concerned, all the way from the Rio Grande to the Strait of Magellan.

II

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

THE CONFLICT between Church and State in the countries South of the Rio Grande is part of the Spanish heritage and arises from important legal principles which are still being bitterly debated in several of the republics. It is stupid, therefore, as well as ignorant for people in the United States to try to judge that troublesome situation by the standards with which we are familiar, since our standards have no relationship whatever with the problem we are trying to judge.

The word *patronage,* as applied to the Church, is so unfamiliar to the great majority of North Americans that it has to be defined whenever used. Yet it is the key word in the whole controversy between Church and State in the Americas, and no one has a right even to have an opinion on that important Spanish-American problem until he thoroughly understands at least the terms he will have to use in discussing it.

Patronage is the right, on the part of the government, to nominate a member of the clergy for appointment to a vacant benefice. That sounds simple enough, yet the principle at stake has been more bitterly fought over than any other question involved in the establishment of independence in the Spanish speaking nations of America. The question of patronage was even at the root of the long civil wars between federalists and centrists in Mexico and South America, because the federalists stood for independence from the Church as well as from Spain, while the centrists favored the establishment of a State religion.

The exercise of the patronage is almost invariably accompanied by the refusal of the State to permit Bulls, Briefs, Rescripts, and other Papal communications to reach the hierarchy until they have been granted passage into the country by means of an *exequatur* after scrutiny by the government. In such cases the hierarchy usually must communicate with the Vatican through the ministry of foreign affairs or other governmental department charged with the handling of Church affairs. Some of the countries do not permit Papal edicts to be put into effect until Congress has enacted legislation embodying the changes they decree.

In those countries where the Church has been separated from the State the government does not exercise the patronage, puts no restrictions on communications between the clergy and the Vatican, and does not exercise the right of *exequatur* on pontifical decrees issued for the government of the Church. Thus we have the interesting anomaly that the clergy are less restricted when Church and State are separated than when the Church is the established State religion.

The whole conflict between Church and State in Spanish America arises from the historic fact that in 1508 Pope Julius II issued the famous Bull of Patronage (*universalis ecclesiae*), granting to the Spanish Crown universal patronage in the Indies, as the Americas were then called. This Bull set forth that the power of patronage was granted to the Catholic kings of Spain in recognition of their expulsion of the Moors from Spain; the crossing of the ocean to plant the Cross in unknown lands; and "considering that it is convenient to those kings that the persons who preside over churches and monasteries be faithful and acceptable to them."

The Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church were closely affiliated all during the 300 years of the colonial period. Ecclesiastical authorities enjoyed equal rights and powers with the civil authorities, and the Church appointed its bishops

and other prelates and even distributed the lower ranks of the clergy in accordance with nominations made by the viceroys, the presidents of the *audiencias* or civil courts, and by the royal governors, all exercising the power granted to the Crown by the Bull of Patronage.

When the Spanish colonies declared their independence from Spain there arose a serious controversy between the Church and the new governments over this vitally important principle of patronage. The civil authorities of the young republics, while demanding complete political freedom from Spain, insisted that they were the political heirs of the Spanish Crown and so had inherited its right to nominate candidates for ecclesiastical positions. The Church held, and still holds, that patronage is an attribute of the Pope and that its grant to the Catholic Kings of Spain was a special privilege that was not transferable.

The relations between Church and State in the Spanish republics today differ widely in accordance with the manner in which the various governments have solved this problem of patronage. There are practically eighteen variations of the problem in the eighteen Spanish speaking countries, ranging all the way from strong Church domination in the government of Colombia, through the still raging and often sanguinary battle in Mexico, to complete separation of Church and State in Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. But with the exception of these three last named countries and Mexico, the Catholic Church is an established Church throughout the southern Americas and is strongly supported by the State, both politically and financially.

In Argentina, Colombia, and Peru the relations between State and Church remain very much as they were in colonial times. In Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay the status of the Church is similar to that in the United States. Mexico has gone to the extreme of not only separating the Church from the State but also of putting it under the severe supervision of a frankly hostile government.

Several of the republics have recognized the Church's side of the argument and have negotiated Concordats in which the Holy See has extended the privilege of patronage to them, just as it was granted to the Spanish Crown. While these countries very jealously defend their right of patronage, they enjoy that right because it has been specifically conceded to them by the Pope; not because they inherited the right once exercised by the Catholic Kings of Spain.

Argentina and Bolivia, on the other hand, always have insisted that they inherited the right of patronage from Spain and have written it into their Constitutions on that basis. Consequently, the Vatican has refused to negotiate Concordats with these countries. Despite this difference of opinion, the relations between Argentina and Bolivia and the Vatican are among the most satisfactory in all the American nations, so much so that the Vatican tacitly accepts their exercise of the patronage without formally recognizing their right to it.

The Catholic Church has been the established religion in Bolivia ever since the country achieved its independence, and freedom of worship was not permitted until 1905. Bolivia never has been very belligerent, however, in its exercise of the patronage and permits unrestricted communication between the hierarchy and the Vatican. Argentina's relations with the Church are discussed in the following chapter.

The newest Concordat to be negotiated by a South American nation is Colombia's Revised Concordat of 1942, which modifies the Concordat of 1887 and the Additional Agreement of 1892. The Revised Concordat was approved by the Colombian Congress at an extra session in December, 1942, and provides that archbishops and bishops must be Colombian citizens who have taken an oath of allegiance to the country. It invests the President with a modified form of the patronage by providing that nominations of prelates must be submitted to him for approval before the appointment is made. Thus while nominations do

not arise with the President, as usually is the case, he is empowered with the right of veto.

Another long controversy between the government of Colombia and the Vatican is settled by the government's agreement to recognize the validity of church marriages. The Vatican, on the other hand, agrees that suits for separation shall be handled by the civil courts.

Although the Revised Concordat had been accepted by the Pope, it was vigorously opposed by the Conservative party and some of the clergy, on the ground that it restricts the political power of the Church in Colombia. But a large section of the clergy joined with the Liberal party in supporting the new agreement during the stormy debates in Congress which preceded its final approval.

The political activity of the Catholic Church in the southern Americas goes back to the sorry fact that soldiers who were engaged in conquering, robbing, and butchering people they considered to be members of inferior races were no better administrators of civil government in the days of Pizarro, Cortés, and Valdivia than in the days of one Adolf Hitler. As was to be the case in the Second World War, several of the Indian nations conquered by Spain were much more civilized and more highly cultured than their conquerers. Most of the soldiers Spain sent to the new world could not read or write, and they had not enjoyed the supreme advantage of German education, refinement, and culture, but when it came to the finer points of torture and treachery, of subduing people to slave labor, of using the lie as an instrument of statecraft, and of behaving in general like degenerate beasts, there was little that was really worth knowing which the soldiers of the Spanish Crown could have learned from those of the Third Reich had they waited 400 years to be born. They called their concentration camps *encomiendas* and treated the inmates somewhat more humanely than the Nazis treat their prisoners, but the general idea was the same.

Time was on the wing in the sixteenth century, just as it was to be in the twentieth, and the viceroys, governors royal, captains general, and lesser adventurers had but a little while to stay. The viceroys and governors royal were eager to get back to Court where they could keep their political fences in repair; the captains general and lesser adventurers were impatient to get along to new El Dorados before someone else beat them to the booty. Only the men of the Church stayed put.

Since the Spanish Crown really was interested in building an empire instead of merely providing adventure, loot, and Indian concubines for its soldiery, the kings turned to these men of the Church for administrative talent.

Ferdinand and Isabella have become immortalized in history as the Catholic Kings because of their signal services to the Church. It was they who expelled the Moorish infidels from their long domination of the Spanish Peninsula just before Columbus discovered the new world. When they and their successors sent their armies to take possession of the lands Columbus had found, they sent the Cross along with the sword.

Strange as it sounds today in the hindsight of history, the underlying motive of the Conquest was the conversion of the Indians, not the search for wealth. The armies were to subdue the natives so they could be converted to Christianity. When the armies unexpectedly stumbled onto the unknown and almost unbelievable wealth of the Indian nations in Mexico and Peru, human lust and avarice detoured the Conquest from its original altruistic purpose. The spectacular and exciting search for gold and silver soon sent wealth back to Spain by the shipload in the most gorgeous adventure in all history. The soldiers stole the front page, or what stood for that great institution in those days, and the people forgot the padres who had accompanied the soldiers to the new world.

But the Crown did not forget the padres. It turned to them in desperation to take over the work of colonization which

would have been the duty of the soldiers had they not found the gold and silver which took their minds away from everything else.

Thus it was the Spanish Crown, not the Catholic Church, which pushed the clergy into politics in Ibero-America.

During the 300 years of the colonial period, Spain depended very largely on the ecclesiastical authorities of the Roman Catholic Church for the government of its American empire. Often the highest civil and Church offices were combined in one person, so that there were cases of the viceroy being also the archbishop, visitor general, and inquisitor general.

It is understandable that when the Spanish colonies in America began setting themselves up as independent nations, the Church should have been reluctant to surrender the position of privilege which it had enjoyed in the colonies for 300 years. That was twice as long, remember, as the United States has been an independent nation. During those three centuries the Spanish Crown had made huge grants of land to the ecclesiastical authorities and had further enriched the Church by enforcing the payment of the tithes, even going so far as to reimburse members of the clergy from the royal treasury whenever the tithes did not cover the amount to which they were entitled. One of the duties of the viceroy, even when he was not a member of the clergy, was to see that no one escaped payment of his tithe, or Church income tax.

Three hundred years is a long time. Three hundred years ago most of the nations we know today did not exist. There was no British Empire and no United States of America. What we now call Italy was a group of rival city republics which were being traded, divided, and re-shuffled by the dynastic wars of the Austrian, Polish, and Spanish successions without the citizens knowing or even caring what was happening to the principals who were using them as pawns. What is now Germany was a mess of states, principalities, and duchies wallowing

in the ruin and anarchy which followed the Thirty Years' War. The Dutch were buying Manhattan Island from the Indians, and the Manchus were establishing their dynasty at Pekin. William of Orange had not yet invaded England.

In 1943 the people of the United States of America were fighting desperately to preserve a system of government that was only 150 years old. Is it so strange, then, that other men should have fought desperately to defend a system of government that was 300 years old and that had given them a position of privilege infinitely superior to that of the ordinary man in the democracy we want to preserve?

Because of the prominent political status of the clergy during the colonial period they stepped naturally into leadership when the colonies declared their independence. In Buenos Aires, seventeen members of the clergy signed the petition of May 25, 1810, which started the independence movement that eventually liberated Argentina, Chile, and Peru. In both Argentina and Brazil clerics were presidents of the first Constituent Assemblies and in Colombia the Archbishop of Bogotá acted as provisional President, pending the establishment of constitutional government. When General San Martin, liberator of Argentina, Chile, and Peru, called a Congress of 51 members at Lima and relinquished to it his title of Protector of Peru, the president of the Congress was a cleric, as were twenty of its members.

For 300 years the people of the colonies — the *criollos* and *mestizos* — had been living under one of the most absolute monarchies in history and so had no idea of how to go about the process of self-government. This was one of their most striking contrasts with the North American colonists and the reason it has been so difficult for our southern neighbors to establish stable government in their countries. During the last one hundred years of the colonial period in North America representative government was being established in the mother country. By the time Parliament and the Cabinet had deprived the Crown

of its absolutism, the colonists had been prepared for self-government by their open debate in the Town Meeting and by their participation in the Town Meeting's administration of their local affairs. But all during the three centuries of the Spanish colonial era, the Spanish government had decided how the colonists should think, as well as how they should act. The colonists were forbidden to trade among themselves or with other countries except Spain. They were told what they could read and what they could think, and close restrictions were put upon their traveling even within their own country. So when independence was achieved, the Spanish colonists quite naturally looked to their priests for political leadership in addition to spiritual guidance. The North American colonists very stubbornly insisted on their right to rule themselves and to elect their leaders from their own townspeople.

Most of the clergy who took part in the independence movement in Spanish America were vigorously opposed to the republican form of government and favored the establishment of local monarchies. In this they were heartily supported by the property owners, most of whom were of Spanish birth or descent, and even by San Martin, who had done so much to win the independence of the colonies. The locally born — the common people — favored democracy. It was this difference of opinion that led to the long years of bloody civil wars. The struggle still continues in the conflict between conservatives and liberals throughout the continent.

It is a matter of record, however, that in many cases the clergy had more liberal ideas of government than the laymen. It also is interesting to find that in many parts of Spanish America it has been the Catholic citizens of the countries, rather than the members of the clergy, who have fought hardest to maintain a privileged position for the Church. The clerics in Peru's first Constitutional Convention, for example, supported a proposal that the Constitution should state simply: "The religion of

the nation is the Roman Catholic." When this became known, a large number of leading citizens of Lima indignantly presented a petition insisting on the addition of the phrase: "with the exclusion of any other." And that was the form in which the clause finally was written into the Constitution. Until 1915 the public worship of all other religions was prohibited in Peru because the Peruvian people so wished it.

Tolerance toward non-Catholic religions in Ecuador dates only from 1904, and although the Constitution of Colombia guarantees freedom of worship the government permits non-Catholic worship only in private houses. In Colombia the Church is permitted to exercise more control in politics and in the civil life of the people than anywhere else in the Americas.

This religious zeal of the people has given rise to a popular saying throughout the continent which describes a person as being more Catholic than the Pope. One of its most illuminating examples occurred in Mexico, of all places. In 1836 the Mexican Congress refused admission to a Brief from Pope Gregory VI reducing the number of religious holidays in Mexico. Congress argued that the reform authorized by the Pope would work a hardship on the clergy by depriving them of the revenue they received from the fiestas on Church holidays.

His Holiness must have reflected somewhat grimly that there was no pleasing the charges who had been left to him by the Spanish Crown, because the young governments of both Colombia and Venezuela had only recently petitioned him to issue just such Briefs for their countries, and both Congresses had hurriedly passed laws putting the Briefs into effect.

By the time the colonies declared their independence, the Church was extremely wealthy throughout Spanish America. In Mexico, for example, one-fourth of all the land belonged to the Church. The revolutionary leaders, naturally, were badly in need of cash and the quickest way to get it was to take it away from the Church. It is not particularly surprising, there-

fore, that the clergy should have opposed the independence movement in some of the countries and sought to restore the political power in Spain, under which the Church had flourished as never before or since.

The very natural outcome of all this was that the Church and the State came to look upon each other as mortal enemies. Ever since the Spanish-American countries achieved their independence the Church has fought vigorously against being subordinated to the State, or what the Church describes as the invasion of government in the spiritual domain. Most of the governments have fought just as vigorously to protect themselves, as they claimed, against the invasion of the Church into the political domain.

In some of the countries this conflict has been solved, on the surface at least, by agreements which establish a *modus vivendi*. In other countries, and more especially Mexico, the conflict is still very much alive. Even in those countries where the Church and the State are at peace, the conflict remains latent because neither the civil nor the ecclesiastical authorities are willing to give in to the other.

Except in the case of Mexico, however, this struggle between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities never has assumed the character of an anti-religious movement. Ninety per cent of the people of Spanish America are Roman Catholic, even according to the annual reports of the Protestant missionary boards in the United States, and many of the men who fight most stubbornly against all political aspirations of the clergy are regular attendants at Mass. Even in Mexico many government officials always have insisted that the famous Reform Laws were not directed against the spiritual domain of the Church but against the political and temporal activities of the clergy.

The separation of Church and State in Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay was accomplished without any trouble and practically without any hard feeling, largely because no attempt was made

to deprive the Church of its property. The State simply severed its connection with the Church and allowed it to go on its way.

Separation of Church and State takes place amicably enough and almost automatically when both the government and the clergy have become convinced that their interests will be better served by cutting the Church off from State support and control. Mexico has shown the world the folly of trying to hasten this process or of trying to accomplish it by violence.

In recent years there has been increased support for separation among Church authorities throughout the southern republics, largely because experience has shown that the Church is stronger and has a closer hold on its people when it is freed from State financial support and State restrictions and forced to stand on its own feet. Chile and Uruguay, where Church and State are separated, are the only two South American countries which have an adequate number of priests to look after the spiritual needs of the Catholic communicants. The Church in Peru has been much stronger and better managed since the Constitution of 1915 established tolerance toward other religions. Consequently, many churchmen in the southern Americas are convinced that the Church would become stronger, more active, and more prosperous if separated from the State.

But this is a matter for our southern neighbors to work out for themselves without the interference of Protestant missionaries from the United States. The meddling of the missionaries in this delicate question always has been self-defeating because nothing so rallies the people to the support of the Church as the knowledge that Protestant agents are supporting an anti-Church government, as they have done so frequently in Mexico.

The United States government finally has realized that it is impossible to maintain any kind of amicable relations with the southern governments as long as they have any fear of our interference in their internal political affairs. It is time for the people of the United States to realize that the people of

the southern Americas resent our interference in their religion much more bitterly than our interference in their politics. The resentment against political interference has been brought to our attention more effectively because it was easier for the other American governments to make their resentment felt in Washington than it has been possible so far for the people to make their resentment known to either the government or the people of the United States.

III

CHURCH AND STATE IN ARGENTINA

ARGENTINA PRESENTS one of the most interesting examples of the contradictions that exist in the Spanish American nations when the Catholic Church is the established religion. Here the Church has achieved its highest prestige in Ibero-America, while the State has advanced to a point that is surpassed only by Uruguay. It is not surprising, therefore, that the relations between Church and State should be among the most satisfactory to be found in the southern Americas. Yet we find in Argentina the highest development of those severe restrictions that are put upon the Church by the State in its exercise of the patronage while pretending to be "protecting" the Church.

In spite of the cordial relationship between religion and government in Argentina the Church has been deprived of so many of its prerogatives that it has much less influence in the lives of its people than in the United States. Church weddings are not legal, for one thing, and are permitted as a non-binding religious formality only after the civil ceremony has been performed. Although the Catholic Church is the State religion, there are fewer clergy in proportion to the population than in the United States.

Argentina made several unsuccesful attempts to establish constitutional government between 1812 and 1853. The early Constitutions established that the Roman Catholic faith was the State religion. In the Constitution of 1853, which has governed the country since that date, it is merely stated in Article 2 that "The Federal Government supports the Roman Catholic Apos-

tolic Church." As happens in so many other phases of Argentine life, this ambiguity tends to confusion by enabling conflicting parties and classes to argue that things are not what they seem and to call existing conditions by names which classify them as something else.

Many Argentines insist that Catholicism is not a State religion in their country and that, in fact, Argentina has no State religion because Article 14 of the Constitution guarantees to all inhabitants of the nation the right to profess their faith freely. This guarantee is repeated in Article 20, which lists among the civil rights of aliens the right "to freely practice their religion." But here again we must study the background and the motives behind words and conditions.

One of the most prominent objectives in the minds of the men who framed the Constitution of 1853 was the encouragement of European immigration to populate the lonely emptiness of the far-flung pampas. The Constitution was modeled on that of the United States of America and follows closely the principles set forth by the famous Argentine publicist Juan Bautista Alberdi, in a book called *Bases and Starting Points for the Political Organization of the Argentine Republic.* One of Alberdi's famous Bases was *gobernar es poblar* (to govern is to populate). The framers of the Constitution, consequently, guaranteed freedom of worship to non-Catholic sects to attract farmers from the Protestant countries of Europe. But this guarantee does not in any way diminish the fact that the Catholic Church is the established State religion in Argentina, regardless of what some Argentines may argue.

As J. Lloyd Mecham very aptly points out in his *Church and State in Latin America,*[1] "Surely, if a faith is financially supported by the State, if some of its personnel is subject to governmental nomination, if the president of the republic must belong

[1] J. Lloyd Mecham, Ph.D., *Church and State in Latin America,* University of North Carolina Press, 1934.

to that faith, if all religious ceremonies in which the State participates are conducted in that faith, and if pontifical documents issued for the governance of that faith are subject to governmental scrutiny, it is certainly the State religion quite as much as is the established Church of England."

Six articles of the Constitution refer to the relations between Church and State and all except the dozen words in Articles 14 and 20 guaranteeing freedom of worship are devoted to establishing the Catholic Church as the State-protected religion. The President and Vice President must be Catholics. On the other hand, "regular ecclesiastics cannot be members of Congress (Art. 65) and those who live in religious communities may not even vote. The State pays the salaries of those members of the clergy who are attached to the cathedrals and considers them government employees. The cathedrals belong to the State but there are no restrictions on other Church property.

Article 86, which defines the powers of the President, provides: "He exercises the National Patronage in the presentation of Bishops for Cathedral Churches, on the recommendation in ternary of the Senate." This ternary is a list of three names recommended by the Senate, from which the President nominates one for Pontifical appointment.

This same article of the Constitution also provides: "He (the President) grants or refuses passage to the Decrees of the Councils, Bulls, Briefs, and Rescripts of the Supreme Pontiff of Rome, with the concurrence of the Supreme Court; a law being required when they contain general provisions of a permanent character." In other words, all papal communications must have an *exequatur* from the Supreme Court before they can reach the hierarchy, and when they contain rules for the conduct of the Church they must be enacted into law by the Argentine Congress before they can be put into effect. For instance, the Vatican cannot alter the diocesan boundaries until the changes have been legislated by Congress.

Among the powers of Congress set up by Article 67 is one "To approve or reject Concordats made with the Holy See; and to regulate the exercise of the ecclesiastical patronage throughout the Nation."

Governmental control of the Church formerly was under the jurisdiction of the ministry of justice and public instruction, but since 1898 it has been under the ministry of foreign affairs, which is officially designated as the ministry of foreign relations and worship.

Argentina has been satisfied to exercise the patronage only to the extent of nominating archbishops and bishops, not interfering otherwise in the organization and distribution of the clergy. There have been instances in which the Vatican has refused to make the appointments recommended by the Argentine President. These few cases usually have aroused a nine-day sensation in the newspapers and in Congress, political orators vying with editorial writers in their efforts to formalize the most blistering diatribes against the refusal of the Holy See "to recognize Argentina's sovereign rights." The Vatican has not attempted to substitute its own nomination for the one it has rejected, nor has it allowed itself to be drawn into the controversy. After the excitement has expired the President has quietly made another nomination as though it had no connection with the rejected one; the Vatican has made the appointment, and relations have continued on the same agreeable basis as before.

There always had been a great deal of jealousy and resentment in Argentina over the fact that Brazil had a Cardinal and Argentina had not, in spite of the fact that Church and State are separated in Brazil. When this subject was under discussion, Argentines changed their argument and insisted that the Catholic Church is the State religion in Argentina but not in Brazil. Therefore, they said, Argentina should have a Cardinal. After the tremendous success that attended the great Inter-

national Eucharistic Congress in Buenos Aires in 1936, the Holy See finally granted the oft-repeated wish of Argentine Catholics and appointed a Cardinal.

News of the forthcoming appointment gave rise to another excited discussion of the question of patronage in the newspapers and in Congress, it being insisted that the Cardinal should be nominated by the Argentine government. The Vatican seems never to have had any intention except to appoint a Cardinal who would be acceptable to the Argentines and the appointment went, without any trouble, to the archbishop nominated by the President.

The high prestige of the Church in Argentina and its close relationship with the government provides the most interesting example in American history of the ability of the Church to survive persecution by the State. For although the Church has been viciously persecuted in Mexico it never has been degraded and humiliated anywhere in the Americas as it was in Argentina during the dictatorship of the tyrant Juan Manuel de Rosas, who ruled the country with a relentless and blood-soaked hand from 1835 to 1852.

Rosas was the most treacherous and most cynical tyrant who has ruled anywhere in the Americas. Beside him, Gomez of Venezuela was a gentleman. There was nothing which the spies and savage cutthroats of his infamous *mazorca* could have learned from Hitler's Gestapo. It would not be surprising, in fact, if some day history should reveal that the Gestapo was inspired by some Nazi's study of the *mazorca,* so similar were their methods of terrorism and butchery.

Rosas is now being held up by the Nationalist movement in Argentina as a national hero and defender of the faith.

When the legislature of the Province of Buenos Aires invested Rosas with dictatorial powers in 1835 in the hope that he could restore order out of anarchy, it made only two stipulations: (1) He must defend and maintain the national cause of Federa-

tion; and (2) he must preserve, defend, and protect the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion. The second stipulation was evidence of the legislature's intent to preserve the Catholic religion during the dictatorship, as had been provided for in the earlier Constitutions.

As a result of this law Rosas called himself Restorer of the Laws and Defender of the Faith. But the faith has rarely been so viciously betrayed as by him.

Having set himself up as the supreme leader of the Federalist cause, Rosas was determined to crush the political power of the Church in spite of the mandate from the legislature requiring him to preserve and defend it. In the first place, he wanted no rivalry between Church and State which might weaken his tyranny. In the second place, the Unitarians, or centrist party, were strong supporters of the movement for a State Church and they were the bitter political enemies of Rosas and Federalism. So he decided that the best solution of the problem was to separate the Church from Rome, establish it as a national church, and combine in his august person the dual eminence of pope and emperor, as Peter the Great had done in Russia just a hundred years before.

Upon his assumption of power Rosas pretended to favor the clergy and led them to believe that he would relieve them from the restriction of several reform measures that had been instituted by Rivadavia, the first President, immediately after the establishment of independence. But as soon as he had entrenched himself in power, Rosas cunningly and deliberately reduced the Church to the most degrading position to which it ever has been subjected anywhere in the Americas. Mexico has tried to destroy the Church; Rosas tried to make it a servile instrument of his tyranny. He compelled the clergy to place pictures and images of himself alongside those of Jesus and the Virgin Mary and to use the flaming red of the Federalist cause in the altar decorations. Bishops were commanded to

instruct the clergy that in every sermon they must urge unquestioned obedience and loyalty to Rosas and condemn the Unitarians as untouchables. Priests who did not obey these orders were removed from office and thrown into jail, usually under chains. Rosas prohibited all communication between the Church and the Holy See and expelled the Jesuits, after having displayed his cordial feeling for the Church by inviting them to return to Argentina.

It is very unfortunate for the position of the Church in Argentina that its cause is being championed by the Nationalist movement. Under the pretense that they are fighting communism, which is practically non-existent in Argentina, the Nationalists are working for the overthrow of democracy, which they list along with communism and socialism as the leftist threat against the Argentine State, meaning against the reactionary conservative minority of cattle barons and land owners who are trying to keep themselves in power by force against the will of the large democratic majority.

When the democratic forces regain control of the government, as they undoubtedly will eventually, either by the ballot or by revolution, they will be inspired by a spirit of vindictiveness against everything the Nationalists have stood for. The Church is likely to be made one of the objectives of their revenge because it has been held up by the Nationalists as one of the institutions they are defending from the leftists.

On the other hand, Argentina has been moving steadily toward separation of Church and State for several years and it seems probable that the final break would have been accomplished with as little disturbance and ill-feeling as in Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, had not the Nationalists injected the religious question into a purely anti-democratic political movement.

IV

AN INDIAN DISCIPLE OF ST. FRANCIS

THE MOST interesting person I have met in 25 years of wandering around the South American continent is a full-blooded Quechua Indian. When he was an illiterate fourteen-year-old orphan he was picked up off the streets of Cochabamba, Bolivia, by a Franciscan monk and taken to the monastery. Today he is the Superior of the Franciscan Order in Bolivia, the Very Reverend Pedro Corvera.

Until he was called to Rome to attend the General Chapter of the Franciscans, this quiet, studious Indian monk never had crossed the frontiers of his native land. Yet he speaks Spanish, French, and Italian, and teaches Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He has translated a prayer book into Quechua, Aymará, Guaraní, and other Indian languages, and has published several treatises on the languages and customs of the various Indian races which inhabit Bolivia. Furthermore, he is one of the country's most accomplished botanists.

Father Corvera's face is as brown as his cowl and his black eyes glisten brilliantly with that light that shines in the eyes of mystics the world over. He is a little man, as are all Quechuas, but he stands as straight as a soldier in his heavy brown robes and looks more like a knight of the Crusades than a priest. His words are soft and gentle, but there is something in his voice which makes his words echo and re-echo in memory long after he has said them.

La Paz, where Father Corvera lives, is more than two miles above the sea, the highest capital in the world and one of the

coldest. But this kindly old Franciscan monk has succeeded in growing hundreds of beautiful carnations of all sizes and colors in Standard Oil 5-gallon square tin cans, so that the cloisters of the monastery attached to the ancient San Francisco Church are ablaze with color and filled with that peculiar sweet perfume of carnations even on the coldest days. In all my travels around South America as a foreign correspondent for American newspapers I have found nothing more satisfying than to spend an hour or two strolling with Father Corvera among his beloved carnations.

Incidentally, the San Francisco Church in La Paz boasts one of the two or three known examples of that architectural rarity, the flat arch.

The kindly old Quechua monk probably is the only friend I have in South America whom I do not look upon as a potential source of news. Maybe the reason I have so much affection for him is that I do not have to ask him questions about crops and mines and politics, or why the rate of exchange is what it is.

On the other hand, it seems to please him immensely that one who is not of the faith should pause in his mundane wanderings to bring him tales of New York skyscrapers where the elevators do not stop until the eighty-fourth floor; or of the many millions spent by the great city of Buenos Aires in demolishing block after block of buildings in the heart of the business district to make room for wide avenues that some day will be the most beautiful in the world; or of the mysterious wonder of the great illuminated figure of the crucified Christ that shines out of the starry heavens above Mount Corcovado, high above the city of Rio de Janeiro. I nearly lost Father Corvera's friendship, though, the day I told him about the express elevators in the Empire State Building. He thought I was playing on his credulity.

Much as my visits appear to please Father Corvera, it pleases me equally that he never is too busy to drop everything and

walk with me in the cloisters. On my first two visits to the monastery I was considerably mystified by his action in calling a young Indian seminary student away from a football game and giving him some instructions in Quechua. On both occasions, the boy looked at me sharply and then disappeared in the direction of Father Corvera's study. On my third visit I had with me a friend who understood Quechua, and he told me that the instructions to the boy were to go into the study and cancel all the engagements for the afternoon.

Then as we stroll round and round, talking of many things, Father Corvera keeps stopping to point out his favorite carnations, calling them affectionately by their Latin botanical names, much as a dog fancier might say, "This is my nice Big Dane and this is my prize Scotty." Then the conversation goes on from whatever point it was dropped when we stopped to admire the flower. As we walk back and forth, he gently plucks a dying leaf from this one; pats the earth more firmly about the roots of that one; finds a slender stick to support a stalk that is bending under the weight of its bloom.

Most South Americans are entertaining talkers, but Father Corvera is the only one I know who also is a good listener. Now and then he offers a question and then listens eagerly to the response. He has an elfish sense of humor and delights to tell stories on himself with a very serious face — something I never have heard a white South American do. He is keenly interested to know how the poor live in all parts of the world and what is being done to educate homeless boys, such as he once was.

Having been a teacher ever since he was ordained, Father Corvera has spent many years of his life in the faraway corners of Bolivia, passing on to other Indian lads some of the knowledge that the Franciscan Fathers gave him in his youth. So he likes to talk of his boys. He modestly pretends not to remember how many young men he has prepared for the priesthood, but

I am very sure he remembers the name of each one of them, just as he remembers the names of his carnations, and that he is proud of every one of them. He complains rather sadly that his heavy duties as Superior have forced him to neglect both his students and his carnations.

So in this way we enjoy our afternoon visit with each other and usually terminate it by climbing into the old belfry at sunset to watch the colors and the evening shadows playing hide and seek on the bare brown hillsides of La Paz.

Then as I reluctantly say good-by and the quiet-voiced monk gives me his blessing, I feel as I never have felt with any other person the truth of the French saying, *Partir c'est mourir un peu.* It always is so likely that this good-by may be the last one between us.

My reason for introducing Father Corvera to United States readers is that he is symbolic of two great truths in South America — the magnificent work being done by the Franciscan Fathers among the oppressed and neglected Indians of the bleak South American plateau, and the tremendous potential value of the Indian as a useful member of society when he is educated. The Indian races of Mexico and South America are "inferior" only because they are not educated, do not get enough to eat, and are denied access to that economic well-being which enables the white race to call itself "superior."

When the Indians of the southern Americas are fed and educated they are found to have keen minds which are capable of developing a high grade of intelligence. But the southern Americans prefer to keep their Indian populations poor, hungry, and oppressed so there will be no competition with the white minority population which now lives largely off the suffering of the exploited Indians. Only Mexico is making any attempt to incorporate the Indians into civilization.

The tragedy of the primitive races of Mexico and South America is that the Spanish Conquest destroyed their civiliza-

tion without destroying the race. Consequently, the Indian races are still intact; the Spaniards merely exploited and degenerated them and put them beyond the pale of the white man's civilization.

During the past four centuries, time has not moved for the Indian. It still is the same race that watched the destruction of its system of life and never has been able to reorganize it. But there are many evidences that the cultural and spiritual reserves of this great race are still intact. The Indian spirit still manifests itself clearly in three ways: religious fervor, exquisite artistic taste, and industriousness.

South American white men will scoff at the inclusion of industriousness among the Indian virtues, because they look upon the Indian as hopelessly lazy. But in his own way, the Indian plods along and, in spite of the cruel exploitation of which he has been a victim for centuries, never has ceased working the land, nor abandoned his primitive industries: textiles, pottery, silver, and gold. Getting the Indian out of his apathy is merely a matter of educating him and convincing him that if he works more and produces a salable surplus it will not be taken away from him, as in the past.

The most notable feature of Indian character is his close identification with the soil and his love for the land he tills with the same primitive methods that his forefathers used hundreds of years ago. Most of Mexico's troubles during the past hundred years have been the outcome of depriving the Indians of their land. In Bolivia, despite the miserable wage that is paid to Indian miners, communist agitators never have been able to organize them for revolt against the established order because under Bolivia's land laws the Indian tenants remain on the land no matter how often it may change hands. So when he loses his job, or life in the mines becomes unendurable, the Bolivian Indian stolidly goes back to his little plot of land where the sun can warm his back, and he gets some kind of

spiritual satisfaction out of cultivating his potatoes, which is difficult for the white man to understand. His industry may be of a low order when judged by the white man's standard of production, but the Indian keeps on working from sunrise to dark in spite of the absence of any apparent economic inducements for doing so.

The Indian's religious fervor has been inherited from time immemorial. It was an outstanding characteristic of the subjects of both the Aztec and Inca empires long before the arrival of the Spaniards. The padres who accompanied the Conquest destroyed the pagan gods and set up the Cross as the symbol of the God of the Christians. Although, as Hubert Herring remarks, the captious may note that Indian worship still retains much of its earlier pagan forms, the religious fervor of the race never has weakened. Despite the lower quality of the Indian and *mestizo* priesthood, as compared with United States standards, it has produced some notable prelates, of whom Father Corvera happens to be one I know. Another widely loved ecclesiastical leader who comes from Indian ancestors is the Most Reverend Luís M. Martinez, Archbishop of Mexico.

The artistic taste of the Indian is plainly visible in the decorations of Catholic churches throughout the southern Americas; churches that were designed by the Spaniards and built by the Indians. It is seen in the artistry of his textiles and pottery. It is apparent in the contemporary resurrection of painting and sculpture that has produced several famous Indian artists, especially in Mexico. "The proficiency attained by the Indians in the fine arts is truly astonishing," writes Dr. Edwin Ryan in *The Church in the South American Republics.*[1] "Evidence of it remains in statuary, painting, mission churches, etc." In this contemporary art the style and spirit remains Indian even when the subject is not Indian.

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[1] Edwin Ryan, D.D., *The Church in the South American Republics,* Bruce, 1932.

The political genius of the Indian never has died, and is now flowering again, especially in Mexico and Paraguay. Benito Juarez, Mexico's great hero, was nine-tenths Indian, in his ideas as well as his blood, and many other men who have been more Indian than white have risen to prominent places in the southern governments. One of the most outstanding examples of Indian political genius in public life today is Mexico's famous foreign minister, Ezequiel Padilla. Born of poor *mestizo* parents in an adobe hut in a small village of the interior, the only way the boy Padilla could get an education was by winning scholarships. So he won them all the way to the Sorbonne in Paris and became one of the continent's most notable examples of a *mestizo* self-made man. Returning to Mexico with a Sorbonne diploma certifying him to be a doctor of constitutional law, young Padilla put his degree away and became a guerrilla soldier under an Indian revolutionary leader, Zapata. When the revolution triumphed, he was well prepared to become one of its most famous diplomats as well as politicians.

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Father Corvera thus is a striking example of what can be done if the governments of the southern Americas ever undertake to educate the Indian population, provided, of course, that the educated Indian is no longer denied access to economic equality with the white man.

V

PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS

ONE OF the reasons why the Germans were popular in the southern Americas before the outbreak of World War II was that they always had refused to join the Protestant sects of the United States in looking upon the countries South of the Rio Grande as a foreign mission field. At the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 the Germans successfully opposed the attempt of the United States delegates to have Mexico and the South and Central American countries included within the world missionary movement. They led the other European delegates in insisting that missionary work is not legitimate in countries which are predominantly Catholic.

The United States delegates thereupon issued an anonymous call for a luncheon to discuss "Latin American" missionary work outside the regular conference, and continued to meet separately to lay their plans for work in Mexico and South America. As a result of this rump conference, two North American missionaries from Mexico were sent on a tour of the continent to drum up interest among their colleagues for a Latin American missionary assembly to meet at Panama in 1916 "to make a careful study of southern civilization and the part which Protestants should play in its development." The Panama Conference set up a Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, with headquarters in New York, and this committee has been directing the Protestant proselytizing activities South of the Rio Grande ever since. The so-called cooperation in the Committee's

name is that of the many rival sects which rushed missionaries into the new "field" and should not be confused with any of the several laudable efforts at cultural cooperation between the United States and the southern republics.

In 1929 another missionary conference met at Havana "to study the issues and conditions relative to the establishment of the Kingdom of God in Latin America."

Despite the contrary ruling of the Edinburgh Conference, more than 50 of the 250 Protestant sects of the United States have sent missionaries into the southern Americas.[1] "Mission stations" and "preaching stations" have been established in Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Lima, Mexico City, and other modern and progressive southern cities on the same basis that missionary depots are maintained in the wilds of the Congo, Nigeria and, until the Japs arrived, French Indo-China and other jungle spots of Asia. Dollars are poured into this "Latin American Field" by the million every years to maintain an army of 2,950 North American missionaries and a much larger number of "native" workers, and the annual reports of the foreign mission boards in the United States sandwich the southern American nations in among the mission fields of Asia and Africa and speak of our southern neighbors in the same terminology that is used in speaking of the unchristianized natives of the islands of the South Pacific.

As recently as 1941 the Southern Baptists voted "after long consideration" to extend their missionary activities into Colombia, "the progressive and expansive republic at the top of the map of South America," as they describe it. In accordance with this decision, The Colombian Mission was established in 1942 by sending a missionary and his wife to Bogotá.

The Southern Baptist "missionary" work in Chile was begun as recently as 1917, and they now have 22 missionaries in that

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[1] For list of these missionary organizations in the southern Americas, see Appendix 1.

highly cultured land. The foreign mission board of the Southern Baptist Convention claims that there are 43 Baptist churches in Chile "with over one hundred outstations and missions." The same sort of outstations and missions that are maintained in the interior of Africa.

The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America reports that 24 Protestant missionary organizations in the southern Americas spent $1,600,000 in 1939 for Protestant "missionary" work in those lands. This is only half the number of Protestant sects which have sent proselytizing agents to the southern Americas, and the reported expenditure does not include that of two of the largest proselytizing organizations, which do not cooperate with the Committee on Cooperation.

It is true, of course, that there are millions of people in the interior of the South American continent who have not been reached by religion, education, and North American bathroom fittings. These people offer a needy field for legitimate missionary work. But the North American missionaries, for the most part, carefully avoid the hardships and discomforts that would be entailed in working among the people of the interior. Their "mission stations" are located in the up-to-date capitals and their very attractive and comfortable suburbs, because the objective is not to carry the widely conflicting dogmas of their 250 sects to people who know nothing of Christianity, but to "convert" people from the Catholic faith to their own. Protestant missionary leaders testified before the United States Foreign Relations Committee in 1920 that the missionaries are in the southern Americas "to convert the people to our own doctrines." The testimony is preserved in the two-volume report of the hearings, published by the U. S. Government Printing Office and available at most libraries.

This is not missionary work. It is proselytizing in its worst form. These missionaries do more harm than good, even from a purely religious point of view, because they deprive their

"converts" of the elaborate and solemn ritual of the Catholic Church, which they have known all their lives, and give them no equivalent in return for it. Many of these so-called converts, having had doubt sown in their hearts, soon begin to doubt the new faith as well and wind up all too often by becoming unbelievers altogether and unable to find comfort or inspiration in any church. As one of the great philosophers very wisely said, "Where there are a thousand faiths we are apt to become skeptical of them all."

But the greatest damage done by the American missionaries is in the political field where their work arouses more enmity against the United States than did the activities of American Big Business in the old days of Dollar Diplomacy. From the Rio Grande to the Strait of Magellan, the question of the American missionaries is brought up continually as one of the strongest reasons why the southern Americans do not like us and believe us to be insincere and hypocritical in our efforts to get closer to them. For one thing, these missionaries personify better than any other North American activity that smug superiority and holier-than-thou attitude which always has exasperated the people of the southern Americas and made it impossible for us to get onto a basis of friendly and mutual understanding with them.

The southern Americans, being innately polite and kind, especially toward foreigners, try to keep up an appearance of courtesy toward the North American missionaries who live among them, but inwardly their resentment boils like a volcano, and when it boils over, as it occasionally does, it leaves no doubt in anyone's mind as to what our southern neighbors think of the people who send these missionaries to them and provide them with the money to support their work.

When the southern countries established their independence from Spain, their Constitutions, as we have seen, set up the Roman Catholic Church as the State religion. But, as we have

also seen, practically all the Constitutions later established freedom of worship for those who did not care to associate themselves with the Catholic Church. By taking this step, the various republics intended to permit all foreigners to worship God, or even Buddha or Confucius, according to their own consciences. It seems not to have occurred to them that this courtesy and tolerance toward the religion of other people would one day be used as a cloak for attacking their own religion and for supporting opposition political movements which from time to time seek to overthrow the governments which support the Catholic Church and are in turn supported by it.

The resentment that has been aroused by the North American missionaries and its disastrous effect on our relations with our southern neighbors is one of the first things that strike any North American investigator who starts a trip around the southern continent with an open mind. Hubert Herring, himself a former Protestant clergyman and now a recognized authority on the southern Americas, as Director of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, refers in his book, *Good Neighbors,*[2] to the continuing annoyance caused by the missionaries who carry the Gospel to the southern Americas who, he remarks, thought they already had the Gospel.

John Erskine, a non-Catholic, was much impressed by this resentment when he went to Argentina and Uruguay on a travel grant from the State Department in 1941 to study our cultural relations with those countries. Upon his return to the United States he wrote an article in *Liberty* in which he spoke of the resentment and ill-feeling caused by the attempt of the Protestant missionaries "to win converts from one branch of Christianity to another." In another article for *Catholic Digest* in July, 1942, he said, "Instead of making friends, we give offense."

Carleton Beals says in *The Coming Struggle for Latin America,* "No portion of the globe has endured the unasked good will

[2] Hubert Herring, *Good Neighbors,* Yale University Press, 1941.

ministrations of righteous Americans more than Latin America."[3]

One of the most serious political aspects of the proselytizing campaign of the North American missionaries is that it very naturally arouses the enmity of Catholics throughout the continent, against whom it is directed, thereby making it the most formidable single cause for anti-American propaganda and for sowing suspicion and dislike of everything North American. The Catholic Church is one of the most efficient and far-flung organizations in the southern Americas and it carries its dislikes and suspicions, as well as its faith, into the tiniest villages and most remote towns. Both it and the Church of England carry on real missionary work in the less civilized districts of the continent. They minister to the Indian tribes in the Chaco region of Bolivia and Paraguay, and along the far reaches of the Amazon. Since the Protestant missionaries, for the most part, confine their activities to the more civilized and more comfortable cities and towns, the Catholic Church looks upon their activities as unfair competition and fights it as such. High Church authorities in all parts of South America make no pretense of hiding their anti-American feelings and when asked for the reason invariably refer to the anti-Catholic activities of the North American missionaries.

Harold Callender, writing in *The New York Times* on August 3, 1941, after a four-month tour of South America in which he visited all ten of the republics, reported widespread hostility against the United States on the part of Catholics throughout the continent. The Catholic suspicion of the United States, he wrote, is so deep and so widespread in many influential quarters as to constitute in nearly every one of the South American countries a serious obstacle to Pan American understanding and, consequently, to collective defense.

Mr. Callender quoted the opinion of Dr. Laureano Gomez, prominent Catholic and leader of the Conservative Party of

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[3] Carleton Beals, *The Coming Struggle for Latin America*, J. B. Lippincott, 1939.

Colombia, as being typical of the opinions that were expressed to him everywhere. Dr. Gomez said that "the fundamental pillar of our culture is religion" and that Catholics in Colombia and elsewhere feared the anti-Catholic influence of the United States. The only evidence of any such influence are the North American missionaries who always are ready to lend support to anti-clerical politicians, thus involving themselves in the internal politics of the countries in which they are supposed to be occupied only with religious matters.

One of the most prominent newspaper publishers in Buenos Aires epitomized the whole South American attitude toward us when he said to me on the occasion of the visit of President-elect Hoover: "What is the use of your President coming here and pretending that you Americans want so much to be our close friends as long as you continue to consider us as heathen and send missionaries to save us?"

This dislike of the United States because of the activities of the Protestant missionaries reaches its most extreme bitterness in the Argentine Republic and is one of the most important factors that stand in the way of our efforts to be friends with the Argentines. This attitude is hardly to be wondered at when we consider that Argentina is one of the most advanced and most prosperous of all the South American nations, having almost no Indian blood in its population, as have all the others except Uruguay. Also, the Argentines are the most arrogant in their national pride and the most touchy in their sensitiveness. The great modern city of Buenos Aires can compete favorably with any big American city and is superior to many of our own cities as a center of culture and civilization. The Argentines do not like being put on the same plane as the unchristianized heathen of Asia, Africa, and the Cannibal Islands, any more than we would like it, and they resent their beautiful capital being used as the headquarters for the American foreign mission effort in the countries of the River Plate zone.

The extent of the proselytizing effort that is centered in Buenos Aires is clearly shown by the 1938 edition of the *Directory of Evangelical Workers in the River Plate Republics,* published by the Methodist Episcopal publishing house in Buenos Aires. This directory lists 754 men and women who are engaged in foreign mission work in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Of this number, 471 are classified as foreign missionaries who have been sent into "the field" by foreign mission boards; the other 283 being "native" workers who have been trained locally for the work.[4]

The army of 2,950 North American missionaries in the southern Americas has been so distributed that there are 1,165 in Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies, and 1,785 in South America. One-fourth of all the Protestant missionaries in South America are based on the capital of the Argentine Republic. Of the 754 mission workers assigned to Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, 283, or more than a third of the total, actually live and work in the great city of Buenos Aires and its very pleasant and comfortable suburbs. Another 127 are stationed in the nine important cities of Rosario, Bahia Blanca, Entre Rios, Paraná, Córdoba, Sante Fé, Mendoza, and La Plata, and in Montevideo, Uruguay. Three live at Argentina's fashionable bathing resort, Mar del Plata.

Of the 471 workers classified as foreign missionaries in the River Plate zone, 331, or 70 per cent, represent United States boards of missions and all except 40 of them belong to boards that have entered "the field" since 1900, the year in which Argentina began its spectacular rise to its present leading position.

Some of the United States missionaries, however, have been operating in South America since the middle of the last century, and they are responsible for most of the misconceptions

[4] For list of missionary societies working in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, see Appendix 2.

which North Americans until very recently had about the people of the southern republics. From the time of our Civil War until the outbreak of the first World War, we in the United States were so busily occupied in building our own empire in the Far West that we paid no attention to the southern Americas. Very few North Americans ever went to South America and practically the only books written for United States readers about life on the southern continent were those written by American missionaries. These missionaries were professional reformers who were trying to force their particular form of Christianity onto people who had accepted a different form of worshiping the same God and the same Redeemer. In order to justify their activities and continue to get money with which to support themselves and their work, these missionaries had to paint the South American "mission field" as black as possible. They had to compete with other missionaries from Asia and Africa who were describing the dark ways of "the heathen" in those continents and trying, too, to get more money for their field. One book written by an American missionary at the turn of the century and purporting to describe life in Buenos Aires was entitled *The Road Through Hell.* Missionary leaders of today are rather ashamed of this book and are trying very hard to forget it, but it was typical of the lies which the missionaries circulated in the United States about the people of the other Americas.

When these missionaries returned to the United States on furlough, they spent most of their time trying to get more foreign mission money for their own particular field. So they traveled extensively in the United States delivering lectures on South America. Had they told the truth and described the South American countries and people as they actually were, no one could have been persuaded to part with money to "save" the South Americans, because it would have been perfectly obvious that they were not in need of saving. So the missionaries, to justify

themselves, were forced to present pictures of South American life which were completely misleading, even when not outrightly false. These books and these lectures were the foundation of American information, or rather misinformation, about South America and, unfortunately, much of the misinformation still is at the base of the misconceptions we continue to have about the people to the South of us.

When the American missionaries return to South America they just as assiduously spread a false picture of the United States by pandering to our neighbors' pet myth that we Americans are a race of uncultured, uncouth materialists who are interested only in making money and not too particular about how we make it, either. The missionaries seem to feel that this makes them more acceptable to those South Americans who hold these beliefs.

Mr. Arthur Wesley, superintendent of the Bóca Mission (Methodist Episcopal) and one of the most prominent United States missionaries in Buenos Aires, returned to his field shortly after the repeal of prohibition and immediately gave a widely-advertised lecture on "What I Saw in the United States," a counterpart of the usual missionary lecture in the United States on "What I Saw in Latin America." He declared that religion was losing ground in the United States; "the home is gone"; and divorce on the increase. He pictured American women as "gold diggers" and blandly told his church audience that "there are women in the United States who are drawing alimony from three or four men at the same time." The decline of commercialized prostitution in the United States is not altogether a blessing, he said, because it is due largely to a general lowering of the standards of sex morality. "I am telling you quite frankly," he said, "that I am glad to have my daughter back in Buenos Aires."

The lecture, of course, was given sensational publicity in the newspapers. When American clergymen and religious teachers

whose position in the pulpit ostensibly stamps their word as truth give such descriptions of their own country, perhaps it is not strange that many South American families refuse to permit their sons and daughters to go to such an ungodly and dangerous country to finish their education.

Before these missionaries can start operating in most of the southern countries they have to acquire juridical personality under the Napoleonic Code upon which Spanish American law is based. To do this they must file with the ministry of justice in the country in which they desire to work, the statutes and by-laws of the American missionary society which has sent them to the southern country. These statutes set forth in one form or another that the purpose of the missionary society is "to save the heathen and bring Christianity to them." (I copy the phrase from the legal papers filed by one of the newcomers "in the field" in Argentina.)

The opinion that government officials have of North Americans after reading and initialing these papers can best be surmised from the opinion that would be expressed in Washington government offices if similar papers should be filed there by foreign missionaries who had come to save us.

One North American board of foreign missions sent its first mission to Argentina as recently as 1927 and soon had 26 missionaries from the United States at work "in the field." Five other United States missionary societies have established themselves in the Argentine Republic since 1900. Three were granted *personería jurídica* by the Argentine ministry of justice in 1906, one in 1908, and one in 1918.

These Protestant foreign mission boards of the United States have monopolized unto themselves the word *Christian,* just as we as a nation have monopolized the word *American.* The annual reports and other publicity matter that is distributed in the United States to the individuals and organizations that contribute funds for the upkeep of the foreign missionary effort

refer to the Protestant proselytizing organizations in the southern countries as the Christian church or the Christian effort, using the word *Christian* as an antonym to *Catholic*. It is constantly stated that this "Christian" work is made necessary in the southern Americas by the fact that the Catholic Church has lost its leadership among the people. Protestant leaders in the United States have been much concerned ever since the first World War over the loss of leadership of the Protestant churches in the United States and their inability to hold their congregations. But what would be our reaction if Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, for instance, should send several hundred missionaries to our large cities and attractive suburbs to save us and preach the gospel to us? Knowing what our own reaction to such effrontery would be, what reason can we have for believing that the people of the other Americas should have any different reaction to the missionaries we send to "save" them?

Our foreign mission boards further insult the people whom we want and need as good neighbors by counting only the Protestant "converts" as Christians and treating the huge Catholic populations as non-Christian, along with the black, brown, and yellow unchristianized races of the world. Those who are ready to leap to their feet to deny such a charge can find textual proof of it in the 1942 yearbook of "The Church of God" which has its headquarters at Anderson, Indiana. This yearbook purports to show that there are only 1,480,846 "baptized Christians" in all South America, the more than 70 million Catholics being considered in the same category as the pagan natives of Asia, Africa, and the cannibal islands of the Pacific. A statistical table shows that there are only 31,640 Christians in the great Argentine Republic and that in Uruguay all but 1,630 of the people are unsaved heathen. Yet Uruguay has become the leading democratic nation in South America and one of the world leaders in advanced social legislation.

What these figures really prove is the failure of the Protestant missionary movement, because the very small number of "Christians" represents the fruit of the many years of effort and the millions of dollars that have been spent trying to win the people away from the faith of their fathers.

The Christian and Missionary Alliance has been working in South America since 1900 and has 68 North American missionaries and 95 "native workers" in the field. After 40 years of proselytizing it reports 3,872 "converts" in the five South American countries where it works, or 23 for each missionary. In other words, it takes each mission worker nearly two years to make one "convert." But in the meantime he has very efficiently made a large number of political enemies for the United States of America.

The Southern Baptists have been trying to convert Brazil to "Christianity" since 1882. They have 99 North American missionaries and 283 "ordained natives" at work in Brazil. The total number of "converts" is 59,272, or a fraction more than two converts a year for each missionary over the 60-year period.

The manner in which these missionary organizations lump our southern neighbors into the world missionary movement to save the heathen and bring them to Christianity would be unbelievable were it not for the written evidence in their own annual reports. The yearbook of the mission board of "The Church of God," for example, gives the following as one of ten good reasons for foreign missions:

"To evangelize humanity is to save the world from the tragedy of evil. To bring unchristian nations into fellowship with the Son of Man is to create a new brotherhood of mutual understanding, honor, protection, and righteousness, thereby outlawing war and greed and a multitude of evils."

The Foreign Missions Library of the Presbyterian Church in New York City publishes a book-lending list in which books relating to the Lands of the Younger Churches are listed in the

following order: Africa, Chosen, Far East, India, Japan, Mexico and South America, Near East and North Africa, Philippine Islands, Southeast Asia.

So "The Church of God" sends its missionaries to Argentina and Brazil, as well as to India, Africa, and Korea.

A survey of the work of The Christian and Missionary Alliance carries on the cover a photograph of two wild-looking leaders of the Ngawa tribe in Tibet, dressed in leopard skins. The report on the activities of the Alliance missionaries in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Argentina is sandwiched between French Indo-China and the Kansu-Tibetan border. Yet we pretend to be deeply troubled and puzzled at our inability to win the friendship and confidence of our South American neighbors.

The Christian and Missionary Alliance sends out what it calls a Macedonian call from Argentina: "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few." This is one of the few North American outfits that works in the interior, but its leaders have become as anxious about saving the heathen in the great capital city of Buenos Aires as those in the interior of the Congo, French West Africa, and Kweichow-Szechuan. "Another urgent necessity," says the 1940 report, "is for the opening of work in Buenos Aires. We believe the fourfold Gospel is a message that should ring out with a clear voice in a city such as Buenos Aires."

Some forty of these proselytizing sects are already at work in the Argentine Republic, according to a report by the executive secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, which has taken upon itself the task of converting the South and Central American people to Christianity.

The foreign missions board of the United Lutheran Church in America, in extolling the work of its missionaries "who have given their lives to making disciples of Christ in non-Christian countries," explains in its 1941 report that in Japan, China,

and Argentina married and unmarried men serve seven years and single women five years. At the end of that time they are granted furloughs to enable them to return to God's own country "for medical treatment and to renew their friendships and contacts among Christian people." The report explains that the Lutheran Church in South America is still comparatively small and is found principally in centers where Lutheran immigrants from Europe are located. Yet it has six mission stations in the suburbs of Buenos Aires under the direction of two North American missionaries and three Argentine "pastors," devoting their time and efforts exclusively to proselytizing.

The Lutheran foreign missions board reports that about two-thirds of the population of the whole earth is still non-Christian. In its efforts to correct this condition, the Lutheran missionaries carry their creed to the heathen of Liberia, India, China, Japan, British Guiana, and the Argentine Republic.

One of the North American sects, calling itself the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, reported to the U. S. Bureau of the Census in 1936 that it had a total of 5,713 church members in the United States. The Pilgrim Holiness Church reported a total of 20,124 members. Both these sects have sent missionaries to convince the South Americans that they hold the exclusive secret of true salvation.

The purpose of all this missionary activity among our southern neighbors is explained as follows by the executive secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America in a booklet, *Latin America's Open Doors*:

"A third objective is that of making a place for missionary work in Latin America alongside the other great fields, such as China, Africa, and India, thus raising it to a legitimate position of prominence in the missionary thinking of the home church and, if I may venture to say, of the boards themselves. On all hands one hears the same complaint that any lack of progress in Latin America is partly due to the fact that it is not regarded

as a legitimate mission field in the sense used in referring to these other great areas. It is the task of this Committee to correct this erroneous conception."

Yet the Protestant missionaries from the United States carefully avoid the one country which offers a legitimate missionary field and would welcome them with open arms and liberal land grants. That country is Paraguay. Paraguay never has recovered from the war against Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay (1865–70), which killed off all the male population between the ages of 12 and 70 and left the country with sixteen times as many women as men. Even today the proportion is nine to one. The Constitution establishes the Roman Catholic faith as the State religion, but the Church is weaker in Paraguay than anywhere else in the Americas and there has been no discrimination against non-Catholics since 1870 when the Dictator Lopez was killed in battle and the war ended. The war left the country badly in need of new population; so, as did some of the other South American nations, Paraguay held out religious tolerance as an inducement to immigrants.

But the immigrants did not arrive in any appreciable number and today the population is estimated at only 1,000,000. Of this number, only about 350,000 are Catholics, leaving approximately 650,000 unconverted Indians. There are only about one hundred Catholic priests in the country and most of them live in Asunción, so that there are many places in the interior where the Indian tribes have never heard of Christianity. Paraguay thus offers the most promising field in all South America for legitimate missionary work — the conversion of more than half a million pagan Indians. But it offers the poorest field in South America for the Protestant attempt to undermine the Catholic faith of the people. Consequently, the so-called missionaries studiously avoid Paraguay and establish their "missions" in the thickly populated centers of Argentina where there are more Catholic communicants to work among.

In 1909, the Paraguayan government encouraged the passage of a law to facilitate the establishment of Protestant missions by offering land grants of 18,500 acres to any sects which would undertake the conversion and education of the Indians of the interior. But even this did not entice the missionaries to Paraguay, and the late Dr. Webster E. Browning in his *River Plate Republics* quoted President Ayala as saying in 1922, "Unfortunately those who have the care of souls are more interested in proselytizing than in elevating the mind of our youth to a noble and austere conception of the reality of life." (Dr. Browning spent many years of his life in a vain endeavor to bring about some kind of united and cooperative effort among the warring Protestant sects in the River Plate countries, but at the time of his death had been able to interest only nine of the forty or more sects in his ideal of cooperation.)

There are only 56 Protestant missionaries in Paraguay, of whom five are Mennonite preachers working only in the Mennonite colonies. Of the 51 others, 31 live in the capital and 14 in Concepción, the second city. The Seventh Day Adventists, who are among the most belligerent proselytizers in the southern Americas, maintain 77 missionaries in Argentina but none in Paraguay.

So the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America would seem to be neglecting the one field where it could raise its work to the position of legitimate missionary work which it sets forth as one of its objectives. But the missionaries sent out by the Committee have not neglected to meddle busily in the politics of the southern republics, thus setting up the strong conviction that exists everywhere South of the Rio Grande that they are paving the way for North American political domination in the South and Central American countries. The testimony of members of the Committee before the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, already referred to, confirmed the bitter charges of leading Mexicans that the missionaries

from the United States always have meddled in the internal politics of Mexico.

The Committee also has made a practice of interfering in the political relations between Washington and the southern governments. In its report of January, 1938, the Committee boasted:

"There was the Committee's participation in the struggle to keep the United States from intervening in Mexico. . . . On other occasions there were protests against intervention in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and Cuba."

The foregoing paragraph is a sample of the trouble which the missionaries have continually with their geography. Santo Domingo is not a country; it is the name of the island on which Haiti and the Dominican Republic are situated. The annual reports of the Baptist mission boards show that they do not know how to spell the names of the Brazilian States where they have been working for fifty years.

The aforementioned report of the Committee on Cooperation says that the signing of the Non-Intervention Treaty at the Inter-American Conference at Montevideo in 1933 was the result of "the whole protest against intervention" which the report says was the outcome of a magazine article written by the Committee's executive secretary. This is simply untrue, as are some other statements in the Committee's reports.

The 1938 report goes on to say:

"The Committee's Secretary has attended the Pan American Conferences not only as an observer, but also as an advocate of justice [the inference being that the State Department's delegation to the Pan American Conferences needed a missionary along to see that the heathen of South America got justice]. That he was sent to the Buenos Aires Peace Conference in 1936 as special adviser to the United States delegation, at the invitation of the President of the United States, indicates that there is appreciation in official circles of the success of these efforts in developing friendship and understanding."

If this statement is true then the quicker we drop the Good Neighbor Policy the better it will be for all concerned, because our missionaries in South and Central America are not developing friendship and understanding. They are developing discord, misunderstanding, and resentment. Why go on pretending to be good neighbors with people we consider to be unsaved heathen?

The Good Neighbor Policy and the missionary campaign to convert our southern neighbors to Protestantism are antagonistic. One or the other will have to be abolished.

VI

OUR NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR

OUR RELATIONS with the Mexican people, as distinguished from our relations with the Mexican government, are conditioned by the psychological barriers set up by our victory over them in the war of 1846–48. Mexico is the only country with which we have fought a frontier war similar to those which have kept Europe in a turmoil for centuries. We won the war, took half of Mexico's territory away from her, and have practically forgotten all about it. Mexico lost the war, so will never forget it.

The memory of defeat is stronger than the memory of victory. Mexico defeated us at the Alamo Mission and every schoolboy in the United States knows the story. But how many schoolboys outside of Texas, or adults either, remember the story of San Jacinto, where we won? In the lives of nations, as in the private lives of individuals, it is the slights and wounded pride that hang on in memory long after pleasant events have been forgotten. So Mexicans hold toward us that same psychology of defeat and wounded pride that has inspired the European nations time after time to rearm for revenge, the most recent case being, of course, the Second World War by which Hitler promised the German people revenge for the Treaty of Versailles.

But in spite of our popular belief to the contrary, the Mexicans are not a revengeful people. They are explosive, yes, but that is quite another matter. They fight a great deal among themselves and when really excited have little regard for life, either their own or their opponent's. But such fighting is seldom

caused by a smoldering grudge over something that happened last year or last week or even yesterday. Whatever caused the trouble has just happened and can be settled only by a fight at this very moment.

In his quieter moments and in most of his personal relationships the average Mexican is a timid soul. He almost never smiles when introduced to a stranger, and holds back behind a defensive shell. But if the stranger makes any effort at all to go halfway to meet him, the Mexican gives his friendship much easier than do many of our other southern neighbors.

In Mexico we have conveniently at hand all the difficulties we have to solve in making the Good Neighbor Policy work anywhere on the continent; all the racial, religious, psychological, and economic problems of that great region we mistakingly call Latin America, neatly piled up right on our doorstep. If we cannot solve them in Mexico, there is not much use in trying to solve them further away from home.

If we have not won the friendship of the Mexicans before this, and we most certainly have not, the fault is largely ours. The Mexicans' psychology of defeat is one of wounded pride, but not one of revenge. If we go halfway to meet them, or maybe just a bit further in this case, they will give us their friendship and their neighborly cooperation.

We ought to remember that when we took half their territory away from the Mexicans, we took the best half; the half that had the rivers. We left them the deserts, the mountains, the high barren central plateau, and the coastal jungles, with no rivers with which to irrigate the poor soil they have left. Less than 10 per cent of the land Mexico has today is arable, yet three-fourths of the people have to live on what they can make it produce. So we can well afford to be a bit generous with the Mexicans and not stalk off in a rage if they do not greet our first overtures at neighborliness by hilariously throwing their sombreros into the air and opening their arms to receive us in

that hearty embrace with which they welcome their friends.

The Mexicans have not forgotten that our navy shelled Vera Cruz as recently as 1914 and that our cavalry invaded their territory as recently as 1916. Washington's Good Neighbor Policy is a pledge that those offenses will not be repeated, so we need not approach every Mexican we meet in an attitude of humility. But we ought to remember those events and some of the other things that Mexicans remember; then it would be easier for us to understand them and so get onto a mutually satisfactory basis of friendship and confidence that would be to our benefit as well as theirs

One reason why it should be easier for us to win and hold the friendship of the Mexicans than of some of our other southern neighbors is that there is less *Hispanidad* in Mexico than in any of the other republics. The "upper" social crust of wealth and land and Spanish ancestry, which is the incubator of *Hispanidad,* is smaller in Mexico in proportion to the total population than elsewhere, and its political influence has been destroyed by the Revolution that has been in progress since the overthrow of Porfirio Diaz. Even though *Hispanidad* may be more vociferous in Mexico than elsewhere in Spanish America and the subject of more frequent articles in the conservative newspapers, this is merely because the decadent social class which harbors it is fighting hard and sometimes noisily to make a comeback by appealing to the past instead of catching up with the present. Some of the Spanish refugees who have been pouring into Mexico in recent years also have tried to reawaken interest in the Spanish heritage. But as far as the great majority of Mexicans are concerned, *Hispanidad* is a dead cause. The "common people" want real democracy and our political institutions are their ideals, no matter what they may think of us otherwise.

If there is any inherent virtue in honesty, and I believe there is, the Mexicans are a more noble people than most of the other Ibero-Americans, because they are trying to make the best

of themselves as they are, instead of pretending to be something they are not. No South American ever refers to himself as a *mestizo,* but the Mexicans are proud of being *mestizos.* When the rest of Spanish America celebrates the discovery of the Americas on October 12 as the Day of the Race — the Spanish race — Mexico celebrates it as the day on which the Spanish American *mestizo* race was born. The celebrations are led by a depiction of the armored Cortés on horseback, with his beautiful little Indian princess tagging patiently along at his stirrup.

The Mexicans have cut themselves off from the apron strings of the motherland much more completely than any of the other former Spanish colonies. Mexico is the only important Spanish American country which has erected no monument to the Conquistador who won the land away from the Indians for the Spanish Crown. But one of the most striking monuments in the beautiful Paseo de la Reforma in Mexico City commemorates the Indian chiefs who defended Mexico against Cortés. The names of four of them are emblazoned on the sides of the base — Tetlepanquetzal, Coanacoch, Cuitlahuac, Cacama — with the legend: "To the memory of Quauhtemoc and the warriors who fought heroically in defense of their homeland." The bas-relief around the base shows the Spaniards torturing the Indian chiefs by holding pots of fire under the soles of their bare feet.

In front of the ministry of foreign affairs there is an heroic equestrian monument in bronze to Charles IV, King of Spain and the Indies, erected by one of his fawning viceroys to New Spain. In case tourists might get any mistaken notion as to why the Mexicans have left it there, the monument bears the inscription: "Mexico keeps it as a monument of Art."

But as Mexicans walk through the main plaza of Mexico City in front of the Cathedral, most of them glance with affection at the marbled features of Friar Bartolomé de las Casas who fought so valiently to protect the Indians against the rapacity

of the Spaniards, making several voyages back to Spain and finally persuading Charles V to promulgate the Laws of the Indies in 1542, after which he spent the rest of his life fighting in vain to have those laws enforced in Mexico and elsewhere. As Hubert Herring remarks, "There is no greater name in the struggle for liberty."

One of the most serious obstacles standing in the way of our getting onto a basis of understanding and friendship with these people of Mexico is the one created by the Protestant missionaries from the United States. For more than a hundred years the Mexicans have looked upon the North American missionaries as instruments of the Washington government's long campaign of political intervention in their country's internal affairs, and Mexican histories are full of evidences cited in support of this contention. Recently, Washington has succeeded in convincing the Mexican government that the old policy of intervention has been abandoned; but the missionaries are still in Mexico, so the people of the country refuse to believe that the Good Neighbor Policy is anything more than a temporary expedient of self-interest dictated by the exigencies of war. Despite the close cooperation of the Mexican government with that of the United States in the war effort since December 7, 1941, the great bulk of the Mexican people remain apathetic toward the United States, when not openly antagonistic, and when pressed for their reasons their explanation invariably gets around to their bitter resentment against the religious activities of the North American missionaries and their deep distrust of their political meddling.

In support of their contention that the missionaries from the United States are agents of North American political penetration designed to absorb the southern countries, Mexicans and others of our southern neighbors point to no less an authority than Theodore Roosevelt. Probably no story has appeared more frequently during the past thirty years and in more localities,

from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego, in pastoral letters, sermons, lectures, books, magazines, and newspapers than the story of Theodore Roosevelt's conversation with Dr. Francisco P. Moreno on the shores of beautiful Lake Nahuel Huapí in Patagonia in 1912.

Moreno, like the Colonel, was a man of vigorous action and the two seem to have found each other very congenial. They were sitting under a historic old cypress tree discussing the future of the western hemisphere and apparently they felt in the open air and attractive surroundings an expansiveness which they never would have felt if their conversation had taken place in a crowded city. Moreno finally asked the former President of the United States:

"Colonel, do you think the absorption of these Latin countries by the United States will be relatively rapid?"

To which Roosevelt replied, "I think it will take a very long time as long as these countries remain Catholic."

This conversation was first related in a Y.M.C.A. lecture by Prof. Clemente Onelli, famous Argentine zoologist and a non-Catholic, who was a close personal friend of Dr. Moreno, whom he quoted as the source of his information.

Mexicans and South Americans always have seen a direct connection between Roosevelt's declaration and the action of North American Methodists the following year when they decided to spend $25,000,000 on missionary work in South and Central America.

These are not my opinions and I disagree with many of them. But if we are going to make any serious effort to understand our neighbors of the southern countries we shall have to know what they think about us, even when we do not always agree with them.

The contention of leading Mexicans and South Americans that the Protestant missionary movement is the spearhead of political absorption was given weight in the 1941 annual report

of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, which said:

"While business, government, and cultural agencies deal with Latin America in the consciousness of her Roman Catholic background, recognized students of inter-American relationships have said that those between the United States and Latin America eventually will be handicapped by a preponderance of Roman Catholic influence in inter-American planning."

The report does not identify the "recognized students of inter-American relations" who are thus quoted anonymously in justification of the Committee's political activities in Latin America.

The charge that Protestantism is a form of United States political aggression is one of the most frequent charges made against the missionaries in Mexico. The various attempts which Mexico has made in the past to effect alliances with Europe, including the close friendship with Germany during the first World War, have been inspired by a desire for a counterbalance against political and economic absorption by the United States. This desire has been intensified by the honest belief of many prominent Mexicans that the Protestant missionaries are acting for the United States government in carrying out the peaceful conquest of Mexico. No intelligent citizen of the United States believes this, of course, but that does not prevent Mexicans from believing it.

The Protestant missionary schools, philanthropic organizations, and sports and cultural institutions such as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. are all looked upon as agencies of United States penetration designed to Americanize the Mexicans in a less brutal manner than by armed conquest. Although Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. leaders throughout the southern Americas always insist that these organizations are non-sectarian, Mexicans point to the published record that the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America numbers them among the evangelical or "Christian" missionary influences and stated in one of its annual

reports that "the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have been penetrating the intellectual groups for a number of years."

Unfortunately, there have been too many events in the history of our relations with Mexico which on the surface appear to support the Mexican charge of collusion between Washington and the missionaries. It was in the United States that Mexican enemies of the Catholic Church met in 1835 and drew up the "Secret Pact of New Orleans" which provided for the expulsion of Catholic bishops and clergy from Mexico, the confiscation of monasteries and convents, the banishment of the Catholic Church, and the liberty of "other worships," or in other words, of Protestant worship. This pact later became the basis of the Reform Laws instituted by Juarez, under which the Catholic Church has been persecuted ever since. Under the Reform Laws Juarez encouraged the spread of North American Protestantism as a weapon against the Catholic Church.

On October 14, 1846, after the United States army had marched into Mexico and when one of the signers of the "Secret Pact," Valentin Gómez Farías, was Acting President of Mexico, a prominent Protestant missionary, F. Seifhart, wrote to the Mexican minister of foreign affairs informing him that a Protestant church had been established in the American Legation. Seifhart's letter is quoted persistently by Mexican writers in support of their charge that the American government is using the Protestant church as an instrument of political penetration in Mexico. These writers trace a close relationship throughout Mexico's history between anti-Catholicism, benevolence toward Protestantism, and the intervention of the United States in Mexico's political affairs.

When North Americans attempt to argue that all that happened a hundred years ago and that there is no connection today between the State Department and the American missionaries in the southern Americas, Mexicans and other Spanish Americans counter with the undeniable fact that the guiding

mind of the New York Committee on Cooperation in Latin America was a member of the United States delegation at the Pan American Conference at Havana in 1928 and also at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace which met at Buenos Aires in 1936 to lay the foundations for hemispheric defense. It also is pointed out that Protestant missionaries always are prominent at Pan American conferences where, being North Americans, they are looked upon by the other delegates as being in some way associated with the United States delegation. These missionaries represent themselves to be correspondents for church periodicals in order to get press cards which admit them to committee meetings and plenary sessions, and then use these facilities for lobbying.

By far the most serious charge that Mexicans make against the North American missionaries is that they always have meddled in the country's political disturbances and frequently taken part in the revolutions. Revolutionary leaders always seek the support, or at least the acquiescence, of Washington, since they know they cannot remain in power without the recognition and moral backing of the United States government. Mexican writers charge that the missionaries act as agents of the revolutionary leaders to the Washington government and are then rewarded by subsidies and other valuable concessions when the rebels get into power.

It has been charged repeatedly in print that various Mexican governments have made large presents of money to Protestant churches and schools at the same time that they have been persecuting the Catholic Church and confiscating its property. In 1920, North American missionaries from Mexico testified before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate that President Carranza gave subsidies to Protestant schools. They also testified that in their campaign "to convert the Mexican people to our own doctrine" they had had the help and sympathy of Mexican revolutionary leaders.

Under the heading, "Mexico's Challenge," the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America in 1928 reported President Calles as saying that he had prepared the ground for the Evangelicals, but that they themselves must do the rest, if they were to reap the harvest. Calles made a large donation to the Y.M.C.A. in Mexico City, which Mexicans say was an expression of his gratitude for Protestant support of his bitter persecution of the Catholic Church. While Calles was President the government made a gift to the Protestants of the beautiful Santa Catalina Church which had been confiscated from the Catholics who had built it. Several other confiscated Catholic churches and Catholic school buildings in various parts of the country have been turned over to the Protestant missionaries at different times. Yet the New York committee in charge of proselytizing work in Mexico and the other southern republic naively complains in the aforementioned report: "It seems today that anything like close relations, much less union with official Roman Catholicism, is far away indeed."

Carleton Beals, in *The Coming Struggle for Latin America,* refers to the political activities of the missionaries by citing the 1927 report of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America in which Rev. Charles S. Detweiler, superintendent of North Baptist work, remarks that in addition to the increase of United States influence through commerce and the films, political influence also was increasing — the annexation of Puerto Rico, the Platt Amendment, intervention in Haiti and Nicaragua, a customs collector in Salvador — and "there is an unmistakable call to the Church of Christ in the United States to keep pace with this new life. The spread of popular education and advance in civilization demand increased effort and expenditure to provide trained leaders in those lands."

As Mr. Beals sagely remarks, "This was linking God and imperialism with a vengeance."

Mexicans trace this linking of religion and United States

imperialism clear back to Joel Poinsett, the first American Minister to Mexico. Poinsett, at the request of Mexican Masons, obtained letters patent from United States masonry for the installation of a grand lodge of York Rite Masons in Mexico. The York Rite Masons at once became prominent in the Liberal party and thus the political enemies of the Scottish Rites, who were active in the Conservative party. Several York Rite lodges had been organized before Poinsett was asked to obtain their recognition by United States masonry, and this appears to have been his only part in the organization of the York Rite Masons in Mexico. But as they and the Liberal party became leaders in the fight against the political power of the Church, both Poinsett and the United States government have been blamed ever since for interfering in Mexico's internal politics. After an enviable diplomatic record in both Argentina and Chile, Poinsett became *persona non grata* in Mexico and had to retire, and his name is still execrated whenever Mexicans discuss either the religious question or the intervention of the United States in Mexican affairs. There is still a tendency in Mexico to blame all the troubles of both the Church and the nation on the treacherous influence of the *yanquis* and the Masons.

But even aside from their resentment of the political activities of the North American missionaries, the Mexican people, being for the most part Catholics, are hurt and offended that the United States should put them on the same basis as heathens and look upon them as objects for foreign mission efforts.

Hubert Herring says in his highly interesting *Mexico: The Making of a Nation*:

"Mexicans are Catholics. Moreover, they are loyal Catholics. This is true of the privileged class and educated, as well as of the unlettered masses.

"The captious may note that Indian Catholic rites are celebrated on the same spots where Aztecs and Mayas once worshipped; that they dance the same dances in the same costumes

on the same days before the Blessed Virgin as they earlier did before their Indian deities. But the wise chronicler of mankind may speak an approving word for the pliancy of Rome which concedes the authentic workings of the infinite spirit through the strange devices of simple man."[1]

Because they are Catholics, the Mexicans are particularly offended by the Protestant disrespect for Mary, Mother of Christ, and the blatant charge of the North American missionaries that the Mexicans are idolaters because of their veneration of Our Lady of Guadalupe. There have been numerous riots in the interior towns of Mexico and personal attacks on Protestant missionaries as a result of their insulting sermons against Our Lady of Guadalupe.

Alfonso Junco, probably the best known of all Catholic lay writers in Mexico, presented the matter to me thus: "When a man kisses his mother's picture, is he kissing a piece of cardboard or his mother? When we raise our hats to the passing flag, are we saluting a rag or the land of our birth? We do not, of course, worship the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, but it is sacred and dear to us because it is the image of the Mother of Christ. That is something no Protestant missionary seems capable of understanding, and that proves their inability to understand the Mexican people."

Ignacio M. Altamirano, in his *Legends, Traditions and Customs of Mexico,* writes: "If the day ever arrives in which Our Lady of Guadalupe is no longer venerated in Mexico, it is certain that not only will Mexican nationality have disappeared from the earth, but also the world will have forgotten the people who now inhabit Mexico."

It probably is true that no North American Protestant mind can possibly understand the reverence of the Mexican people for Our Lady of Guadalupe. But until the missionaries find

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[1] Hubert Herring, *Mexico: The Making of a Nation,* The Foreign Policy Association, 1942.

some way to teach their religion without insulting the most sacred thought in the Mexican mind they will make no headway in Mexico. The Mexican's reverence for the Blessed Virgin of Guadalupe is the strongest thought in his whole mental makeup, from the time he begins to think at all until the day he dies. Even when he has no religion, his reverence for the Virgin of Guadalupe is part of his patriotism; part of his being a Mexican. We have nothing to compare with it, even remotely.

When the Spanish Conquest pressed the Cross onto the many warring Indian nations of Mexico as a substitute for their rival pagan gods, it gave them something in common for the first time in history and thus made it possible to unite them into a new nation which became Mexico. So Mexicans refer to Our Lady of Guadalupe as the Blessed Virgin who forged their *patria.* Here again we run into the difficulty of conveying Spanish American thought into English words. For while *patria* means homeland or native country, it at the same time combines the thought of affection and patriotism which one feels toward the homeland, the affection being almost that of a son or a daughter for an absent mother. What Mexicans mean when they say this, and they say it frequently, is that it was the Lady of Guadalupe who made them Mexicans. Late in 1942 the phrase became the title of one of the greatest pictures ever produced by Mexico's movie industry.

The Church has been persecuted, and even altars defiled, by some of the more radical labor unions under the agitation of communist leaders bent on stamping out religion, but the members of those same unions would not think of working in a factory unless there was an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in a niche over the door. Taxi and bus drivers who could not be dragged to the Mass by a team of horses carry an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe on their windshield or instrument board "to protect them from accidents and traffic inspectors." Our Lady of Guadalupe keeps watch over the patio of the

lowliest tenement house, as well as over the palatial mansions of the rich; she keeps the lonely Indian company in his unlighted hut, wherever it may be; she stands guard over bridges and culverts throughout the land; and from a smoky corner in the wall she looks down on the little girls who stand all day patting into shape the cornmeal *tortillas* which are the Mexican's staff of life.

So when the missionaries from a land that cannot understand these things stomp roughshod into Mexico and crassly accuse the Mexicans of being idolaters, they set up a barrier against themselves which defeats them from the start. As Lloyd Mecham says in *Church and State in Latin America,* "The inability of Protestantism to make headway in Mexico, and the dismal failure of the National church are additional proof of the well-known fact that there is no substitute for Roman Catholicism in Latin America — it is a case of the Catholic faith or none at all."

Prominent Mexicans point to the United States census figures to support their contention that there is a wide field for Protestant missionary work in the United States and that the North American missionaries should stay at home. The U. S. census shows that only 56 million people in the United States are affiliated with some church. Twenty million of these are Catholics and 4,600,000 Jews. Mexican writers argue from these figures that less than one-fourth of the people of the United States are Protestants and that more than half of the total population has no religion. They blame this lack of religion for what they describe as the "wild license" of North American customs, including crime, divorce, and loose morals. "Without religion," they argue, "there can be no social morality." And they insist that the United States is more urgently in need of missionary work than is Mexico.

This argument always arouses a snort of derision from the missionaries, who are rather inclined to deride their critics instead of answering them. But however fallacious this argu-

ment may sound to us in the United States, our southern neighbors would seem to have considerable weight on their side when they insist that if the missionary movement were legitimate it would seek its converts among unbelievers instead of among Catholics.

One prominent Catholic layman in Mexico, in discussing this aspect of the problem with me, asked: "Why don't your Protestant missionary societies devote their money and energy to converting the 75 million people in the United States who are outside the church, instead of trying to take Mexicans and other Latin Americans out of the oldest of all Christian churches? Why should they leave their own land, where there is an urgent and crying need for missionary work, to come here and sow political discord and religious dissension where the people already are Christians? No intelligent Protestant will deny, I'm sure, that the Roman Catholic Church is a Christian church and that Catholics are admitted to Heaven through their worship of God in that Church. What need, then, is there for the Protestant 'evangelization' of Mexico and the other Latin American countries?"

The political activities of the missionaries in connection with this evangelization movement in Mexico were the subject of an article by Alfonso Junco in the newspaper *El Universal,* of Mexico City on April 11, 1942. Discussing what he described as the irregular connivances between Carranza and the Protestants, Señor Junco wrote:

"The infiltration of Protestantism into the Mexican Revolution was a matter of public notoriety. Many of us saw with our own eyes the favoritism of the Revolution toward the 'evangelical' sects, which were guaranteed in the security of their properties and the liberty of their actions at the same time that the most fearful oppression was directed against everything Catholic. Prominent and active Protestants such as André Osuna and Moses Saenz were raised to executive positions in functions

as vital and important as that of education, with the innumerable logical consequences of such ruling influence."

What we saw has been irrefutably confirmed by the explicit declarations of many Protestant leaders.

There are, for example, decisive data in the testimony given at hearings before the United States Senate, as set forth in an official government publication in two large volumes.[2]

On page 142 of the first volume, the Methodist bishop, Cannon, declares that the revolutionary government of Mexico looks with entire sympathy on the work of the American missionaries and that their properties had not suffered.

On page 187 is the testimony of Dr. Winton, saying that Carranza gave subsidies to the Protestant schools.

On pages 5 to 12 and 99 to 106 is the declaration of Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Protestant minister and general secretary of the penetration campaign in Spanish America. There are some pithy data in this testimony. Among the least important, because it is natural and obvious, is the affirmation that the Protestants are in Mexico, among other reasons, "to convert the Mexican people to our own doctrine."

And in this task, which is the negation of our deep tradition and the deformation of our national spirit, they had the help and sympathy of the revolutionary leaders.

This has been repeatedly expressed by the same Dr. Inman, who is well known here, since he has frequently been here for more or less permanent residence and on visits. He has received all manner of attentions, assistance, confidences, and kindnesses from official circles.

When the Carranza revolution triumphed and the Constitution of 1917 was being framed at Querétaro, Mr. Inman came to Mexico and later wrote a report on his visit in which he said:

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[2] *Investigation of Mexican Affairs* — Preliminary Report and Hearings of the Committee on Foreign Relations — United States Senate, 2 vols., Washington, Government Printing Office, 1920.

"I found everywhere a cordial appreciation of the work done by the Protestant missionaries. This is natural if it is considered that many of the revolutionary leaders have been educated in Protestant institutions. Everywhere that I have gone I have met men in prominent positions who had been pupils in our missionary schools or who knew of their work and had sufficient reason for being grateful for them. The destinies of Mexico are now in the hands of these young men."

I do not wish to give a name to what these "young men" have done to the destinies of Mexico, nor to say whether or not the raising of such a crop is to the glory of the Protestant schools. I prefer to go on quoting Mr. Inman:

"On all sides it is plainly evident that the leaders of the new life in Mexico consider the evangelical churches and the evangelical schools as their most powerful helpers."

That is how he states it.

But there is still something more direct, substantial and personal:

"At first there was a great deal of uneasiness over the restrictions which the new Constitution put on religious work. But President Carranza and other functionaries assured us clearly that the Constitution would not be permitted to adversely affect the evangelical cause. According to reports written several months after the Constitution was put into effect, no difference has been noted in the missionary work."

That is to say that with or without the Constitution of 1917 the Protestants were not to be touched. And so it was. The constitutional provisions against "the ministers of religions" referred exclusively to Catholic priests and were enforced only against them. The fictitious use of the plural "ministers of religions" was purely Pharisaical cunning. The legal and actual persecution was directed exclusively against the national religion: the foreign sects were not to be touched. Let us listen closely:

"President Carranza and other functionaries assured us clearly that the Constitution would not be permitted to adversely affect the evangelical cause."

And that is how things continued.

When in March, 1927, the relations between Mexico and the United States became tense, Mr. Inman came to our country where, according to a letter which he published in *The New York Times,* he passed "a week in intimate conversation with the highest functionaries of the Mexican government."

Intimacy which he explains thus:

"I have known several of them since they were boys, as some of them were my pupils during the ten years I lived in Mexico and, naturally, they talked to me with more freedom than they would have talked to a stranger."

Mr. Inman continued his intimate interviews with "the governors of the States and with all classes of officials and non-officials" and later returned to his country where he spoke a great deal and put all the weight of his position and influence in defense of the revolutionary government.

This defense of the Calles policy against the Catholic Church while it was at the height of its fever of persecution was not confined to Dr. Inman. The Protestants here — it's unbelievable, but there is proof of it in their periodicals — dedicated eulogies to Calles while he was engaged in the tyrannical and sanguinary frenzy against Mexico's religion.

As far as I know, not a single Protestant raised a voice of protest or expressed a word in defense of our contemptuously abused rights nor a word of sympathy for persecuted Christianity. Quite the contrary.

How can this be explained in people who call themselves Christians? How can this be explained even in people who have no more than a sense of morality and right?

I know many people who are unbelievers but who are, nevertheless, honorable persons and who thundered against the despot,

purely on the grounds of civilization and justice. Nothing of the kind was seen, publicly, among the Protestants.

Since they were persistently untouchable, even to the extent that there were some ostentatious donations to the Y.M.C.A., they were protected in a position of advantage which took no notice of the insult to Mexico and the insult to God.

Matters continued in this way until they reached the extreme that the magnificent church of St. Catharine was taken away from the Catholics, with whose money exclusively it had been built, and graciously presented to the Protestants. And they had no scruples in accepting the plunder.

We respect, as well as anyone, every honorable creed. We desire and practice tolerance. We have nothing to say against the sincere Protestant who sincerely practices his religion.

But we have a great deal to say against certain irregular connivances. We have a great deal to say about those self-styled Christians who sympathize with the persecution of religion and look on unmoved at the rape of civilization and law; who put aside the elementary standards of ethics and morals; and who unblushingly accept stolen churches.

VII

MEXICO AND THE CHURCH

WHEN GENERAL MANUAL AVILA CAMACHO was inaugurated as President in December, 1940, Mexico was in chaos. The country was just emerging from a 30-year social revolution during which a few things had been gained but many more lost, and during which everything in Mexican life had been radically changed. Everything, that is, except the faith. Although the destruction of the Church and the faith was the outstanding major objective of the Revolution, around which the whole storm raged so bitterly for so many years, religious faith was the only factor in Mexican life that came through the Revolution without change.

The Revolution had overthrown feudalism and abolished peonage; it had lifted the suppressed masses to the level of human beings; and had accomplished some badly needed social reforms. But, being a revolution, it necessarily had been terribly destructive. Worst of all, it had completely destroyed any semblance of national unity among the Mexican people and had divided the country into many bitterly warring classes. Capital and labor, believers and unbelievers, communists, fascists and democrats, all had forgotten that they were Mexicans and were engaged in innumerable and vicious class conflicts which were disastrously destructive even in those few cases where the objectives sought were constructive. In addition to these quarreling social classes there were the many bickering political groups, each organized around strong and selfishly ambitious personal leaders rather than around national issues and problems.

Behind and under all this sectional, ideological, and political strife lay Mexico's major and permanent ethnical problem — the division of the population into three distinct civilizations, none of which has any social or political relationship with the other two. The Spanish white minority "upper class," the tremendous *mestizo* majority, and the great mass of pure-blood Indians, numbering nearly a third of the total population, are as widely separated and antagonistic as though they belonged to enemy countries.

Out of this political, social, and ethnical chaos, President Avila Camacho set out to reconstruct a nation. He announced as his watchword: National Unity; and made that the goal of his administration. One of the first objectives in the march toward that goal was reconciliation between the State and the Church. With approximately 90 per cent of the population Catholic, the Church was the only force for national unity that had survived the Revolution. It never has been possible to unite the Mexican people behind "our" government, but they always can be united behind the Church, especially if the Church is being attacked. Mexicans do not feel that the government is theirs, in the sense that they have elected it, as in the United States; but most of them feel that they have a personal part in the Church. So the President began a series of important steps designed to restore the prestige of the Church, though not its political power. Under this policy he soon corrected many of the wrongs that had been committed by his predecessors. First of all, he recognized the Archbishop of Mexico as the spiritual head of the Church, thus terminating the absurd policy by which former governments had sought to put the Church and the clergy under the control of the civil authorities.

The history of the persecution of the Church in Mexico is familiar to readers in the United States and need not be reviewed here except to recall that the Constitution of 1917, which became the Magna Carta of the Revolution, outlawed religion,

confiscated all property of the Catholic Church, and prohibited religious teaching in the schools, whether State or privately owned.

More than $150,000,000 worth of property was confiscated, including a great number of privately owned homes that could not by any stretch of the imagination be classified as Church property. But the owners had committed the unpardonable crime of permitting the Mass to be celebrated in private for the family, or they had permitted religious teachers to enter the house to instruct the children.

Under these circumstances, it required considerable courage for a President-elect to announce, as General Avila Camacho did, "I am a believer." No candidate for public office in Mexico had dared make such a declaration in 75 years.

Mexico's leftist labor leaders and politicians who tried so violently for more than a quarter of a century to destroy religion, forgot — or more likely never knew — that religious faith is a product of sentiment and tradition that lives in the hearts of men and women, even the most humble of them, and that it cannot be exterminated by authority nor even changed suddenly in its underlying basic beliefs unless authority is willing to exterminate the people in whose hearts it lives.

The history of civilization clearly shows that from the earliest ages of man he has been inspired by an irresistible aspiration to better himself and lift himself out of the condition in which he has found himself into a higher one.

No student of history is likely to deny that man's religious sentiment has been one of the most important forces in shaping civilization, or that the civilization we know today is the product of the religion of Jesus Christ, no matter how badly Christianity itself has been neglected.

Through the ages it has been religion that has sanctioned and guided man's higher sentiments and defined his ideal, giving him a definite goal toward which to strive consciously instead

of merely drifting instinctively. Philosophers and moralists have tried again and again to replace religion. Some of them even have achieved certain prominence and had their day. But the philosophers and moralists have come and gone, and man has found, as he must always find, that only his religious faith can satisfy that vague instinctive aspiration which so strongly impels him toward higher and better things.

In Mexico it has been the Catholic faith to which the people have looked for comfort, inspiration, and guidance. Had the anti-Church agitators taken the time to make themselves familiar with Mexican history, they could have known beforehand that their war against the faith was doomed to failure. Mexico's history goes clear back to the dim uncertain dawn of man's earliest knowledge, and the one factor that never has weakened or wavered through all the ages has been the strong religious fervor of the Mexican people.

Long before Carthage was destroyed the Mexicans were a fervently religious people, even though broken up into several warring nations. During the 400 years since their conversion to Christianity, which united them into the nation they are today, they have become, perhaps, the most devout of all the Catholic nations of the western hemisphere. In Mexico religion is not merely a Sunday festival; a thing of churches and ceremonies to be forgotten during the following six days. God and His blessings are ever present and very much alive in the hearts of Mexico's peasant class, even when the blessings are so meager as to be imperceptible to the white-collar class.

I once watched a brown-skinned little youngster, hardly bigger than a minute, come running down one of Mexico City's sunny streets as fast as his busy short legs could carry him, his tiny leathery bare feet sounding like two scaly lizards as they skittered along the hot sidewalk. His beaming little face was aglow with joy and his black eyes were shining through a happy smile that stretched from ear to ear. He could not have been

a day over five, yet he already was a little man of the world and his overalls had been patched until they resembled Joseph's coat of many colors. As he rushed up all out of breath to the ragged, bare-footed woman squatting on the street corner with her lap full of mid-day newspapers, he opened the tiny tight fist which he had been holding out in front of him all the way down the street and proudly surrendered his coins. Between his panting he exclaimed enthusiastically, *"Mamacita! Los vendí todos. Bendito sea Diós!"* (Mother dear! I sold them all. Blessed be God!)

To which his weary mother replied, more reverently than enthusiastically, *"Bendito sea!"* (Blessed be God!)

The "them" which the little fellow was so proud at selling were the eight newspapers with which he had raced away from his mother half an hour earlier. So all this joy and thanksgiving to God for blessings received was caused by the little man's profit of sixteen centavos, equivalent to three American cents. Yet this poor ignorant woman and her tiny son had automatically and reverently blessed God for the few coppers received.

It is because this little boy and his mother are only typical everyday examples of the great mass of the country's unschooled, poverty-ridden citizenry that they are such striking evidence of the abject failure of the thirty-year effort to destroy religious faith in Mexico.

The political, economic, and social strife that kept Mexico in a wild turmoil for a whole generation after 1910 destroyed all semblance of national unity. The people were broken into bitterly opposed political and social classes, each demanding the destruction of all other classes. They could not be united by any appeal to their patriotism because patriotism had come to mean allegiance to one of the several rival leaders rather than to the country. By the time President Avila Camacho was inaugurated, the only field in which Mexicans felt any relationship among themselves was in their religion. Many well-to-do

Mexicans have said to me, "Of course, I'm a Catholic, even though it's true that I'm not a very devout one except when the Church is being attacked. But when you attack the Church you attack me in my innermost heart — at that spot where I feel most intimately that I am a Mexican. And then I'm ready to fight for the Church, even if I don't attend the Mass as regularly as I should after the attack is over."

All this boils down to the indisputable fact that the only common denominator among the Mexican people is the Catholic Church. Consequently, as soon as he was inaugurated, the new President quietly began taking steps to suppress the conflict with the Church and to heal some of the wrongs committed during the persecution by Presidents Calles and Cárdenas. This undoubtedly was one of the most delicate points in the President's middle course policy by which he set out to steer his administration between the two extremes created by the anti-Church leftists who were jealous of their political and social conquests in the Revolution, and the rightists against whom the Revolution was fought.

Without any publicity, the administration began returning to the former owners many of the homes and other private property which had been confiscated since the advent of the Calles regime in 1924. In July, 1942, the Supreme Court ruled that there is no law in Mexico which prohibits members of the clergy from owning property. Officials of the ministry of government said that under this ruling confiscated school property would be returned to the teaching brotherhoods and other orders from which it was seized.

In Mexico the relations between State and Church are not in the hands of the ministry of foreign affairs, as in most of the other countries, but under the ministry of government, which is the ministry of the interior. This is a carryover from the earlier administrations which tried to separate the Catholic Church from Rome and make it a national church. Much of the

improvement in the religious situation since the inauguration of President Avila Camacho is traceable to the efficient and understanding manner in which the Minister of Government, Miguel Alemán, has carried out the President's wishes for an effective reconciliation between government and Church.

The President's second step in this direction was to clear the communists out of the ministry of education and send a Bill to Congress regulating the enforcement of Article 3 of the Constitution which outlaws religious teaching and makes obligatory the teaching of socialism and "the ideals of the Revolution." The leftists had insisted that the socialism of the Revolution was communism and so were teaching communism in the schools. President Avila Camacho declared with all the energy at his command that the socialism of the Revolution is not Marxism and that the teaching of foreign *isms* must cease.

In his message to Congress accompanying the educational reform Bill, the President declared that it was illegal, as well as illogical, to attempt to interpret Article 3 in such way as to establish an anti-religious system of education, when Article 24 of the Constitution very clearly provides for religious liberty in Mexico.

"The Federal Executive Power," he wrote, "considers that the objectives of the Revolution have been so well impressed on the national consciousness that it is no longer necessary to maintain an attitude of combat against the lawful religious activities of Mexican citizens, since no creed or church ever could take away from the people the conquests of the Revolution."

The message continued: "While public education must remain separate from all religious doctrines, it must not be considered an anti-religious education. Our educational system must be in keeping with our race, our tradition, our culture, and our democratic thought, and must eliminate the hatred and internal division from which our country has suffered all through its history."

The President denounced the efforts that had been made by the Revolution to separate the schools from all family connection, on the communist theory that the child belongs to the State. Teaching in the government schools has been reorganized to make the schools an extension of the family, and the President called for the closest possible cooperation between teachers and parents. A national federation of parents was organized to keep in touch with the school authorities throughout the country.

This was a complete about face from the policy of Calles and Cárdenas, which was clearly stated by Calles as follows shortly before turning the presidency over to Cárdenas:

"The Revolution is not ended. We must now enter and take possession of the consciences of the children, of the consciences of the young, because they do and should belong to the Revolution. With all their trickery the reactionaries and the clericals are saying that the children belong to the home and the youth to the family. This is a selfish doctrine, because the children and the youth belong to the community. They belong to the collectivity, and it is the inescapable duty of the revolutionists to take possession of their consciences, to drive out all prejudices and to form anew the soul of the nation."

This the communists set out to do with a vengeance. When President Avila Camacho undertook the reorganization of the ministry of education, it was stated in Congress that more than half of Mexico's school teachers either were communists or belonged to communist-controlled labor unions. It was officially stated in Congress that the communists got hold of the ministry of education by use of the old well-known communist technique of over-staffing the personnel throughout the ministry. This permitted the invasion of the ministry by the three recognized classes of workers which the communist party uses for this kind of effort: "special agents," "militant members," and "unconditional members" of the party.

The communist leaders and their small army of "militant"

and "unconditional" party members put into practice a well-known communist weapon: the launching of a "bureaucratic terror" against the teachers and administrative employees who were not communists. In this way they soon gained control of the ministry and, consequently, of the education of the children and youth of Mexico, which was their main objective. The whole present generation of Mexican youth was being educated to Marxist ideology and against democracy.

A well-known senator, in reporting this situation to Congress, said that the President's investigation had shown that 600 men and women who were on the ministry payroll as teachers took orders direct from the communist party and spent all their time traveling about the country organizing communist cells, terrifying teachers who would not join their ranks, and sowing confusion and unrest generally. All these agitators were supplied with permanent passes on the government-owned railroads and were granted what amounted to a permanent leave of absence from their duties by communist department heads, without the knowledge of the minister. Many Mexican newspaper editors pointed out that it was significant that the President chose the country's attorney general as the new minister of education to clean up this state of affairs.

Under this communist régime, co-education became a national scandal, so one of President Avila Camacho's first moves in the reform of education was to abolish co-education, declaring that it had been a notorious failure in Mexico and was repugnant to Mexican ideas.

As an important move toward improving the status of the Church the President then stopped enforcing the restrictions on the number of priests. This was in keeping with an old established practice of all Ibero-American governments to stop enforcing laws which have proved impracticable or undesirable, instead of repealing of them.

In June, 1942, Congress passed the President's new General

Law of National Property, Article 10 of which provides that when there are justifying reasons the government may refrain from expropriating property which the Constitution nationalizes. This abolished the mandatory character of the constitutional provision for the nationalization of Church property and leaves it to the government to decide whether such confiscation is desirable in each particular case.

In September the government issued a decree providing that in the future only the national government may expropriate Church property, thus taking the power of expropriation out of the hands of the State governments, where most of the abuses were committed during the many years of persecution. This decree and the new General Law of National Property have thus set up a completely new status for Church property; such property can now be expropriated only by the national government and the confiscatory power is no longer mandatory but is left to the discretion of the President and his Cabinet.

With schools and other property returned to their owners, only the church edifices will remain in the hands of the government. And, as already noted, the Avila Camacho administration has eased this situation by recognizing the Archbishop, Msgr. Luís M. Martínez, as the spiritual head of the Church in Mexico; by guaranteeing freedom of worship; and by overlooking the existing restrictions on the number of clergy who may exercise their religious duties.

By the end of his first year and a half in office, the President was able to state in an interview: "There does not now exist any religious problem in Mexico." Then he continued:

"Our Constitution fully recognizes, among other individual liberties, that of religious belief. The population, in its great majority, practices the Catholic faith. My government has sought to maintain a general state of confidence by keeping itself within legal bounds, but watching at the same time that these legal rights are complied with in the liberal form that is counselled

not only by our democratic tradition but also by the generous and humane spirit of our people."

The Church, in turn, declared its unrestrained approval of the President's war policy on the side of the democracies, thereby bringing to the government a strong popular support that could not have been achieved if the government still had been the unrelenting enemy of the Church, as it was during the thirty years before General Avila Camacho became President.

A national Eucharistic Congress was held in the city of Chihuahua where only a few years earlier the government allowed only one bishop for the entire State, which has 400 cities and towns and a population of half a million. With the consent of the State authorities, the closing session of the Congress took place in the principal park of the city, somewhat to the surprise of the people, who found it difficult to believe that the persecution of the Church is a thing of the past.

By this time, high Church dignitaries were freely expressing themselves as satisfied with the new relations between the State and the Church, while admitting, of course, that there still remains much to be accomplished in this respect. For the first time in Mexican history, the Archbishop and the President are close personal friends. As one prominent Mexican writer expressed it, "Mexico now has a President without precedent in the country's history and a great Archbishop who knows how to be an honor to his high position. Both are one hundred per cent Mexican and both are very patriotic."

It is true that Msgr. Martínez is one hundred per cent Mexican. He belongs to the *mestizo* class which constitutes the great bulk of the Mexican population. The people feel that he belongs to them because he thinks and feels like a true Mexican. People of the poorer classes speak of him with the most tender affection and many of them have described him to me thus, *"Es muy feo, pero muy, muy bueno."* (He is very ugly, but very, very good.) The Archbishop is famous as one of the most notable

orators in Mexico and also as one of the most studious men in the country.

With the Church and the State in the hands of men like Mgr. Martínez and President Avila Camacho, Catholics in Mexico feel that they have cause for satisfaction. They recognize, however, that the future position of the Church never can be secure as long as the present anti-Church provisions remain in the Constitution. They point out that the improved status of the Church is due entirely to the personal efforts of President Avila Camacho and his manner of interpreting the laws. But as long as the anti-Church measures are on the law books, an anti-religious President could use the new laws and decrees which have been framed by President Avila Camacho, for renewing the persecution of the Church. Whether the President will attempt eventually to amend the Constitution to remove the remaining restrictions against the Catholic Church was a question to which no one in the government was willing to vouchsafe an answer at the time this book was written.

The surprising progress which President Avila Camacho was able to make toward his goal of national unity in less than two years was demonstrated in a very striking manner on September 15, 1942, as part of the Independence Day celebrations, when six former Presidents of the country met with him in the Plaza Constitution in front of the National Palace and shook hands with one another to signify that they have buried the bitter political feuds that had made most of them personal enemies.

As one prominent editorial writer pointed out, these six men have nothing in common with one another except that they all have been President of Mexico. Another facetiously wrote that their reunion in the city's principal square disproved the popular belief that Mexico assassinates all its ex-Presidents. They represent all shades of political faith from the extreme left to the extreme right, and all shades of religious belief from devout Catholicism to atheism. Yet while members of the Supreme

Court, the National Congress, and the diplomatic corps looked on and applauded, and the many thousands gathered in the plaza cheered, these six former Presidents pledged their support to President Avila Camacho's campaign to re-unite the country's quarreling classes into a patriotic national population. This was something new in the history of Mexican politics.

Only a few days earlier, President Avila Camacho had achieved another triumph in his astute middle-of-the-road policy by receiving into his Cabinet as Minister of National Defense ex-President Lázaro Cárdenas. This brought into the President's official family the leader who stood for everything that Avila Camacho was trying to undo. The communistic labor movement, which is the most bitter enemy of the Church, had reached its zenith during the Cárdenas administration. Consequently, General Cárdenas was the recognized leader around whom the anti-religious labor federations and other malcontents had been trying to organize a vigorous opposition movement against President Avila Camacho and the Church.

The leftists are bitterly opposed to the President's measures for protecting property owned by the Church and by Catholics, and also by the new regulations abolishing anti-religious education in the schools. They attack these as "reactionary" measures and have been violently aroused by them. The President's determination to halt the persecution of the Church finally led the leftists to attempt to organize an opposition movement against the administration. Since they had achieved their most radical conquests under General Cárdenas, it was only natural that they should have looked to the former President as their leader. But General Cárdenas already had thrown in his lot with President Avila Camacho by accepting the command of the very important Pacific Coast military zone and pledging his support of the President's war policy.

Any hope that the anti-Church leftists may still have had of persuading General Cárdenas to lead their opposition against

the President collapsed when the general took the oath of office as Minister of National Defense. That made Cárdenas an active and responsible member of the administration and in accepting the appointment he signified his solidarity with the President's administration policies, internal as well as international. Which includes, of course, the President's policy toward the Church and toward foreign capital.

No one in the government pretends that General Cárdenas has changed his own socialistic and anti-religious thinking, but he apparently has become convinced that Mexico is not ready to accept his ideas.

Thus within less than two years after his inauguration, President Avila Camacho had Mexico well embarked on what his supporters described as the reconstruction period of the Revolution. One of the Cabinet ministers described this reconstruction period as the most difficult stage of the Revolution — the period of transition from revolutionary violence to tolerance and established order. Immediately after his inauguration, President Avila Camacho assured the country that this tolerance and social peace would be achieved without asking the people to give up any of the social and economic victories of the Revolution.

This reconstruction movement had two main objectives: national unity, and the revival of the confidence of foreign capital without losing the confidence of national labor. The reconciliation between State and Church resulted in rapid progress toward national unity, as we have seen, and that, in turn, created that internal peace which is so essential to confidence on the part of investors. Foreign capital began seeking investment in Mexico and national labor lined up behind the President one hundred per cent in his defense program and his cooperation with the United States. Under the Avila Camacho administration, the ministry of labor has become a government agency devoted to achieving a just balance between capital

and labor, as provided by law. Under Calles and Cárdenas it was an organism for the sole defense of the workers in their demands against capital.

In achieving this remarkable progress within two years of his inauguration, President Avila Camacho has been forced to play the old game of political balance between the lefts and the rights and his success is evidence of the able manner in which he has strengthened the rightist forces as a balance against the extreme radicalism of the labor parties. In Mexico the Church is the strongest of all the rightist influences and it has been only by effecting the reconciliation between State and Church that the President has been able to accomplish his political objectives, including his war program of cooperation with the United States.

The Church in Mexico, however, in certain outward aspects is quite different from the Catholic Church in the United States and Europe, and this is admitted by Catholic leaders, both in Mexico and the United States. The Catholic monarchs Maximilian and Carlota were shocked at the Mexican clergy, as is plainly shown in Carlota's letters to the Empress Eugenie, and their poor opinion was shared by the members of their official household, all of whom had been good Catholics in Europe. But the problem of Church and State in Mexico, regrettable as it is, is purely a Mexican problem. President Avila Camacho has been very emphatic on more than one occasion in stating that Mexico intends to work out a solution of its religious problem without any outside interference, and this statement of policy has been transmitted to the Department of State at Washington.

Mexico's Church problem is aggravated, not helped, by sending Protestant missionaries into the country, especially when these missionaries also are *yanquis*. More than a century of revolutions and counter-revolutions have so disrupted the national life of Mexico that the Church is the only unionizing

force still holding the people together as a nation. Consequently, any attack against the Church, especially by North Americans, is looked upon as an attack against Mexico.

The Mexicans say that Protestantism is as objectionable to Mexican unbelievers as to Catholics, because it is foreign — foreign to Mexican customs, traditions, language, emotions, and history. So they look upon all efforts to make Mexico Protestant as efforts to "unmexicanize" the Mexicans.

Francisco G. Cosmos, in his *Historia General de Mexico,* says:

"In Mexico the Catholic religion is a most powerful element of national unity and of independence from the Anglo-Saxons and any attempt to banish that religion of our faith will always be considered anti-patriotic. . . . Catholicism in Mexico is a religion that greatly favors the labor of national unity. Protestant propaganda is an anti-patriotic enterprise that is the real vanguard of the annexation of our country to the United States."

Another Mexican writer has said:

"In the determined penetration of the American missionaries we see political motives and a determination to weaken the religious ties which still hold together our national unity, thus paving the way for the pacific conquest of Mexico. From a religious point of view, this Protestant missionary work is ineffectual and fruitless; from a political point of view it arouses our patriotic antagonism against the United States from which the missionaries come."

Now that Mexico is closer to national unity than it has been at any other time in its history, and with the Avila Camacho administration one of the most enthusiastic collaborators with the war program of the United States, a very prominent Catholic in Mexico City made this appeal to me:

"In Mexico and other Catholic countries, the Protestant missionaries succeed in taking people away from the Catholic Church but they do not increase Christianity. They serve simply as a means of spreading impiety and contempt for religion.

Therefore, Christian Mexicans appeal to Christian Americans to stop supporting these proselytizing agents whose religious activities are self-defeating and whose political activities are a menace to friendship and confidence between the people of Mexico and those of the United States."

VIII

THE SINARQUISTAS

A NEW and very important factor in the religious question in Mexico is the rapidly growing *Unión Nacional Sinarquista,* the newest, strangest, and most bitterly debated popular movement in the western hemisphere. The Sinarquista movement is a Catholic, agrarian counter-revolution against the very leftist social Revolution which has controlled Mexico for thirty years. Yet it is not a party and its members take no part in politics. Its leaders stoutly insist that it is not even a political movement and that they have no intention of participating in politics, either now or in the future. They say it is a purely social movement that is working to improve the living conditions and the morals of Mexico's long-suppressed agrarian class. They believe they can defeat the militant Revolution by a peaceful civic movement of non-cooperation.

Mexico's professional politicians, however, recognize that here is a movement with which they will have to reckon in the very near future, in spite of all the Sinarquista disclaimers of political objectives. Party politicians are frankly alarmed at the rapidity with which the country's masses are flocking to the Sinarquista banner, and there is a great deal of fist shaking and name calling on both sides. Leftist leaders denounce the Sinarquistas as reactionaries, fascists, and fifth columnists. The Sinarquistas just as bitterly blast all their enemies as communists.

The alarm of party politicians would seem to be well founded, since the Sinarquistas have enrolled 800,000 members during the five years of their existence and the movement is growing

daily. When another 400,000 are enrolled, the movement will have half as many members as there were votes cast in the last presidential election. True, many of the members are women and cannot vote. But the leaders expect that it will be much easier to enroll the second 800,000 than the first. Long before that objective is attained, the Sinarquista movement will have become the most important factor in Mexican politics because it will be the largest and best disciplined organization in the country.

The Sinarquistas are opposed to any totalitarian form of government. Their leaders explain that they know very well that the first step of any fascist, nazi, or communist régime in Mexico would be to dissolve the Sinarquistas because of their strong Catholic sentiments. What the movement hopes to achieve in Mexico eventually is a "Christian order" in which each family of the agrarian class shall be permanently settled on its own piece of land. This Christian order, according to the movement's leaders, is to be a Christian democracy in which every man who can read and write shall have a vote and in which there shall be honest elections in which every vote shall be counted. This rather idealistic goal is so different from the democracy that has existed in Mexico up to the present that Sinarquista leaders say the so-called liberal democracy of Mexico is just as much a menace to their aspirations as is communism or fascism.

Leaders of the movement also are working diligently for the repeal of Mexico's anti-Church laws. While they, like other Catholics, admit that the present relations between the Church and the government are satisfactory, they argue that as long as the anti-Church laws exist there also exists the danger that the persecution of the Church may be renewed whenever there is a change in the administration. It is admitted even in government circles that the only way President Avila Camacho has been able to bring about the present satisfactory status of the Church has been by not enforcing the anti-Church laws. This

is not a satisfactory situation, either from the viewpoint of the Church or the government.

It was the Sinarquistas who launched the determined battle against the communists who had gotten control of the ministry of education and set up an anti-religious and anti-family system of education. This battle of the Sinarquistas gave the President strong backing from Mexican parents when he undertook to reform the educational laws. The movement expects to achieve other important reforms in favor of the Church and the family during the four years that remain of President Avila Camacho's six-year term.

The close relationship existing between President Avila Camacho and the Sinarquista movement has been badly misunderstood, not only by the leftist anti-Church leaders in Mexico, but also by the American newspaper correspondents in Mexico City, both of these groups having represented the Sinarquistas to be fascists and under the control of the Spanish Falange. President Avila Camacho is one of the closest friends and collaborators which the Washington government has anywhere in the southern Americas. Also, he is one of the most ardent devotees of the democratic cause that ever has occupied the presidency of Mexico. He has devoted the two years he has been in office to stamping out in the most vigorous manner possible every agency and organization in the country that was opposed to democracy and likely to serve the cause of the nondemocratic forces against which Mexico and the United States are now at war. Government officials, as well as other prominent Mexicans, point out that it is beyond the range of all logic and common sense that, having taken his stand on the side of democracy, the President should have nullified his own position by encouraging the growth of a movement which opposed everything he stands for.

The Sinarquista movement was born in 1937 because a wealthy young ranch owner who had been educated in the United States

went to Mass at 4 o'clock one Sunday morning before beginning a long journey. As he sat alone in the dark church, a muddy, barefooted Indian shuffled in, dropped to his knees before the image of one of the saints and began weeping like a child. It suddenly dawned in the mind of the young white rancher that there is tremendous suffering among Mexico's abjectly poor and underfed masses. All day on the train he brooded over what he had seen in the church and determined to do something about it.

The young rancher, whose name was José Antonio Urquiza, persuaded a group of his friends to join him in forming an organization to remake the social life of Mexico's common people. They worked on the plan for several months and then called a meeting at Leon, State of Guanajuato, to organize the movement. Nearly 400 peasants attended that first assembly. Young Urquiza, who never had spoken in public, told the meeting:

"I do not know how to define the Sinarquista movement. All I can say is that I have taken the firm decision to fight with all my strength that every Mexican shall have the good that I desire for myself and that every home in my country shall have the happiness and prosperity that I want in my home. That is what I understand the Sinarquista movement to be."

Urquiza devoted the rest of his life to carrying out that pledge. He abandoned his business, gave up his comfortable life, and applied himself to organizing the movement throughout the country. Eleven months after he announced his pledge, Urquiza was assassinated.

From the unemotional viewpoint of practical politics, the assassination was a major error. It gave the young Sinarquista movement a martyr. Today, the name José Antonio is spoken with hushed reverence by Sinarquistas throughout Mexico.

Urquiza's work was carried on rapidly and efficiently by the

friends who had helped him launch the movement. In the four years since his death the Sinarquistas have had four leaders, each one with supreme and unquestioned authority while in office. But the Sinarquista movement does not aim at lifting any individual to power. It seeks to raise all the Mexican people to a position of human dignity. One of its mottos is: "Today's chief is tomorrow's soldier."

José Trueba Olivares, who succeeded Urquiza as Chief, is the leader of the Sinarquista agricultural colony in the State of Sonora. Manuel Zermeño, who followed him, has resumed his law practice in Mexico City and serves as a member of the movement's national council. Salvador Abascal, who was Chief from August, 1940, to December, 1941, took 400 Sinarquistas to the deserts of Lower California and founded a colony there.

All the Chiefs since Urquiza have been elected at national assemblies of state, municipal, and village leaders, and officers of the movement point to the frequent change in leadership to support their contention that the organization is not headed toward fascism.

Manuel Torres Bueno, the present *Jefe* or Supreme Chief of the movement, is a modest, quiet-spoken, well-dressed young lawyer, just turned 30, who lives with his aging mother. He is neglecting a promising law practice to give his time to leading the Sinarquistas. His total revenue from this leadership is the ten pesos ($2) which are allotted to him every month for carfare. He has been the Chief since December, 1941, when Salvador Abascal relinquished the post to lead the Sinarquista colonization project in Lower California with the blessing of President Avila Camacho.

Young Torres Bueno, like the great majority of Mexicans, has Indian blood in his veins and is proud of it. He has the prominent nose and thick lips of the Indian, combined with the long face, high forehead, and large brilliant eyes of the

intelligent Latin. The height of his forehead is accentuated by a great mop of thick black hair. He tries to disguise his youth behind a closely trimmed moustache.

The Chief speaks slowly and in a low voice and gives the impression of timidity until he gets well started on an exposition of Sinarquista aims. Then he doubles his large hand into a big, business-like fist and presses it vigorously on his desk to emphasize his words. But he is neither a desk pounder nor a demagogue.

The Chief's desk is a cheap wooden one and it stands in the corner of a small bare room on the second floor of a dilapidated old residence in the calle Moreles in Mexico City which the Sinarquistas rent as their national headquarters. In the corner stands the movement's green, white, and red flag, and on the wall behind his chair hangs a small crucifix. There are no other decorations. A correspondence file and four or five wooden chairs complete the furnishings.

The decaying old building costs $110 a month and houses the offices of all the movement's many activities. These include teaching poverty-stricken Indians how to bathe, as well as how to read and write; the operation of two agricultural colonies; a law office which tries, usually without success, to get Sinarquistas out of jail; the publication of a weekly newspaper and a monthly magazine; and the constant enrolling of new members in the hundreds of centers now scattered widespread through every State and Territory in the United States of Mexico.

The Chief was sitting at his desk, his big fist boring into the wood, when I asked him to outline for me the purposes of the Sinarquista movement.

"We intend to establish a Christian order in Mexico," he declared. "The so-called liberal democracy as practiced in Mexico is just as dangerous an enemy of such a Christian order as are fascism, nazism, and communism, and we are vigorously opposed to all four. We shall fight totalitarian government in

all its forms, whether it be one of the European *isms* or the tyranny of Spanish American dictatorship."

"Christian order" being a new expression in politics, I asked Señor Torres Bueno what the Sinarquistas mean when they use that expression.

"The Sinarquista movement stands first of all for order and authority," he replied, "as opposed to the chaos and anarchy that we have called democracy in Mexico. The Christian order we intend to set up in Mexico will be a Christian democracy based on a legally constituted family living on its own piece of land."

This ideal of order and authority was perpetuated in the name of the movement when its organizers coined the word *Sinarquista* from the two Greek words *syn* (with) and *arche* (government or order). The new word is the antithesis of *anarchy,* which means "without government." In coining a name for their movement, the organizers confess that they were inspired by the word *syndicate,* which originally meant "with justice." Sinarquistas are the arch-enemies of Mexico's labor syndicates.

Since the labor unions and other enemies of the Sinarquistas charge that the movement is under the control of the Spanish Falange, I asked the Chief what the movement's attitude is toward the Falange. It was at this point that he threw off his timidity and began to get emphatic.

"The Spanish Falange is an anti-communistic organization whose activities in Spain we have no right to judge," he said. "But the Spanish Falange must not attempt to interfere in Mexico because such intervention is specifically prohibited by our laws. Those Spanish refugees who have mixed themselves in Mexican politics are violating the law of the country which offered them sanctuary from persecution in their own land."

When I asked the Chief why the movement is so bitterly opposed to Mexico's social Revolution, he retorted:

"No nation is going to accept a social program that is contrary to its history and its traditions. It is as absurd as it is impractical to try to transplant any of the foreign ideologies onto Mexican soil."

One of the first objectives of the Sinarquista endeavor to establish order in Mexico is the termination of the class war that has grown out of the Revolution.

"The foreign political and economic doctrines that were imported into Mexico by the Revolution have created a bitter class hatred that is as dangerous as it is anti-patriotic," explained the Chief. "The Sinarquista movement condemns the crime of this destructive class war and is working for an effective and loyal cooperation between capital and labor."

The second step toward the establishment of order is to be the re-education of the Mexican people. Sinarquista leaders blame Mexico's long years of revolution on the ignorance and the oppression of the agrarian class, arguing that the economic and social poverty of this stratum of the population makes it fertile ground for class agitation and explosive revolution. They intend to wipe out revolution as a Mexican institution by improving the economic and social status of the agrarian masses and by making the members of this class better Mexicans, better democrats, and better men.

Sinarquista leaders believe, with Plato, that the State is what it is because its citizens are what they are, and that it is necessary to make better men before there can be a better State.

The thoroughness with which the Sinarquista movement is transforming Mexican peasants into better citizens is evident from its success in weaning them away from *pulque*. Through many centuries, *pulque* has been the curse of Mexico's Indian population. Sinarquistas do not drink *pulque*. Nor do they drink alcohol in any of its other forms. Consequently, they are amenable to discipline and have been converted to the unfamiliar idea of work.

When a Mexican Indian says he will be some place at 2 o'clock it never occurs to him to get there before 4, or even 5. Sinarquistas keep their appointments.

For thousands of years the Mexican Indian has been underfed on an unbalanced diet of corncakes and beans, largely because *pulque* made him too lazy to raise anything else. Sinarquistas are being told the mystery of vitamins and taught to grow green vegetables and raise chickens. So they are becoming stronger and more intelligent men and women than their fellow Mexicans.

September 16, Independence Day, always has been the occasion for a big drunk among Mexico's Indians, especially those who work in the mines. On September 16, 1942, there was not a single case of drunkenness in the little mining town of San José del Rincon, in the State of Mexico, where all the 2000 inhabitants had recently been enrolled in the Sinarquista movement. The mayor, who is not a Sinarquista, said this was the first Independence Day in the forty years he knows about that the town jail was empty.

It was men of this type — prohibitionists, idealists, even fanatics, perhaps — that ex-Chief Abascal took to Lower California as the nucleus of the Sinarquista colony there. This colony project aroused a terrific protest from Congress, which is controlled by the labor unions. The Chamber of Deputies sent a committee to inform the President that Congress was bitterly opposed to the project on the ground that the Sinarquistas were fascist fifth columnists and that the colony on the Pacific would be a menace to Mexico's democracy and to continental defense. Congress asked the President to cancel the colony concession and to outlaw the National Sinarquista Union as a dangerous anti-democratic plot.

That was a big day for the Sinarquistas. President Avila Camacho informed the congressional committee that the Sinarquistas as Mexicans are entitled to the protection of Mexico's

laws. He said he had carefully studied all the circumstances in connection with the colonization plan and given it his entire support. He expressed the hope that Congress would support instead of oppose similar colonization projects which tend to decentralize the population from the over-crowded central plateau.

The Chamber of Deputies devoted a whole session to receiving and debating the report of its committee and then passed a unanimous vote of confidence in the President, at the same time approving the Sinarquista colonization project. The government's newspaper, *El Nacional,* reporting this session, ran a front-page headline: "The Sinarquistas do not constitute any danger to the country." This verdict was confirmed sometime later by Miguel Alemán, minister of government and chief of the Cabinet, when he told a press conference that the government had no evidence that the Sinarquistas are engaged in any activity that threatens Mexico's democracy. As it is Alemán who has cleaned up the fifth column organizations in Mexico, the inference was that if there were anything subversive in the movement he would know about it.

On January 20, 1943, the newspaper *La Prensa* of Mexico City published an interview with General Maximino Avila Camacho, brother of the President and Minister of Communications and Public Works, in which the general emphatically declared that neither the clergy nor the Sinarquistas had had anything to do with disturbances which had occurred in various parts of the country over the question of compulsory military training. *La Prensa* was one of several newspapers which had accused the Sinarquistas and the clergy of stirring up opposition to military training.

"The clergy of Mexico is a strong factor of cooperation with the government," declared General Avila Camacho, "and has given irrefutable proof of this, as well as of its loyalty to our laws."

In reply to another query, the general stated that the govern-

ment knew the Sinarquistas had nothing to do with any agitation against military service and that the disturbances were caused by professional agitators whose identity would be known eventually.

These disturbances, in which several people were killed, were the result of newspaper reports published in the United States that the Mexican government was secretly preparing to send an army of Mexican youths overseas to fight alongside the armed forces of the United Nations. These reports were contrary to official statements made by both the President and the Minister of Defense assuring the people that no Mexicans would be sent outside their country to fight and that all the military preparations were intended solely to prepare for the defense of Mexico should the necessity arise. This pledge was repeated to the people by the ministry of defense, which sent army planes to scatter handbills over the interior points where the people had objected to military training under the erroneous impression that it meant their sons would be sent abroad to fight. General Avila Camacho, in his interview, said that the disturbances ceased as soon as the people were properly informed of the government's intentions, and again declared that the Sinarquistas had had nothing to do with misinforming them.

The Sinarquistas are rabidly nationalistic. They hope to make Mexico economically independent by producing new wealth instead of taking property away from those who have it. They propose to wipe out the social injustice which all through Mexica's history has enabled a well-fed, well-dressed governing class to rule over the barefooted, hungry masses.

Every Sinarquista is a native-born Mexican and devout Catholic. But it is not a clerical movement and the leaders insist that there is no member of the clergy either in the ranks or on any of the councils. They admit, though, that it is deep religious faith that gives the movement its great driving force. Most Sinarquistas are spiritually minded, obeying their leaders with

confidence and unquestioned loyalty. The movement's principal weapons are its parades, propaganda, and mass meetings. The frequent marches and the Sinarquista salute make the members realize they are part of a great national movement even though they may not fully understand the objectives of that movement.

Sinarquistas do understand, though, that the organization fights alcoholism and gambling as the causes of their physical and economic misery. They understand that by helping to build community roads they can get their products to market and so escape the middleman exploitation that has kept them poor. Even the women help with the road construction. Sinarquistas understand that by going to their night schools they can learn to read and write and become better citizens. And they understand that they must be ready to die for what they believe. More than a hundred already have. Their newspaper tells them: "If you are not ready to die for the Cause, you are not worthy to be a Sinarquista." They are reminded constantly that José Antonio Urquiza died for them.

All but six of the Sinarquistas who have died for the cause were killed during the agrarian reforms of the Cárdenas régime. The Sinarquistas are vigorously opposed to the collective farms which Cárdenas set up and insist on individual property rights. Most of the killing was done by armed agrarian guards who took their orders from the commissars of the collective farms. President Avila Camacho instructed state governors that the lives and property of Sinarquistas were to be protected and only six men have been killed in the past two years.

The National Sinarquista Union is a poor man's movement. It has been found impossible to collect monthly dues of one peso (20 cents) because most Sinarquistas haven't got a peso. One of the movement's strongest holds on the people is that they know their leaders are not living off membership dues. National headquarters are manned by enthusiastic volunteers who work two, three, or four hours a day without pay. The

only salaried man in the organization is the general manager of the publishing department. He gets 100 pesos ($20) a month.

The first Sinarquistas were penniless peasants but the movement now includes many laborers who have dropped out of the unions and many small business men who are dissatisfied with the Revolution. Those who are able contribute to the expenses of the organization. Leaders believe the worst is over.

The Sinarquista movement has brought new hope to the common people of Mexico. Every time these blindly trusting men and women march they are told that the ultimate goal toward which they are marching is that every Mexican shall be a free citizen owning his own land, exercising all his rights, and complying with all his duties. The leaders believe that the attainment of this goal is merely a matter of education. They expect to achieve the goal within one generation by educating and remaking the Mexican people, physically, morally, socially, and politically.

By seeking to educate, discipline, and improve the lot of the agrarian class, the Sinarquista movement is attacking all Mexico's major economic, social, and political problems at their base, for the agrarian conflict, with its exploitation of the peasant by the landlord, has been at the root of all Mexico's troubles since long before the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors. The struggle of the people for ownership of the land they work was one of the major problems of even the old Aztec Empire. The Conquest simply changed the nationality of the exploiting class. Instead of being exploited by his Aztec masters, the Mexican Indian was exploited by Spanish masters. Under Diaz he was exploited by American and British masters. Under the Revolution he has been exploited by the commissars of the community farms which the communists set up for the control of the farm workers in a manner identical with the control of the industrial workers by the union leaders.

Historically the Revolution was important because it changed

Mexico from a feudalism into the semblance, at least, of an agrarian democracy. The peon has become a peasant. Before the Revolution he received 25 centavos (then worth 12½ cents) for sixteen hours of work a day. Now he receives an average wage of a peso and a half (30 cents) for eight hours' work. But this still is not a living wage and the agrarian democracy is far from what we understand by the word.

Outside the rural districts the day laborer receives a minimum wage of two pesos and a half (60 cents) for an eight-hour day. But at a banquet given to a group of Congressmen in August, 1941, it was stated that families of laborers who receive no more than this minimum wage can eat only once a day.

It behooves the people of the United States, therefore, to stop judging Mexico by our own standard of living. The average Mexican earns between $70 and $80 a year. Obviously, he cannot buy a radio. He spends less than $1 a year for his clothes, which consist of hand-made cotton trousers and shirt and a pair of cheap sandals. Usually he is barefooted.

Mexico is one of the least industrialized of nations, hence its economic dependence on the United States. The standard of living will have to be raised before the people can provide the purchasing power necessary to maintain industry. It will have to be raised even before we can sell our manufactured products to Mexico in any appreciable quantity.

Nearly three-fourths of Mexico's population lives off the soil. But its living is not much more than mere animal existence. With a population of approximately 20 million, only about 3,000,000 seek a fair standard of living. And only one-third of that number attain it. The rest of the population lives in poverty and ignorance. The Indian population of Mexico needs land and education. Then it can work out its own destiny.

Alfonso Gonzalez Gallardo, Under Secretary of Agriculture, stated in a radio broadcast on March 15, 1942, that only 7½ per cent of the land (57,915 sq. mi. out of a total of 772,200

sq. mi.) is arable and that only 3½ per cent (27,027 sq. mi.) is actually under cultivation. More than half the country is mountainous and most of the rest is tropical jungle, leaving very little farming land on the plains and plateaus.

If the Good Neighbor Policy means anything, Mexico is a good place to prove it. There are many ways in which we could help improve the living conditions of our Mexican neighbors without any great cost or inconvenience to ourselves. For instance, corn is believed to have originated in Mexico, but Iowa now produces more corn than all Mexico. Furthermore, the quality of Mexican corn has deteriorated greatly, but it still remains the staple food of the poor. One way we could prove that we are good neighbors would be to give the Mexicans new seed corn to improve their crops and enable them to eat better.

Political democracy is progressing in Mexico. What the people need most is economic democracy and this can be achieved only by improving the position of the pauperized agrarian class. This major cross-section of the population will then serve as the political balance of the future and prevent the government from going too far to the left or too far to the right.

Today, the average Mexican has nothing to lose from political and social disorder. But when the Mexican farm workers have something at stake, they will not support a revolution that threatens the loss of what they have. Progress is slow because the Indian agrarian worker has been exploited so long that he has despaired of ever being anything except a slave. He has no interest in making money or in producing goods to sell. If he has food for himself and family from day to day he is satisfied.

But when these people own their own piece of land, however small, their own house, a radio, and perhaps even an old automobile, they will be happier people than they ever have been in the past and will form a solid population which will make Mexico's democracy safer than it ever has been. This is the goal which the Sinarquista movement holds out to its members.

The goal and the means of attaining it are explained by the leaders of the movement as follows:

Sinarquism, the antithesis of anarchy, is a civic movement which seeks the restoration in Mexico of the Christian Social Order destroyed by anarchy.

The general principles of Sinarquism have been set forth in the "16 points" of the program of the National Sinarquista Union, which may be summarized as follows:

We condemn communism, totalitarianism, dictatorships, and tyrannies; we repudiate the division of "leftists" and "rightists," of "revolutionaries" and "reactionaries." We repudiate the Nazi cross, the Communist star, and any other foreign symbol;

We affirm the right of private property in the manner that it is conferred upon man by Natural Law and taught by Christianity. But we repudiate it when it is accompanied by the injustice and privilege with which it was invested by economic liberalism.

Exotic doctrines and unpatriotic influences have initiated in Mexico a class hatred and a class struggle. Sinarquism condemns the crime of that corrupting and destructive struggle and seeks an effective and loyal cooperation between capital and labor.

No nation shall accept a social program contrary to its historic traditions. It is impossible and absurd to try to implant a foreign ideology in Mexico.

To be a Sinarquista is to be a missionary; it is to acquaint oneself at first hand with the poverty and hopes of the poor; it is to combat that which debases and corrupts; it is to maintain faith and sustained efforts in that only which serves the common good. Sinarquism is unity, peace, order; it is militancy of spirit; it is eminently Mexican and absolutely incompatible with all sectarianism.

Sinarquism was started May 23, 1937, at Leon, Guanajuato, when a group of friends, three lawyers: Manuel Zermeño, José Trueba Olivares, and Salvador Abascal, met with the farmer, José Antonio Urquiza. Disturbed because of the moral, political, and economic disorder obtaining in the Republic, they decided to form a union which would fight to restore in Mexico the social Christian order. This is the origin of the National Sinarquista Union.

A National Committee directs the entire movement. It has divided the country into Regional Committees more or less according to the different States; and in turn each Regional Committee controls the Municipal Committees, the latter controlling the Rural Sub-Committees.

Sinarquism embraces all classes of society, but especially the peasants and workers, convinced that the virtues of the Mexicans are to be found in the people, with whom the salvation of Mexico rests. While it seeks to unite all Mexicans and add them to its ranks, it forbids the admission of foreigners. Exclusively Mexican groups within each State of the country constitute the Sinarquista organization.

The number of members of the Sinarquista movement is increasing daily, due to its appeal to the worker and to the peasant, to its understanding of their problems, to the doctrines of austerity and of sacrifice, as well as to the irreproachable conduct of all its chiefs. Since it is not a political party, Sinarquism has declared many times that it does not desire to participate in public matters, but that it is disposed to cooperate in all activities which seek the general welfare of the people.

The principles of Sinarquism are those of peace and harmony; that is why Sinarquism condemns all revolutionary movements.

Sinarquista meetings are gatherings of Mexicans who in a democratic, orderly, peaceful, and law-abiding manner unite to ask justice for all and the restoration of social order. Sinarquistas, according to their rule, attend all their meetings entirely unarmed. They do not combat the Government, but point out the abuses of the Government; they present passive resistance to arbitrary imposition contrary to their ideals.

Each day the Sinarquista movement draws closer to the realization of its constructive national undertaking, and by means of its program there have already been attained achievements which never could have been attained or undertaken without it. Sinarquism has saved Mexico from communist totalitarianism, which would destroy the family and the good habits essential to the material and moral prosperity of the country.

Sinarquism is the absolute denial of atheism and of communistic irreligiousness, and is the adversary of historical materialism.

Sinarquism is opposed to the delusive concept of a society

without classes; it is the struggle against class war and class hatred. Sinarquism is the defender of private property; it is the liberator of the peasant class, for whom it desires the private ownership of the land; it is the liberator of the workers, for whom it desires, likewise, a just distribution of property; and it is the destruction, in fine, of all the exploiting and rapacious capitalists of the type the Revolution has produced, together with those leaders who live at the expense of the worker they deceive and corrupt.

Sinarquism combats communism in every field and seeks to expel from Mexico its teachings and practices. In consequence it has been slandered in stupid fashion by charges to the effect that it is influenced by Nazis, Fascists, Falangists, etc., and is none other than a "fifth column."

It is untrue that Sinarquism ever contemplated the implantation of a totalitarian system. It has no connection with the idolators of the Omnipotent State.

Sinarquism maintains that no social program could be established in Mexico upon the principles of Nazism, Fascism or any other totalitarian form of government. Totalitarianism would mean the end and destruction of all Sinarquista efforts, of all its sacrifices and of all its ideals and aspirations. The totalitarian State repudiates the natural right. To it the only source of right is governmental power, which is the worst of all tyrannies, because it is tyranny which converts the law into the pretext and accomplice of its excesses.

The totalitarian State constitutes itself the ultimate and supreme aim in such a manner that the individual's only reason for existing is his usefulness to the State, for which he should sacrifice everything, including his soul. It disposes of private property in the manner that suits it; it destroys the family by taking possession of the children; it crushes all private initiative and creates a single official party, obliging all to belong thereto.

Sinarquism is the emphatic, calm, definite denial of all totalitarianisms. The principles of Sinarquism oblige it to be irreconcilable with them. It holds that any social program destined for Mexico should be based on the principles of the Christian and democratic life of its people. It would unite all Mexicans in a spirit of national unity, because this unity constitutes peace, prosperity, and strength.

However, Sinarquism wishes all people to realize that it is not a religious movement. While it demands that all its members be men of consistent honesty in all fields of their activities, it does not bear the standard of a Catholic movement, nor does it number among its ranks a single member of the clergy.

A social program for Mexico should recognize the great importance of the family, protecting it and promoting its growth. Family life is the foundation of civil society; it is necessary for the formation of the man and for the development of all the virtues which are an inseparable part of Christian civilization.

Sinarquism, further, is aware that the greatest problem of Mexico is the education of its people; that is why it is tireless in repeating: education for all, real and genuine education! Sinarquism will not rest until there is not a single illiterate person in Mexico, nor will it rest until it has achieved entire freedom of education in Mexico. Sinarquism earnestly and genuinely desires a Mexican school of harmony and love, according to the aspirations and faith of the Mexican people.

The major effort of the education program of Sinarquism will be centered in the rural districts, since 70 per cent of the national population lives off the land, and it is this great peasant class which has been deceived and most led astray by the Revolution. Rural education, to Sinarquism, is the first step that must be taken toward the reconstruction of Mexico, and its concern is not only for the education of the adult peasants, which it proposes tirelessly to promote.

Sinarquism considers that, in general, the division of the large agricultural properties and the creation of small holdings is indispensable, and has so stated in its program.

However, neither order, nor the material or moral betterment of the peasant, nor the complete and stable development of Mexican agriculture, can be attained unless the Government sees fit to remove the gravest obstacle to the attaining of these ends, those armed groups, namely, of land users designated by the name of "Agrarian Reserves."

These "Reserves" are the instrument of terror and tyranny which scourge the fields; despoil the peasant of his lands and of his crops, burn his cabin, hound him, torture him, and even kill him, with absolute impunity from and contempt for the law. By means of the "Reserves" there is maintained a state of anarchy, of crime, and of enduring injustice which is diametri-

cally contrary to the promises made by public officials. There never can be any justification for the existence of these "Reserves," nor the tacit toleration of their outrages, nor the disorder they cause, nor the discredit they cast on democratic institutions which wink at their numerous and frequent excesses, so utterly incompatible with the most rudimentary civilization. Tens upon tens of defenseless Sinarquistas have been barbarously sacrificed by the "Reserves" without having justice done in a single instance.

Sinarquism proclaims cooperation between capital and labor. It will tenaciously defend the working man against exploitation by unconscientious corporations and rapacious leaders, but, at the same time, it will defend legitimate capital that it may not be destroyed by the voracity of demagogues or by political machinations. To aid in achieving this it proposes the creation of truly mixed commissions, free from political influences and under control of the State, which shall solve labor problems.

Sinarquism looks forward to the dawn of that day in which all workers shall receive just recompense; in which there shall be superior conditions of hygiene and safety; that day in which the laboring classes shall have a share in the profits of the factories. It has as an objective equally the bettering of working conditions for women and children. In a word, Sinarquism will fight that the State fulfill its proper function, that of aiding and developing industry and of protecting the weak, to the end of assuring the common good.

Sinarquism wishes to see the formation of true labor unions made up of workmen, without political leaders, which shall not be tools of oppression or tyranny; which shall not promote class war; nor be the ready instruments of political passions but true labor unions seeking first and foremost the intellectual, material, and moral betterment of their members.

It is indispensable that the banner of Sinarquism be raised and that the strike organized by political and unscrupulous officials, which are destructive to Mexico's incipient industry, be ended. This hour, in which the country demands the coordination and subordination of private and class interests, is the hour in which Sinarquism finds its greatest justification, since the President of the Republic himself echoed its call for a united country when in his address to the Congress on September 1, 1941, he exclaimed: "Neither employers nor employees

shall forget that they are, above all, Mexicans, and that the unity of the country comes first."

Men cannot go on living, nor demand work, nor production, nor order, nor well-being, if a Christian social justice does not exist. That, in brief, is the logic of Sinarquism. In this type of social justice the distressing problems of Mexico will find their solution.

Sinarquism is a social movement among the masses which aspire to their own just moral and material betterment; it occupies itself primarily with the condition of the Mexican workmen and peasants, attempting to enable them to lead the kind of lives to which they are justly entitled in accord with the cultural and religious traditions of Mexico, and to gain an economic security for their families. It is not a political party, as has constantly been repeated. Its fundamental interest is in its social program as respects workingmen and peasants. It cannot be content with the workers' and peasants' organizations that exist today, because they are purely political and revolutionary, intended to spread communistic doctrines rather than to help better the economic, intellectual, and moral condition of the rural and urban worker.

Many observers, however, noting the extent of the Sinarquista movement, have come to the conclusion that its meetings and its publications could not be realized without a subsidy of mysterious origin. Starting from this premise, various conjectures have arisen which are quite unfounded and false.

Sinarquism, made up in large part of poor people, maintains itself by its own resources. It is the mite of the destitute that maintains in action so many groups, and it is the austerity and abnegation of its leaders which wrings such results from such a slender source. In this preeminently material age it is difficult to conceive of the thousands of forgotten men, animated by faith, full of confidence in the high destiny of their country, who yet have the courage to convert their lofty ideals into actions.

The stimulation that comes from the modest and unknown sacrifices of the many thousands of Mexicans gathered together under the Sinarquista banner, is the secret which many seek to fathom.

Sinarquism recognizes that there exists a great discontent among peasants and workers which offers a fertile field for the

propaganda of communists and totalitarians. For this reason Sinarquism considers it urgent to initiate a real campaign of betterment among the workers, to satisfy immediately their just demands.

To this end Sinarquism has consecrated its greatest and most persevering effort. It has been, and in this hour will continue to be, with even more reason, a powerful factor in the preservation of order, discipline, and peace.

As a similar discontent exists throughout the American continent, the friendly cooperation between the republics of America is of the greatest importance in solving this and other mutual problems.

Sinarquism is loyally endeavoring to cooperate with the attitude and point of view of the United States and hopes that in the future the United States will constantly keep in mind the position of Mexico, her traditions, and the religious faith of her people, without attempting to superimpose a foreign culture upon her. President Roosevelt himself has declared that democracy is, wherever found, the defense of liberty, of tolerance, of decency, and of faith, and it is exactly toward these ideals that Sinarquism moves.

IX

OUR GOOD FRIEND BRAZIL

BRAZIL DIFFERS from all the other South American nations in having set up its independence under the form of a monarchy instead of a republic, thus escaping the bloodshed and many years of internecine strife which followed the separation of the Spanish colonies from the Crown. On the day before Junot led Napoleon's troops into Lisbon in November, 1807, the Prince Regent João, the royal family, and the nobles of the court sailed out of the Tagus, bound for sunny Brazil. João, who was ruling in the name of his insane mother, thus escaped the arrest and imprisonment to which Ferdinand VII was subjected when Murat invaded Spain. Nine years after the Portuguese Court set itself up at Rio de Janeiro the Queen died and the Prince Regent was crowned João VI, King of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves. Brazil thus ceased to be a Portuguese colony and became a kingdom, on an equal footing with the mother country.

Napoleon's invasion of Portugal had been in the offing for some time but had been held off because Brazilian gold from the rich veins in Minas Geraes had supplied the Portuguese diplomatic service with the means of bribing the Little Corporal's trusted advisers. After the destruction of the French fleet at Trafalgar, however, Napoleon had no choice but to try to defeat the English on land, and the first step in that strategy had to be the closing of Portugal as an English corridor to the continent from the sea. So the Portuguese Court knew what was coming and its transfer to Rio de Janeiro was not the ignominous flight that has often been represented.

João immediately fell in love with Brazil, as has since happened to a great many men of greater intelligence than his, so when the French retired from the Peninsula the king was reluctant to leave his Brazilian capital and return to his Portuguese one. But the political situation in Portugal finally became so urgent that João went back to Lisbon in April, 1821, five years after his coronation. He left as his lieutenant in Brazil the 24-year-old heir to the throne, Dom Pedro. And he left him with perhaps the strangest advice that a king ever gave his son — that if the brewing independence movement reached a point where the separation of Brazil from Portugal seemed inevitable, Pedro was to put himself at the head of the separatist movement instead of opposing it.

The Portuguese were just as dumb in their attitude toward their colonies as all other Europeans have been, and they jealously resented the events that had made Brazil a kingdom and enabled Rio de Janeiro for five years to be the capital of the united kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves. As soon as the French left Lisbon, the Portuguese began trying to reduce Brazil to its former status of a colony, but the effort was no more successful than have been other attempts to turn back the clock of history. The natural outcome was the creation among the Brazilians of a determination to separate themselves from Portugal and govern themselves. By 1821 this movement had made sufficient headway to indicate that it could not be stopped; hence João's advice to his son.

As soon as Portugal got the king back to Lisbon, the Portuguese *cortes* set out in earnest to put Brazil in its place. Within a year the Brazilians were ready to put Portugal in its place. In June, 1822, a representative *junta* met at São Paulo and petitioned Dom Pedro to summon a constituent assembly. When news of this "traitorous outrage" reached Lisbon, instructions were sent to Dom Pedro to arrest and try all the members of the *junta* on charges of treason. Pedro was traveling in the

province of São Paulo when these instructions reached Rio de Janeiro, so a courier was sent to find him and deliver the Lisbon dispatches. The courier caught up with Dom Pedro on the banks of the Ypiranga, near the city of São Paulo, on September 7, 1822. Pedro read the dispatches, angrily threw them from him, and shouted: "Independence or death!" Pedro's angry cry has come down in history as the "Shout of Ypiranga" — the Brazilian counterpart of that first shot at Lexington which we like to think was heard round the world. And September 7 is celebrated in Brazil as Independence Day.

History was amusing herself at her ironic worst at the turn of the nineteenth century and must have had her tongue in her cheek most of the time. She had scrapped the great Holy Roman Empire and started Europe on that century of intrigue over the Balance of Power that was to lead to the First World War and, consequently, to the Second. She then watched Spain shed its best blood in its revolt against Napoleon, thus saving Europe from becoming a French empire, and losing its own American empire in the process.

The local *juntas* by which the Spanish cities ruled themselves while fighting Napoleon were copied in the South American colonies and by the time Ferdinand was restored to his throne his colonies had had a taste of self government and decided that they liked it. They declared their independence. When the Congress of Vienna set up the Holy Alliance some time later, that unholy combination decided to help Spain get back its colonies, since the primary objective of the Holy Alliance was to protect the divine right of kings everywhere against the democratic ideas of their upstart subjects. But the Holy Alliance was frustrated by England and the Monroe Doctrine. The Brazilians did not know in 1822, of course, that this was going to happen, but they did know that the Spanish forces had been defeated throughout South America and that the Spanish colonies were free. The Brazilians decided that they,

too, would be free. Young Pedro allowed himself to be crowned Dom Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil.

Pedro ruled only nine years and his reign was harassed by the attempt of the Argentine dictator Rosas to dismember the Brazilian empire. Rosas dreamed of restoring to Argentina all the territory that once had formed part of the old Viceroyalty of the River Plate. As a first step in that direction he attempted to set up a Greater Uruguay, which was to embrace the Argentine province of Corrientes which was fighting Rosas, and the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul which had belonged to the River Plate viceroyalty for a few months in 1777 until the Treaty of Ildefonso returned it to Portugal and confirmed Spain's title to Uruguay. The people of Rio Grande do Sul had no intention of letting themselves be ruled by Rosas but they became imbued with the separatist ideas Rosas had encouraged and so decided to cut themselves off from the empire. In an effort to prevent the breaking up of the empire, Dom Pedro I abdicated in April, 1831, in favor of his 6-year-old son who was to rule Brazil for nearly 60 years as the Emperor Dom Pedro II.

This second Pedro succeeded in creating a sense of nationality and unity that was not felt in any of the new Spanish republics, and so prevented the breaking up of Brazil into a number of small republics, as happened in the Spanish viceroyalties. The great River Plate Viceroyalty split into three republics — Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay; the Viceroyalty of Peru divided into Peru and Bolivia; and Nueva Granada became the republics of Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela. Obedience to the king in Lisbon had been the only link that united the widely separated Brazilian provinces during the colonial period and the breaking of that link would have caused them to drift apart, had not the establishment of their own monarchy preserved the link of obedience to a crown.

Although this monarchy called itself an empire after 1822, it

was essentially a democratic and constitutional monarchy with a parliament of two chambers, the senators serving for life. The empire proved to be a great school for the training of statesmen, politicians, and journalists, and when Brazil in 1889 finally declared itself a republic and banished the royal family, the republic was fortunate in having at its head some of the greatest men in the Americas.

The first three presidencies under the republic were great governments because the men who formed those governments had been educated in statesmanship under the empire. When this generation of leaders disappeared, Brazil's efforts to adapt the empire to a republic produced a series of rocky political crises that have continued down to the present. With the exception of our Civil War, we in the United States escaped the shocks of political crises such as have upset Brazil because we had a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon race with an inborn sense of politics. Also, our rapidly growing prosperity carried us safely over the political errors that were made.

Our best friend and ally in South America, on the other hand, always has been handicapped by a poor and unbalanced economy. There have been three distinct economic cycles in Brazil — sugar, gold, and coffee. Each cycle produced prosperity, but only for an isolated region.

The sugar cycle began in the sixteenth century, soon after the discovery of the country, and was centered in Pernambuco, Bahia, and Maranhão. It was the development of the sugar plantations that led to the heavy importation of African slaves and tempted the Dutch invasion. Pernambuco was in the possession of the Dutch for 27 years, from 1627 to 1654. The sugar cycle petered out with the discovery of beet sugar and the rapid development of more modernized production methods in Central America and the United States. But the slave labor that had been imported for the sugar plantations bequeathed to Brazil the racial problem which has subsisted ever since.

The gold cycle began at the end of the seventeenth century with the discovery of the rich veins in Minas Geraes. Portugal absorbed enormous quantities of Brazilian gold from 1700 to 1760 and the metal eventually found its way to England under the trade treaties which gave England a monopoly of Portuguese trade. It was this gold that started Britain on its long era of industrial prosperity. The mining of gold caused a great migration of slave labor from the sugar estates to Minas Geraes and there was another era of prosperity. But the prosperity shifted from the North to the South and the capital was moved southward to Rio de Janeiro.

The gold cycle was coming to an end by the time João VI arrived in Brazil, so he encouraged the cultivation of coffee which had been introduced about fifty years earlier. This venture met with tremendous success and eventually Brazil exported seventy per cent of the world production. The coffee cycle has now come to a close and the indications are that it will be followed by an industrial era. Coffee brought in Italian immigrants, made São Paulo the richest state in the union and its capital one of the most beautiful and up-to-date cities on the continent, and started the Japanese colonization which had reached the disturbing total of 300,000 by the time the Japs attacked Pearl Harbor.

There was, of course, the short-lived rubber boom at the beginning of this century, but the British smuggled Brazilian seed to the Orient where coolie labor soon undermined the pitifully low-paid jungle workers, leaving Brazil with a beautiful opera house at Manaos, one thousand miles up the Amazon, and the United States with a beautiful lesson in foreign economic policy.

This rubber boom supplied the young republic with a new period of prosperity and a false sense of security which hid for a few years the inherent weakness of the national economy. When the boom collapsed, a country larger than the United States of America reverted to its dependence on one crop — coffee.

The great error of the founders of the republic was in giving political autonomy to the entire country, including those provinces which were not yet ready for self government. We escaped similar trouble in the United States because of the wisdom of the Continental Congress in granting autonomy to only thirteen states, considering the rest of the country as national territories.

As soon as Brazil became a republic, oligarchies of two or three wealthy families set themselves up in the various states and took over the control of the governments, and it was this condition which led eventually to the revolution of 1930 that put Getulio Vargas into power. Ever since 1889 the autonomous states had continued to grow stronger and the national unity weaker, until by 1930 the country had become a very loose federation of strong autonomous states which were more interested in their own local interests than in the national welfare. Meanwhile the public had become tired of oligarchical rule and felt that it was fit to govern itself. So the 1930 revolution had a nationwide public backing that enabled it to become the first successful revolt in the country's history. Rio Grande do Sul finally achieved its long-sought place in the sun by taking over the government at Rio de Janeiro.

With one of the richest histories in the Americas and a record of achievement that has built almost as many important cities as there are in all the other nine republics combined, it is not surprising that our Brazilian friends should resent being classified as unchristianized heathen, alongside those of Africa and the Orient. The 1941 report on the foreign mission activities of the Southern Baptists, for instance, sandwiches Brazil, along with Argentina and Chile, between Nigeria and Southern China.

The Brazilians are the most tolerant of all the southern Americans. Decree No. 1 of 1889, setting up the republic and providing for its government until such time as a Constitution should be framed, separated the Church from the State, and all

the Constitutions since then have guaranteed liberty of worship for all religions. The Constitution of 1937 maintains unchanged the earlier constitutional declaration that "all individuals and religious sects may freely and publicly exercise their worship, meet for this purpose, and acquire real estate, observing the provisions of common law and the requisites of good usage."

An official publication of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, issued in 1938, states:

"The Brazilian people, however, profess in the great majority the Roman Catholic Religion, whose doctrine began to exercise a predominant hold upon us ever since the earliest colonial days when the banner of Christ was first raised in the land of the Holy Cross, as Brazil was then called, to illuminate the work of the Jesuits in evangelizing and catechising the Indian elements. The first Mass was celebrated by Father Henrique de Coimbra, in Porto Seguro, on a Sunday of April, 1500, and the memories of Father Nobrega, a contemporary of St. Francis Xavier, and Father Anchieta, are held by the Brazilians in everlasting honor for their missionary and civilizing labors."

Brazil is divided into 17 Ecclesiastical Provinces, embracing 17 archdioceses, 54 dioceses, 23 prelacies, and 2 prefectures. There are approximately 11,000 Catholic churches in the country, many of which are real monuments of religious architectural art. Some of them were built during the first two hundred years of the colonial era and, according to the ministry of foreign affairs's publication, "stand as legitimate foundations of our nationality."

The reality and extent of tolerance and religious freedom in Brazil are shown by the existence of more than 750 Protestant churches. In 1933 the 730 then existing churches were distributed as follows, according to the ministry of foreign affairs: 4 Anglican, 284 Baptist, 2 Independent Baptists, 10 Evangelical Christian, 17 Congregational, 10 Episcopal, 48 German Evangelical, 125 Lutheran, 78 Methodist, 31 Pentecostal, 103 Presbyterian,

and 19 Independent Presbyterian. In return for their tolerance, the Brazilians are looked upon as heathen and the foreign mission reports discuss them in the same language that is used in discussing the heathen of central Africa.

A handbook of questions and answers on Latin America, published by the Southern Baptist foreign mission board, states that 95 per cent of the population of Brazil is Roman Catholic. Yet Brazil, which is our No. 1 ally in inter-American defense against the Axis, is considered by the Baptists to be part of the Latin American "field" which the board of foreign missions states in its report for 1941 "is composed of 70 million souls who know not Christ in the forgiveness of sin." In view of this attitude toward the Brazilians, who consider themselves always to have been Christians and not pagans, it is hardly surprising that, as the report bewails, "Brazil has witnessed a lamentable recrudescence of the anti-missionary feeling that caused so much heartache in 1923."

Throughout the report, the South American countries and their Catholic populations are discussed in the same attitude and with the same phraseology as Nigeria, Manchuria, and the other foreign mission fields of Africa and Asia. "As a field for missionary opportunities Brazil is unsurpassed," says the Southern Baptist report. There are 64 Southern Baptist missionaries and 190 ordained "natives" in southern Brazil, using Rio de Janeiro as mission headquarters, just as they use Idi-Aba in Abeokuta.

"Brazil stands alongside the most up-to-date nations in all modern conveniences," says the report, "in unemployment (which is practically nonexistent), in public health measures, in developing its great untouched resources, in creating and fostering industries, including many new and gigantic manufacturing enterprises, and all according to a well-coordinated governmental plan."

Yet the Baptists have planted "mission stations" and "preach-

ing stations" throughout Brazil "to convert the people to Christianity." It is highly significant that after working in Brazil for fifty years the Baptist missionaries do not yet know how to spell the names of the great Brazilian states in which they have located their mission stations.

In Brazil, as elsewhere in the southern Americas, the Protestant "missionary" effort is concentrated on winning "converts" away from the Catholic Church, rather than carrying the story of Christianity into the far interior where it has not yet been heard. A Methodist handbook on Brazil states that multitudes of Indian aborigines dwell in the vast and largely unexplored Amazon country and confesses that "no man knows how many of these primitives remain in the forests nor what is the manner of their life." No man knows, because the Protestant missionaries from the United States prefer life in the pleasant cities to the hardships of the interior.

Latin America's Open Doors, published by the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, quotes Dr. Hunnicutt, principal of Mackenzie College of São Paulo, as reporting that "work in the rural areas (of Brazil) has not progressed much because of a lack of trained workers and a lack of special attention on the part of the church in general. The church has not yet recognized the existence of this great rural problem in the country. Young ministers dislike working in rural areas because of the lack of educational facilities for their families, of means of transport, and of good housing conditions."

So the missionaries settle down in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Bello Horizonte, and other cities and devote their energies to undermining the faith of Catholic communicants. The Baptist handbook already referred to ridicules the Mass as "the belief that by the grace of a priest's ceremony, a consecrated wafer becomes the body and blood of Jesus Christ, is offered in bloodless sacrifice on Catholic altars for the pardon of sins, and is the supreme channel of sacramental grace to the recipient."

The Southern Baptists insist, of course, that the only real channel of salvation is by the grace of a Baptist preacher's ceremony of immersion. But a Brazilian or other South American who is on the way to be "saved" must be very careful as to just which one of the several Baptist cliques gets hold of him because, as the 1941 report of the Southern Baptist mission board is careful to point out, "the Free Will Baptists are weakened by their doctrine of open communion."

This attack by one branch of Baptists against another branch of Baptists is typical of the squabbling and bickering that has been going on among the fifty or more Protestant missionary organizations in all parts of the southern Americas until it has become a public scandal and a source of deep concern to many serious-minded Protestant leaders in the United States. The Committee on Cooperation invited Dr. John R. Mott to make a tour of the southern republics in 1940 and 1941 in the hope that with his great personal prestige he could persuade the warring sects to unite in a cooperative organization that would allocate territory and decide jurisdictional conflicts.

One of the great faults of Protestant activity in the southern Americas is that it never has had any great leaders such as Dr. Mott, E. Stanley Jones, and some of the other really great men who have led the missionary effort in the Orient. But, then, the work of these men in the Orient has been legitimate missionary work among non-Christian people while most of the work in South and Central America is not. Average South Americans are far better educated and much more cultured than many of the United States missionaries and bitterly resent being treated as heathen and in need of "saving" by Protestant agents from the United States, many of whom do not command the respect of their own fellow citizens. Nowhere is this more true than in Brazil.

Dr. Mott was accompanied on his tour by the executive secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America and the

latter's pamphlet, *Latin America's Open Doors,* was written as a report of their tour. Throughout this report the failure of Protestant missionary work to make more rapid progress in the southern Americas is blamed on what the report described as false denominational zeal among the rival sects. The report says, "The tragedy of divided ranks must be borne in upon the consciousness of all who really seek to extend the Kingdom" (meaning the Kingdom of God). "The aggressiveness of the prophets and of the early Christian church as well as much of its zeal, energy, and vision have been lost in sectarian rivalries, theological subtleties and other worldly speculations," admits the secretary of the Committee, forgetting, apparently, that the early Christian church and its prophets were Catholic. "In the pulpits," continues the report, "pastors have a tendency to deal with denominational aspects rather than preach Christ."

The December, 1942, *Latin American News Letter,* published by the Committee, says on this same subject:

"We must be more united than we are at present. The lack of fellowship, cooperation, and mutual helpfulness among those of different denominations is at times and in some places almost heart-breaking. New groups come into a place and begin right away to proselytise among older Protestant groups or congregations. Unless the members of the different denominations can come together for fellowship and a certain amount of common action in a National Christian Council or some such interdenominational organization, the Christians have no right to point the finger at the devisive tendencies in the world today."

Here again *Christian* is used as an antonym to Catholic.

The squabbling of the rival Protestant sects over the question of "occupied territory," especially in Brazil, would lead one to believe that they are rival divisions of an invading army. On page 50 of *Latin America's Open Doors* this problem is discussed as follows:

"Another important item which was discussed in the biennial

meeting of the Confederation (Brazil) was the question of comity and cooperation among the churches. Difficulties have arisen from time to time among the Methodists and Presbyterians owing largely to different methods of working and a difference of opinion as to what constitutes 'occupied territory.' The Presbyterians work with small groups over a wide area, until the time comes for them to send pastors to found churches serving a number of such groups. This process is, of course, a long one. In the meantime, the Methodist Church may have repeated petitions from groups in that area who are impatient of the long process, and wish to have a pastor sent immediately. According to the Methodist way of working, this area is not 'occupied' and if a man is available he is generally sent."

The 1941 report of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, entitled *Overcoming With Christ,* serves notice on all its rivals (page 26) that "Rev. and Mrs. J. A. Lunsford were sent out to occupy the important city of Pará at the mouth of the big river," and that "following the Pauline plan of work our Mission first occupied the two most populous centers, Pernambuco and Bahia."

The report of the secretary who accompanied Dr. Mott on his tour indicates that little progress was made toward achieving cooperation among the Protestant sects. "Cooperation in theory was recognized by most as desirable and necessary," says the report, "but in practice it was difficult."

In the Committee's *Latin American News Letter* for December, 1941, the same secretary wrote:

"There are some who even go so far as to try and frustrate the efforts of those who would seek to work together in some such organization as a National Christian Council. Not content to stay outside such organizations they wish to wreck them. How tragic it all is in view of the great opportunity and the indescribable human need all round! How grievous it must be to the heart of our Heavenly Father to see His children divided by

secondary things, adopting un-Christian attitudes toward their fellow workers, refusing to have any common program at all and even going so far as to proselytize! [against other Protestant sects]."

A missionary in Colombia writes:

" 'One of the difficulties he [a Colombian pastor] faces is the weakened condition of the Church brought on by a split several years ago. The differences were in process of healing when some independent missionaries settled in ———————— three years ago and affiliated themselves with the discontented group, thus perpetuating the split.'

"Such an experience is all too common, unfortunately. In the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America we do all in our power to discourage the entry of new mission bodies in any Latin American field unless they are prepared to cooperate with those already working there and to accept standing arrangements of comity."

This fighting among the rival sects is one of the reasons for the low esteem in which the Protestant missionary campaign is held throughout the southern Americas. Throughout Brazil Protestant proselytizing activity is blamed for the rapid growth in recent years of spiritualism and some of the Oriental non-Christian cults, especially theosophy. The "converts" whose faith in one branch of Christianity has been undermined fail all too often to find spiritual peace in their new Protestant faith and begin drifting from one fad to another in search of something that will restore their faith.

The Northern Methodists have been working in Brazil since 1832 and the Southern Methodists since 1874. Brazil is the largest and most important mission field of Methodism in South America, according to a handbook published by the Board of Missions and Church Extension. The Northern Presbyterians sent their first missionary to Rio de Janeiro in 1859 and the Southern Baptists began their work in Brazil in 1882. No one

seems to agree, though, on how many Protestants there are in the country. One source gives 702,377, another claims 1,427,830, while a survey prepared in 1938 for the Madras meeting of the International Missionary Council showed only 241,126. The 1942 handbook of "The Church of God" states that there are only 229,388 "baptized Christians" in Brazil. The latter statement is typical of the manner in which the Protestant missionaries refer to the Brazilians. This same handbook remarks, for instance, "Roman Catholic Christianity has dominated the country and the need for true evangelical Christianity is exceedingly great." "The Church of God" appears to be the only missionary organization that admits that the Catholic Church in South America is a Christian church.

Nowhere have the proselytizing activities and the political meddling of the American missionaries caused more resentment and ill-feeling than in Brazil, which is now our closest ally in South America. Bishop John Mark Gannon, director of press relations of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, upon returning from a month's visit to Brazil in 1942 said:

"One of the most bristling obstacles that has been raised against us is the invasion of Brazil by Protestant proselyters, whose number has increased in an alarming manner since they were exiled from Japan and the Orient. The object of this invasion is to 'convert Brazil to Christianity.'

"Brazilians feel deeply hurt and justly maintain that they have been Christians ever since the foundation of their country. They do not feel the necessity of North American intervention for the salvation of their souls. The most representative Brazilian thought insists that there is still much to be done in this field in the United States.

"I must confess that after a thorough investigation I am unable to find that Brazil ever has attempted to reform us or to intervene in our traditions, our religion, or our morality."

X

URUGUAY: LABORATORY OF PROGRESS

IT IS Uruguay's great misfortune that she is so small. Were she larger, she would be one of the best known and most talked about countries of the globe. With an area only slightly larger than Missouri and a population somewhat larger than Philadelphia's, she is the smallest nation in South America. She is flanked on one side by Brazil, which is larger than the United States, and on the other by Argentina, which is a third as large as the United States. For twenty years in the early 1800's, the Uruguayans fought desperately and victoriously against the efforts of both these larger nations to annex their country as a province, at a time when neither of them had any intention of ever being anything other than monarchies. Having won her independence and her democracy, little Uruguay since then has pitted her brain power against the physical strength of her big neighbors, very much as Switzerland has done in Europe. As a result, this progressive little country has been for many years a laboratory for advanced and enlightened experiments in government and sociology.

Uruguay was a generation ahead of the rest of the world in setting up surprisingly advanced social legislation, much of which today is taken more or less for granted in all civilized lands. Her social security code is still far ahead of that of the United States. She has the highest standard of living, the best educational system, and the best public health service in South America. Not every measure, of course, must be regarded as ideal. Factually, Uruguay was the first country in South America to separate

Church and State, to abolish capital punishment, to enfranchise women, and to grant legal status to illegitimate children. It is one of the very few countries where civic life is based on a scrupulous respect for law and order, and for the rights and duties set up by her democratic institutions.

In her inter-American thinking, Uruguay always has been several jumps ahead of all the other American republics, including the United States.

The cornerstone of continental defense today is the principle that aggression against any one of the countries of this hemisphere by a non-American power shall be considered an aggression against all the American nations. When that principle was set up at the Lima Conference in 1938, it was looked upon as very advanced ideology indeed. But Uruguay's able minister of foreign affairs, Baltasar Brum, had framed and proclaimed the principle in 1917 as a defense measure in the First World War, though unable to get any American country to play ball with him at that time.

Six months before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor forced the United States into the Second World War, it was Uruguay that took the first definite military step in South America to help the United States, in case we should enter the war. Uruguay proposed that any American republic at war with any country outside this hemisphere should not be considered a belligerent by any other American republic. This action broke the deadlock that had been preventing effective consultation for inter-American defense, and again Uruguay was recognized as a leader in inter-American thinking. But that principle was an old story to Uruguay. Her President and Cabinet had proclaimed it in a decree in 1917 which opened Uruguayan ports as bases for the United States and other Allied warships.

When Nazi submarines began sinking Brazilian steamers in March, 1942, it was Uruguay which suggested to the other American nations the advisability of taking united action which should

be "more energetic than mere protest." That, too, was an old story to Uruguay. When in January, 1917, Germany announced unrestricted submarine warfare and notified all the neutrals to that effect, Uruguay proposed that the American nations associate themselves in a joint protest to Germany. Uruguay pointed out that such joint action would show Germany that the continent was united, making the stand of the neutrals much stronger. The response to the Uruguayan note was unanimous: each American country would reply separately to the German note.

When the United States began seeking the use of South American air and naval bases in 1940, Uruguay was the first to offer all the facilities at her command. But she made the provision that the bases should be inter-American bases open for use by the armed forces of all the American nations. Eventually that became the accepted policy throughout the continent.

Uruguay took the lead in severing diplomatic, political, and economic relations with the Axis. It was Uruguay which proposed the expropriation of the Axis vessels that had taken refuge in American ports. The resolution adopted at Havana in July, 1940, for the suppression of subversive activities was a fusion of the Uruguayan and United States drafts. The Uruguayan project, introduced by Dr. Manini Rios, was a resolution:

"To urge the American governments to prevent, within the provisions of international law, political activities of foreign diplomatic and consular agents within the territory to which they are accredited which may endanger the peace and democratic tradition of the Americas."

Not only is Uruguay the No. 1 democratic nation in South America, the Uruguayans were the first democrats on the continent. The only reason the country is not still an Argentine province is that her people insisted on having republican democracy at the time that the Argentine Constitutional Congress at Tucuman had agents scouring Europe in search of a prince with whom to set up a monarchy. When no prince would have the

proffered crown, Argentina's conservatives, whose political descendants are in power today, even toyed with the idea of putting an Inca prince on the throne rather than permit "the rabble" a voice in the government. So Uruguay seceded and set up a republic thirty years before Argentina finally achieved constitutional government.

During those stirring times, the United States Congress devoted three days to debating the situation between Argentina and Uruguay. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, told the Argentine envoy that Artigas seemed to be "the only republican in those parts." The Argentine diplomat was trying to convince Adams that Artigas, Uruguay's George Washington, was merely a bandit whom the Argentines would soon suppress.

News of Uruguay's democracy soon reached Europe, of course, with the consequence that when the various attempts to set up republics in different parts of Europe were defeated in the 1840's, many of the leaders of those movements fled to Uruguay. The result was that while Brazil was still a monarchy and while Argentina was submerged in fifty years of civil war between federalists and disappointed monarchists who wanted to establish a strong centrist government, Uruguay absorbed the republican ideas of these refugees from France, Italy, and Spain. Giuseppe Garibaldi himself served as a general in the Uruguayan army. Manini Rios, who led the Uruguayan delegation at the Havana Conference, is the son of one of the republican refugees from Italy.

Today the great majority of the population is of pure European stock and there is practically no Indian blood in the country. In addition to the descendants of the original Spanish colonists, there has been a steady immigration of Italian and Spanish settlers and also a considerable inflow of English, Germans, and Swiss.

Cradle-to-grave social security was something of a novelty to the people of the United States when it was first proposed to the

seventy-eighth Congress. But it, too, is an old story to the progressive people of Uruguay. When the Second World War started, little Uruguay had been practicing cradle-to-grave social security with considerable success for a generation and already had solved most of the problems that are now facing the United States.

Seven years before Russia attempted to achieve State socialism by revolution, Uruguay set out to achieve her own distinctive goal by legislative evolution. Not only has the South American country achieved a tremendous measure of success in its progress toward that goal; it has achieved this success without creating any of the bitter class conflicts which almost invariably attend such social reforms, while its more extreme government-in-business program was definitely discontinued.

This new social order gave Uruguay for thirty years the distinction of being the only South American country that had had no revolution. So many people were employed by the State or enjoyed short working days, good wages, and long week-end leisure because of the government's social legislation, that it was impossible to interest anyone in a revolt.

Twenty years before the rise and fall of the Townsend ham-and-egg project, Uruguay had an old-age pension law that gave ten dollars a month to every needy person after the age of 60, including foreigners who have lived in the country for fifteen years. At the time the law was passed, ten dollars could be stretched a long way in Uruguay.

Today Uruguay has the most complete labor code in the western hemisphere and the most advanced system of protective and retirement insurance. All these social reforms have been written into the Constitution as part of the Uruguayan Bill of Rights. They are largely responsible for the fact that democracy is safer in Uruguay than anywhere else south of the Rio Grande. Prophets of Hitler's New Order made slight headway in Uruguay, because the Uruguayans already had a New Order which they believed better than the one offered.

One of the most notable products of Uruguay's democracy was a visitor to Washington in January, 1943. He is Dr. Alberto Guani, who as minister of foreign affairs defied Nazi Germany and caused the scuttling of the pocket battleship *Graf Spee* in the mouth of the River Plate on December 17, 1939, long before there were any indications that the Nazis might not win the war. Dr. Guani has devoted his whole life to public service and the cause of democracy, secure in the knowledge that his reward will be retirement on full salary in his old age. The humblest janitor in the ministry has assurance of the same reward, as have all other commercial, industrial, and professional workers, men and women.

Under their own New Order, the people of Uruguay have achieved freedom from want. To a degree far beyond all other South Americans, they have achieved freedom from the fear of the misery of degrading poverty and helpless old age. They have practically no unemployment. They have passed through one of the most interesting and most productive social revolutions of modern times without once calling it a revolution, and they already have achieved those goals which are being held out as objectives of the age of revolution in which we are living. Furthermore, they achieved those goals without once entertaining the idea of collectivism. Uruguayans are proud of being free men and are determined to remain free.

Uruguay's labor code includes provisions for industrial safety devices, chairs for both men and women workers, an 8-hour day and a 44-hour week, a minimum wage, disability insurance, and retirement pensions. The section of the Constitution on "Rights, Duties and Guarantees" (of citizenship)[1] provides among other things for old-age pensions, child welfare, the care of mothers before and after the event, free medical attention for the poor, workmen's accident insurance, cheap dwellings for workmen and their families, special consideration for employed women

[1] For text of these provisions, see Appendix 3.

and children, and constitutional recognition of the right to strike and organize labor unions.

The minimum wage is two and a half pesos a day, the law having been passed when the Uruguayan peso was still worth $1.03. No child under 14 may be employed, and those between 14 and 18 may not work more than six hours a day nor between 9 P.M. and 6 A.M. Employees and laborers with more than a year's service are entitled to an annual vacation of two consecutive weeks with full pay. The 44-hour week law provides that there shall be a day and a half of rest after each five and a half days of work and that with certain exceptions the full day of rest shall be Sunday. Work must cease for 36 hours as from noon on Saturday, and daily wage earners receive a full day's pay for the four hours worked on Saturday morning.

Similar laws are now in operation in most civilized countries, of course, but these were very advanced social measures indeed when Uruguay enacted them.

Uruguay's social program differs from that of most other countries in having been scientifically studied and planned as an indivisible entity before the first measure was sent to Congress. Although the various projects were enacted into law over a period of 25 years, they all dovetailed into a whole because each project was a numbered item on the program of the Batlle (pronounced Bah-zhi) party.

This far-reaching program embodied the social and political ideals of the late José Batlle y Ordóñez, twice President, whose motto was: "The easing of human suffering." During 30 years he dominated the country politically as chief of the Batlle, or Colorado party. Theodore Roosevelt once expressed his regret that Batlle had been lost in little Uruguay instead of being born in the United States, which Roosevelt said would have offered him a field of action that would have made him famous throughout the world.

Batlle, after being educated in Europe, returned to Uruguay

in 1882, joined the Colorado party and established the newspaper *El Dia* of Montevideo, which he soon made the best paper in the country and with which he literally reformed the thinking of the Uruguayan people. He was elected President in 1903 and in 1904 put down a revolution so thoroughly that it terminated the civil wars that had kept the country in a turmoil for 75 years.

It was expected that Batlle, having proved his power, would follow the good old South American custom of declaring himself a dictator and remaining in office, but at the termination of his four-year term he went to Europe. He had long believed that the presidential form of government puts too much power into the hands of one man. While in Europe he made a study of the commission form of government as practiced in Switzerland and became convinced that this was the ideal form of administration for a democracy.

When Batlle was elected President again in 1911 he made a vigorous campaign for a new Constitution that would establish the commission form of government and embrace his program of cradle-to-grave social security. He wanted to eliminate the presidency altogether, but the Constituent Assembly refused to go that far, so Batlle had to accept a compromise arrangement in the Constitution of 1917 by which the President shared the executive power with a National Administrative Council of nine. Members of the Council were elected for six years, one-third of their number being renewed every two years. The President's term remained at four years.

Of the seven Cabinet ministers, three were appointed by the President — foreign affairs, war, and the interior. The ministers of finance, public works, industry, and public instruction were appointed by the Council. Thus the Council dominated the Cabinet through the four important portfolios which controlled the revenues and distributed government jobs. This set-up, of course, weakened the President's political position by depriving

him of that power that comes from the distribution of government jobs.

This had been foreseen by Batlle. His strongest argument for the abolition of the presidency had been that the extension of government into industry, commerce, and public utilities would create thousands of jobs and that eventually patronage would directly affect such a large percentage of the population that it would put a dangerous political power into the hands of the President. When the National Council refused to let President Terra distribute the government jobs created by the government monopolies, he staged his *coup d'etat* of March 31, 1933, which overthrew the Council and restored the presidency to the enjoyment of its former political power. But by that time, 45 of the 78 projects on the Batlle program had been enacted into law and Uruguay had the cradle-to-grave social security that is now being advocated in Washington. The State even pays funeral expenses in some cases.

The ultimate goal of Uruguay's social State, as Batlle had designed it — and which was destined, as we shall see, to prove a failure — was that the citizen should be employed by the State during all his productive years and then be taken care of by the State after he had passed the age of productive employment. Article 52 of the Constitution of 1917 provides that "it is the duty of every inhabitant of the Republic to apply his intellectual and corporal energies in a manner that will be useful to Society, which, in turn, will make it possible for him to support himself by his economic activity."

Batlle's Constitution also established, in Article 57, the interesting principle that government employees are servants of the Nation, not of a political party, an idea that was completely new in South American politics.

Uruguay's public school system has made illiteracy less prevalent than in any other South American country. Until the present war made imperative the strengthening of the long-neglected

defense machinery, public instruction was the largest item on the Budget after the service on the public debt.

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, Uruguay spent more on public health than on its army and navy combined. In fact, the public health expenditures at first glance are out of all proportion to the size of the country. But in Uruguay public health is a concern of the State rather than a matter of charity. Uruguay's government undoubtedly is one of the most liberal of States in the manner in which it handles this problem. The public health service makes no difference between nationals and foreigners, and at any given time there usually are more foreigners being taken care of than Uruguayans. The free hospitals are the best and most numerous in South America and the eventual goal of the social security program is free medical care for everyone, rich and poor alike, with all physicians, surgeons, dentists, and nurses paid by the State. Daily medical attention in the patient's home is provided for all who request it and the hospitals are open to all. No one need feel ashamed of applying for free medical attention or hospital service, since this is accepted as a State service to the people, just the same as the waterworks and street cleaning service. A free prenatal clinic is maintained in Montevideo for the care and advice of expectant mothers, and Uruguay was the first South American country to provide mother's milk for babies whose mothers cannot nurse them.

In return for all these rights of citizenship, Article 43 of the Constitution sets up an interesting duty: It is the duty of all inhabitants to take care of their health and avail themselves of medical attention.

In the field of business, the government's activities include a widely varied range of commercial, industrial, and cultural enterprises, from the running of railroads to the selling of insurance. The State operates 600 miles of the nation's 1800 miles of railroads; controls the manufacture and distribution of electric

current; manufactures the republic's requirements of sulphuric acid and phosphate fertilizer; monopolizes the manufacture and distribution of alcohol, petroleum products, and Portland cement; operates three banks, three hotels, three gambling casinos, and two theaters. It administrates the Port of Montevideo and has a monopoly of the tugboat service; operates the telephone company in Montevideo; subsidizes a symphony orchestra; operates a radio broadcasting station, and controls the broadcasting from privately owned stations.

The fundamental purpose of Uruguay's vast program of State ownership — as this purpose had been originally conceived — was to lower prices to the consumer, keep money in the country, and turn the profits into the national treasury instead of letting them go into private enterprise. This revenue would then have been used for financing the social features of the plan — the old-age pensions, free medical service, and so on. At least, that is the way it was planned, but it did not work out that way.

The government's activities in State ownership and monopolies were to be exercised through a large number of independent organizations managed by boards of directors. These organizations, or *juntas,* as they are called in Uruguay, are somewhat similar to our own alphabet government agencies. Formerly, these boards usually consisted of nine directors, appointed by the National Administrative Council. In theory, each board is autonomous, with full authority to collect its own revenue, control its own expenditures, appoint its personnel, and expand or retrench its activity as seems advisable. In practice, employees were appointed by the majority members of the Council as a reward for votes and party loyalty.

Success in Uruguay's government-in-business program depended upon having a nation of public-spirited men nearly as honest and idealistic as President Batlle. But politicians in Uruguay resemble those the world over, and the State has proven an expensive administrator. Profits, instead of going into the na-

tional treasury, went into higher salaries for the directors, profit-sharing bonuses for employees, and other expenditures which private ownership might have been expected to avoid.

During twenty years these State activities, operating with a combined capital of 66,294,000 pesos, made a total profit of 62,111,000 pesos, of which 32,217,000 pesos were turned into the national treasury, the balance being used to increase capital and reserves. (The Uruguayan peso is now worth 53 cents.) The country's general revenue, therefore, received an average contribution of 1,610,000 pesos per annum, which was only about 2 per cent of the Budget. And 65 per cent of this amount came from the three State banks — Bank of the Republic, State Insurance Bank, and National Mortgage Bank. The railroads are operated at a loss and the port administration just about breaks even.

Thus the eleven government business ventures other than the banks, but including the administration of the customs houses, turned into the national treasury only 563,500 pesos a year, or about three-fourths of one per cent on the total investment. When President Terra put an end to this régime, he announced that the independent organizations were in debt to a total of 22,000,000 pesos, or one-third of their capital, in addition to a deficit of 21,000,000 pesos, or 33 per cent, in the national Budget.

Apparently the independent organizations which handle the State's business activities could contribute much larger profits to the national treasury if they were economically operated. As it is, the amounts they have added to the general revenue have been infinitesimal in comparison with the rapidly increasing cost of government. While they were turning in an annual average of 1,600,000 pesos, the cost of government jumped from 44 to 100 million pesos a year and the public debt soared from 120 to 260 million.

Advocates of the collegiate form of government, as the old

régime was called, argue, however, that profit is only one of the objects of government ownership, and that the independent organizations did succeed in giving State employment to thousands of citizens and in reducing costs to consumers. They also point to the success with which this government intervention in business enabled Uruguay to escape the suffering and bitter labor troubles that became so widespread after the economic depression of 1929. In 1932, when all the other American countries, the United States included, were taking frantic and radical measures for the relief of unemployment, Uruguay had only 25,000 unemployed, less than one per cent of the population.

Freight and passenger rates on the State-owned railroads are one-third lower than on the British-owned lines, enabling farmers along the national lines to raise beets and deliver them to the sugar mill at La Sierra at a profit. The Bank of the Republic is operated on the idea that "the official bank must sacrifice profit to the social interest." The bank charges lower interest on loans and discounts than do the private banks, and grants credit to the national and provincial governments at extremely low rates. The State Insurance Bank does 67 per cent of all the insurance business in the republic and handles its workmen's accident insurance and its hail insurance without profit, thus performing industrial and social functions which private companies could not undertake.

But the Batlle party itself has decided that the cost of these advantages is too high to justify further expansion of government ownership as originally planned, and that Uruguay must return to a free-enterprise economy. After a long process of trial and error, Uruguayan leaders have become convinced that their program of cradle-to-grave social security can best be carried out by leaving business in the hands of private enterprise. So they have halted the government-in-business program which originally was part of the social security set-up.

Batlle's political descendants, with President Juan José

Amézaga at their head, plan to encourage private enterprise and to satisfy the social needs of the Uruguayan people without crippling the economic system on which the nation must depend for supplying those needs. Having won a majority in both houses of Congress in the November, 1942, elections, the Batlle party is planning to proceed as rapidly as feasible to widen the field of social legislation while curbing the government's business activities.

There are still 33 projects on the Batlle program awaiting legislative sanction. Those relating to social security are to be enacted into law; those concerning government in business are to be dropped.

When President Alfredo Baldomir was campaigning for the constitutional reforms which were approved at the November elections, he explained to me the party's revised policy toward government-in-business as follows:

"The excessive intervention of government into business is self-defeating. (He used that expressive Spanish word *contraproducente,* for which we have no exact equivalent.) It circumscribes and crushes private enterprise, and private enterprise is indispensable to individual progress as well as the collective advancement of the nation. Further intervention of government into the realm of business and industry could very well produce a moral and financial crisis of tremendous consequences, and this at a time when business already is badly upset by the war and seriously concerned about the future.

"On the other hand," he continued, "all our social victories will be retained, enlarged and improved. We cannot turn backward in the matter of social legislation. Our social laws have made Uruguay a country without class conflicts. We have neither rightists nor leftists. No one questions the wisdom of the social laws and institutions which have been extended gradually since the beginning of the century and in pace with the country's economic capacity to support them. Hundreds of thousands of

our people are receiving financial assistance under our old-age and retirement pensions laws, and both the economic and the social welfare of our workers are ably looked after by the National Labor Board. Thousands of mothers, children, and invalids are being protected against the miseries of poverty by our public health services."

Baldomir is a South American rarity; a general who believes in democracy. His administration was a striking proof that even with a bad Constitution a man who really is a democrat at heart can carry on a good democratic government. It was Baldomir's fate to succeed Terra, his brother-in-law, after the latter had overthrown the commission form of government and set himself up as a dictator, thus causing a temporary setback in the country's remarkable political and social progress. For four years, Baldomir governed the country as a leader in inter-American democracy under the same vicious Constitution of 1934 that Terra had had framed by a hand-picked constituent assembly to keep his unpopular régime in power.

The Constitution of 1934 required that three of the seven Cabinet ministers must be members of the minority party. It also provided for a Senate of 30 members, of whom 15 represented the party casting the most votes in a general election and the other 15 the party casting the next largest vote. This gave the pro-Fascist Nationalist party, which had supported Terra, control of half the Senate and enabled it to deadlock all legislation arising in the democratic-minded Chamber of Representatives. As the chairman of the Senate is not the Vice President, as in the United States, but is elected by the Senate from its own membership, there was no way of breaking this deadlock.

It was this impossible set-up which caused President Baldomir to submit his constitutional amendments to a plebiscite simultaneously with the November presidential elections. The proposed amendments were approved by an overwhelming majority. Membership in the Senate is now proportional; the President

appoints all his Cabinet ministers and they are responsible to him rather than to an opposition political party.

Uruguay's social security code has thus safely ridden out two political storms which caused radical alterations in the Constitution. Terra's Constitution of 1934 changed the form of government from a commission to a presidential set-up, but it embraced, unchanged, the whole Batlle social code in the Constitution of 1917, with the declaration that the State "must watch over the social welfare of the family." Baldomir's amendments relate only to the political organization of the government and do not touch the social security code.

In the new parliamentary form of government which began with the inauguration of President Baldomir in 1938, the Cabinet was increased from seven to nine portfolios to make room for a minister of labor and a minister of public health, and these two new ministers are now administering the social code as embodied in the Constitution.

As an important step in curbing and reorganizing the government's business activities, five of the independent organizations have been taken away from their directors and placed under the jurisdiction of Cabinet ministers. The boards of the nine other organizations have been reduced in size and the directors are appointed by the Cabinet with the approval of the Senate. The activities of these directors have been strictly regulated and periodic financial reports to the Cabinet are now required.

Unless there are unforeseen circumstances, as President Baldomir explained, the last step in government ownership will be the gigantic hydro-electric plant which the United States is helping the Uruguayans rush to completion at Rincón del Bonete, on the Rio Negro. When completed, this project will supply the country's entire requirements of electric power and greatly reduce the present fuel dependence on British coal and United States petroleum, which takes $9,000,000 out of the country every year.

The Rio Negro project was the largest of all the barter deals which Germany put over on the South American governments in the early 1930's. The dam at Rincón del Bonete will flood 425 square miles in the departments of Durazno and Tacuarembó. The Germans agreed to accept Uruguayan wool, hides, and other agricultural products in part payment for constructing the dam and installing the powerhouse with German-made turbines and generators. The war started before they completed their contract. The Export-Import Bank of Washington is now financing the completion of the job, United States engineers and technical advisers have replaced the Germans, the powerhouse will be equipped with Made-in-U. S. A. turbines and generators, and the current will be carried to all parts of the country over United States made transmission lines.

This project will not, however, require any expansion of government business agencies, as it will be operated by the already existing State-owned light and power monopoly.

An interesting sidelight on how Uruguay thinks of everything is the 18-year-old voting age. In certain parts of the United States, and especially in the state of New York, it is being proposed that the voting age be reduced to 18 years, on the grounds that youth is maturing earlier, is playing an important part in the war, and will be called upon to play a big part in the social readjustments which the post-war era is expected to bring about. In Uruguay, young women of 18, as well as young men of that age, have been voting since 1917, and as far back as 1830 the first Constitution extended the right to vote to young men of 18 who were married.

Whatever our comment on the record here described, we cannot fail to recognize the social alertness of the Uruguayans beyond all other people in the western hemisphere. In addition to this, despite the great influx of Europeans, they possess a Catholic population amounting to 73 per cent of the total. And yet we consider them as heathen and send our "Christian" mission-

aries to "save" them, and the missionary board of the self-styled "Church of God" has the effrontery to print in its 1942 Yearbook the falsehood that there are only 1630 baptized Christians in Uruguay. (The actual number of Catholics is 1,568,000; small though this is in comparison with the 36,000,000 Catholics in the neighboring Brazil alone — all "heathens," according to such benevolent missionary estimates!) And we are trying to convince the Uruguayans that we are their good neighbors!

Seven United States missionary boards maintain 69 so-called missionaries in Uruguay, of whom 50 live and work in the attractive and up-to-date capital. Montevideo is one of the most pleasant cities of South America in which to live, and I do not blame small town men and women from the United States for trying to get themselves sent there. But there is absolutely no justification for their being sent there as missionaries, even though they do respond to inquiries on the subject by belligerently quoting from Mark 16:15, in which Jesus instructed his disciples: "Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature."

Uruguayans retort with a good deal of feeling that they had the gospel long before these people knew how to find Uruguay on a map and that they have no need of being Christianized by North Americans.

The United States mission boards do not even give Montevideo the status of "Mission Station"; it is just a "Preaching Station" under the jurisdiction of the "Main Mission Station" at Buenos Aires. For the purposes of "Christian" missionary work, this puts the capital of what elsewhere is referred to as a progressive and enlightened country in the same classification with Teh and Kpolopele in Liberia. The 1940 handbook of the foreign mission board of the Southern Baptist Convention explains: "The work in Uruguay is carried on in connection with the Argentine Mission and the figures are included in the statistics for that Mission." The Baptists' annual report for 1941

says their "extension work" in Uruguay is carried on by means of a small tent and a loud speaker.

Yet the Committee on Cooperation admits in its pamphlet *Latin America's Open Doors:* "Uruguay is a small but enlightened, democratic nation. Its social legislation is one of the most advanced in the whole continent."

Then what are North American missionaries doing there?

Separation of Church and State in Uruguay was achieved by Batlle's Constitution of 1917 which at the same time guaranteed complete liberty of worship for all religions. Article 5 of that Constitution said:

"All religious cults are free in Uruguay.

"The State does not support any religion whatever. It recognizes to the Catholic Church the dominion of all the temples which have been, either totally or partially, constructed with funds from the national treasury, with the sole exception of the chapels intended for services in asylums, hospitals, jails, and other public establishments. All temples at present consecrated to the worship of the various religions are hereby declared to be free from taxation of all kinds."

Article 5 of the Constitution of 1830 had established: "The religion of the State is the Apostolic Roman Catholic."

Article 5 of Terra's Constitution of 1934 picked up verbatim the similarly numbered article from Batlle's Constitution and it is still in effect. Nevertheless, as elsewhere stated, Uruguay is one of the only two countries in South America where there is a sufficient number of clergy to care for the Catholic population.

As is apparent from a reading of Article 5 as it now stands, Uruguay did not make separation of Church and State an excuse for persecuting the Church and confiscating its property, as was done in Mexico. Nor did Batlle and his Socialist-minded followers attempt to destroy the family with the argument that the child belongs to the State and that its education, therefore, is a concern of the State rather than of the parents, as the Mexican

Socialists did in the Constitution which they framed in the same year — 1917.

The Uruguayan Constitution guarantees complete liberty of education, providing that the State may intervene in educational institutions only for the purpose of maintaining hygiene, morality, safety, and public order. Primary education is obligatory and the Constitution declares that free education, from the primary grades through the university and including technical and industrial education, is a matter of social utility. But the Constitution carefully sets forth that the care and education of children, with the purpose "that they may attain their full bodily, intellectual, and social capacity," is a duty and right of the parents, and that parents and tutors have the right to choose whatever teachers or institutions they prefer for the education of their children or wards. Parents who have a large number of children are guaranteed State assistance in their education if it is needed.

The Constitution also provides that in all educational institutions special attention shall be given to the formation of the moral and civic character of the students.

The integrity of the family is further guaranteed by Article 48, which provides that the welfare of the family shall be the subject of special protective legislation. Uruguay thus makes the family unit the basis of its democracy, as it must be of every successful democracy. The head of the family, not the State, decides whether the children shall be educated by the State, by the Church, or by other private institutions. The great majority of Uruguayan families are Catholic, even when the children have been educated in the State schools and university.

True, there are many liberals, or "free thinkers" in Uruguay, but they are far too educated and cultured to be drawn into a religion that is brought to them like a circus in a small tent with a loud speaker. The figure of 1630 "baptized Christians" does not prove that the great majority of Uruguayans are not

devout Catholics; being the number of "converts" to the various Protestant sects, it merely proves that the Uruguayans have not responded to the type of religion that the missionaries are trying to sell them.

The Uruguayans argue, and with perfect reason, that there are enough "unsaved" free thinkers in the United States to keep all these missionaries busy and that they should be called home to proselytize among their own people.

The people of Uruguay began cooperating with us in the war effort before any other South Americans. They are almost rabid in their democracy and their support of all the freedoms for which democracy stands. And they are perfectly justified in their resentment against being classified as heathen in need of the ministrations of North American missionaries.

As a first step toward calling all the missionaries home, they at least ought to be cleared out of Uruguay and sent back to their Main Mission Station at Buenos Aires.

XI

BUENOS AIRES: MISSION STATION FOR THE RIVER PLATE

ONE HUNDRED and fifty miles up the river from the preaching station at Montevideo lies Buenos Aires, city of fair winds and site of the Main Mission Station, the headquarters for the missionaries who are "giving their lives to making disciples of Christ in non-Christian countries (Japan, China, and Argentina)," as the 1941 report of the foreign mission board of the United Lutheran Church in America so neatly expresses it. Considered as their main Mission Station, Buenos Aires thus bears the same relation to the wilds of Uruguay and Paraguay as Sanekui in French Soudan bears to Kolo and Baramba, and that Tourane in Annam bears to Tonkin and Cochinchina.

On this basis an account something like the following might consistently be written describing a little vacation on the part of the missionaries.

During the long years in which the mission workers are struggling to save the souls of the natives and awaiting the sabbatical furlough when they can return to the United States "for medical attention and to renew their friendships and contacts among Christian people," their eyes turn toward Buenos Aires as eagerly as the blinded eyes of the hadji turn toward Mecca.

As often as he can, and at least once a year, the missionary who is stationed at the preaching station at Montevideo gets permission to make a visit up-river to the Mission Station. That expedition is the highlight of the year. It means new clothes and imported knickknacks for the missionary's wife; perhaps a

trip to a native tailor by the missionary himself. Arrangements are feverishly made for leaving the welfare of the little flock of converted natives in the care of the most trusted assistant at the station, usually a converted native worker, and the missionary and his wife set out upstream for Buenos Aires.

Usually the trip up the river is made in the cool of night. The first problem of the journey is to get down to the river bank. In Montevideo there is no dandi, no gharri, no jinrikisha, but the missionary sends his houseboy or a runner in search of one of the native conveyances. These are internal combustion contraptions to which the natives have given such quaint names as Bui-Ick, Pon-Tiac, and Estu-Dibacker, and they are driven by unshaven natives who are invariably smoking cigarettes made of the local weeds. Fastened to the forepart of the vehicle is a small black metal box with a tiny red flag which the driver lowers when he has taken the missionary aboard. A night trip in one of these speeding wains along the narrow trails of Montevideo is an exciting experience.

Very bad writing!!

Finally arrived at the river bank, the native driver consults the gods in his little black box and excitedly demands his price. Unlike the natives at the preaching stations in the Congo and on the Ivory Coast, this one is not interested in bargaining or barter. He demands his price in cashee of the realm and there is no appeal from the price he sets. His only response to protests is to salaam to the gods in the little black box and, gesticulate wildly to the passenger, shouting excitedly all the while in an unknown tongue.

By this time the vehicle has been surrounded by a great crowd of shouting, excited native bearers, arguing in their strange dialects for the honor of carrying master's luggage down to the boat which is awaiting him.

As soon as the missionary and his wife and belongings are safely stored aboard, the boat casts off and moves out into the darkness and the mystery of the wide river, passing through the

rare perfumes which the night breeze wafts out over the water from the American-owned meat packing plant at the foot of El Cerro. As far as the eye can see, strange lights flash and glimmer on the surface of the water like distant ignis fatuus, and out of the silence of the night a solitary low-toned bell tolls, as though beckoning the boat to some unknown doom.

When the traveler's eyes have become accustomed to the dark and the eery surroundings, he finds that the flashing lights are on the channel buoys. Meanwhile, the tolling bell draws nearer and nearer until it is found to be a bell-buoy at which the native pilot eases his craft into the channel leading upstream to the Mission Station instead of into the one leading out into the Atlantic. But this trip is not being made in a lateen-rigged dhow, nor in a native sampan, but in a three-decker luxurious steamer that resembles the night boats of the old Fall River Line of a past generation in so many ways that the missionary and his wife hurriedly lock themselves into their cabin, that they may escape rubbing elbows with the sinful natives, most of whom have gathered in a powwow in the main saloon where they are soon drinking the native beverages and listening to a native band play the typical music of the region, which is known as *el tango.*

Bright and early next morning, the boat ties up at the river bank in Buenos Aires near the kraal which the natives call the Plaza de Mayo, on which stands the Pink Topek, or tribal headquarters of the Big Chief of these parts. As the boat approaches the shore the passengers are awakened by the wild savage shouting of the native bearers, or *changadores,* who, a hundred strong, are lined up on the bank, jumping and gesticulating, each displaying the metal chit on which is engraved his identification number. Here the missionary and his wife have an experience that reminds them of home, sweet home — a customs inspection by uniformed natives who studiously try to be as rude and tough as the customs inspectors at the port of New York.

From the landing place the missionary and his wife start

the long arduous trek to the Mission Station. If they are Methodists they must find their way to the Methodist compound in one of the attractive outlying districts which the natives picturesquely call Flores, or Flowers. The trek to the Methodist Mission Station usually is made by way of a dark tunnel that the natives have dug under one of their main trails, quaintly named Rivadavia in honor of one of their chieftains who has gone to his fathers, lo these many moons.

About halfway between the Pink Topek and the Methodist Mission Station a huge granite tomb houses all that remains of this once famous chieftain. But the Christian missionaries seldom make the customary pilgrimage to this tomb, because they pass under it by the tunnel route. The English settlers and traders of the region call the tunnel The Underground; the American settlers and traders call it The Subway. There are four more of these tunnel routes in this region and all are known by the same name, making everything as confusing as the underground transport system of New York City.

Once the missionary and his wife have arrived at the Methodist dorp in Flowers their long-awaited holiday begins. But it is pretty much of a busman's holiday because the chief of the Mission Station has sent out runners to call in a group of mission workers from neighboring villas and dorps for a series of conferences at which they can exchange experiences with the newly arrived brother and sister from the preaching station at Montevideo. Sometimes one of the brethern from these outlying regions hits upon a successful new method for winning the heathen away from their native gods.

The missionary and his wife spend a busy but happy week hurrying from one graal to another, renewing acquaintances, getting inspiration and giving it, and consuming gallons of tea and cocoa. At the end of the week they make their exciting expedition in reverse back down to the mouth of the river, refreshed and with renewed vigor with which to live through the

months or the years until they start the long voyage to the homeland "to renew their friendships and contacts among Christian people."

Before anyone else has time to make the accusation, let me be the first to state that this is strange language in which to write about the progressive, Christian, and highly-cultured countries of Argentina and Uruguay. But it is the language used by the foreign mission boards of the United States in their annual reports of the proselytizing activities of their mission workers, which are sandwiched in between their reports on Liberia, the Gold Coast, and Gabon.

The Baptist handbook on Latin America states that the prevailing religion in Argentina is Roman Catholicism. But in spite of this admission, seven Southern Baptist "mission stations" have been established in Argentina — at Buenos Aires, Rosario, Bahia Blanca, Cordoba, La Rioja, Godoy Cruz (the attractive suburb of Mendoza), and Cipoletti. The handbook asks, "How many missionaries do we have in Argentina to man these seven stations?" The answer is, "Only 26." The handbook then lists 37.

Buenos Aires, where one of these "mission stations" is located, is described by the mission board as the largest city of Latin America "and is known as the cleanest city in the world." The handbook does not explain why the Baptist board of foreign missions has found it desirable to locate a "mission station" in this big, noisy, up-to-date South American metropolis. "There are many Europeans in Argentina," explains the handbook. "It is spoken of as 'a projection of Europe in the New World.' The Negro population is negligible, and there are about 53,000 Indians."

Nevertheless, The Argentine Mission was the second mission to be opened in South America by the Southern Baptists, according to a *Catechism of the Work of the Foreign Mission Board,* which reviews the work of Baptist missionaries in the Latin American field by means of questions and answers, after having

first reviewed the work in the more important fields of China, Japan, Manchukuo, and Africa. The *Catechism* explains that the "territory" of the Argentine Mission is Argentina and Uruguay, with "outstation" work in Paraguay. Typical of its question and answer method is the following:

"What modern methods of preaching are being employed with gratifying results?" The answer is: "The radio and the use of the loud speaker."

The aforementioned handbook goes into more interesting detail on the matter of the loud speaker. It says:

"The tent is one of the most effective means of reaching the people (of Argentina). Loud speakers are also used and carry the message sometimes to a whole town, as these interior towns are compactly built."

The Baptists certainly have found a way to make the Gospel ring out blatantly on a warm summer's evening if they themselves admit that the loud speaker is so loud it can be heard all over town.

According to the Baptist handbook, Baptist history in Argentina began in July, 1881, when Don Pablo Besson arrived from Switzerland. It says:

"He took up the battle of the separation of Church and State, and won the victory. Through his efforts a law was enacted permitting marriages performed by Protestant ministers to be accepted legally."

This is a beautiful example of the way the mission boards misrepresent conditions in "the Latin American field," obviously for the purpose of impressing the people who contribute to the financial support of this work. Both these statements are completely false. Church and State never have been separated in Argentina, so Don Pablo Besson did not win any victory on that score. And religious marriages are not legal, whether performed by Protestant or Catholic clergymen. The only legal marriages are those performed by the civil authorities, after

which the newly married couple may go through the form of a religious ceremony, which has no legal value as far as the Argentine authorities are concerned.

The handbook also reports for the benefit of contributors to the Baptist board of foreign missions that there are 80 Baptist churches in Argentina with a total of 5,500 members. Most of these are not churches in the generally accepted sense of the word, but small groups which meet for worship in private houses, usualy under one of the "native workers," since there are only 26 missionaries to look after these 80 so-called churches.

The 1941 report of the board of foreign missions of the United Lutheran Church in America explains that the dominant non-Christian religions are Confucianism and Taoism in China, Hinduism in India, Buddhism in the Far East, Mohammedanism, and Shintoism in Japan. "Our missionaries in their respective fields," says the report, "deal with the adherents of these various forms of paganism." The report then lists Argentina among its foreign mission fields. "In other fields, China, Liberia, Argentina," it says, "there are, in addition to the conventions of missionaries, conferences or committees of both national workers and missionaries."

At the Omaha Convention of the United Lutheran Church in October, 1940, the Argentina flag was given a place of honor between those of Liberia and British Guiana.

If anyone has any doubts about the disastrous influence of these North American missionaries in the bitter resentment which Argentines feel toward the United States, let him mention missionaries to any Argentine he happens to meet socially.

The Lutheran report for 1941 continues:

"The year 1941 is indeed a red-letter year for our Argentine field. We have been extremely blessed. Although the year started with only three missionaries and two ordained pastors, it ended with the number of missionaries being raised to six men and one woman and the native pastors to three. . . . This, how-

ever, has not filled all of the needs of our mission, because there are many localities of great promise which we cannot touch with our present staff. We need more and more missionaries, for whom we incessantly plead, so that we may take advantage of the great opportunity which presents itself to our church."

The Christian and Missionary Alliance is trying to "Christianize" the great Argentine Republic through the efforts of two North American missionaries and 11 "native workers." With this small force, the Alliance is having considerable trouble keeping rival Protestant missionary organizations from invading "its territory," where it very obviously has bitten off more than it can chew.

The annual report for 1940 says, "Recently a representative of another Mission wrote that if we do not place a worker in certain points, they will consider these towns and cities 'open' and will send their own workers there."

The situation in "the Argentine field" is contained in a 97-page booklet which the Foreign Department of The Christian and Missionary Alliance prepared for the annual meeting of the General Council in May, 1941, under the title: *Building Christ's Church in a Crumbling World.* The report from "the Argentine field" comes just before the one on the Kansu Tibetan Border field. In the Macedonian Call, already referred to, the report says: "We must repeat the words spoken by our Lord: '*The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few.*' (The italics are theirs.) And while we are entreating the Lord of the harvest that He thrust out workers, we also cry to our brethern in North America: There is much to be done in Argentina. Come and help us! The field is immense. There are great cities in our zone which have no pastor or worker, and to visit them only now and again is to carry on an imperfect work."

That statement makes it appear that Argentina, like the Kansu Tibetan Border, is an unchristian land without churches or clergy, which is false, of course.

The report continues: "How much we need the Bible Institute to prepare Alliance workers! How we wish we could make you see and feel this great vision. OUR ARGENTINA NEEDS THIS GOSPEL OF POWER! (The capitalization is theirs.) Our cry is that the Alliance may be granted the great privilege of intensifying its work.

"Another urgent necessity is for the opening of work in Buenos Aires. There is a group of our people waiting for the happy moment when we shall begin. We are studying one section of the city which would be conveniently accessible for the majority of our people. We believe that the fourfold Gospel is a message that should ring out with a clear voice in a city such as Buenos Aires because of the great blessing it would bring to the other groups living there."

Apparently The Christian and Missionary Alliance has not heard that the great city of Buenos Aires is "occupied territory" and that 283 foreign missionaries already are at work there. Or else it thinks it could do a better job than its rivals in making the Gospel ring out with a clear voice in Buenos Aires, which is more probably the case. So far, the Alliance has confined its efforts largely to the Province of Buenos Aires where it keeps a tent show moving from one town to another. The report says in this connection:

"In Olavarria for an entire month we had the tent going in four distinct sections of that city.

"In Laprida we scarcely had any believers left as the majority had gone to Buenos Aires to work in the factories there. The meetings were very poorly attended. The tent was the means of awakening new interest and of raising up new sons for the kingdom."

Then we turn the page and read: "Work among the Tibetans has been carried on faithfully but with little outward encouragement. With the opening of Sungpan and Ngawa a new type of Tibetans are being reached." Just as a new type of Argentines

are going to be reached when The Alliance opens Buenos Aires. Is it any wonder that the Argentines do not like us and have not responded to our efforts to convince them that we want to be friends and good neighbors?

The Christian and Missionary Alliance distributes a folder entitled *A Missionary Empire* in which it says:

"The Alliance ensigns were planted in the Holy Land, and on the islands of Japan, the Philippines, and the Indies West and East. They were carried over the Argentinian pampas, the Chilean mountains, and the slopes of Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. They were set up in the Congo, and across the French African colonies as far as Tombouctou."

Is it any wonder that intelligent South Americans are dubious of a good neighbor policy that pretends to treat them as equals at the same time that we are distributing literature to the four winds in which we classify them with the heathen of the Congo and France's African colonies?

There are practically no Indians or other indigenous people in Argentina and Uruguay, the population being almost one hundred per cent pure white. The "natives" which the missionary reports talk so much about are white Argentines and Uruguayans and the mere use of the word is an insult, since it is used throughout the reports in referring to the black, brown, and yellow natives of the unchristian lands where other agents of the United States foreign mission boards are at work.

Despite this absence of Indian population, there are 324 North American missionaries in Argentina, compared with only 205 in Mexico which has 3,500,000 pure-blooded Indians who have not been absorbed into the population and do not speak Spanish. In addition to these Mexican Indians there are about 8,000,000 unassimilated Indians in South America who offer a legitimate field for foreign missionary work. But the Protestant missionaries, for the most part, leave the saving of these unchristian people to the Catholic missionary orders while they

concentrate their efforts on saving people from the Catholic Church, in which they have been born and raised.

There are, of course, a few real North American Protestant missionaries in South America who are engaged in legitimate missionary work among the Indians. They are earnest, hard-working Christian men and women who have cut themselves off from their families and friends and given up all the comforts of home to devote themselves to carrying the story of Jesus Christ to people who have not heard that story. Most of this legitimate missionary work is being done among the miserably poor and unhappy descendants of the Incas on the Peruvian and Bolivian plateau, back behind the first range of the Andes and at a bleak altitude of two miles or more above the sea. Some of these missionaries are enthusiastic and eager young married couples, just out of seminary, who have gone into the mountains, taking all their possessions with them and intending to spend the rest of their lives in comfortless adobe houses in dreary Indian villages at salaries that barely keep them alive. Some of them have even gone to their posts on faith alone, without any guaranteed salary.

These legitimate missionaries deserve the greatest respect from Catholics and Protestants alike, and they certainly are worthy of much more support than they get from the people back home. This book does not apply to these people and nothing that is said in it refers to them. Unfortunately, they form only a small percentage of the nearly 3,000 North American proselytizing agents who have flocked to the comfortable capitals and other cities to engage, not in missionary work, but in throwing mud at a different branch of the Christian Church than the one they happen to be espousing. Also, as we have seen, some of their effort is devoted to throwing mud at other Protestant sects.

These people do not make new Christians; they tend to make unbelievers of people who have been Christians. Their anti-

Catholic propaganda arouses doubt, lack of confidence, indifference and, finally, unbelief. Their own reports show the failure of their work. After more than 25 years of effort and the expenditure of many millions of dollars, the many rival Protestant sects which are working in the three River Plate republics — Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay — reported only 26,728 communicants in those countries in 1938. This number includes a large number of North American families who are in those countries for one reason or another and have retained their American church affiliations. The Committee on Cooperation's pamphlet, *Latin America's Open Doors,* admits: "Competent observers say that the evangelical work in Argentina has not made much progress in recent years."

Nor has it made much progress anywhere else. In Mexico the revolutionary parties have used Protestantism as an efficient weapon for fighting their battle against the Catholic Church, but they have not accepted the Protestant doctrines.

Argentina represents the most glaring and most dangerous failure of the Good Neighbor Policy. The Argentines dislike us more than they do anyone else, and the Good Neighbor Policy is not going to be a success until we overcome this dislike. Winning their friendship and convincing them of the unselfish purposes of the Good Neighbor Policy is one of the most important of the diplomatic tasks that face Washington after peace is signed.

The first step in that task will be to convince the Argentines that we look upon them as equals, not inferiors, and that this equality is the very basis of the Good Neighbor Policy. No matter how sincere our words may be, they are not going to make the slightest impression on the Argentine mind as long as the presence of hundreds of our foreign missionaries in Buenos Aires and other Argentine cities prove that we do not look upon them as equals with ourselves but as equals with the unchristianized natives of the Congo and the French North African colonies.

XII

PROSELYTIZING THROUGH SCHOOLS

THE GREATEST weakness of the Catholic Church in the southern Americas is, of course, the great scarcity of clergy. The United States, with less than half the number of Catholics in the other twenty American countries, has more priests than all those countries combined. Brazil, for example, has less than 6000 priests to care for the needs of 36 million Catholics. Colombia, where the Church is stronger politically than anywhere else South of the Rio Grande, has less than 3000 priests to look after a population of 8½ millions.

This situation, like most Ibero-American problems, is the result of historical causes and is perfectly understandable when those causes are understood. It is the outgrowth of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial systems and of conditions which have existed in the southern Americas since the establishment of independence.

The Spanish and Portuguese governments, having set up their American colonies as new realms of the Church, sent out to the colonies all the high ranking members of the clergy, just as they sent out the military and political authorities. In the North American colonies, on the other hand, the young Catholic Church could expect no priests from Protestant England and was thrown on its own resources and compelled to educate young men for the priesthood if the Church were to survive. Consequently, the Catholic Church in the United States always has attracted young men to the priesthood, while the Church in the southern Americas has not. Until the outbreak of the Second

World War it was easier to persuade Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and other European priests to go to South and Central America than to persuade young men of education and social position in those countries to study for the priesthood. This, too, has an historical explanation.

The revolt of the Spanish colonies against the Crown tore the Church organization asunder and created many religious problems that were far more perplexing than the political difficulties it set up. All during the colonial period there had been "upper class" and "lower class" clergy, just as there were "upper class" and "lower class" residents in all other activities. The higher ranking clergy were well-born Spaniards, many of noble blood. Even those who were not wealthy in their own right enjoyed positions of affluence in the colonies because of the wealth of the Church. More important still, they enjoyed great prestige and prominent social position. Most of the "lower class" clergy were underpaid native-born priests or equally poor men sent out from Spain, who lived on a plane only slightly above that of perpetual poverty. Consequently, the lower ranks of the clergy enjoyed little social standing in the community.

When the colonies declared their independence, most of the "upper class" members of the hierarchy sided with the Crown against the revolting colonists, for reasons already explained. So they were quickly deprived of their religious offices and banished. The lower ranks of the clergy fought valiantly alongside the revolutionists. When the fray was over, the priesthood was composed of patriotic, self-sacrificing men who had risked their lives fighting for the independence of their country. But they were poor men of the "lower class" with no social standing among the self-styled superior people of the "upper class."

For nearly 15 years, from 1810 to 1823, the Catholic Church in Spanish America was completely disorganized by the wars of independence. Between 1810 and 1814 most of the prelates either fled or were banished because of their royalist leanings.

From 1814 to 1823 the Spanish ambassador to the Vatican was successful in persuading the Pope not to recognize the independence of the South American governments by appointing ecclesiastical officers. This situation was largely responsible for the crusade of anti-clericalism that was such an important aftermath of the establishment of independence. In the early 1820's governmental leaders forced "national" churches on Argentina and Paraguay, and prevented normal connection with the Vatican, a situation that lasted until 1853 in Argentina and until 1870 in Paraguay. Venezuela went through a similar crusade from 1873 to 1888. Colombia was anti-Church for a short time in the 1830's. In Mexico the Church has been under violent persecution since the 1850's, with the exception of the years of the Porfirio Diaz regime.

The primary objective of this anti-clerical movement was to deprive the clergy of prestige and social standing among the people and so weaken the position of the Church. It succeeded so well that even in those countries where Church and State are again reconciled the clergy never has regained the prestige and social position it enjoyed during the eighteenth century.

Thus for longer or shorter periods in almost all the Spanish American nations the priesthood at one time or another has been under persecution that made it unattractive as a career for young men of "good families." Sons of wealthy or socially prominent families could not be persuaded to throw in their lot with the unpopular men of the Church, as they might have been if the wealthy and titled members of the clergy had still been in their high office to do the persuading. This set up a vicious circle that is still going round: Because educated young men of social position would not enter the clergy, the Church was compelled to find many of its priests among the *mestizo* and Indian population, since it could not bring out from Europe all the men that were needed. This kept increasing the condition which made the priesthood unattractive to young men of

good education who could have commanded the same respect that is accorded to the clergy in the United States.

A notable exception to this rule is the wealthy Edwards family of Chile, each generation of which has given its sons to the Church as well as to the State.

Most important of all, there was not until very recent years any middle class in the southern Americas. It is the middle class which provides the young priests for the Catholic Church in the United States. Until the end of the First World War, South and Central America had only a very high and wealthy upper class and a very poor and miserable lower class. There was no bridge between them. Since the young men of the upper class were not interested in entering the priesthood, the Church was compelled to recruit its clergy from the lower class. In order to get any appreciable number of priests from this class, the Church was compelled to lower the educational requirements for entrance and to be more lenient on questions of discipline than in the United States.

This lowering of standards naturally resulted in a priesthood far different from that in the United States; an unfortunate situation which is readily admitted by the hierarchy both in the southern countries and in the United States. It is not surprising, therefore, that occasionally a man gets into the priesthood in the southern Americas who is unfitted for the vocation. When his unfitness becomes apparent through a breach of discipline or otherwise he is expelled from the clergy.

One of the most debasing features of the proselytizing campaign of the United States missionaries is the eagerness with which they grab up these expelled priests whenever they can find one and use them as heavy artillery in their war against the Catholic Church by playing on their resentment and urge for revenge against the Church they have failed. The local publications of the missionary organizations make a great to do over each spectacular "conversion" and the ex-priest is imme-

diately put to work as a teacher in the missionary school and later is ordained as a Protestant preacher. Many of the "native preachers" and "ordained natives" who are mentioned so often in the reports of the foreign mission boards are former priests who were found to be unfit for a career in the Catholic Church.

The North American missionaries, in their propaganda among their financial supporters in the United States, invariably accuse the South American clergy of every crime under the sun and argue that their own presence in the southern Americas is made imperative by what they call the low quality of the priesthood in the neighboring republics. Then they pick up the men who have proved themselves unfit to be members of even this "low quality" priesthood and make them members of their own priesthood. The "conversion," of course, simply consists of baptizing the ex-priest in accordance with the rites of the particular Protestant sect which has found him, after which he is put to work "preaching the Gospel of the *Christian* church."

The Baptists appear to be particularly proud of their success in enlisting the services of these ex-priests. In their 1941 report, called *Overcoming With Christ,* Alagoas, in northern Brazil, is singled out for special honorable mention on page 28 as being the birthplace of the first Brazilian to be baptized by the Baptist rite of immersion. He was an ex-priest. The report goes on to say that this gives Alagoas a proud tradition and a noble history upon which it may continue to build. The report on Argentina (page 17) mentions a religious novel written by an ex-priest, now in the Baptist missionary organization, as being one of the highlights of "an unusually successful year" in their publication work.

In 1941 the Methodist Episcopal publications in Mexico City gave great publicity to the "conversion" of a priest and his deflection from the Catholic Church as one of their Mission's greatest recent achievements. Being familiar with similar "conversions" in many parts of South America, I investigated this

case myself and was permitted to examine documentary evidence that the "convert" was a young man who had only recently been ordained and not yet been assigned to a church of his own. He had been expelled from the priesthood while still an assistant to an older member of the clergy because of a particularly shameful violation of his vows which had proved him to be unfit for the priesthood. He had, of course, been expelled before the Methodists picked him up and "converted" him. As the circumstances of the case were known to prominent Catholic leaders in Mexico City, laymen as well as clergy, the widespread publicity given by the Methodists to this supposed conversion caused a most natural feeling of repugnance against them, especially as it was not the first time they had made such a man one of their leading "native workers."

This practice of the missionaries is so general throughout the southern Americas as to be a scandal and is one of the reasons for the low repute in which they are held by educated and cultured people.

One of the most reprehensible examples of this use of unfit ex-priests by the North American missionaries that has come to my personal attention occurred when the Lutherans were establishing their large mission school in Villa del Parque, one of the most attractive suburbs of Buenos Aires, where there is about as much need for a mission school as there is in any of the Pelhams and Englewoods in the United States. The founder of the mission was bragging to me of his coup in having signed up two ex-priests as teachers in the school. When I asked him why he was so proud over that, he exclaimed enthusiastically, "Because these guys know what the kids have been taught at home, so know better than I how to unteach 'em. If I can get the kids into my school, I'll guarantee to get them into my church."

As inducements to get them into the school, he served them a glass of milk and a light lunch every day and offered other

extra-curricular attractions such as sports and entertainments to entice them away from the Argentine schools.

These mission schools are the principal instruments for proselytizing on the part of several of the Protestant sects which maintain missionary organizations in the southern Americas. The Committee on Cooperation, in its report of June 1, 1939, says that there are approximately 25,000 pupils enrolled in the 152 schools under evangelical auspices in Latin America. The figures do not include, however, hundreds of day schools of primary grades which are conducted in connection with the local congregations.

"These larger institutions," says the report, "continue to find increasing opportunities to serve their communities and extend the influence of Christian teaching. Their importance is inestimable. In these lands where sparsity of population still offers such unlimited opportunities this phase of the Christian enterprise is particularly significant."

The Southern Baptists put the matter into clearer perspective by their question and answer method. "Are these schools evangelizing agencies?" asks their Catechism. To which the answer is, "They are among the finest evangelizing agencies we have." By substituting *proselytizing* for *evangelizing* the meaning becomes still more forceful.

The Baptist booklet goes on to explain: "From 30 to 75 per cent of the student body are Roman Catholics. Many of the students are from homes of influence. Evangelist meetings are held in most of the schools once or twice a year. There are voluntary Bible classes among the students, and compulsory chapel is generally the rule. Many are saved and join Baptist churches."

The Southern Baptists maintain 73 such mission schools in Brazil and three in Argentina — two in Buenos Aires and one Rosario. The two largest cities of Argentina have some of the finest public schools in South America and most certainly are not in need of mission schools for the education of their chil-

dren. As the Baptist booklet itself admits, "The educational system (of Argentina) is modeled after that of the United States and is compulsory and free."

The purpose of these mission schools is not, of course, to provide educational facilities where there are none but to win children away from the religion of their homes and get them into the Protestant sects. The important part played by the mission schools in the North American campaign to take people away from the Catholic Church in South America is set forth in the 1941 report of the Southern Baptist foreign mission board. Commenting on the work of its mission schools in Brazil, the report says: "All these directors have their respective plans and methods for instilling into the student body the eternal and saving truths of Christianity. Some of our most talented missionaries are helping very successfully indeed in this arduous work."

One of the largest of these mission schools is the Ward College of Buenos Aires, which is run by missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal and Disciples of Christ sects. The directors of Ward College stoutly insist to the people of Buenos Aires that theirs is not a missionary school, yet it is mentioned each year in the annual reports of the Committee on Cooperation as one of the principal mission schools and "evangelical forces" in South America. As one of the reports expresses it: "The work of the Board of Trustees of Ward College of Buenos Aires is also cared for by the Executive Office of the Committee."

During the past few years there has been a strong reaction on the part of South American governments against these foreign-controlled mission schools, and their activities are being more and more restricted. Many governments of the southern Americas now require that the missionary schools, like all other private schools, become incorporated into the national educational system if the students are to receive credits for their studies. Several of the countries require that the majority of the teaching staffs be nationals and that the teaching be in the language of

the country instead of in English. Mexico requires that 75 per cent of the teaching staffs be Mexicans. This tends to destroy the proselytizing value of the missionary schools and to leave them purely educational institutions, a development that is causing much discouragement to the missionaries, who are more interested in the "evangelizing" feature of the schools than in their educational function.

Dr. John A. Mackay, founder of the Anglo-Peruvian College of Lima, a Presbyterian mission school, and one of the most prominent leaders of the missionary movement in South America, says in his book, *That Other America:*

"Evangelical schools in Latin America have now reached a critical moment in their history.

"In the first place, official education in the countries where they are located has made colossal strides. It will become increasingly difficult for mission schools to keep pace with government institutions. This had become true in Mexico even before the present educational crisis. In countries like Argentina and Chile, any mission school that wishes to hold its own must have the finest buildings, the finest equipment, and the finest teaching staff."[1]

In an effort to improve the buildings, equipment, and teaching staffs of the mission schools, missionary leaders of the United States undertook in 1928 to raise a fund of $2,500,000 under the slogan: "Educational Advance in South America." They immediately pretended a close tie-up between this "advance" and the South American tour of President-elect Hoover, thereby giving the South Americans more fuel for their constant charge that there really is a political tie-up between the missionaries and the Washington government.

The Committee on Cooperation said in its report for 1928, written after Mr. Hoover returned from South America, "Re-

[1] John A. Mackay, Litt.D., *That Other America,* Friendship Press, New York.

sponses which have come within the last few weeks show that the visit of President-elect Hoover is bringing a new interest in these schools."

Only $1,000,000 of the desired $2,500,000 was raised, but the Committee on Cooperation reported in 1933: "Educational Advance has meant so far the complete new equipment of Ward College, Santiago College and Instituto Inglés at Santiago, Lima High School and American College in Bogotá, with substantial additions to the American Institute at La Paz and Colegio Internacional at Asunción."

In that same report the Committee sounded a warning that the future is not bright for the continuance of proselytizing work through the medium of the mission schools. The report said: "From the standpoint of the peoples we serve, there is a growing tendency of governments to demand that foreigners who desire to serve shall increasingly desist from imposing their own forms and organizations on those countries. At present the Government of Mexico places many obstacles before schools under religious auspices, and other countries tend to do the same, making it clear that schools should as early as possible tie themselves into local communities. Venezuela, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Ecuador, and Mexico have placed restrictions on the entrance into their land of foreign ordained religious workers, making it clear that the development of leadership within the National Churches themselves is of greater urgency than ever before."

In reporting on the improvements at Ward College as a result of the contributions to the Educational Advance fund, the Committee on Cooperation informed its financial supporters as follows:

"Just after President Justo returned from Brazil he fulfilled an engagement with the representatives of the union evangelical school in Buenos Aires, Colegio Ward, to attend the services commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the school. He took the greater part of a day to attend those

services, in the suburbs of the city where the college has just erected splendid new buildings."

This undoubtedly pleased the contributors whose donations had helped provide the new college buildings. But the presidential visit described in such detail as occupying the greater part of a day did not take place. President Justo did not attend the anniversary services, as reported by the Committee.

XIII

THE MISSIONARIES IN POLITICS

ONE OF the most thorny obstacles to the success of the Good Neighbor Policy is the busy meddling of the North American missionaries in the politics and revolutionary movements in the southern Americas. At this point the missionaries will rise *en masse* and attempt to brush off this charge by calling the writer an irresponsible liar. They love that epithet because it appears to justify them in turning their backs and walking away from any accusation they find embarrassing. They try to give the impression that since the charge is false it is unworthy of a holy man's reply. But in this case there happens to be a wealth of documentary evidence proving their political activities. Some of it has already been quoted in Chapter V. It will be interesting to see how the missionaries try to brush aside this evidence.

I have in my possession a letter written by the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America as recently as December 1, 1942, in which the Executive Secretary states: "Protestant missionaries take no part whatever in South American politics. The accusation of meddling in politics is unfounded." This statement is so far from the well-known facts that I can only surmise that because of his recent acceptance of his present position, the Executive Secretary has not had time to familiarize himself with the situation on which he is expressing such a categorical opinion. Evidently he has not read his predecessor's reports on his political activities in Mexico as Executive Secretary of the Committee during the framing of the anti-religious Constitution of 1917, and again ten years later when the relations be-

tween Washington and the Calles administration were close to the breaking point. It seems impossible, however, that he should be unfamiliar with the close tie-up between the missionary school in Lima, of which he formerly was assistant principal, and the revolutionary party that is trying to overthrow the existing order in Peru.

If the Executive Secretary will refer to the Committee's 1932 report he will find that the first three and a half pages are devoted to a discussion of South American politics from the Committee's viewpoint. South Americans argue that neither the Committee nor its missionaries ought to have any viewpoint on the politics in the countries where they work.

But, as our South American friends say, *Vamos por partes* (One thing at a time).

In 1917 when Carranza's revolution had triumphed and the present anti-religious Constitution was being framed at Querétaro, the then Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America hurried to Mexico, where he had been a missionary, to confer with former pupils of the missionary schools who had been prominent in the revolutionary movement and were now drawing up a Constitution which was to outlaw religion as one of the main objectives of the revolt. Upon his return to New York, he wrote, "On all sides it is plainly evident that the leaders of the new life in Mexico consider the evangelical churches and the evangelical schools as their most powerful helpers."

The leaders of the new life were the leaders of the revolution which had overthrown the existing government. The Executive Secretary's statement that these revolutionary leaders considered the Protestant churches and the mission schools as their most powerful helpers was true. It is one of the reasons why our Mexican friends charge the missionaries with meddling in politics.

The Committee's Executive Secretary got a promise from Car-

ranza and other government leaders that the new Constitution would not be enforced against the missionaries.

When the relations between the United States and Mexico became tense in March, 1927, the same Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America again hurried to Mexico and conferred with government leaders, state governors, and others who had been his pupils in the missionary schools and were now helping President Calles persecute the Catholic Church. It is a matter of published record that after the Committee's Executive Secretary spent what he described in *The New York Times* as "a week of intimate conversations with the highest functionaries of the Calles government," he returned to the United States and by his writing and speeches put all the weight of his position and influence in defense of the revolutionary government that was rewarding Protestants for their support of its disgraceful persecution of the Catholic Church by making them presents of church buildings that had been confiscated from the Catholics.

Perhaps the missionaries can convince themselves that this was not meddling in Mexico's politics, but they most certainly have not convinced the Mexicans that it was anything except the interference of foreign agents in their political troubles. As Washington sent arms to Calles to put down a Catholic revolt against his régime, perhaps it is only natural that the Mexicans see a direct connection between Washington's support of President Calles and the political activities of the Committee's executive head.

Peru is another spot where the missionaries are as busy in politics as they are in proselytizing. Dr. John A. Mackay, in *That Other America,* and under the heading of "A New Revolt of Youth," devotes a chapter to the Peruvian students' and workmen's revolutionary movement known as the Apra. Dr. Mackay states that an intelligent understanding of the Apra movement is of prime importance for people interested in the

future of Evangelical Christianity in the continent, and at one point exclaims, "Is it any wonder that members of the Evangelical movement in Peru, both pastors and laymen, feel so enthusiastic about the Apra?"

Although Dr. Mackay does not say so, the reason it is of prime importance for those interested in the missionary crusade to understand the Apra movement is that there is a clear understanding between Apra leaders and the missionaries by which the missionaries are doing everything they can to encourage the Apra movement and help it get into power, in exchange for which Apra promises them that there will be religious freedom in Peru when it takes over the government. Like the revolutionary movement in Mexico, Apra is an anti-clerical movement and so has the enthusiastic support of the missionaries from the United States, just as was the case in Mexico.

The Apra movement happens to be Peru's only democratic party, but since democracy never has come into its own in Peru, Apra has to be a revolutionary party. As a revolutionary party, Apra is pledged to overthrow the government at any moment that it can get into a position to do so. Perhaps many things in Peru will be improved if the Apra movement ever gets into power and these remarks are not intended to imply any criticism of Apra. But as long as it remains a revolutionary party and as long as the missionaries are encouraging its leaders in every way possible in exchange for the promise of easier sailing for themselves, they cannot honestly deny the charge that they are meddling in politics in Peru.

One of the reasons why the missionaries are so unpopular with the Peruvian government is because when the Apra movement seemed to be very close to staging a revolution against President Leguia in 1923, the leader of the revolutionary plot, Haya de la Torre, was a full-time teacher in the Anglo-Peruvian College, the largest missionary school in Lima, and was living with the principal. This was long after his revolutionary aims

were well known to everyone in Peru. One night he left the principal's house for a walk and did not return for eight years. Leguia's police had deported him. Yet the man who was assistant principal of the Anglo-Peruvian College for many years insists that the missionaries "take no part whatever in South American politics." Maybe the missionaries have another word for it, but the South American governments call it meddling in politics.

The missionary ambition in international politics reached one of its all-time "highs" at the Montevideo Conference in 1933, when the Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America and the principal of the Colegio Internacional at Asunción cornered Secretary of State Hull and tried to show him how to end the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay.

The aloofness with which Mr. Hull is forced to surround himself in Washington because of his high position is artificially assumed and foreign to his lovable character. The Secretary of State is one of the warmest, most congenial, and most likeable men in public life anywhere. When he gets away from Washington to attend an international conference he tries to be himself again and usually is the most cordial and most approachable of all the chiefs of delegations. So on the second or third evening after his arrival in Montevideo, Mr. Hull decided to sit in the hotel lobby after dinner and be sociable.

The Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation was not a member of the American delegation at Montevideo, as he had been at Havana and was to be three years later at Buenos Aires. This was one of those occasions when he went along "as an observer and advocate of justice," as he explained it in one of the Committee's annual reports. As Mr. Hull left the dining room and sat down on a sofa, he greeted everyone in sight with that particular little nod of his. On this occasion it seemed to imply an all-inclusive "come on over, boys, and say hello." But nobody got a chance to greet Mr. Hull that night.

The Committee's Executive Secretary and the missionary from Asunción had been laying for him just outside the dining room door and as soon as Mr. Hull seated himself they rushed at him and took possession of him, one on each side.

Two or three South American ministers of foreign affairs and other prominent delegates moved toward where Mr. Hull was seated, hoping to exchange a "good evening" and a handshake with him, which was what Mr. Hull had in mind when he decided to remain in the lobby instead of going up to his apartment. But the two missionaries monopolized him completely, taking turns at glaring away any interruption while the other did the talking. Finally, Mr. Hull could stand it no longer and got up and walked to the elevator in a rage. When he got to his office, he remarked to Jimmy Dunn of the State Department, who was along as personal assistant, "Well, I see I cannot stop in the lobby here." And he never did again.

The brilliant idea for terminating the Chaco War, which the missionary from Asunción had thought up and "sold" to the Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation was so preposterous that *The New York Times* was afraid to print it. The editors no doubt thought their conference correspondents were drunk when they wrote the dispatch.

One of the most audacious political moves of the missionaries occurred in Buenos Aires in 1934, when 34 of them signed a protest to the Argentine Congress objecting against the attendance of Argentine school children at the religious services, which always have been part of the celebration of Independence Day. At noon on Independence Day the President, accompanied by his Cabinet ministers, attends a solemn *Te Deum* in the Cathedral and there are various other religious thanksgiving services. The *Te Deum* is one of the most important State occasions of the year and the entire diplomatic corps attends in full dress. As one of the Buenos Aires newspapers expressed it in referring to the missionary protest: "It is part of our tradi-

tion and our laws that we celebrate *Te Deums* and other religious manifestations of our public thanksgiving to the God of our fathers on Independence Day."

In 1934 it suddenly occurred to some missionary brain that the attendance of Argentine school children at any of these religious services was a violation of the law which prohibits religious teaching in the public schools. The religious services are Catholic, of course, since Catholicism is the State religion. It is the idea of the missionaries that Argentine children should attend only the "compulsory chapel" services in the missionary schools, referred to in the annual reports of the United States foreign mission boards. This, of course, is not a violation of the law. But to let school children attend any Catholic thanksgiving service is. One sometimes wonders why the South American governments have not gathered up all the missionaries by the scruff of their necks and deported them long ago.

One of the features of the Independence Day celebrations on May 25, 1934, was the assembling of thousands of white-clad school children in the huge square in front of the Capitol for patriotic exercises. Included in the program was an open-air field Mass such as the army chaplains celebrate when the armed forces are in the field. The school authorities notified parents that the children of non-Catholic families were not required to attend the exercises if their parents objected. This consideration for the religious opinions of others seems to have incensed the missionaries as furiously as the fact that Argentines should gather for a thanksgiving service on Independence Day. So a couple of weeks after the exercises, the North American missionaries in Buenos Aires had the temerity to send the following protest to the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and to the President of the National Board of Education:

"The undersigned evangelical pastors of this city address themselves respectfully to you to protest in the name of Education Law No. 1420, and the religious freedom guaranteed in

the Constitution, against the character of the patriotic acts celebrated on May 25 last.

"We believe that the schools fulfill not only a patriotic object but also a high duty in inculcating into children the love of their country, but we consider that the fact that school children have been taken, under the escort of the teachers and school authorities, to acts of a patriotic-religious nature, in which the main item was an open air Mass, and a sermon by a member of the Roman Catholic clergy, signify an attack against the existing law of common education. The schools, as such, cannot and should not have any part in confessional ceremonies or affairs.

"The schools belong to all on a basis of equality and neither religious nor any other distinctions should be made. What would be the position of many children whose parents profess other religions, or none at all, if the interference of a sect, whichever it might be, is allowed in the internal life of the schools? It would mean that the pupils would be divided into orthodox and dissidents, and preferences would be established contrary to the laws and to the freedom of individual conscience.

"Neither can we approve of the idea that non-Catholic pupils should be exempted from the moral duty of attending acts of a patriotic or other nature in which religion is involved, for they would be placed, as occurred on May 25, on a footing of inequality and suffer from the contempt of their fellow pupils and teachers. It would also contribute to weaken, in a considerable proportion of the child population, the sentiment of respect and affection for the country and the educational authorities, who would thus be illegitimately associated with a given faith. Article 8 of Law 1420 cannot in any way be invoked as justification for the acts which we are censuring.

"In the name, therefore, of the harmony and unity of the Argentine people — an object which is so gloriously accomplished by the schools created by the laws of common educa-

tion, the fiftieth anniversary of which is now being celebrated — and in the name of the equality and freedom of conscience guaranteed by the Constitution, we trust that this petition will be heard, and that such events will not be repeated."

Such a document quite naturally aroused a tremendous outcry from the leading Argentine newspapers. It stirred up so much enmity against the missionaries that since then they have not again publicized their political meddling in Argentina's affairs. The English language newspaper, *Buenos Aires Herald,* which is owned and operated by non-Catholics, expressed one of the milder forms of editorial criticism when it said: "All people of good will must have read with feelings of regret the petition addressed by the evangelical preachers to the Argentine governmental authorities. It was with feelings almost depressed that we allocated the space to a document which we cannot believe will be productive of any lasting good."

The Herald's editorial continued: "Admittedly the famous Education Law (No. 1420) provided for secular instruction as the basis of the Argentine school system. Religious teaching was, in effect, banished to the Church and the home . . .

"Unfortunately, while the State removed religion from the schools, it retained official allegiance to one specified creed: that of the Roman Catholic Church. We say 'unfortunately' because the existence of a State Church which is denied access to State schools must necessarily lead, sooner or later, to conflict; and when strife is religious in character, definite loss to the whole nation follows as a matter of course.

"The evangelical pastors' petition is a definite manifestation of strife which, if not already in being, is in a way to being provoked. The non-conformist body in question protests against the field Mass associated with the Twenty-fifth of May celebrations. It points out that the marshalling of children under an escort of teachers for attendance at a Roman Catholic ceremony on the Day of Independence was a violation of the existing

educational law and its implied guarantees. Nor does the manifesto gladly accept the fact that the children of dissenters were free to remain behind. Such nonconformity with an official patriotic-religious ceremony has placed those children, it is asserted, in a position of inferiority and has left them to the contempt of their fellow pupils. The purpose of the petition, therefore, is to insure that there shall be no repetition of the recent celebrations.

"The situation thus created is deplorable. Inasmuch as the Roman Catholic Church enjoys the official support of the State, we are unable to see that any great crime has been committed by making a religious ceremony part of the patriotic celebrations on May 25. Nor do we believe that any great harm would have been done had all children, irrespective of creed, attended a gathering of a patriotic rather than a proselytizing nature. That innocent children are victimized as the direct consequence of their parents deciding that they shall remain aloof, we believe to be true. Such a sequel is, indeed, inevitable.

"But what of the parents? Is their outlook so limited that they cannot permit their children to take part in a ceremony on one day a year because the religious side of it is performed under the aegis of the Church of Rome? . . ."

A large-caliber weapon in the political activities of the missionaries is formed by the 151 periodicals which are published "under evangelical auspices to meet the call for reading matter among the evangelical community," as the 1939 report of the Committee on Cooperation describes them. The report explains that many of these publications are devoted to the local interests of church members; that "the bulk of them, of course, are purely denominational in character," and that a great deal of time and money is invested in this literature.

Literature is hardly the word for it. Many of these missionary publications, especially in Mexico, are a disgrace to the sects that publish them. They are filled with political propaganda

to incite their readers for or against the local political causes which the missionaries favor or oppose. In Mexico their political support of Calle's anti-Church crusade was notorious. Their literary and cultural standards are the lowest imaginable; their editorials, for the most part, sound like those of cheap small-town political papers; and the language they use in denouncing the things they oppose, including everything connected with the Catholic faith, would not be permitted in the police news columns of any respectable newspaper. The tawdry literary standards and the complete absence of cultural content in these publications are largely responsible for the very low opinion which cultured and well-read people have for the missionaries.

No one realizes better than the Committee on Cooperation the disastrous effect these so-called evangelical publications are having on the missionary movement throughout the southern Americas. Consequently, the Committee puts out its own publication, *Nueva Democracia,* in an effort to counteract some of the harm done by the local missionary papers. *Nueva Democracia* is a first-class publication of high literary standards and cultural content, but its circulation is not extensive enough to overcome the harm done by the local publications. Nothing can overcome that harm as long as the local missionary papers are edited by people of mediocre education who concern themselves with the politics of the countries in which they work.

It is understandable, of course, that the Protestant missionaries should desire the overthrow of those South American governments that support the Catholic Church. It is even understandable that they should be so ill-advised as to cooperate with revolutionary movements which hope to overthrow those governments for reasons other than religious and which promise the missionaries that they will establish freedom of worship as soon as they are in power. But as long as the missionaries are so engaged, let us, in the name of Truth, stop saying that the missionaries do not take any part in South American politics.

XIV

GOOD NEIGHBORS OR HEATHEN?

THE ROOT of the whole matter discussed so far in this book is that the proselytizing activities of the missionary organizations in the southern Americas is not legitimate missionary work. As already noted, that verdict was handed down by no less an authority than the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America was set up in spite of that verdict and has been trying ever since to convince people that its work is legitimate. An effort was made to lend prestige to the Committee's activities by having Dr. John R. Mott make a tour of the southern Americas in 1940 and 1941. It was represented that he was making the trip on behalf of the World Missionary Conference which met at Madras in 1938. But the invitation came from the Latin American delegates to that conference and the Committee on Cooperation, which is quite a different thing.

The missionary movement in the southern Americas is not directed primarily toward taking the Gospel to those who do not know it, but is dedicated to undermining the Catholic Church. And, as has been shown, the reports of the foreign mission boards in the United States classify the people of Mexico, Central and South America along with the unsaved heathen of the pagan lands and speak of them in the same terminology.

In December, 1942, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America issued a statement on the policy of the Protestant churches toward the southern Americas. The Council represents 27 of the 250 or more Protestant sects, but arrogates to

itself the right to speak in the name of them all. The statement was issued in reply to a statement issued in November by the Catholic Hierarchy. In its "simple and plain affirmations" regarding the policy of the Protestant churches, the Council states:

"Their dominant aim in the discharge of their ministry has not been, and will not be, to de-catholicize Christians but to have a part in interpreting our Lord Jesus Christ to multitudes of people who do not know Him in great and growing nations."

The evidence is all to the contrary and one can only presume that the leaders of the Federal Council of Churches have let themselves be grossly imposed upon. Since many of the Protestant sects which are so busy in the southern Americas are not associated with the Council it is quite possible, of course, that the Council really is ignorant about what is going on. Anyone who knows anything at all about the missionary campaign south of the Rio Grande can produce documentary evidence that its dominant aim is winning "converts" away from the Catholic Church, as Dr. Stanley Jones plainly saw during his trip. It also is well known that a great many of the missionaries, in their effort to win such "converts," conduct themselves in such a manner as to be offensive not only to our southern neighbors but also to their fellow Americans and even to missionaries of competing sects. The Evangelical publications constantly ridicule the most sacred tenets of the Catholic faith in the crudest kind of language, and the missionary schools are located in the large cities, not to take education to unschooled children but to win Catholic children away from the teachings of their parents.

Among the documentary evidence that the so-called missionary effort in the southern Americas is proselytizing rather than missionary is the testimony of Protestant leaders before the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1920, already referred to. Then there are the innumerable published declarations and statements by which the missionary organizations seek to

justify their presence in South and Central America and Mexico. These statements do not concern themselves with the millions of unchristianized Indians but deal with the work among Catholics, charging that the Catholic Church has lost its leadership, which makes it necessary for the Protestant agents to move in and save them.

In the December 9, 1942, issue of *The Christian Century,* Mr. Forrest L. Knapp, general secretary of the World Sunday School Association, admits that the number of Protestant workers in the southern Americas who would seek to win only such persons as are not Catholics is small, and that the great majority of Protestant workers south of the Rio Grande "feel that they have a compelling obligation to the millions who are nominally Catholics."

If it were true that the dominant aim of Protestant missionaries is legitimate work among people who have no religion, there probably would be no objection to them. And if there were, the objection would have no legitimate grounds on which to stand. Also, if this were merely a conflict between the Catholic and Protestant churches, it could be ignored by others. But it has serious political consequences which are dangerous to our relations with the people of the southern Americas. It is perfectly natural that educated and cultured people who already consider themselves Christians should be insulted at being classified as heathen and that they should feel resentment against the people who so classify them. Our Good Neighbor Policy is not going to make any favorable impression on our neighbors until this practice is stopped and we begin to treat them as good neighbors, which means treating them as equals, not inferiors.

Protestant leaders in the United States charge that the opposition of South Americans to the missionary crusade is a dangerous anti-democratic development because it seeks to deny the Protestant sects the same freedom that the Catholic Church

enjoys in the United States. It is, they say, "so out of line with what we are attempting to achieve in a world democracy that it is going to be a serious matter for them in the long run."

This is sheer nonsense. It is perfectly possible to be a patriotic South American and to object bitterly to one's country being considered a heathen missionary field on the same basis as Asia and Africa and at the same time be a stanch democrat and support everything that "we are attempting to achieve in a world democracy." Presidents Alvear and Ortiz were the two best democratic presidents Argentina ever had, and both were devout Catholics.

The Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation says in *Latin America's Open Doors* that "certain enemies" take the position that missionary work in the southern Americas is not legitimate. Two of the most bitter and outspoken enemies of the Protestant missionary movement have been two of the most famous democrats in all the Americas — Senator Alfredo L. Palacios of Argentina and the late Baltasar Brum, ex-President of Uruguay. Neither was a Catholic, but both objected to their countries being considered as foreign mission fields. If any organization in the United States is going to classify Dr. Brum and Dr. Palacios as enemies, then the quicker we stop talking about the Good Neighbor Policy to unite democracy in the western hemisphere the better it will be for all concerned.

The political consequences of attacks against the Catholic faith in the southern Americas is clearly pointed out by Duncan Aikman in *The All-American Front*[1] as follows:

"To make clear the impingement of the twenty republics' religious addictions upon world political balances, we have for a moment to consider the difference between Latin and North American Catholicism.

"Somewhat over 20,000,000 United States citizens are convinced Catholics. But virtually all of Latin America's 120,000,000 are what we might call 'instinctive' Catholics. North America's

[1] Duncan Aikman, *The All-American Front,* Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1940.

twenty million are confident, no doubt, that they possess the ultimate absolute in spiritual truth and theological revelation, but at the same time they are conscious that they are competitors in a kind of nation-wide appeal to faith and conscience with Methodists, Holy Rollers, and Christian Scientists. Latin Americans in mass are scarcely conscious that Methodists are different from Mohammedans, or that Holy Rollers and Christian Scientists are human beings.

"It is not a question of the Latin Americans being more devout Catholics than the North Americans — often they are not! — or of their being less tolerant. Total lack of competition, it sometimes appears, can actually lubricate tolerance. What is important is that North American Catholics, on the whole, tend to regard their Catholicism as an unshakable religious conviction. Latin Americans regard it as a way of life.

"In consequence, an affront or a menace to a North American's Catholicism is an insult to a passionate certainty about what life and God mean. A menace to a Latin American's Catholicism is an axe laid at the root of life itself.

"Hence the twenty republics' policies, alliances, and antipathies in a wicked world and their reactions to the political forces at play in it are controlled to an almost incalculable degree by a universal abomination of the authentically anti-religious."

Unfortunately, our southern neighbors look upon us as anti-religious, an impression that is heightened rather than lessened by the efforts of the missionaries to "sell" them more than fifty conflicting brands of anti-Catholicism.

The statement of the Federal Council of Churches makes the startling declaration that part of their "Heritage of Religious Freedom" is liberty to propagate their faith *outside* the nation. Textually, the statement says:

"The struggle for freedom now raging throughout the world turns our thoughts afresh to our American heritage. The men

who founded this nation sought freedom under God in the western world and bequeathed freedom to their heirs as their most precious possession. At a very early time in the country's history liberty was granted to all religious groups to practice and propagate their faith within and without the nation."

It is completely untrue, of course, that our forefathers, or anyone else for that matter, ever granted our citizens any rights outside our own territory. *Uberwachungstelle Ausland* (General Supervision of Foreign Countries) is strictly a Nazi concept and it most certainly never was in the minds of the men who founded this nation, the Federal Council of Churches to the contrary notwithstanding.

Some of the southern republics have begun protecting themselves against this sort of thing by refusing to permit the entry of any more Protestant missionaries from the United States. Because these protective measures are being taken under recently enacted laws by which our southern neighbors seek to protect themselves against the political activities of Nazi agents, missionary leaders in the United States stoutly declare that no measures are being taken against religious agents from the United States. But this is untrue. It is a sad commentary on the whole missionary movement that immigration authorities are seeking to protect their countries from the meddling of the missionaries by applying against them laws framed against the meddling of Nazi agents.

Several of the United States foreign mission boards have appealed recently to the State Department to intervene on behalf of missionaries who have been refused visas, but the Washington government very wisely has informed the boards that the interpretation of any country's laws is purely an internal matter and that the United States government cannot appeal against any government's interpretation of its own laws.

The Presbyterian *Christian Beacon* in its issue of September 10, 1942, made the following announcement:

"The Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, as well as other missionary agencies, has been told by the State Department of the United States that the door is closed to Protestant missions in Peru and other countries of South America."

It appears that the mission board mentioned in the announcement by *Christian Beacon* recently appointed several new missionaries to Peru but that the Lima government refused to grant them visas to enter and reside in the country. When Presbyterian missionary leaders in Peru appealed to the immigration authorities there they were informed that the new immigration laws do not permit the entry of religious workers. The mission leaders then took their troubles to the American Embassy in Lima which referred the matter to Washington. The State Department replied that it does not see its way clear at this time to question any South American government's interpretation of its own laws.

Since *The Christian Century* and other Protestant publications immediately branded this as a lie, it appears pertinent to quote the following from a letter written by the Rev. J. Gordon Holdcroft, D.D., General Secretary of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, under date of October 19, 1942:

"Our Board has appointed five new missionaries to Peru, but we learned from our Mission in Peru that this law (the anti-immigration law) had been passed. Through our Mission in that country we took up the question of obtaining credentials that would allow these five to enter and reside in the country, only to be told that this law would not permit it. Since the letter of the law does not forbid any religious workers from entering, after consultation with our Mission we had it present the case to the American Embassy in Lima. The American Embassy referred the matter to Washington and in time received word from Washington that the interpretation of any country's laws was purely an internal matter and that the United States govern-

ment could not appeal against that country's interpretation of its own law.

"Other inquiries of a number of Mission Boards led us to understand that most of the countries of South America have passed such laws, probably as war measures to cope with the present situation, and that there is, humanly speaking, little hope of a change during the present world emergency. In fact, we were told by the man we deem best informed upon the whole situation that only Colombia, Venezuela, and probably Bolivia would, at present, permit *new* Protestant missionaries to enter their countries. Returning missionaries can enter under certain conditions which vary in certain countries.

"We are not the only ones to have been held up in the case of Peru. The World Association of Regular Baptists have two missionaries appointed to Peru whom they are unable to send, and for the same reason."

The Christian Century in its issue of December 23, 1942, states that the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions is "a small new body of dissidents who have had difficulty in identifying themselves satisfactorily." Which is nonsense. Since the Board has its headquarters in Philadelphia, it has had no difficulty in identifying itself to the State Department. Since it has a Mission Station operating in Peru, it has had no trouble in identifying itself to the Peruvian government. If *The Christian Century* and rival missionary organizations refuse to recognize its credentials, that is typical of the whole missionary imbroglio and does not detract from the truth of Dr. Holdcroft's exposition of the measures being taken by South American governments against the missionaries.

This effort of our southern neighbors to protect themselves from our army of missionary agents is not a sudden decision. It is the eruption of many years of smoldering resentment. As long ago as 1933, the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America informed its member sects and its financial supporters that

Venezuela, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Ecuador, and Mexico had placed restrictions on the entrance into their land of foreign ordained religious workers.

This is not an attempt to close a continent to Protestants, as is being misrepresented. It is an attempt to close a group of civilized countries against an army of agents who under the false title of missionaries are seeking to undermine the Christian religion of those countries. The distinction is clear and vitally important. Practically all the American republics permit freedom of worship and there is no opposition to the Protestant churches that have been established. Nor is there any opposition to the opening of more Protestant churches. The opposition is against being classified as heathen and having Mission Stations established in their up-to-date cities, as though they were trading stations of the French colonies in Africa.

It would have been much more neighborly, of course, if Washington had recalled these trouble makers instead of putting upon the South American governments the onus of taking restrictive measures which certain quarters are certain to paint as new evidence of anti-*yanqui* feeling. It should be remembered, however, that for many years the South Americans have looked upon the missionaries as active agents of *yanqui* penetration that was considered to be anti-Brazilian, anti-Colombian, etc., and contrary to the national interests of each one of the countries in which they are operating. In the minds of Mexicans and Central and South Americans, the missionaries are active agents for that very intervention and political interference which the Good Neighbor Policy repudiates.

The Good Neighbor Policy is a formal recognition of the fact that our southern neighbors do not want our interference in their political affairs. The Washington government has signed solemn pledges at recent Inter-American Conferences that it will not under any circumstances intervene in the internal affairs of any of the American republics. Yet we continue sending

our missionary agents to interfere in their internal affairs at the same time that we are fighting with everything at our command to prevent Hitler agents from doing the same thing in our country.

The whole future of our relationship with the people of the southern Americas depends on the answer to one simple question: Are we going to treat them as heathens or as good neighbors?

THE END

Heathens + Good Neighbours ?!

APPENDIX 1

Incomplete List of American Protestant Sects, Boards, and Societies Engaged in Missionary Work in Latin America

American Bible Society
Assemblies of God, Inc.
Baptists:
  American Baptists
  Southern Baptists
Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo
Board of Missions of Congregational and Christian Churches
Bolivian Indian Mission
Brethern:
  Church of the Brethern
  Church of the Free Brethren
  United Brethern in Christ
California Holiness Mission
Christian Evangelical Church of the Temple of Jesus
Christian and Missionary Alliance
Church of the Disciples of Christ
Church of God
Church of the Nazarene
Congregational Church, Southern California Conference
Emmanuel Mission in South America
Evangelical Alliance Church
Evangelical Christian Church
Evangelical Church
Evangelical Free Church
Evangelical and Reformed Church
Gospel Missionary Union
Holiness Christian Alliance
Inland South American Missionary Union
Lutherans:
  Lutheran Synod of Missouri
  United Lutheran Church in America

Mennonites
Methodists:
  African Methodist Episcopal Church
  African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
  Free Methodist Church of North America
  Methodist Episcopal Church
  Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Mission to Araucanian Indians
Moravian Missions
New Jerusalem in the U. S. A.
New Testament Missionary Union
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World
Pentecostal Holiness Mission
Pilgrim Holiness Church
Presbyterians:
  Cumberland Presbyterian Church
  Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.
  Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America
Protestant Episcopal Church in U. S. A.
Quakers:
  California Yearly Meeting of Friends Church
  Central Yearly Meeting of Friends Church
  Friends Church in U. S. A.
  Friends Holiness Mission
  Oregon Yearly Meeting of Friends Church
Salvation Army
San Pedro Mission
Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America
Seventh Day Adventists
Society of United Brethern for Propagating the Gospel
Swedish Evangelical Mission, Covenant of America
United Christian Missionary Society
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association
Waldensian Church
World's Sunday School Association
Woman's Union Missionary Society of America

APPENDIX 2

Protestant Missionary Organizations in the River Plate Countries

(In most cases, Buenos Aires is the foreign mission headquarters for work in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay)

	Date of Founding	*No. of Foreign Missionaries*
Church of England Missionary Society in South America	1824	28
Christian and Missionary Alliance	1900	2
Assemblies of God, Inc.		3
German Evangelical Church		22
United Evangelist Mission Association		1
Hebrew Christian Alliance	1935	4
Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada		5
Armenian Congregational Church		1
Church of the Armenian Brothers		3
Seventh Day Armenians		1
Armenian Evangelical Church		1
General Conference of Seventh Day Adventists	1906	26
Samaritan Missionary Association		7
Southern Baptist Convention, Foreign Missions Board	1908	27
Danish Church		4
Church of the Disciples of Christ in Argentina	1906	5
Church of the Disciples of Christ in Paraguay	1919	10
Mission to the Indians in Eastern Bolivia (Anglican)	1923	8
Presbyterian Church of Wales	1866	2
Church of the Brothers	1909	6
Church of the Free Brothers		72
Dutch Reformed Church		2
German Congregational Church	1922	4
Christian Evangelical Church		1
French Evangelistic Mission	1881	2

Pentecostal Evangelical Church		16
Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Board of Foreign Missions	1927	19
United Lutheran Church in America, Board of Foreign Missions	1918	4
Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities (Argentina)	1917	23
Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities (Paraguay)		5
Methodist Episcopal Church	1836	22
Emmanuel Mission in South America	1923	9
Anglican Mission to Seamen		3
Norwegian Seamen's Mission		2
Church of the Nazarene		4
Presbyterian Church of Scotland	1829	5
Swedish Evangelical Mission, Covenant of America		1
Evangelical Union of South America (Anglican)	1895	18
New Testament Missionary Union	1928	33
Waldensian Church	1857	11
Women's Union Missionary Society of America		8
Salvation Army	1890	40
American Bible Society	1864	1
British and Foreign Bible Society	1825	1
Total		471

APPENDIX 3

Uruguayan Constitution of 1934
Chapter 2 of Section 2
Rights, Duties, and Guarantees

Art. 39. The State will watch over the social development of the family.

Art. 40. The care and education of the children, that they may attain their full bodily, intellectual and social capacity, is a duty and a right of the parents. Those who have a large number of offspring are entitled to assistance when they need it.

Art. 41. Parents have the same duties toward illegitimate children as toward those born in wedlock. Motherhood, whatever may be the social condition or legal status of the mother, is entitled to the protection of society and to its assistance in case of necessity.

Art. 42. The Law shall adopt measures for putting juvenile delinquency under a special régime in which woman shall have a participation.

Art. 43. The State shall pass legislation covering all questions relating to public health and hygiene, taking measures to achieve the physical, moral and social protection of all the inhabitants. It is the duty of all inhabitants to take care of their health.

Art. 44. The Law shall provide cheap and hygienic housing for the laborer by encouraging the construction of houses and communities embodying these conditions.

Art. 45. The State shall provide asylum for the poor and for those who because of physical or mental handicaps are incapacitated for work.

Art. 46. The State shall fight the social vices both by means of the law and of international conventions.

Art. 47. Governs the right of inheritance.

Art. 48. The welfare of the family shall be the subject of special protective legislation.

Art. 49. Every industrial or commercial enterprise that is organized as a trust shall be under the control of the State.

Art. 50. Puts all public service rates and charges under control of the State.

Art. 51. Usury is prohibited. It is a matter of public order that the Law shall fix the maximum rate of interest on loans. The Law shall also establish the penalties for violation. No one may be deprived of his liberty for debt.

Art. 52. Labor is under the special protection of the Law. It is the duty of every inhabitant of the Republic to apply his intellectual and corporal energies in a manner that will be useful to Society, which, in turn, will make it possible for him to support himself by his economic activity.

Art. 53. The Law will guarantee to laborers and employees complete liberty of conscience, both moral and civic; a just remuneration; a fixed number of work hours; a weekly period of leisure; and hygienic and moral surroundings. The work of women and of minors under 18 years of age will be specially limited and regulated.

Art. 54. The law will regulate the impartial and equitable distribution of work.

Art. 55. Every enterprise which by its nature requires that its personnel remain on the premises shall be obliged to provide adequate food and living accommodations, under conditions which the Law shall establish.

Art. 56. The Law shall encourage the organization of labor unions by according them legal status and freedom from taxation. The Law shall also encourage the creation of courts of arbitration and conciliation.

The strike is hereby declared to be a right of the unions and laws shall be passed regulating the exercise of that right.

Art. 57. Government employees are servants of the Nation, not of a political party. Electioneering in the places where they work or during working hours shall be illicit and punishable by law.

A civil service law shall be enacted on the basis that the government employee belongs to the job, rather than that the job belongs to the man.

Art. 58. Retirement pensions in general and social security shall be organized in a manner to guarantee to all workers, employees and laborers adequate retirement pensions and subsistence allowances in case of accidents, illness, disability, forced idleness, etc., and to their families, in case of death, the corresponding pension.

Old-age pension is a right enjoyed by everyone who has reached the age limit of his productivity after a long residence in the country and who has not the means to provide for himself.

Art. 59. Liberty of education is guaranteed.

The Law shall regulate the intervention of the State for the sole purpose of maintaining hygiene, morality, safety, and public order.

Every parent or tutor has the right to choose whatever teachers or institutions he prefers for the education of his children.

Art. 60. Relieves private schools from taxation.

Art. 61. Primary education is obligatory. The State shall provide whatever is necessary for compliance with this obligation.

Art. 62. Education free of all cost, whether of primary, secondary, superior, industrial, artistic, or physical nature, in the official State schools is hereby declared to be a social utility, as is the creation of scholarships for cultural, scientific, or technical perfection and specialization, and as is also the establishment of public libraries.

In all educational institutions special attention shall be given to the formation of the moral and civic character of the students.