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Martin Luther Frenk

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir_frenkm@csl.edu

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE WORSHIP
OF MARY OF GUADALUPE

A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary
Department of Systematic Theology

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Divinity

by
Martin Luther Frenk

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Approved by:

Arthur C. Repp

W. H. White

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE WORSHIP OF MARY OF GUADALUPE

Introduction

The Trinity of the Bible is fast becoming the Quadrinity in the Catholic Church. Mariolatry, or the worship of Mary, has become a chief characteristic of the Roman Church in our day. The doctrine of Mary's cooperation in salvation is far more developed and emphasized today than in the days of Martin Luther. Today, in Catholic books on dogma the doctrine is logically, though not Scripturally, presented in an appealing way. We are shown how death came through Eve, while life and forgiveness came through Mary. One man and woman did grievous harm to mankind, another man and woman brought reconciliation. Genesis 3: 15 is quoted to show that He would crush the serpent's head, but "He" is none other than the offspring of the Woman. True it is, they say, that Adam's guilt has universal effect on sinners today, but must not Eve bear some of the responsibility for the ruin of mankind. "If then Adam and Eve cooperated in the fall of man, there is no a priori improbability of a new Adam and a new Eve cooperated in the affairs of man's redemption."¹ Hence, Catholics today call Mary the cooperatrix in the Redemption. She is called "our Mother", for she has begotten them to a life of grace, and even as children are dependent upon their mothers, so the Catholic is

1. Raphael V. O'Connell, S.J., Our Lady Mediatrix of All Graces, page 26.

dependent upon Mary.

But what is the basis for this so-called spiritual motherhood? Catholics list three main reasons. First of all, they speak of the merit of the divine maternity. Why did God choose Mary to be the mother of the Son of God? Because, they say, she was the purest of virgins. She was distinctive, above all other women. They bid us note that God waited until Mary came before He sent His Son.

Secondly, they say that the Incarnation was not effected without Mary's free consent. At the Annunciation, it is stated, the angel asked Mary's consent for Jesus' birth. Thus, in consenting to the Incarnation, Mary cooperated directly in the redemption of the world. Marriage is not possible without the consent of both parties. And so the Son of God had to have an "alliance" with someone to bring about the salvation of men. She gave us Jesus. We cannot help but ask, what has happened to John 3, 16, "God sent...?"

Now then, the Romanists continue, by the conformity of her will to the divine will, she cooperated, she united with her Son, in the bloody sacrifice on Calvary. Thus they say, "As the Mother of all the living, she must give them life through the Passion of her Son, as the future comforter in all their sorrows, she must learn compassion through her own most grievous pangs."² Now Mary is incessantly occupied with whatever concerns us, protecting us from those things which would make void in us the Passion of her Son.

2. O'Connell, op. cit., p. 55.

Christ's death has won countless graces for us, they state. Our task is to obtain these graces. Mary "concurred" in this treasure by her consent. Hence she also has part of those graces. Thus she is called the Mediatrix of Grace. She distributes the graces which her Son has won. Yes, the Holy Ghost is the author of grace, that is, the physical and efficient cause of grace, but Mary is the distributor of those graces. Christ is the HEAD of the Church, but Mary is the NECK, the connecting channel. Catholics admit that this universal mediation of Mary was not discussed by theologians before the fifteenth century. But they say that many other doctrines were not fully discussed in the early centuries. They seem to find something, however, in John's jumping in the womb, and the wedding at Cana, to prove Mary's Mediatrix.

Mary, then, is the chief dispenser^e of graces. Catholics speak of two kinds of graces, sanctifying or habitual, and actual or transient grace. It is the latter type that is especially meant when speaking of Mary as the Mediatrix of all graces. Mary's universal mediation has as yet not been declared a dogma of the Church, but it is only a matter of time. The Immaculate Conception was taught long before it became an official teaching or dogma in 1854. Because of Mary's position as dispenser^e of graces, one immediately can see the benefits from Mary worship or devotion. She has something to offer. This conclusion is reflected in the countless shrines being dedicated to her. But as time goes on, many of these shrines take on a color of their own. The emphasis begins to lie on the shrine as the dis-

^e pens^er of grace. And so today the shrines, the statues or pictures as such are being worshipped more than the personage in back of them. Rank idolatry reigns. One of the outstanding shrines of the Virgin Mary is that of Guadalupe, just outside of Mexico City. This shrine has come into increasing importance of late due to the title recently given the Virgin of Guadalupe, with Pius XI's endorsement, namely, "Par^toness of All the America's", thus declaring this shrine as supreme in the Western World. We may expect the United States to hear far more of this shrine in the years ahead. But Guadalupe today yet is still a Mexican shrine, with a Mexican ring, and Mexican trappings. In the pages ahead we present first the history of the Guadalupe shrine, including in this a description of Guadalupe's physical growth. The second part deals with the reflections of Guadalupe in Mexican religious and secular life.

All of the Catholic sources which are quoted in this paper have the "imprimatur" and the "nihil obstat."

In conclusion, the author wishes to acknowledge with deep gratitude the helpful suggestions of Rev. B. J. Pankow of Mexico City; also of Prof. Arthur C. Repp of Concordia Seminary for his practical helps, especially in suggesting some excellent source material; also of Dr. F. E. Mayer, who first directed me to this subject; also of my sister, Eunice, who assisted my feeble efforts in Spanish, and translated large sections of major source material for me. Finally, I am grateful to my own mother for help in preparing the final draft.

II. HISTORY AND WORSHIP OF GUADALUPE SHRINE.

A. Catholic Invasion of Mexico with Cortez.

Christianity in the form of Catholicism came to Mexico in 1519 with the arrival of Hernan Cortes, the hawk-eyed, hook-nosed Spaniard who was Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish forces which conquered the land in just two years. Before the Conqueror's time, the history of our southern neighbor is wrapped in mystery about three peoples, the Mayas, the Toltecs, and the Aztecs. Little is known about all three, but they have left a record in architecture alone which indicates that culturally they all were well-developed tribes, although, in truth, they lived in abject pagan blindness. There were first of all the Mayas, an industrious people. They were especially prominent in Yucatan, and regarded a certain Zamma as their father and creator. The legend goes that when Zamma died, they divided his body into three parts, and built a huge pyramid of stone over each part. The supposed pyramids may be seen in the city of Itzamal, Yucatan. They distinguished themselves by their beautiful lintel carvings and wood sculpture. They were ambitious, peace-loving folk.

The Toltecs' architectural skill is the marvel of the modern world. Undoubtedly much of their primitive religion consisted in the worship of the heavenly bodies, for at Teotihuacan, about twenty miles from Mexico City, they built a huge Pyramid of the Sun, with a base measurement larger than the famed Egyptian pyramids. At this spot is also a Pyramid of the Moon, and a great court, called The Citadel.

with a large sacrificial altar in the center. Here was the center of the great Toltec civilization. Human sacrifices were numerous until the great deity, Quetzalcoatl, also called the "Feathered Serpent", abolished them. B.J. Pankow, in his article, "The Darkness of Ancient Mexico", informs us about Quetzalcoatl:

Perhaps more legends are woven about the life of this god than about that of any other deity in the pagan religion of Mexico...He instructed the natives in many useful arts and occupations; in addition he preached a moral religion, gaining many proselytes. However the other gods and the priests of the land, who were the defenders of the ancient cult, are believed to have been aroused to such envy by Quetzalcoatl's success, that they banished him. The exiled god, according to the legend, proceeded to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, where he bade a hasty farewell to his followers and assured them that he would some day return with his descendants to take possession of the empire. Then, stepping into his magic canoe made of serpent skins, he set out on the unknown waters for the mysterious shores of Talpallan.¹

The Toltecs disappeared as mysteriously as they had appeared. Why or where they went is unknown. Perhaps famine or pestilence or unsuccessful wars drove them from their massive monument of antiquity. They were followed by the Aztecs, who came into the marshes around Mexico City about 1325. The national god of the Aztecs was Huitzilopochtli, the god of war. Tremendous temples were erected to his honor, and continuous warfare was waged in order to maintain a steady stream of captives who could be sacrificed to the merciless and insatiable

1. Walther League Messenger, July '45, p. 435. Incidentally, today yet the birthday of Quetzalcoatl is celebrated by a group of Indians in the capital city with appropriate dances.

god. The figures given of such sacrifices is appalling, a conservative number being fifteen thousand a year. But the Aztecs also had an excellent judicial system. They further developed many uses of the maguey plant (as common to Mexico as corn is to America's Middle West), and their calendar stone, discovered in 1790, has an almost perfect system of time-reckoning. The nation continued to increase in strength, until under Moctezuma, king at the time Cortes landed, the Aztec kingdom was a mighty one.

In 1519 Cortes and his heavily-armed Spaniards arrived on the scene, and in only two years the entire nation was bowing at his feet. Why the apparent ease of conquest? Certainly a primary reason for this success is due to the Aztecs' belief that the Spaniards were gods. The Spaniards were clever men, and when they heard the Quetzalcoatl story related above, they immediately declared that they were the white brothers of this god, and that they were now returning to rule the land, according to the prophecy. So the Aztecs regarded them as the divine embodiments of that prophecy. Another point to remember in this respect is that the religion of the Spaniards did not seem to the Aztecs very much different than their own religion practices. The native rituals included the use of incense, of various sacred ointments, of holy water, fasting, self-castigation for sins, forms of confessions and charms.² With Cortes' arrival the so-called Colonial Epoch in Mexico's history began, a period which lasted to September 10, 1810 when

2. Ernest Gruening, Mexico and Its Heritage, P. 231.

Hidalgo broke the stagnant peace with his cry of "Freedom! Death to the evil government!" Cortes explained his presence on Mexican soil to Teuhtile, the first Aztec chieftain he met on the mainland, in the following words, "The Spaniards are troubled with a disease of the heart for which gold is a specific remedy." Once the Spaniards had seized control of the government they wasted no time in establishing themselves and implanting their ideas on the populace. The land was called New Spain, and the Catholic faith was declared the official and only religion of the land. Those men who did not return to Spain, to live the roistering life of a caballero on their new fortunes, used Indians promiscuously as slaves on huge farms and mines which they established. A good reflection of the abject slavery of the time was the deed of encomienda, given to a Spaniard when he received his "share" of Indian slaves. It reads as follows, translated freely by Gruening from Bartolme de las Casas' Historia de las Indias: "Unto you, so and so, are given in trust (se os encomiendan - hence these distributions were called encomiendas) under chief so and so, with the chief, so many Indians, for you to make use of in your farms and mines; and you are to teach them the things of the holy Catholic faith".³ A distinct caste system developed. The European-born Spaniard, the gachupine, stood at the top of the list, followed by the criollo, the native-born white. The mestizo, or mixed blooded individual came next, and the native Indian, who included by far the greater part of the population, was at the bottom of the list. All took

3. Gruening, op. cit., p. 14

for granted the permanent inferiority and incapacity of the Indian. It is only in very recent times that the Indian is coming into his own in Mexico's social picture. The jealous and exclusive system adopted by Spain over its new colony has no parallel in the history of mankind. For three centuries the political and commercial dependence of New Spain upon its mother country was as complete and absolute as it could possibly be. The Spanish kings were completely indifferent to the welfare of their transatlantic settlement. Freedom of the press was nonexistent, while freedom of speech and assembly were undreamt of.

What about the Catholic Church in this situation? At first, those Catholic priests who had accompanied Cortes with a real zeal for mission work in their hearts, such as Father Bartolme de las Casas, called "the Apostle of the Indians", made numerous and at times effective complaints to the Spanish authorities concerning the cruel treatment of the Indians. Casas even went so far as to refuse absolution to Spaniards who held Indian slaves, and he repeatedly crossed the ocean to plead before the court in person for his native charges.⁴ But as the corruption spread, the priests too became full-time partners in the corruption, degradation, and wealth of the Spaniards. Only three years after the Conquest Cortes wrote the clergy to seek a more virtuous life, because they were disposing of church property, given to vices and were leaving their increasing inheritances to their sons (!) and relatives.⁵

4. Gruening, *ibid.*, p. 173

5. Gruening, *ibid.*, p. 174

At one time Philip II strongly rebuked the clerics for imprisoning Indians, placing them in stocks and whipping them. But it went unheeded. The whipping of Indians by the clergy continued to the end of the colonial regime, and after.⁶

Education was in a pitiful state throughout the three hundred years of the colonial era. At its close there was not one free elementary school either in the capital or in the provinces. The other institutions of learning were in charge of friars, who were almost always ignorant and cruel. About all that was really taught was a little reading and writing. The only institute of any worth, the school of mines, was deficient in professors, instruments, and apparatus. The fact that the first university on the American mainland was founded in Mexico City in 1551 makes the educational picture all the more strange. All told, the colonial period did tremendous damage to the character of the average Mexican. It made him contemptuous of work, a vain, useless member of society, an attitude from which the Mexican nation is only now beginning to recover. Gruening has summarized the colonial epoch briefly yet concisely in the words:

It was a period of comparative peace - the peace of suppression, stagnation, and decay. Its outstanding characteristics were: Politically - absentee absolutism resting on military and religious domination, with complete denial of local self-expression and self-training, and disregard by officials of laws that it was to their interest to disregard; economically - extradition of raw materials based on slave labor, with office-holding the universal desideratum; socially - splendor and privilege contrasted with

6. Gruening, *ibid.*, p. 25, quoting from Lorenzo de Zavala's Ensayo de las Revoluciones de Mexico.

misery and degradation; spiritually - corruption, ignorance, fanaticism, intercaste hatred. Three hundred years rooted these traits deep into the Mexican social fabric - one century has not sufficed to eradicate them. No worse preparation for self-government and the evolution of a modern state could have been bequeathed to a people.⁷

It was during this colonial period that the great Guadalupan tradition came into being. The actual events of the Guadalupe legend occurred in 1531, a little over ten years after Cortes and his free booters had landed at Vera Cruz. In the course of time, Guadalupe became the "haven of rest", the Mecca of Indians of all Mexico. It became an Indian's chief ambition in life to be able to make a pilgrimage sometime to this shrine of the Indians. The legend arose during the bishopric of Zumarraga, first bishop of Mexico, who was active in his opposition to the enslavement of the Indians.⁸ The legend will first be related and then its historicity examined.

7. Gruening, ibid. p. 27.

8. Zumarraga was born in 1476 in Tabira de Durango. He was of the order of monks called the San Francisco de Asis, but it is uncertain whether he studied at the monastery of Victoria or at the one of Abrojo. In 1527 he became the prior of the Abrojo monastery. On December 6, 1528, he became the first bishop of Mexico. He is noted for three major achievements. (a) He suggested the founding of the University of Mexico. (b) He fostered mission work to North America. (c) He founded the College of Santiago Tlatelolco. He died on June 3, 1548, shortly after he had confirmed 14,000 Indians at Tepetlaoztoc. These facts from Pompa y Pompa's Historia de Las Apariciones, pp. 27f.

B. The Story of Guadalupe.

Just outside the Mexico City limits lies a little village, called Cuautitlan. In this village, back in 1531, there lived a poor Aztec Indian, Cuatitlatoatzin, called by the Spaniards by an easier name, Juan Diego. Juan belonged to the poorest type of all the Indians, called the Mazohuales. Hence he lived in a typical Indian home - four walls made of dried mud, with a roof thatched with corn stalks. The room was windowless. Juan and his wife, Maria Lucia were recent converts to the Catholic faith, since they had been baptized in 1524.¹ George Lee, in his book, Our Lady of America, says Juan was fifty five years old when the apparition took place.² The Diego's were faithful in their attendance at Mass. To attend church they had to go to Tlaltelolco, fifteen miles away from their home. In 1529 Maria Lucia died, leaving no children.³ Juan left his old home, and moved to Tolpetlac, where he had an uncle, named Juan Bernardino. Tolpetlac was closer to Tlaltelolco, where Diego attended church. On Saturday morning, December 9, 1531, Diego was hurrying through the crisp, dawn air to his church, the Church of

1. This seems to be the only real recorded date we have of his life. Pompa Y Pompa, one of Mexico's foremost historians, quotes this year in his book, Historia de Las Apariciones, p.28.

2. Lee's book, which has the Imprimatur, and The Grace of Guadalupe, by Frances Parkinson Keyes, also with the Imprimatur, are the only two major English works on our subject.

3. Some authors place her death two years after the Guadalupan apparition rather than two years before.

St. James the Greater, controlled by Franciscan fathers, to hear Mass. As he reached a high point in the hills he was crossing, called Tepeyac-"sharp point of the hills", he suddenly saw in the sky above him a shining light surrounded by a bright cloud. He heard beautiful music, and then the singing stopped and a voice asked Juan to approach. As he did so, he discovered himself gazing at a beautiful woman, the Virgin Mary. She first inquired where he was going, and then told him that she desired a temple to be built on the very hilltop on which they were standing, as a witness of her "love, compassion, succor, and protection". This Diego promised, and, after bowing, he hurried off to Mexico City, to the palace of Zumarraga, bishop of Mexico City, to report this strange apparition. The bishop listened to the Indian's story, but that was all. He thanked the ragged Juan for coming, but it was apparent that Zumarraga did not believe his story.

Juan left the city with a sad heart. He felt far too inferior to the task the Virgin had given him. But as he crossed the Tepeyac again on his way home, he saw her standing at the same spot.⁴ Juan threw himself at her feet, related his failure, and pleaded with her to choose someone of greater nobility and influence for so important a task. But the Virgin told him she desired no one else for her messenger, and entreated him to go to the bishop again the next day, December 10, Sunday.

4. Jose A. Romero, S.J., in his brief history of Guadalupe, Breve Historia de Las Apariciones y del Culto de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, even gives the time of some of these apparitions. The second apparition here took place at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

and tell the bishop that the Virgin Mary, the mother of the true God, had sent him. Juan felt strengthened again. The next morning, after attending Mass, he once more went to the palace of Zumarraga. The bishop was impressed by the earnestness of Diego, but in the end, he asked Juan to bring some kind of a sign from the Virgin, to prove his tale. Juan told this to the Virgin when he came back to the hillock that afternoon, and she promised to give him a sign the next morning.

But complications set in, for when Juan awoke the next morning, he discovered his uncle seriously ill with fever, called Cocoliztli. Bernardino felt that his end was approaching, but Juan hurried for the "doctor", who failed, however, to halt the rising intensity of the fever. Toward the close of the day Bernardino called Juan to his side and asked him to go to the Franciscan church at Tlaltelolco the first thing in the morning for a priest, that he might receive the last rites of the Church before he died. And so once again at dawn, on Tuesday, December 12, Juan hurried over the familiar road to church. As he came near the place where he had seen the Virgin, he remembered that he had failed to meet her on the day before as he had promised. Partly because he was ashamed of this, and consequently, wanted to avoid her, and partly because there was not a moment to lose with his uncle dying (and the Virgin would certainly take up some time talking to him about the sign to the bishop, etc.) Juan skirted the hill, and took a lower route, to escape her. But the Virgin saw him only too plainly and soon met him on the lower route. Juan confessed his neglect toward her, but asked her indulgence, for his uncle needed immediate attention. She answered quietly:

"Listen and take heed, least of my sons. There is nothing which thou needst dread. Let not thy heart be troubled. Do not fear this illness, neither any other illness or affliction. Am I not here beside thee; I, thy Merciful Mother? Am I not thy hope and salvation? Of what more dost thou have need? Let nothing distress or harass thee. As to the illness of thy uncle, he will not die of it. Indeed, I ask thee to accept as a certainty my assurance that he is already cured".⁵

Juan felt satisfied. She then told him to go to the top of the hill and gather the flowers he found there. When he reached the summit, he saw to his amazement great quantities of Castilian roses blooming, right out of the rocky soil, and in the dead of winter. Juan put as many as he could into his tilma, or apron-like cloak, and brought them back to the Virgin. She arranged them in his tilma and told him to take them, as the sign, to the bishop. Juan was elated, and hurried to the palace. At first the servants of the bishop treated him roughly, but when in wonderment they caught a glimpse of the roses, they hurried to the bishop to report the news. Juan was led into his presence, and after describing the fourth apparition of the Virgin, he suddenly opened the tilma, and the roses cascaded to the floor. He felt happy that he now had accomplished his task. But he suddenly noticed a strange attitude on the part of the bishop. Zumarraga arose, descended from his throne, and dropped on his knees before Juan. In his bewilderment, Juan glanced at his tilma. He was spellbound. The coarseness of it was gone. On it, in magnificent colors, was painted the image of the Virgin, just as she had

5. Keyes, op. cit., p. 49.

appeared to him on the hillock of Tepeyac. It is this very tilma, it is said, which hangs today, framed in glass, above the main altar in the Guadalupe Basilica.

Juan remained at the bishop's palace that night, but the next day he took the bishop to the spot where four times he had seen the Virgin. But Juan was anxious about his uncle, Bernardino. And so he soon asked for permission to leave and return home. The bishop consented, sending some of his household along to assist. A wave of relief came over him when he saw his uncle not only alive and sitting up in bed, but substantially improved in health. Bernardino greeted Juan with the statement that he knew all about the wonderful apparitions, for the Virgin had appeared to him shortly after Juan had left for a priest. The Virgin had told him everything, and in addition, gave him the name which her image was to bear when it was properly enshrined. Her name was to be Santa Maria de Guadalupe Siempre Virgen.⁶

That is the story of Guadalupe, a story of and for the lowly Indians of Mexico. It is a story which has been passed on more fervently from one generation to the next than the story of man's salvation itself, through Christ. A chapel dedicated to Christ occupies a side aisle in the large Guadalupe Basilica. The number of worshippers who bow the knee in this side chapel is small, very small in comparison to the thous-

6. I have followed the Tanco version, primarily, in this description of the Guadalupan apparitions. The history of the Tanco narrative will be discussed later.

ands upon thousands who worship the tilma of Juan Diego.

But what about the historicity of the legend? Is there substantial historical data to underwrite the events of Tepeyac? Both the positive and negative views will be given.

Catholic historians seek to find the first historical mention of any import in a letter which Zumarraga wrote to Cortes on December 24, 1531, which would place it about two weeks after the famed apparitions. In the letter a lot of space is devoted to routine matters, most of which is incomprehensible to twentieth-century readers. Zumarraga mentions, however, a "procession", and many Catholics have felt that this refers to the procession in which the Sacred Image was carried to its first shrine. The bishop also mentions the dedication of the Cathedral in Mexico City, telling Cortes that he wishes to dedicate it to the Immaculate Mother of God. Here the letter ends. It would seem to the casual reader that an event as amazing and unusual as the appearance of the Virgin would certainly be referred to in a much more explicit and detailed way than Zumarraga here writes. It is also strange that Zumarraga did not have accounts of the Miracle printed for his flock, since he is credited with setting up the first printing press in the Western World. Various explanations have been given for this lack. First of all, there was a serious lack of paper. In several letters, this shortage is referred to. Furthermore, it is stated, it would be unlike Zumarraga's prudence to speak much about a new INDIAN devotion. The Spanish leaders, as we pointed out, regarded the Indian as an underdog, a slave. Hence, for him to emphasize a situation where the Indian is placed on a pedestal,

where he is favored, would be an unwise thing to do. Finally, those who seek to defend the bishop's silence on Guadalupe say that the avaricious tyrants who temporarily replaced Cortes a few years after the Conquest hated the bishop-monk, and hence Zumarraga kept mum, lest they either deride him or accuse him of promoting class trouble.⁷

The earliest actual written history of Guadalupe was probably that edited by Father Lasso de la Vega in 1649. Because of its Indian diction, however, many have felt it was composed 100 years earlier, perhaps by a certain Antonio Valeriano, who was a learned and influential Indian of the first century of Spanish rule. Catholic tradition has it that Valeriano received his education at the Franciscan convent in Tlaltelolco, the very place where Juan Diego attended church. Valeriano was noted as a great narrator, and his description of the Guadalupan events is believed to have been copied word for word by la Vega. After Valeriano's death, according to Pompa y Pompa, his manuscript passed into the hands of Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl and then into the hands of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora.⁸ While Alva had the papers, he added an appendix concerning the first miracles traced to the Guadalupe shrine; so reports Lee. It is from the Sigüenza papers that Vega made his literal transcript, which also was the source then of early versions written by Braylio Sanchez, Becerra Tanco, and Francisco de Florencia. The Tanco version has been used in

Cf.
7. cfr. Lee, *Our Lady of America*, pp. 84ff.

8. Pompa y Pompa, *op. cit.*, pp. 47ff.

this thesis, which also was the version presented to the Holy See in 1667. According to Keyes, Siguenza willed the Valeriano manuscript to the College of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, from which it was later transferred to the University of Mexico. But in the war between Mexico and the United States in 1847 all the Siguenza manuscripts were carried off by the conquerors, so she states. Today no one knows where they are, although there have been various rumors that they are in the State Department, the War Department, the National archives, and several different libraries.⁹ Of course, discovery of the Valeriano manuscript would give a tremendous talking point to the defenders of Guadalupean history, for it is the only real contemporary evidence. On March 6, 1894, however, the Sacred Congregation of Rites declared the legend to be authentic and constant tradition, thus placing the definite support of the Church behind the facts of Guadalupe. It is reasoned: "In the presence of an ancient, unvarying, constant tradition, of an unanimous national episcopate, of repeated approvals of the Holy See, and of many proven miracles, what matters to us the sour and illogical carping of a few discontented unbelievers or misbelievers?"¹⁰

But there have been men equally vociferous in discrediting the story of the painted tilma. Catholics, they say, have invented the story about Fr. Francisco de Bustamente who in 1556, twenty-five years after the

9. Keyes, op. cit., pp. 177f.

10. Lee, op. cit., p. 8.

apparitions, publicly denounced his bishop Montufar, second archbishop of Mexico, for sending the laity to the shrine. Lee reports this outburst was due to the jealousy he felt because his Order (Bustamente is called the Provincial of the Franciscans) was not having charge of the Shrine. It is equally strange that absolutely no opposition anywhere is reported for approximately two hundred years. The next attack of worth is that of John Baptist Munoz in 1794. This gentleman was seeking to gain admittance to the "liberalized" Madrid Academy of History and presented a thesis, or memorial as it seemed to be called then, which sought to discredit the memorable events of Tepeyac. The argument he used was the chief argument of opponents today, namely, the significant silence of key men and historians. Catholics dismiss Munoz with the statement that he was a Jansenist, who particularly grieved about devotion to particular images and excessive devotion of the Virgin anyway.

Two other contemporaries of Munoz are worthy of brief note. A certain Dr. Bartolache set out to prove scientifically the truth of the tradition and supernatural origin of the Picture, or tilma. Lee says, "Yet his posthumous work (*Manifiesto Satisfactoris*, 1790) published by his widow, renders his good faith rather questionable." Rather than establish the truth of Guadalupe, the Doctor died with serious doubts about the story. Romero mentions a Fr. Servando de Teresa de Mier, of the order of Predicadores, who preached a sermon on Dec. 12, 1794, against the form of the apparition. He was condemned to jail, a certain convent, in Spain for ten years, but in the course of time he escaped and wrote a series of

letters impugning the apparition.¹¹

Perhaps the most important opposition of modern times was that of the Catholic historian Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta. Technically speaking, as late as 1883 the Roman Church had not yet accepted the story of Juan Diego, for in that year the archbishop of Mexico City, Labastida by name, asked the noted Icazbalceta to dig into the veracity of Guadalupe. This Icazbalceta did. The result was devastating. In a long article he vehemently discredited the story, mentioning that in all the writings of Zumarraga and contemporary historians there is not the slightest reference to the apparition. He concluded with the thought that the story of the Virgin's appearance in 1531 and the miraculous painting on the cloak of Juan must be an invention born much later.¹² What was the Church's answer to this attack? The declaration by the Congregation of Rites that now finally the legend was authentic, given, as we said before in 1894.

Regardless of the truth of the legend or not, the fact remains that today the Picture containing the tilma of Diego with the imprint of the Virgin on it is enshrined in one of the most beautiful churches in the Western Hemisphere. The next chapter will show the development of this shrine from a humble hermitage to its present magnificence.

11. Romero, op. cit., p. 90.

12. Gruening, op. cit., p. 236.

C. The Shrine.

The hills of Tepeyac had a religious meaning long before the Spanish Conquest and the appearance of the Virgin in 1531. On the site of the present church there once stood the temple of Tonantzin, patron of the tribe of the Totonqui Indians, and their Goddess of the Earth and Corn. Tonantzin means "our mother". Zumarraga could hardly have picked a better spot to dedicate a chapel to the Virgin Mary.¹ But returning to the story, we remember that Juan had taken the bishop to the place where the Virgin had appeared to him. Zumarraga immediately ordered a temporary hermitage to be built on the site. It was just a rectangular room, built of adobe and ramas, a type of clay brick. The procession of the bishop with the Picture to its new home was one of great rejoicing. In fact, the rejoicing became too exciting at one time, and it is here that the first miracle of Guadalupe occurred. The Indians had begun to toss arrows into the air to give vent to their joy. This was a dangerous thing in the midst of a crowd, but before it could be stopped one of the arrows had plunged into the throat of an Indian. He staggered and fell. The procession was halted, while a Franciscan father bent over the figure and cautiously extracted the arrow. It was not long before the wounded man again opened his eyes and praised the Virgin for his recovery. And so the day of dedication was doubly happy. Juan became the guardian of the shrine, living in a small hut next to the shrine. Catholic tradition re-

1. Gruening relates that in questioning natives in several small Mexican communities in 1923-25 he discovered many who used Tonantzin and Guadalupe interchangeably, while others could only identify Tonantzin.

lates that Juan and Zumarraga died only two days apart, Juan on June 1, and Zumarraga on June 3, 1548, both 72 years old. This first hermitage was replaced by a second one, on the orders of Archbishop Montufar, in 1554, Romero reporting September 8 as the day of dedication. At this time a priest was assigned to the little chapel. This second shrine lasted 45 years, being rebuilt again in 1600. This church today is part of the sacristy. In the same year plans were drawn up for a completely new shrine, to be built a few feet west, closer to the highway to Mexico City. This third shrine was dedicated in 1622, and served its worshippers for 72 years. Due, perhaps to Vega's extensive publication of the Guadalupe story, a tremendous increase in the number of worshippers developed at this time. In 1667 The Capilla Del Cerrito del Tepeyac, or Chapel of the Hill was built on the hillock where Juan had picked the roses. The main church, of course, was built at the bottom of the hill, where the Virgin had met Juan and arranged the roses in his tilma. The Chapel of the Hill has not been radically changed since it was built.

In 1694 two wealthy Mexicans, Buenaventura Medina and Ruiz de Castaneda, gave the impetus for a fourth and much larger structure. On March 25, 1695, according to Romero, the foundation for the church which stands today was laid, after a special church had been built nearby to house the Picture temporarily. Building this new temple was a tremendous undertaking. It took fourteen years to build, and finally, on April 30, 1709 the Picture was returned to the new church. The expenditure of the new sanctuary was over \$800,000. and this figure does not include the free materials, which were large, and the free labor of many men.²

2. Lee, op. cit., p. 141.

Perhaps to compensate for this, and also for support of the Collegiata established in connection with the Church, various bulls of indulgence were issued by Popes during this time. On August 8, 1729, the first was issued; on January 9, 1731, Clement XII issued a second bull, and on July 15, 1749, Benedict XIV ordered a third. In the same year a capitular choir was constructed down the center of the church, and a magnificent Wurlitzer organ was put in, the tone and power of which still thrills worshippers. About this time also a monument of stone sails was built by a group of sailors on the path which leads up the hillside from the main church to the Hill Chapel. They erected it in gratitude for the Guadalupean virgin saving them from a severe storm on the Gulf of Mexico. A picture of it is included in the thesis. See page . The monument was destroyed by hurricane winds on May 24, 1916. In 1754 Benedict XIV made Guadalupe a Lateran Basilica, and in 1784 a convent and church of the Capuchin Nuns were added next door, brought about primarily through the zealous efforts of a sister, Mariana Veytia. In 1797 the Church of the Well was completed, built over the spot where the Virgin had commanded Juan to get the roses.³ Also during this tremendous building program the Via Sacra Plan was being carried out. This was a plan to line the road from Mexico City with fifteen massive structures, each to signify one of the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary. This plan was barely finished before the environs of the city pushed out to the shrine, and Guadalupe became just another section of the capital city. Today Mexico City

3. The water from the spring in the church is eagerly sought after by pilgrimages who visit Guadalupe, for its healing qualities.

has grown beyond Guadalupe, and the "Via Sacra" is just another street filled with street cars, buses, and lined with shops. In 1836 an altar of neo-classic style was put in. In 1887 Leo XIII ordered the Coronation of the Virgin, which will be described later, and this gave rise to the idea of rebuilding again. From 1888 to 1895 the Picture was moved again into the chapel of the Capuchin Nuns, while the main church was extensively remodeled. The capitular choir was taken out, and placed in the apse, in back of the main altar, allowing now for a nice, wide center aisle. The floor was laid in black and white mosaic, while the rest is pearly white marble. The interior is rich in the Byzantine style, while the prevailing colors used in the ornamentation are white and gold. A pulpit of solid marble was installed. Five huge pictures were hung on the two side walls, each reported to cost \$4,000.00. They depict the first miracle (the Friar pulling the arrow out of the Indian's throat), the Vocation of the Indians, the Information of 1666, the Embassy to Benedict XIV, and the Oath of Patronage. These latter events are related in the next chapter. On September 30, 1895, the Picture was returned, and on October 12, the Coronation took place, referred to as "the most auspicious event that Catholicism has registered in America".⁴

Certainly as you enter the church today your attention is immediately focused on the famed Picture, encased above the main altar in silver and gold, and framed by two white columns. On both sides of the altar are two white marble kneeling figures. The one on the left is the

4. Lee, op. cit., p. 259

Franciscan, Zumarraga, and on the right, Juan Diego. Both are gazing upward at the Picture. The Picture is said to depict the Immaculate Conception. It pictures the Virgin with her head bent slightly downward and her hands folded in prayer. She is wearing a rose-colored robe, interlaced with gold, which covers her feet, and also partly conceals a crescent on which she is standing, which in turn, is supported by a little angel. Over the robe she wears a blue mantle, which is studied with stars. Golden rays from her person completely encircle her. The background is very plain, of a deep creamy color. The Virgin, of course, has typical Mexican facial features. In 1750 Miguel Cabrera and several other high-ranking painters examined the painting closely. Among other things, they said that the Picture is of thinner texture than ordinary sacking; its rough vegetable fibres stand out, making for a very coarse texture. The cloth is more than two yards in length, and more than one yard in width, and a seam runs right through the middle of the cloak, just missing the face. The material has been called "the most unsuitable material that a human artificer could choose".⁵ This group of painters mentioned above also refer to the fact that there seem to be several kinds of coloring. The face and hands are oil-painted, while the mantle is in water colors, and the tunic in gum coloring. Part of the background seems to be what painters call "labored distemper", a thick laying on of color as in wood or wall painting.

The picture was not always treated as carefully as it is today.

5. See Lee, op. cit., for a long discussion on this, pp 117ff.

It was put under glass in 1647, and after that annually or even oftener the glass was removed. Cabrera, the painter, mentions that in 1753 one time for a period of about two hours, the canvass was touched more than 500 times with objects handed up to the priests from the crowd. Today, of course, the Picture is permanently encased in the altar.

One is impressed by the constant stream of Indians, most with candles or votive lights in their hands, slowly crawling down the center aisle toward the altar, which is always flanked by huge bouquets of flowers, a far cheaper and abundant item in Mexico than in the United States. Most of the worshippers, however, do not end their worship in front of the main altar. In fact, one suspects that the real rendezvous of the Indians is a small room off the Santisimo Chapel, for in this room is an image of the Virgin, encased in glass, and there is a constant crowd about the case, tenderly rubbing the glass and then themselves. Next to the case is a large oven-like grille on which dozens of candles are burning. Here the Indians leave the candles they have been carrying from the doors of the church. At intervals, the man in charge of this grille sweeps the candles off the grille, and places a new group of candles on it. The walls of this room and the anteroom leading into it are completely covered with small pictures, each depicting and explaining some miracle which the Virgin has performed in some Indian's simple life. Testimonials of thousands of cures are found here. Somehow one has the impression that the Church feels slightly ashamed of this, and hence has placed it here, out of the main way of traffic. In the Santisimo Chapel enclosed in a case is a bent form of a crucifix lying on a soft pillow.

This crucifix, which once graced the main altar, and whose case the Indians reverently kiss and rub, is the victim of the famous Dynamite Plot of November 14, 1921. The days of 1920-1940 were severely anti-Church days. On the day mentioned, a bomb which had been planted under the altar exploded, destroying the crucifix, bending the candlesticks, and causing other damage. The Picture was unharmed.

This is the shrine of Guadalupe. But one would be foolish who imagined that Guadalupe was confined to these bricks and mortar. Guadalupe has been the rallying point for political as well as religious movements in the national life of Mexico. In the next chapters reflections of Guadalupe in the religious as well as the civil phase of Mexican life will be examined.

III. REFLECTIONS IN MEXICAN LIFE.

A. The worship, religious life.

"It is true that immediately after the conquest some apostolic men, some zealous missionaries, mild, gentle conquerors who were disposed to shed no blood but their own, ardently devoted themselves to the conversion of the Indians. However, these valiant men, because of their fewness, because of the difficulty of learning various languages, and of the vast extent of our territory, obtained, in spite of their heroic efforts, but few and limited results. But scarcely had the Most Holy Virgin of Guadalupe appeared, scarcely had she touched and sanctified our happy soil with her heavenly footsteps, and taken possession of this her inheritance, when the Catholic Faith spread, with the rapidity of light from the rising sun, through the wide extant and beyond the bounds of the ancient empire of Mexico."¹

Catholics see in the Guadalupe event the reason for the growth of the Catholic Church in Mexico and beyond.² They tell us that between 1521 and 1531, the first ten years of Spanish rule, approximately one million natives were baptized, while the ten years after the Apparition brought ten million into the church. Guadalupe was a tremendous psychological boost for the church, for it made the Indian feel he "belonged" to this new religion which the new Spaniards had just brought into their country. But aside from the initial facts of Guadalupe, there have been several major events during the course of years, which have in a special

1. Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 198 quoting from the sermon delivered by Dr. Ibarra of Chilapa at the Coronation of the Image in October, 1895.

2. Religious News Service, in its release of January 17, 1947, states that today there are 525 churches dedicated specifically to her, more than 90% of these being in the United States.

way influenced the worship, the religious life of the Mexican people in their relation to Guadalupe. Summarily, they are the Patronage, the four great centennial celebrations of the Apparition, the Coronation of the Image in 1895, and the yearly celebration of the "Mother's Birthday" on December 12th, a national holiday in Mexico. We shall discuss them in that order. They are not necessarily chronological.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the Mexican hierarchy started a movement to have the Image canonized. This resulted in a definite petition being sent to Rome, along with necessary documents about the facts of Guadalupe. This was done in the 1660's. However, the plan was a failure. The Papal court strongly opposed it, primarily, one suspects, because of national jealousy, for the Italian leaders of the church were very nationalistic at the time, as even Lee admits.³ It was some 60 years later that the movement received a sudden burst of support, for in 1736 a plague broke out in Mexico that reached large proportions. As the plague grew, the cry arose to officially recognize the Virgin of Guadalupe as the Patroness of the City. This was done on April 27, 1737. At this time they also decided to celebrate the twelfth of December as a church holiday every year. What was the result of this declaration? Romero reports that on the day this was proclaimed only four people were buried, the next day only two, and the third day later - none. The epidemic had killed more than 40,000 in Mexico City alone, and 54,000 in Puebla.⁴

3. Lee, op. cit., p. 21.

4. Romero, op. cit., p. 68.

So much publicity was given to this incident that practically every home in Mexico soon had a picture of the Virgin of Guadalupe enshrined on one of its walls.

It was during the days of Benedict XIV that the effort was made to have the Virgin declared Patroness of New Spain. Francisco Lopez, S.J. led a delegation to Rome, and when Benedict viewed a painting of the Virgin, stroked by the famous Cabrera, he uttered the words which have since been the motto of Guadalupe: *Non fecit taliter omni nationi*. On May 25, 1754, he issued the brief or bull "*Non est Equidem*", in which he declared her the Patroness and Protectress of New Spain. He also mentions a list of indulgences and special favors for Guadalupe.⁵ To make a long story short, the Patronage of Guadalupe was extended on August 24, 1910, by Pope Pius X to include all of Latin America, while today she is Patroness of all the Americas, the latter term being given her at the crowning of a replica statue in the Mausoleo del Calvario church in Los Angeles on June 6, 1937, with Pius X's endorsement.⁶

To the four centennial celebrations of the Apparition might be applied the Shakespearean phrase: All things are with more spirit chased after than enjoyed. Ill fate seems to have blighted two of the celebrations. The first one, in December 1631, occurred during a devastating

5. There has been some arguing on the language of the bull. The phrases "dicatur, fertur, pie creditur" are used, seeming to imply a hedging on the part of the Pope. It is also significant that in the revised lessons re the legend such a word as *dicatur* has been changed to: "as it has been handed down by a long-standing and constant tradition".

6. Romero, op. cit., p. 68.

flood in Mexico City, which reduced the rejoicing planned for the occasion. To the second centennial, 1731, the neighboring cities were invited. Homes of the city were illumined for this celebration, a custom which is practiced now yearly on December 12. The 1831 centennial was celebrated on December 26, 27, and 28. To the 1931 affair Archbishop Diaz invited all the prelates of the Latin American countries. But because of the persecution of the time, especially from 1926 on, the Church had to celebrate "moderately".⁷

The Coronation of the statue in 1895 was a milestone in Guadalupe's history. The coronation of images in the Catholic Church has come into prominence especially the last three centuries. In 1636 an Italian Count, Alexander Sforza Pallavicino, left some of his property to the Chapter of St. Peter's for the express purpose of furnishing crowns for the more famous statues of the Virgin. Since that time a definite ritual has developed about the crowning ceremony. Certain conditions must be met. The statue to be crowned must be famous for antiquity, miracles, and public veneration.⁸ The first efforts toward Coronation were instigated by a layman, Italian, Lorenzo de Boturini, who in a rather impetuous way started such a movement while he was writing a history of Guadalupe and America in Mexico. But the gentleman seems to have had a sharp tongue, for he soon aroused the ire of the Mexican Church leaders and Rome prelates by his insistence that Sforza's fund be directed toward the Coro-

7. See Romero, op. cit., pp. 93ff.

8. Lee, op. cit., pp. 251ff.

nation of the Guadalupe statue. In the course of events, Boturini's priceless manuscripts, maps, and engravings were seized, and he was thrown into prison. Somehow his papers were shipped to Spain. In 1744 Boturini followed his work to Spain. But by this time his interest had begun to wane. He never did get to see his manuscripts again, for he died before they were returned. In time, his papers were shipped back to the Secretary of the Viceroy in Mexico again, where they were treated like so much scrap. ⁹

It was two centuries later before Boturini's plan was put into effect. On September 24, 1886, the Archbishops of Mexico, Michoacan, and Guadalajara presented the Pope, Leo XIII with a petition for the Coronation of the Image. The Pope gave his consent on March 12, 1887, and plans were made to have the ceremonies on December 31, 1887. But the latter date soon became more than obsolete, for not only was this too little time for the land of mañana to prepare for such an occasion, but the ida soon sprouted forth to rebuild the Basilica to befit the Coronation. And so from February 23, 1888, to September 30, 1895, the Picture was located in the nearby capuchin Convent chapel while extensive remodeling took place in the main church.

Also during these eight years the crown was made, a truly magnificent item. A Parisian goldsmith, Edgar Morgan, was chosen to execute it. Today it is the "showpiece" of Guadalupe. Lee gives us, perhaps, the best description of the crown:

9. See Keyes, op. cit., pp. 137ff.

"The Crown itself is a treasury of instruction and a monitor of Catholic piety. It is symbolic - resting firmly on the dioceses and archdioceses with their medallions and escutcheons running up in Tepeyac roses and starry brilliants, and terminating in a diamond Cross. The Angel of the Apparitions is well represented in the six figures of archangel that form a round, holding between them, two and two, the six archiepiscopal shields. The flowers recall Juan Diego; the heraldic eagle on the globe is national; and the sign of faith and redemption crowns all. The design is Mexican; the execution - as the best was sought - is Parisian. The work cost thirty thousand dollars."¹⁰

The Coronation itself took place on October 12, 1895. It was complete with the drama and ritual that the Catholic Church musters for such an occasion. Romero lists 38 prelates among those who attended, over 100 priests, and a huge mass of people, most of whom were unable to even get near the Church. The actual crowning, performed by the Archbishops of Mexico and Michoacan, took place about noon on that day, and was accompanied by a shout from the witnesses both inside and outside the church. Leo XIII, who had ordered the Picture crowned in his name and inscribed with a Latin verse composed by himself, on this occasion added several features to the special Office at Guadalupe. For instance, he granted eighty days of indulgence to the recital of one Hail Mary with the invocation, Holy Mary of Guadalupe, pray for us!! Pompa y Pompa points out that this was not the first crowning of the Guadalupan Virgin. In 1890, in Arsoli, Italy, a statue sent from Mexico had been crowned. The third crowning took place in Abino, Italy. The man responsible for this Coronation

10. Lee, op. cit., p. 256.

was Federico Gambarelli, noted Italian tenor, who, as the story goes, made the crown with his own hands.

A statue of the Virgin in the San Nicoli Church in Rome was reported to have moved its eyes and so on January 25, 1525, it was crowned. Subsequent Coronations took place in Jerusalem, July 16, 1926, in Santa Fe, Argentina, April 22, 1928, in Rome, 1933, and in Los Angeles, June 6, 1937.

But no event reminds the average Mexican today more of Guadalupe than the yearly celebration of Guadalupe Day on December 12th. By a decree of Congress in 1828 December 12th was declared a national religious holiday, to be celebrated accordingly. It has been said that four features characterized pagan rituals in Mexico, namely, offerings, lavish use of flowers, dancing, and eating and drinking.¹¹ Guadalupe Day today witnesses much the same. In Catholic churches throughout the nation special notice of the Apparition is taken, while at the Basilica itself the atmosphere is one of rejoicing. In front of the church all day the so-called "Dance of the Shells" is performed by Indians who come from all parts of the country. The dance is named after tortoise shells which form the "mainstay" of guitar-like instruments which they play as they dance. By time evening comes, ribaldry invades the celebration. "Intoxication is an invariable feature of Guadalupe Day".

But the influence of Guadalupe is not limited to the religious field. Separation of Church and State is in its embryonic state in Mexico. Today Guadalupe has permeated the civil, so-called secular life of the average Mexican in an amazing degree, of this more in the next chapter.

11. Gruening, Mexico and Its Heritage, p. 239.

B. The Civil, Secular Life.

The history of Mexico is a story by itself, as fascinating and bombastic as any nation's history could be. In summary, we feel we are not wrong in saying it is one constant struggle between the Roman Church and the State for power. The great heads which arose and then sank into oblivion were either tools of the Church or enemies of the Church, that is, down until recent times, when a balance of power developed, whereby each seems to recognize the other as a necessary evil. But we cannot enter into Mexican history to any great extent. Specifically those events in which Guadalupe played a prominent role will be noted.

The Virgin of Guadalupe has been the rallying point and inspiration for many political ideals. Perhaps she played her greatest role in the Independence of 1810. From 1520 to 1810 Mexico was as complete and obliging a vassal of Spain as any colony could be. But in 1808 Napoleon crossed the Pyrenes, and Ferdinand II of Spain capitulated. At this, Viceroy Iturrigaray, the real head of government in Mexico at the time, started thinking about electing a local government to hold the country safe at least until the exiled king could return. The clergy of Mexico and the Spanish leaders were completely opposed to any such thought, for their power lay in Spanish rule and domination, obedience to the king as an article of faith, etc.¹

1. The Church had become the national money lender by this time. For instance in Mexico City alone in 1790, out of 3387 houses on the city's register, 1935 belonged to the church. See Gruening, op. cit., p. 183.

As a result, the Viceroy was seized, imprisoned in the Inquisition, and eventually deported to Spain. This was the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. It was the reason why on September 16, 1810, in the local church of Dolores, state of Guanajuato, Miguel Hidalgo, parish priest, cried out, "Open your eyes! Do not let our enemies deceive you. They are Catholics for political purposes only. Their God is money. Do not listen to the seductive voices which beneath the cloak of religion desires to make you victims of insatiable greed". Hidalgo, born in 1753 of native whites, was a thinker, dreamer. He had done much in his little town to raise the standards of the people, establishing pottery and textile works, tanneries, planting grape-vines, and teaching bee-culture among other things. He was loved by his people, and so they immediately supported his views of independence. "The Virgin of Guadalupe will help us" was the cry. Hidalgo had as his famous standard the Indian Virgin, and as the movement gained ground, standards of the Guadalupean Virgin were leading processions everywhere throughout the nation. Of course, Hidalgo was excommunicated, and so there is truth to the statement that "the Mexican nation was born excommunicated". Hidalgo, called variously an heretic, atheist, apostate and follower of Martin Luther, was murdered only six months after he began his independence movement, but Jose Maria Morelos, a parish priest from a neighboring town, carried on the program. Morelos was assisted by a new constitution sent from Spain, which now had room for public elections and other freedoms. The subsequent elections went bad for the clergy and Spanish leaders. Luckily for them, however, the throne was reestablished in Spain in 1815 and the democratic constitution was immediately withdrawn. The clergy again was all-

powerful and in the same year Morelos was seized, and the Inquisition declared him to be "formally a heretic, a propagator of heresy, pursuer and disturber of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, profaner of the holy sacraments, schismatic, lascivious, a hypocrite, irreconcilable enemy of Christianity, traitor to God, King, and Pope".² Following this, the gentleman was released to the "secular arm" for execution. The ironic thing about this is that in 1821 the hierarchy staged a complete turn-about and sought the independence which for ten years they had helped suppress. This was due to the re-introduction of the democratic constitution of 1812 in Spain, mentioned above. But Guadalupe had become the symbol for freedom from oppression.

Because of Guadalupe's political potential, it has often been suspected of being the center of political intrigue. Hence, several "irreverences" have befallen the shrine. In 1861, when Juarez, leader of the Reform movement, which was the first distinct effort to separate church and state, entered the Mexican capitol, secret police swarmed down upon the Basilica and searched the church and grounds thoroughly for weapons. In the process, several chalices, and other valuable objects were taken. A furore was raised, and Juarez ordered the articles returned. Juarez' progressivism gave way eventually to Porfirio Diaz' military dictatorship, which lasted from 1876 to 1911. The church enjoyed rich growth under him, great freedom. For instance, the Coronation took place during the reign of Diaz. But, as Gruening

2. Gruening, op. cit., p. 32.

describes it, the whirlwind came in 1910, with the start of the Revolution, which down to the present day has stymied the Church, sometimes very harshly.³ The dynamite plot of 1921, mentioned earlier, is but one reflection of the bitter animosity that has prevailed against the Roman Church.

Does this mean that the average man today in Mexico is an enemy of Guadalupe, of the Church? Far from it. The common Mexican laborer today is faithful to his church, regardless of what the "communist" government leaders tell him. The Virgin of Guadalupe is incapable of error. She is the great defender, protector of the common man. It is amazing to see the prominence of her statues everywhere. She adorns thousands of fountains throughout Mexico. She may be seen on countless army medallions and flags, preserved in the Chapultepec Museum in Mexico City. She is found on all sorts of coins struck for various national events. She is carved into the headpiece of beds and other furniture sold in the land. She is omnipresent, even being an essential item in the taxicabs and buses. The author remembers a night bus trip from Oaxaca to Mexico City, during which the bus was in complete darkness except for a small light that illuminated a tiny statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe in the front of the bus. Everywhere a Mexican turns he sees the Virgin. The average Mexican feels no anger or irreverence in seeing her picture on the National Lottery tickets sold daily on every street of the national capitol. She is on the labels of standard medicines, on the bottles of drinks, universally used, on

3. Gruening, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

paper weights, household utensils, etc. Thus she has completely permeated the secular life of the Mexican.

But in other areas she is strangely absent. The number of schools, educational institutions, dedicated to the Virgin is pitifully small. Why? Because the number of schools is small. In 1794 there were only 10 primary schools in all of New Spain, and popular education was unknown in Mexico before the Revolution of 1910. "Illiteracy was variously estimated at from 80 to 85 per cent... Rural schools were virtually non-existent".⁴ Popular education became a concrete thing during the Obregon administration of the early 1920's. Today the government, in the face of a passive resistance from the church, is yearly expanding its expenditures for education, establishing, for instance, 12,000 rural schools alone in the 6 year period from 1929 to 1935.⁵ Today over 50 per cent of the children are in schools. But it is education devoid of Christianity, often anti-Christian.

The great curative powers of the Virgin, so graphically related and painted in many places, has not as yet affected the general health of the Mexican populace. Figures can be shown which give the death rate of Mexico City as being higher even than such Asiatic and African cities as Madras and Cairo, which makes it considerably above the average of the United States or Europe. There are more prostitutes in Mex-

4. Gruening, op. cit., p. 515.

5. Charles Macfarland, Chaos in Mexico, p. 17.

ico City than in Paris. Today, especially since the Calles' administration, real attacks are being made on Mexico's ill health.

What is the present government's attitude toward the Guadalupean shrine, and the Catholic Church? The doors of the shrine, of course, are open, and thousands of humble Indians continue to flock to their "gateway to heaven". But today Guadalupe has not the unlimited power of fifty years ago. The present situation dates broadly from the Constitution of 1917, which forbade monastic orders, nationalized all church property, gave State legislatures the right to determine the number of ministers of each creed according to the needs of the locality, allowed only Mexicans to be priests or ministers, and stated that permission to build new churches had to be obtained from the government's Department of Gobernacion. But many phases of this Constitution were not enforced until 1926, when the last revolution instigated by the Church was put down. Drastic measures were taken. Many churches were closed. All nuns were banished from Mexico. No priestly garments were allowed on the streets. Even more stringent rules came in December, 1931. Many bishops were deported. No religious periodicals were allowed in the mails. Between November 11, 1931 and April 28, 1936, more than 480 Catholic churches, schools, orphanages, and hospitals were closed by the government or converted to other uses in Mexico City alone.⁶ The number of priests allowed dropped from 4,493 to 230 plus. Almost all of these restrictions are still

6. See Graham Greene, Another Mexico, pp. 69ff.

carefully enforced to the present day. Today the government is following out its agrarian reform, redistribution of land, mostly church land, for the church owned half of the real estate of the country.

In conclusion, we wish to state that it is difficult to give a detailed picture of Mexico and Guadalupe today because the country is undergoing a tremendous change. Since the Madero revolution of 1910, in fact, the transformations have been kaleidoscopic and phenomenal. We have felt the necessity of including political matters in this paper, because the religious situation in Mexico is overwhelmingly determined by the politics of the day. The following words graphically describe the status of the Church in Mexico today even though they were written a decade ago.

"The Mexican's religion is his individual reaction to Catholicism. Instead of conquering Mexico, with an exclusive opportunity to do so for three centuries, the Catholic church has been conquered by it. Politically the church has been chained, economically its power has been nullified, ritualistically it has become adulterated by the paganism it found, morally it has succumbed to the vices of the laity. Its greatest defeat has been on its own ground in the kingdom of the spirit".⁷

Through the Guadalupan shrine the church in Mexico has been helped in keeping the common man "on its side", for this shrine honors the common Indian. The implication of this, especially since Communism is rearing its head noticeably in the land, can only mean that in the years ahead Guadalupe will be emphasized anew and may become the focal

7. Gruening, op. cit., p. 273.

point of the Roman Church's counter-movement. Certain it is that today Guadalupe is one of the strongest forces in Catholic influence in Mexico. The Catholic Church can be expected to utilize this force.

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