

Latin American Politics

The Catholic Church and State in Mexico during the Age of Porfirio: Hidden Conflicts*

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Abstract: The implementation of the reconciliation policy of the Mexican Díaz government has eased the tension between the government and the Catholic Church. In the early days, both parties obtained good benefits from it. However, this reconciliation policy has inherent contradictions and flaws. It itself This means that the Mexican liberal anti-clerical struggle has stagnated since independence. In subsequent practice, related issues have been continuously exposed and deepened with the growth of modernity and the emergence of modernization crises during the Porfirio period, resulting in Mexico's church problems It continued to exist and expand in a secret way during this period. On the one hand, the implementation of the reconciliation policy and the emergence of Mexican social problems in the early 20th century greatly stimulated the revival of the Mexican Catholic Church and the rise of the Catholic social movement. The latter It reflects the determination and desire of the Mexican Catholic Church to lead social change during the formation of the Porfirio modernization crisis. On the other hand, the growth of modernity during this period strengthened the secular power and strengthened the existing anti-clerical power in Mexican society. The incoordination between the above two aspects gradually constituted a potential threat to the religious policy and the relatively harmonious relationship between church and state during the Díaz administration, and ultimately led to the complication and reconstruction of the relationship between the Mexican Catholic

Church and the government. Realization Keywords: Porfirio Díaz reconciliation policy church-state relations Catholic Church catholic social movements

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The church problem in Mexico has been around for a long time. It originated from the special symbiotic relationship model between royal power and religious power formed during the Spanish colonial period. Later, the church system was relatively completely preserved as an important legacy of the old system. Since independence, church problems have always troubled Mexico. With the construction of the modern nation-state in Mexico, the conflict between church and state was extremely fierce and occupied the political stage for a long time. However, in the last quarter of the 19th century, the church issue in Mexico seemed to have suddenly eased. This relative calm made it an episode in the historical process of fierce political and religious conflicts in Mexico since independence. Mexico's liberals have almost realized the long-sought ideal of separation of church and state, and the Catholic Church seems to have begun to be included in the modern political system and secular society. However, after the revolution broke out in 1910, the relationship between church and state in Mexico once again broke down. How to recognize and understand this episode has become a relatively important and complex issue. Judging from the research paradigms and academic achievements of foreign academic circles, religious issues. The recurrence and complication during the revolutionary period cannot be explained as a ruptured historical phenomenon, but require a more in-depth examination of the interactive relationship between the Mexican Catholic Church and the state in the second half of the 19th century, in order to explore the inner history of the formation of this conflict. Continuity, that is, discovering the hidden continuities (hidden continuities) in the historical development of modern Mexico advocated by revisionist historians and the New Cultural History School.

At present, there is no specific discussion on the church issues during the Porfirio Díaz period in domestic academic circles. It is generally included in the overall analysis of various policies during the Díaz government.

For a discussion of the theories and methods of studying modern Mexican history, see Gilbert M Joseph and Daniel Nugent (eds) *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham and London: Duke University Press 1994). About Porphyry. The main approach to exploring the relationship between the Mexican Catholic Church and the state during the Porfirian era includes the discussion of traditional church-state relations, with particular emphasis on analyzing the church policy of the Díaz government itself, as well as the relationship between the clerical leadership and the Díaz regime. As a result of the Mexican Revolution, it unfolds against the historical background of the political and religious conflicts of the period. It focuses on the social and political activities of the Catholic Church, focusing on examining the historical impact of the rise and development of the Catholic social movement. See Emilio Portes Gil *The Conflict between the Civil Power and the Clergy: Historical and legal essay* (Mexico D F Press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1935); Karl M Schmitt *"The Díaz Conciliatory Policy on State and Local Levels 1876-1911"*, in *The Hispanic American Historic Review* Vol 40 No 4 1960 pp 513-532; Karl M Schmitt *"Catholic adjustment to the Secular State: The Case of Mexico 1867-1911"* in *The Catholic Historical Review* No 2 1962 pp 182-204; Alicia Olivera Sedano *Aspectos del conflicto religioso de 1926 a 1929: Sus antecedentes* (Mexico: To the Nacional de Antropología e Historia 1966); Robert D Conger *Porfirio Díaz and the Church Hierarchy 1876-1911* (PhD Dissertation: Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico 1985); Randall Scott Hanson *The Day of the Revolution: Mexican Revolution 1867-1911* (Bloomington: Indiana University 1994) (ed) *Religious Culture in Modern Mexico* (Rowman & Littlefield Publications Inc 2007); *Religious Culture in Modern Mexico* (ed) (Durham and London: Duke University Press 2009); Marta Eugenia García Ugarte *La Iglesia y el Porfiriato* (Distrito Federal: Observatorio de la Historia 1902-1914) 4 pp 15-52.

At present, the academic community refers to the historical stage from 1876 to 1910 as the "Porfirio era/period". If it involves specific political government or regime, it is generally expressed as "Díaz government/regime".

or as the background of the anti-clerical movement in Mexican history. These articles did not develop a more specific discussion of the many aspects of church issues in Porfirio's era, leading to a lack of understanding of the growth of Mexican modernity and the relationship between this historical period. The understanding of the history of the changes of the Catholic Church tends to be simplistic. Study the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Mexican modernity during this period when it was rapidly growing and gradually falling into crisis.

The relationship between countries not only helps to understand and grasp some basic characteristics of the political and religious relations in Mexico during the Porfirio period, but also helps to analyze and understand the historical trend of the political and religious relations in Mexico after the Great

Revolution. This article attempts to review the Díaz government. On the basis of the shift in religious policy, this paper analyzes the innovation and growth of the Mexican Catholic Church during this period, as well as the rise and development of Catholic social movements in the context of intensified social problems in Mexico, focusing on examining various related forces or ideologies under the growth of modernity, and the conflicts behind the reconciliation policy, in order to present a more complete historical evolution of the relationship between the Mexican church and the state during this period, summarize the main historical characteristics of the Mexican church issues during this period, and reveal some potential problems behind the religious policies of the Díaz government and its historical impact.

A shift in the religious policy of the Díaz government

In the second half of the 19th century, the Mexican government's church policy underwent a major change. During the reestablishment of the Republic, the Mexican government's church policy experienced a process of first relaxing and then tightening. The Díaz regime chose to negotiate peace with the Catholic Church and seek compromise. unity

(1) Repetition of the government's church policies during the reestablished republic.

In 1867, Mexican liberals represented by Benito Juárez completely defeated the domestic conservative forces and the French invaders, and rebuilt the country on the ruins of the war. The radical anti-clerical cause of the liberals came to an end. In order to ease social conflicts, resume production and rebuild social order as soon as possible, the Juárez government had to change its previous radical stance towards the Catholic Church and began to become more conservative on social reform issues. Regarding church issues, in addition to continuing to implement measures such as secularization of society and nationalization of church property, the Juárez government also began to try to adopt a relatively moderate attitude and pragmatic strategy, handing over some anti-clerical legal provisions to the Implemented by local governments, some illegal acts against clergy

See Jin Jichu: «On Porfirio Díaz», in "World History", Issue 2, 1983, pp. 63-72. Zhang Jiatang: «On the Rise and Fall of Porfirio Díaz's Regime», in «Journal of Xiangtan University» (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), No. 4, 1996, pp. 51-53, 64. Gu Bei: «On the Anti-clerical Movement and the Modernization of Mexico», published by Han Qi, Zhang Peng, Dong Guohui Editor-in-Chief: «Latin American Culture and Modernization», Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2013, pp. 150-159, Han Qi, Li Chao: «The Anti-clerical Movement and Its Evaluation in the Mexican Revolution», in «Journal of Sichuan University» (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), Issue 3, 2016, Pages 23-31.

Juarez's change was driven by the need to win over conservative forces in the church. In his view, the church issue in Mexico was no longer of importance. It had already been transformed by the previous "reform war" and get a more "satisfactory solution"

However, Juarez's successor Lerdo (Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada) did not inherit this part of his ideas. Instead, he took a tough stance against the Catholic Church. The Lerdo government strictly implemented various laws and strongly opposed the Catholic Church. group activities, expelled religious clergy, confiscated church property, and supported the spread of Protestantism. In addition, the government also incorporated all "reform laws" into the new constitution of 1873. The "Institutional Reform Law" enacted at the end of 1874 reiterated It stipulates the separation of church and state, religious tolerance, jurisdiction over civil matters, church property, education, clerical uniforms, and venues for religious activities outside the church. Lerdo's radical tendency on religious issues has caused serious consequences, and some liberals are worried The federal government was worried about having too much power, and the church continued to protest and tried to seek political support from the opposition. As a result, various forces opposed to the Lerdo regime began to gather. Among them, the Mexican Catholic Church chose to support Porfiriodia General Si's Rebellion

(2) The establishment of the church reconciliation policy

of the Díaz government. The strong centralization of the Lerdo government harmed the interests of local powerful factions. In 1876, his regime was overthrown by General Porfirio Díaz from Oaxaca. From then on, ink began

1856-1910 PhD Dissertation lowa: State Univer The Reform War (1858-1961) refers to the Mexican liberals represented by

Juárez who came to power in the mid-19th century. To deconstruct the privileges of conservative forces such as the church and the military The war between liberals and conservatives was triggered. Beginning in November 1855, the liberal government promulgated a series of reform laws aimed at depriving the church and the military of their privileges, such as the Juarez Law on litigation procedures. The Act prohibiting the possession of real estate by secular and ecclesiastical groups (also known as the "Lerdo Law"), the «Constitution of 1857», the «Ley Iglesias Law» (Ley Iglesias) aimed at limiting parish fees, etc., triggered by the above-mentioned laws It led to the rebellion of conservative forces such as the church, which eventually led to the three-year reform war.

During the Reform War, the Juárez liberal government promulgated a series of radical anti-clerical reform bills in 1859, collectively referred to as the

"Reform Law". The "Reform Law" stipulated: complete separation between church and state, and the seizure of all church property. State-owned, civil servants are prohibited from attending religious activities, all monasteries are banned and the novitiate system of convents is abolished, parish fees are voluntary, weddings are secularized, births, marriages, deaths and other civil affairs registration systems are implemented, divorce is legalized, priests are prohibited from operating cemeteries etc. See [English] Edited by Leslie Bethel, translated by the Institute of Latin American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "Cambridge History of Latin America" (Volume 3), Beijing: Social

Sciences Literature Press, 1994, pp. Pages 466 - 467 Diez y Nuevę 14 de diciembre de 1874 Some scholars

believe that the church gave financial support to Diaz's rebellion. See Fra. nisco Bulnes z de la Puente Editor 1920 pp 90- 91 Emilio Portes Gil

The Pressure of the Ministr y

Another factor is the choice of national development strategy. The Díaz government, under the leadership of the "scientists", advocates "order and progress". Its governance strategies mainly include: taking care of foreign capital, especially the maintenance of American capital interests, to promote economic development, strengthen ties between Mexico and Europe, to balance the influence of the United States, maintain social and political stability at all costs, and create necessary conditions for the country's modernization process. Each of Díaz's above-mentioned governance strategies has a great impact on Mexico. The evolution of the relationship between church and state has had a profound impact: along with American capital came the expansion of Protestant forces in Mexico, the anti-American consciousness of the Catholic Church gradually increased, and sectarian issues became increasingly complex. With the entry of European forces, anti-religious ideas such as positivism and Authoritarian ideas began to spread to the entire middle class, and anti-clerical ideology became increasingly radical. With the growth of modernity came the continuous advancement of secularization in Mexico. The Catholic Church began to face marginalization in the entire society, especially in the cities. The above-mentioned factors all contributed to the complexity of the relationship between the church and the state during this period to a certain extent, and intensified the possibility of conflict between church and state.

Compared with the conflicts and wars caused by the radical anti-clerical policies promoted by Mexican liberals in the mid-19th century, the religious reconciliation policies of this period had a pragmatic tendency, and the implementation of this policy achieved better social results. In an atmosphere of reconciliation and tolerance, the Mexican Catholic Church no longer fiercely resisted the secular regime. Instead, it actively chose to promote its own innovation and participate in sectarian competition. Against this background, moderate forces within the Mexican Catholic Church began to rise. The Díaz regime has received political support from the leadership of the Catholic Church, thereby enhancing the prestige of its regime among the people, effectively maintaining political unity and domestic stability, and creating a good environment for Mexico's economic development and modernization process. Social environment. The Mexican Catholic Church seems to have formed a relatively harmonious relationship with the special political system of Porfirio's era. The relationship between church and state has also moved from being extremely fragile and sensitive in the early stage to being relatively stable and normalized. However, all this has been established. On the basis that Díaz can continue to effectively maintain authoritarian rule, with the emergence and intensification of the modernization crisis in the middle and late stages of the Díaz regime, the strong revival of the Catholic Church, and the vigorous development of Catholic social movements, the foundation of this authoritarian rule has become increasingly difficult to maintain relationships.

Including the transitional government of Manuel Gonzalez. In 1880, after the end of Díaz's first presidential term, the presidential position was handed over to González. In 1884, after González's term expired, Díaz He became president again and was re-elected several times. After the outbreak of the Revolution, Díaz was forced to resign in May 1911.

The "Scientists" is a ruling group formed during the Porfirio era. This group is mainly composed of cabinet officials and intellectuals. Implement a positivist policy agenda.

[English] Editor-in-chief Leslie Bethel, Translated by the Institute of Latin American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "Cambridge History of Latin America" (Volume 5), Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Press, 1992, page 24.

2. The Reform and Revitalization of the Mexican Catholic Church under the Reconciliation Policy

The chaos and conflicts caused by the Reform War, the Mexican-American War, and the Anti-French War in the mid-19th century severely impacted the privileges and strength of the Mexican Catholic Church. However, this situation soon changed. The leadership of the Mexican Catholic Church adopted a reconciliation policy. Under the stimulation of the Catholic Church, it began to turn its main energy to the internal and spiritual affairs of the church. On this basis, the power of the Catholic Church began to revive. It first began in the religious, economic and social fields, and finally gradually

expanded to the field of political affairs. (1) Specific manifestations of the innovation and revival of the Mexican Catholic Church. The revival of the Mexican Catholic Church is manifested in many fields. This revival is first manifested in the internal innovation and growth of the Catholic Church, which mainly includes the training of clergy, the repair and construction of churches, and the construction of new churches. During this period, the number of Mexican priests increased significantly, and the quality of priests improved significantly. The religious feelings and hostility of priests to secular society continued to strengthen, and the clergy continued to strengthen. The relationship with the people, especially with the villagers, has become closer. In order to solve the problem of clergy training, the church has built many new seminaries and improved training courses. In addition, in order to solve the problem of relative shortage of clergy, the Catholic Church has also introduced a large number of priests from abroad, especially from European countries such as Spain, Belgium, France and Italy. The number of priests increased from 3576 in 1895 to 4533 in 1910. As the government returned some church properties and built new churches, the number of churches increased significantly. The number of buildings increased significantly from 4,893 in 1878 to 12,413 in 1910, an increase of 153%. The reopening of monasteries, convents, and religious orders, the revival of religious orders, especially the revival of the Jesuits, was the most obvious. In addition, in Under the guidance of the Pope and the Holy See, the Mexican Catholic Church also adjusted the diocesan structure in various parts of the country, restored and improved the church system affected by the war, and held frequent diocesan meetings.

In terms of the relationship between the Catholic Church and society, the Church has rebuilt its charitable institutions. The hospitals, orphanages, shelters and other charitable institutions it operates have made great progress. The Church's educational undertakings have continued to grow, and it has maintained its presence through religious orders and religious orders. position in the field of education. The church also controlled some public opinion media, especially the press and publishing industry. At that time, the Catholic Church supported the establishment of comprehensive and local newspapers such as "Voice of Mexico" (1870-1909), "El Epoque" (1883-1902), "National Newspaper"

[English] Editor-in-Chief Leslie Bethel, Translated by the Institute of Latin American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: «Cambridge History of Latin America» (No. Four volumes), Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Press, 1992, pp. 557, 612.

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(1899-1914) and other publications were extremely active and had a large readership. These newspapers and periodicals often pointed at the government's social policies or laws and regulations that the church deemed "unreasonable". In terms of relationships with parishioners, they paid special attention to attracting farmers and female groups. Due to the unreasonable government land policy, most rural areas are generally in a state of rural devastation and villagers are in poverty. Many priests choose to take root in rural areas to spread the gospel and consolidate and strengthen the leadership of the church in rural areas. Catholic priests also pay special attention to Women's missionary activities and education, and hoped to influence their families and children. During this period, the connection between Mexican women and the church became increasingly close. In addition, the nunneries in Mexico were particularly prosperous, attracting a large number of domestic women and also taking in It attracted many foreigners and even became a refuge and paradise for European exiled clergy at that time.

In terms of church property, the Dias government no longer strictly prohibits the church from acquiring property, including property ownership of railroads, mines, telegraph systems, and manufacturing industries. The church also uses land grants among priests and the surrender of priests or believers. Land products, land gifts to persons designated by the church, entrusted management, etc. were used to occupy the land, but the form was private, thus evading the law. According to statistics, during this period, the total wealth accumulated by the Mexican Catholic Church through various channels The value of the property is as high as 800 million pesos. In Puebla alone, the priests own 200 real estate properties. In this way, on the issue of property rights, the Mexican Catholic Church has bypassed legal restrictions. It has not only restored some of the deprived properties, but has also continued to Expand its power

In addition, some religious outdoor activities that violate legal provisions are no longer subject to strict restrictions. Some priests have begun to wear clerical uniforms for public activities, organize processions of believers and participate in celebrations. Church bells are not strictly controlled, and people can also hold religious weddings. High-level church officials have maintained good personal relations with the government. For example, Archbishop Eulogio Gillow y Zavala of Oaxaca became Díaz's

1. The Catholic Church and the State in Mexico during the Porfiriato: Hidden Conflicts. In: *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 1992, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 1-24. doi:10.1017/S0022216X0000101

2. The Catholic Church and the State in Mexico during the Porfiriato: Hidden Conflicts. In: *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 1992, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 1-24. doi:10.1017/S0022216X0000101

3. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009. p. 34. Luis

4. Cabrera, The Religious Question in Mexico 15 [English] Editor-in-Chief Leslie Bethel, Translated by Institute of Latin American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: « Cambridge History of Latin America » (Volume 4), Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Press, 1992, pp. 611-612, Luis Cabrera

5. The Religious Question in Mexico 1915 pp 10 - 12 Emilio Portes Gil The Conflict between the Civil

6. Power and the Clergy: Historical and legal

7. : The Catholic Church and the State in Mexico during the Porfiriato: Hidden Conflicts

8. The Catholic Church and the State in Mexico during the Porfiriato: Hidden Conflicts

9. The Catholic Church and the State in Mexico during the Porfiriato: Hidden Conflicts

There have been no decent religious services for more than half a century. The formation of this situation is closely related to factors such as the geographical distribution of the indigenous population, the strategic choices of the Catholic Church leadership, and the growth of modernity. Farmers, the urban middle class and the proletariat Different attitudes towards the church affected the upcoming anti-clerical movement. Generally speaking, under Díaz's rule, the power and status of the church plummeted compared to before the Reform War, and there was basically no direct and organized intervention in national political affairs. Instead, it has become a "tool of authoritarian politics"

However, this did not prevent the Mexican Catholic Church from nostalgic for the good old days before the Reform War and its coveting of secular power. As time went by, the situation became more and more favorable to the church, and the church paid more attention to social and political affairs. began to increase significantly. In the 1890s, the church successfully entered the country's political life by paying attention to social affairs. Especially around the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution, this trend continued to strengthen, and active people in the Catholic Church became more actively involved in political activities.

The Formation of the Three Modernization Crisis and the Rise of the Catholic Social Movement in Mexico

The rise and development of the Catholic social movement in Mexico is based on the reconciliation policy of the Díaz government and the innovation and revival of the Catholic Church itself. It is largely inspired by the guidance of the Holy See and the Catholic social movements in Europe and the United States. It continued to develop and grow with the emergence and intensification of the modernization crisis in Mexico. The final result of this movement was that the Mexican Catholic Church broke through basic principles such as the separation of church and state stipulated in the law, and ultimately disintegrated the policy of reconciliation and

the relatively harmonious relationship between church and state. (1)

Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical "New Things" The rise of the industrial revolution and the advent of the liberal era have had an unprecedented impact on the Catholic Church. In the mid-to-late 19th century, with the expansion of Western industrialization and the advancement of urbanization, on the one hand, the Catholic Church They will face the dilemma of being marginalized in the process of secularization. Various progressive trends have had a huge impact on the Catholic value system. On the other hand, the laissez-faire policy has led to the increasingly prominent ills of capitalist society and the gradual increase in social problems. Class antagonism began to intensify. More and more believers in European and American countries began to take action, launching a massive Christian social movement to improve the working and living conditions of the labor group. They basically followed four lines of action: Use Christian principles to challenge laissez-faire Philosophy, establishment of Christian social institutions to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and disadvantaged, support for the formation

Wlfrid Hardy Callcott Liberalism in Mexico 1857 - 1929 California: Stanford University Press 1931, p 183 [US] Written by Henry Parks,

translated by Qu Junong: "History of Mexico", Beijing: New Knowledge of Life and Reading, Sanlian Bookstore, 1957 Year, page 237

Calling countries to introduce laws aimed at improving working conditions. ¶ In the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany and some southern European countries, this attempt and effort by believers is particularly significant.

In the face of various new trends of thought and new problems that have emerged in modern society, the intellectuals of the Catholic Church and the Holy See on the one hand have vigorously defended Christian principles and its value system, especially focusing on the newly popular liberalism, socialism, communism, and individualism. On the other hand, it emphasized that the church should play an active and greater role in solving social problems, called for reform, and advocated cooperation. In 1864, a German Catholic theologian and social reformer Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler published the book "Labor Issues and Christianity", in which he advocated the use of Christian principles to solve social crises. The influence of this work on the formation of the Pope's labor thought significant

In order to cope with the crisis and adapt to the changing needs of modern society, successive popes have responded to the above-mentioned new trends of thought and new issues in different encyclicals, but the focus is different. The more important one is Pope Pius IX in 1864. Syllabus Errorum of 1878, Quod Apostoli 1878 by Pope Leo XIII (ci Muneris) and the 1891 Encyclical "Rerum Novarum" etc., especially The encyclical "New Things" has the most far-reaching influence. In the encyclical "New Things", Pope Leo XIII, while strongly criticizing liberalism and socialism, advocated class cooperation, called on churches everywhere to pay attention to labor issues, and established the Catholic Church Labor organizations to improve the living and working conditions of workers. In 1901, the Pope further emphasized the role of the church in civil society in his encyclical on Christian Democracy (Graves de Communi Re). ¶ The Holy See hopes that the Catholic Church around the world will able Take active actions to alleviate the increasingly severe social crisis in the liberal era and prevent the outbreak of social conflicts.

William Emanuel's ideas and the Pope's appeal were generally echoed around the world, and were especially welcomed by church activists in Mexico. On March 7, 1895, Mexican journalist Sanchez Santos (Trinidad Sánchez San) ỹỹỹ public praise The Pope's assertion: "In an era of turmoil, troubles, lack of vitality and a spirit of reform, the Encyclical «New Things» leads the Mosaic pilgrims in the desert and is the only hope for the salvation of mankind." Since then, the pope's proposition has begun to receive widespread response in Mexico. In the same year, a religious archive collection in Guadalajara also included a letter from the pope to the Archbishop of Tarragona, Spain, calling for Immediately convene a religious meeting to resolve

ỹ [US] Written by Bruce Shelley, translated by Liu Ping: "History of the Christian Church", Beijing: Peking University Press, 2004, Chapter 465 - Page 472

ỹ «New Things» encyclical is also translated as «New Things» Encyclical, «Labour Questions»

ỹ Encyclical, etc. The English text of the above documents can be found on the website <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/> [2021-04-25]

The Mexican Catholic Church is concerned about social issues everywhere. In order to unify its thinking and integrate actions in various places and better solve these problems, especially labor issues, it was put on the agenda to convene a religious conference. Starting in 1903, the Catholic Church separately Four religious conferences were held in Puebla (1903), Morelia (1904), Guadalajara (1908) and Oaxaca (1909). The content of these conferences included: Condemnation Various "fallacies" that deviate from the Catholic value system, explore the causes and solutions to the social problems in Mexico during this period, seek specific ways to play the role of the church, formulate specific plans to deal with labor issues, discuss specific measures to improve church education y Pay attention to issues such as Indians, women, children's education and child labor. The meeting called for the establishment of workers' organizations, trade unions, Establish credit cooperatives, pay attention to the education of the working class and their children, advocate the establishment of agricultural, art and trade schools and technical schools, call on employers to treat workers well, guarantee rest days, pay wages instead of coupons, oppose contract fraud, pay attention to Indian issues y Called for the improvement of public health and opposed problems such as alcoholism and illegal cohabitation. From 1904 to 1906, in order to solve agricultural problems, the Mexican Catholic Church held three consecutive national agricultural conferences, paying attention to agricultural production, the moral and material conditions of farmers, and agricultural labor. Questiony

Although most of these so-called synods focused on specific issues, their implicit political overtones were quite strong. In the above-mentioned synods, active figures in the Catholic Church focused on specific social issues such as labor and land to improve work. On the grounds of conditions and labor treatment, it initially formed its own social reform program. Although this social reform program lacked theoretical and systematic nature, it was rich in content and all-inclusive. It seemed to be a good medicine to cure the social problems of Mexico in the early 20th century. It was formed before the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution. It neither recognized the liberals nor some of the social policies of the Díaz regime, nor did it agree with the radical ideas. It wanted to solve the social problems in the late period of the Díaz regime and prevent the dangers of revolution and class. The advent of conflict. From this point of view, the Catholic Church's version of the social reform plan is full of reconciliation and idealization, reflecting the revival of the power of the Catholic Church in the Porfirio era and the Catholic Church's attempt to lead social change during the formation of the modernization crisis. Determination and desire. Although the social change plan advocated by the Mexican Catholic social movement during this period did not target the Díaz regime itself, and adopted a cautious attitude in strategy, and did not involve the issue of seizing power, this concern still aroused This has aroused the alarm of "scientists" and some liberals.

The chaotic situation and power vacuum before and after the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 created conditions for the realization of the above aspirations.

yFor the specific content of these religious councils, see Alicia Olivera Sedano y Aspectos del Co. nflicto Religioso de 1926 a 1929: Sus Antecedente s y Consecuencias y Mexico: Instituto Nacional De Antropología e Historiay 1966y pp 34-38y Dav The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conf licit in Mexico essay 1974y pp 1y-18

On the one hand, the activists in the Catholic Church strengthened the organization and leadership of the labor movement; on the other hand, they seized the opportunity to establish political parties and further penetrated into the political field. Among the more important organizations, the Catholic Church was established in 1911. The Confederation of Catholic Workers (CCCO) and the National Catholic Party (PCN). The Confederation of Catholic Workers took it as its own responsibility to organize and coordinate the existing Catholic workers' groups in various places. Its power grew rapidly. In 1913, it held the second meeting in Zamora (Zamora). By the time of the conference, 15,539 members from 50 local branches had been united. At this conference, Father Alfredo Méndez Medina passionately delivered a speech entitled "Mexican Society" "Problem" speech, decided to organize The independent Catholic workers' movement formed a specific program to improve labor conditions. The National Catholic Party took "God, country and freedom" as its slogan and aimed to fully realize the basic program of the Catholic social movement. It successfully became the Mexican Catholic Church in the early days of the revolution. The core political organization in Mexico The Mexican Catholic social movement flourished vigorously.

In the late Porfirio era and the early revolution, the political and social activities of the Mexican Catholic Church increased significantly and continued to intensify. This trend completely broke the principle of separation of church and state established by law, and actually disintegrated the established policy of the Díaz government. Religious policy. The rise of the Mexican Catholic social movement has had a profound impact on the development of the church and the evolution of church-state relations. Analyzing from its value orientation, this movement has inherent contradictions. On the one hand, it requires the use of Christian values to promote society. On the other hand, they fiercely resisted the secular regime, intending to rebuild Mexican society through Catholic social movements and prevent religion from being marginalized in the process of secularization. This attitude of welcoming but rejecting secular society made the Mexican Catholic social movements both It is popular and anti-modern.

The rise of the Catholic social movement reflects from another aspect the relative inability of the modernization programs promoted by liberals and the Díaz government to solve social problems. The church has taken the initiative to assume secular responsibilities. The rise of this movement indicates that on the eve of the revolution The Mexican Catholic Church is no longer the old-fashioned organization that stubbornly defended its own privileges. Instead, it has become an emerging, fighting reformist church that has great prestige and appeal among the people. The reformed Mexican Catholic Church is now foundation of revival

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The National Catholic Party's ideas and specific propositions are mainly reflected in its programmatic documents. See Berta Ulloa and Joel Hernández Santia. Go (eds) Mexico City 1977 - 172 Edward Wright-Rios Revolutions in Mexico n Catholicism: Reform and

Revelation in Oaxaca 1887 -

On the basis of active participation in social affairs, the Catholic Church formed its own doctrines on social issues such as labor, land reform, and education, and established its own trade unions, farmers' associations, and educational organizations before the government took action, making the Catholic Church a possible driver of social change in Mexico. An important competitive force in the movement. However, the social reform plan of the Catholic Church seems to be incompatible with the social reform plan attempted by liberals or revolutionary elites. The principles, strategies, and lines of action of the social reform plan guided by Christian principles Extremely different from the revolutionaries' national reconstruction plan, this concept and practice of the Catholic social movement made it an alternative to the 1910 revolution and national reconstruction. The Catholic Church became a potential competitor and enemy of the revolutionary regime, even the only one. Moreover, this kind of competition between the church and the state is exclusive. The American scholar Robert E. Quirk clearly pointed out when analyzing the reasons for the fierce conflict between the church and the state in Mexico in the mid-to-late 1920s. In 1926 The conflict between church and state did not occur because the church interfered in politics, nor did it occur because "revolutionaries were Bolsheviks" as some Catholics imagined, but because both church and state wanted to control the Mexican people, and neither was willing to share this control. In other words, this The Catholic social movements of this period largely determined the future historical direction of church-state relations.

The intensification of anti-clerical consciousness and activities under the growth of four modernities

During the reign of Díaz, Mexico's modernization construction made great progress. The progress of material civilization led to the renewal of the concepts of some classes of people and the further deepening of social secularization. Modern culture gradually formed. The growth of modernity usually means that religion Although the Mexican Catholic Church achieved self-renewal in a relatively friendly political environment during this period, after losing its status as an official religion, the expansion of secularization inevitably impacted the church and the inherent relationship between church and state. From the perspective of consciousness From a morphological point of view, the anti-clerical ideas in Mexican society during the Porfirio period were not weakened by the implementation of the reconciliation policy. On the contrary, they were continuously strengthened, with the revival of traditional liberalism and the spread of Protestantism.

“The classic Western secularization theory believes that modernity is the negation of religion. The growth of modernity means the expansion of secularity and the decline of religion. The post-secularization theory has partially revised the above view. The evolution of sociological theory of religion can be See [US] Peter Berger, translated by Gao Shining: "The Sacred Curtain: Elements of the Sociological Theory of Religion", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1991, Ning Zhe: "How to transcend the classic secularization theory? ——Comments on Three Post-secular Discourses in the Sociology of Religion", Published in "Sociological Research", Issue 4, 2008, Pages 55-75, Author: Li Xiangping: "Theoretical Research on the Sociology of Religion in Contemporary America", Shanghai: Zhongxi Book Company, 2015

(3) The prevalence of positivism and the expansion of

secular education pose a more serious threat to the ideology of the Catholic Church than Protestantism.

Positivism advocates order and progress, emphasizes experience and rationality, and despises religion and superstition. Ideologically incompatible with religion. Like most Latin American countries, positivism became the mainstream political trend in Mexico during the Porfirio period. Mexican positivism inherited some liberal ideas. Gabino Barreda, Xie Positivist thinkers represented by Justo Sierra and Francisco Bulnes criticized the social role of the Catholic Church, denied church education, and advocated scientific education. ÿ Bulnes also criticized the Díaz government's policy of religious reconciliation and opposed The economic and social propositions of the Catholic Church. ÿ Some positivist believers practiced Comte's ideal of "religion of humanity" and became believers in secular religions. ÿ During this period, positivism strengthened its stance of anti-clericalism and the establishment of a secular state. Together with the church Fierce competition has begun, especially in the fields of educational concepts and practices.

On the issue of education, secular education promoted by the "scientists" and positivists and church education led by the Catholic Church are competing fiercely across the country. Positivists in Mexico regard education, especially scientific education, as a way to improve It is one of the main ways to achieve civic morality, build national character, and achieve national progress. Therefore, the issue of education has attracted much attention. After the "scientists" came to power, the Mexican government stepped up its intervention in the field of education, which has long been ruled by the church. In terms of organizational leadership, funding, It increased investment in support and teacher training, and forced the implementation of secular public education. In order to promote educational reform, the Parliament passed legislation in 1888 to promote free compulsory education nationwide. In addition, in the field of education, positivists also united with Protestant forces in an attempt to Completely changing the long-term control of the Mexican education system by the Catholic Church. The Mexican government's secular education has made great progress, and has even become "the fastest growing among all industries in Mexico" during this period. ÿ Thanks to Díaz 's With the reconciliation policy and the self-innovation of the Mexican Catholic Church, Catholic education is not far behind. With the expansion of the space for private education activities, the Catholic Church is trying to build a national Catholic education system, especially in Mexico City, Guadalajara and Morelli. The development of church education in the three Asian countries is the most typical. The enrollment data of Catholic schools in the latter two places is said to exceed that of public schools. In addition, although religious education in public schools is strictly restricted, the church has bypassed the provisions of the law and penetrated into public education. Middle part comes from Catholic Normal School

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ÿ William D Raat  "Ideas and Society in Don Porfirio's Mexico" in The Americas Vol 30 No 1 197 3   p 42 [US] Edited by Michael C.

ÿ Meyer and William H. Beazley, translated by Fudanese: "History of Mexico" (Part 2) Volume   Shanghai: Oriental Publishing Center, Page 485

Five Conclusions

Along with the political and economic changes in the Porfirio era, the relationship between the Mexican Catholic Church and the state has undergone several obvious changes. First, the strength of both the political and religious parties has waxed and waned. At the beginning of Díaz's rise to power, the Mexican Catholic Church The Congress and the new regime had just stepped out of the quagmire of war and chaos. Both sides sought to rely on each other, and open confrontation gave way to reconciliation and compromise. Later, the government took the initiative in dealing with religious issues and was able to better implement and promote reconciliation policies. However, By the early 20th century, with the continued weakening of the legitimacy of the Díaz regime and the advent of turmoil and chaos, the balance of power between the political and religious parties began to be in danger of becoming unbalanced, and the growth of uncompromising factions within both parties led to the almost breakdown of the relationship between the political and religious parties in Mexico. Second, the accelerated spread and expansion of Protestantism in Mexico has further complicated sectarian relations. The Mexican Catholic Church not only has to face competition with the state power, but also has to deal with pressure from other religious groups. It has also challenged the Díaz regime and the In terms of the relationship between politics and religion, how to deal with the increasingly severe sectarian contradictions and conflicts has gradually been put on the agenda. Thirdly, the prosperity of material civilization and the rapid growth of modernization during this period have led to great improvements in the lifestyles of some people. Their Beliefs also tend to be diverse and complex. There is a clear contrast between the beliefs of the vast rural and urban people in Mexico, especially the prevalence of positivism in the field of education. The conflict between religious beliefs and political beliefs among urban bourgeois groups has gradually intensified. Fourth, during this period, the Mexican Catholic Church changed its previous strategy of uniting conservative upper-level officials to intervene in the country's political life, and instead became more inclined to widely mobilize the people and believers to intervene in political and social affairs. This change in methods and strategies This has led to a more complicated relationship between the Mexican state, the church and the people, and has also given limited rationality to the political and social activities of the Mexican Catholic Church. Fifth, compared with the open confrontation and struggle between church and state in the mid-19th century, The church problem in Mexico took on new historical characteristics during the Porfirio era. It unfolded in a deeper field and in a more secretive way. The Díaz regime seemed to have solved the church problem, but in fact it was through reconciliation. Policies have left it in an unresolved state. Judging from the situation of the Catholic Church in the world and Latin American countries during this period, some of the above changes are of universal significance, while others are subject to the influence of Porfirio's modernization model. Strong uniqueness

The emergence and formation of the above-mentioned changes in the relationship between church and state were largely due to the Díaz regime. Reconciliation policy and the growth of modernity. Judging from the historical background and historical impact of the formation of the religious reconciliation policy, its inherent contradictions will inevitably lead to the deterioration of the relationship between the church and the state. The reconciliation policy actually shows the development of the liberal anti-clerical movement in the 19th century. stagnated, it failed to penetrate deeply into the Catholic value system during this historical period, and even showed partial regression. Díaz, as a liberal advocate and a reformist

Identity seized state power, and then out of pragmatic political needs, actually canceled some of the achievements of the liberal anti-clerical movement. Stimulated by the reconciliation policy, the Mexican Catholic Church gradually regained its strength and confidence, and formed With a unique concept of modernization, the church problem continued to exist in another form, and became increasingly serious with the construction of the Mexican nation-state. Similar to other policies during the Porfirio period, the reconciliation policy covered up the process of Mexican modernization and secularization. Many problems, some of the social problems that are in urgent need of reform have been put aside because they affect political stability and economic growth. This modernization model of economic liberalization under political autocratic rule that ignores social structural changes has not only brought about the growth of modernity, but also promoted the growth of modernity. It led to the growth of secular forces and the revival of the Catholic Church, and also triggered a modernization crisis. The modernization crisis reawakened the political enthusiasm of the Catholic Church and all strata of Mexico. From the crisis came the rise of the Mexican Catholic social movement and the Díaz regime. The collapse of The driving force behind the relationship between church and state.

Generally speaking, the religious policies of the Díaz government have failed to fully meet the demands and wishes of the intransigent factions on both sides of the political and religious spectrum. This dissatisfaction between the two parties is rarely expressed in direct conflicts and confrontations, but is reflected in the lack of support for the people. Amid fierce competition and fierce conflicts in the ideological field. With the changes in the balance of power between the political and religious parties and the rise of radicals, hidden conflicts under the reconciliation policy continued to exist and accelerated, eventually disintegrating the policy itself. Dia Mexico left more serious church issues to the revolutionary government in the first half of the 20th century. During this period, the potential conflict between the Mexican church and the state had a decisive impact on the church policy of the revolutionary government.

(Editor Huang Nian)