

ENS..WSR..31.

Mexico City,D.F.,
March 22,1928.
Apartado 538.

My dear Mr.Rogers:

Under sepearte cover I am sending you my excuse for not having written my regular letter last week- that is to say,my article on the henequen industry in Yucatan. My experience in writing this report has raised a question in my mind on which I would like to have your judgement: For the purposes of the Institute just how complete and how technical should a report on a given industry be?

Taking this memorandum on henequen as an example, I can see that for the average person with only a general interest in Mexico I have written much too much. On the other hand, for a person who has a special interest in the henequen industry in Mexico I have,perhaps, not written near enough. The general principle which I have been following is that it is best to err on the side of too much information than on the side of too little. Unless you think otherwise,I shall continue this policy in the future.

It just happens that this report of mine on henequen comes at a very opportune moment. In the paper this morning there appeared an article stating that a law is about to be presented to the United States Congress proposing the formation of a cooperative buyers association for henequen in New York under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce. Secretary Hoover is said to be very interested in this proposal. It might be a good thing for the Institute if you would show my report to Hoover the next time you are in Washington. I am enclosing the

article from the paper.

In the next few days I will complete a short memorandum on the history and present status of the labor movement in Yucatan. After that I hope to get back to my interrupted studies on the agrarian problem.

For the last several months, at John's request, I have been sending to him direct, copies of my letters and reports. I find, however, that making extra copies and carbons of my letters (especially of a long report like the last one) is becoming something of a burden. I wonder if it cannot be arranged for John to receive my material from the New York office?

The trip with Saenz has been postponed indefinitely. For this I am very glad. It will be much better for me to stay here for the time being and try and salt away a few more chapters on the land problem.

Sincerely yours,

~~02X17~~

WSR..EWS..

March 22nd, 1928

Dear Eyer:

I have arranged for renewal of your New York Times
and Harpers Magazine.

Enclosed is outline of next summer's program of the
Northwest Session of the Institute of International Relations.
I do not know what your plans are for next summer. If you
contemplate being out of Mexico, the Seattle show might tempt
you. Please return the outline.

Greetings,

WSR/FC
encls.

March 22nd, 1928

Mrs. E. N. Simpson,
Apartado 538
Mexico City, D.F.
Mexico.

Dear Keith:

Thanks for your story, deftly told and bubbling with the spirit of the party. Maybe I better plan to spend next New Year's in Mexico City. Eh?

I have a feeling that you have caught hold of phases at least of Mexican life that elude the pedantic, who insist (perhaps persist is the word) on believing that this is a high-brow world surely treading its way toward elysium.

By the way, do you happen to know if there is any place herabouts where I can buy one of the Yucatan hammocks? It might be fun to have one at Woods Hole.

Best wishes to you and your scholar friend.

WSR/FC

Sincerely,

WSR..ENS..

March 23rd, 1928

Dear Tyler:

In Moscow I could learn of only one young American studying Russian with a view to later on getting a job with some American activity. There were a number of men, however, of other nationalities, particularly German.

It came to me that there should be at least a few Americans learning Russian so as to be available for posts in the diplomatic service, in trade, in finance, in universities, etc. Whether this country recognizes Russia this year or next or ten years hence suitably trained men will be needed. In any event, American business with Russia is growing. Not many men take the Russian course offered in American universities. Moreover it is a question whether any one can really learn Russian in an American college. One of my promising prospects is the only person taking Russian at Harvard this semester

Certain of the foundations and the International Affairs Committee of the Social Science Research Council have become interested in a suggestion that I have made. It is that fellowships be provided so that five or six promising young men can spend one or two years in Moscow. Bruce could keep an eye on them; they could do some research work for him; in addition to studying Russian, they could take courses at one of the universities. Perhaps a house could be taken so that they might live together.

My suggestion will be discussed at the April meeting of the Council. As the time draws near I find myself considering whether such a setup would prove helpful or detrimental to the work of our Institute.

I am writing to ask your opinion. Let me put it to you in this way: Could you get a house in Mexico City where five or six young Americans students could live together? Could a man in, say, two years learn Spanish, get a fair knowledge of Mexican life and conditions, take a few courses at the university, and do a substantial amount of research work of a character helpful to him and to you? Would such an arrangement be likely to prove of assistance to you or would it be more likely to be a hindrance?

You understand, of course, I am not proposing to you or any one else such an arrangement for Mexico City. I am merely trying to get your ideas.

Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

WSR/FC

Mexico City, D.F.,
Apartado 538,
March 28, 1928.

My dear Mr. Rogers:

Concerning the proposition of sending students on fellowships to work under the direction of representatives of the Institute now in the field the following points occur to me:

1. Just how far along with his work should a member of the Institute be before he undertakes to direct or oversee specialized research? I, for example, do not feel at the present time that I could be of any very great assistance to a man who wanted to study, let us say, the lumber industry in Mexico. On the other hand, I believe that I could be very helpful to somebody who wished to make an intensive study of education or henequen. My point is: I do not think that a member of the Institute should attempt to guide the work of anyone else until he has at least made his first orientation studies in all of the major fields of social and economic activity in his area. Only in this way can the Institute be of any real help to the student in his particular research problem and be able to show him the relation of his specialized interest to the whole life of the nation or natural area. To illustrate what I mean: I have heard Mexican economists criticize Tanenbaum's study of the land problem in Mexico on the grounds that his specialized interest in agriculture has led him to neglect the fact that the agrarian problem is not all important in Mexico, but is only part of the larger problem of the stabilization and the fomentation of

all types of productive activity- agriculture, mining, petroleum, etc.etc. I do not know whether this criticism of Tanenbaum is justified or not, but ^{any} notion is, if the men of the Institute are to function adequately in any such plan as you suggest, they should be able by their general knowledge of the whole field to prevent just such errors in perspective.

Since you have brought up the problem with specific reference to Russia, I am led to wonder (from the comments in some of your letters) if Bruce is quite ready to function in the fashion which I have suggested for students sent to Russia?

2. Even assuming that the members of the Institute are ready to direct research, just how much of a chance will the Institute be taking in assuming responsibility for such research? I can very well imagine in the case of the Mexican field that an immature or indiscrete man sent down to study, for example, the oil question or the religious conflict might by some false move upset the whole apple cart for me and destroy confidence and contacts which I had taken months to build up. The danger of this sort of thing happening would, of course, be in direct ratio to the extent to which your plan would call for the research students being identified with the Institute. If they come ready to stand on their own feet or as representatives of the university where they are doing graduate work and if the Institute could work out an agreement whereby it would have some control over the type of men sent out, then perhaps the danger which I suggest would be greatly minimized.

3. I have no way of judging how it would be in Russia or any other field, but, so far as Mexico is concerned, the problems of language, living arrangements etc. would not offer any great obstacles to the successful working of your plan. I can see no reason (barring those suggested above) why a reasonably intelligent student with a fair amount of academic training in the field in which he wishes to work should not in two years be able to get a satisfactory understanding of the life of the nation and at the same time do a creditable piece of specialized research. Also, I believe that such research would be valuable to the Institute. If, for example, next year, after I have completed my preliminary orientation studies, I could have a man to specialize on the labor movement or sugar, or mining, this would be a most valuable check to my own work and allow me to devote my time to opening up other fields. In Mexico, as in every other area, I can see that there are going to be a hundred interesting problems which in the nature of the case the Institute will be able to touch only in a very general way. And even in those cases where our men make a fairly detailed study, their position as "experts" would be greatly strengthened if their work could be followed, checked up, and amplified by a man specializing in that field. In my study of henequen, for example, - a fairly detailed study- I already see a half dozen points on which I would like to have additional information.

.....

During the last few months a number of questions regarding my work have been taking shape in my mind. Some of

these questions relate to matters of practical detail and methods of organization in the solution of my immediate problems; others are of more far reaching significance and concern my future plans and what I may call the whole "philosophy" of the procedure of a representative of the Institute in Mexico. I had hoped (and still hope) to be able to discuss these questions with you here personally on the scene of activity. I am writing, therefore, to ask if your plans call for your coming down this way any time during the next month. If such is not your intention I will try to the best of my ability to set forth the points on which I wish your judgement and advice in my next letter.

The outline of the "Institute of International Relations" which I am returning to you I must confess sounds like an attempt to write the history of the world on a postage stamp. Except for the chance which it would afford me to meet various and sundry important personages, I can conceive of no reason for my attending even though, by any chance, I should not be in Mexico. Some day, in I hope the not far distant future, the ICWA will put on a show like this.... but that will be another story.

Keith is undertaking to negotiate for a hammock with some of our friends in Yucatan.

Yours sincerely,

~~W. S. R.~~ ✓

SUCURSAL DE
HENRY W. PEABODY & CO.
APARTADO 164
MERIDA, YUCATAN, MEXICO
A. P. RICE, GERENTE
11

April 4, 1928

Dr. Tyler N. Simpson,
Apdo. 538,
Mexico, D.F.

My dear Dr. Simpson:

Your most excellent and comprehensive article on the henequen industry of this Peninsular safely arrived and is being read with great interest and pleasure by Mrs. Rice and by me. You are doing me a great compliment to ask me to criticize, and I accept by saying that it is a pity that this information, worked up in such a skillful way, was not compiled many years ago. You see, some one is at fault in not having sent you here long before this. Naturally there are some little equivocations which have innocently been inserted, but it will take me but a few minutes to correct this, so I shall delay returning your copy for a week or so.

I am sending you by this mail the "INFORME GENERAL del COMITE DIRECTIVO de la SOCIEDAD COOPERATIVA de R.L. HENEQUENOS de YUCATAN", which has just been published, thinking that same might be of interest to you.

Mrs. Rice joins me in sending in turn our very best to you and your wife. We have spoken several times of the pleasure we had in knowing you while in Merida.

yours faithfully,



Mexico City, D.F.,
Apartado 538,
April 15, 1928.

My dear Mr. Rogers:

Under separate cover I am sending my second chapter on the agrarian question. As you will see, it is in the nature of an historical statement starting with the period before the conquest and coming on down to the revolution of 1910. I plan to do one more article of this type dealing with the agrarian aspects of the revolution and thus bring the story up to date. After that I will round off the whole study with a series of reports on agricultural banks and credit, irrigation, the agrarian labor movement, and an analysis of the present agrarian laws. The promised article on the Socialist party in Yucatan I have had to put aside for the time being until I can gather some more materials. ✓

We had looked forward to the advent of Holy Week in Mexico with great interest. Feeling that the Capital was too close to the watchful eye of the government for the local "gente" to display much religious fervor, we took a two day trip to the little village of Amecameca which is located at the very foot of the two famous volcanos, Iztaccinuatl and Popocatepetl. However, so far as witnessing any display of religious customs and procedure was concerned, the trip, as the Mexicans say, did not "vale la pena" (i.e. was not worth the trouble). Although the churches were open and filled with great crowds of people, the customary religious ceremonies were either entirely lacking or greatly abbreviated. The people seemed to be much more interested in the doings in the market place- the two merry-go-rounds, the various side shows, and a rustic circus- than they were in the fact that the "pale Nazarene" was dead and for the nineteen hundred and twenty-eighth time was about to be resurrected.

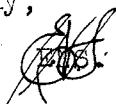
Even the newspapers complained that the old traditions were falling into abeyance. What was once "Holy Week" is now (such is the insidious influence of the United States) coming to be called "The Spring Vacation". Where once a Judas was burned on every corner, (a papier mâché figure filled with fire-crackers and representing a mixture of the devil and the eternal traitor) now only a few dozen meet their deserved fate in the whole City of Mexico.

All of which may or may not be significant of the effect which the present religious laws have had in Mexico.

I must report, also, that we have moved to a new apartment which is not only larger and nicer than our former one, but has the supreme advantage of an extra room, cut off from the noises and distractions of domesticity, which I have turned into a study. What with my new filing cabinet and a room all to myself, I am for the first time really organizing my materials in something approaching a scientific manner.

You have not made mention as yet of the receipt of my study on henequen. I sent this by registered mail and hope that it has not been lost. Enclosed you will find a letter from one of the best informed men in Yucatan to whom I sent a copy of my report for criticism.

Sincerely,



THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BASES OF
THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM
IN MEXICO.

Introduction.

The fundamental social institutions of any group can not be understood simply by describing them as they are at any given time. Social institutions are, by the very nature of their being, growths and invariably bear the marks of their origin. The systems of land tenure and the agrarian institutions which exist at the present time in Mexico are no exception to this generalization. The enormous haciendas, the smaller ranchos, and the ejidos and other communal holdings of the pueblos- all are deeply rooted in the ancient systems of land holding of the Indians, in the methods of tenure evolved during the period of the Spanish domination, and developed in the century of Independence. Any attempt, therefore, to explain the agrarian problem with which the Mexican nation is confronted today must take into account the historical antecedents, the social and political factors and forces which from time to time have played their part in producing the ^{present} agrarian situation.

Systems of Land Holding in the Period Before the Conquest.

The story of the "tierra" in Mexico begins with the agrarian organization developed by the native groups before the coming of the Spaniards. At the time of the conquest in the early part of the sixteenth century there were some hundreds of Indian tribes scattered over what is now known as Mexico. These groups were in all different stages of development from the nomadic tribes of the north to the relatively highly civilized and settled tribes of the Mesa Central. The wandering groups in the cordilleras and

along the coasts subsisted mainly by fishing and hunting. At the most they made but temporary use of the land and , accordingly, had only the most rudimentary ideas of property. The tribes of the Mesa Central and in Yucatan, notably the Nahuas and the Mayas, on the other hand, early developed a sedentary, agricultural type of society and the possession and use of land became a matter of the greatest importance. The systems of land holding worked out in these groups left their permanent impress upon the agrarian institutions of Mexico.

Allowing for minor variations in the different groups, the customs regarding land tenure among the Nahuas of the plateau regions (which may taken as more or less typical of the rest) may be briefly described as follows. Within the larger unit of social organization- the tribe- were a number of smaller units in the nature of kinship groups or clans known as calpulli. The household-composing the calpulli were ordinarily settled close together. and usually several calpulli were grouped to form a village. "Customs in regard to land tenure," writes Dr. Phipps in, " The Agrarian Question in Mexico", " will be most easily understood by considering first the original form; a small village composed of one calpulli, or kinship group... The aggregate of the tillable lands of the village was called the capulalli, or lands of the kindred, and was held by the calpulli in perpetual and inalienable tenure. The assignment of lots, milpas or tlalmilli , to heads of families was in charge of an official (called)... the pariente mayor. This pariente mayor kept a map of the lands, marking the boundaries, the names of the occupants , the quality of the various tracts, indicating which ones were in cultivation and what crops were raised,

and renewing the map as often as was made necessary by reallotment or changes in assignment. Long after the Conquest these picture maps were used by Spanish magistrates to decide disputes concerning the possession of land.

"There was no written titles to the individual lots, no sense of private ownership; but the usufruct of them was transmissible, if the holder so desired, from father to son, a practice which was tending ^{toward} the conception of private property and inheritance. The members of the calpulli defended their lands tenaciously from inroads of other groups. There were frequent quarrels and struggles regarding them- 'and there still are,' Zurita remarks. They condemned to death those guilty of displacing land marks or boundaries. They did not permit lots to be transferred permanently to members of other calpulli, because they wished to keep the lineage pure- and subjected them to forfeiture, in case the lands were not cultivated for two successive years. Any enterprising individual who wished to till more than the space allotted to him could rent an additional plot from another calpulli, if his own group had no available extra land. If a family became extinct, or moved away for any reason, its allotted tract reverted to the calpulalli, some portion of which was always held in reserve for individuals who might marry, or extraordinary needs.

"In the most primitive form of organization the pariente mayor merely had his share of land, as a member of the calpulli, and it was cultivated for him by the rest of the kinship group in common, so as to give him time for his official duties. But as the population grew and it became necessary to have a more elaborate organization, there were two gradual developments.

First, the pariente mayor began to be considered as in a different class from the rank and file of the calpulli and his share of the calpulalli took the name pilalli, lands which are erroneously referred to by many writers as 'patrimonial estates'. Thus an aristocracy was created; sometimes, too, these aristocratic officials, taking advantage of their power, usurped part of the people's lands. Second, the tecpán, or council house, came into existence; and lands, tecpán-tlalli, were assigned for its maintenance. It was used as a meeting place for the calpulli, as the place for entertaining delegations from other calpulli, and for feeding the poor and incapacitated. The pariente mayor and his family lived in the tecpán, which was cared for by serfs (mayerques); and the lands belonging to the council-house were cultivated in common by serfs, a class which probably all too numerous.

"In some tribes the office of pariente mayor was hereditary, but in most of them it was elective, and the possession of the lands, or the use of their proceeds, went with the office. When a pariente mayor died, his children continued to live in the tecpán, were supported by the proceeds of the tecpán-tlalli, and were treated with the greatest respect and deference because of their lineage. Thus it is easy to see the origin of the large numbers of 'nobles' spoken of by the early Spanish writers.

"In addition to the lands for allotment and the official lands cultivated for the pariente mayor, each calpulli had a tract, called milchimalli or cacalomilli, according to the kind of grain raised on it, set aside for the maintenance of the army and cultivated in common, according to the assignment of the pariente mayor, or perhaps in some cases by slaves or serfs. Then

finally, there were the temple lands, cultivated by mayeques, or serfs, destined for the maintenance of the large sacerdotal class and the many teocalli, or temples. These lands were very extensive and were of the best, because in addition to furnishing sustenance for the large numbers of priests and neophytes, the serfs that cultivated them were required to keep the temples continually stocked with stores of food for the frequent religious festivals when the populace must be fed. Hence it is probable that after the Conquest the Indians found it quite natural to contribute alms and parochial fees, to perform personal services for the clergy, to cultivate ecclesiastical estates, and to build churches and monasteries without remuneration; though under Spanish rule there was the added hardship of being required to contribute individually, whereas under their own system they had done so as a body.

"If a village were subdued by some other village or tribe, then, in addition to the lands for allotment, temple lands, army lands, and lands for the maintenance of the tecpan, it would have tributary lands, yaotlalli, set aside to be cultivated in common, or by slave labor, the proceeds to be delivered to the king or chief of the conquering tribe....

"Villages composed of only one kinship group were probably rather rare at the time of the Conquest. As the original calpulli grew in population segmentation occurred and the number of calpulli in the village or tribe increased. The aggregate territory of one of these larger units, whatever the number of calpulli composing it, was called altepetlalli, or 'land of the tribe'. There was thus a tribal organization superimposed upon the local organization of the calpulli; there was a tribal tecpan with lands for

its support, which was the residence of the señor supremo, as Zurita calls him, that is, the king or chief.

"Each calpulli composing this larger organization and each one tributary to the larger organization sent to the tribal tecpán a representative, who was called the tlatoca, speaker or judge. For the maintenance of this official there were also lands, called tlatocatlalli or 'lands of the speaker'. The size of this tract is mentioned definitely as 'four hundred of their measures on each side, each measure being equal to three Castilian rods'.

"There were other residents of the tribal tecpán called teules, who were appointed for life by the king or chief as a reward for valor on the battle-field or notable service of any kind to the tribe. They may be the 'Knights of the Eagle' and 'Knights of the Tiger', famous in Mexican legend. They were given lands for the maintenance and serfs to till them, not as an absolute gift, but as a concomitant of the honor. When one of the teules died the king appointed another to take his place, giving preference to the sons of the dead warrior and conferring upon the successor both lands and serfs in usufruct.

"From this brief exposition of the probable conditions of land tenure in the pre-colonial Mexico several points stand out which are important for the later history of the subject. First, communal land tenure prevailed; second, the privileged classes were large and strong; third, the masses bore the heavy burden of the maintenance of the aristocracy and priesthood; fourth, actual slavery existed on quite a large scale."^{1.}

The agrarian institutions developed by the early Indian tribes have persisted in many parts of Mexico in more or

less modified form even down to the present day. As we have seen above, two somewhat conflicting tendencies were already present at the time of the Spanish Conquest. The communal system of land holding was in the process of being destroyed by the "nobles" and the priests; the lands of the villages were being incorporated into the estates of the rich and the powerful. One student of the situation at this time holds that a kind of feudal system of land holding had become so thoroughly rooted in the country that after the Conquest the Spaniards adopted it as the basis of their own distribution of land; "the conquerors merely replaced the fallen Mexican chiefs and continued to receive from the inhabitants of the towns the tribute, labor, and other personal services that had been rendered to their aboriginal predecessors". Moreover, as the same authority goes on to show, a consideration of the hacienda in Mexico at the present time shows that "in the relationship existing between the patron and the peon there is a survival of the customs that characterized the tribute districts of the Aztecs and the still more ancient mayeque holdings, only slightly modified by the introduction of European ideas... Today the terms upon which the land is held, the obligations assumed by the patron, the duties of the tenant, as well as the form and character of the rent paid, are almost the same on many haciendas as those prevailing in Aztec times. The hacienda is the legitimate successor of the large holdings in aboriginal Mexico".^{2.}

It must not be thought, however, that the tendency toward large feudal holdings in the time immediately preceding the Conquest had completely undermined the older system of communal holdings. Even though some historians estimate the number of "nobles"

to have been as high as 120,000 and though they were undoubtedly encroaching upon what was formerly a democratic organization, yet it was still probably true that the proportion of territory occupied by the tenanted estates was small as compared with that held by the calpulli. The land holding villages remained the dominant unit in the agrarian system of central Mexico and continued to be so for many years after the Conquest.

Development of Agrarian Institutions During the Colonial Period.

Important and interesting as are the agrarian institutions of the aboriginal inhabitants of Mexico, they remain, of course, of less significance in understanding the present agrarian problem in Mexico than the innovations introduced by the Conquest and the developments which took place during the period of the Spanish domination.

The systems of land tenure which the Spaniards brought to the new world and imposed upon the Indians were of such a nature that they fitted into and carried out the two lines of development which have been noted as characterizing the latter part of the epoch before the Conquest. That is to say, during the Colonial period the struggle between a system of communal holdings by villages and a system of private property and large feudal estates continued to manifest itself. In principle the contest under the new regime was the same. Just as in Spain at that time private and communal ownership of property existed side by side, so in New Spain the same situation developed- but with a larger portion of communal tenure than in the old country.

Communal property, then, in New Spain had its origins not only in the systems of tenure which had been developed in the Indian communities, but also in the new towns and villages

established by the Spaniards. These new centers of population founded by the Conquerors were, as was quite natural, modeled after the agricultural villages in the old country. The territory of such communities was divided into ^{two} classes- the municipal lands and the communal. The former called propios or bienes concejiles, were either cultivated by all the inhabitants in common or by rotation, or else they were rented or leased, the proceeds in any case being applied to municipal support. The communal lands proper, bienes comunales or bienes de aprovechamiento comun, consisted of woodland (monte), pasture (pasto or dehesa) and the ejido, which was a tract on the outskirts of the town, used as a place for threshing grain and as a meeting place for the community. Some small villages even owned their agricultural lands (tierras labrantías) in common. These various tracts were either held undivided or they were subdivided and apportioned to individuals yearly, or every two, three, or five years. The former method was more usual for forest and pasture, the latter for tillable land. In case the woodland was kept undivided, each inhabitant had a right to hunt and fish in it, and to supply himself from any part of it with firewood, timber, lime, esparto grass for rope and sandals, or with whatever the tract yielded. Both municipal and communal lands were inalienable. The former furnished revenues for the maintenance of the town, the latter assured a livelihood for each individual.^{3.}

The Catilian pueblo of the type just described was the ^{pattern} ~~model~~ for all towns founded by the Spaniards in Mexico. In time this land holding village or town became a characteristic mark of the agrarian organization of the whole central plateau region; for along with the founding of new towns the Spaniards were also busy with imposing their system upon the very

similar already existing communal Indian villages. As is usual in such cases the results of the efforts of the conquerors to impose their institutions upon the conquered was a process of adaptation and accommodation. Parts of both systems were retained; in some regions Indian features prevailed, in others Spanish. By the end of the Colonial period there had developed a type of village which was neither Indian nor Spanish, but a combination of the two. These land holding pueblos were to persist as one of the principle features of the agrarian system of Mexico until the middle of the nineteenth century. Their fate at that time we will consider in connection with our examination of the Reform of 1857.

We have seen how the agrarian institutions of the Spaniards dovetailed into and continued in modified form the communal aspects of the systems of land tenure developed by the aboriginal inhabitants of Mexico. The case of private property is of a somewhat different order; here the conquerors not only developed and carried on the embryonic institutions of the natives (such as, for example, the feudal holdings of the "nobles") , but by the introduction of many new forms and concepts of land holding virtually originated the idea of private property in the Mexican scheme of affairs. Various kinds of grants of land were made during the Colonial regime of which by far the most important type was that introduced immediately after the Conquest and known as the system of encomiendas or repartimientos.

An encomienda consisted of a grant of a certain number of villages from the inhabitants of which the encomendero had the right to take tribute in the form of personal services and the products of the land. Some of the grants to encomenderos were unbelievably large. Cortez himself, for example, received a

concession of 22 towns with their surrounding lands and inhabitants. This estate was not less than 25,000 square miles and had on it a population of some 115,000 "vassals". Juan de Villaseñor y Cervantes was given an estate of 10,000 square miles in what is now the state of Guanajuato. The town and district of Xochimilco with some 30,000 "vassals" was given to Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortez' officers.... Theoretically the encomendero owned neither the Indian nor the Indian's property, but it was not long before in reality he owned both.

Throughout the Colonial period the various rulers of Spain made strenuous efforts to protect the Indians from the land hungry conquerors. The famous "Laws of the Indies" were only the most important of a long series of laws and decrees with this intention. In large degree, however, all of these protective gestures failed in their primary purpose. By various and sundry means-- some of them honest, but most of them dishonest-- the encomenderos gradually took possession of the lands of the Indians in the villages on their estates and reduced the natives to serfdom. The situation became so bad by the first part of the eighteenth century that a royal decree was handed down (1720) abolishing the encomienda system. But this decree came too late. By this time the great landlords had obtained such a firm hold upon the property and persons of the Indians, the "feudal" system was ^{so} thoroughly entrenched, that a mere royal edict made little difference. The hacendados remained in possession of the land, and the Indians, although now free in theory, were still held as tightly as ever by a new legal device invented for the occasion-- "debt slavery" .

At the end of the Colonial period it is estimated that there were between 4,000 and 5,000 large haciendas and about

6,000 smaller holdings known as ranchos (farms). Some of these haciendas were of enormous size. "The largest" , writes Dr.Phipps, "of course, was that of the Marquesado del Valle, the entailed estate of the Cortez heirs... In the late years of the viceroyalty this estate had an income of 43,616 pesos from rented property in the capital alone, which would represent a property value of about a million dollars. As that was only one item in the assets of the estate, some idea of its extent may be formed. There were numbers of rural estates from three to six hundred square leagues(1,316,400 to 2,632,000 acres) and there was at least one of five thousand square leagues (21,945,000 acres)."⁴ Note should be taken of the fact, however, that despite the huge size of some of the estates, despite the fact that most of the best lands were in the possession of the large hacendados and great numbers of Indians were held as virtual slaves, the communal villages still continued to exist. Indeed, they were actually increasing in number and new forms of communal land holding (the congregaciones, comunidades, and rancherías) were coming into existence.

The Catholic Church as Landlord in the Colonial Period.

Up to this point no mention has been made of the very important role played by the Catholic church in the Colonial period in the concentration of the ownership of the land into the hands of the privileged few. Readers of Prescotts' famous work on the "Conquest of Mexico" will recall that Cortez and his followers undertook their great adventure not only to enrich themselves and add dominions to the Crown of Spain, but also for the glory of God and the Catholic Church. Remembering this and the strong hold which the Church had upon Spain at that time, one is not surprised to find historians of the Colonial period in Mexico writing in this

fashion: "The Clergy was an economically privileged class from the beginning. The members of it received large grants of land from the crown. Many monasteries, cathedrals, and individual prelates were given encomiendas - which had more or less the same history as those conferred upon laymen. For the erection of churches, monasteries and residences the royal treasury furnished half the money, the encomenderos or the Spanish population in general furnished the other half, and Indians did the work without remuneration. Ecclesiastical capital was free from taxation- legally in the early days, virtually, always... From the outset the Church had an economic advantage over even the richest of the encomenderos, who had to build their own houses and provide their own working capital, and had not the resources of income that the clergy had. So, with the immense prestige of the Church behind them, it is not surprising that the clergy dominated the Colonial era economically and politically. Nor is it strange that, as the years went on, the early missionary fervor tended to give place to complacent well-being and easy acceptance of priority thrust upon them; that adventurers were to be found in the ranks of the clergy as in all walks of life; that this easy means of acquiring an honorable position and a comfortable livelihood attracted such large numbers that in 1644 the town council of Mexico City implored Philip IV to send no more monks, as more than six thousand were without employment living on the fat of the land." 5.

The sources of revenue of the Church were numerous and diverse. In addition to the customary sums received from tithes; gifts and bequests of money and property; parochial fees for marriages, funerals, baptism, confession, and for masses both ordinary and requiem; special collections gathered to honor some

patron saint; alms collected by the monasteries; dowries given to convents of nuns etc. etc., the Church derived additional funds in other and, to say the least, less customary ways. The personal services and labor of the Indians were used without limit; large sums were gained from legal practice by members of the clergy in both civil and ecclesiastical courts; the clergy operated and controlled grocery stores, meat markets etc. and engaged in commerce of all sorts (in this manner were the tithes, often paid in "kind" disposed of); and, finally, direct usurpation of the land (especially of the Indians) by the clergy was by no means unusual. Some idea of the huge sums of money gathered by the Church in these various and devious ways may be gained from Humboldt who records that the tithes alone in the later years of the Colonial period averaged over 2,400,000 pesos a year; one monastery in Mexico City had an annual income of 100,000 pesos from alms alone and was said on one occasion to have collected 40,000 pesos in a single day.

But the main source of income as well as the favorite means of investment for all the ready cash of the Church was real estate and real estate mortgages. The accumulation of real property by the Mexican clergy began early in the Colonial era and, as generation succeeded generation, the Church came to control more and more of the land of the country, Although it is impossible to do more than guess at the amount of real property owned by the Church at the end of the Spanish domination, the following statistics may be cited as fairly accurate: " In 1796, according to a reliable and official source, the income of the clergy from rented property in the capital city alone was 1,060,995 pesos out of a total of 1,911,201 pesos. This income

capitalized at five per cent would give a property valuation of 21,219,893 pesos. The Carmelites had haciendas extending from the City of Mexico to Tampico, a distance of 120 leagues. Four-fifths of the real estate in the diocese of Puebla, where the Church was exceedingly strong, is said to have belonged to communities of monks and nuns, cathedral chapters, corporations and hospitals. One writer estimates the income of the clergy in 1890 at 13,000,000 pesos which, capitalized at five per cent would give 260,000,000 pesos as the valuation of productive property. Lucas Alamán, a decided partizan of the clergy in their later struggles with the Republican government, estimated that not less than half of the real property of the capital of the country belonged to the Church at the end of the Colonial era. Most of the remainder was controlled by the clergy through mortgages. The Church was the landlord, the banker, and the trustee of the period." ^{6.}

Many attempts were made both by the higher ecclesiastical and the civil authorities to check the economic domination of the Church in Mexico. The most important of these attempts was the royal decree of Charles III in 1767 ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico and the confiscation of their estates. Although, due to religious opposition and political corruption, this effort was not entirely successful, at least 128 of their large haciendas and other holdings ("nearly all of them of great size and many of them among the most productive in the country") were offered for sale to the public. Even this blow at the Church, however, did not greatly affect its power and it continued in its ascendancy down to the great Reform of 1857.

Agrarian Aspects of the War for Independence. Early Attempts at Reform.

The Mexican War for Independence from Spain

at bottom was not so much a revolution against the mother country as it was an uprising of the landless masses of Indians and mestizos against the domination of the Church and the gachupín (Spanish) influence in the colony. As one writer puts it, "probably nowhere in the New World had the Spanish monopoly of property, position and opportunity been carried to such an extreme as in New Spain. The land system was largely responsible for this, since it permitted one element- the 10,000 people of Spanish extraction- to become masters of the greater part of the country. This small group had deprived the Indians of their holdings or had allowed them to remain upon their lands as serfs of the new proprietors; it had left the mestizos almost entirely landless- and this in a country whose main dependence was upon agriculture. It was against this monopoly that the people in New Spain rose in arms- 'proletarios contra propietarios'. Other factors- restriction of trade, prohibitions against education, limiting of industries, and monopoly of political office- entered into the case; but the chief cause of the social, economic, and racial inequality and the consequent unrest was the system of land tenure." 7.

The long struggle, lasting from 1810 to 1821, of Hidalgo, Morelos and their ragged hordes of Indian followers, was, however, marked by little success so far as changing the land situation in any important respect was concerned. True, the Indians secured legal equality with the whites and thereby gained greater liberty in contracting for their services; true, also, that in 1823 a law was passed abolishing the mayorazgos or entailed estates; but these reforms proved to be of more theoretical than practical significance. Some of the large estates changed

hands; the Church lost some its property and suffered financially during the eleven years of civil war, but the old stratification of Mexican society into the "few that had" and the "many that had not" continued in force. The Church did not cease to exercise almost unlimited power over the whole economic life of the nation and Iturbide, the new Emperor of Mexico and himself an hacendado, came into power pledged to maintain the status quo and to unite the large landholders for the protection of their property. The old system of the concentration of the ownership of the land in the hands of the very small minority was maintained much as in Colonial times.

But it must not be understood from the foregoing that no effort was made to change this state of affairs. In the years following Independence- from 1821 to the Reform of 1857- numerous more or less successful attempts were made to combat the power of the Church and the hacendados. In 1823 the government nationalized the rather considerable property of the Inquisition. In 1833 another effort was made to storm the bulwarks of the Church and laws even more drastic than those eventually put into effect in 1857 were proposed. Although this attack failed, it is said that the Church between 1833 and 1860, seeing the fatal trend of events, did actually dispose of real property valued at 85,000,000 pesos for about 42,000,000 pesos. Another national crisis arose in 1847. Mexico was at war with the United States and in order to raise badly needed funds it was proposed to mortgage and sell Church property to the extent of 15,000,000 pesos. This, of course, called forth a violent protest from the Church. Later on Santa Ana raised the proposed levy to 20,000,000 pesos and the Church, admitting defeat, agreed to settle for 2,000,000

pesos cash if the law should be repealed. This was promptly done. Finally, in 1855 came the so-called "Puebla incident". A law was passed forbidding ecclesiastical courts to take cognizance of civil cases and limiting their jurisdiction to the offenses of the clergy. This law led to a rebellion in the very strong Catholic state of Puebla- a rebellion financed by the clergy of the bishopric of Puebla. When the outbreak was finally put down at the cost of much bloodshed and some 1,200,000 pesos, President Comonfort issued a decree providing for the sequestration of Church property to an amount sufficient to indemnify the national and state governments for the losses occasioned by the revolution. Despite the desperate opposition of the Church this decree was carried out.

The Laws of the Reform.

The events which took place between the years 1821 and 1856, as has been suggested, did not greatly affect the position of the Church. Although considerable inroads had been made upon ecclesiastical holdings, it was estimated that at the time just preceeding the Reform the productive real property of the Church (i.e. not counting churches, schools, monasteries, hospitals etc.) was worth considerably more than 184,600,000 pesos. Ninety per cent of the urban property was said to be owned by the clergy and most of the rural real estate either belonged to them in reality, or was deeply mortgaged in their favor. The yearly income of the archbishopric of Mexico alone was 348,378 pesos.^{8.}

Encouraged by their success in the Puebla affair the reform government gathered its forces to launch an even more determined attack on the Church and in June 1856 the "Law of Expropriation" (Ley de Desamortización) was passed. This

measure provided that all real estate held by religious or civil corporations should be adjudged in severalty to the persons to whom it was rented or leased, at a price corresponding to a sum which, at six per cent interest, would yield an annual income equal to the amount being paid as rent. Properties not so leased or rented should be sold at auction. The law forbade the subsequent sale of these holdings to any religious corporation. These measures were not to apply to properties used directly for civil or religious purposes, such as church buildings, convents, episcopal residences, colleges, hospitals, municipal buildings, and land such as the ejidos which were held for the common use of people living in a town. Three months were allowed for the disposal of the properties to be alienated, after which the government would proceed to take over those remaining unsold. 9.

The Law of Expropriation remained in force eighteen months. Although it was relatively moderate in its demands as compared with the other laws and decrees which were to follow, it was, nevertheless, difficult to enforce and a great disappointment to its sponsors. The Church was forced to dispose of some property but this property, for the most part, simply passed into the hands of the rich hacendados and the landless masses remained in the same position as they were before. But this time the fight was not to be stopped with only a half won victory. Following on the heels of the Law of Expropriation and embracing all of its most important principles came the constitution of 1857. Article number twenty-seven of this famous document forbade civil and ecclesiastical corporations to own and administer real property, except that which was destined immediately and directly for worship or for the object of the institu-

tion; and article twenty-five declared that the state could not permit any contract, compact, or agreement to be entered into by which an individual lost or irrevocably sacrificed his liberty, whether by reason of work, of education, or of religious vows. The latter article was directed primarily against peonage, but it also contained the basis for the suppression of monastic orders and the confiscation of their property.

Following the promulgation of the Constitution of 1857 there came the "Three Years War" in which the large landholders and the clergy were arrayed against the liberals led by Benito Juárez. During this struggle Juárez went even a step beyond the Constitution and in 1859 decreed the complete nationalization of all Church property and proclaimed the absolute separation of Church and State. In addition the decree ordered the suppression of the monastic orders, confraternities, brotherhoods, and congregations; the partial suppression of orders of nuns; and the (aforementioned) nationalization of all property of the regular and secular clergy, whether urban or rural, real estate stocks or rights to receive money.

Under such decrees and the Constitution of 1857 the reform movement went forward during the troubled years of revolution and of the Empire under Maximilian. Finally the whole movement was vitiated by the policies of Díaz in the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

Due to the lack of adequate records and the general confusion of the whole period, it is difficult to discover just how successful the Reforma was in its main intention- i.e. to break the power of the Church. Some authorities estimate

about 100,000,000 dollars worth of ecclesiastical property was reduced to private ownership and that some 40,000 properties changed hands.¹⁰ Without doubt the Church suffered more than it ever had before-although by subterfuges and legal trickeries of one sort and another the clergy was able to do much in the way of tempering the wind to the shorn lamb and managed to retain a very considerable amount of property.

In the matter of "creating a class of small independent land holders" the Reform also failed in large degree to realize its purpose. Very probably the number of small land holders increased by some thousands in the years following the Reform, but in the main the Church estates passed in large, unbroken tracts into the hands of the followers of Juárez and although in this fashion a new aristocracy was created, it was nonetheless an aristocracy. Anything like an equal distribution of the land still remained a problem to^{be} solved by future generations.

Whatever the Reform laws accomplished in paving the way for the appearance of a middle class in Mexico was more than offset by the damage done to the small agricultural groups holding their land communally. The unfortunate inclusion of civil communities in the laws of expropriation led to the break up of hundreds of communal groups and the loss of their property. It has been estimated that in 1854 there were about 5,000 communities (villas, rancherías, pueblos, and congregaciones) holding a total of some 45,000 square miles of land.¹¹ As has been previously explained, the system by which these groups held and cultivated their lands in common had existed from time immemorial and was the only one which the Indians understood. The Reform, which forced the division of these communally held lands was little short of

disastrous. Some few villages were wise enough to place their newly acquired individual titles in the hands of some trusted leader and thus preserve their property intact. But the majority, having no conception of the meaning of private property, became the victims of the large landholders and speculators and lost their lands forever. A mortal blow was dealt to one of the most important and stable of Mexico's agrarian institutions and formerly independent communities were reduced to poverty and peonage.

The Díaz Regime and the Agrarian Situation.

The long rule of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911) was marked by a concentration in the ownership of the land to an extent unequalled before in the history of Mexico and, perhaps, it is no exaggeration to say- unequalled in the history of any other country in the world. It is unnecessary to rehearse in any detail the various legal and pseudo-legal means by which this unhappy state of affairs was consummated. A short summary of the two principal features of Díaz' agrarian policy- the alienation of public lands and the expropriation of communally held lands- will suffice to show how it came about that the end of the "Great Dictator's" regime found Mexico from the agrarian point of view "in worse condition than she had ever been even during the most stationary periods of the Spanish domination".

After Mexico had achieved ~~its~~ independence from Spain and throughout the years that followed, many of the political leaders held the theory that the best way to develop the country would be to attract large numbers of immigrants. This theory led to a number of ill-fated attempts at colonization on public lands. Practically all of these attempts were failures (the most disastrous was the case of Texas) and resulted in nothing more than

the passing of large tracts of the public land into the hands of colonization companies and speculators. Even Juárez was guilty of alienating vast areas of the public domain without adequate return to the government. (For example, Jacob Leese was given a colonization contract (1864) in Lower California whereby for 100,000 pesos he acquired 29,952,000 acres. This concession was later revoked in 1873.)

It was not, however, until the time of Díaz that a really wholesale distribution of the public lands took place. At first Díaz seems to have made more or less honest efforts to use the public lands to encourage foreign immigration to Mexico. In 1894, however, even the pretense of colonization was given up and from that time on concessions of public lands served the purpose of rewarding the Dictator's political favorites and fortifying his political position. Under the decree of March 1894 companies undertaking to survey and "colonize" public lands received in return for making the survey one third of the land concerned and also had the right to buy (often at a very low price) the other two thirds. The "colonization" clauses in the concessions (where they existed at all) were so framed as to make it very easy for the concessionaires to escape all responsibility on this score. The unlimited powers granted to the President in the decree of 1894 were used not only to dispose of the public domain, but also to despoil the communal pueblos of their property. The results of the operations of the surveying and colonizing companies during Díaz' time have been summarized as follows:

"The grants made were often of huge extent. For their justification the plea was raised that the land concerned was

arid and could be rendered economically profitably only if bestowed in large amounts. Those of 13,482,473 acres to Luis Hüller and Co.(1883), of 6,220,788 acres to Pablo Macedo (1886), of 5,396,068 acres to Flores,Hale and Co.(1883), all in Lower California, consisted indeed almost entirely of arid territory. On the other hand the justification alleged was not always in evidence. A grant of 1,250,000 acres in the state of Guerrero (1908), another of 1,320,000 in Chiapas and Tabasco(1892), and a third- to an English company- of 4,250,000 acres also in Chiapas (1897), all consisted for the most part of good land.

"The total amount of land ceded to"survey and colonization companies" in reward for their services, during the Díaz administration, was 63,526,778 acres- an area larger than that of the state of Wyoming, or about thirteen per cent of the total area of Mexico. This does not include the many contracts that lapsed for failure of the concessionaire to observe the easy conditions imposed, but which constituted a golden opportunity for speculation while they lasted.

"The results of all these operations from the standpoint of colonization were absurdly out of proportion to the magnitude of the transactions in land. By 1907-1908 colonies founded by private initiative comprised only 4,735 individuals, of whom about half were Mexicans.

"The use of colonization contracts was not the only method by which Díaz placed large expanses of territory in the hands of his adherents. Some huge areas passed to their ownership by denunciation, others by direct sale at ridiculously low prices, others by composición, or adjustment, and still others by declaración de no haber baldíos. The last named process meant that agents

of the government examined lands held without title, declared that they were not public, and issued titles gratis.

"Denunciations of public land during the Díaz administration reached the enormous total of 30,180,770 acres, for which the government received only 3,590,497 pesos in bonds. These figures include merely bona fide denunciations which were carried through and paid for. There were many which were not in good faith, the denouncers simply beginning the proceeding in order to get possession of the land and exploit it for timber, chicle, or whatever it contained.

"During the Díaz period, the government also sold to companies and individuals 19,068,310 acres of surveyed land for 6,580,688 pesos. By the process of composición 14,537,202 acres of public domain, held without title by individuals, were converted to private ownership, for a consideration of 1,617,352 pesos in bonds. Another considerable amount (2,997,535 acres) passed to individuals gratis, by virtue of the government's having the lands examined and declaring that they were not public. A comparatively small amount of land (620,815 acres) went as subsidies to railroads and as special concessions. To colonists the government sold only 39,965 acres and that for 60,388 pesos.

"By these various methods 134,547,885 acres or twenty-seven per cent of the total area of Mexico, passed to the ownership of a few individuals and companies during the Díaz regime. For it the government of Mexico received only 11,848,905 pesos paid mostly in depreciated bonds. The worst feature of this squandering of the public domain was not the small monetary return the ~~the~~ transactions yielded, or the wastage of the nation's

timber and other natural resources, or the demoralizing effects of land speculation, or the enlargement of already immense estates. It was the fact that small land holders, villages and communities were in very many cases unjustly deprived of their holdings. Prescription availed to give ownership in the case of large proprietors, but it did not protect the poor, the ignorant and those without political influence." ^{12.}

It has been previously pointed out that the Reform laws of 1857 were allowed under Díaz to become to all intents and purposes completely inactive so far as ecclesiastical holdings were concerned. In the last decades of the nineteenth century the Church, although never attaining quite the power that it had in former times, recouped in large measure its wealth and economic importance. However, if the Reform laws were not applied to the Church, the Díaz government more than made up for any laxness in that respect by the stringency with which it applied these laws to other corporations- that is, to the various civil groups holding their lands communally. The pueblos, congregaciones, rancherías, and villas under Díaz lost not only their propios and ejidos but also the lands which they had been accustomed to parcel out to the members of the group for cultivation. For a number of years after the Reform the Indians had been able to protect the last mentioned agricultural lands from the operations of the law. In 1890, however, Díaz decreed that these agricultural lands (terrenos de común repartimiento) should be subject to the Reform laws and should be divided and allotted in severalty. By means of this decree, through the inroads of the previously discussed colonization and surveying companies, by the process of

denunciation, through punishments for rebellion (often fomented by the government itself in order to have an excuse for grabbing the lands), and in numerous other ways the process of dispossessing the Indians and the communal groups of their lands went forward without limit or stop during the whole thirty years of the Díaz rule.

The official records show that during the Díaz administration more than 2,227,750 acres of communal land were allotted in severalty and there seems to be little doubt that practically all of this land passed into the hands of the hacendados or of the land companies. It is estimated that in 1910 ninety per cent of the villages and towns of the central plateau had no communal lands of any kind. The true significance of these figures cannot be understood without remembering that, although the amount of land involved was not great, it, nevertheless, represented the sole means of support of thousands of individuals. With their land gone, peonage was the only course open to the people. And that the vast majority of the population was reduced to peonage is clearly shown in the census of 1910. This census lists the number of hacendados in Mexico as 834, and the number of agricultural laborers (i.e. peons held in debt service) at 3,103,402. In other words, a conservative estimate of the number of individuals (peons and the members of their families) reduced to complete economic dependence and virtual slavery would be between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000, or from three-fifths to two-thirds of the total population. Table No.I (see next page) gives a detailed analysis of the agrarian situation at the end of the Díaz rule. This table shows state by state the simple fact that the overwhelming

majority of the rural population of Mexico was landless.

Conclusion.

In the foregoing all too brief review an attempt has been made to present a rapid but fairly adequate summary of the legal and social history of the agrarian problem in Mexico from the earliest times down to the revolution of 1910. Throughout this whole period a constant struggle was taking place between the forces making, on the one hand, for small agricultural groups holding and cultivating their lands communally; and, on the other hand, for a system of private property and large "feudal" estates. In this struggle it was the hacendados, the owners of the great landed estates, who finally came off victorious. Thus matters stood in 1910. In that fatal year the fires of revolution burst into flame. The conflagration which swept the whole nation for the next ten years and its results, so important for the future of Mexico and so fraught with significance for those who would understand the present agrarian problem in Mexico, will be dealt with in the following chapter.

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Table No. I.

General Statistics of Landholdings in 1910.

State.	Rural popula- tion.	Per cent of Total.	Heads of Fami- lies	Prop- erty Hold- ers.	Percentage of heads of families who own individual property.	Percentage of heads of families who own no individual property.
Aguascalientes	70,507	58.5	14,101	505	03.6	96.4
Baja California	46,736	89.4	9,347	1,111	11.8	88.2
Campeche	63,351	73.1	12,670	297	02.3	97.7
Coahuila	239,736	66.2	47,947	1,110	02.3	97.7
Colima	52,556	67.6	10,511	334	03.1	96.9
Chiapas	361,246	82.3	72,249	2,911	04.0	96.0
Chihuahua	315,329	77.7	63,066	2,883	04.5	95.5
Durango	407,577	84.4	81,515	2,681	03.2	96.8
Guanaajuato	776,443	71.7	155,289	4,533	02.9	97.1
Guerrero	545,183	91.7	109,037	1,712	01.5	98.5
Hidalgo	590,796	91.4	118,159	1,645	01.3	98.7
Jalisco	932,235	77.1	186,447	7,296	03.8	96.2
México	831,347	84.0	166,269	856	00.5	99.5
Michoacán	828,947	83.6	165,789	4,518	02.7	97.3
Morelos	139,467	77.7	27,893	140	00.5	99.5
Nuevo León	263,603	72.2	52,721	2,893	05.4	94.6
Oaxaca	901,442	86.7	180,288	499	00.2	99.8
Puebla	896,618	81.4	179,324	1,259	00.7	99.3
Querétaro	200,211	81.8	40,042	650	01.6	98.4
Quintana Roo	7,109	100.0	1,822	27	01.4	98.6
San Luis Potosí	488,894	77.9	97,779	1,745	01.8	98.2
Sinaloa	278,423	86.0	55,685	2,951	05.3	94.7
Sonora	219,563	82.7	43,913	1,875	04.2	95.8
Tabasco	175,247	93.4	35,049	1,707	04.8	95.2
Tamaulipas	198,770	79.6	39,754	3,079	07.7	92.3
Nayarit	139,273	81.4	27,855	1,712	06.0	94.0
Tlaxcala	157,110	85.3	31,422	224	00.7	99.3
Vera Cruz	887,369	78.3	177,474	1,954	01.1	98.9
Yucatán	249,061	73.3	49,812	1,806	03.6	96.4
Zacatecas	406,214	85.1	81,243	1,535	01.9	98.1

Note: Table taken from G.M.McBride, "The Land Systems of Mexico", American Geographical Society, 1923, p.154.

"The number of individual property holders is obtained by adding the number of ranchos and the number of haciendas as given in the census of 1910. The heads of families are reckoned as one in five of the rural population. If the number of agriculturalists as given in the census be taken as a basis for calculation, the percentage of the landless is still higher. This is probably because many children are classes as agriculturalists. No figures can be given for the number of persons who share communal holdings. In the states of the center and south, in which the Indians are numerous, the percentage of the totally landless might be reduced considerably; in other states very little."

Notes.

1. Phipps, Helen- Some Aspects of the Agrarian Question in Mexico, University of Texas Press, 1925, pp.14-19.
2. McBride, G.M.-Land Systems of Mexico, American Geographical Society, New York, 1923, pp.121-22.
3. Phipps, op.cit.p.21.
4. Ibid, pp.38-39.
5. Ibid, pp.45-46.
6. Ibid, pp.59-60
7. McBride, op.cit., p.65
8. Phipps, op.cit., pp.75-76.
9. McBride, op.cit., pp.69-70.
10. Ibid, p.71 and Phipps, op.cit., p.90.
11. McBride, op.cit., pp.132-133.
12. Phipps, op.cit., pp.108-111.
- 13.

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