A PRELUDE: PRIESTS FROM SPAIN PREACHING JUSTICE

With the Spanish invaders of the Americas in the 1500's came Dominican friars from Spain, sent to teach, heal and preach. Their mission reached from the islands of the Caribbean to Florida and Mexico, through Central and South America, and across the Pacific to the Philippines. In those places members of the Order of Preachers dedicated their lives to fighting oppression by teaching the truth of salvation; of human nature saved by Jesus Christ. Among those early friars only a few arrived in the land that is now the United States, but one of them was Antonio de Montesinos who raised the first cry for liberty in the western hemisphere.

Map of the Americas (16th century): route of the Dominicans from Salamanca to Sto. Domingo, 1510

Only two years after the death of Columbus did the saga of the Spanish Dominicans on mission in the Americas begin. On October 3, 1508, the Master of the Order of Preachers, Thomas de Vio, or Cajetan, had requested that fifteen friars be sent from the University of Salamanca to La Espanola, the island in the Caribbean which today includes Haiti and the
Dominican Republic.[1] The first four men arrived in September, 1510 at the Spanish stronghold of Santo Domingo, and made it their mission base. They were Pedro de Cordoba, the prior; Antonio de Montesinos; Bernardo de Santo Domingo; and Pedro de Estrada.[2] These friars would leave an indelible mark on the early struggle for human rights for indigenous peoples. Without delay they denounced the abuses committed against the natives and studied their languages and cultures. Pedro de Cordoba led the way in writing books in native languages, beginning with the clear, attractive lessons of his pictorial catechism.[3]

The four friars found strength for their preaching and teaching in the life of their Dominican community: their common prayer, the study which their Constitutions required to be "assiduous," and the sharing of gifts in planning for ministry. Their first bold action was to refuse the comfortable quarters provided them by the invaders. They moved into one of the native huts and soon became a "comunidad profetica" in Santo Domingo, openly supporting each others' preaching in the face of daunting power and wealth. The Word of God came to life in the western hemisphere when the friars denounced the injustices of the Conquistadores against the natives. They addressed with courage the evils of inhuman treatment of the conquered people: the long hours of killing work in the mines; the suffering of children and women forced to labor under the oppressive **encomendero** system on the vast **encomiendas** of the conquerors. These evils were widespread, despite the fact that by June 1500 the Catholic Kings formally approved a policy of liberty, not slavery, for the natives.[4]
In their mission across the Atlantic, the four friars, and many who followed them, took as their model the founder of their Order in the thirteenth century, Domingo de Guzman. He renewed the life of the Church by proclaiming the Gospel to the people. His followers in the sixteenth century sought to free the native peoples by proclaiming that same Gospel in the struggle between their mentality and culture and that of the invaders. The struggle would end with the cultural and religious annihilation of native civilizations.[5]

On the second Sunday of Advent in 1511, Antonio de Montesinos preached a rousing sermon to which all four friars had contributed ideas and added their signatures. The listeners included soldiers, colonists and officials who represented King Ferdinand and the Court of Spain. For the first time they heard a deliberate public protest against atrocities for which they themselves were responsible. Imagine their reactions to these words:

. . . Tell me, with what right, with what justice, do you hold these Indians in such cruel and horrible servitude? On what authority have you waged such detestable wars on these people, in their mild, peaceful lands, where you have consumed such infinitudes of them, wreaking upon them this death and unheard-of havoc?

How is it that you hold them so crushed and exhausted, giving them nothing to eat, nor any treatment for their diseases, which you have infected them with through the surfeit of their toils, so that they "die on you" [as you say] you mean, you kill them mining gold for you day after day?

And what care do you take that anyone catechize them, so that they may come to know their God and Creator, be baptized, hear Mass, observe Sundays and Holy Days?

Are they not human beings? Have they no rational souls? Are you not obligated to love them as you love yourselves? Do you not understand this? . . . How is it that you sleep so soundly, so lethargically?

Even before this crushing indictment the friar opened his sermon with these words: "You are all in mortal sin! You live in it and you die in it! Why? Because of the cruelty and tyranny you use with these innocent people![6]

The listeners were astounded and shocked. Never before, to their knowledge, had Christians been called to truth and justice among people whom many thought to be less than human. Thus developed in this hemisphere the first significant clash between human rights and human greed. Perhaps Montesinos awakened the moral conscience of some Spanish listeners, but it was too late to undo twenty years of destructive exploitation. However, by their intense, persistent protests, the four Dominican men became the first European spokesmen to defend the rights of natives in the Americas. They also determined the quality of the early foundations of the Order of Preachers in those lands.[7] Montesinos had challenged the system. The reaction of the colonists was far from positive. They brought their complaints to the prior, Pedro de Cordoba, who assured them that Montesinos had spoken for the Dominican community and would continue to preach the same message. On the following Sunday the sermon was still stronger. When the king heard all this, he was alarmed. He sent a cedula or royal letter to the governor of the island, Diego de Colon, voicing his extreme displeasure at the preaching; he ordered Colon to stop the condemnation of the encomienda system.[8]
To raise a voice in defense of the natives was only natural for Montesinos and his brothers, educated at the studium of San Esteban and the University of Salamanca, where theologians taught the fully human nature of all peoples. The natives possessed the natural rights of human persons, rights which could not be taken away despite their "primitive state." They were free by nature. Their lack of Christian faith gave no grounds to enslave them, make war against them or take away their lands. However, this thesis was questioned not only by the invaders, but by some learned theologians in Spain. Even their Dominican provincial reprimanded the community. He threatened to send no more men if the friars did not refrain from such criticism.

Montesinos and Pedro de Cordoba traveled to the Spanish Court to present their case to King Ferdinand. He called a junta of theologians and jurists whose deliberations resulted in the Laws of Burgos, promulgated December 27, 1512. The Dominicans were far from satisfied with them. A second junta framed another set of laws, which was issued in the following July. Although these fell short of the desired outcome, they did demand an end to child labor, to compulsory work for women and to the exploitation of laborers: principles which remain today the cornerstone of social justice and fair labor practices.

Meanwhile, back at Santo Domingo, the firm stand of the friars and their example had influenced the dramatic conversion of a Spanish priest who had supported the conquistadors and was given a large portion of plundered land in Cuba; an encomienda worked by Indians under the harsh system imposed by the conquerors. The priest was Bartolome de Las Casas who had come to Espanola with the conquerors in 1502, ten years after Columbus. As an encomendero, Las Casas enjoyed the fruits of the people's labor, but gave scant attention to their human needs and neglected their religious education. For these reasons the priest had been denied absolution by a confessor in Santo Domingo, probably Pedro de Cordoba. The friars had decided together to withhold pardon from encomenderos who oppressed their workers and neglected to instruct them in their faith.

Las Casas himself tells of his conversion to a new way of life. As he was preparing to celebrate Mass and preach to the Spaniards on Pentecost, he began to consider some of the declarations from Scripture which denounced human oppression. First and foremost were words from Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 34:18,21:

Tainted his gifts who offers in sacrifice ill-begotten goods!

. . . Like the man who slays a son in his father's presence is he who offers sacrifice from the possessions of the poor.

The bread of charity is life itself for the needy, he who withholds it is a person of blood.

He slays his neighbor who deprives him of his living; he sheds blood who denies the laborer his wages.
When Las Casas realized how those words fit his life, he was deeply moved. Experiencing real conversion, he liquidated his property in Cuba and sailed to Santo Domingo. There he was stirred by the preaching of Montesinos and the counsel of Pedro de Cordoba and his community. On their advice he returned to Spain to work for justice. At the court of King Ferdinand he began in full force his crusade as "Defender of the Indians," both at the court and back in the Indies.

A second conversion of Las Casas occurred when, influenced by Pedro de Cordoba, he asked to become a Dominican friar. In April 1524, he made his religious profession, followed by four years of prayer and study at the convent in Espanola. There in 1527 he began his *Historia de las Indias*. For the remainder of his life he defended the rights of the natives by preaching, writing, pastoral ministry and confrontation. However, as a man of his time, he still supported some forms of slavery, but later vehemently reversed his stand.

In 1517 an unnamed friar petitioned the king to inform the Pope of the inhuman treatment of the natives and the flaunting of the laws made five years earlier. Continuing the struggle, the Dominican Bishop of Tlaxcala in New Spain, Julian Garces, sent the Pope an enthusiastic argument on behalf of the natives, defending them against charges of barbarity and cruelty. His letter, coupled with the persistent pleas from Las Casas and others, resulted finally in the Bull of Pope Paul III, *Sublimis Deus*, of June 2, 1537. In that document the pope declared:

> The Indians are truly men, and are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it. . . . The said Indians and all the other people who may later be discovered by Christians are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outside the faith of Jesus Christ; ... they may and should freely and legitimately enjoy their liberty and possession of their property, nor should they in any way be enslaved. .

In 1517 an unnamed friar petitioned the king to inform the Pope of the inhuman treatment of the natives and the flaunting of the laws made five years earlier. Continuing the struggle, the Dominican Bishop of Tlaxcala in New Spain, Julian Garces, sent the Pope an enthusiastic argument on behalf of the natives, defending them against charges of barbarity and cruelty. His letter, coupled with the persistent pleas from Las Casas and others, resulted finally in the Bull of Pope Paul III, *Sublimis Deus*, of June 2, 1537. In that document the pope declared:

> The Indians are truly men, and are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it. . . . The said Indians and all the other people who may later be discovered by Christians are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outside the faith of Jesus Christ; ... they may and should freely and legitimately enjoy their liberty and possession of their property, nor should they in any way be enslaved. .

The ministry of Las Casas expanded and became even more critical when in 1544, at the age of seventy years, he was named Bishop of Chiapas, a vast and rugged area in southern Mexico. There he suffered intense antagonism from government and Church leaders, a confrontation which led soon to his resignation and return to Spain. There he continued his protests in his prophetic writings, and died in 1566. In retrospect, his influence has reached to the present day, but is still too little known. Although he never set foot in the present United States, his crusade for human rights has become in this country a rallying cry for justice to the Indians. The principles for which Las Casas fought in Chiapas in the 16th century were upheld in that same diocese at the close of the 20th century by another Las Casas, the Dominican Bishop Samuel Ruiz.

One source of the principles for which Las Casas and the other missionaries struggled was the Spanish theologian Francisco de Vitoria, who in 1526 had been appointed professor of theology at the University of Salamanca, at the request of students! Soon missionaries in the Americas were sending him their questions related to the human rights of the natives. By his assiduous study, Vitoria found many answers in the theology of Thomas Aquinas. Armed with these he joined the American crusade from a distance, sending his brothers clear and powerful
responses to the protests of the colonists. Were not the Indians sub-human creatures? Were they not destined for slavery in order to benefit civilized peoples? How could the natives have any rights in relation to their conquerors?

Vitoria's response was based on the Thomistic principles of the God-given dignity and freedom of all human beings. First he condemned the conquest of Peru by Pizzaro; then he began to refute the arguments used by the invaders to justify the repressive policies of the conquest. Vitoria proclaimed in strongest terms the rights of the Indian peoples. He provoked a crisis of conscience in Spain as conflicting arguments were brought to King and Pope.

But Vitoria was not alone. His University colleagues joined him in defending a vigorous pastoral policy drawn from theological sources. Evangelization, they insisted, should promote human progress and liberation.

Centuries later, on the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Columbus in the Americas, a professor at the University of Salamanca, Luciano Perefla Vicente, republished a summary of Vitoria's basic teachings taken from his writings. Pereflia published them in Spanish and English together in 1992. The English section is entitled, The Rights and Obligations of Indians and Spaniards in the New World. Among the principles of Vitoria which Pereflia lists under their broad categories are the following:

I. The Indians are human beings.
   • Inasmuch as he is a person, every Indian has free will and, consequently, is the master of his actions.
   • By natural law, all are born equal. Legal slavery is a product of the law of nations and thus can be abolished, when nations so will, in favor of peace and human progress.
   • The Indians may not be deprived of their goods or powers on account of their social backwardness, nor on account of their cultural inferiority or political disorganization.
   • The [goods of] the Indians may not be expropriated, nor may their lands be occupied, if these actions are not based on the law that is common to Christians and non-Christians alike.
   • Everyone has the right to truth, to education, and to all that forms part of his cultural and spiritual development and advancement.
   • The Indians have the right not to be baptized and not to be forced to convert to Christianity against their will.

II. The Indian peoples are sovereign
   • The Indian peoples are sovereign republics and, thus, are not properly subordinate to Spain, nor do they form part of Spain.
   • The Indian rulers, whether natural or elected, enjoy the same fundamental rights as any Christian or European prince.
   • By natural law and the law of nations, all the goods of the earth exist principally for the common good of humanity, to which end the natural resources of every nation should also serve.

III. The Indian peoples form part of the international community
• On account of natural human solidarity and by the law of nations, all men, ... have equal
right to the communication or exchange of persons, goods, and services with the sole provision
that justice and the natives' rights be respected.
• By reason of natural sociability, the Spaniards have the right to travel through Indian
territory and to establish residence there on the condition that by so doing they neither prejudice
nor injure the natives.
• The Spaniards have the right to trade with the Indians just as the Indians have with the
Spaniards.
• A properly defensive war does not justify conquest when the Indians innocently believe, on
account of ignorance, that they are justly defending their property.
• If war is waged against the Indians in order to free them from their inhuman and barbaric
customs, when this aim has been reached, the "protector-state" cannot prolong its intervention;
nor may it, on the pretext of defending innocent people, be permitted to occupy the Indian
territories indefinitely.
• The "protector-state" has the right to remain in the conquered territory only so long as its
presence is necessary for ending the unjust situation and for ensuring future peace.

IV. The responsibilities of government
• Wars are not waged to exterminate people, even though they might have been the
 aggressors in the war, but rather for the defense of law and the establishment of peace. It will be
possible to guarantee the peace and security of the Indians only through relations marked by
moderation, understanding, and tolerance...
• It is not sufficient for the king of Spain to promulgate good laws, appropriate to the
capacity and development of the Indians; he is also obligated to install competent governors who
are willing to enforce such laws against those who exploit the Indians or attempt to plunder them
and seize their goods.
• Religious tolerance is a principle of political prudence that occasionally requires one to
countenance certain pagan customs and laws, the abolition of which, even though they might be
illicit in principle, would nonetheless be a crime against the social peace and the conscience of
the majority of Indians.
While teaching about human rights, Vitoria studied the laws of various nations. He compiled from them the principles underlying relations among contemporary sovereign peoples. Those principles earned him lasting acclaim as the "Father of International Law."[21] Under that title his writings were cited by the United States Government in its formative years; especially in the 19th century, when making treaties with the Indians. However, despite the citation of Vitoria's teachings the government treaties with the Indians were in practice only shameful misapplications of Vitoria's underlying principles.

Although Vitoria never came to the Americas, his Dominican brothers brought to the natives his lasting principles, along with the Gospel on which they were based. Only with these could they confront the invaders who were seeking gold, land and power at the expense of other human beings.

The first Dominican known to have reached the land which is now the United States was the preacher Antonio de Montesinos. In July, 1526 he and two other friars left Puerto Rico with an expedition of six ships led by Lucas Ayllon Vasquez.[22]

His purpose was to establish a colony by peaceful means. Therefore it was not surprising that the friar Bartolome de Las Casas stood on the shore at Espanola to bid farewell to the adventurers, and particularly to his Dominican confreres.[23]

The Ayllon party landed in the vicinity of the present Georgetown, South Carolina. Here the would-be colonists expected to encounter a "new Andalucia," a land rich in crops known in that part of Spain. It was also said to abound in pearls and gems! [24] But the explorers found neither
pearls nor abundant crops; only a sparse native population, a few villages, and no suitable place for a settlement. Three years earlier a Spanish ship had sailed to this coast and captured natives by persuading them to come aboard their ship. The crew took them off to Espanola, where they sold the Indians into slavery. This may have accounted for the Ayllon expedition finding few natives.

The Spanish expedition remained about three months and built near the coast a little church dedicated to San Miguel de Gualdape. The friars celebrated Mass, perhaps the first on the mainland, but left no record of baptisms. While still in their temporary settlement, Ayllon Vazquez died October 18, 1526, and was probably buried in the church of San Miguel. His death, coupled with the severe winter and the prevalence of hunger, disease and dissension, soon caused the party to return to Espanola. One baptism was administered to an elderly woman in present-day Georgia, but the friars were reluctant to baptize without certainty that the natives would be properly instructed beforehand and ministered to afterward.

On his return to the Caribbean, Antonio de Montesinos was appointed by the Crown to be protector of the natives of Venezuela. After nearly fifteen years in that delicate assignment, trying to prevent the wholesale exploitation of the natives, he was murdered by an officer of the Crown on June 27, 1540.[25] Montesinos' powerful cry for justice was finally silenced by the force which he had challenged so vehemently for thirty years. At Santo Domingo today he is honored by a monument showing him shouting his message of justice and love across the waters, out to the world.

Another forceful preacher of justice who came briefly to the shores of the present United States was Luis Cancer, who joined the Dominican community at Espanola in his youth. In 1521 he was assigned with Montesinos to the mission at San Juan, Puerto Rico. In 1542 he left Puerto Rico to join Bartolome de Las Casas among the Mayans in Guatemala. That land was called La Tierra de la Guerra, the Land of War, because the natives had never ceased their rebellion against the invaders. The two friars brought to the natives the Gospel message of freedom and peace and named the region La Tierra de la Vera Paz. While studying the native languages, they discovered the riches of the Mayan culture, including a love for music. Cancer and Las Casas translated the Gospel message into rhymed couplets and songs and sent them to the natives with some merchants. The recipients were delighted. Fray Luis then went alone into their rugged land and was welcomed by the people, despite warnings of the danger awaiting any Spaniard.

Following the rugged Guatemala mission, Fray Cancer desired to go to Florida, where christianization had been unsuccessful because of cruelties inflicted by the conquerors. He obtained support in Spain for a peaceful journey into Florida, but could find no one willing to
risk his life in that strange and hostile land. In the Espanola community, however, he discovered missionaries ready to accompany him. A native Christian woman, Magdalena, was also willing to go along as their translator. The party sailed up the west coast of Florida in the spring of 1548, but their mission ended abruptly. First to go ashore were the friar Diego de Tolosa and an oblate brother named Fuentes, accompanied by the interpreter Magdalena. They immediately disappeared. A captive of the natives informed the survivors that the friars had been murdered. Magdalena could not be found. On June 20, 1549, the feast of Corpus Christi, Fray Cancer and his companions celebrated the Eucharist on the shore and returned to their ship.[26] They sailed up the coast to Tampa Bay where Luis Cancer insisted on going ashore alone. He was immediately killed by the natives.[27] Fray Cancer and his fellow martyrs were the first Dominicans to be martyred in North America. Luis Cancer, valiant leader of many peaceful missions, has been named Proto-Martyr of Florida. He is now proposed for recognition by the Church as a saint, a man of love, faith, peace, courage and love.[28]

Before the Florida catastrophe, Dominican chaplains accompanied several other expeditions into the land that is now the United States. Hernandez De Soto in May 1539 sailed from Havana into the Gulf of Mexico to seek for gold, silver and gems. His mammoth party included more than six hundred soldiers. They battled with natives near the site of the present Mobile and destroyed their town, then moved along the Louisiana coast into the present areas of Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas until the summer of 1543. They found no treasures, and most of the members perished. Of the three friars in the party, the only survivor was Juan de Gallegos.[29]

Five friars were among the thousand passengers on a Spanish galleon bound for their homeland in 1554. Their ships encountered a fierce storm in the Gulf of Mexico and were destroyed. One friar, Marcos de Mena, was washed ashore on the coast of Texas near the present Padre Island. Cared for by natives, he returned to health and ultimately reached New Spain.[30] Carlos Castaneda calls Marcos de Mena and his companions the Dominican martyrs of Texas.[31]

Undaunted by previous tragedies of their brothers, several groups followed Luis Cancer to Florida. A mammoth expedition organized in June 1559 by Tristan de Luna y Arellano included Domingo de Salazar from Mexico, a friar eloquent in the preaching and practice of social justice. He would later bring those gifts to the Philippine Islands, where he became the first bishop. The De Luna expedition was doomed by poor leadership, scarce food, difficult weather and dissension.[32] Another expedition to Florida was led by Gregorio de Beteta, who had been there with Luis Cancer and was determined to return. He was named bishop of Cartagena, Colombia, but refused the office in hope of returning to Florida, which he did.[33]
In the summer of 1566, near the present St. Augustine, Florida, Pedro Menendez d'Aviles initiated an exploratory trip to Bahia de Santa Maria near Chesapeake Bay. On August 14 the group reached the entrance of Chincoteague Bay, off the Maryland-Virginia coast. Winds blew their ship out to sea, but on its return, the party laid claim to the area for Spain. Threatened by the seasonal hurricanes, they then set out for their homeland.[34]

Forty years after the last ill-fated voyage up the east coast of Florida, inhabitants of the successful Spanish settlements welcomed the first visit of a bishop to the present territory of the United States. He was the Dominican missionary Juan de las Cabezas de Altamirano, who arrived at St. Augustine from Havana in mid-March 1606 and visited all the Spanish settlements.

Two more centuries followed before the Order of Preachers would establish the Province of St. Joseph in the United States. The founder was an American who knew almost nothing about the early presence of Dominicans in Latin America. Yet his mission would be the same as theirs: to preach a Gospel of justice, peace and love.

NOTES

1. Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica vol.17, Oct. 3, 1508, 7. By 1508, Ferdinand V had learned of heresies in Espanola. Ferdinand called upon the Dominican provincial of the convent of San Pablo at Burgos to send out virtuous, conscientious friars who could defend the purity of the Faith by their theological knowledge and preaching ability.

2. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P. Dominicans in Early Florida (New York: The U.S. Catholic Historical Society, 1930) 2. O'Daniel was the first scholar in the United States to publish in English a complete historical work concerning the first friars in Florida. He used Justin Cuervo, Historiadores del Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca. 3 vols. (Salamanca: Imprenta Catolica Salamanticense, 1915). This was a publication of three manuscript histories of St. Stephen's Convent, Salamanca.

3. Pedro de Cordoba was an innovative provider of written materials for evangelization, ranging from his "Catecismo Pictografico" for the use of the natives, to his published guide for missionaries entitled Doctrina Cristiana, the first doctrinal text ever written in Espanola.

4. Lewis Hanke, All Mankind is One (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1967) 7. A study of the disputation between Bartolome de Las Casas and Juan Gines de Sepulveda in 1550, on the intellectual and religious capacity of the American Indians.


13. Cited in Gutierrez 47.


17. Among other groups who look to the Spanish friar as a model in their crusade for justice is the Las Casas Ministry of the Dominican Leadership Conference.


19. Vitoria had been teaching theology in Paris at the historic Dominican studium of St. Jacques. Because of its influence, Dominicans of France were widely known as "Jacobins." Centuries later the French revolutionaries usurped the friars' popular title as well as their property.


24. Hoffman, 320. John Gilmary Shea in his *History of the Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, vol.1 (New York: John G. Shea, 1886) 101-108, cited this landing at the Chesapeake Bay. Shea's theory was followed until recent studies indicate that the landing was near present-day Georgetown, South Carolina.


26. O'Daniel 64.

27. O'Daniel 67.


30. Marcos de Mena, O.P., was left near death on the shore, where his brothers buried him in sand up to his neck to protect him from animals. Waking and finding his companions slain, he extricated himself and was cared for by natives. He found his way back to New Spain, where he told the harrowing experiences of the group. See Agustin Davilla y Padilla, O.P., *Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico de la Orden de Predicadores*, 3rd edition (Mexico: Editorial Academia Literaria, 1955) 287-290.


32. O'Daniel 115-120.


34. The Dominicans were blamed by some for the mutiny, but this accusation was later refuted. See Clifford M. Lewis S.J. and Albert J. Loomie, S.J., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill: published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press, 1953) 24.