

The Second International Conference on Bartolomé de Las Casas

July 15-16, 2019

Providence College
Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.



CONFERENCE PROGRAM

CRONOGRAMA/PROGRAM:

**“II Congreso Internacional sobre Bartolomé de Las Casas”
“II International Conference on Bartolomé de Las Casas”**

Sábado 13 de julio/ Saturday July 13	Bienvenida a los participantes/Welcome to participants
6.00–7.30PM	Cena/dinner
Domingo 14 de julio/ Sunday July 14	Bienvenida a los participantes/Welcome to participants
7.00–9.00AM	Desayuno/breakfast
12.00–1.30PM	Almuerzo/lunch
6.00–7.30PM	Cena/dinner
7.30PM	Convivencia/social
Lunes 15 de julio/ Monday July 15	
6.30–8.00AM	Desayuno/breakfast (Raymond Hall)
8.25AM	Apertura del Congreso/Congress Opening Ruane 206 or 205 II Congreso Internacional sobre Bartolomé de Las Casas II International Conference on Bartolomé de Las Casas David Orique, O.P., Ph.D. & Rady Roldán-Figueroa, Th.D. Greetings from Providence College Central Administration
9.00–11.00AM	Mesas Temáticas/Thematic Panels Aula / Room: Ruane 205 or 206 Mesa / Panel 1: Las Casas, las Polémicas sobre la Esclavitud, y la Leyenda Negra / Las Casas and the Polemics of Slavery and the Black Legend Coordina / chair: Paul S. Vickery, Oral Roberts University I. Rady Roldán-Figueroa, Boston University; and, David Thomas Orique, O.P., Providence College: Bartolomé de las Casas and the 19th Century Transatlantic Debate over Slavery. II. Jonathan Baier, University of North Carolina-Greensboro: A Hero of the People? Bartolomé de Las Casas, the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Development of Spanish America / ¿Un héroe del pueblo? Bartolomé de Las Casas, la trata transatlántica de esclavos y el desarrollo de la América española. III. Jorge Abril Sánchez, Independent Scholar: Black Legend: 17th Century Readings of Las Casas / La Leyenda Negra: Lecturas de las Casas del Siglo XVII. IV. Nathaniel Adam Tobias Coleman, University of Bristol: Anglo-Spanish Anti-Slavery: An Edwardian Entanglement / La lucha contra la esclavitud anglo-española: un entrelazo eduardiano.
11.00-11.15AM	Pausa café/coffee break

11.15AM-1.00PM	<p align="center">Mesa / panel 2: La Recepción Histórica de Las Casas / The Historical Reception of Las Casas Aula / room: Ruane 205 or 206 Coordina / chair Pedro Quijada, University of Minnesota</p> <p>I. Andrew L. Wilson, Japan Lutheran College and Seminary: Las Casas from Bolivar to Pancho Villa: The Resurrection and Disappointment of a Sometime-Hero and Forgotten Theologian / Las Casas desde Bolívar a Pancho Villa: la resurrección y la decepción de un héroe ocasional y un teólogo olvidado.</p> <p>II. Dwight E.R. TenHuisen, Calvin College: Antonio de la Calancha and His Translators as Readers of Las Casas / Antonio de la Calancha y sus traductores como lectores de Las Casas.</p> <p>III. Paul S. Vickery, Oral Roberts University: Belief and Practice, Ethical Consistency in the Life and Message of Bartolomé de Las Casas / Creencia y práctica: consistencia ética en la vida y el mensaje de Bartolomé de Las Casas.</p>
1.00-2.15PM	Almuerzo/lunch (Raymond Hall)
2.15-4.15PM	<p align="center">Mesa/panel 3: Las Casas y las Culturas Amerindias I/ Las Casas and Amerindian Cultures I Aula/room: Ruane 205 or 206 Coordina / chair: Vanina M. Teglia, Universidad de Buenos Aires</p> <p>I. Rubén A Sánchez-Godoy, Southern Methodist University: Translation and Representation in “Ciertas peticiones e informaciones hechas a pedimento de don Francisco Tenamaztle” by Bartolomé de Las Casas (1555) / Traducción y representación en “Ciertas peticiones e informaciones hechas a pedimento de don Francisco Tenamaztle” por Bartolomé de Las Casas (1555).</p> <p>II. Garry Sparks, George Mason University: Idoling Around with God(s) in Guatemala: Tracing Las Casas’s Theological Legacy among the Highland Maya / “Idolatrando” con Dios y los dioses en Guatemala: rastreando el legado teológico de Las Casas entre los mayas de las tierras altas.</p> <p>III. Frauke Sachse, University of Bonn: Las Casas and the Divine Social Orders of the Indigenous Americans / Las Casas y el orden social divino de la América indígena (In absentia by Garry Sparks).</p> <p>IV. Guillaume Candela, Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas (IIGHI): Evangelización de los pueblos indígenas del Paraguay: entre imposición y protección (1538-1556) / Evangelization of the Indigenous People of Paraguay: Between Imposition and Protection (1538-1556).</p>
4.15-4.30PM	Pausa café/coffee break

4.30-5.50PM	<p align="center">Mesa/panel 4: Las Casas y la Teología Moral / Las Casas and Moral Theology Aula/room: Ruane 205 or 206 Coordina / chair: Justin Brophy, O.P, Notre Dame University</p> <p>I. Víctor Zorrilla, Universidad de Monterrey: Conciencia dudosa y conciencia errónea en Bartolomé de Las Casas y Bartolomé de Medina / Dubious Conscience and Erroneous Conscience in Bartolomé de Las Casas and Bartolomé de Medina.</p> <p>II. Natsuko Matsumori, University of Shizuoka, Japan: Hospitality or Property? The Natural Right of Communication and the ‘New World’/¿Hospitalidad o propiedad? El derecho natural de comunicación y el ‘Nuevo Mundo.’</p> <p>III. Thomas Varacalli, Texas State University: Las Casas’s Thomistic Philosophical Anthropology / Las Casas y su filosofía antropológica Tomista.</p>
6.00-7.00PM	<p align="center">Conference plenary speaker: Jonathan F. Schwaller, Department of History University at Albany (SUNY) https://www.albany.edu/history/48645.php</p>
7.15PM	<p align="center">Cena especial / special dinner: Great Room, Ruane Hall: Taste of Rhode Island Bendición de la mesa/blessing for meal: Cynthia Folquer, O.P.</p>
<p align="center">Martes 16 de julio/ Tuesday July 16</p>	
6.30-8.15AM	<p align="center">Desayuno / breakfast (Raymond Hall)</p>
8.15-9.45AM	<p align="center">Mesa/panel 5: Las Casas y la Tradición Escolástica I / Las Casas and the Scholastic Tradition I Aula / room: Ruane 205 or 206 Coordina / chair: Rady Roldán-Figueroa, Boston University</p> <p>I. Javier Aldana Rojas and Juan Alexis Parada Silva, Universidad de Santo Tomás: Defensa a Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda en la Disputa de Valladolid / Defense of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda at the Debate of Valladolid.</p> <p>II. Mario Ruiz Sotelo, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México: Bartolomé de Las Casas y la fundación de la filosofía americana / Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Foundation of American Philosophy.</p>
9.45-10.00AM	<p align="center">Pausa café/coffee break</p>

10.00AM-12.00PM	<p align="center">Mesa/panel 6: Las Casas y la Culturas Amerindias II / Las Casas and Amerindian Cultures II</p> <p align="center">Aula / room: Ruane 205 or 206</p> <p align="center">Coordina / chair: Garry Sparks, George Mason University</p> <p>I. Paola Uparella Reyes, University of Notre Dame: Género, producción y reproducción en Las Casas / Gender, Production and Reproduction in Las Casas.</p> <p>II. Stephanie Rohner, Oklahoma State University: Bartolomé de Las Casas en los debates ilustrados: la Apologética historia sumaria y la defensa de las sociedades precolombinas en la obra de Francisco Javier Clavigero / Bartolomé de Las Casas in the enlightenment debates: the Apologética historia sumaria and the defense of pre- columbian societies in the work of Francisco Javier Clavijero.</p> <p>III. Laura Ammon, Appalachian State University: Pagans and Apocalypse, Appalachian State University: Las Casas's uses of Lactantius in understanding Indigenous Religious Practices / Paganos y Apocalipsis: los usos de Lactantius en Las Casas para entender las prácticas religiosas indígenas.</p>
12.00-1.30PM	Almuerzo/lunch (Raymond Hall)
1.30-3.30PM	<p align="center">Mesa/panel 7: Las Casas y Teología Política / Las Casas and Political Theology</p> <p align="center">Aula/room: Ruane 205 or 206</p> <p align="center">Coordina / chair: Pedro Quijada, University of Minnesota</p> <p>I. María Cristina Ríos Espinosa, Universidad del Claustro de Sor Juana: El Memorial de Remedios de Bartolomé de Las Casas como “locus de enunciación” en la utopía de Tomás Moro / The Memorial de remedios of Bartolomé de Las Casas as “locus of enunciation” in the utopia of Tomás Moro.</p> <p>II. Ramón Valdivia, Centro de Estudios Teológicos de Sevilla: La ideología teocrática en la obra de Bartolomé de Las Casas / The Theocratic Ideology in the work of Bartolomé de Las Casas.</p> <p>III. Vanina M. Teglia, Universidad de Buenos Aires: Hacer del indio un campesino: propuesta de colonización lascasiana / Making the Indian a peasant: proposal for Lascasian colonization.</p> <p>IV. Francisco Javier Yate Rodríguez, Isabel Rincón Díaz, Sigfredo Romero Tovar, Universidad Santo Tomás: Derecho a la rebelión en diálogo con Tomás de Aquino / Right of Rebellion in Dialogue with Thomas Aquinas.</p>
3.30-3.45PM	Pausa café/coffee break

3.45-4.45PM	<p>Mesa/panel 8: Las Casas’s Legacy, Theory of Law, and Moral Cosmology / Herencia lascasiana, teoría legal, y cosmología moral Aula/room: Ruane 205 or 206 Coordina / chair: Víctor Zorrilla, Universidad de Monterrey</p> <p>I. Anne-Marie Kirmse, O.P., Fordham University, USA; Alice Byrnes, O.P., Molloy College, USA: Bartolomé de Las Casas – Preaching from the Pulpit of Our Lives / Bartolomé de Las Casas: predicando desde el púlpito de nuestras vidas.</p> <p>II. Dominic Mejia, Boston University: The Moral Cosmology of Las Casas / La cosmología moral de Las Casas.</p>
4.45-5.00PM	Pausa/break
5.00-6.30PM	<p>Mesa/panel 9: Las Casas y la Tradición Escolástica II / Las Casas and the Scholastic Tradition II Aula / room: Ruane 205 or 206 Coordina / chair: Justin Brophy, O.P., Notre Dame University</p> <p>I. David Thomas Orique, O.P., Providence College: Las Casas’s Epistemology: Theology and Philosophy / Epistemología de Las Casas: teología y filosofía.</p> <p>II. Elisabeth Rain Kincaid, Nashotah House Theological Seminary: Theories of Peace and The Common Good among the Spanish Scholastics: Contributions and Challenges / Teorías de la paz y el bien común entre los escolásticos españoles: aportes y desafíos.</p> <p>III. Thomas Eggenesperger O.P., Institute M.-Dominique Chenu Berlin: “Prudentia” – Interpretation of Bartolomé de Las Casas following Thomas Aquinas / “Prudentia” / La Interpretación de Bartolomé de Las Casas siguiendo a Tomás de Aquino.</p>
7.00PM	<p>Cena especial/special meal: Moore Hall: Comida y Música, Food and Music Bendición de la mesa/blessing for meal: John Vidmar, O.P.</p>

Miércoles 17 de julio Wednesday 17 July	
6.30-8.00AM	Desayuno/breakfast (Raymond Hall)
12.00-1.30PM	Almuerzo/lunch (Raymond Hall)
1.15PM	Depart for downtown Providence (25 persons per van)
2.00-3.00PM	Visita guiada a la Biblioteca John Carter Brown y crucero opcional del Río Providence (para los primeros 34 que lo soliciten) Guided tour of John Carter Brown Library and optional cruise of the Providence River (for the first 34 who request)
3.45-5.15PM	Cena por su propia cuenta en el centro de Providence (horario del autobús será anunciado, incluyendo punto de partida y de retorno / On your own for dinner in city center of Providence (bus schedule will be announced, including drop off and pick up)
9.00PM	Providence River tour (for the first 34 who request) N.B. Last shuttle home

II International Conference on Bartolomé de Las Casas July 15th-16th, 2019

PANEL 1. Las Casas and the Polemics of Slavery and the Black Legend

I

Bartolomé de las Casas and the 19th Century Transatlantic Debate over Slavery

Rady Roldán-Figueroa (Boston University) and David Orique (Providence College)

Abstract: Some scholars, such as Alicia Mayer, have demonstrated that early transatlantic discourse about the figure and writings of Bartolomé de las Casas (1484-1566)—especially his *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*—occurred during the 17th century among New England Puritans. However, there is no study of how the figure of Las Casas was later used in debates related to slavery in the 19th century. Approaching this question from the perspective of transatlantic studies, this presentation initiates an exploration of how the life and thought of Las Casas was appropriated in the context of 19th century transatlantic polemics over slavery. This pioneering study employs some primary source material by authors as varied as the U.S. abolitionist and writer David Walker (1796–1830); the Irish doctor, abolitionist and historian Richard Robert Madden (1798-1886); the Spanish military officer and journalist based in New York, José Ferrer de Couto (1820–1877); and, the U.S. historian and diplomat Washington Irving (1783–1859). These intellectuals drew on Las Casas’s *Short Account* and upon other sources as they sought to articulate a position in relation to the institution of slavery. In doing so, they offered diverging portraits of the Spanish Dominican and contrasting interpretations of his thought.

Biographical note: Roldán-Figueroa, Ph.D. specializes in early-modern global Christianity, global Catholicism, Baptists, and the history of Christian spirituality. He is the author of *The Ascetic Spirituality of Juan de Avila (1499-1569)* (Brill, 2010), and co-editor of three additional volumes: with Bill Pitts, *Collected Works of Hanserd Knollys: Pamphlets on Religion* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2017); with Doug Weaver, *Exploring Christian Heritage – A Reader in History and Theology* (Baylor University Press, 2nd rev. ed. 2017); and, with David Orique, *Bartolomé de las Casas, O.P.: History, Philosophy, and Theology in the Age of European Expansion* (Brill, 2019). He has published over twenty-three articles and book chapters.

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Biographical note: David Thomas Orique, O.P., is Associate Professor of Colonial and Modern Latin American as well as Iberian Atlantic World History, and the Director of Latin American and Latina/o Studies. Besides a doctorate in History, he holds Masters degrees in Theology, History, and Spanish Literature. In addition to having lived, traveled, and conducted research in Spain and Portugal, as well as other European countries, he has engaged in investigative activities in nineteen Latin American nations. Fr. Orique’s publications include, among others: “To Heaven or Hell: An Introduction to the Soteriology of Bartolomé de Las Casas” (2016); “A Comparison of Bartolomé de Las Casas and Fernão Oliveira: Just War and Slavery,” (2014); “Journey to the Headwaters: Bartolomé de Las Casas in a Comparative Context” (2009); *To Heaven or to Hell: Bartolomé de Las Casas’s Confessionary Roadmap to Justice and the Afterlife* (Penn State University Press, 2018), as well as an editor for the *Oxford Handbook of Latin American Christianity* (2019) as well as *Bartolomé de Las Casas, O.P.: History, Philosophy, and Theology in the Age of European Expansion* by Brill Publishing (2019).

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II

A Hero of the People? Bartolomé de Las Casas, the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Development of Spanish America

Jonathan Baier, University of North Carolina-Greensboro

Abstract: My research project begins by exploring the traditional role that has historically been given to the Dominican Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas as protector and guardian of the Indians. I bring a focused perspective on Las Casas and his influential mission that paralleled a change of course in Spanish imperial progress in mid-sixteenth century America. Included in my analysis is an in-depth look at the growth and expansion of the Transatlantic slave trade among Spanish American colonies and exploring the influence that Las Casas had in the noticeable shift in colonial identity and economic expansion in the Spanish Americas. Las Casas drew his arguments from first-hand accounts and through official documents such as Papal bulls. For example, the Papal bull of 1493 (Inter Caetera) by Pope Alexander VI established a precedence that Las Casas would follow in his ministry regarding the perceived fair treatment and use of Natives in the Spanish American enterprise. At its core my project serves to open a window into Atlantic World studies through Las Casas' perspective. His influence in the treatment of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas and the transition to African slavery in Spanish America is a debate that continues today. His dissent against the development of Imperial Spain through conquest and colonization in the Americas at the expense of the Indigenous offers a foundation upon which to study the mid-sixteenth century trend of labor exploitation of the Natives and the introduction of the Africans as the main labor (slave) force. The debate on Las Casas reflects not only his role in the context of the change in Spanish Imperial procedure but demonstrates a shift over time in the way historians have and do understand Las Casas. The Spanish shift in identity and colonial progress focused upon their interaction with the Natives in the Americas and the introduction of Africans, at first in bunches, and ultimately leading to the transatlantic slave trade. The manner in which the Natives were perceived and their inherent function within the empire helped to shape the understanding and vision of the Dominican Friar.

The paper will follow lines of evidence provided by Las Casas through firsthand accounts, secondary accounts from clergyman under his authority, interpretations of Papal Bulls, and historians interpretations of Las Casas's arguments and his place in history within the Atlantic world. These documents are presented as a foundation of knowledge pertaining to the evolution of treatment towards the Natives and the role that Las Casas played in the economic, political, and religious factors that were involved in the active use of Africans as slaves in Spanish America. Ultimately, Las Casas's legacy as the protector of the Indian or as a righteous warrior in the spreading of God's word paralleled the existence and expansion of the Spanish American Empire. His story plays an integral part pertaining to the Atlantic World, Indigenous, Transatlantic Slave Trade, and Religious history.

Biographical note: Jonathan Baier: My interest in history, and in particular, Atlantic World Studies have been a journey through many years and places. I graduated from Brigham Young University with a degree in History. I am a Second Year Masters student at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro. I have plans to extend my education to a Ph.D. upon completion of my MA degree. My life has afforded me with many fortunate opportunities to become accustomed with a variety of cultures and languages beyond my own. I lived in Brazil for two years, learning their wonderful culture and Portuguese language, and, through my wife and her family, I have learned Spanish and gained a greater understanding of the Chilean culture. Both of these ongoing experiences have given me a unique perspective on the importance of culture, language, and personal history. All of these experiences have helped me on my journey in the study of History and have led me to where I am today in my academic career. My submitted paper and presentation prospectus will ultimately be a culmination of months of research that were part of graduate research development courses and of my Master's thesis, which will be completed by April 2019.

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III

Bartolomé de Las Casas, John Phillips and William D'Avenant: The Promulgation of Spain's Black Legend in the American Hemisphere During the Interregnum of Oliver Cromwell (1649-1660)

Jorge Abril Sánchez, Independent Scholar

Abstract: When Bartolomé de Las Casas composed his *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* in 1542 to condemn the mistreatment and the atrocities committed against the indigenous people in the New World, he never thought of the possible biased appropriation of his manuscript by foreign enemies of his Christian nation one hundred years later. Indeed, published for the first time in 1552, and sent to his monarch Charles I of Spain, the Spanish Dominican friar's account and report of the abuses suffered by the native population in America was originally intended just to denounce and correct the administrative and economic policies as well as the practices of the Spaniards in their recently-conquered colonial territories. Having travelled extensively throughout Spain's colonies and settlements in the Northern American Hemisphere, this sixteenth-century historian and social reformer witnessed the violence used to convert pagan individuals into Christianity and to build a new society over the ashes of a former civilization. Las Casas sought to persuade his sovereign to act in response to the *conquistadores'* zeal and intransigence in order to improve the living conditions of their exotic neighbors and be able to save their souls.

The importance of Las Casas's writing was enormous as his narrative was largely responsible for the passing of the New Laws of 1542, which abolished slavery among autochthonous inhabitants for the first time in European colonial history, and led to the Valladolid debate in which they discussed the rights and treatment of colonized people by their colonizers. The publication of his essay soon turned Las Casas into one of the first defenders of the individuality of the Indians, and also one of the critics of the imperial campaign of his own kingdom. This discrepancy between the political authorities and the religious man was later exploited by foreign nationals to project and spread negative propaganda and stories against their European maritime competitors in the Atlantic Ocean. This historiographic phenomenon, known as the Black Legend, consisted of fabricated, exaggerated, and/or decontextualized facts sustained by interested opponents with the intention of promulgating a distorted and uniquely inhuman image of their Spanish adversaries.

In this piece of academic research, I concentrate on the manipulation of the Lascasian story by two British readers during the 1650s. On the one hand, I analyze the translation of the account into English by John Phillips in 1656, entitled *The Tears of the Indians*. Dedicated to His Highness Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, the text does not present many important modifications, except for the inclusion of a series of ekphrastic pictorial representations of the brutal *modus operandi* of the colonizers. However, the new title of the work already shows evidence of a political plan by the author to identify and sympathize with the victims of the colonial process. Thus, in the Dedication, the translator strives to appropriate the discourse and message of the friar to underscore the flaws of the Spanish settlers, criticize their colonization of the newly-found land and, advocate for the rights of the oppressed subaltern. At a time in which England and Spain were fighting for the dominion of the Caribbean, and after the recent raid of Spanish Jamaica by the English in 1655, the translator erects himself as the spokesperson of the Interregnum to condemn their Spanish competitors, accuse them of religious extremism, and claim England's rights over the American Hemisphere in prophetic terms as better administrators and spiritual leaders.

Phillips's translation was used two years later by William D'Avenant to pen his innovative 1658 theatrical presentation, published under the title of *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*. This hybrid entertainment, masque, and/or operatic show included music composed by Matthew

Locke. Performed at the Cockpit Theater in July, the show consisted of six scenes or tableaux, called entries, each of which started with a speech by the Chief Priest of Peru and then proceeds to a song. This theatre performance goes back to a state of innocence associated with the Peruvians, which is affected by the arrival of the Spaniards, by the civil war between the two sons of the last Inca, and by the victory and tyranny of the European invaders. Paradoxically, at the end of the show, the “noble savage” civilization is rescued by English soldiers—something that had not yet happened in reality.

All in all, these two samples of textual translation and appropriation of Las Casas’s account demonstrate the animosity of the English toward the Spaniards in the 1650s. The Dominican friar’s work was also revisited by later English artists, such as John Dryden, to seek inspiration to write his own spectacle: *The Indian Emperor*, in 1665, which continued to denounce the atrocities of the Spanish settlers in the American Hemisphere—a message originally crafted by the Andalusian fray Bartolomé de Las Casas.

Biographical note: Jorge Abril Sánchez is an independent scholar and an Early Modern specialist. His scholarly interests range widely, from the study of legends in the Middle Ages—and heresy, folklore and treatises of demonology in Renaissance Europe—to the description of idolatry, paganism and demonolatry upon the exploration and conquest of America and Asia by Spaniards. Abril Sánchez focuses his research on the literature and culture of Medieval and Early Modern Spain, often from a comparative perspective that covers the works of authors on both sides of the Atlantic and their influence on other neighboring nations, such as Rojas, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Tirso de Molina, Sor Juana, Miguel de Lurca, Shakespeare, Dryden, Settle, Behn, Molière, Corneille, etc. Abril Sánchez is especially interested in the occult, magic, the Hermetic tradition, alchemy, astrology, mythology, and the interconnections between the Church and the State during the religious persecutions of the 16th and 17th centuries in Europe and the American territory. Abril Sánchez is the co-editor of *A Novel Without Boundaries: Sensing Don Quixote 400 Years Later* (Juan de la Cuesta 2016) and of *Immature Playboys and Predatory Tricksters: Studies in the Sources, Scope and Reach of Don Juan* (Juan de la Cuesta 2018); author of several articles and book chapters on Cervantes, also books on chivalry and war, ekphrastic sexuality and prostitution, demonolatry and demonology, as well as an active reviewer of theatrical performances and of modern adaptations of Golden Age theater for *Comedia Performance*.

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IV

Anglo-Spanish Anti-Slavery: An Edwardian Entanglement

Nathaniel Adam Tobias Coleman, University of Bristol

Abstract: Loades (1996: 246-247) argues that ‘the first half [of the year] 1553 marks a turning-point in the maritime history of England’. However—given Las Casas’s ‘splash of publications in 1552–1553’, by which ‘his ideas first became widely known to the world’ (Clayton 2012: 410; Hanke 1974: 60)—this year marks one turning-point in antislavery Spanish history. Spanish anti-slavery and English pro-colonialism took place *thirty years before that first English translation* (Aligrodo 1583), but, I argue, were already mutually entangled. Thus, I build on the idea that out of an already ‘entangled Anglo-Iberian commercial world’ that ‘[t]he Anglo-Spanish geopolitical conflict that followed the Reformation led to the creation of two distinct national archives’ (Sheaves 2018: 40; Cañizares-Esguerra 2018: 6). However, I will focus on the reign in which the Reformation really took shape (Aston 1993). While forgotten between Elizabeth I, who launched that conflict, and Henry VIII, who ‘had shown no interest in commercial expansion’, (Loades 1996: 244), not to mention Mary I (Heaney 2018), and Edward VI’s reign (1547-1553) with an ambassador to the Spanish emperor, with the consequence that ‘[t]he greater change was never

wrought in so short space in any country sith [since] the world was' (Gough 1857: 2.ccxxxiv). I pay particular attention to Edward's second and more powerful regent, who 'presided over the beginnings of a maritime revolution' (Loades 1996: 247): 'King John' Dudley (Wilson 2005: 139), 1550-1553. This Edwardian era charts the apex of Las Casas's career—from the build up (Las Casas's homecoming and Sepúlveda's proslavery, 1547-48)—to its climax (*viz.*, a colonial moratorium, and a debate/stalemate, 1550-51)—and to its fall-out (Las Casas's unauthorised anti-slavery publications in order to shame Spain, 1552-53). This era of 'Edward-Valladolid' pertains to a period of three years on either side of 1550—a period long before Britain 'led the way' (Cameron 2015) and was 'ideological[ly] influence[d]' (Sanjurjo 2017: 12) by Spanish abolitionists; although England was ignoring an Iberian pioneer. At precisely that moment, Spain stopped invading, to critically reflect on the in/justice of what it had been done; here England enters. This paper explores how, to realise Dudley's dream of supplanting Spain, King John engaged in pro-colonial (1) head-hunting, (2) proof-of-concept, and (3) spin, by: recruiting Sebastian Cabot who strategized the invasion of America (Peru/"Utopia", 1550), Asia (Muscovy/"Cathay", 1553), and Africa (Barbary, 1551, 1552, and Guinea, 1553); and, 'sponsor[ed] publicity' (Gwyn 1984: 24), through Eden (1551), and, crucially, Robinson (1553). Agreeing that 'an important book by a condemned author surfaces here at a particular site' and that 'such an event is unlikely to occur accidentally', I 'explain this mid-century burst of interest in Utopia' (Cave 2008: 94, 4), by tracing it back to Las Casas. Before England took to denigrating Spanish colonialism, More (1516), in his pastiche of Las Casas (1516), and Dudley, in his commissioning of Robinson's translation, satirised Spanish antislavery. They replaced a theory to remedy enslaving society with a theory to idealise imperial society. The first English response to Spanish anti-slavery was not to support, but to satirise and spin it, and 'Las Casas's urgent plea to save the humanity of his world, alas, became lost in the process' (Baptiste 1990: 67).

Biographical note: Nathaniel Adam Tobias Coleman, Senior Teaching Associate in the School of Sociology, Politics, and International Studies, at the University of Bristol: <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/spais/people/person/nathaniel-a-coleman/>. Schooled in Oxford (Double First in Greats), Paris (Entente Cordiale Scholar), and Michigan (M.A. and Ph.D. in philosophy), Coleman taught social philosophy at University College London and Wadham College, Oxford, where he participated in the decolonial social movements: (a) asking 'Why is my curriculum white?', (b) answering that 'philosophy was whitewashed by a eurocratic empire', and (c) arguing, as a consequence, that 'RHODESian social relations MUST FALL!'. Thereafter, back home in Birmingham, Coleman taught sociology for Birmingham City University's Black Studies Research Cluster and researched local history for the University of Birmingham's Centre for West Midlands History. Now, as honorary researcher in sociology at the University of Warwick, Coleman is currently co-producing, with colleagues in the Global Warwickshire Collective, 'Windrush Strikes Back: Decolonising Global Warwickshire'. The Earl of Warwick was John Dudley, who established, in 1552, King Edward's School, Birmingham, Coleman's alma mater, as well as authorised, in 1553, England's first maritime expedition (under Thomas Windham) to Guinea/West Africa. As a philosopher racialised as black researching the history and memory of arguments in answer to the question: Why's "slavery" wrong?, now teaching Sexuality and Society and Modern Slavery: Issues and Debates at the University of Bristol, Coleman is trying to recover answers to the question "where am I from"—which, at an event on Reluctant Sites of Memory, they described as 'My Journey in Our Struggle'.

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PANEL 2. The Historical Reception of Las Casas

I

Las Casas from Bolivar to Pancho Villa: The Resurrection and Disappointment of a Sometime-Hero and Forgotten-Theologian

Andrew L. Wilson, Japan Lutheran College and Seminary

Abstract: In his 1815 *Jamaica Letter*, Simon “The Liberator” Bolívar called Bartolomé de Las Casas “that friend of humanity, who so fervently and forcefully denounced before his own government and contemporaries the most depraved acts of [the] bloodfest” of Spain’s conquista. As a reward for this prescient advocacy, Bolívar planned to name the capital of his Greater Colombia Las Casas. One hundred years later Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa, upon learning from his lieutenant that there was a painting in Chihuahua’s capital of “Bartolomé de Las Casas, famous defender of the Indians, who, to free them from slavery, introduced the slavery of blacks,” is reported to have replied: “I’m not strong in my catechism, but it seems to me that Jesus Christ came to the world just as much for blacks as for Indians. Take this friar down and burn him.”^[2] When Bolívar wrote his paean, he was drawing on the high-minded language of racial friendship that he had learned from the likes of the French *Société des amis des noirs*. At the time Las Casas was still a useful cipher, his major works trapped in manuscript form, his monumental *Historia* well-nigh unknown. A century of revolutions and emancipations brought new attention to the sixteenth-century friar and bishop, and a burgeoning post-colonial consciousness shed light on his unrepentant (though benevolent) colonialism that complicated this Whiggish reading. Who dusted off Las Casas, and why? That will be the subject of this paper, based on texts from *lumières* (such as Cornelius de Pauw), Mexican agitators (such as Servando Teresa de Mier), French revolutionaries (Abbé Henri Grégoire), leading up to Las Casas’s first modern publisher, Juan Antonio Llorente. These transatlantic themes and their overtones have long reverberated in Las Casas studies, fixing the sixteenth-century Dominican chiefly as a far-seeing political prophet. Studies since then have greatly expanded this range, though the Early Modern jurist and agitator is still largely depicted as a foil for his less enlightened compatriots. Retelling the origins and outlines of Las Casas’s modern resurrection will help us see more clearly what baggage we, too, have accumulated and will open up pathways darkened by his Enlightened champions—and their disappointed heirs.

Biographical note: Andrew L. Wilson received his Ph.D. in Church History from Princeton Theological Seminary writing on Las Casas and the question of African slavery. He has published dozens of book reviews and articles on subjects as varied as late antiquity and evolutionary anthropology. His award-winning book, *Here I Walk*, narrates his 1000-mile pilgrimage to Rome in the footsteps of Martin Luther. He is Professor of Church History at Japan Lutheran College and Seminary.

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II

Antonio de la Calancha and His Translators as Readers of Las Casas

Dwight E.R. TenHuisen, Calvin College

Abstract: Antonio de la Calancha, O.S.A. (1584-1654) was a reader of Bartolomé de las Casas. In his lengthy *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru* (Barcelona, 1638), Calancha mentions Las Casas specifically by name on multiple occasions. In addition to several direct references to Las Casas’ *Destrucción de las Indias* in Book One, Calancha also alludes to “una apologia” by Las Casas and “su memorial” in Book Two. The direct references to Las Casa end after Book Two (of four), however, suggesting perhaps a more limited impact of lascasian

thought on Calancha than the number of references earlier in the text might suggest. In my presentation, I explore how Antonio de la Calancha understands Las Casas and how the references to Las Casas function in the Augustinian's chronicle. The reception of the *Crónica moralizada* offers an additional vantage point for assessing the depth of the lascasian discourse in Calancha's work and, to a limited extent, in the Augustinian order in the thirty-five years following its publication. The Flemish Augustinian Joachim Bruel's Latin translation, *Historiae Peruanae Ordinis Eremitarum S.P. Augustini* (Antwerp, 1651), represents a considerable reworking of the original Spanish text, as do the French translation, *Histoire du Perou* (Toulouse, 1653), and the Dutch, *Het wonderlyk martelie vanden salighen pater Didacus Ortiz* (Antwerp, 1671), both translated by fellow Augustinians ("par un P. de la province de Tolose du mesme ordre" and "door F.A.K. piresers vande selve Ordendoor"). An examination of the translations reveals to what extent the Augustinian translators recognized the importance of the lascasian references in Calancha's chronicle. In my presentation, therefore, I will examine how the references to Las Casas function in Calancha's *Crónica moralizada*, and how they are received in the Latin, French, and Dutch translations that followed.

Biographical note: Dwight TenHuisen received his Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 2005 with specializations in Early Modern colonial literature in Spanish, German, and Portuguese. He has written on the hagiographic discourse in Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, Staden's *Wahrhaftige Historia*, and Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*, as well as on the transformations of the hagiographic discourse, the domestication of alterity, and elimination of self-representation in the reception of these authors in the context of Early Modern confessional geographies. His current project is to examine Antonio de la Calancha's *Crónica moralizada* in the context of Early Modern Augustinian evangelization strategies and of networks in a global context. He is professor and chair of the Spanish Department at Calvin College, where he has taught a range of language, culture, and literature courses at the undergraduate level since completing graduate training, and also directed multiple semester programs for undergraduates in Spain as well as short-term programs in Brazil.

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III

Belief and Practice, Ethical Consistency in the Life and Message of Bartolomé de Las Casas

Paul S. Vickery, Oral Roberts University

Abstract: While preparing a sermon to be delivered on Pentecost, 1514, Father Bartolome de Las Casas experienced a divine encounter with the Word of God. The result of this, many have called his "first conversion," was that he changed both his beliefs and his actions. He recognized what he had been living; his ethical practices, were not aligning with his newly experienced theological revelation. Likewise, in his subsequent second and third conversions, he again confronted his own hypocrisy, repented, and changed his actions to fit this new revelation. In short, he became ethically consistent. What happened and what were the practical consequences? The purpose of this paper is to examine the factors leading up to his new conclusions, and to describe how they affected his life, his ministry, and his message. As his knowledge increased and his faith deepened, he knew he needed to change to please the Lord he served. The paper will emphasize his first experience with the Scripture since his pattern of repentance and subsequent metamorphosis continued in his subsequent conversions.

Biographical note: Paul S. Vickery, Ph.D. is a Professor of History at Oral Roberts University in Tulsa, OK. Fluent in Spanish and the author of 3 books, one of which is about Bartolome de Las Casas, a 16th century Dominican Priest who fought for the rights of the Native American, Vickery

has researched the “Clash of Cultures” arising after 1492. He has also presented historical characters such as Henry Ford, President Woodrow Wilson, and Bishop Francis Asbury around the country. He and his wife have traveled and lived in Europe and the Caribbean. He has been an ordained United Methodist Pastor for over 20 years. As a member of the Mediterranean Studies Association, he has spoken at eight international universities and taught classes in Korea and England. For 25 years he has brought students on study trips across the Caribbean and Europe and spoken on cruise ships including Celebrity, Royal Caribbean, Silver Seas and Azamara. Vickery is known for bringing humor to his historical presentations.

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PANEL 3. Las Casas and Amerindian Cultures I

I

Translation and Representation in “Ciertas peticiones e informaciones hechas a pedimento de don Francisco Tenamaztle” by Bartolomé de Las Casas (1555)

Rubén A Sánchez-Godoy, Southern Methodist University

Abstract: In consonance with the interest of the “II International Conference on Bartolomé de Las Casas” for exploring Las Casas’s corpus as a prism that allows us to explore “the interaction, expansion, culture, and ancestry of Indigenous people, Africans, Europeans, and Asians in the American Hemisphere”, this paper examines a document that the Bishop of Chiapas, Bartolomé de Las Casas, penned in 1555 on behalf of Don Francisco Tenamaztle, an Indigenous leader who used to live in the limits between Xalisco and Zacatecas in the territory of New Spain until he was deported as a captive rebel to the Iberian Peninsula. In this document, Tenamaztle denounces the injustices that he and his community have endured at the hands of the Spanish conquerors, *encomenderos*, and authorities, asking the Spanish crown for the restitution of freedom for him and his community, as well as the reestablishment of his authority as Indigenous chief. He pledges that, if the king concedes him these two goods, he will serve the Spanish crown, pay tributes, and promote Christianity among the Indigenous population in his land. Beyond its undeniable value as source of information about the way an Indigenous person looked for justice and fought for freedom using the Spanish legal apparatus with the assistance of Las Casas, this presentation argues that it is possible to recognize in this document a tension between (1) Las Casas’s effort for translating Tenamaztle’s aim for justice in the language and jargon that he has previously coined in his defense of the Indigenous populations in the Indies, and (2) Tenamaztle’s efforts to maintain his agency as leader of a community that has a specific history of organization and resilience against abuses of Spanish conquerors, *encomenderos*, and authorities in its land. We will explore this tension analyzing how translation and representation work in the text. On the one hand, Las Casas translates Tenamaztle’s testimony in a narrative that is written in Spanish and epitomizes many of the injustices that he has denounced in previous texts. In this sense, he includes Tenamaztle in a language and jargon that he has previously used and produced as part of his defense of the Indigenous population in the Indies. However, on the other hand, Las Casas carefully maintains Tenamaztle’s perspective in his translation, highlighting his agency throughout all the hardships and misfortunes. In a few words, Las Casas represents Tenamaztle less as a subject that endures passively many injustices and more as an agent who persistently fights for justice.

Biographical note: Rubén A. Sánchez-Godoy is an Associate Professor of Spanish American literature in the Department of World Languages and Literatures at Southern Methodist University. His research focuses on Bartolomé de Las Casas and the representations of the African captives and their descendants in the Iberian Atlantic from the Sixteenth through the Eighteenth

century. This research explores the process of production, appropriation, and transformation of those representations as part of an early critique of Atlantic slavery that precedes and overcomes the conceptual framework of the enlightened northern European abolitionism. Sánchez-Godoy recently published his book, *El peor de los remedios: Bartolomé de Las Casas y la crítica temprana a la esclavitud Africana en el Atlántico Ibérico* (Pittsburgh, PA: Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, 2016), and the article “Nomadism and Just War in Fray Guillermo de Santa María’s *Guerra de los Chichimecas (México 1575 – Zirosto 1580)*” in *Política Común* 5 (2014).

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II

Idoling Around with God(s) in Guatemala: Tracing Las Casas’s Theological Legacy among the Highland Maya

Garry Sparks, George Mason University

Abstract: As the third bishop of Chiapa, the early Dominicans’s venture among the Highland Maya of Guatemala occupies a short but notable period in the theology of Bartolomé de Las Casas. On one hand, in his *Historia* Las Casas cited the K’iche’an Maya term *k’ab’awil*, like *teotla* among the Nahuatl, as evidence that native Mesoamericans long had an idea of and relationship with the divine prior to the arrival of Christian missionaries. Ethnographically, the chapters on the K’iche’ Maya have more detail than many other indigenous peoples where Las Casas had traveled more extensively. On the other hand, his own time in the Guatemalan highlands was brief but the two groups of Dominican missionaries that he brought in the 1530s and 1540s made lasting impacts in not only his own writings but in the highly local theological debates in at least two theaters. First, between the various religious orders, nominalist Observant Franciscans denounced the term *k’ab’awil*to, instead, mean “idolatory” rather than “divinity” while Las Casas’s first Dominican recruits to the region proceeded to compose in K’iche’an languages some of the earliest original Christian texts in the Americas – such as Friar Luis de Cáncer’s *coplas*, or songs, and Friar Domingo de Vico’s *Theologia Indorum*, the first theology written in the Americas. However, secondly, also between these mendicant missionaries with their names for their Christian god and the Highland Maya with their own various names and types of “divinity.” As a rare case within the history of Christian thought, the Maya elites of highland Guatemala—specifically the K’iche’, Kaqchikel, Poqomchi’, Tz’utujil, etc.—elaborated some of the first post-contact native writings in the Americas in their own languages in response to early mendicant texts, which in turn were drawing from local Maya religion. Intertextual analysis between the two sets of writings in K’iche’an languages, by respectively Dominicans and Maya, help to both further elucidate references in Las Casas’s writings and trace the impact of his theology in the region beyond his brief tenure there.

Biographical note: Garry Sparks is an Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. His research focuses on anthropological and ethnohistorical understandings of theological production in the Americas, especially of Christianities in Latin America and particularly among Indigenous peoples. In addition to various articles and his first book—*The Americas’ First Theologies* (Oxford University Press, 2017)—he is the author of the forthcoming monograph *Rewriting Maya Religion: Domingo de Vico, K’iche’ Intellectuals, and the Theologia Indorum* (University Press of Colorado).

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III

Las Casas and the Divine Social Orders of the Indigenous Americans

Frauke Sachse, University of Bonn

Abstract: In his *Apologética Historia Sumaria*, Bartolomé de Las Casas describes in detail the societies of the Indigenous peoples in the Americas. This first and very detailed "ethnography" of American cultures, religions, and social systems supported his argument that humans in the "New World" were not that different from humans in the "Old World" and that the same rights and laws applied to them. This paper analyzes Las Casas' descriptions of social order and political systems in the indigenous Americas. The focus will rest on Highland Guatemala. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the *reino de Uatatlán* that was ruled by the K'iche' Maya was not only the dominant power in the multilingual and multiethnic highlands, it was one of the major political entities in Post-classic Mesoamerica and became the scene of the most violent conquest wars. To put an end to the terrible bloodshed, Las Casas brought in Luis Cancer and other Dominican friars who pacified the provinces still resisting Spanish control by means of evangelization. The deal that was negotiated left the local Maya rulers in power in exchange to accepting the new faith and the authority of the Spanish Crown. The prerequisite for this Dominican strategy was a common understanding of what constitutes political authority and legitimacy to rule. I will reexamine the documentary evidence for the system of political rule in Highland Guatemala, comparing Las Casas's account of the *reino de Uatatlán* in the *Apologética Historia Sumaria* with the system of socio-territorial organization and governance described in the indigenous text sources, including the Popol Vuh. Las Casas describes a system of inter-polity hierarchies which attributes the utmost authority to the lords of Q'umarkaj who were recognized by all surrounding groups. I will show that this pre-conquest system of social order had its origin in Ancient Maya society and that Las Casas supported its continuation in the colonial era by acknowledging the legitimacy of the heir to K'iche' rulership.

Biographical note: Frauke Sachse is Assistant Professor of Ancient American Studies and the Anthropology of the Americas at the University of Bonn, with a Ph.D. in Linguistics from Leiden University. Her research interests concern the languages, linguistics, Indigenous histories, and religions of Mesoamerica, with a current focus on aspects of translation in the missionary and Indigenous text sources from Highland Guatemala. She is contributing to several international translation and editing projects of textual resources in Highland Maya languages. Her research on the written heritage has been supported by fellowships from the Library of Congress (2016-17), the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library (2012-13), and the Princeton University Library (2007).

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IV

Evangelization of the Indigenous People of Paraguay: Between Imposition and Protection (1538-1556)

Guillaume Candela, Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas (IIGHI) CONICET - Núcleo de Estudios de Historia Colonial (NEHC) (Argentina)

Abstract: In this paper, I would like to deal with one of the most controversial themes in literature about the Conquest of America: the relationships between ecclesiastics and Indigenous people. I would like to study a twenty-year period (1538-1558) by focusing on documents about natives during the Conquest of Paraguay. From simple descriptions to trials, natives are at the core of clerics' and missionaries' interests. From a chronological point of view, this paper will focus on various periods of the Conquest of Paraguay. The first point will be to study documents produced before 1541. Indeed, the Franciscan friar Bernardo de Armenta described the guarani culture for the first time in 1538. At the same time, the priest Francisco de Andrada wrote a testimony about

the installation of the Church on the shores of the Paraguay river and insisted on the impact of the Christian enterprise on the indigenous communities. The second point will address the first phases of the history of the first hispano-indigenous contacts in the Paraguayan region by studying the first official actions that set rules of trade between Europeans and natives. Indigenous protection, control of the interpreters, monitoring of the Christian habits and prohibition of cannibalism were the most important political measures established by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. The third point will focus on the 1544-1545 period when numerous descriptions produced by secular clerics appeared. These documents allow us to formulate new hypotheses about conversion techniques for evangelizing natives in Paraguay. Two priests, Juan Gabriel de Lezcano and Francisco de Andrada, were preponderant in the first testimonies about Guaraní conversion in the Province of Río de la Plata. The last point will deal with the civil decisions about religious issues and their impact on Indigenous defense. We can observe arguments about the truthfulness of clerical reports on the colonial behavior that were sent to the Spanish Crown. Finally, I will study two cases of indigenous murder in the city of Asunción, which reflect the violent climate against native populations, and a case of the encomienda licence of a priest, which calls into question the frontier between the secular and clerical world which vanish when the cost-effectiveness of a native is discussed.

Biographical note: Guillaume Candela is an Associate Member of the Argentinian Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas (IIGHI) CONICET - Núcleo de Estudios de Historia Colonial (NEHC). He defended his Ph.D. at the Sorbonne-Nouvelle Paris III University under the direction of Dr. Bernard Lavallé. His dissertation focuses on the spiritual conquest of Paraguay between 1537 and 1585, before the Jesuits' arrival. His work analyzes the actions and the writings of the clergy. He also examines the interactions between missionaries and natives. His professional experience includes a teaching post as Assistant Professor at François-Rabelais University (Tours, France). Recently, he published a book *Entre la pluma y la cruz. El clérigo Martín González y la desconocida historia de su defensa de los indios del Paraguay. Documentos inéditos (1543-1575)*, Asunción, 2018. In this same year he also published a paper "Reflexiones de clérigos y frailes sobre las deportaciones indígenas en la conquista del Paraguay entre 1542 y 1575." *Chungara*, 50 (2), 2018. He is the co-author, with Bartomeu Melià, of "Lenguas y pueblos tupí-guaraníes en las fuentes de los siglos XVI y XVII." *Mélanges Casa de Velázquez*, 45 (1), Madrid, 2015.

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PANEL 4. Las Casas and Moral Theology

I

**Dubious Conscience and Erroneous Conscience in Bartolomé de Las Casas and
Bartolomé de Medina**

Víctor Zorrilla, Universidad de Monterrey

Abstract: Sixteenth-century Spanish theologians frequently discussed matters of conscience, particularly regarding the dilemmas forced upon them by the Spanish conquest and domination of the Americas. In the introduction of his *Relectio de indis*, Francisco de Vitoria warned that men of moral and intellectual authority should be consulted when attempting to solve difficult moral situations. Bartolomé de Las Casas investigated such issues from a practical perspective when dealing with slavery, restitution, and war. In his commentary on Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*, professor Bartolomé de Medina, a pioneer of probabilism, addressed these issues from a theoretical perspective when dealing with the concepts of *dominium* and restitution. Las Casas's

and Medina's approaches to difficult ethical cases are discussed and placed in the context of Spanish imperial politics.

Biographical note: Víctor Zorrilla, (Ph.D. in Philosophy, Universidad de Navarra, 2009) teaches the History of Political Thought at the Universidad de Monterrey (México). His research has focused on the debates concerning Indian rights and the justification of conquest in Early Modern Spain. His publications include a book on Las Casas's notion of the state of nature (*El estado de naturaleza en Bartolomé de las Casas*, Pamplona, 2010) and several articles on Las Casas, José de Acosta, Juan de Silva, and other Spanish authors. He is currently researching the adaptations of the just war theory in sixteenth-century Spanish American thought.

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II

Hospitality or Property? The Natural Right of Communication and the 'New World'

Natsuko Matsumori, University of Shizuoka, Japan

Abstract: With the recent advance of globalization, Early Modern thinkers of the affairs of the Indies, especially Salamancans and Bartolomé de Las Casas, have been receiving more attention because they seem to have given ideological foundations of this process. This presentation examines the confrontation between the two concepts—hospitality and property—in these thinkers, focusing on the natural right of communication as the common ground of both the positive attitude and the negative attitude toward the globalization. The natural right of communication permits everyone to transit, trade in, and migrate to everywhere, *unless one does not harm anyone*. Thus, its principle consists of the natural right and its proviso. On the one hand, linked with the theory of hospitality, the free movement of people and goods is guaranteed. On the other hand, if the influx of people and goods seems to harm the domestic order, it should be limited as this right has been used as the ground of nonintervention and protectionism. It is pointed out that there are two ideological streams in the discourse of the international hospitality: those who prioritized the right of communication—Vitoria, Grotius, Kant, etc.—and those who prioritized the right of property—Pufendorf, Vattel, etc. (E. g., Baker, “Right of Entry or Right of Refusal?”, *Review of International Relations*, 2011; and Cavallar, *The Rights of Strangers*, Ashgate, 2002.) However, we should pay more attention to the fact that these two streams already confronted in the Early Modern affairs of the Indies. That is, the stream that emphasizes the right of state or property was already shown by Las Casas and Molina, before Pufendorf and Vattel, as an implicit criticism of Vitoria's communication theory. This presentation will show the significance of Las Casas in the traditional discourses of communication, hospitality, and property, which has been relatively ignored.

Biographical note: Natsuko Matsumori is Associate Professor of Political Thought at the University of Shizuoka, Japan. She was born in Tokyo and educated at Aoyama Gakuin University (BA and MA in International Politics) and Complutense University of Madrid (Ph.D. in Political Science). She was, among others, Assistant Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University, Invited Professor at the University of Salamanca and Keio University, Collaborative Researcher at Kyoto University and the National Museum of Ethnology, Visiting Scholar at Harvard University, and Screening Committee Member in the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. She researches the scholastic influence on the formation of the Early Modern political order and her main publications include *The School of Salamanca and the Affairs of the Indies* (Routledge, 2018), *From Barbarism to Order* (University of Nagoya Press, 2009, Suntory Prize for Social Sciences and Humanities), and *Civilización y barbarie* (Biblioteca Nueva, 2005).

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III

Las Casas's Thomistic Philosophical Anthropology

Thomas Varacalli, Texas State University

Abstract: In responding to the colonial claims that the Amerindians were natural slaves and/or noble savages who cannot govern themselves, Las Casas turned to the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas to show that the concepts of natural slavery or noble savagery were incompatible with Thomistic thinking. Las Casas draws upon three facets of Thomistic anthropology. First, he draws upon Aquinas' use of distributive justice. He argues that the existence of natural slavery and noble savagery would be contrary to God's distributive justice (i.e. what God owes creation). God owes human beings' reason, and the absence of reason from the natural slave or the noble savage would be contrary to justice. Second, he draws upon the Biblical concept of the *imago Dei* – the notion that all human beings, regardless of faith in Christ, are made in the image and likeness of God. Using Thomas, he argues that the *imago Dei* is reflected in the human intellect. The incorporeal human intellect can apprehend and interpret truth that transcends the senses. As human beings have an incorporeal human intellect, natural slavery and noble savagery are not possible because both concepts assume the inability to understand and act upon first principles. Third, he states that the natives understand the natural law. Through such intellection, the natives understand the basic principles of right and wrong, which a natural slave or a noble savage would not be able to apprehend. Las Casas argues that the study of native culture clearly shows that the natives understand and apply the natural law in their politics. The paper will proceed by examining all three facets, and then conclude by explaining how Las Casas's Thomistic anthropology leads him to condemn the Conquest and to demand peaceful evangelization.

Biographical note: Thomas Varacalli, Ph.D. is a Lecturer of Political Science at Texas State University in San Marcos, TX. He received his doctorate from Louisiana State University, where he wrote his dissertation on Las Casas's Thomism. He has published in *History of Political Thought*, *Logos*, and *Naval War College Review*.

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PANEL 5. Las Casas and the Scholastic Tradition I

I

Defensa a Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda en la Disputa de Valladolid

Javier Aldana Rojas and Juan Alexis Parada Silva, Universidad Santo Tomás

Abstract: Se aborda a Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda dentro de la disputa de Valladolid, con pretensiones de objetividad, tratando de obviar las opiniones o lanzamientos de juicios, sean éstos de carácter ético o moral. Primeramente se pretende mostrar su ser biográfico, paso seguido se enunciarán sus postulados de la forma más directa, aunque con pequeñas apreciaciones o cuestionamientos que irán surgiendo, finalmente sus aportaciones dentro del debate y a nuestra realidad actual. Esta figura representativa del siglo XVI se encuentra inmersa dentro de lo que se ha conocido como la leyenda negra, imagen que tratará de reevaluarse en este escrito, además de pretender emergerla pues siempre ha sido ensombrecida por su contraparte Fray Bartolomé de las Casas; así mismo el lugar donde se realiza la disputa es un lugar estratégico para nuestra historia, como se mostrará en su momento; de igual modo, como se evidenciará y es el planteamiento

central, es un debate que de manera reducida se haya imbricado en el tema de civilización y barbarie, pero más allá, el tema de diferentes, desiguales y desconectados. La pregunta que dirige la reflexión gira en torno a la figura de Ginés y la disputa, ¿por qué o bajo que pretensiones su posición en la famosa Disputa de Valladolid? Y finalmente, ¿Cuáles son esos argumentos? Finalmente, ¿A qué se debe su posición y argumentación?

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II

Bartolomé de Las Casas y la fundación de la filosofía americana

Mario Ruiz Sotelo

Abstract: La escolástica es la doctrina filosófica que asumió el reto de interpretar la concepción del mundo desprendida del llamado “Descubrimiento de América”, es decir, la primera filosofía que asumió el reto de entender una realidad escapada del entendimiento parroquial, medieval europea, en el que había sido concebida, para dar cuenta de un mundo que ya podemos llamar moderno. La escolástica tuvo originalmente dos escuelas notables para entender el fenómeno de la configuración moderna del mundo: la de París y la de Salamanca. Ambas discutieron sobre la potestad europea sobre el territorio “descubierto” y sobre la naturaleza antropológica de los habitantes del mismo. Entendieron que ambos temas estaban indisolublemente conectados. Paralelamente a ambas interpretaciones podemos decir que surgió una tercera que no venía de escuela europea alguna, sino de la propia América. Uno de sus puntos clave era el papel de América en la modernidad. Las tres tendrán en común la idea de terminar con la potestad universal del papa, tal como lo había postulado Enrique de Susa “El Hostiense” desde el siglo XIII. En ese sentido, buena parte de la discusión se centró en torno a la naturaleza antropológica de los habitantes de América. La Escuela de París advirtió que se trataba de salvajes, de esclavos por naturaleza, y que, por lo tanto, la potestad sobre los mismos recaía en los europeos que pudieran dominarlos, lo que ocurría ya desde 1492. La Escuela de Salamanca dio el beneficio de la duda a los pueblos “descubiertos”, pero admitió que, de comprobarse su carácter impolítico, debían ser sujetados. La Escuela Americana, en cambio, buscó reconocer un plano ontológico común en torno a la condición humana, lo que implicaba una naturaleza antropológica universalizable. En consecuencia, los pueblos descubiertos en lo que llamaron América, así como los de África, tenían los mismos derechos que los europeos, por lo que el gobierno sobre los mismos debía ser relativo o de plano, no debería realizarse. El fundador de esta escuela fue justamente Bartolomé de Las Casas. En el presente trabajo destacaremos que la novedad de su propuesta es que parte de la alteridad de los pueblos “descubiertos” y que consigue formularla desde su propia realidad, rompiendo así con el etnocentrismo de las otras interpretaciones.

Nota biográfica: Mario Ruiz Sotelo es Licenciado en Sociología, Maestro y Doctor en Filosofía, Profesor e investigador titular de tiempo completo, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad

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PANEL 6. Las Casas y la Culturas Amerindias II

I

Género, producción y reproducción en Las Casas

Paola Uparella Reyes, University of Notre Dame

Abstract: En la ponencia estudiaré representaciones de cuerpos femeninos indígenas como cuerpos coloniales re-productores de riqueza y de buenos cristianos en tres obras de Bartolomé de las Casas: *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las indias* (p. 1552), *Historia de las Indias* (1552-1561) y *Apologética historia sumaria* (1550-1552). La ponencia se centra en cuatro puntos: 1) la asociación entre género, inocencia y debilidad; 2) la participación de las mujeres indígenas en actividades de producción; 3) los cuidados del cuerpo, en especial durante la gestación y el parto; y 4) la denuncia contra la violencia sexual colonial. Para Las Casas los embarazos y la reproducción indígena son la base sobre la cual se erige el proyecto colonial que busca producir fuerza de trabajo y fieles. No en vano, Las Casas se interesa en los cuidados de las mujeres durante la gestación y el parto para que nazca prole fuerte y sana. Examinaré varias instancias de representación (proto)etnográfica de cuerpos de mujeres indígenas que Las Casas identifica con la inocencia y la debilidad, así como la identificación de la imperfección y enfermedad con lo “mujeril” y “afeminado”. Finalmente, nos detendremos en la denuncia del dominico contra las violaciones a las mujeres indígenas como parte de su argumento para defender la concesión de la encomienda a los religiosos y evitar la disminución de la población indígena.

Biographical note: Paola Uparella Reyes, Ph.D. Candidate (ABD). She holds an MA in Latin American and Iberian Studies from the University of Notre Dame (2015) and a B.A. in Literature from the Universidad de los Andes, Colombia (2010). My areas of research include Colonial and Transatlantic Studies, Cultural Studies, 19th-century Latin American literature, Afro-Hispanic studies, gender and sexuality, and biopolitics in Latin America and Spain. My dissertation studies the violent and colonial emergence of the visual regimes of the female body in medicine, literature, and art, and on the historical, material and symbolic violence that made the female body ultra-visible, intelligible, and reducible to the sexual and reproductive organs and functions. Recognized with the Victoria Urbano Award by the Association of Gender and Sexualities Studies (2018) for my work on Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s representation of indigenous nudity (1615) and his claim against mestizaje and sexual violence. I have published in the areas of colonialism, gender, race, and biopolitics in journals such as *H-Art*, *Hispanic Issues*, *Revista Iberoamericana*, *A contracorriente* and *Lingüística y Literatura*.

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II

Bartolomé de Las Casas en los debates ilustrados: la *Apologética historia sumaria* y la defensa de las sociedades precolombinas en la obra de Francisco Javier Clavigero

Stephanie Rohner, Oklahoma State University

Abstract: El propósito de esta presentación será explorar la recepción de las ideas de Bartolomé de las Casas en la obra de los jesuitas expulsos en el último tercio del siglo XVIII. Concretamente, se centrará en el uso que hizo el jesuita mexicano Francisco Javier Clavigero de la *Apologética historia sumaria* en su *Historia antigua de México* (1780-1781) para elaborar su original defensa de las sociedades precolombinas del Valle Central de México y de las poblaciones indígenas de su tiempo. En el contexto de los debates ilustrados encabezados por los *philosophes* europeos que aseguraban las desventajas de la naturaleza de América y la inferioridad física y moral de sus habitantes, Clavigero se apoyó en la obra de Las Casas para demostrar que los habitantes de México Central habían sido capaces de desarrollar órdenes civiles, sociedades complejas y organizadas como cualquier otra cultura del mundo. Integró a su historia, asimismo, las comparaciones que había establecido el dominico entre la religión de los pueblos americanos y la de las sociedades de la Antigüedad clásica. Además de incorporar ideas de la *Apologética historia sumaria*, que pudo consultar gracias a las largas transcripciones que hizo fray Juan de Torquemada en su *Monarquía Indiana* (1615), se apoyó, en sus capítulos dedicados a narrar la invasión española de México, en traducciones al italiano de la *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* y de algunos de los múltiples panfletos del dominico, a los que tuvo acceso durante su exilio. La historia de Clavigero se publicó por primera vez en cuatro volúmenes en italiano bajo el título *Storia antica del Messico*. En 1784, el impresor madrileño Antonio de Sancha le ofreció publicar el manuscrito español en España. Sin embargo, el proyecto nunca se concretó. Otro jesuita expulsado, Ramón Diosdado Caballero, compuso desde Italia una extensa invectiva contra la *Historia antigua de México* en la que resaltaba como uno de sus mayores defectos la admiración de Clavigero por Las Casas y cómo el uso que había hecho de sus obras había alimentado nuevamente la crítica extranjera contra España. Los argumentos de Diosdado Caballero fueron acogidos en la corte, donde se estaba llevando a cabo en esos años una campaña apologética para exaltar las glorias de la monarquía tras una renovación de las críticas contra España en la Europa ilustrada.

Biographical note: I hold a Ph.D. in Spanish Literature from Yale University (2018). My area of specialization is the literature and culture of Colonial Latin America with a focus on the transatlantic circulation of native Mexican knowledge and the intersection between European and indigenous literary, historiographical, and visual discourses. In my book project, *El museo mexicana de Francisco Javier Clavigero*, I focus on the efforts of the creole Jesuit scholar to compile the pre-Columbian history of Mexico and to systematize native epistemologies from his exile in Italy. I suggest that Clavigero's work expands and challenges traditional understandings of the Enlightenment. By studying their history and arguing for the compatibility of their ideals with those of Enlightenment Europe, Clavigero reveals the potential of the native societies of New Spain to take their rightful place in contemporary 18th century society. His writings, therefore, constitute an essential step in reframing the Enlightenment as a plural phenomenon. I am currently an Assistant Professor of Spanish and Latin American Studies in the Department of Languages and Literatures at Oklahoma State University.

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III

Pagans and Apocalypse: Las Casas's uses of Lactantius in understanding Indigenous Religious Practices

Laura Ammon, Appalachian State University

Abstract: Bartolomé de Las Casas's legacy as a defender of the Indians is in part grounded in his position in the great debate with Juan Ginés Sepulveda on conquest, Indigenous Americans, and the practice of slavery. Las Casas depends on Greco-Roman writers and Church fathers to bolster his argument about the humanity, civilization and culture of Indigenous Americans. Of particular interest to Las Casas is Lactantius, a fourth-century Church Father whose writings were directed at pagans and who preserved much of their literature and learning while arguing for their conversion to Christianity. He has been called the Father of Christian humanism. This relates to his connection with Las Casas, who also wanted to find in the Indigenous Americans aspects of culture and learning that could be preserved in the ways that Greek and Roman culture had been, even as it was 'christianized.' Lactantius was also eagerly anticipating the imminent return of Christ based on the conversion of the known world to Christianity. This apocalyptic expectation is another point of overlap with Las Casas. In this paper I will explore this connection between the incorporation of pagan culture and 'customs' along with their conversion to Christianity in relation to millennial expectations in Lactantius and Las Casas. What I will show is that Las Casas's dependence on Lactantius shapes his arguments in his defense of Indigenous Americans. At the same time, Las Casas's adaptation of the apocalyptic perspective developed by Lactantius also propelled the urgency in which Las Casas made his defense; literally the whole world was riding on it. Ultimately, I will show how Las Casas's particular historical moment caused him to both amend and transcend Lactantius, creating a new understanding of the peoples of the New World and setting a new standard for human rights in Christian Theology.

Biographical note: Laura Ammon is Associate Professor of Religion at Appalachian State University. She has published on the history of the comparative study of religion and on the role of sixteenth-century missionary documents in the development of theories of religion. Her most recent work is in the *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* and the *Journal of Implicit Religion*. She is currently working on a co-authored volume with archaeologist Dr. Cheryl Claassen on sixteenth-century Spanish and Aztec hybrid religious practices.

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Panel 7. Las Casas and Political Theology

I

El Memorial de Remedios de Bartolomé de Las Casas como "locus de enunciación" en la utopía de Tomás Moro

María Cristina Ríos Espinosa, Universidad del Claustro de Sor Juana

Abstract: Esta investigación pretende mostrar los vínculos existentes entre las utopías europeas y las americanas al probar el ocultamiento del "lugar de enunciación" del *habitus* o *ethos* de los americanos en sus tierras recién descubiertas por los viajeros europeos. Me centraré en el "locus de enunciación" oculto en la *Utopía* de Tomás Moro, a saber, las islas del Caribe descritas por Bartolomé de Las Casas en su *Memorial de remedios*, las cuales son presentadas como un producto de la imaginación, proveniente de un "no lugar" o "buen lugar" según los especialistas de la obra de Moro. No sólo se busca probar una tesis inversa—la de que fueron las comunidades americanas existentes en el Nuevo Mundo las que sirvieron de fundamento para la construcción

“ficcional” de los ideales de justicia social retratados en las utopías europeas— sino también, en un segundo sentido, evidenciar el ocultamiento del “lugar de enunciación” de las formas de vida, *habitus* o *ethos*, de los americanos en sus tierras, las cuales habían sido recién descubiertas por los viajeros europeos. En este caso particular me centraré en el concepto de “lugar de enunciación” oculto en la *Utopía* de Tomás Moro, que consistió en ver a las islas del Caribe americano descritas por Bartolomé de Las Casas en su *Memorial de remedios*, como una ficción del producto de la imaginación, proveniente de un “no lugar” o “buen lugar”.

En este segundo sentido de la cuestión se busca demostrar los vínculos colonialistas entre las utopías de Europa y América. A pesar de esto, no se expondrá el más evidente, el cual estriba en la conquista material y espiritual de América; sino uno más sutil, el de la colonización epistémica, es decir, la manera en que estas “ficciones” no reconocen su “lugar de enunciación” en tanto que aparentan ser topologías inexistentes sacadas de la fantasía de una imaginación exuberante, de naturaleza extrahistórica y metahistórica, pues en realidad retratan sociedades ya existentes que al mismo tiempo son negadas, invisibilizadas tras la ficción. Ello indica de entrada una negación epistemológica y un ocultamiento ontológico de la identidad espacial y temporal de América en el corazón de estas utopías europeas como centros civilizatorios. Para analizar críticamente estos dos sentidos me enfocaré en el análisis de dos “utopías”: la de Bartolomé de Las Casas en *Memorial de remedios*, publicado en marzo de 1516; y la *Utopía* de Tomás Moro, publicada en noviembre de ese mismo año, lo cual no es una mera casualidad, sino producto de la emulación de las propuestas de reforma social y administrativa que formuló en su manuscrito.

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II

La ideología teocrática en Bartolomé de Las Casas

Ramón Valdivia, Centro de Estudios Teológicos de Sevilla

Abstract: En el I Congreso Bartolomé de Las Casas: Historia, Filosofía y Teología en la Era de la Expansión Europea, presentamos una reflexión fenomenológica del momento de la conversión y del desprendimiento de las encomiendas cubanas de Bartolomé de Las Casas. Ahora bien, creemos que es más sencillo desprenderse de las cosas que de las ideas. Por eso, necesitamos comprender ¿Cuál era esa ideología política en la que legitimó Bartolomé de Las Casas la presencia de los españoles en las Indias? ¿Cómo pudo Bartolomé de Las Casas desprenderse de la ideología dominante en el momento de la Conquista? Desde la esfera del pensamiento político lascasiano, atendiendo a las leyes de Burgos que fueron el primer corpus legislativo de las Indias, trataremos de discernir y percibir de qué manera estuvo ligada la teocracia pontifical en la estructura política del dominico y cómo se liberará de ella.

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III

Hacer del indio un campesino: propuesta de colonización lascasiana

Vanina M. Teglia, Universidad de Buenos Aires-Instituto de Literatura Hispanoamericana, CONICET

Abstract: En este trabajo, me ocupo de los proyectos presentados a la Corona por Bartolomé de Las Casas entre 1516 y 1519 de pedido de traslado a las Indias de labradores sencillos y humildes “como” los nativos indígenas. Analizo aquí un fenómeno interesante, puesto que estos proyectos son tanto utopías como contrautopías. En primer lugar, buscan oponerse a los deseos de los conquistadores y los colonos que pensaban a las Indias como espacio para arrasar con abundantes riquezas, infinitos recursos y esclavos, basándose, además, en un aprovechamiento de la tierra en comunidades autónomas con base en la agricultura. Bartolomé de las Casas adecuaba sus varios y continuos proyectos de comunidades y colonias de labradores hasta alcanzar la aprobación del rey y del Consejo de Indias. Dos son los principios fundamentales sobre los que el entonces clérigo funda sus reclamos: la igualdad o justicia distributiva (de la que se desprende la fraternidad deseada por él entre españoles e indios) y la libertad o liberación de la esclavitud indígena a los que tenían sometidos las tiranías de los encomenderos. Además, el clima que en la época instalan las protestas libertarias, tales como las de los Comuneros de Castilla y las rebeliones de las Germanías, se hacen eco en su versión colonialista y evangélica del Nuevo Mundo. Sin embargo y en segundo lugar, estas mismas propuestas utópicas de colonización que Las Casas fue adaptando al contacto con la experiencia reciente de las Indias, resultan transformadas y subrayan su capacidad de colonización por medio de la evangelización. De esta manera, el paternalismo lascasiano y la Diferencia colonial se dejan ver por momentos en la relación protectora disimulada que propone entre labradores castellanos y nativos inocentes. Al poner a prueba estos proyectos para las Indias, en el proceso mismo de colonización de los nativos, observó que los ideales que ellas enarbolan se sostienen en apariencia y sólo ante los indios, ya que, ante la Corona misma, los textos declaran esas traiciones “necesarias” para el cumplimiento de su propuesta utópica de colonización pacífica.

Biographical note: Vanina M. Teglia completed her Ph.D. in Colonial American Literature at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), where she has been a professor and researcher at the Institute of Hispanic American Literature (ILH) since 2007. Her research interests lie in utopian representations of the 16th century chronicles of the Indies and, recently, on myths and marvelous elements in contact in colonial American literature. She has won numerous prestigious fellowships from such entities as CONICET, the Fulbright Commission, GRISO, the ANPCyT and the John Carter Brown Library. She has published several book chapters and papers on colonial literature in peer reviewed journals, as well as scholarly editions of Cabeza de Vaca's *Nafragios*, Cristóbal Colón's *Diario, cartas y relaciones* and Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevísima relación*. She has completed the writing of a book on the controversial utopias of

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and Bartolomé de las Casas —*forthcoming*— at the Casa de Velazquez à Madrid.

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IV

Derecho a la Rebelión en diálogo con Tomás de Aquino

Sigifredo Romero Tovar, Francisco Javier Yate Rodríguez, Isabel Rincón Díaz,
Departamento de Humanidades y Formación Integral - Universidad Santo Tomás

Abstract: ¿Puede Tomás de Aquino, pensador del siglo XIII, decirnos algo a nuestra realidad política latinoamericana actual? Un texto entre dos contextos es el pretexto para generar una reflexión en torno al derecho a la rebelión, desde la perspectiva de la no-violencia y el derecho a la desobediencia civil. Un camino desde la justicia y el buen gobierno en el Aquinate, seguido del bien común político y las virtudes políticas en el Angélico para desembocar en el derecho a la rebelión, es la ruta que se traza para esta exposición. Una lectura desde la propuesta exegética hermenéutica del Dr. René Padilla, es decir, una comprensión intuitiva, una comprensión gramático-histórica y una comprensión contextualizadora son el cómo y modo del presente trabajo. La contribución a la discusión en torno a la figura de Bartolomé de las Casas, se sustenta en la base filosófica y teológica que soporta el pensamiento político de Tomás de Aquino, que a su vez, es la base de la argumentación Bartolina, ya que por aquella época, la doctrina Tomista es la fuente de la escuela salmantina, que formará a la mayor parte de los frailes que llegaron al Nuevo Mundo.

Nota biográfica: Sigifredo Romero Tovar: Historiador por la Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Master of Arts in Religious Studies por la Florida International University y actualmente docente de filosofía política e investigador en el Instituto de Estudios Socio-Históricos Fray Alonso de Zamora de la Universidad Santo Tomás. Se ha ocupado del cristianismo de la liberación en América Latina, específicamente en Colombia y Brasil; también ha trabajado la historia contemporánea de la Universidad Santo Tomás. Más recientemente ha iniciado investigaciones sobre eco-socialismo como alternativa radical a la debacle medioambiental. Hizo parte del Comité Organizador del Segundo Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de Predicadores en América en donde presentó una ponencia y coordinó dos mesas temáticas. Por lo mismo, ha sido co-editor académico de la colección bibliográfica resultante de dicho Congreso. Ha publicado: “Grupo de Bogotá, 1975- 1994: movimiento filosófico de la liberación latinoamericanista en Colombia”, en Benavides, F., Torres, E. y Escobar, A. (2018). *Los dominicos en la educación, siglos XVI-XXI*.; “American views of the progressive Catholic Church in Brazil, 1964-1972: from suspicion to collaboration”, *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 44.2 (2017): 333-355; “Golconda: Cristianismo Revolucionario”, en Torres, F. (2013). *De Camilo a Golconda*.

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PANEL 8. Las Casas's Legacy, Theory of Law, and Moral Cosmology

I

Bartolomé de Las Casas – Preaching from the Pulpit of Our Lives

Anne Marie Kirmse (Fordham University) and Byrnes Alice (Molloy College)

Abstract: One of the earliest proponents of human rights, Bartolomé de Las Casa came to this awareness through a series of changes in his own thinking and behavior. As such, he now is an exemplar *par excellence* of how change is possible throughout one's lifetime. He shared these changes primarily by preaching from the pulpit of his life. This panel will have two sections: the first will focus on Las Casas's life story and how he moved from being a colonist and a conquistador to champion of the poor and indigenous people of Hispaniola and other parts of Central America. Las Casas's stance changed many times. He freed the native people who were given to him as part of his family's land grant, and eventually withdrew his brief support of Africans being brought to this hemisphere. Once Las Casas began standing with those people whose rights, lands, and even whose lives were considered as inconsequential by the Spanish, he never turned back. His efforts earned him the title "Defender of the Indians" or as it is sometimes stated, "Protector of the Indians." Whether "Defender" or "Protector" is used, the truth remains that he was their voice in royal courts and papal circles. He preached to them, not exclusively nor even primarily from the sanctuary pulpit, but from the pulpit of his life experience. His words endure through the centuries in his many writings detailing the atrocities committed against the native people. The second part of the panel will consider continuing his legacy through contemporary literature. Recent immigration policies in our country have increased fear in the hearts of both established citizens and migrants alike. Books that portray the struggles of the immigrant in coming to the United States and in trying to make a home here are important vehicles in shattering stereotypes and lessening xenophobia. In particular, books that look at the journey to the United States through the eyes of children are extremely valuable. Children today are the voiceless in this situation, and need others to be their voice as Las Casas was in his day. Bartolomé de Las Casas was the catalyst for change in his times, which were filled with uncertainty and confusion as our time is now. By offering insights into his life story followed by a practical way to continue his message of dignity for all, this panel aims to further his legacy today. We Dominicans are called to preach, as he did, from the pulpit of our own lives.

Biographical note: Anne-Marie Kirmse, O.P. Ph.D., a member of the Sisters of Saint Dominic of Amityville, has served as a Research Associate to the Laurence J. McGinley Chair in Religion

and Society at Fordham University for the past 30 years. She also teaches theology in Fordham's College of Continuing and Professional Studies. Sister Anne-Marie holds a B.A. degree, cum laude, from St. Francis College, Brooklyn, a Master's degree from Providence College and a Ph.D. from Fordham University. She has taught on the elementary school level, has been a director of religious education on the parish level and has taught theology on the undergraduate and graduate levels at Molloy College, Rockville Centre, Saint Joseph's College, Patchogue, the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception, Huntington, and Fordham University. Dr. Kirmse co-edited Cardinal Dulles's bibliography entitled *The Life and Legacy of Avery Cardinal Dulles, S.J.* (Fordham University Press, 2011). She is now writing a biography of Cardinal Dulles, and preparing a book of his homilies for publication. Dr. Kirmse is listed in *Who's Who in America*, *Who's Who in American Women*, *Who's Who in the East*, *Who's Who in Education* and *Who's Who in Religion*.

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Biographical note: Alice Byrnes, O.P., D.A., teaches at Molloy College in Rockville Centre, New York where she was awarded the rank of full professor. She teaches primarily in the English Department, but also teaches communication, education, and core courses in spiritual autobiography and preaching. She is a professed member of the Dominican Sisters of Amityville who founded Molloy College, and previously served in the role of Councilor for Ministry on the leadership team of her religious congregation. Sister Alice is an elected member of the Mission Effectiveness Committee at Molloy College and has worked on integrating Dominican charism into the courses she teaches. She received a B.A. in English from Molloy College, an M.A. in English from Georgetown University, and a D.A. in English from St. John's University. Dr. Byrnes has written and given presentations at many professional conferences including the Dominican Colleges Colloquium. Her primary area of interest focuses on the interconnection of literature and Jung's psychology which culminated in the publication of her book, *The Child: An Archetypal Symbol in Literature for Children and Adults*.

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II

The Moral Cosmology of Las Casas

Dominic Mejia, Boston University School of Theology

Abstract: The driving motivation for this paper is to understand and construct the moral worlds of Hernán Cortés, Pedro de Alvarado, and Bartolomé de las Casas so that one might catch a glimpse of what makes possible the carrying out of atrocities against vulnerable people under the Christian banner. While the desire for writing is modern, the bulk of his paper will focus on drawing out anthropological moral cosmologies as found in the accounts of Alvarado, Las Casas, and Cortés. This paper will argue and display that, although living in and coming from similar cultural contexts, these participants in the "conquest" were operating with drastically different moral cosmologies. More than disagreeing on applications of a worldview, these men understood the world through entirely different frameworks. I am drawing on the concept of "moral cosmology" developed by political scientists Robyn Ryle and Robert Robinson, and articulated in their article, "Ideology, Moral Cosmology, and Community in the United States."¹ Their concept deals with the divisions that arise within a particular political community when some believe that God is the basis of morality whereas others hold that subcultural identity defines morality.

¹ Robyn R. Ryle and Robert V. Robinson, "Ideology, Moral Cosmology, and Community in the United States," *City & Community* 5, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 53–69, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2006.00155.x>.

Biographical note: Dominic J.S. Mejia is a rising third-year M.Div student at the Boston University School of Theology. Hailing from the small town of Bryan, OH, he is pursuing ordination in the United Methodist Church. Currently, Dom serves at Harvard-Epworth United Methodist Church in Cambridge, MA, ministering to children, youth, college students, and young adults. His academic interests include liturgical theology, interfaith engagement, moral theology, and biblical hermeneutics.

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PANEL 9. Las Casas y la Tradición Escolástica/Las Casas and the Scholastic Tradition

I

Las Casas's Epistemology: Theology and Philosophy

David Thomas Orique, O.P., Providence College

Abstract: This essay first locates the thought of the secular cleric, Dominican friar, and diocesan bishop Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484-1566) in the context of the epistemological challenges generated by European contact with the so-called new world and new people. Next, this discussion presents his rootedness in the Catholic-Christian tradition, his formation in Liberal Arts, Latin and Letters, Canon Law, Philosophy, and Theology, as well as his life-long diverse experiences on both sides of the Atlantic. Then, this paper elucidates Las Casas's epistemological responses to the unjust conquests, enslaving colonization, and violent Christianization in the New World by recourse to his *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Brief Account of Destruction of the Indies)—the most well-known and extolled or poorly-understood and denounced of his more than 300 writings. This essay utilizes parts of a variety of his texts insofar as they refer to all of Las Casas's major premises and concerns in his theory of knowledge, as well as approaches the issues both deductively from multiple sources and inductively from first-hand experiences.

For example, in the *Brevísima relación*, Las Casas first clearly presents the epistemological meta-narrative of Divine Providence (eternal law) as exemplar and governance of all creation. He then immediately condemns the evils and harms done to the Indigenous peoples as violations of all divine, natural, and human law, which hierarchy of laws subordinately participate in God's eternal law. He applies this triadic law-based epistemological foundation throughout the treatise.

Concomitantly, in the *Brevísima relación*, Las Casas focuses on the three major epistemological issues pertaining to the New World: the equality, the natural rights, and the Christianization of the Indigenous peoples of America. Drawing from ancient Greco-Roman thought and medieval European canon law, he contends that all humans and all nations are ontologically equal. He derives this proposition from the foundational ontological premise in natural law (drawn from Thomistic philosophy) that the Indigenous peoples are rational, free, and social (and based on Christian theology) are created by God and redeemed by Jesus Christ. In this treatise, Las Casas refers to and builds on these attributes and statuses.

The *Brevísima relación* also reflects Las Casas's epistemology about natural rights, which rights he grafted onto natural law. He argued that the destruction of the Indigenous peoples and their lands was a result of their subjection through conquests, *encomiendas*, and enslavement, and which violated their natural right to liberty and life (as well as their ancillary rights). Demonstrating that the natives had been made slaves or enslaved unjustly in unjust wars, Las Casas contended that the resultant Spanish political dominium was illegitimate and harmed the Indigenous peoples' nature as reasonable social beings by destroying their political, economic, and socio-cultural institutions (including religion). He further argued that Indigenous' dominium

was legal and just, since the autochthonous peoples of the Indies had just cause for warfare as well as *de facto* ownership of their territories. He further explicated that Spanish sovereignty in the Indies was at best *de jure* and possible only because of the authority, concession, and donation of these lands by the pope to the Spanish Crown, and that any Spanish governance must secure the consent of the governed. In this manner, Las Casas's political doctrine centered epistemologically and ontologically on the human attributes and natural rights—particularly that of freedom.

Additionally, the *Brevísima relación* contained Las Casas's three epistemological premises about Christianization: that the primary justification for Spanish presence in America was evangelization, that the method of evangelization must be peaceful, and that the ultimate goal of evangelization was the Indigenous peoples' eternal salvation. This paper concludes with the epistemological corrective that Las Casas first experienced in 1514 and that deepened increasingly throughout the course of his life: the experience (and subsequent epistemology) of solidarity with the Indigenous *miserabiles personae* of the Indies.

Biographical note: David Thomas Orique, O.P., is an Associate Professor of Colonial and Modern Latin America, as well as of Iberian Atlantic World History; he is the Director of Latina/o and Latin American Studies at Providence College. His professional career includes completing a B.S. in Business Administration and a minor in Spanish from California State University Fresno, working for twelve years in the business world, and then entering the Dominican Order in 1993. Subsequently, at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, he received a Master of Divinity and a Master of Theology with special emphasis in Luso- Hispanic historical, theological, philosophical, and juridical issues. After ordination to the priesthood in June 2001, Father Orique served the academic and pastoral needs of St. Thomas More Newman Center at the University of Oregon as well as of the rapidly growing Latino community in the Archdiocese of Portland, and other locations. During his service to the student and Hispanic populations, he earned a Masters in History at the University of Oregon in 2007 and a Ph.D. in 2011. His thesis and his dissertation centered on the life, labor and legacy of Bartolomé de Las Casas, which was also the focus of his 2016 Masters in Spanish Literature. Professor Orique has lived, traveled, and conducted research in Spain and Portugal and in other European countries, as well as has engaged in investigative activities in seventeen Latin American nations—and has continued to do so today.

Doctor Orique's writings and publications include, among others: "To Heaven or Hell: An Introduction to the Soteriology of Bartolomé de Las Casas" (2016); "Justice and the Church in Latin America in the Era of a Jesuit Pope" (2015); "A Comparison of Bartolomé de Las Casas and Fernão Oliveira: Just War and Slavery," (2014); "Journey to the Headwaters: Bartolomé de Las Casas in a Comparative Context" (2009). His book titled "*To Heaven or to Hell: Bartolomé de Las Casas's Confessionario*" was published in 2018 by Penn State. The manuscript for another book titled "The Unheard Voice of Law from the Often-heard Text: A New Rendition of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*" has been completed. Professor Orique is also an editor for the *Oxford Handbook of Latin American Christianity* (2019), as well as for the forthcoming Brill publication titled *Bartolomé de Las Casas, O.P.: History, Philosophy, and Theology in the Age of European Expansion* (2019).

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II

Theories of Peace and The Common Good among the Spanish Scholastics: Contributions and Challenges

Elisabeth Rain Kincaid, Nashotah House Theological Seminary

Abstract: Catholic moral theologians in Early-Modern Spain faced many of the same challenges which perplex Catholic theologians today. Confronted by institutionalized imperialism and racism (both in the church, and the secular society), many theologians struggled to present the gospel message of “peace and goodwill to all people” in a way that would command attention in the new Spanish empire. In my paper, I consider contemporary claims that these arguments either challenged the dominant structure of violence or that they were actually a sign of complicity. I will then examine the development of a theory of the common good among theologians such as Las Casas, Soto, Vitoria and Suárez in order to consider how understanding this key concept for the Spanish scholastics might contribute to this debate. I close by considering the possibility of a constructive application of this understanding of the common good and of complicity in our own violent times.

Biographical note: Elisabeth Kincaid is the Assistant Professor of Ethics and Moral Theology at Nashotah House Theological Seminary. She received her Ph.D. in Theology from the University of Notre Dame in Moral Theology and Christian Ethics in 2018. Her dissertation, “In a Prudent Way and Without Rashness: Retrieving the Theological Jurisprudence of Francisco Suárez, SJ,” retrieves constructive approaches to legal engagement for contemporary Christians. She also received a J.D. from the University of Texas School of Law.

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III

“Prudentia” – Interpretation of Bartolomé de Las Casas following Thomas Aquinas

Thomas Eggenesperger O.P.

Abstract: Bartolomé de Las Casas disputed in his text “Apologética Historia Sumaria” the aspect of “prudence” (chapters 40-48). The background is his intention to prove that the “indios” are really individuals with “ratio” and “intellectus”. Therefore, Las Casas uses the interpretation of prudence according to Thomas Aquinas in his Summa theologiae (II-II 45 et sqq). He uses especially the distinction between “prudentia monastica”, “prudential oeconomica” and “prudential politica”. Aquinas (and Aristotle) is the base adopted by Las Casas to demonstrate the ability of the “indios” being individuals capable of socialization and community life. The method of Las Casas is an exciting example of a reception of actual debates (16th century) on the basis of a high medieval theory.

Biographical note: Thomas Eggenesperger O.P. Born 1963, Dominican friar of the German province of Teutonia, studies in theology, philosophy and Spanish (Dr. theol. and M.A.), thesis of doctorate about Las Casas and his political philosophy, author of a biography of Las Casas, various articles about the same issue. Teaching as professor Social Ethics at the “Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule Münster”, actually Guest professor at the University of Munich, director of the Institute M.-Dominique Chenu Berlin

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Keynote Address

The Conflicted Humanitarianism of the Spanish Colonial Government: Late Sixteenth-Century New Spain and the Impact of Las Casas

John F. Schwaller

Abstract: The Spanish crown and colonial administrators had a love—hate relationship with Las Casas. On the one hand he had a long and unique experience in the New World. He was valued because of that. On the other hand, he was an early example of "speaking truth to power." He had the unique insight to see that the crown fell short of its stated goals and obligations to protect the natives of the New World. On the other hand, many colonists and administrators believed that the natives were a resource to be used for the benefit of the Spanish, not unlike precious metals, water, or other resources. With the passage of the New Laws, and their slow but inexorable implementation, the parameters of exploitation around the natives began to shift and new institutions emerged to control this critical limited resource, that is: native labor. By the end of the sixteenth century, a general policy of protecting the natives had been in place for decades, most frequently recognized by its absence. But at least in the formal communications of the top colonial leaders, the protection of the natives as a central directive and moral obligation. This piece will explore the Las Casian elements in the correspondence and actions of the eighth and the eleventh viceroy of New Spain, don Luis de Velasco, the Younger, and Marqués de las Salinas (in his second term of office).

Biographical note: John F. Schwaller is Professor of History at the University at Albany (SUNY and Editor of *The Americas*). He is known for his work on the secular clergy in early colonial Mexico, Nahuatl language manuscripts, a history of the Catholic Church in Latin America, and most recently, a study of the landing of the Cortés expedition at Veracruz and the petition of the company to the crown. A book on the Aztec month of Panquetzalitzli will appear in Spring, 2019 published by the University of Oklahoma Press. He has assisted Stafford Poole on an English translation of a confessional manual written by the Third Provincial Council of Mexico (1585). For many years he served as an academic administrator at various universities, including Florida Atlantic University (as Associate Dean), the University of Montana, (as Associate Provost and Associate Vice President) the University of Minnesota – Morris (as Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs and Dean), and the State University of New York at Potsdam (as President). He is also the former Director of the Academy of American Franciscan History. In 1987 he founded the discussion list Nahuatl-I that is now part of the H-Net family of lists known as H-Nahuatl. Since 2010 he has also served as the editor of the discussion group H-Latam.

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Biographical note: Shannon Moore is a rising senior at Providence College studying History and Spanish with a minor in Latin American and Latina/o Studies. As a 2019 Fr. Smith Fellow, she traveled to San Miguel de Tucumán, Argentina, where she engaged in service projects with the Dominican Sisters of the Most Holy Name of Jesus. She is currently working on an honors undergraduate thesis project that focuses on the historio-cultural roots of anti-Semitism during Argentina's Década Infame, 1930-1943.

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Biographical note: Mary Erameh, M.B.B.S., M.P.H, M.Ed., is a medical doctor, a public health professional and a multipotentialite focused on bridging the health gap by addressing the socio-determinants of health. She has worked in several diverse settings in various positions including working as a city's epidemic control team lead providing clinical, technical and programmatic support to control the HIV and Tuberculosis epidemic in Africa. She specializes in health education (including mental health education), training of human resources for health (including the development of cultural competence), advocacy, women development, and project management. She is the director of the Building Women Mentoring Program and the author of Letters to Women and Relics of Trauma.

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Biographical note: Emily Ascherl is a rising senior at Providence College studying Political Science and Spanish with a minor in Latin American and Latina/o Studies. She studied abroad in Spring 2019 in Seville, Spain with CIEE. During the summer of 2018 she served as a Fr. Smith Fellow in San Miguel de Tucumán with the Dominican Sisters of the Most Holy Name of Jesus. Next year she will be student leader for PC Campus Ministry's Hunger and Poverty Outreach.

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Biographical note: Jesús Maldonado graduated from Providence College with a B.A. in Political Science and a minor in Latin American studies. He is a rising first year graduate student in Providence College's School of Higher Education. As an undergraduate, Jesús wrote his Latin American Studies Capstone titled, "How Does Social Well-being Affect Civil War? Health During the Colombian Conflict". Jesús is originally from Ecuador and is fluent in Spanish

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Biographical note: Carly Martino graduated from Providence College with a Bachelor's of Arts degree in 2019. During her time at Providence College, she studied English Literature and Spanish with a minor in Latin American and Latina/o Studies. For her senior English Literature thesis, she read and analyzed the fiction of Rosario Castellanos, tracking the ways in which Castellanos' oeuvre explored the gender and racial inequalities and injustices of indigenous women in Mexico. In the fall of this year, she plans to travel to Madrid, Spain to teach English to Spanish-speaking students through the Teach Abroad program with CIEE.

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