

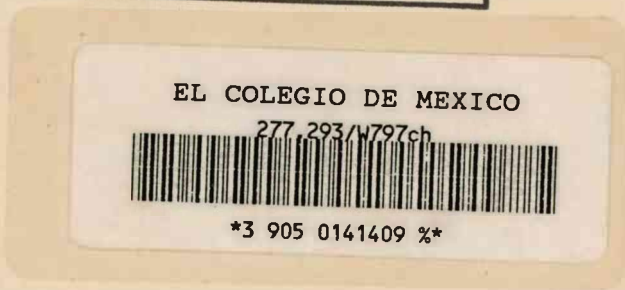
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THE CHURCHES OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

A Study of the Root Causes of Current Problems

by

William Louis Wipfler



September, 1964

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William Louis Wipfler

William L. Wipfler

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for
the degree of S. T. M. in
Union Theological Seminary
New York City, New York

September, 1964

PREFACE

This thesis is not only the product of research on my part, but has been made possible by the generous cooperation of many persons who have been interested to see such a study as this undertaken. I would like to take this opportunity, therefore, to express my appreciation to those who have contributed...

And to the angel of the church in Sardis write: "The words of him who has the seven spirits of God and the seven stars. I know your works; you have the name of being alive, and you are dead. Awake, and strengthen what remains and is on the point of death, for I have not found you works perfect in the sight of my God."

Revelation 3:1-2

I am deeply indebted to the materials that have been made available to me. Chief among these are the materials of the National Archive of the Dominican Republic, whose painstaking search and to provide available information. The Reverend Narciso Ruiz, Field Secretary of the Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo, who has generously offered his own insights and the archives of the Dominican Evangelical Church for my use; the very clergy of the Roman Catholic, Evangelical and Episcopal churches who answered my lengthy questions and so willingly shared with me the wisdom and understanding that they have gained through their own experiences.

Finally, I wish to express a special note of gratitude to my wife and family for their patience and sacrifices during this past year.

William L. Ripley

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My thanks are due to the Right Reverend John B. Bentley, D. D., through whose efforts my year of study leading to the writing of this thesis was made possible; to the National Council of the Episcopal Church which provided the funds to enable me to do this work; to the Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo whose financial cooperation made primary research in the Dominican Republic possible.

I am deeply indebted to the many individuals who helped provide me with the materials that have been used as a basis for documentation. Chief among them are Dr. Vertilio Alfau Duran, Director of the National Archive of the Dominican Republic, whose prodigious memory guided me to otherwise unavailable information; the Reverend Maurice Daily, Field Secretary of the Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo, who so generously offered his own insights and the archives of the Dominican Evangelical Church for my use; the many clergy of the Roman Catholic, Evangelical and Episcopal Churches who answered my lengthy questionnaire and so willingly shared with me the wisdom and understanding that they have gained through their own experiences.

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William L. Wipfler

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INTRODUCTION

In this oldest city of the New World one still sees the remains of the first church built in America. Its foundations laid in 1502. Here is the house where Cortez kept the court records before he had ever heard of Mexico. From here Ponce de Leon set out in his search for the Fountain of Youth. Here lived Pizarro before he went to Panama and sailed down the West Coast to conquer the Inca Empire ... Padre de Las Casas entered the priesthood here, and in his indignation because of the abuse of the Indians by the Spaniards began to import slaves from Africa to make lighter the work of the Indian laborers. Here was founded the first university of the New World when in 1538 a royal charter was granted for the establishment of the University of St. Thomas Aquinas.¹

Although brief, this description of the past glory of Santo Domingo conveys the importance of that city for the outreach of Spain in the New World. More than a century before the settlers of Jamestown and Plymouth attempted to carve out a dwelling place in the wilderness, the seed of Spanish culture had taken root and flourished on the island of Hispaniola.

For almost four hundred years after the discovery of the island by Columbus in 1492, the Roman Catholic Church was the undisputed messenger of the Gospel to the Indians, colonists, Negro slaves and later immigrants that peopled this bit of land during its history. Except for isolated instances, non-Roman bodies were unknown until the turn of this century when the Dominican Republic was finally recognized to be a mission territory, and several churches representing Evangelical, Anglican and fundamentalist traditions sent missionaries to work among the great mass of unchurched people.

It was my privilege to serve as a missionary of the Episcopal Church in the Dominican Republic from 1955 until 1963. In addition to my responsibilities as Vicar of a mission and director of a mission day school,

I also participated in several community activities that offered me considerable occasion for contact with the clergy of other churches and with lay people who were either members of those churches or who formed part of the large unevangelized group of Dominicans whose indifference toward the Christian religion presents the greatest challenge that the churches must face today.

It became apparent to me as I observed the methods and development of my own and other religious bodies, that each was confronted with a number of barriers to its work that it tended to ignore or side-step but never overcome completely. Often these problems were not recognized by the clergy and laity, or if they were, no concerted effort was made to solve them. Study of the history of these bodies as they have worked in the Dominican Republic makes it clear that the difficulties of today are not solely the result of the rapidly changing social conditions, as so many persons tend to believe, but rather are inherited from the past and perpetuated as part of an accepted system and structure, or are the by-products of that system. The question that must be asked is not simply, "What must be done to change the situation?" Rather it is necessary to undergo the painful process of self-examination by asking, "What have we done to cause this situation?"

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The major steps in curing an ailment of our physical bodies are to diagnose the illness on the basis of the symptoms, discover its possible causes, and then suggest the necessary medication. In many ways this study will follow a similar approach in attempting to discover the nature and the causes of the problems that afflict the churches in the Dominican

Republic.

It is the contention of this study that the past history and the traditions of churches that are presently at work in the Dominican Republic are factors that seriously limit their ability to be relevant and make an impact on the whole of Dominican society. For this reason, considerable emphasis will be given to a survey of the history of these churches, with special attention given to persistent problems. The evidence gathered through this method of study will, in turn, be used to provide a more ample perspective for the analysis of the present difficulties confronting the churches. It is hoped that, on the basis of such an approach, more positive proposals for the revival and renewal of the Christian churches can be made.

One of the principal obstacles to this method is the dearth of materials covering the period from 1930 until 1961, during the dictatorship of Rafael L. Trujillo. Prior to that period, historians were quite objective in their preservation and presentation of data relating to the long span from the colonization of Santo Domingo until Trujillo took office. From that moment on, conditions in the Dominican Republic were almost always described in laudatory superlatives for fear that anything less would be misinterpreted as a criticism of the regime. Objective presentations of the true state of the churches and the nation were virtually impossible, and so in many cases it has been necessary to "read between the lines" or rely on the testimony of reliable persons in order to obtain sufficient facts covering those three decades.

A thirty point questionnaire was prepared covering many areas of the life and work of the Church in the Dominican Republic, and which allowed for both subjective and objective evaluations of the past and present

achievements and failures and future possibilities of the various bodies, as understood by those actually in the field. It was a matter of personal stimulation for me to experience the spirit of cooperation and self-criticism of those who took part in the interviews. Their insights have contributed inestimably to this study.

It would be presumptuous to attempt an analysis of the social revolution that is at work in the Dominican Republic within the scope of such a limited study as this one. Yet it cannot be ignored, since it is reforming the structure and the thinking of Dominican society in which the churches must make the Gospel manifest. It is hoped that the conclusions of this thesis will be valid in their application to the changing environment, and in some way contribute to the renewal of the life and message of the churches in that island Republic.

multiplicity of non-denominational bodies at work among the people. Some of these have been hard at their labors for more than fifty years. Others have virtually sprung up overnight and will disappear in a short time. A few have the appearance of permanence because of their complex organization, costly buildings, and many activities. Others have attained places of importance in the areas where they have become established. And yet, with all of the energy and money that is expended by this large number of non-denominational groups, together they can claim only one and five-tenths per cent of the population as members.

Let me judge the situation too hastily, however, it should be noted that the Roman Catholic Church, with over four hundred and fifty

* This represents 25,000 persons out of a total population of almost three million.

CHAPTER ONE

CHRISTIAN BODIES IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The city of La Romana, the fourth largest city in the Dominican Republic, boasts a population of approximately 27,000 people. Many of this number do not live in the city proper but in the rural settlements at the edge of the municipality or in the small communities that have sprung up on the extensive properties of a local sugar company. Thus the actual number of residents in the urban area is even less than the official figure. Nevertheless, as small as the population is, there are fifteen religious groups present in the city, in addition to the Roman Catholic Church.

The situation in La Romana is not unique. In almost every community of any size throughout the Dominican Republic there will be found a multiplicity of non-Roman bodies at work among the people. Some of them have been hard at their labors for more than fifty years. Others have virtually sprung up overnight and will disappear in a short time. A few have the appearance of permanence because of their complex organization, costly buildings, and many activities. Others have attained places of importance in the areas where they have become established. And yet, with all of the energy and money that is expended by this large number of non-Roman groups, together they can claim only one and five-tenths per cent * of the population as members. ¹

Lest one judge the situation too hastily, however, it should be noted that the Roman Catholic Church, with over four hundred and fifty

* This represents 45,000 persons out of a total population of almost three million.

years of history behind it, has had comparatively little more success. Although the most recent census makes a claim of between ninety-two and ninety-eight per cent of the population as being Roman Catholic, the Roman Church itself has called these figures into question. They represent the number of persons who have been baptized in the Roman Church or who claim to be Catholics, rather than the number who actually practice their faith. Father Albert Nevins, the Associate Editor of the Maryknoll Magazine, would reduce the number of practicing Roman Catholics in the Dominican Republic to less than ten per cent of the population. ² His opinion is in keeping with those of a considerable number of authorities in the Roman Church.

In light of these statistics, the dimension of the task that still confronts the churches is tremendous. The work of evangelization has hardly begun. Even the Roman Catholic Church has come to accept the fact that, after four and a half centuries of labor, the Republic is still a mission field. The following sections offer a brief description of the religious bodies that are at work in this mission field. Three of them will be considered in much greater detail in the following chapters of this study: i.e. the Roman Catholic Church, the Dominican Evangelical Church, and the Dominican Episcopal Church. The others are presented in order to provide a greater appreciation of the total present Christian effort in the Dominican Republic.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Traditionally the State-Church, the Roman Catholic Church has enjoyed a position of privilege in Santo Domingo since its discovery in 1492. During the colonial period its utility to the Spanish Crown assured it

undisputed control in spiritual matters. With the coming of the Republic in 1844, constitutional guarantees secured its intimacy with the State and its primacy when other religious bodies appeared on the scene. In 1954 a Concordat increased its privilege and deepened the intimacy.

The Roman Church in the Dominican Republic has not enjoyed the prosperity and success that it has experienced in other parts of Latin America. The vicissitudes of the times took their toll in the colony and later in the Republic, and the Church experienced its share of sacrifice and suffering as a result. It has almost continuously lacked sufficient manpower to do its work, and throughout its history has had to depend on foreign clergy to fill its posts. On more than one occasion it has been deprived of its property and wealth, had the doors of its seminary closed for years on end, and has often struggled along without benefit of an Archbishop or some ecclesiastical superior to direct the work.

Within the last thirty years, the Roman Church sought to take advantage of conditions that existed during the dictatorship of Rafael L. Trujillo. Materially it received great benefits. Morally it suffered in the eyes of its people because of its close identification with a tyrannical and immoral regime. More recently it has begun to place greater emphasis on spiritual values and has initiated intensive campaigns of evangelism and instruction throughout the Republic in order to bring its baptized membership into a more dedicated relationship to the Church. What fruit this will bear is still to be seen.

THE DOMINICAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH

Established during the United States Military Occupation of the 1920's, the Dominican Evangelical Church has established itself as an

"almost" indigenous church of the Dominican Republic. It has the distinction of being the first multi-church venture in any mission field, originating as a cooperative undertaking of the Evangelical United Brethren, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. In 1960, the American Moravian mission, which had two congregations in the Republic, joined the work and became part of the Dominican Evangelical Church.

The D. E. C. is the largest non-Roman Church in the country. It has a total of eighty congregations reporting over three thousand full members, and almost an equal number of related individuals. There are nineteen ordained ministers and seven lay pastors who minister to these congregations, all of whom are either Dominican nationals or men who have lived in the country for many years. The Church has been described as "almost" indigenous, however, because a large portion of its budget depends on funds administered through the Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo located in New York City, which is the coordinating agency of the participating American Churches.

Aside from its work of evangelism the Evangelical Church has had a long history of medical mission in the Republic. Its International Hospital was famous for the medical care it provided, during its many years of labor, and for its nursing school, which was the only one in the country until recently. When the hospital closed some years ago, the Church initiated a number of Baby Clinics in various sectors lacking such facilities. A third emphasis has been placed on education with schools presently operating in six cities. Over 2,300 children were enrolled during the year 1963. ³

It is to be hoped that the long and extensive missionary experience of the four cooperating churches will provide the needed guidance to fully

develop the great potential of the Dominican Evangelical Church.

THE DOMINICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The work of the Episcopal Church in the Dominican Republic has several beginnings. An unofficial start was made by an enterprising Anglican in 1896, who sought to minister to the British West Indian immigrants who had settled in the eastern portion of the Republic. Self-trained, he applied for and received ordination from the Bishop of Haiti and worked forty years among his own people. Officially, the American Episcopal Church sent missionaries to the Republic during the Occupation and after, and has actually supported the work since that time.

At present the Church has a total of eighteen congregations located around five main centers of work. Serving these areas are eight ordained clergy and five lay assistants. Notable growth dates only from 1955 onward when the philosophy of the mission changed and the emphasis began to move from English language chaplaincy work to evangelism among the Dominican population. As a result of this change, the first vocations to the ministry have been developed among nationals, and within the last seven years three Dominicans have been ordained and two others are presently being prepared.

One of the chief areas of emphasis of the work in the Dominican Republic has been upon education. There are eight parochial day schools, a night high school, a school of domestic science, and two day nurseries, which have a total inscription of over 1,700 children. One of these schools has been at work continuously since 1922 and has become very well known throughout the Republic for its academic excellence.

The total membership of the Dominican Episcopal Church is over three

thousand with communicant strength reaching 1,300. The greater part of its funds are provided by the Episcopal Church in the United States. One of the principal reasons for this is that the majority of the members are drawn from the lower-income class, and their offerings cannot support the extensive program that has been initiated. Furthermore, because of the lack of national clergy, it has been necessary to rely on foreign missionaries, which is an investment that involves greater expense.

The Episcopal Church continues to labor under the handicap of being considered a "foreign" church. The use of English for so long a period, the presence of a large number of foreign missionaries, reliance on a large amount of money received from outside the country have all contributed to sustaining this image. The emphasis on education has resulted in increased Dominican leadership, and it is to be hoped that the Church will become an indigenous body with its own national clergy and a greater proportion of self-support within a reasonable period of time. (4)

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The situation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the Dominican Republic is a tragic one. It was hoped that this Church would be included in a special section of analysis of this study, but the indifference that the A. M. E. mission board has demonstrated in supporting the labors of its Church in the Republic has also made it impossible to acquire sufficient material to make a valid analysis. Information for this brief description was provided by a veteran pastor presently at work there.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church is the oldest Protestant body with a continuous history in the Dominican Republic. Work was initiated during the Haitian occupation between the years 1822 and 1844 when American

Negroes were brought to the Republic by the President of Haiti. The extent of the work was never very large. It almost always has been limited to the English-speaking Negroes who live in several communities in the north and east of the country, and rarely has been missionary in its emphasis. Because of this, it has become a Church of old people and claims but 750 members after more than a century of labor. Only one of its seven pastors is under fifty years of age, and no one is presently being prepared for the ministry.

Within the last few years an attempt has been made to incorporate more Spanish into the program and worship of the Church, and so it has attracted some of the children of the older members who are not as interested in perpetuating the English language as their elders have been. In a few of the congregations small schools have been opened, but, because of the lack of funds to pay qualified teachers, the burden of teaching has rested upon the pastors and their families. They have not been able to fulfill the requirements of the government and so the schools have never been recognized. Actually, these ventures have been attempted in order to augment the ministers' salaries, since the majority are grossly underpaid by the board and cannot support their families unless they engage in additional work.

The A. M. E. Church in the Dominican Republic has no Bishop of its own. Visits are made from the United States, and are usually too brief to deal with the serious problems that affect almost all of the congregations. During the Bishop's absence, a Presiding Elder is in charge of the program and has the authority to make changes that could stimulate the work. Unfortunately, the office has been occupied for quite some time by a minister of the old school, who is satisfied with things as they are. Thus the future seems to hold little promise for this body which is hardly more than a holding operation, and a precarious one at that.

4
 FUNDAMENTALIST MISSIONS

double The extraordinary growth of that wing of the Protestant missionary enterprise which is not officially linked with the historic or traditional denominations has brought about a significant change in the evangelical situation in Latin America today. Various referred to as the non-historical, evangelical or fundamentalist groups or sometimes dismissed as "fringe sects" (their multiplicity and heterogeneous character make the finding of any adequate designation well-nigh impossible), the movement represented by these bodies has grown to such proportions that it can no longer be ignored. For good or ill, non-historical Protestantism has become one of the determining influences affecting the spiritual future of Latin America. 5

The truth of this statement can be witnessed in the Dominican Republic. Since the end of World War II, the number of these groups that has initiated work in the Republic has been phenomenal. In most cases, they can count but a handful of workers laboring in a few centers. (The one exception is the Free Methodist Church which has established a flourishing program in the central area of the country and now counts a membership of over two thousand persons.) Some have already created splinter groups, and a few have disappeared for lack of support. Nevertheless, taken as a group, they can account for at least one quarter of the non-Roman Christians in the country.

One of the principal factors that has contributed to the rapid growth of many of these groups has been their reliance upon nationals who, with little or no training, have been put in charge of congregations as lay pastors. In most cases these men (and women) have some other gainful employment and do not rely on the church to pay them a salary. If it is possible, they are sometimes given special instruction at the Free Methodist Bible Institute, which opens its doors to any of the fundamentalist groups, or their education may be limited to minimal training by the missionary. Thus a foreign pastor can initiate work in a number of areas and delegate the care of each congregation to a deputy. The historic churches have never felt free

to do this because of their emphasis on higher standards of education, and, as a result, their rate of growth has been much slower due to the lack of ordained and lay ministers who meet their requirements.

A second factor that has stimulated the development of the fundamentalist missions has been their ability to stir up a great degree of evangelistic fervor among their members.

It would seem that the growth of each group is related directly to its effectiveness in mobilizing its total membership in continuous evangelistic endeavor..... several other contributing factors must be recognized. One is the consequent individual initiative that is characteristic of the membership of these groups... The same sense of evangelistic responsibility and freedom of individual action is put to good use in the homeland in promoting the missionary enterprise ... This same evangelistic zeal has lent a vitality to the message and a warmth to the life and fellowship of these groups. The message preached may very well be overly simple, it may show no proper appreciation of history or social conditions or of the complex age in which we live, but it is dynamic. (6)

Because of the little opportunity open to the average Dominican to express himself before his peers, the encouragement to speak out concerning his faith has a psychological as well as a spiritual value. Emphasis of the fundamentalist groups on individual testimony and evangelistic efforts finds a ready response in the man who has had no other channel of self-assertion.

Another element of great importance is the zealous orthodoxy that each group claims for itself. This has undoubtedly been the aspect of emphasis that has cultivated divisions and splinter groups, as segments of the congregations have broken away in order to recover certain "truths" that they feel have been lost or ignored by their brethren. While opening the way for splits and factions on one hand, this same factor has created an atmosphere of loyalty and vigor on the other. To share in something unique draws the members into a significant fellowship that supports them in their evangelistic efforts.

The presence of a common enemy, the Roman Catholic Church, also stimulates the growth of these groups. Much more tangible than "the World, the Flesh and the Devil," the Roman Church is ceaselessly attacked as the "Whore of Babylon," the Pope berated as the "Anti-Christ," and the churches condemned as "Temples of Idolatry." Thus every conversion is a victory for God's side and a cause for rejoicing in the never-ending war against the paganism of Rome.

Finally, there is the basic element of authoritarianism that is of considerable importance to the development of the fundamentalist missions. The history of Latin America demonstrates the viability of the Latin in the face of one form or another of authoritarian rule. The re-occurrence of dictators, the position of the Roman Church, the recent successes of communism bear witness to this fact. In the religious sphere, the fundamentalist missions substitute one form of absolutism for another: i.e. biblical for clerical. The result, however, is the same. There is created, much too frequently, a rigid pietism that has little to do with reality and offers few answers to the problems created by the complexities of modern life.

The most significant criticism of this movement has been made by a minister of one of its groups. Dr. Kenneth Strachan has written:

"Perhaps the greatest weakness charged against the movement, however, is the isolationist mode of existence and work which characterizes so many, but fortunately not all, of the groups. Officially they have almost nothing to do with the historical bodies, and tragically, equally little to do with each other. In the heat of their evangelistic enthusiasm and in the pursuit of immediate objectives, they may not be conscious of its effects upon the fellowship within their own circles, or what is more serious and pronounced, its disastrous effects upon the thinking of the observant peoples around them. But such an independent, self-sufficient, pseudo-absolutism can have no other final effect than to condemn them permanently to the role of "fringe sects" - made up of good, worthy, spiritual Christian people serving

some purpose as a corrective to the Christian Church at large, but failing to attain the full-orbed life and fellowship of the mature Body in Christ. 7

THE PENTECOSTAL SECTS

Much that has been stated in regard to the fundamentalist missions applies, as well, to the Pentecostal sects that have proliferated in the Republic. The evangelistic fervor, the fellowship of the congregations, and individual zeal are all part of their make-up, but so are the tendency to fragment, the low standard of education of the clergy, the gross hostility to the Roman Church, and the isolation from all other Christian bodies.

One factor, however, that accounts for the phenomenal growth of Pentecostalism has been summed up by a Roman Catholic priest. He writes: "The Pentecostal devout comes to the place of worship, even though a little blindly, to put himself in contact with the Deity and to satiate somehow his hunger for God." 8 This desire for meeting the Holy Spirit in worship, for being possessed and used, is undoubtedly the key to the appeal that this expression of the Christian faith has for so many Dominicans, and the inspiration for the enthusiastic proselytism in which almost all of its converts engage. Unquestionably the fastest growing segment of Christianity in the Dominican Republic today, Pentecostal sects include between twenty-five and thirty-five per cent of non-Roman Christians in their membership. The large majority have been brought to these groups by other members intent on spreading their Gospel.

The Latin temperament, especially that of the lower class strata of society, is extremely susceptible to the phenomena typical of the Pentecostal groups. Dr. Eugene A. Nida has summarized these elements as follows:

" (1) emphasis upon divine healing (often to the extent of regarding the use of medicines as evidence of weakness of faith), (2) the belief in speaking in tongues (though some groups insist on interpretation for any occurrence of tongues and, hence, tend to make such demonstrations more orderly and controlled), (3) the filling of the Spirit (as evidenced by healing or the gift of tongues), (4) deep emotional fervor, often exhibited in dancing, shouting, and crying, (5) general adherence to a kind of "holiness doctrine" characteristic of certain forms of Wesleyanism, (6) importance of prayer and receiving of answers to prayer (prayer is generally engaged in by all the congregation orally and simultaneously), and (7) a type of literal biblicism which takes the Bible seriously but uncritically." 9

Because of the presence of all these characteristics in Dominican Pentecostalism, it has made a deep impression upon the least educated and economically disenfranchised segments of the population.

It is interesting to note that the phenomena which are of such great appeal to this group of people, are not limited to manifestation in a Christian context. Throughout the years, and still in existence in some rural communities and urban slums, there have appeared various cults of African origin that are startling in their resemblance to Pentecostalism. Daniel Guerin says of these sects:

" While the degree may vary, there is no doubt but that under different names and forms, the old traditions have been maintained everywhere throughout the Caribbean region. In Haiti, there are different Voodoo rites ... in Trinidad, there is "Shango" worship and the various Protestant "Shaker" sects; in Jamaica ... "Pocomania." These diverse practices present similar features; the essential element they have in common is the crisis of possession: all of a sudden, the personality of the worshipper is doubled by the intrusion of a supernatural power which causes him to sing, to shout, to stamp his feet upon the ground, to dance, prophesy, recover from illness, become insensible to pain and, like an actor, to play the role of the spirit or god who possesses and "mounts" him." 10

Guerin goes on to analyze the reasons for the persistence of the African religions throughout the West Indies. One might find in his analysis, a partial explanation for the success of Dominican Pentecostalism as well.

He writes:

In all the West Indies we notice that where the poverty is greatest, that is where these old religious practices have the firmest hold upon the people. They aid the most downtrodden classes to find respite from everyday servitude, they offer a haven from the sufferings and privations of their existence. The crisis of possession gives the believer a "lift" and allows him to identify himself with a sovereign power ... At the same time, the religious ceremony's accoutrements offer the spectator a sharp distraction from his daily life's harshness and monotony. He has an opportunity to relax." 11

To note their similarity to the Pentecostal experience is not to equate these African religions with the Christian sects. It is an attempt, rather, to fix attention on the congeneric nature of their appeal: the emotional content.

It is this same appeal that creates one of the great dangers to the Pentecostal movement at the present time. "The people are emotionally whipped Sunday after Sunday, and only those who can stand such a strong emotional psychological flagellation come out spiritually alive." 12 Thus there is a tendency for the membership figures of these sects to be misleading. Many people pass through rather than make one of these groups their religious family. Others find themselves unable to repeat the great exaltation of their early experiences; they become spiritually frustrated and eventually leave. In the Dominican Republic this has been especially true, and it is not unusual for members of the historic bodies to "be converted" and to "try-out" one of the sects for a period of time, and then return to their own church with a new appreciation of its life. It is to be hoped that, with the passing of time and with the development of more responsible leadership, these sects will become more stable and be able to take a significant place in the total Christian community, even as their Pentecostal brethren have done in Chile.

LESSONS FOR THE HISTORIC CHURCHES

Both the Fundamentalist and the Pentecostal sects have come to grips with environmental problems that still frustrate the missions of the historic bodies in the Dominican Republic. While the method of dealing with these problems cannot be copied wholesale, they offer several valuable lessons that might well be examined by those who are responsible for planning and strategy. They fall into three distinct categories: (1) structure, (2) adaptation, and (3) communication.

Structure:

Although a first glance might not reveal any identifiable structure in these groups, it is a fact that the life of the congregation is filled into a carefully defined pattern. Almost every member has some responsibility in its activities. The development of church leadership is similar to apprenticeship systems that are still used in the trades in the Dominican Republic. That is, a member passes from one position of responsibility to another as he proves his worth. Thus the most experienced and capable - and usually the most aggressive - arrive at the level of the pastorate.

Because of their work among the underprivileged groups in the Dominican Republic, these churches cannot rely too heavily on their congregations for the training and support of their pastors. With the procedure that has been developed the financial problem is partially solved. The candidate supports himself during a considerable period of his training, and even after he has begun his pastorate. It is not until he has developed a congregation of sufficient size to support him financially that the minister enters into "full-time" pastoral duties and drops his secular employment.

The structuring of responsibility has a further advantage apart from the development of leadership. It cultivates an active laity with true evangelistic zeal. By gradually working individuals into the activities of the congregation, they are made to feel a deeper responsibility for its growth and welfare. As a result, each member becomes involved to some degree in the work of evangelism, and the sect is able to touch many more persons than if it were to rely solely on the activities of the pastor.

Adaptation:

The Pentecostal sects have been especially effective in their adaptation to the local environment. This is due, of course, to the fact that they are led almost entirely by Dominicans, with only the slightest interference by foreign missionaries. Thus they have been able to incorporate into their church life many features of the environment that have been either ignored or avoided by the historic churches.

The structural development of the congregation mentioned above is one obvious aspect of adaptation. Another has been the ability to re-interpret local belief and superstition in light of the Christian message rather than to ridicule it, as so many foreign missionaries or their national trainees have done. For the uneducated man the "evil-eye," spirits, charms, healing, etc., have a significance that cannot be destroyed by derision. The sects have attempted to grapple with these beliefs and relate them to the New Dispensation in Christ. They continue to be part of the environment, but once a man has accepted Christ they are no longer either a necessity or a threat for him.

There is still another area in which adaptation has taken place, but whether it has been for good or ill is hard to determine. The tendency in almost every activity in Dominican society, and this is probably true in most of Latin America, is to surrender responsibility for authority to the hands of one man. Personalistic leadership is typical of the environment and characteristic of the sects. For persons raised on democratic principals from their earliest years, the centralized and almost dictatorial powers vested in the clergy of these churches may be offensive. Yet one must marvel at the amount they seem to accomplish, while a more liberal organization with councils, vestries, conventions, etc. seems to founder

when directed by people who have no other experience of democracy in their past. Perhaps a compromise between unhappy "bossism" and equally unhappy democratic experiments in church government would provide a satisfactory solution during this period of the Republic's development.

Communication:

One of the most frequent criticisms that is made of these groups is that they are shallow in their preaching of the Gospel. The lesson of history, however, should temper such criticism. The same was said of Wesleyanism at its outset.

"There is no doubt about the fact that some Pentecostal-type sermons in Latin America are theologically thin, but often they are more effectively directed to the needs of the people than many sermons delivered in more traditional churches." 14

The reliance on repetition is an educational tool of great value. The use of frequent biblical quotations, colorful language, and simple doctrinal statements provide thought-provoking concepts for the humble people who make up their congregations. And the enthusiasm with which their message is presented demands attention by the listener.

This is not to say that the criticisms that have been made regarding this type of preaching are totally invalid, but rather that there is much that might be learned from the approach used by these sects.

"It should not be forgotten that a more sophisticated, worldly-wise presentation of Christianity has somehow never in the history of preaching been associated with a dynamic and successful propagation of the faith. The words of St. Paul to the Corinthians do not represent a brief for ignorance or prejudice or fanaticism, but they do draw a clear line between a simplicity that is honored of God even though it may seem foolishness to the world, and a sophistry that, however much it may appeal to the senses, is in the long run fruitless and of no enduring account." 15

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

THE CHURCH AND THE CONQUEST

On December 5, 1492, Christopher Columbus set foot for the first time on the island which he named Española,* claiming it for their Sovereign Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabela. In the letter he prepared for the Queen to describe the discoveries he had made, the great navigator wrote of this land: "I tell you, there is not a better people nor a better island."

The excitement caused by the arrival of Columbus in Spain, and the tales of the "New World" across the ocean, set into motion the arrangements necessary for immediate colonization and conversion. The discoverer was honored with the titles of First Admiral, Don, and Viceroy of the Indies, and was placed in charge of an expedition consisting of seventeen ships and more than fourteen hundred men, organized in order to establish the first of Spain's colonies in the Indies. Among those who accompanied him were twelve priests and the Vicar of the Pope, Fray Boil, who was to be the head of the Holy Roman Church in its mission to the natives of the new lands. Thus began the development of a Spanish empire in America that was to remain virtually undisputed during three centuries.

There is very great significance in the fact that it was Spain that brought Christianity to the New World, and not simply one of the other Roman Catholic countries of Europe. The history of Spain had moulded it

* The Indians called the island by several names: Hayti, Bohio, Babeque and Quisqueya. It would appear that the last of these, Quisqueya, was the most widely used.

far differently than other nations. The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabela of Castile and Leon in 1469 saw the beginning of the unification of a nation that had been under the domination of the Moors for nearly eight centuries. Every aspect of the life, culture, and religion of the people had been deeply affected by this control. The shrewd Ferdinand used all the means at his disposal to create unity, and the Church became one of the most powerful factors in achieving this end.

"The fanatical Torquemada was chosen to rid the country of all heresy ... imposing uniformity of beliefs by force, terror, and hell-fire if necessary." 2

On January 2, 1492, the last of the Moorish strongholds fell to the crusading armies of Ferdinand. With this collapse of Granada, unification was achieved. But a great price had been paid.

The most serious result was the effect on the character of the people themselves. The long religious struggle, together with the Inquisition, left the Spanish people intolerant and fanatical, and colored not only their religious thinking but their political and cultural life as well. 3

This fanaticism, combined with the lust for gold and material wealth, were to remain as interrelated factors of great importance throughout the conquest and profoundly affect the religious nature of the Latin American societies that have evolved.

The establishment of the first colony, called La Isabela in honor of the Queen, created problems for Columbus that were to lead to the loss of his prestige and eventual imprisonment. Sickness, hunger and uncooperative Indians caused discontent among the settlers and Columbus applied harsh measures to avoid rebellion. Among those who were angered

by the Viceroy's action was Padre Boil, head of the religious mission, who returned to Spain during a temporary absence of Columbus from La Isabela. Columbus eventually realized that little could be accomplished under the adverse conditions that beset the colony, and an attempt was made to travel across the island and set up new villages in other areas. Reinforced by new arrivals from Spain, Columbus was able to defeat all the Indian tribes that interfered with his march to the south, and the colonists finally arrived at the Caribbean coast where the city of Santo Domingo was founded in 1497 and established as the capital of Española.

Columbus had little time to enjoy his victory. The report carried by Padre Boil to Spain resulted in the recall and punishment of the Viceroy and the alienation of all his properties, honors and titles. These measures convinced those in the colony and its future governors of the "importance that the sovereigns assigned to the collaboration of the Church in the work of colonizations." (4) The motivation of the King was not necessarily spiritual, however. From 1493, when Pope Alexander VI issued the famous Bull that ceded to the King of Spain the temporal and spiritual authority over all the territories of the Indies, Ferdinand jealously guarded his rights in these matters, and skillfully balanced the power of his ecclesiastical and secular governors in the islands. Columbus had threatened this strategy.

Through the following years, the monarchs of Spain expanded their privileges under the papally granted Royal Patronage (Patronato Real) until they exercised the right of naming candidates for ecclesiastical offices, receiving the benefits of tithes, deciding the number and appointing missionaries, directing the missions, parishes and schools

through the Royal Council of the Indies (Consejo Real de las Indias), and in general handling all matters concerned with the administration of the Church in the colonies. It is no wonder that religious disloyalty was viewed as an act of treason against the King.

THE CHURCH AND THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

It is clear from all the documents that are available, that Queen Isabela considered the conversion of the natives of her new lands as a primary objective of the conquest. In return for instruction in the Christian Faith, simple education, and the basic necessities such as food and clothing, the Indians were expected to work in agriculture, in the mines, in construction, etc. ⁵ The system, known as repartimiento, was established by law, and divided the Indians up in small groups placed under the care and authority of the colonists. Within a very short time the abuses of this arrangement reduced the Indians to a condition of slavery, and, although the colony showed amazing prosperity in a brief period, it was at the cost of the Indians who died off in large numbers because of the unaccustomed hard labor. Even the Franciscan clergy, who had been appointed to instruct and baptize the natives, made use of repartimiento in order to construct the monastic buildings for the Order. Instead of taking up their cause, the Friars treated the Indians exactly like the other settlers.

It is probable that the Spanish monarchs were not totally aware of the treatment being accorded their new vassals. Nicolas de Ovando, who succeeded Columbus as Governor, and Diego Columbus who inherited the authority and titles in 1508 when his father was restored to favor, both

saw the system of repartimiento as necessary to the prosperity of Española. It would be expected that their communications to the King carried no criticism of the arrangement.

In 1510, however, the arrival of the Order of Saint Dominic was the first step in a series of events that led to the eventual freedom of the few Indians that survived the deplorable conditions of their slavery. Identifying themselves with the sufferings of the Indians, the Dominicans began their campaign in Advent of 1511. In a fiery sermon preached to the Viceroy Diego Columbus and the other authorities and principal personages of the colony, Fray Anton de Montesino condemned the treatment of the Indians.

"Tell me, by what right and by what justice can you keep these Indians in such horrible and cruel servitude? By what authority have you carried on such terrible wars against these people who lived quietly and peaceably in their land, where you have consumed untold numbers of them with unheard of deaths and tortures? Why do you keep them so oppressed and weary, without giving them sufficient to eat, without curing their sickness, and through excess of work cause them to die - or more exactly kill them - in order that they acquire more gold for you every day? What care do you take of those who you instruct, who know your God and Creator, who are baptized, hear mass and keep your feasts and your Sundays? These, aren't they men? Do they not have rational souls? Are you not obliged to love them as yourselves? Do you not understand this or feel it? How can you be in such profound, lethargic dreams, asleep?"

The reaction to the sermon was expected and immediate. The leaders of the community spoke out in anger against the Friars and demanded that Padre Montesino retract his words. To the contrary, the priest expanded on his thoughts the following Sunday in a sermon signed by all of the members of the Dominican Order. In fury the Viceroy sent a Franciscan with letters to the King and the Council of the Indies requesting that the Dominicans be reprimanded for this scandal. ⁷ The greater scandal, however,

was that an open conflict resulted between the Dominicans and Franciscans, as they took opposite sides in regard to an issue concerned with justice and love.

Montesino was sent by his Order to defend himself and them in the presence of the King. Barred entrance at first, the Friar finally was given a hearing with the result that a number of statutes were enacted in an attempt to alleviate the suffering of the Indians. It is unfortunate that these "Ordinances of Burgos" did not strike at the heart of the matter: the system of repartimiento. Had the laws been sufficient, they may have indeed been early enough to prevent the annihilation of the indigenous tribes. ⁸

The greatest advance in defense of the Indians occurred in 1515 when Bartolome de las Casas, later to be named Universal Protector of the Indians, took up their cause before the King. Unfortunate circumstances, including the death of the monarch, delayed the positive results of Las Casas efforts. The new King, Carlos I, was anxious to solve the problems outlined to him, and in 1517 sent several priests of the Order of St. Jerome to insure the abolition of repartimiento with all of its abuses. The royal mandate granted freedom to the Indians and the rights to the use of the land and its wealth. The Jeronimites succeeded only partially in their efforts, and were attacked from two sides. The owners were not ready to surrender control and Las Casas was not satisfied with their slow progress. By 1520 the abuses still had not ended, the Indian population had been reduced to small groups scattered throughout the island and further diminished in numbers as a result of a smallpox epidemic, when Padre las Casas and the Jeronimites suggested a further step to alleviate the problem:

the introduction of Negro slaves to take the place of the Indians. Their reasons seemed sound enough for the times. First, the Negro was far more able to stand up under the difficult conditions of the work in mines and plantations. Second, it would be a humane move to save him from his former practices of war and violence. Third, he would have the benefit of being baptized and learn the doctrines of the Catholic faith. Thus a Christian argument was offered to advocate an institution that would enslave thousands throughout the centuries.

THE CHURCH AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE

It is one of the great ironies of history that the men who rose up in defense of the indigenous peoples of the New World should have been partially responsible for one of its most tragic episodes. This is not to say that slavery was introduced by them, for Negro slaves were already known in the Caribbean Islands and Mexico, but rather that its initiation on a large scale dates from this period of the "emancipation" of the Indians. Although Las Casas was an advocate of this plan and gave it his whole-hearted support, he later repented when he recognized that one injustice had been substituted for another in the establishment of a system of commerce in human lives.

Once begun, the importation of Africans assumed major proportions in a very short time. The question of teaching the slaves the basic elements of the Christian faith was hardly a matter of concern. It is not surprising that the owners, who had done so little for the spiritual welfare of the Indians committed to their charge, should ignore the religious training of these slaves whom they considered little better than

beasts of burden.

Unfortunately, the brief experience that had been acquired in the management of the indigenous race did not produce all the results that one would have hoped for in the handling of those newly introduced: they were careless of the moral training of these beings who were called to a new life because of a demanding necessity. Consigned to either a rustic or civilized surroundings, they /the slaves/ retained the crude and ferocious natures of their fiery climes, and from then until now the rebellions that they caused or in which they took part, were frequent and memorable. (9)

Furthermore, the Church was divided as to what course of action should be taken regarding the slaves. As late as 1576, the matter was still under discussion and became a question of considerable division in the Synod of that year. In a letter of Archbishop Fray Andres de Carvajal written at the conclusion of the sessions it is stated:

In one thing there was doubt and contrary votes. Some said that the newly imported Negroes that are brought from Guinea and all those provinces, being so untamed and of no understanding should not be baptized until they learn Christian doctrine and understand the things of God. Others were of the opposite opinion, saying that many of them die without baptism and go to hell; that it is enough that they have a mediocre knowledge of God and the Church in order that they receive baptism as do the children, since they have no more comprehension than they do. I was of this opinion, principally because we noted that the synod celebrated in the time of our predecessor Don Alonso de Fuenmayor,* made a canon regarding the baptism of Negroes, which says that the Negroes who are brought to this island from Guinea and those provinces, should be taught doctrine for thirty days and then baptized without further bother as to whether they know much or little. And so it was ordered by the canon of our predecessor that they comply in the baptism of adult Negroes. (10)

But the Church had already succumbed to the temptation of an idle existence, and with the limited number of clergy at its disposal did little to evangelize the large number of slaves that were arriving. Furthermore,

* Archbishop and Governor from 1540 until 1549

the tendency of the slaves to withdraw into their own society at every possible moment, perpetuated the use of their native languages and retarded their comprehension of Spanish. This made it necessary for the few priests who were conscientious enough to comply with the canon, to speak through an interpreter, who was usually an island-born African, and whose translations could only approximate the deep significances that he was obliged to communicate to the newly arrived slaves.

In the records of the Archdiocese, there is evidence that provision was made for some specific work with the Africans living in Santo Domingo city who worked as house servants or in menial labor. The ruins of a small church are still to be seen, "which existed by 1632 and was an 'establishment for Negroes' built in one of the most distant and separated parts of the city." ¹¹ When one considers the number of parish churches, monastic chapels, and private oratories - apart from the cathedral - that were founded to serve the colonizers, it will be recognized that this church on the outskirts of Santo Domingo was little more than a gesture, in view of the large numbers of slaves.

No adequate study has ever been made of the life of the African during the period of slavery in Española. A number of documents make mention of the difficulty faced in attempting to "domesticate" the Negro, and also the problem of run-aways. The treatment accorded the slave goes far in explaining why escape was the constant hope in the mind of the African.

The Negroes of Española, captured or bought in Africa, treated worse than animals by the slavers in ships where these unfortunates remained buried alive as in a horrible dungeon, occupying a smaller space than they would have in their graves, were then subjected to unending hard labor ...

Even freed, the Negress or Mulatto could not wear gold or pearls, nor silk or a cloak; slaves were to be punished without trial in case of rebellion; ... run-away Negroes ... absent for four days were punished ... with forty lashes, absent eight days with a hundred and shod with iron boots weighing twelve pounds for four months ; those absent more than six months were hung ... A law of 1574 prohibited Negroes to travel in the city, villages or other places at night or to be out of their owner's houses." 12

These laws and others were enacted, because of the constant apprehension experienced by the colonists as the numbers of slaves increased, and the possibility of rebellion grew.

The historian Luis Ulloa Cisneros points out that although "the Spanish laws were dreadfully cruel toward the African slave ... in practice the owners were wont to be less godless than these statutes." 13 The records of Santo Domingo are silent as to the extent of that liberality, but it is known that in the neighboring island of Cuba the owners permitted their slaves to engage in dance, and even in African religious ceremonies, in order to keep them pacified. For the African, his religion was the last straw to which he could cling for self-identity. "Subjected to forced labor, deprived of all freedom of movement, their family life utterly dislocated, the slaves had no way of preserving anything of their former way of life except its religious customs and beliefs." 14

Whenever the opportunity arose the slaves gathered and joined in song and dance; repeated interminably their familiar legends; and enjoyed noisy and continuous conversation in their ancient tongue. 15 It is not surprising, therefore, that with the Negro proclivity to perpetuate his beliefs, and the half-hearted activity of his owner and the Roman Church to truly convert him to Christianity, there should be found among the Negro and mulatto population of the Dominican Republic today, consider-

able evidences of superstitious practice and belief that are African in their origin.

DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS

The most notable achievements of the Roman Catholic Church are to be seen in the early establishment of monasteries and chapels, the building of churches, and the founding of hospitals and schools. The prosperity of Española contributed greatly to the early development of these institutions, and through the inspiration and guidance of the clergy the work was carried on.

Within a period of sixty years the major construction of buildings had been completed. The cathedral was terminated in 1540 after seventeen years of construction, and in 1546 received the designation of Primatial Metropolitan Cathedral of the Indies. In addition to the Franciscans and Dominicans, whose labors will be considered in more detail below, the Order of Our Lady of Mercy was organized in Santo Domingo in 1527, and their church and convent were built within a short time through the help received from the King and a wealthy colonist. The convent, church and other buildings of the Order of Saint Clair were terminated by 1556, when the nuns of the Order took up residence. Outside of the city of Santo Domingo, many other edifices were constructed by or for the Church in places such as the old cities of Santiago and La Vega, in Azua de Compostela, Puerto Plata, Higüey, etc., most of which have disappeared through the centuries as the result of earthquakes and unnecessary demolition.

The most important institutional work, however, was that which the Church initiated in the field of education. In 1502, only six years after the founding of Santo Domingo, the Franciscans laid the foundations

of the first monastery in the new colonies of Spain. Its ruins still bear witness to the majestic proportions of the structure which was finally completed in 1556. Shortly after beginning work on their buildings, the Friars opened a modest school, gradually developing it until "it reached a superior level with lectures given in philosophy, theology and canon law. This was the first center for the preparation of priests for Española." ¹⁶

The tension and competition that existed between the Franciscans and the Dominicans as a result of the conflict regarding the fate of the Indians, forced the latter to establish some means of educating men for their Order soon after their arrival in Santo Domingo. In 1512 they requested permission to send fifteen Indian boys to Seville to be trained in "spirit and letters" so that they could return prepared "to be instruments of the divine apostolate of Christ." ¹⁷ It is doubtful that this request was granted, since there is no record of Indians having entered the Order. By 1518, however, the Dominican monastery had been built and their work in education started, so that the King directed the main center of the Order in Seville to send six persons to the colony at his expense "to be trained and receive the habit." ¹⁸

The Dominicans carried on so successfully in education that by 1538 their school was elevated to the category of a university by the Bull In Apostolatus Culmine of Pope Paul III. It was named the University of St. Thomas of Aquinas and became the center of higher education for the Antilles and much of Spanish America, preparing many of the great teachers who would labor in the universities of Lima and Mexico City.

A public school was begun in 1530 in Santo Domingo by the Archbishop-

Governor Ramirez de Fuenleal. In 1540, through the gifts made by Hernando Gorjon, the school was able to construct sufficient buildings in order to establish advanced lectureships. In 1558 it was granted recognition as a university, and functioned under the name of the University of Gorjon until 1583 when it was changed to the University of Saint James of Peace (Santiago de la Paz). It could not compete with the Dominican institution, however, and by the end of the sixteenth century it suspended its activity. ¹⁹

With the termination of the Council of Trent, King Phillip II of Spain established the regulations of the Council as law of his realm and ordered "the Archbishops and Bishops of our Indies to found and maintain the seminary colleges that are required by the Holy Council of Trent." ²⁰ The conditions in Santo Domingo made it impossible to comply with the mandate, and it was not until 1602, when the King granted the Archbishop the use of the University of Saint James for this purpose, that the formation of a Conciliar Seminary was begun. ²¹ Within a short time it offered several lectureships and was able to enjoy recognition as a university once again. Its glory was short-lived and by 1650 it was made subordinate to the Dominican university.

In the same year, two priests of the Society of Jesus arrived in Santo Domingo to study the conditions in the country with the eventual purpose of establishing a house of their Order. By 1703 the Jesuits had obtained sufficient influence to be given charge of the seminary. A new conflict between Religious Orders now afflicted the Church in Santo Domingo as the Jesuits sought to deny the authority of the Dominicans to grant degrees in the University of St. Thomas Aquinas by raising doubt as to the legitimacy of the Papal Bull that had established it.

The litigation that followed left the treasury of the Dominican Order exhausted, and although a royal decree of 1747 confirmed their right to grant degrees as a university, it also required the surrender of university property to the Society of Jesus. The University of St. James once again flourished, but it is ironical that after enjoying its victory for only twenty years, the Jesuit Order was expelled by the King from Santo Domingo and all other realms of the empire. In 1767 the University was forced to close. ¹⁷ The Dominican university never recovered from the terribly tragic circumstances of its battle with the Jesuits, and so Santo Domingo was to suffer from the lack of a sound center of higher education until this century..

DISSOLUTION OF THE CHURCH

From the end of the sixteenth century until the middle of the eighteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church found itself faced with a series of critical problems in the secular and ecclesiastical realms that virtually reduced it to impotence by the time of the declaration of the Republic in 1844. By 1518, the colony had already begun to feel the pressure caused by the migration of many of the settlers to other areas of the Indies and the Continent, where the attainment of wealth seemed more promising.

In 1526 the Crown adopted drastic measures to stop this migration of the residents of the Antilles to the continent ...The sentence of death and confiscation of goods ... were the most common punishment of transgressors. ²¹

Because of the difficulty of applying these sanctions, the law was annulled in 1541 and freedom of immigration was once more permitted. Large numbers of colonists again took advantage of the change and left Santo Domingo for better opportunities.

The decrease in population had already reduced the tithes and fees of the Church to a serious degree. The situation became more complex, as a result of the long periods in which the Archbishopric was left vacant. Between 1540 and 1585, there was a total of nineteen years in which there was no one in possession of the See, and during part of the remaining twenty-five years it was occupied by an Archbishop beset by illness and old age. ²² The lack of Episcopal oversight became apparent in the deterioration of the monasteries, institutions and quality of clergy during these and the following years. In 1568, Saint Andrew's Hospital, an institution established for the care of the poor in 1512, was criticized severely for its poor administration. "It has considerable income which is eaten up by the curates. It cares for no poor, and only keeps a few beds in place in order to comply." ²³ In 1575, the newly arrived Archbishop complained: "In Saint Nicholas Hospital there are four chaplains and a chaplain major; among them there is only one who can read." ²⁴ And in 1583 another newly appointed Archbishop, Alonso Lopez de Avila, lamented:

"There are in this city three monasteries of friars that need reformation: one is the Order of Saint Dominic, whose head and provincial is Fray Lucas de Santa Maria, who favors the cause of those who commerce in contraband with the French and whom he confesses and absolves, and it is understandable since he deals with them also ... The other is of Saint Francis, governed by Fray Alonso de las Casas, theologian and preacher who came as superior and has gotten himself elected provincial, and has been and continues to be totally dishonest ... The third monastery is of Our Lady of Mercy, where there are fifteen or sixteen stupid young men, the majority of whom live in confusion." ²⁵

By 1600 the situation was more critical. The incursions of the pirates had taken a serious toll on the wealth of the country. The Church was so seriously short of clergy that many parishes had been closed for lack of a priest. Furthermore, although the number of monastics was double that of the secular clergy, they were omitted from the ecclesiastical census of

1606 because of the instability of the houses and their general disorder. 26

During the remainder of the seventeenth century, the conditions in the Church gradually worsened. In 1692, Archbishop Fray Fernando Carvajal y Rivera, reported sadly to the King:

The ecclesiastical body is the most unfortunate and miserable that I have seen in my life; its small number amounting to 49, since some died during last year, ... and among those who remain is the cantor, blind and always ill; another aged priest, and another who cannot celebrate because of a continual twitch; others who are up and down, and among them some old men.

Divine worship is the most indecent I have ever seen, without people, no organ, no vestments, .. very indecent ...

The whole island is poor and almost all the plantations have been lost; houses have fallen because of the lack of the necessary means to repair them ...

If the resources that I mentioned in my letter last year are not forthcoming ... it would be better to remove all these men from here and put them where there is more income ... 27

After continually petitioning without receiving response, his frustration finally broke out in a letter addressed to His Majesty in 1696:

Continuously during these six years in the many statements to Your Majesty, to your Council and particularly to all your Ministers, I have referred to the miserable condition of this Island, its importance, the need of families to populate it ... These here are perishing, naked, hungry and many die for lack of medicine and necessities and like barbarians, without sacraments ... If all the Island were to be surrounded by the enemies of Christ, they would not experience as great misery ... Have pity and hear the lamentation of these poor ones ... listen to their moans and if the execution of your orders depends on the Ministers, put some who will comply with the obligation of their ministries and not with their self-interest, some who will avoid avarice, who will govern with love ... and who will put an end to these evils and not cause more ... In this way Your Majesty will fulfill his obligation, unburden his conscience, God will be served... 28

The eighteenth century saw the gradual improvement that Archbishops had sought for the colony for more than a hundred years. With a series of governors who concerned themselves with the betterment of the commerce of the island, the organization of corsairs based in Santo Domingo, and the increase of the population through immigration from the Canary Islands,

Española experienced a rehabilitation that lasted from 1730 until 1785. The Church also benefited from this improvement in the life of the colony, although the progress was largely limited to the institutions in the city of Santo Domingo. The activity of the Jesuits in the Conciliar Seminary would have alleviated many of the problems caused by the shortage of clergy, but the Royal edict of 1767, expelling them from the whole of the empire, threw the Church into another critical period that kept it from enjoying the full advantages of the new prosperity. The opportunity was not granted a second time. In 1795, with the Treaty of Basilea and the transfer of the Island to French control, there began a series of events that terminated in the virtual cessation of all the activities of the Church.

FOREIGN OCCUPATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE CHURCH

The execution of Louis XIV in France threw the two portions of the island of Santo Domingo into direct conflict. Spain had declared war on France, as a result of the act of regicide, and was joined by England, Austria and Prussia. In French Saint Domingue, difficulties had already been experienced as a result of the uprising of large numbers of Negro slaves, and Spain had secretly ordered its military officials along the frontier to give protection to any slaves that might attempt to cross the border. Thus, the French garrisons on the island found themselves attacked by the rebels in their midst, the Spanish at the frontier, and by English troops sent in raids from Jamaica. The overwhelming strength would have destroyed a larger French force if it had not been for the outbreak of a serious epidemic of yellow fever among the English and Spanish troops that were sent to augment the fighting strength in Santo Domingo. The invisible enemy caused sufficient delay for the French to take advantage

of two significant events, and thus claim the whole of the island for themselves.

First, commissioners from France offered the Negroes complete liberty and recognition of their military rank within the Army of the Republic. Their leaders, the now famous Toussaint, Dessalines and Cristophe, accepted the offer and turned on the unsuspecting Spanish forces. French gains were rapid as a result of the great increase of strength. Second, in 1795 all fighting ended with the termination of hostilities between France and Spain on the Continent. By the Treaty of Basilea the Spanish portion of the island was ceded to France in return for the Spanish cities that had been occupied during the war.

For the Church, the results were disastrous. French occupation not only brought about the mass migration of the wealthiest and most intellectual of Santo Domingo's citizens to the island of Cuba and the rest of Spanish America, but also the withdrawal of all of the religious orders and many of the clergy. "It is certain," says the historian Carlos Nouel, "that by the end of 1796 all of the regular clergy had emigrated. The religious communities of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Mercedarios, and Claretian and Dominican [Nuns] had all embarked for Havana, leaving their convents deserted." ²⁹ The final blow occurred in April of 1798, when the Archbishop Portillo Y Torres emigrated to Habana, Cuba, leaving the Church without a responsible ecclesiastical authority. ³⁰ Further migration occurred on the eve of an invasion by the liberated slaves of the western sector of the Island. By the end of January of 1801, the Spanish-speaking sector was in the hands of Toussaint L'Ouverture and his army, and the white colonists began to experience the loss of their liberty at the hands of the ex-slaves. The Church was a primary target. "Toussaint

ordered the closing of all churches of Santo Domingo and the disabling of all bells." ³¹ For a year their sufferings continued, until Toussaint committed the error of declaring himself Governor of the whole of the island for life, an act that irritated the Emperor Napoleon. A large, well-equipped force was sent to Santo Domingo from France and drove the army of Toussaint back to the western end. During the years that followed the cities and villages near the frontier faced the constant threat of invasion by the Negro forces, a danger which was greatly increased with the proclamation of the Republic of Haiti on ^{January 1, 1804} ~~November 7, 1808~~.

The Spanish-speaking colonists still considered themselves as an "occupied" people. A strong movement was begun in this same period to return Santo Domingo to control of the Spanish crown. With the help of the Spanish government in Puerto Rico, arms were smuggled into the country, and finally in November of 1808, a small force of Spanish and Puerto Rican volunteers invaded and joined with the inhabitants of Santo Domingo to drive out the French. The French were unable to resist the combined forces, and in 1809 surrendered the Eastern portion of Santo Domingo to the Spanish crown once again.

The years between 1789, when Santo Domingo was approaching the end of the brief period of progress that had been initiated several decades earlier, and the year of "reconquest" by Spain, had been extremely costly ones.

While in 1789, the year in which the French Revolution exploded ... the Spanish part of the island had some 130,000 white inhabitants and 30,000 slaves, with a prosperous cattle industry and a revival of the sugar industry and agricultural activities ... on effecting the transfer resulting from the reconquest, Spanish Santo Domingo had seen its population descend to approximately 40,000 free individuals served by 10,000 slaves. ³²

The countryside had been devastated, as a result of the movement of armies that attacked and retreated, leaving nothing but burned fields and villages in their wake. Churches had been ransacked and destroyed time and time again by the Haitian troops, and the clergy in many towns had been tortured and killed. It is no wonder that those who were caught up in the unfortunate events should look to "mother" Spain as a solution to their problems.

The actual results of renewed Spanish rule was far from what had been hoped. The administrators, sent by the Crown, were so inept that the Dominicans have since named the period between 1809 and 1822 as that of "Simpleton Spain" (la Espana Boba). The first blunder was the expulsion of the French colonists who had migrated to the Eastern end of the island at the time of the slave uprisings. They were the most capable agriculturalists. Their equals among the Spanish colonists had long before moved to other parts of Spanish America. Secondly, the authorities wrested property from many who had weathered the critical years of war and invasion, in order to give land to those who returned after many years of comparative security in other places. Thirdly, political opportunism and graft placed the most unscrupulous and incapable in positions of responsibility, resulting in almost complete chaos in governmental activities. Unrest was general throughout the colony, except in ecclesiastical circles, where the situation had been so bad that any changes were considered an improvement.

The principle moves for reorganization of the Church were initiated by the decrees of the Royal Council dated April 3, 1810, in which was authorized:

Article 6: Reestablishment of the Primatial Archbishopric of the Indies, in accordance with the faculties that pertain to the Crown of Spain ...;

a. Reestablishment of the Cathedral with the same number of dignitaries, canons, prebendaries that it had in early times, in order to attend to its services and for the support of the Conciliar Seminary.

b. Donation of ten thousand duros [pesos] per year for the Archbishopric, paid from the Royal Treasury.

c. Erection of a Conciliar Seminary, which will not only prepare priests, but other capable men, good Christian vassals, instructing them in the most important branches of agriculture and industry ...

d. Assignment of the limited income of the convents in practical abandonment for use by the seminary, for the repair of hospitals and for help to the Convent of the Dominicans; at the same time the Monastery of St. Francis shall be dedicated for use as a hospital and the other abandoned convents shall be left for use by the competent authorities. 33

Within a short time Don Pedro Valera Jimenez, the first native-born priest to occupy such a high post, was elected to the office of Archbishop. His interest in the development of a good educational system was evidenced in the establishment of a school in his own Episcopal Palace before 1812, in which 79 students were instructed in Latinity and Dogmatic Theology.

Through his continued insistence, a royal decree of January 6, 1814, ordered the reestablishment of the University of Santo Domingo,³⁴ A number of the churches were reopened and with the help of priests brought in from Spain and other areas, congregations were formed.

The spirit of the times, however, did not permit the colonists to remain content under Spanish rule. Throughout America the revolutions of independence began to mold the Spanish empire into a number of sovereign states that were bound together by language and custom. This same spirit had been at work among the leaders in Santo Domingo, so that, in December of 1821, a provisional government was formed and independence proclaimed. An emissary was immediately dispatched to Columbia in order to arrange an alliance with the Great Liberator, Simon Bolivar. Unfortunately for

the new republic, the General was engaged in a campaign, and the Vice-President dared not undertake such a responsible action in his absence. The delay was disastrous. President Boyer of Haiti acted quickly. Declaring his adherence to the principle stated by Toussaint L'Ouverture, that the Island of Hispaniola was one and indivisible, he sent two powerful armies across the frontier. Terrible memories of prior invasions and the punishment that the Haitians had meted out on those who resisted, prompted the colonists to surrender without a fight. On February 9, 1822, after only three months of independence, the city of Santo Domingo was occupied by the Haitians.

The following twenty-two years of domination were the most difficult in the history of the colony, and had a telling effect on the Church. One of the first acts of Boyer was to close all of the churches except the cathedral, and confiscate all properties and income. The University was also closed as was the Seminary. ³⁵ During the same years, many of the clergy were exiled because of their non-cooperation with the Haitian government, and the Archbishop was expelled from the country in 1830 when pressures, bribes and threats failed to break his uncompromising spirit. ³⁶ The Church fell into its darkest period, and as Archbishop Merino later wrote: "From the time when the Haitians were the owners of all the island, can be truly dated the religious decadence of Santo Domingo." ³⁷ By the time Independence was really achieved in 1844, the Church had been reduced to a most precarious condition. As an institution, it would exercise little influence in the molding of the new nation in its earliest years.

THE CHURCH IN THE REPUBLIC

The beginnings of the movement to free the Spanish end of the island

from Haitian domination began in 1838 with the formation of a secret society known as La Trinitaria. Guided by a group of indefatigable patriots, the organization succeeded in planning a rebellion aimed at establishing an independent nation. On February 27, 1844, the first shots were fired and the Haitian officials and garrisons had soon been driven back to the western sector of the island. Once recovered from the initial shock, the Haitian President, Herard, sent a large force of troops into the new "Dominican Republic" in order to put down the rebellion. Within a short time, however, his own death sent the Haitian government into a struggle for power that relieved the infant Republic of any major threat from the Haitians for almost a year.

The political tensions that were to disrupt the tiny nation during the rest of its history, appeared within the first few weeks of its life. The liberal group that had organized the independence movement was immediately weakened by dissension. Disagreement as to the method to be used for the selection of a president caused a decisive split in the temporary ruling junta and left the door open for the conservatives to take over the reigns of government. General Pedro Santana, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, led a strong force to the city of Santo Domingo, and with no resistance to his move, assumed control of the government on July 12, 1844.

Only two months prior, the Junta had decreed the "restitution of the Catholic Church to its ancient condition,"⁽³⁸⁾ and had elected Dr. Tomas de Portes e Infante, who had acted as Vicar General since the expulsion and death of Archbishop Valera, as the new Archbishop. Furthermore, Dr. Portes e Infante was

to propose to the government those persons who were ideally suited for the offices and sinecures of his endowment, or who might actually occupy them under the circumstances ... when the Pope confirmed them.⁽³⁹⁾

Once in power, however, General Santana delayed action on the decree until April of 1845. Public pressure made it necessary to take some measures regarding the Church, and the new president finally sent a letter to Rome pointing out "the need that this Church has to be provided with a Prelate, and at the same time to request that the proposal of Dr. Portes for the mitre be accepted and his election confirmed." ⁴⁰ It was not until 1848, however, that the Pope took the steps necessary to elevate the cleric to the Archbishopric of Santo Domingo.

Santana's move was obviously calculated to soften the action that was to follow. In July, a law was approved by the Congress confiscating for the State all properties that belonged to extinct religious communities, inactive churches and charitable foundations. As a balm to the enraged clergy, the budget for 1845-1846 was amended to include a salary for the Prelate which would "permit him to live with decency in a manner befitting his high office," ⁴¹ but the clerics were not to be put off so easily. Dr. Jose Bobadilla, brother of a Secretary of State, published a widely distributed pamphlet defending the inalienability of Church property by the State. Santana ordered the priest's expulsion from the national territory. These early events created a mutual suspicion between the President and the Church that was to last throughout his first period in office and would be resumed some years later.

It is certain that the attitude of Santana delayed Rome's designation of an Archbishop for the Church in the new Republic. Toward the end of 1847, however, the General's government was threatened seriously by dissension and opposition. It would appear that the sufferings of the Church in the past, which had resulted from the lack of a resident superior during periods of political turmoil, had taught the necessary lesson.

On January 20, 1848, Dr. Portes e Infante was elevated to the office of Archbishop of Santo Domingo. One of his first acts was to present to Congress a carefully developed argument regarding the extreme necessity of providing for a center of higher education for the country. In May the Congress founded the Conciliar Seminary of St. Thomas Aquinas where students could study not only for the priesthood, but also in the fields of law, medicine and letters. 43

The efforts of Dr. Tomas Portes e Infante, meritorious Archbishop of Santo Domingo, were only partially crowned with success. In ten years he had the satisfaction of ordaining thirteen dominicans who were later to be eminent figures among the Clergy. /Unfortunately/ with the death of Dr. Elias Rodriguez (1857) and that of Dr. Portes e Infante (1858) Rector and Founder of the Seminary respectively, 'the classrooms were nearly deserted, caused in no small part by the civil disturbances that afflicted the Republic'. 43

The pressures on Santana caused him to resign in August of 1848, to be succeeded by the government of General Manuel Jimenez, which lasted for only nine months. With the Presidency vacant after Jimenez' expulsion, the name of Buenaventura Baez appeared in the political roster. In his book Nabeth's Vineyard, Sumner Welles described this man, who was to be President of the Dominican Republic several times, as follows:

For nearly thirty five years of the nation's history, through the unworthy ambitions he was able to engender in others, and by the intrigues of which he was a past master, he maintained himself ever present as the most powerful - and the most pernicious - influence in the Dominican Republic. 44

From the outset of his period in office, Baez recognized the utility of having the Roman Church as an ally. His relations with the Archbishop were most cordial. Arrangements were made for the initiation of diplomatic interchange with the Vatican aimed at signing a Concordat. The Congress gave permission for the use of bells, but limited this privilege to Roman Catholic churches only. In the field of education, Baez

not only threw his support into the development of the Conciliar Seminary, but also founded the ephemeral St. Bonaventure College, and assured the teaching of religion in the public schools through a law he personally introduced in Congress. Furthermore, during his period in office the Roman priests received considerable privileges in secular affairs. 45

The efforts of Buenaventura Baez suffered a reversal as he approached the end of his four years. Economic difficulties as well as open conflict with Santana shook his popularity, and in the 1853 elections he found himself succeeded by the General.

As soon as Santana had firmly established himself in the Presidency and had obtained convincing proofs of the general popularity which, for the time being, he enjoyed throughout the Republic, he determined to eliminate from the political scene the two elements which had caused him disquiet during the preceding four years. The first was the clergy, whose intervention in political matters had increased during the Presidency of Baez; the second was Baez himself. 46

Santana aimed his attack on the Roman Church directly at the aged Archbishop himself. During the prior administration, the prelate sought to have certain legislation repealed that had been enacted during the Haitian occupation and which had established the legality of civil marriage. The combined efforts of President Baez and the Archbishop did not suffice to move the Congress to take the action. Toward the end of the electoral period, the Archbishop addressed the legislators and unleashed a withering attack against the supporters of the code. In it he said:

The Legal Code ordered to be observed by the Decree of July 4, 1845, is characterized as atheistic by all wise men who, with a profound knowledge of Jurisprudence, share in a deep religious sentiment that causes them to repudiate the absence of the Holy Name of God, which is not once to be found before any of the many laws which compose it ... Well known are the scandals caused by the establishment of these Justices of the Peace who, finding their origin in the bosom of Protestantism, have desired to plant themselves in the field of the Catholic Church in favor of the Haitian Code and that of the Restoration,

with no other purpose than to pervert the sanctity of the sacrament of matrimony and reduce it to a sterile and insignificant contract ... Only in the mind of the atheistic legislators of the Code called Napoleonic would enter the idea of limiting the right of the members of society to dispose of their goods through wills in favor of poor houses, godly establishments, the good of their souls, etc., when they do not prohibit them to leave them to prostitutes or for the founding of a brothel... 47

Santana accepted this as a personal insult and an accusation of heresy. When his star rose once again, he delayed less than one month, after assuming office, to have his revenge. Without warning, he called the Archbishop to appear before the Senate. Declaring that as President of the Republic he had sworn to uphold the laws of the nation, but that because certain members of the Clergy had created an opposition force that could disturb the peace, he must demand that the prelate take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution. Dr. Portes y Infante refused at first but, faced with the threat of exile, capitulated two weeks later and took the oath. The emotional upheaval had been so terrible, however, that the Archbishop lost his mind and retired from public life. Santana arranged for the exile of other members of the clergy who would not submit to his wishes, which "left the Church in the hands of such submissive clerics that the President was caused no further uneasiness." 47 Although critical of Santana's treatment of the aged Archbishop, the Congress demonstrated their accord with his feelings regarding the need to control the Church, when on June 13, 1853, it decreed:

Until a concordat regulates ecclesiastical affairs, the Bulls of His Holiness of a general nature cannot be put into effect in the territory of the Republic without the prior exequator of the Congress; and pontifical bulls, briefs or mandates concerning groups or particular persons, must be presented to the Executive Power through the Secretary of State of Interior and Police so as to obtain the corresponding approval. 49

With the revision of the Constitution in 1854 the control was tightened even more with a provision being added that "the Congress shall name the dignitaries of the Catholic Church ... beginning with the Archbishop of the Republic." 50

Pressures, within his own government and from outside, caused Santana to resign before the completion of his electoral period. When elections were held shortly thereafter, Buenaventura Baez was called to the Presidency for the second time. Returning from exile to occupy his office, Baez wasted no time in arranging for his revenge on his predecessor. An insignificant "rebellion," put down in a matter of hours, was blamed on Santana, who was put in prison and then expelled from the Republic. Once again Baez turned to the Church as his ally. Writing to the Pope on January 1, 1857, Baez stated:

It shall be of preferential attention of our Government, to restore to the Catholic Church all those things of which it was despoiled with sacrilegious impudence, in the time of our predecessor, in order that the Church of Santo Domingo shall have all of the splendor and dignity, and also all of that liberty which, because of its divine institution it should enjoy fully. 51

Within six months of this declaration of intention, however, Baez found himself faced with a major revolution, and unable to fulfill his promises to the Church. His government collapsed and Baez fled for fear of reprisal by the partisans of Santana.

The Roman Church was again in a most precarious situation. In April of 1858 the Archbishop, Dr. Portes e Infante, died. Two months later Santana returned to the Presidency that he would occupy for three years. The Church could count on only one outstanding personality, Arturo Meriño, a young priest who would later serve first as President of the Republic and then as Archbishop. Meriño took over the reins of

authority at the Cathedral and became the spokesman for the Church. (During this period, however, each priest administered his parish with complete independence, for lack of a designated ecclesiastical authority. ⁵²) Merino fell into profound disfavor in 1860 when Santana began to initiate negotiations for the annexation of the Dominican Republic by Spain, and the priest attacked the move from his pulpit. Addressing the President he said: "The Nation looks upon you as the great leader of liberty; hold high, therefore, with honor the glorious banner of independence." ⁵³ His action won him expulsion from the Republic and imprisonment in Spain. On March 18, 1861, the Dominican Republic became a colony of the Spanish Crown.

FROM THE ANNEXATION TO OCCUPATION BY THE UNITED STATES MARINES

In May of 1861, Queen Isabel II named a new Archbishop for Santo Domingo, Bienvenido Monzon y Martin. The prelate initiated his labors with great vigor and set out to introduce a series of reforms in the organization and functioning of the Roman Church in the country. He had little material with which to work because of the Church's impoverished state and the few priests that were available: forty in all. As a result he turned to the Religious Orders of his homeland to provide the necessary manpower to carry out his wishes. The Conciliar Seminary was re-established and staffed by Spanish teachers. The Cathedral Chapter was reorganized. Parishes were reopened as were several of the institutions in Santo Domingo City. Unfortunately, the Archbishop was insensitive to the feelings of the Dominican people and the national clergy. As Sumner Welles had stated:

Archbishop Monzon soon proved himself to be, in his utter failure to grasp the necessity of conciliating public

opinion, a worthy colleague of most of the Spanish officials ... The Dominican clergy, who had at first eagerly welcomed, with few exceptions, the transfer of sovereignty, were soon thrown into consternation, not only by the fact that Spanish priests were fast replacing Dominicans in the more important posts in the gift of the Church, but also by the action of the prelate in undertaking to control their private lives, which were in some cases notoriously lax. ... It remained for the Archbishop to force the native priests to abandon the practice of accepting fees for their parochial services, and content themselves with a beggarly monthly stipend, and the immense power which the Dominican clergy was able to exert was at once directed not only against their religious superior, but against every semblance of Spanish control as well. 54

The people were already dissatisfied with the burdens created by the Spanish authorities. Taxes had been increased. Citizens were required to billet soldiers without remuneration. Regulations controlling every phase of life were introduced into the colony by the Governor and the Archbishop. It was not long before the desire for independence was once again felt throughout the nation, and the citizens rose up against their foreign overlords. By September of 1863 a provisional government was established, although the war against Spanish forces continued for nearly two years more. On May 3, 1865, "a decree was approved by the Courts of Spain for the abandonment of Santo Domingo." 55 The withdrawal of the Spanish authorities resulted in the departure of Archbishop Monzon and all of the clergy who had come to Santo Domingo at his request. Thus, once again the Roman Church in the little Republic was crippled in its mission because of political vicissitudes.

With the "Restoration of the Republic" a series of governments rose and fell keeping the country in a constant state of tension. Padre Meriño returned from exile and expended his energies more in politics than in the exercise of his ecclesiastical office, serving as President of the Congress and in several other civil capacities. In 1867 he became

the central figure in a dispute between the Vatican and the Dominican government. In accordance with the constitution, President Cabral proposed the name of Arturo Meriño as Archbishop of Santo Domingo. Archbishop Monson, however, had never forgiven the national clergy for their opposition to annexation and, with the support of the Spanish hierarchy, had persuaded the papacy to deny recognition of any Dominican for the high office. Rome replied by placing the Dominican Church under the supervision of a foreign priest resident in the Island of Saint Thomas. In the name of Constitutional order and national dignity Cabral's government refused to recognize the substitution, and a virtual break between the Republic and the Vatican was created. 56

The uncomfortable situation continued for nearly fourteen years. Even when Buenaventura Baez again occupied the presidency from 1868 to 1874, and returned to his usual strategy of courting the approval of the Roman Church, the predicament remained unchanged. It was not until the election of Meriño as President of the Republic in 1880 that relations again became cordial. It has been written of the cleric:

A politician more than a priest ... Padre Meriño was elected without opposition ... Clothed in his clerical robes, Padre Meriño took the oath of office and read his inaugural address, but if any malcontents believed that the clerical garments in which their new President was garbed covered any weakness, any pity for the evil-doer, or any reluctance to punish the insurgent, they were grievously mistaken. 57

And his predecessor and mentor, Gregorio Luperon, commented:

It is men like Meriño who represent the moral force of this world. Inspired by noble sentiments and supported by their own courage, they are the center of all progressive social renaissance. 58

The priest-president succeeded in bringing about a change of attitude on the part of the Vatican, and at his request the Dominican ecclesiastical

structure was reorganized.

With this new recognition of the Dominican government by the Papacy, the way was opened for the nomination of a Dominican to fill the office of Archbishop. It was only natural that at the conclusion of his period as President, Arturo Meriño should be designated for this post. As a result, he was consecrated as Archbishop of Santo Domingo in July of 1885, eighteen years after his name was first suggested for the post. Concerned with the improvement of conditions in the nation and in the Church, Meriño reopened the seminary and founded several schools, as well as reorganizing the university as a professional institute and serving as its Rector. It is possible that many more achievements would have been credited to the energetic prelate if it had not been for the disastrous political and economic conditions of the country and the Church. Meriño served as Archbishop until his death in 1906.

In the last years of Meriño's episcopate, the Roman Church chose wisely in the selection of a Bishop Coadjutor to succeed him. Adolfo Alejandro Nouel was consecrated in 1904. Considered by his contemporaries to be an able scholar and fine orator, Monseñor Nouel was also more an ecclesiastic and less of a politician than his predecessor. Shortly after taking over the Archbishopric, Nouel reorganized the seminary inviting priests of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary to take charge of the work. Their labors seemed promising and in 1908 there were ten students engaged in theological studies. ⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the first World War forced the professors to return to their native land, France, and the seminary had to close.

During this period, the political scene in the Republic was chaotic. Government after government was elected and overthrown. There were periods of dictatorships and interludes of anarchy. In 1912, in hopes that

he might "emulate his illustrious predecessor, Archbishop Merino,"

Noel was elected by the Congress to fill that office for two years.

The new President was ... devoid of the political ambition which at one period dominated Merino. A man of great personal charm and of the most kindly nature, Archbishop Noel had endeared himself to all with whom he had come into contact, and possessed a devoted host of friends ... His prestige, however, was by no means political ... Inherently reluctant to undertake the task of directing the Government, he had accepted the responsibility only out of a feeling of patriotic duty. 60

The party conflicts and political ambitions of those around him made it impossible for the gentle cleric to succeed in his undertaking. He resigned after only three months in office.

The conditions in the Republic deteriorated steadily during the next few years, so that in May of 1916 a detachment of United States Marines was sent to give support to the President who at that moment occupied the post. The support soon became a military occupation that lasted until 1924. Archbishop Noel frequently showed himself to be a champion of the interests of his fellow countrymen during the years of this intervention, but he could do very little for the Church because of the lack of priests and funds. Its condition was indeed grave when the "Era of Trujillo" began in 1930.

THE ERA OF TRUJILLO

On May 30, 1961, assassins' bullets brought to a close the tyrannical dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, who had exercised his iron-fisted rule over the Dominican Republic during thirty-one years. In the days of turmoil that followed, a leader of the Civic Union, one of the political groups that were seeking to establish a democratic republic, coined a phrase that could accurately be used to describe this people and place during most of the four and a half centuries since its discovery. It has been indeed: "El noble, sufrido pueblo dominicano," the noble, long-suffering Dominican nation.

As has been seen, this small country discovered by Christopher Columbus on his first voyage in 1492, experienced a rapid rise to prosperity and an equally rapid decline. Its importance to the expansion of the Spanish empire eclipsed by the discovery of the fabulous wealth of the Inca and Aztec Kingdoms of the continent, the colony saw its institutions - the first in the New World - fall into decay. Heavily populated in its days of glory, with its mines and plantations famed throughout Europe, it later passed through decades of hunger, misery and suffering when there was no longer gold to be taken from the earth and when its plantations turned back into wilderness for lack of people to tend them. Ignored by Spain in its days of agony, it became a pawn of the European powers and fell under the scourge of English pirates, French domination, renewed exploitation by Spain, and decimation at the hands of Haitian invaders. And then in 1844 came the cry for independence and the lighting of a new flame of hope.

Writing of this independence in 1921, when the Republic was in its sixth year of occupation by the United States marines, the Rev. Samuel Guy Inman stated:

During the seventy years of national life nineteen constitutions have been promulgated and there have been forty-three presidents, only three of whom have completed terms of office; two were killed, twenty deposed and others resigned more or less willingly. 1

And Dr. Hubert Herring, in his excellent survey of Latin American history, written in 1956, declared: "Nowhere else has personalismo - the rule of the boss - been more persistent and malign than in this weak nation." 2

The experience of the Republic had been a tragic one and it was not over when Dr. Inman described its instability. With the departure of the American Occupation Force in 1924, the presidency of the country was left in the hands of an aged politician, General Horacio Vasquez, and the national army soon fell under the command of Rafael L. Trujillo. With skillful manipulation and a minimum of observable involvement the Chief of the Army led the government to an inevitable coups d'etat. On February 22, 1930, the move was made that eventually led to the initiation of the "Era of Trujillo." The "noble, long-suffering Dominican nation" was once again a pawn, but this time to the ambitions of a tyrant.

In order to speak about the Dominican people of the 1960's it is of absolute necessity to understand what occurred in that Republic during the thirty-one years of the "Era of Trujillo." In honesty one must admit that much of what happened to the Dominicans cannot be communicated in such a brief chapter as this. And even in such an extensive work as La Era de Trujillo by Dr. Jesus de Galindez, it is impossible to "feel" the atmosphere that existed in the Dominican Republic during Trujillo's regime. Nevertheless, although any description would be

deficient in this important element, it is indispensable to a consideration of the churches in the Dominican Republic to comprehend that over seventy-five per cent of the population had experienced no other form of government. Therefore, the "Era" moulded the lives of those who now direct the many forces that seek to steer the nation down one path or another and who guide the churches in their efforts. For that reason we now turn to a study of those three decades.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POWER

The beginning of Trujillo's rise to power actually dates from the period of military occupation by the United States Marines. In the nine years of armed intervention he ascended rapidly through the ranks of the Dominican National Guard, becoming Inspector of the principal district when the Guard was changed into the National Police shortly before the withdrawal of the Marines in 1924. "A few months later, Major J. Cesar Lora," the ranking officer, "was assassinated by an outraged medical officer whose wife had been unfaithful,"³ and as a result of this unplanned event, Trujillo found himself elevated to the post of commanding officer. He immediately began the reorganization of the force, making it an effective instrument of its Chief. During the next three years he increased its size to such an extent that he was able to maneuver the Congress into establishing it as the National Army in 1927. The aged President Vasquez, apparently unaware of Trujillo's ambitions and convinced of his loyalty, personally elevated him to the rank of Brigadier General.

Elections were to be held on May 16, 1930, and in spite of his age Vasquez sought to be re-elected. On February 22, the newspapers announced

that an opposition force had taken over two military posts in Santiago, the second largest city, and were demanding the resignation of Vasquez. General Trujillo made no move to put down the rebellion. His inaction betrayed his involvement, and within two days the American Ambassador notified the State Department:

In spite of the solemn assurances given to my predecessor and to the authorities, it is now absolutely clear that General Trujillo has conspired with the revolutionary leaders and has repeatedly betrayed the government. For this reason it appears highly desirable that General Trujillo be not named on the list of any party. It is furthermore necessary that General Trujillo ... be removed from the Army, but this will hardly be accomplished without the assistance of the legation. 4

Within a few days, however, the overthrow had been accomplished according to the pattern that Trujillo would use frequently during the next thirty years. The provisions of the Constitution were complied with scrupulously. The rebellious forces entered the capital on February 27th and forced the President to appoint the leader of the opposition party as Secretary of Interior and Police, the second post in succession to the presidency. Vasquez and his Vice-President then resigned and the newly created Secretary was immediately sworn in as President.

As the result of an agreement made between the opposition groups and the American Ambassador, the new president took office without interference by the United States Government. One of the major points stated: "There shall be no restrictions as regards candidates [for the presidency] except that neither Alfonseca* nor Trujillo can be included." 5 The ineffectiveness of the agreement became obvious in a few months when Trujillo's candidacy was announced and the State

* J. B. Alfonseca was Vice-President under Horacio Vasquez.

Department advised the Ambassador to take no action that would offend Trujillo should he be elected.

The election as all other acts of the Benefactor, was within the law and beautifully planned. Trujillo employed thugs to beat up and shoot his opponents until they dared not solicit votes or hold a meeting. In the rural districts his men ranged in cars armed with machine guns. About one hundred persons were killed. The election was unanimous because the opposition withdrew. 6

Once in power the new President made it clear that he planned to be there for some time to come. His desire for absolutely uncontested authority and the method used in order to attain it proved him to be an instinctive disciple of Machiavelli (of whom the semi-literate general probably never heard). An intensive campaign against those who might prove troublesome in future years was begun.

Politically, the Benefactor proceeded with cold inhumanity to liquidate his enemies. An estimate authenticated by sources of trustworthy witnesses and reports of the Foreign Policy Association is that between 3,000 and 5,000 were slain. 7

The principle object of his persecution was the Progressive National Alliance, the party that had been most outspoken in the criticism of his candidacy and which had shown the greatest political acumen during the pre-election campaign. Even his method of eliminating political enemies demonstrated a definite strategy, and one that he would follow during three decades.

The murder of General Cipriano Bencosme, an active and influential leader of the Alliance and a rich landholder is illustrative of the procedure. Bencosme had turned from political life in disgust after the election of Trujillo, and retired to one of his haciendas. Inventing a charge of embezzlement, Trujillo ordered his arrest and Bencosme was forced to flee with the Army in pursuit. He was finally found and

murdered without any attempt being made to return him for trial.

Trujillo disclaimed knowledge of the injustice and initiated a mock-investigation to find the guilty individuals. The family was brought into the affair as well, as a result of the pressure brought to bear upon it.

The widow and sons, in a public letter to Trujillo, manifested their loyalty to him and thanked him for investigating these terrible happenings which were obviously committed without his knowledge, in order that the responsible parties might be punished. 8

Shortly thereafter, with the excuse that the General's flight had been evidence of his guilt, Trujillo ordered the destruction of part of his lands and appropriated the remainder.

Gathering around him those who had demonstrated their loyalty from the outset, and a new group of "converts" from other political parties who realized the direction in which the tide was moving, the President formed his own political organization, the Dominican Party. It was officially registered with the Electoral Board in March of 1932, and soon began a campaign for the re-election of Trujillo in 1934. There was an immediate stampede by many who had been considered members of the opposition to join the party of the strongman in order to demonstrate their loyalty. Members of the Congress were almost unanimous in their compliance. The extent of adhesion of the members of the legislative branch was manifested at the close of the year 1932, when Trujillo was declared "Benefactor of the Fatherland," and in mid-1933 when he was granted the rank of "Generalissimo." These were the first of many titles that would be created during the years.

In a newspaper interview concerned with the forthcoming election,

Trujillo was asked if "there would be electoral liberty as in the year 1930." The Benefactor's response was a model of cynicism: "Certainly as much liberty as then, now that I have shown the people my love for liberty."⁹ He wasted no time in giving further demonstrations of that love when two of the few remaining opponents of his regime spoke out in Congress against a movement to "elect Trujillo without elections." Criminal charges were invented and the two were sent to prison. The election was held with the Dominican Party presenting the only slate of candidates. Needless to say, the election of Trujillo for another four years was unanimous. "During this period [additional] large numbers of adversaries were put to death. Prisons were crowded while the fortunate fled the country."¹⁰ The number of exiles grew so rapidly that from this time on the dictator was continuously harassed by multiple opposition groups that were formed in the United States, Cuba, Venezuela, Mexico, and other Latin American countries.

With the election of 1934, Trujillo had accomplished exactly what he had set out to achieve. In every post from the Congress and Supreme Court to the most lowly appointee in municipal government were to be found his choices for the offices. Furthermore, the Dominican Party had in its possession the undated resignations of each of these officials in order to make it easier should their cancellation prove necessary. The next steps of constitutional reforms, reorganization and centralization of government, and submission of the press, university and the Roman Church took place within a very short time.

THE USE OF POWER

The Constitution of the Dominican Republic drawn up in 1844 was

modeled after that of the United States, as were those of the majority of the Latin American republics. As a result, it provides for a balance of power in the three branches of government, legislative, judicial and executive. Trujillo was cautious that the basic outline of this provision be retained while providing him with greater control. A paragraph was inserted, therefore, to provide:

When there shall occur vacancies among the Senators or Deputies these shall be filled by the choice of the respective house from a list presented by the political party to which the individual belonged who had occupied the seat. 11

This change, in combination with the rule of the Dominican Party (Statute 39) requiring that "on accepting their nomination, candidates for elected offices must send in writing their resignations, without date, to the Chief of the Party," provided the dictator with the tool that nullified the concept of separation of powers. Its use was immediately apparent. In the electoral period 1934-1938, of thirteen senatorial positions there occurred twelve replacements because of "resignations" and one because of a death. In the following period, 1938-1942, of sixteen senatorial positions, there occurred two replacements because of deaths and thirty as a result of "resignations." In other branches of government the changes were comparable. The Congress was reduced to an organ that offered a democratic facade for Trujillo's activities, and "legislative sanction for the projects that he sent to them." 12

It is interesting to note that a fall from favor did not necessarily have a permanent character, except in the most extreme cases. Rather, the procedure that was followed is reminiscent of something that one might find in Orwell's 1984. The offender might have to face humiliation and insult in the press, pass through a period of penance

in which he publically declared his loyalty to the Benefactor, accept a minor post for which he had to declare his unbounded gratitude to the generosity of Trujillo, and finally find himself once again basking in the light of forgiveness. This practice was even followed in the case of a number of leaders of plots against Trujillo's life, who were named to important positions in the Army and Police, where they did their best knowing that their own lives were at stake. Thus the Dominican Party hammered out the continuous propaganda line: Trujillo forgives his enemies.

It is apparent from the purposes outlined in the first publication of the Dominican Party, the role that that organization was to play.

It states:

The Dominican Party has been formed in order to fulfill abundantly the vehement desire for civic expression of the Dominican people and as a political force to maintain and carry out the reforming creed of Generalissimo Dr. Rafael L. Trujillo Molina ... It declares and recognizes as its only Supreme Chief Generalissimo Dr. Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, because he is the incarnation of the ideals of all Dominicans with noble thoughts and because his judgments are so totally Dominican and have such an historic design, that his life may be confused with the very existence of our nationality. 13

Unlike political organizations in other countries the Party required registration of all Dominicans over sixteen years of age. Failure to do so made one ineligible for any position in the government, in professions and in many private companies. Furthermore, possession of the Party identification card was almost a necessity for travel from one city to another and a prerequisite for obtaining a passport. Financial support was obtained through an automatic ten per cent discount on the salaries of all public employees and the "spontaneous" gifts of landowners, merchants and industries that recognized the necessity of cooperation.

The local Party organization in each city and rural community was expected to keep alive the appropriate sentiments that were to be expressed at any moment: gratitude, loyalty, patriotism, outrage, and even fear. Besides the responsibility of keeping the Benefactor informed of likely appointees and acting as one element in the massive espionage system of the regime, the Party fulfilled a variety of other assignments. As George Kent described it:

The Party works at making propaganda for its chief twenty-four hours a day; it provides hatchet men for his enemies; it rounds up crowds trained to shout, Viva! Most of the propaganda is blatant. One form of it is free milk. The President has a large herd of pure-bred dairy cattle, and fine beasts they are. The Party buys the milk from the President and distributes it free to babies and nursing mothers, proclaiming it a gift from the Benefactor. The Benefactor makes a profit. The Party makes its propaganda. The babies get their milk. Everybody is nappy. 14

The cult of "Trujillismo" was not limited to the inventive Party, however. Ambitious politicians competed in their attempts to flatter the Generalissimo. Phrases such as:

Trujillo labors in the quality of a Saviour;
To be a man like Trujillo is more than to be a
God or a Hero;
The Name of Trujillo goes beyond the boundaries
of Immortality; 15

filled the speeches and writings of those who surrounded the dictator or sought to obtain a place near him. Children were taught this doctrine as their first lessons in school, and Carmita Landestoy, an exiled professional educator, commented in that regard:

I would prefer that if the first lessons must be phrases illusive of Trujillo and his work, that they remain illiterate ... I have seen the text, or rather the aggregate of the innumerable sentences with which they are teaching the first lessons and they are as follows:
"Love Trujillo because he gives you peace." "Trujillo is the best friend of the working man." "Trujillo is the only one who brings you water." "Trujillo is sleepless thinking of the welfare of his people." "We must love and respect Trujillo

because he gives us our daily bread." "Trujillo would sacrifice everything for his people."

For this reason I would prefer that they remain illiterate. 16

Every citizen was surrounded with reminders that his very existence depended on the whim of the Benefactor, and for the traveling businessman or the tourist, Kent's comments are exemplary of almost everyone's reactions:

In the Dominican Republic there is never any doubt who runs things. On the main street of the capital, a huge neon sign ... reads: Trujillo Forever. A little further on there is another, a little less conspicuous, this time saying: God and Trujillo. And on every automobile license plate is the phrase: Viva Trujillo! On the stone pillar beside the door of your hotel bronze letters say: Era of Trujillo. On every school and public building the same sign: Era of Trujillo. Over the desk at which you register, a large tinted photograph of the Generalissimo in full uniform with an omelet of medals on his chest gazes down with slightly wall-eyed saintliness. The photography haunts you. It looks down from all four walls of every government office and no home is without it. 17

The cartographers were kept in business by the constant changes that were made in the names of streets, cities, provinces, and even mountains. Dr. Galindez described the extremes to which this adulation was carried, in an article prepared for Cuadernos Americanos shortly before he was murdered by the dictator. He wrote:

The name with which the capital city had been baptized by Columbus was changed to Trujillo City; it was located in Trujillo Province, and the adjacent province was named Trujillo Valdez (in memory of his father); there were Benefactor, Liberator, San Rafael Provinces; ... the highest mountain was rebaptized Trujillo Peak. The notoriety attained by the man was unbelievable. Nevertheless for me the best of all continues to be the sign that I saw over the door of the insane asylum at Nigua: "We owe everything to Trujillo." 18

As an English journalist commented: "It would be just like a comic opera if it weren't for the human lives that are involved."

The attempt to control the thinking of the Dominican people was further perfected and implemented by means of a highly developed system of censor-

ship. All reading material entering the country was carefully checked for the smallest reference to the Republic or its dictator. Newspaper or magazines from foreign sources were confiscated and destroyed or the offending pages were removed if any uncomplimentary material was discovered. Any books that might be thought to contain dangerous philosophies met the same fate.

Although the Constitution contained a guaranty of the inviolability of private correspondence, censorship of the mails was carried on regularly although secretly. Galindez witnessed the procedure that was followed in the Post Office and described it as follows:

The envelopes are examined one by one before being distributed. That is not to say that every one is opened, for it would appear that the practice was to allow those to pass that were addressed to persons who in the moment were known to not inspire suspicion - although even a certain percentage of those were examined just in case; the correspondence addressed to or from doubtful individuals is always object of individual reading. Of course this censorship is secret and the envelopes usually do not bear evidence of having been opened; the proof of violation is evident only when a person ends up before the police or in jail as the result of an indiscreet letter. 19

In the years 1959 to 1961, when it was obvious that clandestine groups were being formed in the Dominican Republic with the purpose of overthrowing the government, an attempt was made to read all correspondence. The backlog often became so great that the officials burned large quantities of mail in order to cover-up the long delay that some letters underwent. Furthermore, with the increased pressure less care was taken in the opening of envelopes and the damaged ones were often received with a stamp across the back reading: "Received in this condition."

The press did not escape the controlling hand of the dictator, and shortly after the election of 1934 all of the newspapers of the Republic fell in line with the Party doctrine of "personalism," or were forced

out of business. Felix Mejia speaks caustically of the place of the press in the Republic:

The constitutionalists have come to speak of the Press as constituting a Fourth Power; but certainly they are speaking of a certain type of Press - the serious, the moral and the edifying; not of the Press of Santo Domingo during this epoch of Trujillo; of this Press without scruples against abasement and abjection; of this Press which understands the Fourth and the First Power to be the power of Trujillo. Its complicity is so great, so scandalous, so criminal, that one might well consider it co-author of this situation ... In the country there doesn't exist a single newspaper of opposition; ... all collaborate in a frantic way, without any notion of their ethical and social mission. 20

The extent to which the Press lowered itself in this collaboration with the regime is evident in an editorial published in October of 1938, in the Listin Diario, the oldest and previously the most respected newspaper.

It stated:

We have been accustomed to make the Feast of the Nativity our greatest and most joyous occasion. Nevertheless, last night the Dominican people celebrated the day of the advent of the Benefactor, the day of his birth, with celebrations whose splendor can only be compared with that which is celebrated in the Christian world in remembrance of the birth of the master of souls, the man of Bethlehem. And it is because of the Dominicans the Benefactor is another Messiah, who arrived in a time when faith was failing and saved the nation, and also created the Fatherland. 21

Even this newspaper, with its compliance to the rules of adulation, eventually disappeared, being replaced by two others that were subsidized by the government in order to assure more efficient control. Needless to say, similar control was exercised over the radio and television, as well as telephone and telegraph services.

The final element that will be considered in this section is concerned with the institution that in most Latin American countries is usually the center of political and social ferment: the university. The University of Santo Domingo is the oldest institution of higher education in the New World.

Founded in 1539, its history is spotted with successes and tragedies. It proudly produced leadership for the Church and State during four centuries, and often acted as the source of opposition to foreign occupations and native dictatorships. When Trujillo came to power in 1930, however, the University was in a period of decadence. It was a simple matter for him to assume control. The Rector was expelled from the country and the National Association of University Students was suspended until it could be reformed more to the liking of the Benefactor. By 1935 it had been transformed into one more subservient institution.

Dr. Galindez served on the faculty of the University for a brief period during his residence in the Republic. His impressions of the sterile atmosphere that existed in the University among faculty and students reveals why it served as little more than "a machine for granting professional titles." ²² He states:

When I arrived in the Dominican Republic I was most impressed by the silence during University meetings. The Latin student is noisy, rebellious, unpredictable in his reactions; his societies and fiestas have a bohemian atmosphere; every type of political idea flourishes in the University and more than once have burst into sudden attacks; in many countries of dictatorships revolutions are incubated in the amalgam of professors and students. In the Dominican Republic the University has the rhythm of a conventual seminary ... The teaching itself is anhylotic because of the political muzzle that impedes all discussion of subjects that might awaken unrest ... The Executive Power, through decree, exercises free appointment of the faculty. At times the Rector or the Dean of Faculty may suggest a name, but usually the designation has the character of a political reward ... All the Dominican professors must be members of the Dominican Party, and answer political questionnaires ... More important than these externals are their lectures ... [which] are easy when based on the past or on mathematical formulas; those which touch on actual or human problems are difficult. One must offer praise to the regime when it is necessary, through silence about things that occur in the outside world ... The Dominican University is totally submissive to Trujillo. And professionals go forth from her cloister without their own personal discernment. 23

During the entirety of the Trujillo rule only one small and ill-fated move-

ment was attempted against the government that can be traced to initiation in the University. That occurred in 1945 and was crushed by the Police within a short time. Because of their political timidity, the faculty and students of the University were under constant attack by the students of other centers of higher education throughout Latin America.

VIOLATION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY

When one reads the provisions on human rights written into the Constitution of the Dominican Republic, he cannot deny the lofty ideals that are expressed there. In fact, the guarantees regarding the inviolability of human life and the right of private property exceed those found in the Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution. (The former actually prohibits capital punishment except for treason during war.) The fulfillment of those guarantees, however, is another matter.

From the outset Trujillo sought to veil the abuse of these provisions with the aura of legality. Thus, political prisoners were often killed because they "resisted arrest" or "tried to escape" or perhaps they committed "suicide" in jail to avoid the shame of their crimes, or they may have met with an "accident" after being released from custody. Furthermore, private property and business frequently fell into the possession of the government (i.e. Trujillo) because of the "non-payment of taxes" that the owner never knew he owed, or as compensation for "offenses against the State," or for a multitude of legal reasons that were invented to fit the case.

The greatest single abuse of the dignity of human life occurred in October of 1937, and is illustrative of the extreme violence for which the tyrant became famous. The roots of the tragedy unquestionably reached

back over the decades of bad relations between the Republic and adjacent Haiti. The immediate cause, however, is still unknown, and as Dr. Galindez has pointed out, it would necessitate a "deep and serious study" in order to discover the motives that urged Trujillo to instigate the infamous "Haitian massacre."

The demographic pressure and poor agricultural conditions in Haiti had prompted many Haitians to cross the artificial frontier and settle in the scarcely populated western end of the Dominican Republic. This had created frequent conflicts in the past, but after several meetings between Trujillo and the Haitian President, Stenio Vincent, the matter seemed to have been settled in 1936. The first hint of trouble was given by Trujillo himself in a visit to the western sector, when at a party in his honor he stated:

I came to the border country to see what I could do for my fellow countrymen living here. I found that Haitians had been stealing food and cattle from our farmers here. I found that Dominicans would be happier if we got rid of Haitians. I will fix that. Yesterday three hundred Haitians were killed at Banica. This must continue. 24

The idea has been offered that the slaughter which followed in the next few days came about as a result of the overzealous attempt on the part of the military chiefs to satisfy the desires of their Generalissimo. The efficient and carefully executed persecution on October 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of 1937, would contradict such an explanation. The project was carefully planned, carried out without warning, and obviously with highest approval.

Because of the terrible state of disorganization in the Haitian government, the first notice of the occurrence was not forthcoming until three weeks after, and that from some Dominican exiles who advised the American press. No specifics were given regarding the number of deaths, but the worried Dominican government hastened to assure the immediate in-

vestigation of the "rumor" and punish those responsible. On October 25th, the New York Times published an article by Quentin Reynolds in which he deplored the massacre and set the probable number of deaths at more than 1,700. There was still no official word from the Haitian government as the result of a conflict of opinions. The President feared a confrontation with Trujillo and the Secretary of Foreign Relations sought to make an international denunciation of the affair. The immensity of the scandal finally justified the Secretary's position.

On November 9th, more than a month late, an official bulletin in the "New York Times" established the minimum number of deaths at 2,700. The Dominican press made reference to the occurrence for the first time, on the same day, denying its importance:

The incidents at the frontier contain absolutely nothing of the character of an international dispute, nor are they invested with sufficient importance or gravity capable of damaging the good relations existing between the two neighboring Republics. 25

This attitude persisted until action was taken by an international committee composed of representatives of the United States, Mexico and Cuba, which had been formed at the request of the Haitian government. Although negotiations began in mid-November, it was not until December 18th that Trujillo admitted defeat and accepted the form for procedure adopted by the Committee. A bulletin of the Haitian government issued coincidentally on the same day, established the number of those murdered at 12,000 and revealed that the massacre had taken place in sixty-five separate Dominican communities. The proof gathered by Haitian authorities in the form of affidavits, and through the eye-witness accounts of reliable persons such as Quentin Reynolds and several French priests, was undeniable. As a

result, the Dominican government agreed to pay an indemnity of \$750,000, the sum established by the Committee. What followed was typical of the Benefactor.

On March 1, 1938, the first payment was made for the sum of \$250,000. There is no evidence that another penny was forthcoming to cover the large balance, but it is known that Trujillo paid close to a million dollars for an extensive propaganda campaign outside of the Dominican Republic in an attempt to cleanse his reputation.²⁶ Furthermore, the Dominican people were informed only that sixteen persons - whose names were never given - had been condemned to thirty years in prison as a result of the murder of one hundred thirty-four Haitians and twelve Dominicans.²⁷ Later information has established the number of those who were killed or who died as a result of wounds to have been in excess of 19,000, a fact that was not known by the great majority of Dominicans until after the assassination of Trujillo.

The most important immediate effect of this occurrence was the cancellation of the Benefactor's campaign for re-election. The 1938 election saw two appointees of Trujillo occupy the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. For the first time the dictator felt the pressure of international censure. It was not until 1942, when the eyes of the world were focused on the war, that he was able to return to the place that he had grudgingly surrendered.

If Trujillo learned a lesson regarding the danger of international conflicts, it is apparent from the oppressive measures used within the Republic until the time of his death that no such comparable lesson had occurred at home. As far as the "Creator of the Fatherland" was concerned, the nation belonged to him. The Mexican actress Rosa Cabiedes wrote:

My journey to that country left me with the impression that in this day and age, there is driven into the very heart of free America a small feudal state, governed by a man of the gallows and the knife. 28

The Generalissimo could not tolerate opposition. Punishment of those who offended, however, was often more subtle than the simple expedient of murder.

The cases of assassination are certain. But the "trujillista" style was characterized by another type of bloodless domination; hunger is much more effective, the certainty that one will never again earn a living unless he proves his active adhesion to the regime. Trujillo prefers to force the collaboration of an old enemy that will cause his humiliation, rather than his violent elimination which may be used against the regime. 29

This method was so effective, that during the election campaign following Trujillo's death few candidates could present a record that was totally free of some element of participation in the corruption of the regime or in adulation of the Benefactor.

It has been stated that the basis of the dictator's strength was his ability to maintain an atmosphere of suspicion among Dominicans. This was undoubtedly true.

The great secret of his extraordinary power rested in the enormous espionage service that has been implanted; this is the main point of his power, because, thanks to it, he knows even what does not yet exist and can prevent much of what does. The suspicious fear that has been sown and the terror of terrible punishment, has made it impossible to obtain the necessary cooperation to overthrow him. 30

For this reason the many plots that were begun during his years in power were unsuccessful. Ears were ever present to hear a carelessly spoken word. Once on the track the secret police was relentless in obtaining all the information it desired, and its methods would have made the Gestapo envious.

The size of the repressive force that was kept under arms is almost unbelievable. At the time of the Generalissimo's assassination it was

estimated that over 100,000 men were on the payrolls. Three separate groups were responsible for espionage: the police, the secret police, and the Military Intelligence Service. Dozens of prisons were scattered all over the country, and two special places of torture were set up on the outskirts of the capital. The cost of such an operation ate up more than fifty per cent of the national budget and all to support a military organization that was never meant to protect the nation from foreign aggression, but rather to protect the tyrant from the people. In such a system human life develops into a cheap and expendable commodity.

Another area in which Trujillo exerted his will without the slightest restraint was in the acquisition of property and wealth. In the fall of 1961, after a Provisional Junta had been established in Santo Domingo, the "Wall Street Journal" startled the world with an article that estimated the foreign investment of Trujillo to have exceeded six hundred million dollars. Many found it hard to imagine that such a small country could have provided such wealth in only thirty years. Nevertheless, if one examines the ruthless and relentless procedures that were followed, the amassing of such a fortune is more easily understood.

The areas in which Trujillo and the members of his family created their empire can be divided into four distinct groupings:

1. Expropriated properties and businesses confiscated from political opponents, exiles, and contested estates, and desirable properties acquired through legal manipulations.
2. The establishment of monopolies of a private nature but with protection of an official character.
3. The forced entry into lucrative businesses on a partnership basis.
4. Development of competitive industries on a larger scale than

already existing firms could rival.

In books written by many of the exiles from the Dominican Republic the lust for wealth demonstrated by the Benefactor occupies a primary place of interest. Jose Almoína, once the private secretary of the Dictator and writing under the pseudonym of "Bustamante," declared that after 1938 the minimum annual income of Trujillo was thirty million dollars, and by the year 1949 his capital amounted to two hundred and fifty million dollars.³¹

Even a partial list of the holdings of Trujillo demonstrates the truth of Cabiedes' statement that "the commercial affairs of Trujillo extend to every aspect of the economic movement of the Republic."³² The most important features of such a list³³ would include:

- a) Salt - the first venture begun in 1932. A law prohibiting the continued mining of salt "because of the danger of exhausting the supply" put another company out of business. Shortly thereafter the Trujillo company was given a private license and began mining salt at a higher price.
- b) Insurance - "Saint Rafael Company" was established to take advantage of a law requiring work-accident insurance. Grew sufficiently to put an American company out of business.
- c) Milk - Dairy products have always been an important aspect of the internal economy of the Republic. Through expropriation and semi-legal means Trujillo developed the largest dairy in the country. The "Central Dairy" was then established by law to "guarantee the purity of milk" and sale of dairy products of other private owners had to be carried out through this Trujillo-owned agency.
- d) Meat - Another important aspect of the economy is cattle raising for meat. At first Trujillo competed equally with other producers, but unsatisfied with his returns an Industrial Slaughter House was established through which all cattle had to pass for sale to markets in the Republic or for exportation.

- e) Tobacco - Two companies existed when Trujillo came to power. One of these was expropriated when the owner, an Italian, was accused of taking part in a conspiracy. The other owner accepted the offer of Trujillo to buy the majority of shares in the company.
- f) Lottery - Common throughout Latin America as a means of raising funds for public works, Trujillo found the lottery already working. It was reorganized by him and its management placed in the care of members of his family.
- g) New industries - Almost always formed with a favored individual as the visible head, but with the profits swelling his treasury, Trujillo built new installations for the manufacture of beer, cement, cooking oil, chocolate, fruit juices, sacks and string, paper, etc. Those who were hurt in these arrangements were usually technicians who exchanged industrial patents for part of the profits and who were forced out at some point in the development.
- h) Overwhelming competition - Frequently Trujillo began a project to compete with already established businesses, but on a grand scale. The manufacture of shoes, furniture, cotton for uniforms, etc., worked considerable hardship on smaller companies. Agencies for importation of cars, hardware supplies, building materials, etc., were given special privileges by the government if they belonged to the Benefactor or his family.
- i) Export and Transportation - A shipping company for the purpose of carrying the quantities of goods that were exported by the Trujillo businesses, and a monopoly on internal air travel were developed before World War II.
- j) Sugar - The Basic product of Dominican economy is the raw sugar that accounts for more than fifty per cent of the income of the country. Trujillo entered that business shortly after World War II building the largest mill in the world, and gradually buying-out all but two of the other companies. One of these belonged to an American firm and was too big an operation to handle; the other belonged to a member of his family.

As was stated earlier, this is only a partial list. There are many areas in which Trujillo held controlling interest or received some side benefit.

Furthermore, his overseas investments in Europe and the United States as well as in other Latin American countries have already been mentioned as having a value in excess of six hundred million dollars. This was indeed a financial empire.

It will be many years before the fullextent of the Dictator's abuse of the island-nation will be known. There are too many people still in influential positions in the country who were closely involved with the regime and who prefer to let bygones-be-bygones. One thing is certain, however, and that is that Generalissimo Doctor Rafael Leonidas Trujillo serves as the best example of the head of a totalitarian regime in modern times. His methods fulfilled to perfection the "Characteristics of the Totalitarian State" as set forth by Professor Carl Friedrich: ³⁴

1. A single mass Party;
2. Technologically conditioned, near complete control of all means of armed combat;
3. Monopoly of control of all means of effective mass communication;
4. A system of terroristic police control, with a will to be ruthless;
5. An official ideology.

Unlike many others, however, the regime was totally personal and during the thirty-one years of the "Era of Trujillo" almost every aspect of life was subject to the will or the whim of the tyrant.

A FOOTNOTE: AFTER TRUJILLO'S DEATH

Many political prophets had predicted that with the passing of Trujillo there would be a period of social and political chaos that would be quelled only by a communist takeover or the assumption of power by another military strongman. The regime did not die easily however. The Dictator's elder son and two brothers sought to perpetuate the lucrative empire and managed

to cling to the reins of authority for several months. Joaquin Balaguer, Trujillo's last appointee to the presidency, continued in office, and played a significant part in later events. For the first time in three decades opposition groups were openly organized, and although under continuous persecution, grew to considerable size. It is probable that the balance that was maintained between the crumbling but powerful Trujillo regime and the opposition groups prevented the prophesied chaos.

The summer of 1961 saw the return of many distinguished exiles who had led opposition groups in foreign countries and sought to take part in the free elections promised by President Balaguer. The publication of several opposition newspapers which hastened to arouse public opinion against the excesses of the deceased tyrant and his collaborators, and fiery speeches by opposition leaders, incited the dying government to undertake frequent reprisals. During these months there also was created a growing movement for extensive reform of a socialist nature as well as a more radical communist variety.

By November even the most naive politician recognized that only extreme reaction by Trujillo forces would stem the growing tide of liberalization. And in typical Trujillo fashion a radical plan was prepared. Lists of opposition leaders were secretly distributed to the Military Intelligence Service and Secret Police, and November 20th was set as the date for the mass execution of these leaders in every city and rural community. The quick action of a comparatively unknown officer of the Dominican Military Air Force (A. M. D.) averted the tragedy.

On November 19th, Brigadier General Pedro Rodriguez Echavarria, of the A. M. D., issued a communique in Santiago, backing the government of President Balaguer and demanding the immediate departure of Hector and Arismendi Trujillo from the country. 35

The rule of the Trujillo family had come to an end.

In an attempt to diminish the unpopularity of his government, which was identified with the past regime, President Balaguer instituted a ruling Junta of seven prominent citizens with himself continuing as President.

(It is interesting to note that two of the members were the only survivors from among those who had assassinated Trujillo.) Civil disorder, however, increased alarmingly as crowds sacked the properties of the Trujillos and avenged themselves on members of the Secret Police. Using the disorders and the danger of communist involvement as an excuse, but obviously moved by his own ambitions, General Rodriguez Echavarria deposed the ruling Junta on January 17, 1963, and established his own Military-Civilian Junta in its place.

The glory of the General was shortlived. An unannounced general strike paralyzed every activity throughout the Republic. Resignations poured into the capital from almost every public official and employee. Acting to avoid inevitable chaos and violence, officers of his own command arrested the General and reinstated the original Junta, but this time without Joaquin Balaguer as President. Both he and the General were expelled from the country to avoid further trouble.

The Junta faced a harrowing year in its attempt to maintain some semblance of order during the electoral campaign, while having to deal with an uncooperative police force on one hand and frequent acts of violence and agitation on the other. Every political party used the Junta as a scapegoat for the furthering of its own position. Communists, recognizing that their chances for winning the election were very small, attempted to create confusion through continuous agitation and the burning of timber and sugar cane. The one silent, unmoved giant throughout all that occurred was the

Military, which had pledged itself to non-interference in political matters after the Echavarría affair, and used this pledge as an excuse for inaction.

The election was an overwhelming victory for Juan Bosch, head of the Dominican Revolution Party, a left-of-center reform group. In a field of seven candidates he polled more than fifty per cent of the votes cast, an obvious demonstration of the popular appeal of his platform for land reform, low-cost housing, new industries, etc. Desirous of building a reputation for democratic government after his inauguration in January of 1963, Bosch avoided interference with the radical and reactionary groups that constantly criticized his government from the outset. Unfortunately, the bankrupt condition of the country made initial progress very slow and provided ammunition for his critics. By September, however, plans for some reorganization were well developed and ready to be put into action. It was then that the silent giant, the Military, made it move.

On September 25, 1963, only seven months after taking office, Juan Bosch was deposed and sent into exile. The members of the military hierarchy justified their action as the only way to save the Dominican Republic from an "inevitable" take-over by communism. A three-man Junta was installed. Communists (including any left-of-center reformers) were outlawed. The question to be answered is: What will be done about much-needed reform?

REFORM MOVEMENTS AND FRUSTRATION

It is difficult to analyze the nature of the movements that have occasionally arisen in the Dominican Republic because the habitual practice of the Trujillo regime was to brand almost every unacceptable activity as

"communist." An extended study prepared by the Secretariat of the Interior of the Dominican Government is illustrative of this. Entitled The White Book of Communism in the Dominican Republic, it accuses almost every active exile of having had some type of communist attachment during and/or after his differences with the Dictator. When the book was published in 1956, Trujillo had already been pouring sums of money into a campaign of propaganda in the United States in an attempt to present himself as the greatest anti-communist of the Western Hemisphere. The White Book took up the refrain by stating:

One must not forget that the Dominican Republic, with its valiant and untiring attitude of anticommunism, and with the decision and courage with which it has always opposed the enemy aggression, contributed greatly to drive away the hostile forces from the American continent.

If the Dominican Republic had fallen, when communism had decreed it, there is no doubt that democracy on the continent would have suffered a great reversal.

Generalissimo Trujillo won the victory for the cause of democracy in America.

One day history will recognize it. ³⁶

Like other dictators he had recognized that the best way to justify the violation of human rights in the eyes of the United States' government was to wave the banner of anti-communism.

NON-COMMUNIST ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

During the "Era" the network of espionage established by the regime made successful attempts against the government a virtual impossibility. In most cases they were simply plots against the life of the Dictator that were discovered well before they could prove to be of appreciable danger. The area in which reform activity was first initiated to the extent that one might call it a "movement" was that of labor.

Prior to Trujillo's assumption of power in 1930 the labor movement in the Dominican Republic had already been well established. "The first unions were organized during the North-American occupation, with the double purpose of defending the interests of the workers and as an expression of nationalist politics."³⁷ In 1929 the Dominican Confederation of Labor was organized and incorporated by law and there was hope that considerable advantage would be gained for the worker. With Trujillo's election the movement was stalled.

The labor policy changed its direction. Instead of being a spontaneous movement that pushed from below upwards, from the unions to the government, it was now transformed into a governmental paternalism that came from the top down, concessions of the government in favor of the working class. That is to say, the labor movement lost its liberty, but the condition of the worker continued to improve.³⁸

This situation existed until the end of World War II.

Toward the end of the war all of Latin America was hit by a spirit of activity in the field of labor. Trujillo was unable to quell the movement in the Republic because of his desire to present a semblance of democracy to the world. As a result the Confederation of Labor was re-activated and important legislation was passed (e.g. requirements for labor contracts, establishment of a Secretariat of Labor, minimum salaries, etc.). Labor unions multiplied and various federations were formed throughout the country. Suddenly, Trujillo found himself faced with several strikes.

In 1942 an attempted strike had been put down by a show of military strength and the arrest of several of the leaders. In December of 1945, two threatened strikes, one at the American sugar plantation of La Romana and another on the docks of Ciudad Trujillo, were settled through government intervention. In January 1946, however, a wildcat strike spread rapidly from La Romana to neighboring sugar centers. Its proportions were so great

(the La Romana plantation employed over 20,000 laborers) that the government was forced to accept the laborers' demands for mediation rather than revert to force. The mediating committee decided in favor of the workers and a general salary increase was granted, in some cases more than one hundred per cent. The rapid action of the government was a clear manifestation of its concern over the apparent organization and strength of the labor movement.

Commenting on the 1946 strike, the White Book places all the blame on a careful plan of communist agitation, and concludes that:

Under the tempered climate of peace and social justice that refreshes the Republic, President Trujillo, once more, has caused the plans of the red terrorists to fail. 39

The justice, however, did not extend to the leaders of the strike. Several were tried and imprisoned. Others escaped worse fates by obtaining asylum in foreign embassies. One was murdered in Cuba and several "committed suicide." And to avoid any similar occurrence in the future, the congress passed legislation prohibiting strikes.

The analysis of the significance of the strike as expressed by Dr. Galindez, who took part in the mediation, is extremely penetrating in view of the vitality shown by the labor movement in the Dominican Republic since the end of the dictatorship. He writes:

That which most impressed me about the strike in January of 1946 was its organization and spontaneity. No one believed that the Dominican unions could respond with such intensity to an order to strike. It demonstrated that the workman was conscious of his needs and aspirations, that the dictatorship itself did not dare to smash a movement so extensive and united, and that the unions could serve for practical ends; it also demonstrated that in that moment there existed some true labor leaders. Those leaders were eliminated to a large extent. But the lesson of the strike of 1946 still stands, that is to say that there exists a Dominican laboring force that can show signs of life if given the opportunity. 40

During the past years that movement has come back to life. The gains made by the workers have been incredible. In every field of endeavor unions and associations have been formed. As with any incipient movement of this proportion there have been and are difficult problems that must be surmounted. The most significant among these being:

1. The lack of a trained leadership among the laboring class, and the temptation to become a demagogue when once accepted as a leader;
2. The facility with which the workers turn to a strike rather than deliberation and arbitration in order to obtain their demands;
3. The excessive nature of the demands;
4. Communist infiltration in the labor organizations. The first three of these can be reduced as the laborers gain more experience and as management provides opportunities for the training of leaders. The last, however, can only be alleviated as the government begins to liberalize labor legislation and as the corporations demonstrate their good will in attempting to provide the workers with a just compensation for their labors. With the assumption of power by the rightist Junta, since September of 1963, it is difficult to know whether such steps will be taken.

A second area in which a brief but widespread movement began for reform was in the University, and again, shortly after World War II. The White Book purposely confuses and identifies this large activity with a small, minority attempt that was clearly communist (see below). The majority movement was initiated by the Vice-Rector of the University who organized a group of students for the presentation of the drama "The Widow of Padilla." It was to have been presented at the centenary celebrations of Independence as the University contribution to the festivities.

It is a Spanish drama that praises the rebellion of the Castilian commoners against the absolutist regime of the Emperor Charles V, and regardless of its literary weakness has many expressions in defense of liberty; the Trinitarians of Duarte* had used it prior to 1844 as a symbol of the clandestine battle against the occupation, and Bonilla /the Vice-Rector/ made use of the pretext of presenting this event in Dominican history while actually repeating it as a symbolic protest against the regime. The authorities never suspected the symbolism or if they did they kept silent. 41

Groups of students were formed secretly. Part of the organization was uncovered by the Police in late 1945. Finally, when Trujillo was at the height of his efforts to demonstrate the liberty and democracy in his country by permitting the entry of communists, the formation of opposition parties, and the publication of an opposition newspaper (in 1946), the Vice-Rector published a letter that brought about the total suppression of the university group. In it he suggested that there were other possible candidates in the Dominican Republic who might be elected to the presidency, and outlined a reform program. Immediately, many of the students wrote to express their support of Bonilla's letter. The government acted quickly and efficiently. Bonilla was expelled, student leaders were arrested and punished, and the movement was brought to an end. It also ended the dictator's sham democracy.

Since the death of Trujillo the University has been the center of much of the radical activity that has been carried on in the Dominican Republic. The balance of power in student politics has wavered back and forth between the radical communists and the Christian socialists: - the atmosphere has been consistently left of center. The first student move was to force the Balaguer government to recognize the autonomy of the university and

* A clandestine organization that initiated the movement for liberation from Haitian domination in 1844.

separate it from official control. Its quietest period occurred during the seven months of the Bosch government, but with the military coups of last September, and the return of a rightist government, it has been responsible for frequent and violent demonstrations.

A final and important area in which reform programs had been developed was among exile groups. Uppermost in the minds of many exiles was the hope that one day a sufficiently well organized expedition could invade the Republic and incite the population to a full-scale rebellion. The first of these attempts was launched in 1947 from Cuba, but was halted by the Navy of that Republic. The Dominican government proceeded to "try" all the participants for treason, and condemn them to various punishments in absentia. In July of 1949 the second invasion occurred. This one was organized in Guatemala and reached the shores of the Dominican Republic. Unfortunately, the contact man between the exiles and the internal clandestine group turned over information to the Dictator. The expedition was demolished as it arrived, ten of the fifteen invaders were killed, and a large number of the clandestine group was executed in the usual Trujillo manner.

The third invasion attempt was of considerable significance. It was called the Movement for Dominican Liberation and was born in the minds of Dominicans who fought with Castro in the Sierra Maestras of Cuba. The organization was supported by exiles in New York City and in other countries of Latin America, and was finally inspired to act as a result of the Castro victory on January 1, 1959. Unlike the other attempts which aimed solely for the overthrow of the regime and the establishment of a "democratic" government, the Liberation Movement presented a four-section program to the Dominican people by means of Radio Liberation which broadcast from both New York and Habana. It called for:

1. In the political aspect:-
 - a) Overthrow of the regime ...
 - b) Establishment of a revolutionary provisional government ... and free elections in two years ...
 - c) Formation of an Assembly ... for the preparation of a new Constitution .. inspired by economic and social justice.
2. In the social aspect:-
 - a) Implant an ample agrarian reform ... with respect for private property ...
 - b) Reform the "Land Law" ... invalidating titles obtained by fraud or violence.
 - c) Guarantee the free organization of labor ...
 - d) Initiate an effective literacy campaign ...
 - e) Establish an ample system of social security ... and adequate housing.
3. In the economic aspect:-
 - a) Foment the development of internal economy ... and the purchasing power of the masses.
 - b) Develop and protect national industry ...
 - c) Expropriate, in benefit of the government, all industries and properties acquired by the tyrant, his family, or favorites of the regime ... return properties stolen from their rightful owners.
 - d) Cancel concessions made by the tyrant, that are harmful to the national interest.
 - e) Reform the tax system ...
 - f) Develop a sound economic policy that will assure work for the laboring class.
4. In the international aspect:-
 - a) Support the continental system of representative democracy ...
 - b) Foment better relations with all nations ... based on comprehension and mutual respect. 42

The actual invasion took the regime by surprise. It struck at two points by ship and at one point, in the mountains, by air. The launches were accidentally sighted by a Coast Guard boat that called for assistance. Trujillo acted quickly. He poured in fighter planes, infantry, and naval support. Simultaneously, an order was issued to the Military Intelligence to round up every person who had ever been or who was suspected of plotting against the government. Literally thousands of men and women were imprisoned throughout the Republic.

Although the sea attempt was destroyed, the guerillas who landed in the mountains succeeded in their operation. They immediately dispersed and

created a serious problem for the armed forces. Trujillo, however, had paralyzed the clandestine group that had been organized to provide supplies, as a result of his detention of all suspects. Furthermore, the peasants refused cooperation for fear of government reprisals, which were forthcoming in several cases. After several weeks of bombing, strafing, and massive attacks by government troops, the weakened guerillas surrendered as a result of the lack of food and ammunition. Many were executed immediately; several were flown back to Ciudad Trujillo and then pushed out of the planes; a few of the leaders were burned alive at the military air base. The government announced that the communist plot had been destroyed and that two survivors remained. Interestingly, the clandestine organization was never discovered.

Once released from prison after the suppression of the armed attempt, the group grew under the inspiration of the one hundred and eighty-three heroes who had died in the invasion. The movement was called the "14th of June" in their honor, and the membership was drawn from among professionals, students, and persons of almost every class throughout the Republic. It aimed at an internal revolution to be initiated with the assassination of Trujillo during the festivities of Independence in January, 1960. On December 18, 1959, a blunder occurred that destroyed the organization. An unsuspected government agent was brought into the movement unleashing a chain of tragedies. Military Intelligence arrested the few known members and by use of the most inhumane tortures extracted the names of others. The procedure continued until thousands of persons had been arrested throughout the country. By mid-January the terror was so widespread, the deaths and imprisonments had reached such staggering proportions, that for the first time, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church stepped in to intercede on behalf of the political prisoners. (see below) As a result, the Church

found itself under attack, and although the terror was reduced, the tortures and executions of prisoners continued until the entire regime was removed in November of 1961.

The plot that actually took the life of Rafael Trujillo was of a completely different type. Planned by a handful of malcontents in the upper echelons of the Trujillo government, it aimed only to replace one dictatorship with another. Although the country has honored the survivors of the event as heroes, their motives for participation were little better than those that kept Trujillo in power for three decades.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES DURING THE ERA

In October of 1936, President Trujillo took the first step in the preparation of a tool that would be used during the remainder of his life. He sent his Congress a projected law to prohibit the legal existence of communism in the Republic. Naturally the law was passed. Within six months it was used against Dr. Juan Jimenez Grullon, a Dominican intellectual resident in Cuba, whose several books contain no evidence of communist leanings. Jimenez was refused re-entry into the Republic.

According to Galindez, the first actual communist activity in the country came about through the immigration of refugees from the revolution in Spain. Being both experienced and disciplined, the communist minority among the new arrivals formed cells and began clandestine activities as soon as they were settled. Although the actual party structure was hidden, several front organizations were developed. Most important among these was the "Spanish Democratic Center," a supposedly anti-Franco movement, but increasingly communist in its propaganda. In addition, a group called

"Spanish Youth" was formed, and a small periodical was published. Dominicans avoided contact with these organizations because of their surveillance by the government. It was not until 1942, on the occasion of the abortive strike in La Romana, that the communist activities were curtailed by the authorities. ⁴³

Dominican communism does not appear to have been inspired by the presence of the Spanish group. With the beginning of 1942, and the entry of the Dominican Republic into World War II, two students who had been studying in Chile and Cuba respectively, returned to the Republic. They had been trained in communism in those countries. Both went unnoticed until the period of unrest in 1944. When they were finally recognized as avid communists they had had sufficient time to contact a large number of students in the Dominican university, and although they escaped the country through asylum granted by foreign embassies, they left behind a well-trained group.

Then in 1945 began a strange reversal of policy. As the war ended Trujillo decided to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The Dictator praised the great heroism of that nation during the war. An ambassador was named for residence in the Soviet Union, although the U. S. S. R. did not reciprocate. In 1946 a government emissary was sent to Cuba to persuade Dominican communists to return to the Republic to openly form a party. (No details are available as to the guarantees offered by Trujillo which finally convinced the communists to accept the offer.) The first public notice that something would happen, was a letter from Trujillo inviting all exiles to return to their country. This letter of June was followed a month later by the publishing of a pardon for several

political prisoners, among them a known communist leader. Within a few days the Popular Socialist Party made its presence known through a Manifesto published in the government press, in which it declared its purpose to "obtain its objectives by means of a struggle waged in accordance with the rights and liberties of the Constitution." 44

A first hint of the government's game appeared in the same issue of the newspaper as the Manifesto. In an editorial entitled: "Communism comes out into public view!" - it is stated:

What better example can be given as concerns the existence of a democratic government, than the very fact of the formation of the Popular Socialist Party, and that its leaders can express themselves in this manner? 45

Trujillo was seeking to prove the existency of liberty and democracy in his country.

In September several other parties were formed and the communists sought to legalize their own party through inscription with the Electoral Board. Their petition was refused on the basis of inconformity with the electoral law. Within five days Trujillo interceded with the Board, recommending that the communists be permitted to organize legally, and adding:

Their existence in our midst is a clear and eloquent proof of the lies of those slanderers who groundlessly accuse the Dominican Republic of not being led by a democratic regime. 46

The Benefactor had gotten in another word of propaganda, and the communists found themselves obliged to publicly express their gratitude for his generous intercession.

At this time there appeared another group of active young men, mostly university students, who formed themselves under the name of the "Democratic Youth." The number of members far exceeded that of the Socialist Party.

Nevertheless, both groups acted in cooperation in street meetings that became better and better attended by the public in general. Finally on October 26, 1946, agents of the government provoked violence that resulted in several injuries. This was the last meeting to be held by either one of the groups. Obviously their popularity had become dangerous and they had ceased to serve a purpose. Furthermore, several other parties had been formed by the government to maintain the facade of democracy.

It is clear from the efficiency of the persecution that followed, that the government had carefully observed those who had taken part in the activities of the communist group. It had known of the existence of a clandestine organization at the close of 1944 when the two student leaders escaped to Cuba, but was unable to identify the members. As a result of the open activity of the Popular Socialist Party these members came out of hiding and were perfect targets for government action when the moment came. Most of them were jailed or exiled within a few months after the October meeting.

No further communist activity took place openly in the Dominican Republic until after the death of Trujillo. It is certain, however, that some members of the "14th of June" movement, who were imprisoned after the plot of December, 1959, was discovered, were of communist tendencies. During their time in prison they were active in convincing their fellows of the validity of their position. When released this group formed a strong nucleus for concerted action during the campaign leading up to the 1962 elections, and have been a continual source of agitation in the university, in labor, and in the political scene.

In September, 1963, when the Bosch government was overthrown, one of the first acts of the Junta was to outlaw communism once again. Unfortunately,

anything slightly left of extreme right was identified as communist. Thus the deep-seated and frustrated desire for reform found in many sectors of the population may one day result in a violent revolution that cannot be controlled.

THE CHURCH DURING THE ERA OF TRUJILLO

Writing of the condition of the Roman Catholic Church after a visit to the Dominican Republic in 1949, Dr. Samuel G. James states:

The Church has lost the prestige of the old days and if it were not for the popularity of the Archbishop it is hard to know what would be its state. No one seems to regard it in a serious light as having anything to do with present day life and problems. And that there is hostility - this is an ignoring of its existence except as it functions through its sacraments and feast days and missions for social functions... The report that we hear everywhere is that the priesthood is generally not holy and ignorant... The status of church property is not good.

Shortly after that, when Trujillo was visited in the Presidency, the situation had improved very little.

Because of the Archbishop, the new President could afford to ignore the Roman Church during his first period in office. The Episcopal Throne was still occupied by Archbishop Enrique Desideri whom had referred eleven years prior, but he was not completely intimidated because of old age, and in 1953 the government granted him a life pension. It has been suggested that Trujillo chose the Archbishop as the Archbishop, but this is difficult to prove. In any case, the President recognized the utility of a Church that he could manipulate, and the new Archbishop, Ricardo Cifuentes, was clearly well from the very beginning of his exercise of authority. His conduct to Trujillo was so obvious that it is safe to surmise a book or pamphlet by the opposition that once referred to it. The writing of Julia Rojas is a copy of their activities.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHSECTION I (Continued): THE HISTORY

THE CHURCH DURING THE ERA OF TRUJILLO

Writing of the condition of the Roman Catholic Church after a visit to the Dominican Republic in 1919, Dr. Samuel G. Inman stated:

The Church has lost the prestige of the old days and if it were not for the popularity of the Archbishop it is hard to know what would be its state. No one seems to regard it in a serious light as having anything to do with present day life and problems. Not that there is hostility - only an ignoring of its existence except as it furnishes through its ceremonies and feast days the occasion for social functions...The report that one gets everywhere is that the priesthood is generally low bred and immoral... The status of church property is not clear.¹

Eleven years later, when Trujillo was elected to the Presidency, the situation had improved very little.

Because of its impotence, the new President could afford to ignore the roman Church during his first period in office. The Episcopal Throne was still occupied by Archbishop Alejandro Nouel to whom Inman had referred eleven years prior, but he was now almost completely incapacitated because of old age, and in 1933 the government granted him a life pension. It has been suggested that Trujillo chose the successor to the Archbishopric, but this is difficult to prove. In any case, the President recognized the utility of a Church that he could manipulate, and the new Archbishop, Ricardo Pittini, was easily used from the very beginning of his exercise of authority. His submission to Trujillo was so notorious that it is rare to encounter a book or pamphlet by the opposition that omits reference to it. The writing of Felix Mejia is exemplary of their attitude.

This individual, of Italian origin, recently arrived in the country as a simple priest, a private in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, without credentials or ability - not only for Archbishop-but not even for canon; ... became a perfect sucker [sic. mamon] with more mobility than mercury in behalf of the cause of his Lord - who is not God but Trujillo ... Famous and insuperable are his discourses for their servility and exaggeration. Pittinni will be recorded in the history of Santo Domingo as the prototype of the servile and easily bought Archbishop, and in the history of the Church as a sacrilegious and impious priest.²

Throughout the years that followed the unspoken agreement between the Church and the dictator was apparent. The church was expected to give a generous measure of spiritual backing to the government, in return for which the regime would provide considerable material benefits. The Church surrendered its responsibility to stand in judgement in the society, and entered with such vigor into its new role that it totally ignored the excesses of Trujillo and his government. Thus, when international pressure forced the dictator to refuse reelection after the Haitian massacre of 1936 and an announcement was made of his choice of candidates, the Archbishop wrote his clergy:

We are about to celebrate the National festivity of our Lady of Highest Grace, the Mother of all Dominicans. To turn to Her for the necessities that affect the very life of the Fatherland is as natural for us as for a child to turn to the arms of his mother.

I believe that this is the most opportune day to plead to the Virgin of Highest Grace in all the churches of the Republic, to illuminate the Honorable President of the Republic to reconsider his decision expressed in the historic document about which the nation has just learned.

Your Reverence, exhort the faithful that they lift up a fervent collective petition to that end.³

Participation in the praises of the dictator was not limited to the hierarchy, however. The lower clergy, who had the closest contact with the populace, also had their part to play. Pericles Franco Ornes, a communist

exile, attacked the Church for taking such an active part in supporting the regime. He wrote from Chile:

Unfortunately he [Trujillo] has received the ready cooperation of many prelates and priests who have been converted into his most furious cheerleaders. They celebrate Te Deums and say masses, almost daily, in behalf of the health of the dictator, his mother, his son; and in thanksgiving because Trujillo recreated the Fatherland, etc.. And the pulpit is used too often as a rostrum where they proclaim their immoral discourses that defend Trujillo's crimes and forget the people's misery.⁴

His communist position does not negate the criticism made by Ornes.

Carmita Landestoy, a more moderate exile, grieved the debasement of her Church, but also commented: "They celebrate more masses and processions for Trujillo than for the Virgin of Highest Grace who is the Patron of the Dominican Republic."⁵

The material benefits amassed by the Church were phenomenal. Historic edifices were restored in accordance with the wishes of the hierarchy. Dozens of churches, rectories, schools, convents and other buildings were constructed and presented to the Church, as well as a new seminary, several retreat centers, three cathedrals, and a palace for the Papal Nuncio. Stipends for clergy and teachers were appropriated, and religious orders were brought from other countries with the bill being paid from government funds. With the presentation of each and everyone of these gifts came the inevitable expressions of praise and gratitude from the clergy and hierarchy, that were splashed across the pages of the newspapers and proclaimed over the radio.

Juan Jimenez Grullon, an intellectual of great ability who was expelled from the Republic in the early years of the tyranny, has presented

a penetrating insight into the results that the intimacy between Church and dictator would create for the great mass of Dominicans. He says, in his book La Republica Dominicana:

The man /Trujillo/ does not permit even the slightest criticism of his regime from the pulpit. The intervention of the dictatorial will, therefore, extends even to the field of belief. The most repugnant aspect of the situation is that the highest dignitaries apparently seem perfectly satisfied...What an extraordinary aberration! Thus this implies the direct or indirect praise of crime and the constant betrayal of the most sacred principles of Christian morality...

Furthermore, this cynical and abject position of the Church before the tyranny, has grave consequences in the field of the collective ethic...These masses do not have a clear consciousness as to the meaning of the Catholic dogmas, but profess a positive faith in numerous saints...Certain cults, that of the Virgin of Highest Grace for example, demonstrate true popular fervor. Such an attitude inclines them to receive the word of the priest almost as if it were the divine word. The praises of Trujillo acquire an extraordinarily convincing power from their mouths...

On the other hand, the religious position, in the face of experience, has created in the soul of the simple people superstitions regarding the superhuman nature of the mandatory...Some people of rudimentary culture have even come to believe that Trujillo is protected by demonic forces, against which it is impossible to fight.⁶

THE CONCORDAT

The loud complaints of the exiles and the whispered criticism by the faithful at home did little to interfere with the mutually acceptable arrangement between the dictator and the Church. The relationship reached its high point in 1954 when a Concordat between the Dominican Republic and the Holy See was signed. (Prior attempts had been made to enter into a similar agreement from as far back as 1845.) Actually, the Concordat did little more than made official what was already a fact. The most important change to which the government agreed was the recognition of the indissolubility of civil marriages and a correspond-

ing decrease of Church ceremonies. Very little was otherwise altered.

The most significant aspect of the agreement, however was not a visible one. Rather it involved the attitude of those who were critical of the relation between the regime and the Church, but who were willing to rationalize it as a result of a weak hierarchy and poorly prepared clergy. Now they were confronted with the tacit approval being granted by the supreme authority of the Roman Church, the Holy See. Although silent during the years between the signing of the Concordat and the time of Trujillo's assassination, many of these critics were quite vocal once they could express themselves freely. As a result, although the Concordat is still in effect, it is rarely appealed to by either the government or the Church.

OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT

From 1958 onwards certain structural changes within the hierarchy prepared the Church for an important episode in its life. Several new dioceses had been created and the bishops were united for the first time in an Episcopal Conference. Furthermore, Archbishop Pittini had been blind and feeble and Rome named a Dominican bishop, Octavio Beras, to exercise authority in his stead. As a result, when the country-wide plot against the government was discovered and broken by the Secret Police, the Episcopal Conference took an heroic stand against the abuses committed on prisoners. In a surprise Pastoral Letter issued on January 25, 1960, and ordered to be read from the pulpit of every church in the Republic the following Sunday the bishops stated:

Accepting our pastoral obligation for the spiritual flock committed to us by Divine Providence, we cannot remain insensitive before the deep sorrow that afflicts a large number of Cominican households...We call upon

you to join with those who suffer.../Here follows scriptural references to suffering and consolation/... In the light of these consoling truths, beloved brethren, you will be better able to understand that the root and foundation of all rights rests on the inviolable dignity of the human person. Every human being, even before his birth, possesses a sum of rights that are prior and superior to any state. They are inalienable rights that not even the total of all human powers may impede in their free exercise, or lessen and limit in their field of activity.⁸

In the remainder of the lengthy pastoral, the bishops went on to list these natural rights with an explanation of their significance. They included the rights to life, to form a family, to work, to engage in commerce, to emigrate, and to a good reputation. They further included the right to conscience, press and free association without detailed interpretations.

Although no mention was made of the government at any point the reference was obvious. The concerted effort on the part of the bishops took Trujillo by surprise. No mention was made of the pastoral - either pro or con - in the controlled press, and the public waited tensely for a response. Finally on March 14 it appeared in the form of a reprint of an article written by a Roman Catholic priest two years prior, in which he proposed that because of all his labors for the Church, Trujillo be granted the title: Benefactor of the Church. It stated in part:

Few men in history have crossed the boundaries of Rome with an air of victory...Trujillo went to Rome as a victor...where he signed a solemn pact that pledged for the Dominican Republic days of glory without precedent... Trujillo, in World History, will be compared to Constantine the Great and Pepin. Like the first he has recognized judicial independence of the Church, and like the second, who created the Patrimony of St. Peter, he has established a patrimony for the Dominican Church...

...I lift up my voice to invite all Dominicans of good will and all foreigners who share the advantages of the New Era in the Republic, that being possessed of an historic and religious sense of justice you acclaim Trujillo to be Benefactor of the Church.⁹

The article appeared without further comment.

The strategy of Trujillo was clear. A campaign was launched to humiliate the Church for its ingratitude after so many years of receiving gifts from the hand of the Benefactor. Two days after the publication of the first article a letter appeared on the front page signed by the President and Vice-president, all the Secretaries and Sub-secretaries of State, and officials of the University and Dominican Party. It not only gave support to the granting of the title, but suggested that a plebiscite be arranged to discover the will of the people. Immediately the newspaper was stormed by letters from public officials, professionals, government employees, those in debt to Trujillo, etc., offering their backing to the campaign. Day after day articles appeared in which the many benefits that the Church had received were listed in detail. On occasion the letters and articles were signed by priests.

SURRENDER AND RENEWED SUPPORT

The hierarchy remained silent and unmoved for many months. Finally, toward the end of the year the regime took more direct action. Groups of thugs "spontaneously" initiated demonstrations against the ungrateful Church. Crowds were stoned as they left Mass, churches and other buildings were damaged and a few were burned, and priests were threatened. On January 10, 1961, not quite a year after the heroic pastoral was issued, both sides accepted a much-desired truce. Although it resulted in the cessation of the attacks on the Church and an end to the matter of the title, the capitulation of the bishops was tragic. Their letter to the Generalissimo virtually retracted the strong position assumed in the pastoral, and in its place the bishops offered to:

1. Remind the priests of the norms to be maintained in political matters; and specifically to exhort them:
 - a) to apply themselves by all just means to cooperate with the civil authorities.
 - b) to take care not to trespass the limits of their competence.
 - c) to avoid, by every means possible, anything that might cause suspicion with the authorities.
2. Take note of the suggestions made by the government...especially in regard to ceremonies requested by the authorities.
3. Continue cooperating with our best will in all the work of instruction, charity and the moral and material welfare of the Dominican people.¹⁰

The petition of the government, however, revealed the areas in which the campaign had been most effective. The bishops requested that Trujillo "intervene in order to halt the anti-catholic attacks made in the press and radio;" that he restrain some of the obviously misguided minor authorities "who seek to interfere with the Catholic schools and education;" that "facilities be renewed to permit the entry of priests and religious into the country;" "that religious foundations and other establishments be respected, and that the residence of priests and religious in the country be guaranteed."¹¹

With the exchange of letters and acceptance of the terms the matter came to a close. Although a bit more strained as a result of the mutual show of strength, the "harmonious" relationship was once again restored between the Church and the State, and continued without incident during the remaining five months of Trujillo's life.

AFTER THE DEATH OF TRUJILLO

The lesson of the last years had been a bitter one for the hierarchy.

When the remnants of the Trujillo regime seemed finally to have been overthrown the Church remained silent and cautious. During the difficult days leading up to the elections of December, 1962, several of the opposition parties appealed to the Archbishop and the hierarchy to speak out against the violence that had flared up throughout the Republic. Even the "14th of June," a leftist party, made an impassioned request:

We are drenched with our own tears and we believe that our anxiety justifies our speaking,,and directing to your Reverend Excellency this supplication - Give us guidance...You can and you must do it, Monsenor, and thus become an instrument of the Divine Providence for achieving the necessary conditions for a second Restoration of the Fatherland without a useless spilling of blood. You must do it because Dominican Catholics need their Pastor to defend them in the name of Christian Doctrine and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.¹²

But the answer was always the same: "The Church is non-political."

As the elections neared, however, it became clear, though unofficially, that the Church favored the more conservative, right-wing, Civic Union. The reform program of the Dominican Revolutionary Party of Juan Bosch appeared to threaten the Church's privileged position (especially as regarded the Concordat and education). Although the bishops declared a position of neutrality, an influential Jesuit priest created a crisis on the eve of the election by charging that Bosch and his party were communist. Clearly the favored candidate, Bosch threatened to withdraw from the elections unless he could debate the allegation over television. After five hours of disputation, the priest withdrew his charge. Bosch won the election by a landslide vote.

During Bosch's seven months in office the Church was once again silent. Its energies were devoted to reorganization and a new emphasis on evangelization and education. Special courses were begun in various centers aimed at deepening the commitment and loyalty of the laity. Caritas, a Roman Catholic service organization similar to Church World Service, initiated a program of food and clothing distribution for the underprivileged. Several Roman priests took the first steps in opening the door to ecumenical dialogue with the clergy of non-Roman churches. A new attitude was apparent in the life of the Catholic Church.

What role it may have played in the overthrow of the Bosch Government in September, 1963, is unknown. What place it hopes to assume in relation to the present rightist government may be guessed by a bulletin that appeared in the Dominican newspaper on January 27, 1964. It announced the Vatican recognition of the ruling Junta, and a government appropriation of \$5,000 per month for the completion of the Basilica of Our Lady of Highest Grace.¹³ There are many Roman Catholics, among them members of the clergy, who hold the sincere desire that nothing more will come of this relationship.

SECTION II: THE PROBLEMS

The history of the Roman Catholic Church in the Dominican Republic is rife with the problems that continue to plague it. Santayana has written: Those who do not learn from history are condemned to relive it. This has been tragically true of the Roman Church in the Republic. What are the problems that confront the Church there today? In what way are

these problems the fruit of past error or circumstance? What is being done, or can be done to alleviate these problems? The members of the hierarchy and clergy who have responded to Study Questionnaire* that was submitted to them have not only demonstrated their cognizance of the problems to be considered, but have been exceedingly forthright in their analyses of the sins and errors that have created them. They have also manifested a new spirit that is appearing in the Church; a spirit that is sensitive to the need for reform.

THE POVERTY OF THE CHURCH

In its earliest days the Roman Catholic Church in Santo Domingo grew accustomed to receiving its material sustenance from two sources: the Spanish Crown and wealthy citizens. As the circumstances of history changed the makeup of the colony and its misfortunes caused the families of wealth to leave the island, the Church found it difficult to adjust to a new concept of stewardship. For many years an attempt was made to live off the income that was derived from properties and estates that had been inherited by the Church, but with the Haitian occupation and the establishment of independence it was deprived of even this. The Church found itself without property, without income, and lacking a laity that would give for its sustenance. It became dependent upon the small appropriations made available by the government.

When Trujillo rose to power the Church was passing through one of its weakest periods. His government, unquestionably good at balancing the budget and putting wealth in the national treasury, seemed to be

* See Appendix A for the contents of the questionnaire.

the answer to the pressing problem of the Church's poverty. Its plea was heard, but its subsequent dependence on the dictator deprived the Church of its appropriate place in the Dominican society. As it had become a tool of the Spanish Crown and servile before the wealthy in the past, so it was made subservient to Trujillo. During the thirty years of the "Era" almost every material wish of the hierarchy was satisfied. With the fall of the tyrant, however, and the refusal of the Bosch government to grant it the lavish appropriations to which it had been accustomed, the Church discovered once again that it is indeed impoverished.

The road that lies ahead is a difficult one. The clergy must labor diligently to erase the image of the rich Church that has been created in the minds of the laymen. They must do intensive training in the area of stewardship and convince their people of the Church's need and their part in meeting that need. But, above all, the hierarchy must avoid the very great temptation of accepting any beneficence from the government. Because of past gifts the lay people have been robbed of their rightful place in supporting the Church, and as a result have lost the sense of the Church as being theirs.

There are two related problems (which will be considered in greater detail below) that deeply affect this matter of stewardship. The first of these is the obvious one of a need for more serious efforts at evangelizing and educating the Roman Catholic laity. The second is less obvious and involves the serious lack of vocations among Dominicans. It is widely felt by the Dominican clergy that many of the problems involving the

relations of the Roman Church and the government have been created by the foreign clergy upon whom the Church has had to rely during past years. Lack of understanding of the Dominican people, the nature of the tyranny, the nation's history, etc., have led them to take actions that were not in the best interests of the Church or the people. This has been especially true in the ease with which they have turned to the government for support of their projects rather than undertaking the more arduous task of stimulating the faithful to support them through their offerings. It is to be hoped that with an increasing number of Dominicans entering the priesthood this problem will be lessened.

THE LACK OF VOCATIONS TO THE PRIESTHOOD

The scarcity of priests to minister to the Roman Catholics of Latin America has been a subject of much discussion during recent years. The situation in the Dominican Republic is considered to be among the most critical, with only Guatemala and Honduras in worse straits. Statistics compiled by FERES*, a Roman Catholic sociological institute, demonstrate the extent of the problem. They report:

Year	...	...	1912	1944	1953	1960
Average Inhabitants per parish	...	...	10,400	27,400	34,900	24,400
Average Catholics per priest	...	...	8,200	19,100	14,500	10,100

The figures for the year 1960 are based on a total of 283 priests at work in the Republic. Of this number only 66, or barely 25% are Dominican Nationals.¹⁴

* Federacion Internacional de los Institutos Catolicos de Investigaciones Sociales y Socio-religiosos.

Comparatively few priests have ever been produced in this country. Time and time again throughout its history the seminary has been closed because of insufficient funds to support it, a dearth of capable professors to teach its courses, or as a result of the political unrest that disrupted its labors. The lack of clergy has been a consistent problem for the Roman Church in the Republic and with the recent increase in the rate of growth of the population (3.2% annually) the problem has become even more critical. A bishop of the Roman Church has commented in this regard:

Our people have always lamented over the scarcity of clergy, a scarcity that has made itself felt more acutely as the population of the Republic increases. If the Religious Orders had not extended their hands, we would hardly have enough Dominican priests to attend to the spiritual needs of the Capital of the Republic...

...But we are now convinced that this Catholic nation of Santo Domingo is in the unavoidable necessity of forming its own clergy.¹⁵

What steps must be taken to create a body of national priests?

The Roman Church is giving much thought to this question. It has initiated a number of experiments in instruction among the members of its Catholic Action groups aimed at stimulating vocations. Great emphasis has been placed on the "Cursillos de Cristiandad" (see following section on Evangelism) which stress dedication and the lay apostolate. More attention has been given to the development of vocations among mature young men rather than the youngsters who have heretofore come up through the minor seminaries.

In 1946 the administration of the seminary was placed under the authority of the Society of Jesus for the second time in its history. The success of the Jesuits in bring to fruition the vocations of students

that have been enrolled in the seminary under their direction is to be observed in the youthfulness of the national clergy now at work.

Forty-six priests are under thirty-nine years of age, and disciples of the Jesuit faculty, while the remaining twenty are from forty to over seventy years old. The presence of this number of young Dominicans engaged in the active priesthood should act as a stimulus to other vocations.

While the preparation afforded by the seminary has improved greatly over the years, a bishop who responded to the Study Questionnaire has expressed his desire to see greater emphasis placed on the pastoral aspect of the seminarians' training. He feels that candidates must be given the opportunity to gain experience in parishes before they are ordained, by being assigned to work under veteran priests. By limiting education to theory alone the new priest finds it difficult to adapt himself to the pastoral relationships that are demanded in parish life. Furthermore, the bishop is in favor of bringing specialists to the seminary who can modernize the curriculum and made it more relevant to the society in which the priests are to work.

Should the creative thinking of this cleric and others who are concerned with the formation of a Dominican clergy be put into effect, it is certain that the quality and effectiveness of the seminary's graduates would be improved. The most important challenge at present, therefore, is to produce vocations in order that the seminary may produce priests. And to accomplish this it will be necessary to stress evangelism and the Christian life among the laity so that the priesthood may

once again be viewed as a calling of value.

THE UNEVANGELIZED MASSES

There is a vicious circle involved in the question of the scarcity of vocations among Dominicans. Because of the lack of clergy the large mass of baptized people have remained spiritually uneducated, and because of the comparatively few truly evangelized and dedicated Roman Catholics few vocations are produced. This may seem like one more case of the chicken and the egg. And yet, within the last few years the Roman Church has begun an all-out effort to solve its own riddle.

The roots of this problem lie far back in the history of the Church's labors in Santo Domingo. The Church's potential in the days of the colony were very great. The most cultured and educated families of Spain settled in the island during its prosperity. With the massive exodus that occurred in later years, however, a community was created that was composed of soldiers, servants, slaves, the dregs of Spanish society, and only occasional individuals of refinement and learning. The few clergy that remained after the withdrawal of the Religious Orders were ill-prepared for the overwhelming labor of providing religious instruction for the uneducated masses. Most priests surrendered before the impossibility of the task and occupied themselves with the small satisfaction of baptizing almost all the infants in their communities and adding their names to the list of Roman Catholics in their parishes. This situation has continued until very recently.

With the end of the "Era of Trujillo" the Church awoke to the fact

that the social turmoil and political upheaval were warnings of the shortness of time that it had to get its house in order. The new attitudes that were appearing shook the foundations of things traditional and forced them to stand on the basis of their real merit. It was then that a thorough-going campaign was initiated aimed at fomenting greater dedication and loyalty among the laity. The plan has a three-fold approach; through available organizations, increased education, and new courses in the Christian apostolate.

The Church already had several well organized groups functioning throughout the country. It was necessary only to re-orient their purposes in keeping with the goals of the new emphasis. In many places Catholic Action was converted into an effective instrument for the evangelization of young men and women by their peers. It has been so successful in some areas that a number of vocations to the priesthood and the religious life have been stimulated. Another organization, the Legion of Mary, a fellowship of Roman Catholic women, has been inspired to begin work in catechetical instruction in homes. Members visit family groups regularly and teach simple lessons aimed at familiarizing the members of the family with basic doctrine and drawing them closer to their Church. A third activity, and one that is managed through the cooperation of clergy and laity, is the Christian Family Movement. Its purpose is to awaken the Christian spirit in family life. Families of chosen localities meet together to discuss the Bible, consider family problems, examine their failures in family living, and join in common prayer. The Movement has had considerable effect in almost every area where

it is at work.

The emphasis on increased education does not refer simply to the building and staffing of more schools. The Roman Church is in no position financially to support such a venture. Rather, it seeks to make use of its present facilities and personnel to greater advantage. One bishop, for example, has directed the clergy of his diocese to work for the creation of small schools to be housed in their rural church buildings, supported by the minimal contributions of the community, and taught by a number of volunteers. It is his feeling that the Church must make a break with the tradition of educating the children of the rich and begin to form a nucleus of country people who can be of use in the future development of their communities. A further step has been taken in some urban areas where the capacity of existing parochial schools has been increased in order to admit children from lower class families, with the additional expense being covered by wealthier parents. Finally, in an attempt to touch the adults as well as the children, the Conference of Bishops has directed all parish clergy to preach at every Sunday Mass. In addition, and in order to assure more relevant sermons, each diocesan bishop will provide a number of "resumes" on matters of momentary significance or urgency upon which the priests will be required to preach. In this way it is hoped that the Church will be better able to guide the faithful into more responsible Christian action and greater understanding of the faith.

The most startling successes in the campaign to stir up new life in the laity have occurred in the "Cursillos de Cristiandad." Literally meaning "Little Courses on the Law of Christ," the title is actually a

misnomer. The Cursillos are largely a combination of retreat and revival. Developed in Spain almost fifteen years ago by several laymen under the supervision of their bishop, the Cursillos were brought to the Dominican Republic about two years ago. Since then over 2,500 men have taken part in groups of from 30 to 40 in number. What is surprising is the composition of these groups. They are usually divided so as to include about one-third of individuals with comparatively active Christian lives, one-third of indifferent persons, and one-third outright anti-Christians (including communists and apostates).

The Cursillos last for a period of three days and are managed by trained laymen. Clergy are present solely to say mass, hear confessions, and give spiritual counsel. A good deal of time is dedicated to the testimony of the lay leaders, singing, and discussion of basic issues of Christian discipleship. The purpose of the course is to provoke a personal confrontation with Christ and a rededication of the Christian life. Once completed, the Cursillo may not be repeated, but great stress is placed on the post-Cursillo activities of the participants. Each one is assigned to a cell made up of persons from his neighborhood who have taken part in prior sessions. They meet each week in order to study the New Testament, review their fulfillment of the rule of life, publically confess their failures and they pray for each other. The group further directs its efforts toward evangelism in its own neighborhood with special attention given to the "conversion" of individual that the group has selected. Furthermore, monthly meetings are held in which the participants of a particular Cursillo gather together to discuss the work of their cells, their own spiritual failures and victories, and to renew the

fellowship that was created during their days in the Cursillo.

As simple as the Cursillo appears in this brief sketch its results have been phenomenal. Records have been kept of those who have passed through the courses. They show that at least 20% of the men have made a total and absolute surrender of their lives to Christ. They receive communion every day. They make a meditation of at least a half hour daily and pray frequently. And they commit a large part of their free time to lay evangelism. Another 40% demonstrate a definite ordering of their lives. They receive communion regularly, have stable family relations, engage in charitable and evangelistic activities, and are faithful members of the Church. 20% of the balance were unmoved by the Cursillo, and contact has been lost with the remainder. These percentages have changed only slightly for participants of the earliest sessions after almost two years. Such statistics are indeed remarkable when they concern the Latin male.

As a result of the total effort being made by the Roman Catholic Church in evangelism and education many persons are coming into direct contact with the Church who have never been touched before. Undoubtedly, there will be great gains. But a question still remains. In view of the unsettled social conditions and the exploding population, will the Church ever make up for the ground it has lost in four centuries?

SEPARATION OF CLERGY AND LAITY

The adverse conditions that have already been described have resulted in the creation of a great gulf between the clergy and the laity committed to their care. Contact has been lost between priest and people.

It is rare for the local padre to make a pastoral call on one of his families except to bless a house or bury the dead. Few turn to him for counsel in moments of emotional or spiritual turmoil. The language he uses at mass, if it can be heard beyond the altar rail, is not understood by the worshippers. And until the recent action by the Conference of Bishops, the sermons of the priest - if he preached - had little relevance to the problems and interests of the laymen. The ignorant hold him in great awe because of the tremendous spiritual power that he ostensibly controls. The more privileged pay him a superficial respect because of the Church's continued influence with the government. Thus the priest appears to live in a world of his own, is rarely seen except by those who regularly attend church, and for many he exists primarily to baptize infants and bury the dead.

This picture, of course, does not present the whole truth. There are some priest who are dedicated pastors and deeply concerned with the problems of their members. In general, however, it represents the view of the priesthood held by the majority of Dominicans. Criticism of the clergy is heard much more frequently than in the past. Priests are openly censured for their cooperation with the Trujillo government, their lack of interest in the needs of their people, their conservatism in the presence of glaring social ill, the negligence of many to keep the rule of chastity, and the fees charged for the administration of the sacraments. This outspoken anticlericalism is especially apparent among the young people who are most deeply involved in the social upheaval taking place in the Republic and who view the Church as little

Trujillo regime have been amply described. In the elections of 1952,

more than another social institution.

The growing emphasis on evangelism may help stem the tide of animosity and begin to close the breach between the clergy and laity. Many place great hope in the reforms that will come out of the Second Vatican Council. Others depend upon the Conference of Bishops to continue the modernization of the institutional life of the Church in the Republic. The weight of responsibility, however, rests on the individual priest and his ability to erase the traditional image of his office and person from the thoughts of his people.

INTERFERENCE IN POLITICS

It is extremely difficult for the hierarchy and clergy of the Roman Church to forget the periods in the history of the Republic when they were able to wield considerable power and influence in the political sphere. But it is equally difficult for the laity to forget the recent pictures of their bishops embracing Dictator Trujillo, or their priests offering innumerable masses for his "precious health" and voicing loud praise of his Christian charity in behalf of the Church.

The temptation to try to recover political power is ever present. In the early days of the Republic the meddling of the clergy in political matters earned them punishment at the hands of President Santana and privileges under the administration of Baez. It is difficult to estimate whether or not the Church came out ahead. Later, the political activity of Arturo Merino as President and then Archbishop was viewed as a bright moment in the life of the Church. The relations with the Trujillo regime have been amply described. In the elections of 1962,

the Roman Church declared itself as neutral. Yet when the tide began to turn strongly in favor of the reform-minded Juan Bosch, who threatened to undermine some of the Church's accustomed privileges, the temptation to interfere could no longer be resisted. It became an open secret that the hierarchy favored the conservative Civic Union. Their candidate received the Pope's blessing and his wishes for success in the elections. Finally, in a last hour attempt to sabotage Bosch's popularity, the distinguished Rector of the Seminary declared the candidate to be a communist and the hierarchy condoned the action of a large number of priests who announced that they would refuse absolution to Roman Catholics who voted for Bosch. Their endeavor was not only a total failure, but also succeeded in driving many of the liberal and reform-minded individuals of their congregations and communities further from the Church.

This most recent experience has had a sobering effect on the clergy and they have come to the realization that their influence on the political thinking of Dominican society has been greatly diminished. The old threats and rigid authoritarianism no longer work. The Dominican people are badly in need of leaders who will guide them into conscientious political action. Because of their lack of experience most Dominicans are naive and easily led by the radical promises of utopian programs. But they will never turn to the Church for leadership until it can distinguish between guidance and compulsion, and can hold the welfare of the people above its own desire for power and prestige.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Political, social, ideological, historical, human, emotional, psychological, racial, economic, and cultural influences and allegiances clash with

each other in each of the twenty republics /of Latin America/. A violent reassessment of the old values is underway, as the new Latin American generations, which no longer have any use for the past, are moving into positions of intellectual, economic, and political leadership.¹⁶

This social upheaval has begun to make itself felt in the Dominican Republic. The first reaction of the Roman Catholic Church has been one of retreat and defensiveness against a new enemy that threatens its prerogatives, its doctrines, its institutions. In the initial moments of panic Roman Catholic spokesmen have been quick to label the whole movement as communistic.

The respite that has been granted as a result of the military coups d'etat has pacified the Church somewhat during the past months. It is to be hoped that more serious thought is being given to the true nature of the movement that began to express itself during the period following the death of Trujillo. Only if this has been the case will the Roman Church be able to act with calm and dignity in the inevitable resurgence of the movement in the future.

There are some signs that such thought has been taking place. The Church has been engaged in activities aimed at removing many of the social ills that are called into question by those intent on reform. Cooperatives have been organized under its sponsorship aimed at helping the lower classes help themselves. Conferences and courses are being organized in the area of labor relations. Clergy and laity are being trained as specialists in social welfare, agrarian reform, industrial development, etc.

The one factor that has been lacking is an overt manifestation by

the Church that it too is committed to social reconstruction. The Roman Catholic Church in Chile, Bolivia, and elsewhere has provided a precedent for the active participation of the Church in the revolution. As Mensaje, the Jesuit periodical of Chile has stated:

The subject is delicate but, for the same reason, it can no longer be abandoned to superficial and impassioned discussion. Rather it must be made an object of study and reflection.

We do not see how it is possible to reconcile an attitude that is authentically Christian with a narrow attitude that is antirevolutionary, opposed to radical and urgent alteration of structures. To us the attitude that appears much more Christian is one that accepts the fact of the revolution in progress and seeks to direct it into Christian channels.¹⁷

This is the attitude that needs to be demonstrated by the Roman Catholic Church in the Dominican Republic. Because it has not appeared many of the reform-minded have turned to other sources for leadership. But there is still time for the Church to grasp the opportunity.

CONCLUSION

The need for renewal in the Roman Catholic Church in the Dominican Republic is a pressing matter. Regardless of the opinions of some non-Roman leaders, the Roman Church is still the traditional spokesman for the Christian position in that country. If it could be roused to shake off its lethargy and look to the future rather than the past the Church could be a prime factor in the emerging new society. It is to be hoped that the efforts now being made are symptomatic of a new spirit. There is much at stake.

Would it be presumptuous to think that it is the Holy Spirit that seeks to shake up Christendom, in the hour

of the Universal Council? The problem that has been stated is that of the future of social revolutions and of Christianity, of the future of Society and religion in a world that marches toward unity and that can hope to find it solely in the single living force that is capable of providing it: Christ the Lord.¹⁰

OBSTACLES TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE NON-ROMAN CHURCHES

ROYAL PROHIBITIONS AGAINST PROTESTANTISM

Because of its basic importance for the maintenance of the Spanish national unity, the monarchs of Spain did everything in their power to protect the Roman Catholic religion while avoiding the interference of the papacy in matters concerning the colonies. Successive Spanish Kings expanded their privileges under the papally granted Royal Patronage until they were able to control virtually every aspect of the life of the Church in the colonies through the Royal Council of the Indies. It was under the provisions of Royal Patronage that Philip II introduced the dreaded institution of the Inquisition into the New World, establishing the first tribunals to maintain purity of the faith in 1570. ¹

The Holy Office of the Inquisition served two purposes in Spanish America. First, it protected the colonies from the subversive and disuniting affects of the Protestant Reformation that had broken out in the rest of Europe at that time. Second, it kept America in relative isolation from the later development of liberal philosophies in the early eighteenth century. The orders of the King to his Inquisitors regarding the handling of Protestants were explicit: "...that they be punished according to their offenses and excesses and that I be advised of what is done."² It is clear that the efforts of the Holy Office were aimed at suppressing Protestant writings and the Bible in Spanish during the first fifty years, while later its power was felt by Protestant sailors and foreign merchants who fell into its grip. As has been pointed out by Baez-Camargo:

In general terms, the Inquisition succeeded in impeding the planting of Protestantism among the Spanish nationals, the

settled immigrants, the mestizos and the Indians [and Negro slaves]. It did not suffocate it entirely, but isolated it among non-Spanish foreigners. Neither did it avoid completely the entry and concealment of individuals of Protestant affiliation. But it did prevent Protestantism from assuming the character of an organized movement. 3

The royal policy was applied to the colonization of Santo Domingo in 1501, well before the introduction of the Inquisition. While preparing for his voyage to replace Columbus as Governor of the colony, Nicolas de Ovando received orders to the effect that "Jews, Moors, heretics, reconciled apostates and recently converted Muslims" were not to be permitted to enter the Indies. It was hoped that by such measures the purity of the faith could be maintained. 4 By 1511 the rule was relaxed because of the necessity of increasing the population of the island as agriculture and mining were developed. 5 Control over the "orthodoxy" of the immigrants that took advantage of the new leniency was less and less effective, and in 1552 it was once again necessary for the Council of the Indies to prohibit "Moors, new Christians and the descendants of those punished by the Inquisition" to go to the colonies. 6

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, attacks by pirates and buccaneers on the unprotected cities of the island of Española caused the Church considerable concern. The majority of these corsairs were English. In their incursions they not only carried away the riches of the area, but often left behind large quantities of Protestant literature and Bibles. In addition, these items were frequently hidden in shipments of contraband that were sold in the coastal areas far away from the authorities in the capital. They became so numerous, their distribution so general, and government action so ineffective, that in 1585 Archbishop Alfonso Lopez de Avila requested that the Holy Office of the Inquisition be established in Santo Domingo. 7 For unknown reasons his petition was not answered. The

situation worsened so that in 1601 his successor, Archbishop Agustin Davila Padilla, directed a sentence of excommunication against all those who carried on any commerce with the corsairs. He also sent the Dean of the Cathedral to preach throughout the diocese and warn against the reading of the Bible and heretical works. According to a report prepared following his return, the Dean found "three hundred Bibles in Spanish, annotated in conformity with the Lutheran sect, which were burned in the city square." ⁸

It is difficult to judge from the records that are available whether the campaign of the Roman Church against the introduction of Protestantism was effective or whether Protestants made only negligible attempts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The documents are silent. The chief preoccupations of the Church during that period were largely concerned with the depopulation of the island, the poverty of the colony and the Church, and the shortage of clergy.

CHANGING CONDITIONS: THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONS

It was not until the early nineteenth century that the question of the place of non-Roman religion in Santo Domingo was raised. Neither the Spanish Crown nor the Inquisition could stem the growing tide of liberalism in other European countries nor in the United States. The three centuries of isolation and dictatorial rule made the Spanish colonies a ready target for the vital and stirring philosophies of the eighteenth century that created the French Revolution and the American War of Independence. With the declaration of the French Republic and the recognition of the independence of the United States the fire of revolution spread to Spanish America.

Santo Domingo had undergone a drastic change of government when the Spanish Crown ceded the entire island to France in 1795. (An earlier treaty

in 1697 had given the western third of the island to that country, destroying its ancient unity.) As a result, when the slaves in Haiti rebelled against their French masters the war did not stop at the old frontier. Spanish speaking Saint Domingue was also overrun at the cost of many lives and great suffering. On February 9, 1822, the city of Santo Domingo was taken by the army of Haiti.

In an attempt to increase the Negro population as much as possible, Haitian President Boyer opened the sparsely populated northern coast of the country for settlement by freed slaves from the United States.⁹ A large group accepted the offer and the community was begun along the Samana Peninsula and at Puerto Plata. "These Negroes were Protestants and they were deeply religious. They brought their religion with them."¹⁰ With the arrival of an English Methodist minister ten years later their church was established and the group continued to develop its life, separated from the rest of the island's inhabitants by distance, language and religion.

Not only the spirit of the times, but also the presence of this group of Protestants had a profound effect on the framers of the Dominican Constitution when, in 1844, the Haitians were driven out of Spanish-speaking Santo Domingo. The new constitution provided for freedom of religion even though the Roman Catholic Church was given a privileged position in the new nation. Unfortunately, the experience that brought forth that provision in the Bill of Rights of the United States was far different from that known in the island. Within less than two years of the framing of the article dealing with religious freedom, the Archbishop pressured the President and then the Congress into dealing with certain "liberties" being taken by the Methodists in the north.

On May 5, 1846, a decree was promulgated by the Congress, prohibiting the use of bells by the sects in order to summon the

people to church, and declared it the sole right of the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church to use them. 11

An organized persecution occurred between 1861 and 1865, during the brief period when the Republic was once again annexed by Spain. The Archbishop, Bienvenido Monzon y Martin, "a Spaniard of great zeal in his episcopal ministry,"¹² ordered the systematic suppression of the Protestant sects. The relative isolation of the Methodist communities and the half-hearted response by the Dominican Roman Catholic clergy diminished the effectiveness of the attempt, and with the overthrow of Spanish domination the Protestants enjoyed relatively peaceful conditions once again.

It was unfortunate that other Evangelical groups from the United States and Europe did not move to begin mission work in the Dominican Republic and other Latin American countries during the revolutionary years of the mid-nineteenth century. The time was right, but a very important factor - not related to inhibitions created by the Roman Church - delayed the initiation of Protestant work. As Methodist Bishop Barbieri has pointed out:

It was not only the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church that was responsible for the late arrival of Protestant missions into Latin America. A mistaken opinion was held by many bodies, mainly in Europe, that the Latin American countries were already Christianized. It was believed that missionary work should be concentrated in lands of the far-away Orient, where there were few people who knew anything about the Christian religion. Even the ecumenical conference held in 1910 in Edinburgh, Scotland, considered South America as a Christianized continent. 13

By the time the non-Roman missions began to establish themselves in Santo Domingo, the Roman Church also initiated a movement to revitalize its life and restore itself to its ancient place of privilege in the state. The renewed activity tended to reemphasize the old animosities and create new hindrances to the development of Protestant work.

STRATEGICAL ERRORS AND HOSTILE REACTION

At the very outset of the labor of evangelization, serious errors in strategy were made by Protestants that were to hamper the work until the present day. "Many lost sight of the main emphasis of the gospel in their zeal for pointing out the errors of the Roman Church" in hopes of attracting people to their point of view. ¹⁴ In 1926, for example, the Superintendent of the Dominican Evangelical Church made a fiery attack on the Roman Church that the General Assembly arranged to have published in the national press. It stated in part:

We also have apposing us the Roman Catholic Church, which is hidden behind a misunderstood patriotism and which attempts to make use of the religious spirit of the people with the purpose of exploitation in benefit of its institution and not for the good of the people. It cannot be hoped that those who benefit themselves by the ignorance of the people would be content to see the initiation of the dawn that announces a new day. It is necessary that we clothe ourselves with new courage for the inevitable battle, examine once again our motives and convictions. We must never forget that we are convinced Protestants and that we never cease to protest against the errors of the Roman Catholic Church. ¹⁵

There followed a colorful listing of the "abuses" to be found in Roman Catholicism (i.e. use of Latin, auricular confession, doctrine of Purgatory, replacement of Christ by the saints, etc.). However, the greatest hostility was created by his statement of attack -

against obligatory celibacy of the clergy because it is contrary to the teachings of the Bible and human nature, and is the continual cause for scandal in the private lives of those who are called to be witnesses and examples to their faithful members. ¹⁶

It is not surprising that the representatives of the State-Church that had for so many years enjoyed a position of unquestioned authority would be disturbed at such a fierce assault on themselves and their beliefs, and by a group that could count only a handful of members.

Another reason for Roman hostility toward Protestant missions was the effort frequently expended on committed Roman Catholics in an effort to "convert" them. When one considers the great numbers of unchurched people throughout the country there seems to be just cause for the criticism. In an article written by the Rev. Albert J. Nevins, Associate Editor of the "Maryknoll Magazine," it is stated that:

Out of a total population of over 157 million, more than 136 million people of Latin America claim to be Catholics, but even by the most generous estimates only about ten per cent can be called practicing Catholics. The sad fact is that Catholicism in Latin America is nothing more than a tradition for the vast majority of people there. 17

Father Nevins goes on to classify the Dominican Republic as a country where "the Church is going backward" and where the percentage of Roman Catholics who are practicing their religion would be even lower. Thus there was ample room for every religious body to carry on their works of evangelism without proselytism.

Finally, these missions often entered their work with considerable financial backing from their boards in the United States. Unfortunately there were many occasions when the funds were used on service projects that were meant to impress potential converts, leaving the missionaries open to the charge by the Roman Church that they were buying members. 18

While the missions on the whole have corrected these errors and have produced Christian work of some significance, it was this approach that stirred up hostility on the part of the Roman Church. It had occurred at a time when that Church was feeling the effects of a general movement of "a great number of people away from the most submissive acceptance of the Roman Catholic Church authority to agnosticism, indifference, if not antagonism to religion in general." 19 Protestantism was viewed as another threat.

INTERFERENCE: DIRECT AND INDIRECT

In the Dominican Republic the Protestant missions have never experienced persecution like that which has occurred in Columbia and some of the other Latin American Republics. Most of the missions arrived during the period of the United States military government and enjoyed a rather free development without interference because of the strict application of a policy of religious liberty. Shortly after the withdrawal of the occupation authorities and the restoration of constitutional government, however, some of the congregations of these religious groups were subjected to annoyances of various kinds aimed at creating confusion and intimidation.

In his report to the General Assembly in 1929, the Superintendent of the Dominican Evangelical Church noted that "as far as the evangelistic work of the church, the year 1928 was a year of persecution."²⁰ In Santo Domingo and Barahona the disturbances had been especially hard. And in La Romana a Puerto Rican minister, who had arrived only a short time before to help ease the clergy shortage, found himself and several members of his congregation arrested and put in jail on charges of having desecrated the Roman Catholic Church. The accusation could not be proved and they were released with apologies from the authorities within a short time.²¹ Only a few years later, in 1934, a new Superintendent made reference to another outbreak of hostility, but specified its limited nature. He stated:

During the year there arose persecutions in three sections of the Republic, in Fundacion, Barahona and in San Juan de la Maguana. Nevertheless it is encouraging to know that these persecutions are the result of local conditions of fanaticism and not an attitude of the Dominican people.²²

In the central valley of the country, pressure was brought to bear on new groups that initiated their work there, and its vehemence resulted from the comparative isolation of the area. While their fellow citizens in the

northern and southern coastal areas had come to know non-Roman churches through the migration of groups that brought their religion with them, this was not the case in the valley. Thus, when the Free Methodist Church began an active campaign in the city of Santiago, their newly-won members were often under attack by the Roman clergy and laity. "Their homes were stoned and even pistol shots were fired at them; the priest excommunicated them; he tried to secure the arrest and imprisonment of Don Carmen [the lay evangelist]." ²³ In the city of Duarte, also in that area, attacks were aimed at disrupting the worship services, and the local priest "inspired irresponsible youth to throw stones ... that rained down on the metal roof." ²⁴

The application of these methods appeared to go through cycles. For long periods, as much as seven and eight years, the Roman Catholic Church ignored the presence of the non-Roman missions and their work. At other times there would be an extended period during which that Church used every means at its disposal to interfere with their development. A factor that greatly affected these reversals of attitude during the past thirty-five years was the position taken by Trujillo at any particular moment, and the purposes he felt would be served by an appropriate stance of the Roman Church. For example, during the honeymoon interlude following the signing of the Concordat in 1954, there were intensive campaigns conducted against the Protestant churches from the pulpit by the Roman clergy. Sometimes these resulted in minor acts of vandalism (e.g. the breaking window and disruption of services, etc.) or the non-cooperation of public officials in dealing with the Protestant groups (e.g. the increase of red-tape or the delay or "loss" of necessary documents, etc.). However, when Trujillo was denied the title of "Benefactor of the Church" and his regime criticized for the first time by the Roman Catholic Bishops in 1960, not only did the

Roman Church find itself under attack (e.g. clergy denounced and property damaged, etc.), but many non-Roman churches received gifts of various kinds, help in building churches, and were generally applauded by the government controlled press for their contribution to the welfare of the Republic.

RELIGIOUS IGNORANCE AND INDIFFERENCE

A number of elements have contributed to the often unpredictable conditions under which non-Roman churches find themselves working in the Dominican Republic. One of these, examined above, has been the zeal with which the State Church has interfered with the missions or gained the cooperation of the government in impeding their progress. A further element of considerable importance, the pressures upon the individual member, will be considered in the next section. However, a factor that is of major consequence, not only for the missions but for the Roman Church as well, is the religious ignorance of the population and the widespread attitude of indifference.

The Episcopal Bishop of Haiti traces the causes of this indifference and ignorance to the historical position of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America. He writes:

Where ... the State-Church was established her position was guaranteed and secured whether she taught and ministered to each and all or not. The job with so many "converts" was a stupendous and almost impossible one. They never had enough missionaries to teach and to minister and they don't have today. As a result, the tendency has been to rely on evidence of position and power and hope for the best. Also, since there has been little competition and no challenge, as the centuries rolled on that situation became worse. It became easier as a matter of course to operate in the councils of state and have one's position guaranteed by law ... rather than to teach the masses, to minister to them, to win them and to have them as genuine supporters and faithful. 25

The overall result is the existence of a great mass of people who consider

themselves Roman Catholic because of their baptism, but who know absolutely nothing of the deep meaning of the Christian faith and whose lives are touched in only the slightest degree by the teachings of the Church.

Combined with this is a note of anti-clericalism which is the outcome of the identification of the officials of the Church with the ruling classes and with the government which has often been an instrument of oppression. In the Dominican Republic this became particularly acute during the "Era of Trujillo" when the Church and the tyrant seemed so closely related. Pictures that appeared in the newspaper showing Trujillo and the Archbishop or other members of the hierarchy embracing at public functions were held in ridicule. Stories of the abuse of the confessional to trap Trujillo's opposition were current among the laity. The ceaseless celebration of mass for the preservation of "the most precious health of the Benefactor of the Fatherland and Father of the New Nation" was deeply resented by the great majority of Dominicans.

"Traditional Catholicism" is so deeply rooted in the environmental world view, that the Dominican does not see membership in the non-Roman churches as an immediate alternative to the Roman Church. He prefers to separate himself from the institutional form of Roman Catholicism and nurture specific practices of a personal and quite sterile pietistic nature. Thus in almost every home one can find a large picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus hanging in a conspicuous place, and scattered throughout the other rooms will be found a crucifix, one or more pictures of the Virgin Mary, and several pictures of the saints. Incense may be burned before these pictures as well as candles, and the Rosary may be recited as a daily ritual. And yet in more than ninety per cent of these homes the members rarely, if ever, attend Mass, make their confessions, contribute to the

Church, or fulfill any of the other precepts of Roman Catholic discipline.

The tragic result of this movement away from the institutional church has been the further divorce of religion from the rest of life.

Cosmological myths, supernatural forces, and mystery engender the religious response. The Latin American's hospitality to both imagination and intuition have nurtured and encouraged an almost secret religious experience. Gratification stemmed from involvement in a "world beyond," not from applying beliefs to the problems of everyday life. Paganry and varying amounts of superstition stimulated idiosyncratic theological interpretation and random forms of worship. Ritual passivity became the keynote. Action in this world was consequently defined as both unimportant and irrelevant for salvation. 26

Thus, the Christian religion is divested of all ethical imperative and is made subject to a rampant individualistic interpretation without control.

This unfortunate situation is perpetuated through the universal administration of baptism. There are no requirements to be fulfilled by parents or godparents aside from payment of the fee, unless it is to recite the Apostles' Creed to demonstrate one's understanding of the elements of Christian doctrine. It is rare to find a child that has not been baptized, and when this does occur it is usually because he has been ill or because his parents belong to a sect that does not permit infant baptism. (It is interesting to note, however, that environmental pressure has caused even the strictest of these groups to introduce some type of "infant dedication" as a substitute for baptism.) The general belief is that this sacrament "makes" you a Christian, saves you from hell, and brings you certain benefits. What these benefits are would be unknown.

Aside from being a traditional custom, there is an element in the popular belief regarding baptism that also motivates the widespread reception of the sacrament. That is its magical power. Fear of the "evil-eye" (mal de ojo) has been part of the folklore of the Spanish and their descendants since the days of the Moorish domination. It was brought to the New

World at the time of colonization and has been part of Latin belief since then. This "evil-eye" is a malevolent power believed to be exercised by certain unfortunate individuals, who may or may not know that they possess it, and whose gaze can cause the illness or death of an infant. Baptism is the only permanent protection against this peril. Belief in the "evil-eye" and its dangers is so general, that even in cultured families it is a practice to pin a specially blessed onyx bead (azabache) on the infant's clothing to safeguard him until he is baptized. And baptized he most surely will be!

Although religious ignorance and indifference are now being attacked by the Roman Catholic Church as shortcomings that must be corrected, there have been times when these deficiencies have been used in the campaign against the non-Roman mission. For example, in 1957, in an attempt to inhibit the door-to-door visitation by several Protestant bodies, representatives of Catholic Action groups prepared signs reading: "We are Catholics! In this house we will not permit the discussion of propaganda of any other religion!" These were nailed at the entrance of every house regardless of the profession of the person who lived there. Only faithful Protestants took them down. The result was a great clamor by the Roman Church against the proselytizing practices of these groups that invaded the privacy of "devout" Catholics, whose wish to be left undisturbed (as the sign clearly stated) had been ignored.

There is one further factor that presents a challenge to the non-Roman churches which is deeply rooted in the moral structure of Latin Society: masculinity that is opposed to moral limitations and discipline. "Machismo," which is the word commonly used to describe this phenomenon, is difficult to define. Although widely used in Latin America it is not

found in the dictionary and is subject to many interpretations. In essence, "machismo is an exaggeration of masculinity in which ostentatious vanity, bravado, and self-love border on narcissism." 27

The lack of moral restraint that so often characterizes the Latin male, both married and single, is directly related to machismo. Psychiatrists have considered this attitude as expressive of a deep feeling of insecurity created by the circumstances of life that surround the Latin and that have been part of his environment for centuries. The moral discipline that is demanded by the non-Roman bodies threatens to undermine the exercise of his male prerogatives and so the Latin man looks with suspicion upon these churches. He tends to dismiss them, along with all religion, as a matter for women. Interestingly enough, however, where men have been brought into the non-Roman bodies they have proven themselves to be quite diligent in personal evangelism.

INTIMIDATION

Of all the obstacles that face the non-Roman churches in their labors in the Dominican Republic, the most intangible and yet the most difficult to overcome, is the diversity of pressures brought to bear upon the individual who seeks to become a member. Becoming an Evangelical, a Pentecostal, an Episcopalian, etc., has the overtones of disloyalty to the fatherland, its traditions and its culture. The "foreignness" of many of these churches complicates the problem. For many Dominicans it appears better to be an indifferent and non-practicing Roman Catholic than a member of a non-Roman body.

It is probably that the threat of the loss of prestige has been responsible for the small success that these churches have had among the middle and upper classes. The underprivileged have received little or

nothing from the "fatherland" or from the Roman Church. They, therefore, do not fear the pressures that often color the decisions of their well-to-do countrymen. They have nothing to lose and much to gain through the fresh orientation they receive from their new loyalty as Episcopalians, Pentecostals or Evangelicals. For them the decision is uncomplicated.

More often than not, the hesitancy of many Dominicans is caused by a misguided sense of loyalty to the family. Even though convinced of the positive nature of the non-Roman position they never make a decision to accept it for themselves because of their sentimental attachment to the religion of their fathers. After one has described the doctrine and practice of a particular group, it is not unusual for a Dominican to say: "That is the religion that I've held all my life. But I was born a Catholic and I expect I'll die a Catholic." Thus it is that sentimentality keeps many from every experiencing the full significance of the Gospel and life in the fellowship of the Church.

CONCLUSION

Before the non-Roman churches can make a real impression on the Dominican people they must come to terms with the environment in which these people live. Presenting the Gospel is not enough. It must be translated into terms that stimulate the ignorant, challenge the indifferent, and overcome inherited prejudices. As Reinhold Niebuhr has written:

Let us not spend too much time in defending ourselves strategically against Catholicism. Let us seek for a spiritually vital, ecumenically united and socially relevant expression of our faith. Let us fill the vacuum of the Western world, rather than worry whether Catholicism might flow into this vacuum. 28

THE DOMINICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

SECTION I: THE HISTORY

THE FIRST MISSION

The beginnings of the work of the Episcopal Church in the Dominican Republic are similar to those of many of the Anglican Churches throughout the world. That is, it came about as a matter of need rather than as an answer to the challenge to evangelize. In the case of this island Republic it occurred as a result of the migration of large numbers of British West Indian laborers to this country in search of opportunities to work in the sugar and banana industries. The majority of these people were of Anglican background and many of them desirous for the ministrations of their Church.

The two main centers of British West Indian settlement were the northern coastal area around Monte Cristi and Puerto Plata and the southeast coast cities of San Pedro de Macoris and La Romana. The presence of a British Wesleyan mission in the north and a Moravian mission in the south eased the demand for other English-speaking churches to initiate work in the beginning. However, with the continued migration the pressure to establish an Anglican mission greatly increased until one of the educated and devoted British West Indians applied to the Right Rev. James T. Holly, Bishop of the Eglise Orthodoxe Apostolique Haitienne,* for ordination.

There are few details available relating to this man prior to his ordination. The first information is found in a report from Bishop Holly made on March 11, 1898. He says:

We reached home yesterday in returning from our visitation of the Church of the Holy Trinity, at San Pedro de Macoris ...

* The Orthodox Apostolic Haitian Church was established as an independent Church of the Anglican Communion by concordat with the Episcopal Church in the United States in 1874.

We consecrated the church at that place on Sunday morning, February 20th, and at Evening Prayer at seven o'clock the same day confirmed nine persons. On Sunday morning the 27th, we advanced the Rev. B. I. Wilson to the Priesthood and at a subsequent service held at 7 p.m. the same day, we instituted him rector. 1

It is apparent from further comments in the Bishop's letter that Wilson had succeeded in stirring up great interest for their church among the laborers. Not only had they raised the funds to purchase the lot and build their building, but had also added a vestry-room to the church in anticipation of the episcopal visit. The total cost of the project amounted to \$1,084; a considerable sum of money for those days in the Dominican Republic. The most interesting aspect of the report, however, has to do with the services of the Church. It states:

He [Wilson] is an indefatigable worker. He holds three services on Sunday. At 3 p.m. the Spanish service is held. 2

Father Wilson had caught the spirit of evangelism so necessary for the Church at work in a Spanish-speaking country. It is tragic that those who followed him did not have the depth of his insight.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CHAPLAINCY

The isolated mission of the Rev. Benjamin I. Wilson at San Pedro de Macoris was the only Episcopal work in the Republic until 1918. In that year an American missionary was sent to Santo Domingo in response to a request made by the Bishops of the Church of England in the West Indies. In 1913 they advised the Episcopal Church in the United States of the large numbers of Anglicans that had moved to that island from their own dioceses. The American House of Bishops appointed the Bishop of Puerto Rico to exercise jurisdiction over "such Christian people in Santo Domingo as may have asked or may hereafter ask for his pastoral oversight." 3

By the time the Reverend William Wyllie arrived, the American Military Occupation had been imposed for two years. The first months were extremely difficult for the missionary and his wife. "Not only was a North American an unwelcome curiosity, but there were not enough people understanding English to make it possible to secure a decent place to live and proper food to eat." ⁴ Under these conditions Father Wyllie succumbed to a temptation that was to create problems for the work of the Church for years to come. He turned to the military government to facilitate the establishment of his work among the foreigners in the city. The first chapel was set up in the fort and services were begun with one of the Marines as assistant. It is clear that the Bishop was in favor of this arrangement and satisfied with the direction the mission was taking when he wrote:

I think this the best activity for the beginning, since the government will give the tone to anything connected with it. The civilians will follow anything in which the officials are interested. This is his beginning. ⁵

From the outset the work became a chaplaincy to the growing American and English community and to the British West Indian Negroes in and around the city. Little concern was shown for the Dominican people in whose country the mission was being developed. Two years later Father Wyllie demonstrated that he had gained some genuine insights of the way in which the "natives" viewed the Episcopal Church, when he reported to his mission board:

Occasionally a Dominican looks in and worships with us - and when he does so he is all eyes and ears. There is something about our service that appeals to him, or at least arrests his attention and prompts him to ask questions. In our reply we avoid controversy; we state our case as briefly as possible and leave it there. Our lack of Church literature in Spanish is very great. A very brief statement of the doctrine and practice of the Church is needed ... The Dominican is by no means irreligious, but he is rather indifferent...At least in the Dominican Republic...the Church attracts attention, while Her praise and service calls for inquiry on the part of the observer,

and I am sure appeals to his heart and soul in no uncertain way. But for the present we do not attract him, because we worship in a private building. A Dominican must have a building, not rented, to worship in. Hence the need of acquiring property and owning something in the name of the Church. 6

It was very unfortunate for the Church, however, that even after a building was erected ten years later no attempt was made to reach out to the citizens of the country. Satisfaction with the small achievements that were made kept the mission from widening its horizons.

When the time seemed propitious for enlarging the work, the sugar plantations near the capital and toward the east were recognized to be the most likely centers to establish English language chapels. Father Wyllie's energies in contacting these British West Indians and organizing new congregations appear limitless. By the end of 1921 he had founded eighteen mission stations. In several places he appointed British West Indians who were sufficiently prepared to help carry on a lay ministry among their countrymen.

In 1920 a second missionary was added to the staff and placed in San Pedro de Macoris. The work in that city and in La Romana were turned over to him and Wyllie concentrated his efforts on the development of the missions in other areas. Two years earlier he had made the wise observation to the effect that:

At present writing it is impossible to forecast the future of the work. The work is here but traveling is slow, uncertain and expensive. I have visited a number of sugar plantations, but I am convinced that one must live on or very near to the scene of his labor to accomplish anything. 8

It is too bad that he did not accept the wisdom of his own experience. When the new man relieved him in the eastern section of the island he turned his restless gaze toward the north and its possibilities. Writing the

mission board in that same year, he stated:

I hope the day is not far distant when the new road from the capital to La Vega will be open for traffic. That will give us an opportunity to get into the heart of the island, where I have not yet had an opportunity to go owing to its inaccessibility.

In 1921 he made a visit to Puerto Plata, one of the communities of British West Indians on the northern coast, and appointed two men to work as Lay Readers. The parish register shows that he made occasional visits to that city in order to baptize and celebrate the Holy Communion, but it was not until 1928 that a priest was sent to live and work in Puerto Plata. That arrangement lasted for only seven years. Because of ill health the missionary was forced to give up his work, and the mission continued without a Vicar until 1952.

The pattern established by Father Wyllie was continued by the Reverend Archibald H. Beer when he began his labors in San Pedro de Macoris in 1920. Not only was little attempt made to incorporate the work already being done by the elderly priest who had been ministering in this area since 1896, but from the outset there was considerable disagreement between the two men. Unfortunately for the Church the Spanish work was ignored by Father Beer. And because of the greater resources at his disposal and his apparent authority, he drew many of the members away from Holy Trinity Church causing the parish to fail rapidly, and with it the rector. By 1936, a visitor from the mission board can only comment:

Mr. Wilson is an old man now, of uncertain age, but certainly past ninety. He lives in poverty and confusion in a little frame building that is both chapel and domicile. His most precious possession is a register of baptisms which he administered. We were shown the book, and, if memory serves correctly, the figure opposite the last entry was 1,081. 10

THE FOREIGN CHURCH PATTERN

Early relations with the military government and the foreign business men set a pattern for church development that was to last for over thirty years. At the outset the future of the Church was often measured in terms of the advantages being made available by the occupation authorities (i.e. roads, sanitation, etc.) and the initiation of American commerce. Apparently neither the Bishop nor the missionaries envisioned a situation in the near future when the government would be turned over to Dominicans and when the advantages of close relationships with the foreign officials would become hindrances for the development of the Church. Believing that the occupation would endure for a considerable period the Bishop commented:

There will undoubtedly be a great development in Santo Domingo as soon as the Government [of the United States] is able to turn its undivided attention to the affairs of this part of the world. 11

The attitude of Father Wyllie was similar and is reflected in a letter in which he writes:

The work that the American Occupation is accomplishing is marvelous, and like all good work and true it is not always appreciated by those whom it most benefits ... And what has the Church done as it follows the Flag? ... We are ministering to our own people - I mean by that, those who have been either baptized or confirmed in the Church of England - who must number nearly ten thousand. 12

And the future of the Church is pictured in the same terms:

The country is soon to be opened by business men, and it would never do to let business go there unaccompanied by the Church. The resources of the country in minerals and agriculture are enormous. Before very long it will be criss-crossed by railroads and divided up into plantations and mines. The Church must get there first and be waiting to receive the pioneers of business. 13

The pattern for development was so firmly established that as the Church moved out of the capital to other areas its strategy always depended on the answer to one question: Where are the foreigners? In the eastern

area "missionary" effort was expended in setting up a temporary chapel where services were held for the large number of Americans of the Occupation, and in visits to several American sugar plantations in the vicinity where British West Indians worked. Furthermore, future plans often depended on foreign business activity, as in the case of the decision to develop the work in La Romana because of its interest to an American sugar company.

The "foreign church" psychology was not only reflected in the people to whom the Church chose to minister, but also in the way in which it ministered. Aside from the Sunday observances, special services were held on days of importance for the Americans or British West Indians, such as the Fourth of July, Armistice Day or the King's Official Birthday, while the church remained closed on Dominican Independence Day. One celebration, the Harvest Festival held in November, seemed strangely incongruous because as a transplant from England via the West Indies it was out of rhythm with the actual time of harvest in the Dominican Republic. The feelings of the missionaries regarding the different ways of observing the Nativity is revealed in a letter written by Mrs. Wyllie to her friends:

In this Hispaniola of Columbus progress, both commercial and spiritual has been slow. Christmas is not kept as a holy day. Shops are open but you do not see any display of attractive Christmas things or Christmas bells ... Tres Reyes, the "Three Kings" or Epiphany, is kept as their season of exchanging gifts ... At our attractive rectory and church school, however, you find all abustle and alive with the real Christmas spirit. For weeks the children have been practicing Christmas carols and Christmas pieces. There is great excitement when the rector comes in with word that two real Christmas trees from the States have arrived ... Then like wildfire word goes around that there is to be a real Christmas. Every English-speaking child is invited. 14

The extent to which the foreignness of the missionaries could be carried was manifested after the departure of the Wyllies in 1933. At that time the Rev. A.H. Beer became the Archdeacon of the missionary district. Because

of his close identification with the British West Indians, he was offered the post of Vice-consul by the British government. He accepted the appointment and exercised that office as well as his ministry until he retired in 1953. As a result the Dominicans saw the Church as somehow related to the government of Great Britain and were left in confusion as to the actual nature of the Episcopal Church in their country.

PATERNALISM AND RACE CONSCIOUSNESS

It is apparent from the record of the early results of the work of the Rev. B. I. Wilson, that the desire to receive the ministrations of their Church was sufficient incentive for the British West Indians to offer their financial support. As American missionaries arrived, however, the comparative poverty of these laborers made them hesitant to emphasize the element of stewardship in church life and inspire their congregations to sacrifice in order that churches might be built. During the first fifteen years only two small chapels were built on sugar plantations, one of them being a gift of the American company and the other built through small gifts from the States.

Frequent appeals were made to the mission board for help. In 1920 Father Wyllie wrote:

As soon as we possibly can we must build something of a churchly structure ... Our own honor and self respect demand that we do so soon, for we must not appear to be exceedingly well off and exacting in worldly things, and miserly mean in things that relate to the House of God. 15

No mention is made, however, of any activity on the part of the British West Indians, although quite numerous, to help provide themselves with places of worship. The missionaries continually assumed that the only way in which buildings could be constructed was through the financial assist-

ance of the Church in the United States. Even as the economy of the country became more stabilized and conditions improved the attitude remained the same, and the appeals continued:

In a territory of 14,000 square miles there are only two Episcopal ministers and one paid lay reader to administer to more than thirty thousand English-speaking people; ... at San Pedro de Macoris ... La Romana ... Santo Domingo City ... [and] seventeen other missions, extending from Puerto Plata on the north of the Island to Boca Chica on the south. Yet in not one place - not even in the capital, Santo Domingo City - have we a church, only temporary chapels made from some room in a building. 16

Out of a desire to minister more effectively to the British West Indians in Santo Domingo, in 1918 Wyllie opened a small mission in an area near their homes. By 1924 the congregation had outgrown this mission just at a time when a number of events would be initiated that would seriously affect Episcopal work among the British West Indians for many years. A promising West Indian candidate for Holy Orders, who was acting as a Lay Reader, persuaded the missionary to move the mission to another larger building. The man was a very active member of a society that advocated greater freedom and rights for the Negro. Because of his emphasis on the race issue his following was immediate and the church was well attended. Wyllie was unhappy with the Lay Reader's independent attitude but apparently could not convince the Bishop to support him in any kind of disciplinary action. In 1928 the jurisdiction of the Dominican Republic passed from the Bishop of Puerto Rico to the Bishop of Haiti. The new Bishop was more sympathetic to the missionary's position. On his first visitation to the Republic he made a visit to St. George's Mission. A large congregation was present to greet him. All was quite in order until the end of the service when the Bishop announced, without warning, that the mission was officially closed. The result was disastrous. Although a few members remained loyal and began

to attend Father Wyllie's church in the lower part of town, many separated themselves completely. The Lay Reader and candidates for the ministry were, of course, among the latter group.

When a large sum of money was made available in 1929 it was destined for the construction of Epiphany Church in Santo Domingo. Although the Church owned property in a central location, pressure by the wealthy foreign colony caused the building to be constructed on a piece of land -

outside the old city, high upon the hill in the new residential section known as Gascue, ... the gift of ... an Englishman, who [had] lived for nearly twenty years in Santo Domingo. He felt the need of an adequate and dignified church in this ancient historic city where year by year more English-speaking people come to make this Island their home. 17

This property was next door to the American Embassy and virtually inaccessible to the British West Indians because of its isolation and the lack of public transportation. The West Indians were expected to continue attending the old church (in a renovated lemonade factory) at the centrally located property. The church was completed at a cost of \$30,000, but was never used for worship. Only a week before the time set for the consecration the island was struck by a violent hurricane that left the city of Santo Domingo in ruins, and with it Epiphany Church. (To this day many British West Indians believe that the destruction of the buildings was God's judgment on the separated congregations.) Fortunately, the building was one of the few in the city that was insured against the damage of hurricanes. By order of the Bishop the new structure was put up on the plot of ground that had housed the lemonade factory. When the building was completed the Negro congregation moved in with the white foreign congregation. The racial prejudices that had led to separate places of worship in the beginning were brought out into the open and were to be a stumbling block for

the parish for many years.

The attitude of the missionaries played a large part in the unhealthy situations that arose. A misguided paternalism on one hand and a feeling of national and racial superiority on the other was not only revealed in their inability to guide the members into responsible relationships with the Church, but also in the way in which they referred to those who were not part of the foreign colony. Such comments as "There are many grandchildren of the unfortunate slaves still living, and it is to them in particular that Mr. Wyllie is going to preach the Gospel,"¹⁹ and,

We have not yet touched the nature of the native workman, who from principle as well as by long-established practice, does nothing today that can be put off until tomorrow. We all suffer from the shiftless, lazy, unreliable nature of the average native.²⁰

Because they looked upon the non-whites of the congregations as little more than children, the missionaries sometimes resorted to "gimmicks" in dealing with some of the problems confronting them. Rather than facing the widespread practice of concubinage on the individual level, an enticement was devised to overcome the "appalling disregard of the sanctity of wedlock."

It has been found not impossible to touch the sensibilities of the natives by the expedient of cutting a street through the native quarter on one of the centrales, on one side of which humble, but presentable cabins are erected and set aside for couples living in lawful wedlock, while those who are living out of wedlock are banished to the other side. And the simple demonstration is bearing fruit in a constant increase of thatched homes on the right side of the street.²¹

It would be interesting to know just how durable such marriages remained once the novelty of the new house wore off.

The most serious result of these attitudes, however, was the almost total lack of vacations to the ministry for over thirty-five years. The one man who was finally ordained during that period did so notwithstanding very difficult circumstances. While engaged in secular occupations and serving as a Lay Reader in the northern city of Puerto Plata from 1923 to 1932, Thomas O. Basden initiated his studies for the Sacred Ministry. He then attended seminary for one year in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, in order to fulfill additional requirements, and was ordained to the Diaconate in March of 1934. He was assigned to serve as curate under A. H. Beer who had become Archdeacon shortly before.

Ordinarily the period of the Diaconate is from six months to a year in duration. Mr. Basden discovered, however, that his British West Indian origin and growing popularity among his own countrymen and Dominicans were obstacles in the way of receiving the necessary recommendation from the Archdeacon in order to be ordained to the Priesthood. Finally after six and a half years and as a result of the pressures created by the shortage of clergy the recommendation could no longer be withheld and the ordination took place in December of 1940. Unfortunately, the obstacles created by the missionaries kept others less courageous than Father Basden from ever getting near ordination to the ministry.

CONCENTRATION OF WORK AND THE OPENING OF SCHOOLS

When Father Wyllie and his wife departed in 1933, San Pedro de Macoris became the main center of work and the number of missions visited from the capital was drastically reduced. Clergy who served Epiphany

Church, Santo Domingo, from 1933 until 1953 limited their labors to that congregation composed largely of the transient foreign colony and a core of loyal British West Indians. There were also sporadic attempts during that period to begin some kind of work in Spanish, but too little effort was expended for it to be successful. A small day school that had been operated by the Wyllie's for American children and which met in the rectory for a number of years was closed with the termination of the Military Occupation.

In 1922, early in his ministry in San Pedro de Macoris, Father Beer began a work that was to be the only means of developing church leadership for more than three generations. In that year two small primary schools were begun for English-speaking children - negro and white. As in the capital, the end of the Occupation brought the closing of the school for white children, and the other was expanded as much as facilities would permit. By 1931 the reports stated that:

The school at San Pedro de Macoris has an enrollment of 125 children of Cominican and British citizenship ... Necessarily the work is carried on in English and Spanish.²²

Two small schools on the nearby Porvenir and Santa Fe sugar plantations had been opened by the Moravians when they began their mission. Financial difficulties made it necessary to give up this work, and both schools were turned over to the Episcopal Church around the time of the founding of St. Stephen's School in San Pedro de Macoris.²³ The school buildings also provided a place to hold services for the British West Indians who worked on these estates.

Tremendous impetus was given to the life of the Church and school in this area with the appointment of Father Basden to the staff. Completely fluent in Spanish, he began classes in religion in all the schools and initiated Spanish services at St. Stephen's Church and some of the chapels. During his nineteen years of work he "built up a Spanish congregation almost equal to the size of the English"²⁴ during its strongest years.

It is difficult to estimate what might have been the situation of the Episcopal Church if it had not been for the activity of St. Stephen's School. For a long period it was the only contact that the Church made with the sons and grandsons of the British West Indians who gradually became more "Dominicanized" and made less use of the English language and customs of their forebears. The leaders of the Church in the Dominican Republic today, including both Dominican priests, a deacon, one of the two men preparing for the ministry, the treasurers of the Diocese and of the convocation, and a principal and several teachers of diocesan schools, are all graduates of St. Stephen's.

The church and school in San Pedro de Macoria faced a critical moment,

In 1952, when Fr. Basden became a resident of Puerto Plata, Fr. Beer was unable to continue the Spanish work, having only a very small knowledge of the Spanish language, and soon most of the Spanish congregation began to drop away.²⁵

Fortunately, a younger and more active man succeeded Fr. Beer when he retired from his post a little over one year later, and much of the ground-work laid by Fr. Basden was salvaged. The Church has been able to build on this during the past ten years.

THE NON-RESIDENT EPISCOPATE

In 1913, when the national Church in Haiti was received as a missionary district of the American Episcopal Church, the Bishop of Puerto Rico was placed in charge of the development of the work in the island's two Republics as well as his own diocese. Only a year after the arrival of the first missionary from the United States to the Dominican Republic, the Bishop recognized the difficulty of administering the diocese from San Juan, and wrote to the mission board in 1918:

A few years from this things will very probably be much easier for my travels, but before that time I hope to be able to persuade our authorities of the necessity for a bishop for these two republics alone.²⁶

During those few years, however, the arrangement remained the same while the demands on the Bishop constantly increased as the work in his own diocese grew much more rapidly than that in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Poor communication between the islands made adequate episcopal oversight impossible. Furthermore, once in Santo Domingo it was necessary to rely on slow and dangerous travel in sailboats in order to visit the missions in San Pedro de Madoris and La Romana, limiting the possibility of adequate supervision in those areas.²⁷

A first step in the bishop's expressed wish to see a "bishop for these two republics alone" occurred with the election of a bishop for Haiti in 1923. Five more years were to pass before the transfer of authority was complete. When the move was finally made-

it was explained that it was occasioned by the improved means of communication between the two republics which had followed the building of an automobile road between Port-au-Prince and Santo Domingo City.²⁸

But as the Bishop of Haiti commented, "There is considerable prophecy in this 'automobile road' and - well, one needs to be of a sanguine disposition."²⁹

The ineffectiveness of the new arrangement became apparent in a very few years. With the destruction of Epiphany Church by the hurricane of 1930, the Bishop not only ordered that the new building be constructed on the more centrally located plate, but "also stipulated that the same architect not be used who had faultily constructed the [first] stone edifice." For some unexplained reason the same architect was employed and at the conclusion of the work \$14,000 of the funds were unaccounted for.³⁰ There is no record that the Bishop took further action.

In 1938 another event further demonstrated the unfortunate nature of this unwieldy jurisdiction. The year before, Trujillo had ordered the massacre of the thousands of Haitians who were working on the Dominican side of the frontier. It is clear that Trujillo relied on the long-standing enmity between the Dominican Republic and Haiti in order to carry it out, and by means of a massive propaganda program to blunt the initial sense of outrage. Confounded by the lack of action on the part of other nations or international bodies,

in 1938 an American Episcopalian missionary, the Rev. Charles Raymond Barnes, tried to smuggle letters out of the country describing the Haitian massacre. He was murdered in his home. To placate American opinion, Trujillo arrested the Rev. Barne's houseboy, who allegedly claimed the clergyman made homosexual advances to him. The boy was sent to prison for manslaughter and never seen again.³¹

The Bishop flew over immediately from Haiti. Informed of the actual circumstances, he weighed the value of making some kind of denunciation

against the possibility of being refused entry to the Dominican Republic in the future. Tragically, he decided to remain silent and in the Parish Record Book under "cause of death" entered the cryptic phrase: "At the hands of a degenerate." 32

Through succeeding years the need to cross the Haitian-Dominican border continued to interfere with adequate pastoral oversight given by the Bishop. Political disturbances on either side often made travel impossible. As recently as 1957, Haitian problems caused the scheduling and re-scheduling of dates over a period of three months for the confirmation of several classes totaling almost a hundred candidates. Building projects were held up for weeks at a time while problems were worked out between the Vicar and the Bishop through the painfully slow and uncertain process of exchanging letters. Censorship of the mail on both sides made it impossible to discuss certain matters that might be misinterpreted by the governments or to mention confidential subjects that would be at the mercy of indiscreet censors. The brief visits of the Bishop provided little time to develop an overall plan for the Church's development, and mission strategy was a congregational rather than a diocesan concern. The result of this situation was a marked feeling among the clergy and laity that the Church in the Dominican Republic was a stepchild of the diocese of Haiti and not an entity in its own right. This attitude continued to retard the work of the Church until 1960, when a Bishop was finally consecrated for the Dominican Republic.

THE TURNING POINT: SPANISH LANGUAGE MISSIONS

In a very real sense, the year 1952 marks a turning point in the life of the Dominican Episcopal Church when a movement from a chaplaincy to a missionary Church began. In that year the ~~Rev~~ T. O. Basden was transferred to Puerto Plata to begin a Spanish-language work in that city, and the Rev. Philip E. Wheaton was assigned as Vicar of Epiphany Church in Santo Domingo. The desire of both these men to develop a truly indigenous Church gave a new direction to the work carried on in their two localities. With the retirement of the Archdeacon in 1953 and his replacement by a younger man who was also interested in evangelism, continuation of this new approach was assured.

When Father Basden arrived in Puerto Plata in 1952 he discovered that:

Due to the absence of a resident, the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the part-hired lay readers, with the work being done entirely in English, plus the use of rented storerooms for services ... the work [had] dwindled almost into obliteration. 33

Rather than attempting to salvage the old foundation he launched into an entirely new Spanish language program. His efforts were concentrated on bringing young people into the Church and the weight of organizational activities were aimed in that direction. Several chapels were located in the poorest sections of Puerto Plata and at a nearby sugar plantation, and several lay readers were appointed to help conduct services at the main church and the stations. The missionary spirit of Father Basden bore fruit in the number of young people of Dominican background who became members of the congregations.

Shortly after his arrival in the Republic, Father Wheaton reinstated a Spanish service at the Epiphany Church on Sunday mornings; something that had been attempted sporadically by his predecessors. As the church of a small minority group, however, Epiphany could not hope to appeal to the wealthy and influential Dominicans in whose residential area the church was

located. Furthermore, and a factor of great importance, it is extremely difficult "to minister to and serve a people of high education and good Spanish, under the direction of a foreign missionary." ³⁴ Because of the poor response by the Dominicans of the area, a small mission was opened in a rented building in the poorer section of the city. At first attended by British West Indians who lived nearby, the mission gradually increased in its appeal to their Spanish-speaking descendants and Dominican acquaintances. Eventually the Spanish services were dropped at Epiphany and concentrated at the new St. Andrew's Mission.

In San Pedro de Macoris greater emphasis was given to the Spanish-language ministry after the departure of the last of the "old-school" missionaries. Of great importance was the initiation of theological studies by a young man from the congregation, Telesforo Isaac, who in 1958 became the first Dominican to be ordained to the priesthood of the Episcopal Church. Assigned to the Macoris area after his ordination, Father Isaac demonstrated the great advantage held by a national in the exercise of the ministry. In a comparatively short time he attracted considerable numbers of Dominicans to St. Stephen's Church where they soon became members of the congregation, he moved a traditionally English congregation at a nearby sugar plantation to the use of Spanish and thereby opened the doors to Dominican young people, and redirected much of the other work to appeal to nationals. In 1961 Father Isaac was transferred to San Francisco de Macoris to take charge of a preaching station that was begun by Father Basden. In spite of considerable hostility by the Roman Catholic Church he was able to set a firm foundation for developing a congregation and a primary school, both of which have prospered in spite of the adverse conditions.

The move from English to Spanish usage has not always been easy, as

this writer has experienced. Until 1958 the mission in La Romana was under the care of the clergy residing in San Pedro de Macoris. In that year, however, a new church was dedicated and the Bishop arranged for the Vicar to reside in that city. It was my privilege to occupy that post. Services had been taken by a British West Indian lay reader during the more than thirty-eight years of the mission's history, and always in English. As a result, the first attempts to hold Spanish services met with considerable opposition from the West Indians who considered the Episcopal Church to be "English" and not of concern to Dominicans. The shift, however, was gradual and steady, accomplished through an increasing emphasis on Spanish in organizational activities. When a day school was opened and many of the students were attracted to the Church, it became obvious to even the most stubborn of the British West Indians that the future of the Church depended on the young people who were filling the pews in growing numbers. By 1961 all but one of the services were held in Spanish.

It is indeed unfortunate that the move away from the English-speaking foreign church pattern occurred so late in the history of the Episcopal Church in the Dominican Republic. At the present crucial moment in the nation's history the Church suffers from lack of sufficient Dominican leadership and uncertainty whether it has time to overcome the deficiency.

THE YOUNG CHURCH: SCHOOLS AND YOUTH WORK

Recognizing the importance of a well-educated laity in the life of the Church, considerable emphasis has been placed upon the establishment of church-related schools in areas that offered such an opportunity. As has been mentioned, schools were already at work around San Pedro de Macoris early in the life of the mission there. St. Stephen's school had

been the chief source of church leadership throughout the years. Two primary schools, St. Mark's and Holy Cross, on nearby sugar plantations provided education for a large number of the school age children of company employees. Until 1954 these were the only attempts in the field of education. In that year a four grade school was begun on the Haina sugar plantation near the capital in a section badly in need of educational facilities. Inspired by the efforts of the Vicar, Father Wheaton, the local people provided much of the manual labor necessary to construct a building to house the school. During succeeding years Father Wheaton increased the school facilities until it reached the eighth grade in 1959.

By 1958 it was generally accepted that the field of education was the principal one in which the Church could make a contribution to the Dominican people. As a result, funds were made available in that year for the opening of several schools at missions in other parts of the Republic. In subsequent years these institutions have developed at an amazing rate so that at the end of 1963 the enrollment in the twelve schools throughout the country had risen to 1,700 pupils. In San Pedro de Macoris a high school was developed under the direction of the Rev. James H. Douglass and a night branch of the same school was established by the Rev. Edmond Desueza. These schools have helped answer a great need not only in the community, but in providing secondary education for young people of the church.

The movement for the preparation of a young leadership through the establishment and development of a school system has been paralleled by greater stress on youth activities in almost every mission. The key event through the years has been a youth conference held each summer at one of the missions. The conference has given great stimulation to the various youth groups. Unfortunately, there has been little effort to actually organize the youth movement on a national scale or to seek expert help in the prepara-

tion of a program. As a result the groups have had varying success and stability. They range from strictly social gatherings in one mission to Bible study classes in another, and fluctuate considerably in their numbers throughout the year.

The youthfulness of the Dominican Church is to be seen in the considerable participation of the young people in other activities aside from their specially appointed organizations. The choirs, Sunday School staffs, helpers of various kinds such as acolytes and Altar Guild members, teachers in day schools, etc., are quite youthful compared to their counterparts in other churches. While this tends to give a spirit of vigor to almost all of the church's undertakings, it also threatens instability. This has been especially felt in the parish councils and in the diocesan annual Convocation where the inexperience of the delegates is quite noticeable. As the Bishop has written:

... Like the Church in Corinth in the 50's, we have "not many wise according to worldly standards, not many powerful, not many of noble birth." ... We have folks who love their church, but don't know too much about the Episcopal Church beyond their own parish church. Generally speaking this ignorance is matched by a limited understanding of business affairs and parliamentary practices. ... Thus the Convocation is as much "school" as a business-transacting body. At our present stage of development its range of competence is limited ... 35

One of the greatest handicaps in the development of work among the younger generation has been the dearth of literature in Spanish available to the church. In many of the missions there is considerable improvisation of Sunday School materials and most of the clergy have tried their hand at the preparation of pamphlets of an evangelistic or apologetic nature. It is hoped that the establishment of a Center of Publications in Spanish in Costa Rica will help meet the need felt by the churches for the very important printed word.

SECTION II: THE PROBLEMS

The Episcopal Church, like every other religious body that enters a mission field, has faced a dangerous temptation to duplicate the institutional life that it has experienced in the "mother-country." Many of the errors that are made in policy, strategy and action come about as a result of this temptation. The Roman Catholic Church, with centuries of experience, often commits the same mistake when foreign missionaries are responsible for its work. Several of the problems that will be considered in this section are related, directly or indirectly, to this tendency. It is to be hoped that many of these weaknesses will be diminished as the direction of the Church is assumed by Dominicans.

THE "FOREIGN CHURCH" IMAGE

There is no more difficult obstacle for the Episcopal Church in the Dominican Republic to overcome than its reputations as a church for foreigners. In almost every area where the Church now has work its labors were originally initiated in order to minister to British West Indians. As a result, the communities in which these congregations are to be found have not come to feel the Church is open to them. The West Indians have not helped the situation. They have inclined to isolate themselves from their Dominican neighbors, refuse to learn Spanish, cling to British West Indian customs, and use the Church as a symbol of their English heritage.

The persistence of this situation has come about for a number of reasons. As the historical survey has pointed out, early missionaries established the foundation of their work on a ministry to white foreigners and British West Indians. This was a stated policy and it was difficult to alter the pattern without considerable opposition from those who had

received the complete attention of the Church in the past. Even after Spanish was introduced into services they were largely attended by the children of the British West Indians who preferred to speak the language of the country, and Dominicans still did not feel welcome.

During the years the mission board of the Episcopal Church continued to visualize the work in the Dominican Republic as a chaplaincy operation. Even though it was recognized that some services were held in Spanish and that all the schools were conducted in that language, only the last two missionaries who were appointed received special training in Spanish before going to the field. The adjustment for the missionary has been extremely difficult. It was only natural to turn to English speaking members for guidance during the early months, put off the recommended Spanish lessons, learn of the Dominicans from the West Indians of the congregation, and often become identified as one more foreigner.

The clergy who are presently at work in the field, both Dominican and foreigners, are cognizant of this problem. The recent trend has been to emphasize the Spanish-language ministry in new activities that have been introduced and to increase the number of services offered in that language. Almost all, however, have inherited a large number of British West Indians as members of their congregations and have continued English services for them. While this has been felt to be a "matter of conscience" in serving the people to whom the Church originally began its ministry, the persistent use of English continues to emphasize the foreignness of the Episcopal Church for the Dominican. In the present Dominican scene there is an added factor of great importance. The use of two languages naturally tends to divide the Church into two separate congregations. In the face of the new spirit of nationalism, such a division is as serious for the Dominican as

separation along racial lines in the United States is for the Negro.

LACK OF VOCATIONS

One of the direct results of the foreign image that the Church has had in the Republic is the lack of national clergy after almost fifty years of work. Very little emphasis was placed on the development of vocations during the early years of the Church's labors. The few men who did manifest an interest in the ministry in the first two decades were all British West Indians who were serving as Lay Readers and were interested in going on in their ministry to their people. It is unfortunate that they were not supported in their interests but were confronted with so many obstacles that only one had the patience and diligence to go on to ordination.

The three Dominicans who now serve their Church are all of British West Indian descent, as is one of the seminarians. And yet all of them have expressed considerable criticism of the accentuation of English that for so long characterized the Church's work, and its tardiness in turning to minister to Dominicans. Their own tendency, therefore, has been to relate themselves very closely to the interests of the Dominicans of their communities in demonstration of the fact that the Church identifies itself with them and their concerns. The heroic action of these young men during the most difficult period of adjustment following Trujillo's assassination earned them the gratitude of their fellow citizens, and went far in helping them accomplish their purposes unselfconsciously.

A new factor that must be taken into consideration by the Church if the ministry is to attract young men of quality is the rising standard of living in the Dominican Republic. Only a few years ago the salary paid to

the national clergy placed them in an upper middle class category in their communities. The salary differential between them and the foreign missionaries was not an element of concern. With the great gains made by labor and the general increase in salaries the national clergy now receive a remuneration comparable to that of a laborer or an office worker. As one has stated: If we are expected to be leaders in our community and minister to every class then we must also get involved in activities that create expenses that we cannot now afford. Another has said: It is not difficult to imagine that a young man who can prepare in an equal amount of time for another profession and be assured of security for his family, may choose that rather than the ministry even though he has a strong feeling of vocation.

Although the remunerations of the ministry cannot be measured solely in terms of material benefits the financial factor has to be taken into account. It is necessary for the Church to do at least as much for its clergy as the employers do for their workers. A social security plan, health insurance, and other benefits that would provide greater security need to be considered as additions to clergy salary in order to reduce the differential that exists between them and the foreign missionaries, not to mention other professionals in their communities. Although no conflict has existed on this point to the present, it is possible that it could greatly affect the decisions of prospective candidates for the ministry in the future.

Before such vocations will appear, however, much greater effort must be made on both the parish and diocesan levels to stimulate them. Preaching and teaching about the Sacred Ministry, conferences for young men of high school age and younger, greater stress on their participation in diverse activities in their missions, are necessary before there will be

an increase of vocations. In recent years a number of boys and young men have expressed their interest in studying for the ministry. Apart from the support offered them by the Vicars of their respective missions, little has been done by the Bishop and other clergy to give them encouragement. If the Dominican Episcopal Church is truly concerned for its future, steps must be taken now to plan for the development of a national clergy.

POOR STEWARDSHIP AND PATERNALISM

The Episcopal Church in the United States provides almost one hundred thousand dollars per year to help support the work in the Dominican Republic. In comparison, the missions raised locally about sixteen thousand dollars during 1963. While this represents three thousand dollars more than in 1961, almost all of this increase can be accounted for through improved giving at Epiphany Church, the foreign colony congregation in Santo Domingo. Why is it that the other missions did not better their offerings considerably in the two years when the general rise in salaries was so great? What can account for the low proportion of local support?

The members of the Episcopal Church in the Dominican Republic have inherited poor concepts of stewardship from two sources. The British West Indians have brought with them the experience of the English islands where the Church expected very little from its members. Clergy were entirely supported by the government or missionary society. Church programs were often paid for through endowments. When these people moved to the Dominican Republic their idea of church support was reinforced. The first missionaries of the Episcopal Church were led by their paternalistic attitude to believe that the British West Indians could do little for their Church and so they asked for nothing.

The second source of poor stewardship comes, of course, through the Dominican. For him "The Church" is a rich institution, whatever church it might be. His own experience has arisen through observation. The Roman Church has built and supported its work for generations without the help of the laity. The government has generously provided for its necessities. What possible use could it have for his small offering?

In a sense, therefore, many persons have been part of the Church without understanding what this means. They have never gained any appreciation of the fact that they are the Church and that they must grow constantly in their acceptance of responsibility for its life and activity. What the congregation has received in the past has come largely from unknown persons and places in the United States, and little has been expected in response.

This type of paternalism is a dangerous tendency of every missionary church. This is especially true, however, when the Bishop and majority of the clergy are foreigners and when projects have been initiated that depend upon an overwhelming proportion of support to be provided by sources outside the national church. The Dominican Episcopal Church is affected on both counts. Some of the most serious problems that it must deal with at present have come about as the result of this misguided paternalism. They have been cultivated over the years and like bad habits will be hard to break.

Rules have been established by the "mother-Church" that make it difficult for the Vicar of a mission, be he Dominican or a foreigner, to escape the problems. In recent years there have been several large churches built in the Republic. Funds were provided by the National Council of the Episcopal Church and the Episcopal Churchwomen in the United States. The

need for such help was apparent since the congregations were in no condition to do the amount of building that had to be done. The great misfortune, however, was that they were not expected to accept much responsibility of any kind. Funds were given and the project was required to be completed within the limits of the grant. Of course the congregations did respond and contribute to the adornment of their new churches, but this was optional and controlled. No debts could be incurred by the missions even at this time when the construction of the new church would inspire them to accept greater responsibility in matters of stewardship.

The final factor that has contributed to the continued problem of the Church in this area has been the comparative youth of its members. In most cases the congregations are made up of a group of quite elderly British West Indians and a large number of young people who are not yet established in work. The potential for future support is quite good. But it is necessary that good stewardship be emphasized in every area of the Church's activities and that the misguided paternalism of the past be avoided. The best way for these young people to come to feel that the Church is theirs is to be responsible for a portion of its material welfare.

INSTITUTIONALISM

The primary objective of a missionary religion is to attract new members and to sustain their commitments to new religious beliefs and rituals. Success in this endeavor depends on many factors, not the least being the capacity of the mission to capture and direct the latent religious needs of the host population. On occasion, a missionary religion possesses sufficient "spirit" to actually create religious needs. But manufactured revivals do not abound in strong, indigenous religious communities. History abounds in bare-faced failures of missionary groups which attempted to tap these religious currents. 36

The Episcopal Church would be identifiable to anyone who observed it at work. Services, organizations, programs, almost all activities have an atmosphere about them that makes their inspiration apparent. These are things Anglican. But just how much the Church has been able to reach down and discover the "religious currents" of the community and become relevant to them is a difficult question to answer.

The question has been rarely asked. It is assumed that there will be a group of Episcopal Churchwomen, a Girl's Friendly Society, a Young People's Fellowship, a Brotherhood of St. Andrew, etc., etc., because this is the pattern that has been established in the States. These groups are developed and then fade, but the fact that their decline might be caused by their inappropriateness to the environment is not often taken into consideration. The same attempts are made over and over with little success.

It is possible that the Dominican Episcopal Church must sacrifice much of its institutional life. It may have to observe with greater attention the achievements of those groups that are far more indigenous (the Roman Catholic, Pentecostal and Evangelical Churches) in order to discover the reasons for their apparent successes in particular aspects of their work. And it must be willing to experiment in areas that seem quite foreign to the modus vivendi of the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

CONCLUSION

The question of Anglicanism's fit in the South American culture may be posed as follows: are the English capacities to participate in subtle democracy, to compromise, to embrace empiricism, to provoke a humorous self-image, to handle things on one's own and to hold the old and new in balance congruent with the typical South American tendencies to tolerate heavy-handed leaders, to view ideas as solutions in themselves, to stand one's ground and defend it with honor - right or wrong, to glory in myth and non-empirical

principles, to let things take care of themselves, and to tolerate no middle ground, either rejecting completely the old or standing completely aloof from the new? 37

The question is a difficult one. The Episcopal Church in the Dominican Republic must ask it of itself. And if the answer is in the negative, as it most likely shall be, it must be ready to either adjust itself to the environment in which it has chosen to work, or resign itself to a mediocre existence maintaining the status quo of already established patterns.

THE DOMINICAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH

SECTION I: THE HISTORY

BEGINNINGS

It is difficult to place a date on the actual beginning of the work of the Dominican Evangelical Church. The Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo, its founding agency, was organized in 1920, but the Church has succeeded in uniting to itself several religious bodies that predate this committee by many years. In a sense it might be pushed back almost a century earlier.

In 1824, when the whole territory belonged to Haiti, her president ... invited North American Negroes, freed-men, to settle along the north coast, and several hundred colonizers accepted the invitation. They soon appealed to their homeland to send them pastors, but this the churches failed to do. Finally their plea was answered by the Wesleyan Methodist Church of England, and the first church was organized in Puerto Plata in 1834. ¹

In 1934, the Superintendent of the Dominican Evangelical Church announced to the General Assembly: "We are able to inform you that the arrangements for us to take charge of the Wesleyan Church in Puerto Plata have had good results, and that that Church now is part of our organization." ²

Perhaps it may be said to date from the turn of the century when work was initiated by the Moravian Church. The efforts of that group were limited to two small congregations in the southeast corner of the Republic. They became part of the Evangelical Church in 1960.

The most immediate forerunner of the Evangelical work was a small missionary effort begun by the church of Puerto Rico. ³ In 1911, the Inter-denominational Union of Puerto Rico requested that two representatives visit Santo Domingo in order to estimate the possibilities for future work there. As a result of their impressions, subsequent visits by colporteurs

of the American Bible Society, and minimal work by Puerto Rican evangelists, a definite step was taken in 1916 for the organization of missionary activity by the Evangelical Union of Puerto Rico. A budget was prepared and support promised by the Presbyterian Board of Missions in the United States.

In 1919 the decisive event took place that was to lead to the establishment of the first interdenominational mission venture in the world. Dr. Samuel G. Inman, executive secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America visited the Dominican Republic in order to see what might be done. His recommendations, published shortly after his return, included an important observation that had been made by one of the representatives of the Evangelical Union of Puerto Rico. It stated:

A report was issued in 1915 concerning the occupancy of Santo Domingo by Evangelical missions by the Rev. Philo W. Drury: 'There are a number of reasons that make immediate occupancy of the Dominican Republic especially urgent. A new era of political stability and material progress seems to have been inaugurated. Along with the material progress there is an honest effort being made to advance the educational interests of the country. These facts suggest the urgency of introducing the Gospel at this time, and getting into the current of improvement and progress, and thus grow up with the country. Effort made now will undoubtedly give larger returns than at any future time....It is in harmony with the facts to state that in the work being done Protestant Christianity is not being fairly represented before the Dominican people ... What is being done is one of the strongest arguments in favor of doing something more.' .. 4.

A meeting arranged the next year included representatives of the Methodist, United Brethren, and Presbyterian Churches. The Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo was brought into being.

Mr. Inman's report, presented to his Committee ... surveyed the island from the viewpoint of the people's needs, physical, mental and spiritual ... The challenge was so direct, the appeal so impelling, that from the interdenominational group which heard the report of Mr. Inman, five Missionary Boards, representing three denominations, made instant answer. 5

The stated purpose of the Board was "to unite [the participating churches] in rendering Christian service by means of evangelistic, educational,

social and medical work to the people of Santo Domingo and adjoining territory." ⁶ No attempt was made to define the purpose beyond that, and it was the hope of the organizers that questions of theology and discipline would be worked out within the life of the Church. Furthermore, it was the desire of the Board that "those who join the Church in the Dominican Republic join not a denominational unit, but the Dominican Evangelical Church." ⁷

INITIATION OF THE MISSION

Although a budget of eighty thousand dollars was made available for the first year's work, and an additional sum of fifty thousand dollars was provided for the purchase of a piece of property in Santo Domingo, the Board was unable to find a suitable person to direct the work. Dr. Drury was requested to carry on for at least six months until a superintendent was named. Fortunately for the mission, Dr. Nathan Huffman, a missionary of the Evangelical United Brethren in Puerto Rico, accompanied Drury on one of his trips to Santo Domingo. His interest in becoming a resident missionary there earned him nomination as the first Superintendent of the Dominican Evangelical Church.

Within a short time Dr. Huffman had purchased the piece of property in the capital, found a Puerto Rican pastor to take charge of it, set up two more missions in San Pedro de Macoris and La Romana - again with the help of Puerto Rican volunteers. The Latin flavor that these pastors brought to their churches went far in setting the foundations of the Evangelical Church deep in Dominican soil. The superintendent wisely avoided too much fraternization with the American Military Government. Dr. Odell points out:

During the occupation of the Marines, while the economic situation was stabilized and foreign markets were developed

it must not be inferred that the presence of the military was in any way responsible for the Board for Christian Work, or that the zeal in Puerto Rico for the extension of Christian service was influenced by their presence. On the positive side, the occupation did three things: (1) facilitated travel, (2) stimulated interest in health and education, (3) gave the needed courage to leaders in the Republic who welcomed the missionaries and their message. These positive aspects were used in a constructive way by the Board to further the work of Christ.

On the negative side, there were aspects of the occupation that were not so beneficial. There were those who, because of religious prejudice or for political reasons, did not welcome the missionaries. These influenced the populace by saying that the representatives of the Protestant Church had some official connection with the military occupation ... 8

The inactivity of the Roman Catholic Church at the time had left a partial spiritual vacuum that Dr. Huffman's work was meant to fill. The response was greater than he had even expected. In less than two years of work he was able to write:

It is always a source of strength when the natives begin to take part in the work. In this respect our hopes and prayers have been more than realized. A number of splendid young men have indicated a desire to dedicate themselves to the work ... These together with one student in the Polytechnic Institute at San German make six students who are in school preparing for the ministry. 9

In one area, however, Dr. Huffman was not totally satisfied with progress. In their anxiety to avoid raising issues that might jeopardize their cooperative labor, the member denominations of the Board for Christian Work had spelled out very little as far as the elucidation of methods and goals for the work in Santo Domingo. As a result, at the Second General Assembly of the Evangelical Church held in 1924, he complained:

Even though it has been three years since we came to work in the Republic, we feel that we are still just beginning. The purposes of the Board as regards certain parts of the program still need to be defined. It is to be hoped that the experience of these three years will help us formulate programs and adopt methods which will result in that which we desire, that is to say, the establishment of an ample and solid base for a work that will benefit the social and spiritual life of the whole Dominican people. 10

THE MEDICAL MISSION

One area in which a definite decision had been made as to the goals of the work in Santo Domingo was in the establishment of a medical mission. The earliest visits of the missionaries from Puerto Rico in 1911 had verified the tremendous lack of health facilities in the country. Even before Dr. Drury had turned the work over to the first Superintendent, he had repeated the appeal for some sort of clinic to be opened under the direction of the Evangelical Church. As a result, in 1921 a Dr. Horace Taylor from the Presbyterian Hospital in Puerto Rico moved to Santo Domingo to begin the venture.

The doctor was appalled by the conditions he encountered in the capital. He urgently requested the Board that funds be made available for a small hospital to be opened. The generosity of the Board in purchasing the property in Santo Domingo and providing a substantial budget for the first year had reduced the available funds to too great a degree and the request was refused. Once again the Evangelical Church in Puerto Rico demonstrated its missionary zeal by providing several thousand dollars for the purchase of the equipment of a small clinic from some American doctors who had operated it during the Occupation, and it was housed in a rented building. Shortly thereafter, two nurses were sent by the Board to aid the doctor.

From the outset, the hospital filled a great need. The confined quarters in which it was begun were soon outgrown and the hospital was moved to a large house near the waterfront. Two aspects of the program became so active, pre-natal and child care, that one of the nurses was assigned to this work almost full time. A third nurse was requested and appointed. A natural development of the presence of three graduate nurses in a country that could boast no others, was the initiation of a small

training program for Dominican girls who were interested in nursing.

Thus the medical mission began to take on many facets to its work.

Quite satisfied with this aspect of its labors, the Board appropriated \$10,000 in 1924, for the purchase of property upon which a substantial hospital could be constructed that would be better suited for this type of work than the rented building. Dr. Huffman, however, did not see this phase of his program completed. In 1929, before the new building was begun, he retired from active service and was replaced by the Rev. Barney Morgan, dean of the Polytechnic Institute in Puerto Rico.

If Dr. Morgan had had any doubts about the necessity of the medical mission, they were certainly alleviated as the result of a tragedy that struck Santo Domingo on September 3, 1930, shortly after he took up residence. The worst hurricane in its history passed across the island leaving undamaged only four hundred of its ten thousand buildings. Three thousand dead lay buried in the ruins and ten thousand injured were left in need of emergency care.

The American Red Cross and the United States Ambassador asked the Board's Dr. Morgan to serve as treasurer in charge of all relief funds; and Mr. Echevarria, the manager of the mission's bookstore was put in charge of all supplies. The Board in New York obtained funds for the relief of the suffering within the parishes. 11

The facilities of the Evangelical hospital and the energies of its doctors and nurses were taxed to their limits. The role played by the Evangelical forces in ministering to Dominicans in the midst of such a catastrophe assured a warm and sympathetic reception for their medical program thereafter.

The participating denominations in the United States initiated an immediate campaign to raise emergency funds for the rebuilding of the properties of the Church. Response was so good that the Board was able to

rebuild its principal church with greater facilities than before, build a new chapel in another section, provide a number of houses in a residential section that was hardest hit, and complete the construction of a fine three story hospital.

Dedicated on February 16, 1932, the International Hospital was to serve for twenty-five years as an outstanding example of Christian service. It organized a training school for nurses that prepared nearly one hundred and fifty young women in the profession many of whom now work in government and private hospitals. By 1936 Dr. Morgan reported to the General Assembly:

I want you to notice that our hospital staff is almost totally nationalized now, a fact that clearly proves our desire to help at every moment in the formation of a well prepared group of Dominicans who can serve in the fields of medicine and nursing. 12

In 1941, "the clinic patients numbered over seventeen thousand and the bed patients over eighteen hundred." 13

The Dominican Evangelical Church has never lost sight of the emphasis on medical mission as part of its program.

As the Government health program improved, the Board felt that its hospital and nurses' school was not needed as much as medical and health services in other needy areas. The hospital closed and the church transferred its works to clinics in Barahona, and in Villa Duarte and Villa Consuela, two crowded sections of Ciudad Trujillo. 14

The main emphasis of these clinics was placed on pre-natal and baby care, and their number grew to eight by the year 1963. In his report to the Board, the Field Secretary listed the services of two paid and nine volunteer doctors, one full time and eleven volunteer nurses, and thirty-six additional volunteer workers. A praiseworthy total of over nineteen thousand patients were treated in 1963. 15

EVANGELISM

Evangelization of the Dominican was a stated purpose of the work of the Dominican Evangelical Church since the days of its inception. Again it was Dr. Drury and Dr. Huffman who assured that attention be given to this aspect of the Church's life. The record tells us that "Dr. Drury began a Sunday School and held evangelistic services. Immediate interest was shown by the people and it became apparent that the way was open for a sympathetic nearing."¹⁶ Under the direction of Dr. Huffman considerable emphasis was placed on the development of a strong local congregation and the foundations of self-support. During the first few years no attempt was made to expand the work in order to establish new congregations. By 1924, however, it could be reported that:

There are now four well organized churches...These churches have well organized Sunday Schools, young people's societies, boys' and girls' clubs, women's organizations, etc., with large classes of converts who are training for church membership. The number of communicant members is now about five hundred, with nearly six hundred enrolled in the Sunday School.¹⁷

Shortly afterwards the founding congregations began their own work of evangelism. Laymen accompanied their pastors to neighboring communities where sermons were preached and contacts made. A congregation in San Pedro de Macoris was especially active in this regard, and in 1926 was able to report to the General Assembly that it had succeeded in beginning and supporting a work in another city without the financial help of the Board.¹⁸ By the time of Dr. Huffman's retirement the Evangelical Church numbered almost one thousand members.

The period of Dr. Morgan's supervision of the work and that of his successor, the Rev. Richard Johnson who served from 1949 to 1955, are marked by a notable decrease in evangelistic fervor as compared to the first eight

years of the church's history. A great deal of attention was given to the development of the hospital by Dr. Morgan during his first years and the result was felt in a general letdown in other activities. In an attempt to overcome this it was suggested to the General Assembly of 1934:

To authorize the official committees of the Evangelical Churches, duly organized and accepted by the General Assembly, to appoint with the official title of Assistant Preacher all those members of ability and proved consecration, and place them in charge of those communities, sections or rural areas where preaching stations are established and where their services will be necessary. 19

By 1937 the slackening was quite noticeable and was reported to the General Assembly.

One notices an increase although slight, in the number of members in our Churches; but our success is not limited to numbers but activities and the spiritual influence that the Church has had upon lives. 20

By the following year, however, the problem was more acute and the observation was made that "from the reports of the various fields a drop is noted in the total number of members." 21

The change in the development of statistics was noted by the participating denominations and their mission boards. The trend varied only slightly in the next few years, and so in 1941, Harry Spencer, a representative of the Methodist board who was gathering material for a publication on Methodist work in the Caribbean, was requested to take special note of the situation in the Dominican Republic. Writing later to Dr. W. G. Cram he stated:

The mission is new...only about twenty years old. Yet already it has a remarkable place in the community life of this people. Its nurse training is outstanding. Its hospital is doing a magnificent work...Gradually a church is being established. This last is the weakest part of the program. That is natural for no church is a good church unless it is manned and run and supported by the people of the church. They have not reached this stage yet ...

The pastors are not very good. They need more training, more spizering [sic.] trim, more vision. They are playing at the job. Barney [Morgan] says that Rivera, pastor of the first church in Trujillo City, is lazy. That was my impression too. They get hundreds of letters from their radio broadcast, but they never follow up these leads.

The main problem that was noted, however, was the lack of attention to this aspect of the Church's program on the part of the Superintendent. The report took note of this fact.

I believe that either there should be a person in full time charge of the work, or else Barney should be released from some of his other duties to attend to it more. He spends too much time in the office of the hospital looking over bills, to supervise the evangelistic work of the country...If you can only function through local men then you should have a missionary spending a lot of time covering the ground with these local leaders and giving them the training which they must have. 22

The pattern, however, had been too well established. No changes were made by the Board to increase the supervisory staff and the evangelistic work continued to be affected until 1955. In that year the Church counted only 1,800 members, a comparatively small increase since 1930, when compared to the activity of the first eight years.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL REFORM

The two remaining aspects of the program of the Dominican Evangelical Church as proposed by the Board in 1921, were also initiated with varied success during the first stages of the work. Education and social reform were recognized to be closely related, and it was pointed out:

...because it will be many years before the Republic can establish a good educational system and because the future of Santo Domingo depends upon an educated and morally trained leadership, it is of great importance that Christian schools should be opened. 23

Unfortunately, the budget of the Board for Christian Work could support only a certain number of projects, and it was already pledged to the development

of the medical mission. As a result the first General Assembly held in 1923 commended the development of local schools by the founding parishes, and it counseled them:

That should new schools be opened by a mission it must procure always that these are equal to or better than those supported by the government, so that they be worthy of the good name and credit of the parents who send their children to them. 24

By 1925 some attempts had obviously been made. The General Assembly, however, found it necessary to warn the missions that they should avoid the establishment of any school that could not be supported locally.

In several cities educational work was initiated as a result of the lack of any facilities for the children of the area. In most cases the work was carried on by the pastor himself, and proved to be a considerable burden when combined with ministerial duties. As a result, all of the original institutions were closed when the government established a school in the community. For a long period very little was done in the area of education. Toward the close of Dr. Morgan's superintendency several schools were opened with an eye to the future preparation of leadership for the Church. By 1955 it could report the activity of seven day schools with an enrollment of seven hundred children. Since that year the facilities of several of the schools have been increased and the building of the old International Hospital has been converted into a school. This increase in available space and additional subsidies from the Board for Christian Work made it possible for the schools to enroll 2,300 children during the year 1963.

In order to keep pace with the growing educational program and remain true to the policy of placing Dominicans in places of administration in the Church's activities, several young people have been helped in their

university degree work and then sent to seminary for training in religious education. Two women are now engaged as Directors of Religious Education by the Evangelical Church, and several young men are at various levels of preparation for this specialized ministry.

The final element in the stated program of the Board, that of social reform, has been attempted on a formal basis sporadically during the Church's four decades. The first project was begun in 1924 when a Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd were appointed to carry on the work. They succeeded in developing the Scout movement throughout the country and organized a number of sports on a competitive basis. Poor health forced them to leave in a few years and the work was continued by the Rev. Enrique Rivera, a young Dominican who was sent to the United States to receive special training in youth work. One of the principal problems that faced Rivera upon his return was to relate much of the prior work to the program of the Church. This has been a persistent problem for the Evangelicals in the Dominican Republic. Much of the activity that has been undertaken has been guided and paid for by the Church, but has been only superficially related to it in the eyes of the community.

LA LIBRERIA DOMINICANA (THE DOMINICAN BOOKSTORE)

One of the most successful and continuous activities of outreach to the community has been centered in a church-related bookstore that was begun under very humble circumstances. In 1922, one of the first converts of the mission, Julio Postigo, set up a small room in the original building of the first Evangelical Church in order to provide Bibles for Protestants. He continued the work for a number of years but financial difficulties forced him to find something more remunerative. When the

new church was complete in Santo Domingo in 1937, facilities were provided for an enlarged bookstore. Mr. Postigo returned to his old job and brought to it incredible creativity and imagination. In order to make it profitable for the Church he established it as the agency for innumerable magazine companies that published in Spanish. In order to serve the university students he imported text books for their courses. Those who were unable to buy for lack of money were permitted to sit in the patio and read any book from the shelves of the store. The same patio between the church and the bookstore was landscaped and became famous for conferences and lectures that have been presented there throughout the years by well known Dominican and foreign personalities.

Not satisfied with the facilities, the manager had added a second story to the building to house an auditorium for the presentation of events in the case of bad weather. A printing shop has been built and modernized in recent years and has published the church periodical, Nuestro Amigo, for the mission as well as textbooks and other literature. Another bookstore was opened in 1950 in Santiago, the second largest city of the country.

In order to stimulate Dominican writers, Mr. Postigo has established contests, prizes, awards and other incentives for aspiring young authors. The bookstore has published anthologies of famous Dominican works. In order that the world of literature might be opened to more people he was instrumental in having individuals trained in the Laubach method for teaching adults to read.

What is most amazing about the whole development of the Libreria Dominicana during Julio Postigo's management is that it has not cost the Dominican Evangelical Church or the Board for Christian Work a single

penny apart from the original investment in the building. Every renovation, repair, addition and idea has been paid for from the profits of the bookstore, and in addition a contribution of between five and eight thousand dollars per year is turned back into the work of the mission.

A prophecy made back in the time of its humble beginnings has certainly been fulfilled. It was said: "While the sales are small it is believed that they will increase and the development of this phase of work is most important in bringing about changes in the life of Santo Domingo." 25

SELF SUPPORT

The desire to finance the work of the Dominican Evangelical Church on the basis of a sane policy of increasing self-support and decreasing contributions by the participating denominations has often been frustrated during the forty years of labor. Under Dr. Huffman the missions were constantly reminded of their responsibility for the support of their churches. At the General Assembly of 1924 action was taken to:

Recommend that the committee of each local church prepare a budget in order to cover local expenses, and to set aside a certain percentage of its offerings in order to send it to the treasurer of the Mission for the work of evangelism in the Dominican Republic. 26

The following year it was agreed that each church would contribute a designated sum of money for the support of its pastor. 27 For a number of years this was faithfully done.

By 1936 the situation had apparently changed. In his report to the General Assembly of that year, Dr. Morgan was critical of the weakening of responsible stewardship during the few years prior. He said:

It is sad to note that many of our churches have not done more in the area of their own self-support, but we all know that there does exist a very strong reason in the present economic situation. Even so, I believe that we have not done all that is possible to obtain it. 27

28

The problem in this area was undoubtedly related to the decrease in the evangelical zeal that had occurred during this same period. Furthermore, a number of substantial gifts from the Board that had been used for constructing the hospital in Santo Domingo, rebuilding the principal church, erecting a chapel in Villa Consuelo, and refurbishing the bookstore, may have impressed the faithful with the wealth of the Church. Whatever the reasons, the proportion of self-support in relation to the Board's contribution dropped off considerably and was a cause for concern.

The Board for Christian Work has tried to avoid any emphasis on denominationalism in its approach to the work in Santo Domingo. For this reason appropriations to the Evangelical Church are handled through the Board. In 1941, Spencer's report to the Methodist Church pointed up a potential danger in the growing denominational interest on the part of the Presbyterians. He observed:

There is going to be a crack-up of the program here unless something is done about supporting it differently. At present the Presbyterians are putting in \$19,000. They want to do more (because Barney is a Presbyterian and for no other reason in my opinion). But if they do any more that will completely overbalance the interdenominational aspect, since we in the Methodist Church will be putting in less than half of the Presbyterian contribution. (We pay \$12,500). More money is necessary and if properly spent in helping the churches in self support supervision, would pay for itself. 29

During the following years with the increase of the budget and a greater burden placed on the participating churches the danger of any one of them favoring the work with larger contributions and upsetting the balance of support was decreased.

This same increase in the budget has placed the achievement of the goal of self-support further in the future, if the present figures are a valid basis for judgment. During the last ten years there has been a

very real emphasis on stewardship throughout the Church. The contributions of the congregations have increased considerably during that time. The overall budget of church has also increased, however, and so the proportion of responsibility has varied very little. The Board for Christian Work still pays approximately sixty per cent of the expenses.

A NATIONAL CLERGY

The Evangelical Church had a fine opportunity to develop a national ministry from the very outset of its work because of the close relationship it maintained with the Church in Puerto Rico. The presence of Latin Americans as pastors of the founding missions went far in stimulating a number of vocations during the first years. Furthermore, the presence of a well established college and seminary in that neighboring island facilitated the preparation of these men for the work they sought to undertake. As soon as the first graduates were able to replace their Puerto Rican brethren, the Church took a giant stride in the direction of indigenization. Unfortunately, the pace did not continue.

During the 1930's and 1940's the emphasis on the medical mission and the weakening of the stress on evangelization had their most serious result in the decrease of vocations for the ministry. During those two decades only two of the men now engaged in the ministry were prepared and ordained, and one of them did not attend seminary. The significance of this misfortune can be best comprehended when one notes that since the orientation of the mission has returned to evangelism, there have been fourteen men who have offered themselves for the work of the ministry and been ordained, and eight others are at various points in their preparation.

The body of clergy have received excellent educations. Of the eight-

een ordained pastors now actively engaged in the ministry, thirteen are graduates of both university and seminary, two hold seminary diplomas, two are graduates of the university, and one has a certificate from the Free Methodist Institute. In addition, the seven active Lay Pastors have all graduated from the Pastor's School provided by the Church. The words of Dr. Morgan to the General Assembly are equally true now:

We cannot do as in other places: place and ordain men without preparation, because it is necessary that the ministers have the respect of the people. Until now we have a good recommendation as regards the Ministers and we wish that will be so with all. 30

A TURNING POINT: THE NATIONAL CHURCH

The year 1955 is one of great significance in the life of the Evangelical Church and in its relation to the Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo. In that year, by mutual agreement of the Board and the General Assembly,

The Dominican Evangelical Church was fully incorporated, a self-governing church with its General Assembly, and its committees on evangelism, education, medical and social work ... 31

After only thirty-five years the Church was established as an independent national body. Its new status was symbolized by the resignation of the Rev. Richard Johnson from the post of Superintendent with its responsibility of the total oversight of the work in the Dominican Republic, and the appointment of the Rev. Maurice Daily as the Field Secretary for the Board, technically a Liaison officer and counsellor.

The steps toward autonomy had been gradual except for the final surrender of authority by the Superintendent to the Executive Committee of the General Assembly. In 1923 the first meeting of General Assembly was called by Dr. Huffman and a simple plan of organization formulated. In

1930 a committee was set up to prepare a formal plan of organization which was approved the following year. A few years later, by 1935, a constitution was prepared for the General Assembly and work on the Constitution and Rules for the Dominican Evangelical Church was begun. During the following decade the organizational structure was solidified and the institutional life of the Church concentrated in selected projects.

The effect that the change of status has had on the work is quite apparent in the statistics for the past ten years. ³³

	1953	1963
Organized churches	10	27
Other preaching places	14	53
Ordained pastors	5	19
Other workers	11	155 *
Church Membership	1,080	3,300

*Includes Lay Pastors and Local Preachers

The figures for 1963 also reflect the results of a "Five-Year Plan" that was initiated in 1960. At that time the General Assembly began a drive to increase both membership and finances by fifty per cent within the following five years. Although there has not been complete success, a considerable gain has been realized in both areas, and more is hoped for the near future.

SECTION II: THE PROBLEMS

To gain autonomy is an important stage in the life of a mission Church. It signifies achievement in relation to the past and both responsibility and promise as regards the future. Nevertheless, there are always some doubts and a few questions that are asked when the step is taken. Was

it the right time? Was the Church ready? Was it too soon?

These questions are being asked by persons within and outside of the Dominican Evangelical Church. There are many who feel that the action was precipitous. They would have preferred an interim period when authority would have been shared by the Executive Committee and the Superintendent. They would place the blame for some of the obvious problems squarely on the unpreparedness of the Church to assure its present status. Others feel that the move was timed well and that there is only optimistic hope for the future.

Those who responded to the Study Questionnaire fall into both categories. In the case of the Dominican Evangelical Church it has been necessary to rely to a greater extent on the answers to the Questionnaire than in the case of other groups that have been considered. Many of the problems lie below the surface and are not observable to the outsider. They have been cultivated over a number of years and it would appear that the transfer of authority has been a decisive factor in making them more acute.

AUTHORITY

In a short thirty-five years the Dominican Evangelical Church has moved from a situation in which almost all authority was vested in foreigners to the present arrangement in which all authority has been turned over to Dominicans. The change of the status of the representative of the Board for Christian Work from that of Superintendent to Field Secretary appears to be the focus of much of the disagreement regarding the adequacy of the present arrangement.

Since 1955 the General Assembly has been the supreme legislative body

of the Evangelical Church. Its interim functions are committed to the Executive Committee composed of the four elected officers of the Assembly, the elected chairmen of the principal committees, one member at large, and the Field Secretary. Under this arrangement the representative of the Board has a vote and also functions as liaison officer. The Board for Christian Work has reserved for their officer only one privilege of authority, but it has not been used to the present time. In extreme cases in which he feels action to be contrary to the interests of the Board, he may approve or withhold payment of specific funds from the allocation in opposition to the decision of the Executive Committee.

During the years that it has functioned, the Committee has accepted its authority quite slowly. This has been especially true as it has been called upon to make decisions regarding personal problems or the discipline of individuals or churches. It has been difficult to develop a sense of responsibility regarding the properties of the Church and budgetary matters. During the years the Committee has been extremely reluctant to make any recommendations to the General Assembly for changes in the structure or function of the Church's government. The principal symptom of immaturity, however, has been revealed in the Committee's inability to sit down around the conference table and establish an overall plan for the work of the Church for the following ten years.

It is possible that many of these shortcomings are due to inherent weaknesses of the Church. If this is true it is an expensive and time-consuming fault. Indecisiveness and the inability to plan well ahead has made it necessary for the Committee to meet as often as every other month and sometimes several months consecutively, in order to terminate

unfinished business or solve problems that should have been anticipated. The expenses of transportation, food and sometimes lodging for a committee of ten can be costly. Furthermore, the majority of the members are ministers and frequent absences interfere with their pastoral duties in their own parishes.

There are a number of clergy who are quite critical of the present arrangement. A few of them are older men who look back on the days of the superintendency with a certain nostalgia. Their recollections are of efficiency, greater supervision of the overall program, and more equitable treatment of the body of clergy. They criticize the lack of any officer or organ of the Executive Committee with a full-time responsibility for assuring compliance to the recommendations of the General Assembly and the smooth functioning of the total work. Most of all, this group disapproves of what they feel to be a growing tendency toward political maneuvering in both General Assembly and on the Executive Committee, which leads to individuals being elected to office or appointed to a particular parish on the basis of accommodation rather than qualifications and the good of the Church.

Contrariwise, there is a considerable number who feel that the Field Secretary still has excessive authority. It has been suggested that the present arrangement be abolished and that a Dominican be named to the post so that the needs of the Evangelical Church can be presented before the Board with greater sympathy. The temper of the times, with its emphasis on nationalism and sovereignty, has contributed heavily to this attitude. And yet there are still times when the Executive Committee relies on the Field Secretary to make their decision or offer a solution to their problem. This ambivalence is indicative of the immaturity of the Church and

its leaders. It is to be hoped that with time, stability will develop and the attitudes will assume a more positive and creative quality..

IDENTITY

Throughout the years every effort has been made to play down any emphasis on denominationalism. To all intents and purposes this has succeeded. The Dominican Evangelical Church is not identified with any of the historic churches that have contributed to its development, and yet it is the child of all. While this has been an excellent solution to many problems in financing and logistics, it has also created another and deeper problem that may be more significant.

With the attainment of autonomy the Church has wrestled, both consciously and unconsciously, with the question of its identity. Suppression of denominationalism was so successful in the strategy of the Board, that many questions of doctrine and discipline are only now becoming issues. Such things as: the meaning and validity of infant baptism when it is offered as an optional choice with child dedication, the merits of a presbyterial form of organization as over against a supervisory form similar to the Methodist or E. U. B. polity, the doctrine and meaning of authority, and the role of the laity are a few of the subjects that have been avoided. Now they must be considered as the Church begins to develop a formal doctrine and discipline.

For many of the younger clergy there is a temptation to identify themselves with the Presbyterian, Evangelical United Brethren, or Methodist Churches. Seminary education has given them a criteria for judgment, and they naturally lean toward the unified position of one of these groups. The newness of the Dominican Evangelical Church carries with it a certain

quality of insecurity and these men may seek to associate their own personal ministry and objectives with a church that has its roots more deeply buried in the past. Should this tendency continue to develop within the life of the Church, it is possible that it could lead to factions that would be destructive to its present unity.

INSTITUTIONALISM

Overemphasis on service has been the cause for serious difficulties in the Evangelical Church in the past. Hospital work, clinics, schools and other activities of an institutional nature have captured the interest of the people and the leaders and have turned them away from their primary responsibility of evangelism. The results have already been noted: loss of zeal, decrease in the rate of growth, lessening in the development of vocations. This is not to say that the relationship is axiomatic, but rather that the Church has suffered from it in the past.

The Dominican Republic is presently involved in a social upheaval that is altering the basic structure of society. As a natural consequence there are stratas of society that are gravely affected. The reaction of Christian organizations is to rush to the aid of those involved with whatever resources are available. For the clergy of the Dominican Evangelical Church this appears as a most reasonable course of action. As Christians it is a means of witness and as Dominicans it is an opportunity to alleviate some of the needs of their countrymen. What may be endangered, however, is the balanced program that is so important to continued vitality.

It is the fear of some ministers that the emphasis on social work is already consuming too much of the Church's energy, resources and time. While statistics of 2,300 students in parish schools, and 19,000 patients

treated in local clinics, etc., are impressive, they also represent a great investment in work hours and money. Once such labors are initiated it is difficult to terminate them because of the numbers of people who become dependent on their services. If the economic and social situation in the Republic worsens the temptation to multiply already existing institutions will increase. Any decision to do so should be weighed with great care.

TESTING VOCATIONS

What does it mean for a comparatively small church to be deluged with fourteen new ministers and eight candidates in a period of ten years? Such luxury can be both a blessing and a problem. The blessing is obvious, if those who are ordained are truly dedicated and have responded to a call from God. If, however, the church has been unable or has not taken the time to test these vocations it may find itself burdened with a number of men who have entered the ministry for the wrong reasons.

When the sudden increase began the clerical body of the Dominican Evangelical Church numbered five men plus the Superintendent. It was undoubtedly a great relief to the active pastors to know that some of the responsibility for the work of the Church would soon be placed on younger shoulders. The candidates were hurried off to university and seminary as quickly as possible, and were given pastoral responsibilities upon their return. In a sense, the Dominican Church hardly knew their capabilities and had little opportunity to prove them. There was not time for the new group to be absorbed and to benefit from contact with the seasoned clergy. As a result, a very real danger has been created for

the Church with the division of the clergy and lay pastors into two groups that are mutually critical of one another. The younger ministers consider their seniors to be ill-prepared and old fashioned. The experienced men question the spirituality and studiousness of their juniors.

In a sense this problem solves itself as the older men retire from active service. Nevertheless, if the Church does not provide some method for testing its men early in their preparation, and then for gradually absorbing them so that they can adjust to the rhythm of the church's life without seeking to alter it, the present problem may be repeated again in the future.

CONCLUSION

While many of the problems of other churches that are at work in the Dominican Republic have been caused by external circumstances and factors in the environment, for the Dominican Evangelical Church the problems are the result of the philosophy of the mission and the personalities of those involved in it. To correct the problems may involve the painful self-examination that is so difficult for an individual or a group. If it is done it could mean renewed vitality and strength for the Church. If not, the very nature of the Church's problems may eventually cause it to lose the unity that it has sought to maintain during the past four decades.

CHAPTER EIGHT

UNITY AND WITNESS: THE KEYS TO RENEWAL

It has been the purpose of this study to make a ruthless appraisal of several of the religious bodies that are at work in the Dominican Republic today in order to discover the reasons for their consistent ineffectiveness in evangelism. While faulty strategy and chronic errors have played a considerable role in creating the present situation, two elements have emerged consistently during the course of research as being basic to the problem. The first is the scandal of the divided and often conflicting efforts of the churches. The second is the irrelevance of present Christian witness in the midst of the fundamental social changes taking place in the Republic.

The presence of a multiplicity of Christian churches in a single mission field need not lead to persecution, hostility, competition or proselytism. And yet the religious bodies in the Dominican Republic have expended a great deal of energy on all of these evils. As a result they have raised serious questions in the minds of the unevangelized masses as to the truth of the Gospel of Love that they all claim to preach. In an area where barely ten per cent of the population actively practices the Christian religion, it is tragic that the churches should be jealous of each other's successes. What great things might be achieved for all of those involved if there could be greater cooperation and less rivalry. But increased effectiveness is not the only objective. In the face of the many hostile philosophies that are appearing in the Dominican Republic, Christians may one day have to stand united in order to survive. The ecumenical spirit that is sweeping through other parts of Latin America needs to be stimulated in the Republic now, so that solidarity may be the child

of dialogue rather than crisis.

Christian witness in the Dominican Republic has been weakened as a result of the many divisions that now exist. But its ineffectiveness has been due to a greater degree to the irrelevance of its message to this unsettled age. Revolution, reconstruction and reform have become the "three R's" of this Dominican generation. The Church must have something to say about these concepts. Women's groups, Bible study, parish records all have their rightful place, but they certainly cannot be all that there is to the Good News. It is possible that a time is approaching when the Church or the churches will not be able to act within Dominican society through traditional institutions. There is a great need to raise up dedicated individuals who will bear bold witness for the Church in order that the "three R's" can be kept under the judgment of the Gospel. Only in this way will the true relevance of the Christian faith be made known.

SECTION I: THE NECESSITY OF ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE

It is impossible to date with any accuracy the first manifestations of the improved attitude that is appearing in Protestant-Roman Catholic relations in Latin America. There is no question that the influence of Pope John XXIII has played the major role in creating the new desire for greater comprehension. Furthermore, the objective analysis by the Roman Church of the changed conditions and hostile social development that has been occurring in Latin America, has created a spirit of renewal within that Church that is propitious to ecumenical conversation. Rationalism, materialism, agnosticism, syncretism and militarism are seen as the common enemies of Christianity, whether Roman or Protestant, and greater cooperation is recognized to be a source of strength for both groups. It should be noted, however, that the latter is not the principal motive of the churches for entering into dialogue. As has been stated by Father Estevao Bittencourt, a Benedictine priest of Brazil: "Christian unity should not be conceived as a movement 'against' anything, even materialism or communism, but as unity in the Mystical Body of Christ, as a gathering around one table of the Lord, for participation in one Holy Supper."¹

In the Dominican Republic these ventures began in mid-1963 and have been only superficial and symbolic of the deeper and more far-reaching experiences that are desired. Meetings are largely limited to contacts between small groups rather than meaningful dialogue. After generations of animosity the establishment of rapport is not a simple matter. There is a great deal of timidity on both sides in these early engagements, but this is to be expected. As the Rev. John Sinclair has stated:

The Roman Catholics feel that such encounter would be misinterpreted by their people and would cause them to appear as 'surrendering' their position of the 'only true church'.

The Protestants feel that such encounter might cause them to appear as retracting on their Protestant convictions. 2

DIALOGUE IN LATIN AMERICA

The example of the achievements that have been made by churches engaged in dialogue in other parts of Latin America should encourage the Dominican churches to much greater efforts. It is quite significant that one of the first large meetings took place in Cali, Columbia, early in 1961. In this country, where Protestant-Roman Catholic antagonism had been greatest in recent years, nine thousand people attended a public gathering where two Roman priests and two Evangelical pastors presented conferences concerned with Christian reunion. 3

In Mexico more formal steps were taken to pave the way for conversations between Romans and Protestants. At a meeting of the Presidents of the Diocesan Secretariats for the Faith held in Guadalajara in April of 1960, the following statement of aims was approved:

To put into effect an organized plan to lessen hostility between Protestant groups and the Catholic Church, and if possible, to obtain a rapprochement between the two. 4

It was also in Mexico, in 1962, that two ventures were made in the presentation of ecumenical considerations by means of mass communication. In November and December two programs were broadcast over television presenting an interchange of ideas by Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy on questions of church relations. 5

It would appear that the movement toward better comprehension has made its greatest strides in the Republic of Chile. There the Jesuit press has enthusiastically reported several events of an ecumenical nature that have taken place in Santiago, and has also attempted to keep Roman

Catholics well informed regarding ecumenical relations outside of Chile. The meetings that have been arranged for the public appear to have entered much more deeply into basic issues than in any other place from which reports have been received. Just a year ago, nearly 1,000 people met in the Y. M. C. A. in Santiago, to hear four Christians, a Roman priest, a Lutheran pastor, a Methodist board executive, and a Greek Orthodox layman, express their opinions regarding the meaning of Church unity. Significantly, the great majority of the audience was made up of young people who listened attentively during two hours, to presentations that were largely theological in nature.

Other contacts of considerable significance have occurred in Europe, where Protestant and Roman Catholic students from Latin America have met on several occasions to discuss mutual problems of Christian responsibility in Central and South America. The first of these meetings, held in Belgium in 1962, was organized by the World Student Christian Federation and Pax Romana, the Roman Catholic student organization. The statement that was issued by the representatives at the conclusion declared:

Despite all the differences that still separate us, there exist basic points of agreement which enable both a common vision and an exchange at a profound level ... We have tried to think out the means of an active and intelligent Christian presence within the pursuit of the common good of society, aware that all such action must be based on a revitalization of the Gospel message and a deepening of Spiritual life. 6

The principal topics of discussion were concerned with the rapid social change taking place in Latin America in the economic, political, social and cultural-academic fields.

The Rev. John Sinclair, by use of a questionnaire sent to over sixty church leaders in Latin America, prepared a list in 1961 of the subjects

being discussed in many of the conversations that were taking place. There is no doubt that the list would be considerably lengthened if additional information were available to bring it up to date, but it is still quite revealing of the issues that are of most concern. It includes the following:

Theological subjects:

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|--|---|
| 1. Papal infallibility | 5. Issue of authority |
| 2. Baptism by immersion | 6. Liturgy and Christian
apirituality |
| 3. The personality and
authority of Jesus | 7. Mariology |
| 4. The Nature and Unity
of the Church | 8. Nature and Grace |
| | 9. The validity of personal
experience |

Biblical subjects:

1. Kinds of Biblical literature
2. The message of the Bible
3. Points of crucial difference in Biblical interpretation
4. The Bible and Tradition
5. The Finality of Scripture

Relation of Christianity to culture:

1. The nature of the Christian mission in the world today
2. Religious liberty
3. The mixture of superstition in Latin American Roman Catholicism
4. The church's task to meet people where they are in society
5. Culture patterns and social reform
6. Catholic worker-priest movement
7. Evangelization of the masses: the anti-Christian attitude of the masses

Ecumenicity

1. The modern Ecumenical Movement
2. The Vatican Council and its significance
3. Protestant plurality: the meaning of Protestant statistics
4. Episcopacy within Protestantism

Miscellaneous subjects

1. When Roman Catholics and Protestants face martyrdom
2. Religious illiteracy
3. Shortage of native clergy
4. The significance of the Taize Order
5. Protestant and Roman Catholic youth activities: How to present the Gospel to Latin American youth today
6. Anti-semitism
7. Ordination
8. The Sacraments

9. The growth of communism
10. Literacy campaigns
11. Secularization of the press
12. The inadequacy of present congregational structures to do the task of the Church. 7

What is most significant about this list is the large number of subjects that only a short time ago would have been considered extremely dangerous ground for discussion in Latin America under any circumstances.

THE SPIRIT OF THE MOVEMENT

It is surprising to discover the number of conversations that are being reported throughout all of Latin America on every level of contact. Response has been so great, and positive results so general, that leaders of many churches in Latin America have felt obliged to guide their more conservative brethren into paths that might produce opportunities for dialogue. Doctor Stewart W. Herman, Director of the Lutheran World Federation Committee on Latin America, has stated:

It is a simple historical fact that Roman Catholicism is woven into the ways and woof of Latin American life. This inevitably produced a profound effect on Protestant activities in that part of the world. Means toward the proclamation of the Gospel in Latin America must be worked out in concentrated study, not only in libraries but in living communication with the Catholic Church, its members, and its clergy. 8

At the Second Evangelical Conference of Latin America, held in Lima, Peru, Dr. Jose Miguez Bonono, Rector of the Evangelical Faculty of Theology of Buenos Aires, spoke of responsibility in this matter:

In our relation with the Roman Catholic Church we need be guided by nothing other than our fidelity to the Gospel. That fidelity obliges us to draw near in love, ready to engage in dialogue, without false pride or a vain sense of superiority, without bitterness or rancor, willing that our Lord use us for the good of the Church ... 9

Expressing the spirit of ecumenicity that is felt in varying degrees in the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America, the National Reunion of

the Faith meeting in Leon, Mexico, stated:

1. Christian ecumenism is an historic reality; that is to say, a sincere desire for mutual rapprochement exists in a good part of the Christian world.
2. We cannot discard the idea that this movement is a special providence from God for purposes which only He can know for certain ...
3. The Catholic Church cannot abstain from this modern phenomenon. All Catholics, from the Roman Pontiff to the least of the faithful, are included in this movement ...
4. The participation of the Church in this movement should not be passive and expectant only; it should be an active participation which is put into practice.
5. Catholics and especially priests should keep in mind that in the practical order the greatest obstacles to rapprochement are the misuse of language and, above all, the misuse of worship in connection with persons (or objects) which are not the Divine Persons. An effective rapprochement would be aided most by proper worship, a common liturgy and due esteem for Sacred Scripture. 10

Statements such as these are intensely stirring to anyone who has been involved in the life of the Christian Church in Latin America. It is astounding to realize that they were made by representatives of churches that looked upon one another with suspicion, jealousy and malice, less than ten years ago. The willingness to strive for greater understanding is, in itself, an accomplishment that can be ascribed only to the Holy Spirit working in the hearts of men.

THE PURPOSES TO BE SERVED

Similar and continued ecumenical encounter is essential to the life of the Christian churches in the Dominican Republic. Protestants and Roman Catholics are caught up in an age of revolution that urgently requires decisions that will make the Christian faith a basic element of the new society that is emerging.

The winds of social change raise serious dilemmas for all religions. Adjustment is often painful and costly. The case of Latin American Catholicism is special in many ways. During four centuries it remained almost unchallenged. While the age of independence in the early nineteenth century forced the Church into a new role vis-a-vis the state, the question of its legitimacy as the primary religious agent was never raised. Today this monopoly is being threatened. The Church has in its favor a strong, latent Catholic loyalty and a highly developed organization. Its greatest lack is the people's active commitment either as participants in the sacraments or as sources of money and labor.

The key problem that the Church faces is to bring about reform without having the benefit of a religious revival. Spiritual enthusiasm is the absent commodity. If this were present, money and labor resources would flow ... 11

It is to be hoped that contact with the Protestant churches will help Roman Catholicism discover the direction that reform must take. That perhaps the only basis for renewal in a revolutionary society is one that Protestantism has always considered to be essential to vitality: Ecclesia semper reformanda quia reformata.

For the non-Roman churches intimate encounter with the Roman Catholic Church may provide the key for greater relevancy in preaching the Gospel in the Dominican Republic.

The Catholic religion in Latin American societies was and is more than a Church organization, more than a belief system, and more than a set of rites. Roman Catholicism is the dominant element in the whole culture. The Catholic religion is fused with the entire range of expressive symbols, basic values, and cognitive orientations that relate man to his world. An individual may be baptized into the Catholic Church but he is 'born' to the Catholic religious culture. In this sense, Catholicism is co-terminous with the local community and, for the most part, co-terminous with the total society. A person is 'Catholic' even though he is not 'religious'. 12

In all humility, Protestants working in the Dominican Republic must realize that they are involved in an environment that, for good or evil, has been carved out to a large degree by the Roman Church, and that much

can be learned from the heirs of the sculptor.

But above all, closer relations and greater understanding are essential to the Church in the Dominican Republic for the same reason that they are essential to the Church throughout the world: that by the Grace of God working through Christians who come together in humility and good will, the Church may some day be truly One. Only through such unity can God's will be served and can the Church act as an agent for bringing the Dominican people under God's plan for mankind.

SECTION II: CHRISTIAN WITNESS AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

Christians in the Dominican Republic must accept a fact that is being faced by their brethren throughout Latin America and in many parts of the world. That is, that they must either take an active part in the social revolution that is sweeping across these twenty republics and bring to it their Christian values and witness, or it will take place without them. As Richard Schaul has written:

At present the ideal which more and more engages the most serious men of the new generation is national development which can come only by radical changes in practically all of the structures of national life - rural and urban, cultural and educational, social and political. Many and diverse ideologies are involved in these struggles which will be decisive for the future of the continent and the Church. Under divine providence, Christians are scattered in all of the structures and professions in which this struggle is going on. The service of the Church in the present situation of Latin America is to be a living, dynamic witness to Jesus Christ and His will for humanity. 13

The Church must avoid the terrible temptation of comfortable conformity to old ways and structures, and seek to enter into the revolutionary situation.

Belief in a living, acting God who has sent his Son into human history, demands such action. God's love for man does not concern only the salvation

of his soul but also the conditions in which he lives in this world and the relationships that he has with his fellow men. Love of neighbor cannot be reduced to a sentimental platitude. The Christian social imperative demands that even the accepted social structures be attacked and changed if they are responsible for the bondage or oppression of our brothers.

There is a very great danger in the tendency to stress the "other-worldly goals" of the Christian faith. It has often been used to excuse both the Church and individual Christians from their responsibilities in the world. The Roman Catholic Church and Pentecostalist sects have tended to preach conformity to the status quo, without stirring up within their members a concern for the many social problems that cry out to be remedied. It is as if God were solely interested in the time spent within the walls of the church. This attitude on the part of the churches has contributed significantly to the creation of the conditions that now demand radical change. The churches can no longer quote Scripture or St. Thomas Aquinas in order to satisfy the longings of the people. They must also act or be left behind.

Recognition of the need for reform does not imply in itself either the goals that must be sought or the method for achieving the goals. It is here that Christian realism frees one to act in a decisive way.

The agape of the cross which is the norm of Christian realism reveals both the responsibility under which men live and the pervasiveness of human self-interest. While this norm demands that men make responsible decisions between alternatives, at the same time it frees men from the illusion that their causes and choices represent the incarnation of all that is good. Thus, the faith of the Christian realist is that some measure of justice and order is possible within the realm of political necessity. The importance of the norm for the Christian realist cannot be overemphasized. This norm, which is absolute and transcendent, frees him from the idolatry of investing some proximate aim with ultimate value. It provides instead a pragmatic flexibility with which to encounter unique situations. 14

But it must be remembered that there is also a danger in the position of Christian realism if it does not continue to be self-critical. It can become a means of rationalization.

Christian witness is an absolute necessity in this period of social change. The churches must guide their members into the acceptance of their responsibility to enter the political arena, and especially in such a country as the Dominican Republic where politics concerned only the smallest minority for such a long period. Furthermore, the Christian must be ready and able to join in dialogue with others who are caught up in the revolution. He must be eager to converse with the Marxist and the Democratic Center so as to help alleviate the utopianism of their positions. And he must be prepared to offer Christian solutions to the pressing problems that aggravate division and violence.

THE DEMOCRATIC CENTER

The Dominican Revolutionary Party that won the elections in 1962 in the Republic, and two other less significant groups, the Democratic Social Alliance and the Social Christian Party, all fall within the classification known as the Democratic Center.

The democratic center, as used here, refers to that sector of the political spectrum which has some of the following negative and positive earmarks. It is anti-dictatorial, anticlerical, and anti-communist. It is nationalistic, statist (in terms of heavy emphasis on economic planning) and puts great stress upon "liberty" especially in the abstract ... It should be noted that it is the Latin American spectrum which is under discussion. By most North American standards most of this democratic center would be considered left of center. 15

Although ousted by the forces of reaction after only seven months, it is clear that the position held by the D. R. P. during election campaigns and the

overwhelming vote that it received in the actual election, assure it a place in any future contests that will be held. What is the position to be taken by the Christian realist in his meetings with the democratic center?

The seven month of activity of the Bosch government, and certain elements contained within the programs of all three parties in this category, demonstrate the common tendency of the democratic center to envision extensive government planning as a means to meet all human need. Economic measures that were taken by President Bosch during his first weeks in office made it clear that he and his advisors were placing a heavy stress on the economic factors within the whole complex range of Dominican socio-political problems. Furthermore, Bosch's idealism in regard to the free exercise of political liberty, which permitted extensive activity by the communists and extreme discomfort among the reactionary armed forces, was illustrative of the democratic center's ineptitude in handling them or even analyzing the potency of the power realities that surround it.

It is apparent that this democratic center will play an important role in the Dominican Republic in the future. The Christian must be willing to challenge the double tendencies of economic utopianism and political idealism inherent in this position. A realistic doctrine of man can have an important effect in balancing the both tendencies, and avoid the dangers of overstressing economic values on one hand, and governmental omniscience on the other. Human material need defies all attempts to be measured and so economic planning cannot be assumed as the absolute means of solving the problems within the social structure. Furthermore, the temptation to idealize such concepts as liberty, freedom, justice, etc., may interfere with their actual implementation, and require the positive emphasis of Christian realism to make them effective. As John Housley has pointed out:

Contemporary politicians of the center ... usually have been educated in the positivistic or idealistic traditions; in either case the Christian doctrine of man has not been a major ingredient in their preparation. Thus it may be a primary role of Protestantism vis-a-vis the democratic center to preach this doctrine in the Latin American context. By assuming such a role Protestant thought may contribute to the increased viability of the democratic center forces. 16

NON-COMMUNIST MARXISM

It has been pointed out by many Christian leaders in Latin America that the most powerful force at work in changing the social structures is a non-communist form of Marxism that is becoming truly indigenous. It is often difficult to differentiate between this and the communist variety because the advocates themselves are often too concerned about other matters to concern themselves with an apologetic. As Richard Schaul argues, however, it is a grave error to conclude:

that the Left is a small group of paid agents of Moscow and their supporters or dupes, all primarily intent on subversion. There are undoubtedly a good number of such people around ... but to characterize the new Left in this way is a gross misrepresentation. It is now a spontaneous and dynamic movement of workers, peasants, students and others who have caught in the struggle for national development and for greater justice in Latin American society. Many of them have been influenced by Marxist ideology; most of them however, are not Communists ... we render the greatest possible service to Communism by pushing toward Communism those whose consciences will not allow them to remain apart from this struggle ... In their struggle they are deprived of encounter with the ideas and people which might help to keep their minds more open to reality, provide them with a more balanced analysis and program, and encourage their efforts ... 17

Within the growing political complex in the Dominican Republic there is evidence that such a movement may be coming into existence alongside the communist variety of Marxism. It is still in its formative stages, but it is identifiable by the almost fanatical stress on nationalism that differentiates it from the communist type. The great danger is that the policies of the present reactionary government may drive them together in a coali-

tion. Insofar as this does not take place, there is a real opportunity for dialogue between Marxism and Christianity.

In general terms, much that has been said by Christian realism in the past in its criticism of Marxist thought may be applied in the Dominican Republic. The great dangers that are inherent in the inadequate doctrine of man held by the Marxist are his misinterpretation of history and the tendency to utopianism. Marxists picture the solution of all of man's problems as the outcome of the revolution, but the realist stresses the fact that man is a sinner before the revolution and will still be one during and after it. Reinhold Niebuhr has illustrated this weakness:

Marxism expects men to be as tame and social on the other side of the revolution as Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham thought them to be tame and prudential on this side of the revolution. 18

Furthermore, the ambiguous nature of the social structure of complex modern society is overlooked by the Marxist division of mankind into the haves and have-nots. Christian realism is critical of such an oversimplification. Economic power cannot be traced to private property as is assumed in doctrinaire Marxism, but is exerted at all levels of interdependent society.

There are other "general" criticisms that have been offered by Christian faith as correctives to the extremities of the Marxist position. In summary it may be said that:

Christian teaching concerning the depth and persistence of sin is a necessary corrective for all political and social movements ... Guided by Christian teaching we can always be on our guard against the self-righteousness that makes men blind to the failures of their own nation or class or party and that usually increases the bitterness of group conflict. Is there any other influence except the influence of Christian faith that causes men to begin by confessing their own sins rather than the sins of their opponents? Only a habit of drastic self-criticism will prepare many people to see the subtle ways in which their opinions and their votes are influenced by the

narrow interests of the social groups to which they belong.

The second tendency which Christian teaching about human nature should help us to guard against is the tendency to assume that some advance in culture or in technical skill or in social organization will be secure against the old evils that come from the love of money or power or the desire to have someone else upon whom we can look down. It is possible to overcome in considerable measure these old evils but they are sure to reappear in new forms the moment we believe that we are secure against them ... 19

In honesty, however, it is not possible that the Christian remain satisfied with the criticisms that are offered in such general terms. They serve as beginning points, but it is necessary to deal with Marxism as it manifests itself in a given situation. In the Dominican Republic the repressive structures of society created by the past regime are the obvious targets of all reform groups. Thus there is a significant emphasis on the humanistic elements of Marxism, as it is presented today. Christians cannot condemn the attempt to alter the inhuman structures, but they must avoid "capitulating to an un-Christian social optimism" even though "identifying with the goals of those who would humanize." 20

COMMUNISM

Closer relations between the churches and the advocates of the Democratic Center and of non-communist Marxist movements serve not only as a means for the Christian to participate more fully in the social changes that are taking place in the Dominican Republic, but may also serve to help stem the activity of the truly communist groups there. Recognition of the areas that need complete reformation and attempts to alter them reduces the effectiveness of the communist plea for violent overthrow as the only course of action.

The nature of Dominican communism is hardly known. The Popular Socialist Party and the Popular Dominican Movement showed themselves only

briefly during the government of Juan Bosch, but before and after have carried on their activities clandestinely. Acts of subversion and sabotage have been traced to their instigation. Government persecution, however, has consistently disrupted the both organizations and minimized their activities. It is possible that communism has benefited from the coups d'etat of September, 1963, and that the organization has developed considerably in secret.

Until such time as more is known, little can be said regarding the position that the churches must take in relation to Dominican communism.

TRUE WITNESS

It is increasingly clear that far-reaching changes will take place in the Dominican Republic sooner or later. The dangers inherent in the very process of change have been demonstrated throughout history and vindicate the Christian emphasis on human limitation. Though man may bring about the changes that he seeks, he often cannot control concomitant factors that contain the seeds of corruption or destruction of his new structures. Christians must constantly emphasize this danger while recognizing the inevitability of change.

There is a real temptation for the Christian to easily condemn a movement for radical reform because of its obvious excesses. Often these excesses are the result of pragmatic considerations, external pressures, or the lack of imagination produced by political naivete. Rejection serves only to close the doors on communication and dialogue by which the Christian may find the occasion to present alternatives to the radical action that he cannot condone under the particular circumstances. Responsible criticism may offer opportunities, not only for considering such alternatives,

but also for ways in which the Christian can cooperate for the achievement of mutually acceptable goals.

Although the doors must be kept open for conversation, there are moments when the Christian must be firm in his stand against absolutism. "He should reject any doctrine of progress that promises complete, inevitable, or secure progress or that finds the full meaning of our present existence in future achievements."²¹ The Christian must be capable of standing-off at all times in order to see every system and structure under the judgment of God, and with a willingness to recognize the limitations that are inherent in these social orders as a result of human sinfulness.

The benefits of dialogue are implied in the very word. The Christian who participates in such exchange must be open to a new awareness of the extreme importance of taking economics and politics seriously. Traditional "otherworldliness" has dulled Christian sensitivities to their significance. Also, he must recognize that he is dealing with a new context and that the problems which arise and the solutions that he offers are unique in so far as that environmental background is concerned. Although other situations may appear similar the only true criteria of the validity of a solution is its "possible" application under the given circumstances. "The Latin American context is revolutionary; therefore ... political ethics in that context must be revolutionary."²²

Finally, the Christian must realize that the processes of revolution and change may be radical, violent and painful. That the traditional plea of the Church for "Peace, Peace!" may have no place in the thoroughgoing alteration of social structures with which the Church itself may be identified. But also, that he be completely responsible in weighing the alternatives in order to decide, as far as is humanly possible, whether

the benefits of such an upheaval would appear to exceed the sacrifices. 23

Only in this way can the Christian and the Church help guide the Dominican Republic or any nation into action that will be subject to the Will of God. 24

The revolution is in progress. Not to oppose it, what is more, to support it inevitably involves a risk (no one can know exactly where the revolution will end) but life is a risk and Christianity is not a religion of tender security but of noble folly. What is important - and this must be the imperative of the Christian today - is sincerity, truthfulness, loyalty. Let us not use Christianity as a cosmetic or a shell! Let us not speak of the "sacred" occidental culture! Let us avoid all that is commonplace and all hypocrisy! Veracity and audacity are the virtues we need...Let us not forget only united to Christ can we "christianize" the revolution in progress. 25 34

CONCLUSION

The churches in the Dominican Republic are faced with many problems that have come about as a result of human sin and error. A number of these problems affect nothing more serious than their own housekeeping, while others strike deeply at the heart of their Christian profession. Some attempt has been made in this Study to distinguish between the two and to consider the efforts that should be or that are already being undertaken to overcome them. And yet in the opinion of this writer there are no greater obligations placed on these churches at the present time than those that have been considered in this final chapter. Increased Christian unity and more relevant corporate and individual witness are the keys to the renewal of the Church's vigor in the Dominican Republic. Without them the Church will continue to touch only the small minority that already profess the faith. Time is of the essence. If the churches are to be faithful in fulfilling their Lord's Great Commission they must be willing to begin to work now for the achievement of these goals.

APPENDIX ATHE STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questionnaire was prepared to be used as a basis for the discussions found in Section II of Chapters Four, Six and Seven, and as a guide for the preparation of the general conclusions of this study found in Chapter Eight. The questionnaire was administered personally by this writer in order to obtain a spontaneous response from the persons taking part. All of the questions were not presented in each case because of their irrelevance to the individual being interviewed or to the situation of his particular affiliation. In order to obtain a frank response from informants they were assured of the complete anonymity of their answers and of the general rather than specific nature of their application in this study.

Personal data of the Informant

1. What is your Church affiliation?
2. What are your office and the nature of your responsibilities?
3. How old are you?
4. When were you ordained?
5. Apart from your present responsibilities, what other posts have you occupied in your Church?
6. What has been the extent of your education?
7. How would you describe your congregation (or diocese) as to size, social class, level of education, median age, other pertinent data?
8. Describe the general program and activities of your congregation (or diocese). Include such things as services, organizations, special projects, etc.

General Information

9. In what area do you believe your Church carries on its most valuable activity throughout the Republic?
10. What is the thing that you most criticize about your Church?
11. What is it that you feel your membership most criticizes?
12. How would you evaluate your Church's efforts among the following groups? Children, young people, adults, old people.
13. What is the principal authority of your Church in the Dominican Republic?
14. How do you evaluate the effectiveness of this authority in dealing with the problems your Church faces?
15. What do you picture as the ideal functioning of this authority? How closely does the actual authority approximate this?
16. What do you feel as regards the unity and concord within your own church in the Republic?
17. How would you describe the actual relationship of the clergy and laity in your Church? What should be done to improve this relationship?
18. Do you receive a sufficient stipend? What is its source?
19. Are there salary differentials in your Church? How do you feel about them?
20. Do you feel that your own congregation and the other congregations of your Church in the Dominican Republic accept sufficient economic responsibility for the life of their Church?
21. If you answer to Question 20 is negative, what do you feel to be the reasons for their lack of responsibility?
22. Does the Church or the community place excessive demands on your time that keep you from the exercise of your ministry?
23. What do you feel to be the principal problems that face your country at this time?
24. What place can the Church take in helping to solve these problems?
25. In what social works does your Church participate at the present time?
26. How do you envision the economic future of the Dominican Republic?
27. What do you feel can be done to stimulate vocations in your Church?

28. What preparation should be required of men preparing for the ministry?
29. How would you describe the place that your Church presently occupies in the community? What do you feel would be its ideal role in the community?
30. What, in your opinion, are the chief errors in the strategy of evangelism that have been committed by your Church?

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7. J. Sinclair, op. cit., pp. 10-11.
8. Unitas, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (Summer 1962), p. 152.
9. Cristo, La Esperanza para Latino America, Report of the Second Evangelical Conference of Latin America, p. 130.
10. The Ecumenist, op. cit.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES (Continued)

CHAPTER EIGHT UNITY AND WITNESS: THE KEYS TO RENEWAL (Continued)

11. I. Vallier, Anglican Opportunities in South America, Part III, p. 19.
12. Ibid., Part III, p. 34.
13. R. Schaul, "The Present Life and Structure of the Church in Relation to Her Witness in Latin American Society," Background Information, Geneva, October 1962, p. 34.
14. J. Housley, Protestant Political Ethics in the Context of Latin America, p. 28.
15. Ibid., p. 192ff.
16. Ibid., p. 205.
17. Schaul, The New Revolutionary Mood in Latin America, p. 16 ff.
18. Reinhold Niebuhr, The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness, p. 60.
19. J. Bennett, Christianity and Communism Today, p. 120 f.
20. J. Housley, op. cit., p. 222.
21. J. Bennett, op. cit., p. 119.
22. J. Housley, op. cit., p. 270.
23. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to John Housley's dissertation, op. cit., for several of the ideas expressed in this section.
24. Mensaje, "Revolucion en Latino America," (editorial) Special Edition, No. 115, 1963, p. 12.

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