

PUBLICATION

Columbus and the Quest for Jerusalem, Carol Delaney, Professor Emerita Stanford University (2011)

I. PROFESSOR DELANEY'S QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERTISE

Education

1962 Boston University A.B. in Philosophy

1976 Harvard Divinity School, M.T.S.

1984 University of Chicago, Ph.D in Cultural Anthropology

Galler Prize for most distinguished dissertation in the Division of Social Sciences

Employment etc

1985-87 Harvard University, Asst Director of her department

1987-95 Stanford University, Asst Prof. of Anthropology

1995-2005 Stanford University, Associate Professor

2005 – Stanford University, Emerita

2006-2007 Brown University, Professor, Religious Studies

2007-Present, Brown University, Research Scholar

Fellowships and Awards

- National Endowment for the Humanities, John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, 2004–05
- Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, 1996–97
- Fellow, Harvard Divinity School, 1992–93
- Fellow, Stanford Humanities Center, 1989–90
- Mark Perry Galler prize for the most distinguished dissertation in the social sciences at the University of Chicago, 1985.
- Fulbright Advanced Research Fellowship, 1984–85
- Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Fellowship, 1981–82
- National Science Foundation, Dissertation Grant, 1981–82
- Fulbright Cultural Exchange Scholar, 1979–80

Bibliography

6 Publications (4 Books, 1 book collaborated & 1 collection of essays)

Voluminous and Various Articles

Columbus and the Quest for Jerusalem (2011)

II. PROFESSOR DELANEYS INVESTIGATION, RESEARCH AND FIELD STUDIES ABROAD ON LOCATION RELATED TO THE PRODUCTION OF HER ORIGINAL, ACCALIMED BOOK ON COLUMBUS

In 1999 – was teaching a class: “Millennial Fever” and apocalyptic frenzy
Noticed the Toppling of statues and Protests for Indigenous People
Readings about Columbus about similar beliefs in 15th Century
At the time she was not well versed in the History of Columbus

She began research, reading, discussion with staff/fellows at Brown/Stanford

Bibliography of this book contains – 13 pages of sources

Professor Delaney read his (Columbus’) diary, his agreement with Queen Isabella, memos, letters, his son’s (Ferdinand) and his brother’s (Batholomew) writings, his crew members letters and memos, his (Columbus’) book of prophecies

Field research

Genoa (Place of Columbus’ birth)

Preserved documents, sense of city, topograph

Spain

Granada, Alhabra, La Rabitda monastery, Cordoba,

Boarded replicas of 3 small ships docked below the monastery

Walked 7 km to Palos

Seville – Location of Columbus’ 1st meeting with sovereigns

Location of Biblioteca Columbina

Madrid - Casa de Alba – more documents, direct descendant

Simancas – held 500 year old letters written by Columbus

Valladolid – house where he died

Signed up for a stint on a ship – 3 AM watch, swabbed the decks,
hailed sails, tried to calculate distance

Caribbean field trip to all islands

III. Columbus the whole story

The current “fashionable” view of Columbus as a Villain, a rapist, torturer, marauder is far from the truth and contrary to what the writings reflect. If you would read his diary, memos and letters – [Professor Delaney] did, you would see that he speaks very highly of the natives he

encountered and remained friends with them. Columbus never personally killed any natives and continually admonished his men not to maraud, rape or plunder.

“Judging Columbus from a contemporary perspective rather than from the values and practices of his own time misjudges his motivations and his accomplishments.” p. 236

THE MISSION

“Columbus set forth on his voyage with the intention to deliver letters to the Grand Khan from Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand and to set up a trading post to trade for the gold and spices he had read about in Marco Polo’s book. The stated purpose of that trade was to obtain enough gold to finance a crusade to retake Jerusalem from the then Muslim occupiers as a prerequisite to rebuilding the temple for Christ’s return before the end of the world (which he believed was imminent (emphasis added).” p. 237

“Columbus did not intend to supplant the native peoples with Europeans or steal their land; later, faced with rebellion, he capitulated to the settlers’ demands” p. 237

A. Today – Symbol

- a. New View – He was responsible for everything that went wrong in the New World. “[H]e is an avaricious sinner who fomented genocide.” p. xii
- b. Old View – Devout Christian- he became a Franciscan Monk, Great naval Navigator, Founder of the New World – attempts were made at canonizing him a saint in the 1800’s because it was argued that he brought the Christian faith to half the world

B. Delaney’s Purpose of Research & Perspective

- a. “not to exonerate Columbus, but to situate him in his cultural context and to shift some of our attention from the man to the religious ideas that motivated him and were widely shared by his contemporaries” p. xiii
- b. “[W]e must consider his world and how the cultural and religious beliefs of his time colored the way he thought and acted.”
 - i. He lived in a Catholic World where his faith was not just a moral guide but a worldwide view p. xiii
- c. One cannot judge Columbus with today’s standards as they [500 years ago] did not have the same knowledge, moral experience we do today. No different than we are much more advance than we were in 1960 [only 50 years ago] and from our decision making as adults from when we were children or teens, etc..

C. Columbus’ Goals

- a. This was a Religious Mission
- b. **“whole goal was to meet the Grand Khan in China, set up a trading post like Marco Polo, but the profits gained were to be used to fund a crusade**

to take back Jerusalem from the Muslim rulers before the end of the world. This was necessary so the Church could be rebuilt, so Christ could come again to save the people. This is in his writings and agreement with Queen Isabella. Also, it is why he kept asking her [Queen Isabella] to send priests to teach and baptize the people. Baptized people could not be enslaved.”

D. The 4 Voyages detailed

a. 1st Voyage

- i. 8/3/1492 departed from Palos, Spain to Canary Islands to Hispaniola (Haiti/Dominican Republic) arrived on 10/12/1492
- ii. Came on the Nina, Pinta and Santa Maria with 90 total crew members
- iii. They began trading with them (the natives) - immediately
 1. **P. 92 – “in order that they would be friendly to us – because I recognized that they were a people would be better freed and converted to our Holy Faith by love than by force”**
Diario p. 65
- iv. He was searching for Japan
- v. “The quest for gold ... was relentless. No wonder people reading Columbus’s diary conclude that greed was the primary motive behind his quest.” He was an agent of the crown and had to repay them to finance future voyages and knew that without this – his plan to Jerusalem would come to an end.
- vi. He realized that he needed to learn the language to convert the natives.
- vii. **Caribs were the enemies of those he befriended**
 1. **They killed or enslaved natives before Columbus arrived [Columbus DID NOT introduce the institution of Slavery to the Americas!!!**
 2. **They dismembered and castrated their enemies**
 3. **Thought to be cannibals**
- viii. The Santa Maria was wrecked and unable to return with all crew members – Columbus was forced to leave 39 men behind with Guacanagari, chief of the natives whom he had befriended over a 90 day stay
- ix. He ordered his men to do no harm to the Indians, “rather ... strive ... to gain their good-will, keeping their friendship and love, so that he should find them as friendly and favourable and more so when he returned.” P. 109 Casas quoting Columbus

- x. 1/16/1493, left for Spain with 6 to 10 Indians

Purpose:

1. To learn each others languages
2. To instruct them in Christianity
3. Evidence that he found a route across the ocean
4. They were baptized – NOT ENSLAVED
5. One became his adopted Godson

b. 2nd Voyage

- i. 9/25/1493 departed with 17 ships and about 1200 men - arrived in 21 days (a navigational feat at the time)
- ii. Captured some of the Caribs to return to Spain and rescued and freed those whom the Caribs enslaved
- iii. Discovered many more islands on his way back to his men, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands (Note, American territories today)
- iv. Skirmish at St. Croix with more Caribs who had enslaved Guacanagari's people – He put them on his boat and returned them to their homes
- v. Arrived at where he left his 39 men and learned that they were all killed
 1. His crew wanted revenge p. 132
 2. **Columbus refused to exact revenge until he could find out the truth**
 3. Learned that his men had **defied his orders** and fought amongst themselves, raided villages, raped, kidnapped women, hoarded unreported gold found
 4. Rival Chief Caonabo retaliated and killed Columbus' men
 5. Columbus' friendship with Guacanagari grew but that relationship along with his settlers began to deteriorate
- vi. Columbus was a sailor and navigator; he was not cut out for the job of administrator; even less as governor, and he had had no training for this role. P. 135
 1. The *hidalgos* (Spaniards with money) were the problem – they refused to work and wanted slaves
 2. *Hidalgos* refused to eat native food
 3. They turned against him
- vii. Columbus sent 12 of 17 ships back
 1. He sent back 26 Caribs - permitted to be done by papal policy because:
 - a. Those from a just war
 - b. Those who resisted Christianization
 - c. Those who violated the law of nature [Cannibalism]
 - d. Caribs fit all of the above
- viii. Columbus wrote that he wanted to pay the natives
 1. **"I believe that if they started to receive something in payment they would work, being exceedingly eager, and so**

set themselves to do anything if it should profit them.” P. 142
citing Columbus letter #2

- a. Columbus’s primary intention was that the natives should be employees of the Crown, not slaves”
- ix. Margarit [BAD ACTOR WHOSE ACTIONS HAVE BEEN ATTRIBUTE FALSELY TO COLUMBUS] who was one of the more wicked “leaders” avoided punishment by Columbus by returning to Spain with the intent to deflect his actions and deflecting them toward Columbus
- x. Columbus returned to Spain and became a Monk on June 11, 1496 leaving his brother as “governor” and bringing 30 more natives with him – not slaves

c. 3rd Voyage

4/23/1497

- i. Ferdinand and Isabella issued an Order for a 3rd Voyage
- ii. 6 ships total – 3 to Hispaniola and 3 with Columbus for further discovery. The sovereigns NOT COLUMBUS shifted the goal from developing a shipping post to that of colonization on the 3rd Voyage
- iii. He had to elude French ships while they were at war with Spain
- iv. Columbus gave the ship captains “Directions to Hispaniola and strict instructions that when they needed supplies, they must *trade* with the Indians, not just take what they wanted; **the use of force, he said was unnecessary and only served to create hostility**” p. 163
- v. One of the 3 ships was forced off course and landed where **Roldan** [BAD ACTOR WHOSE ACTIONS ARE FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO COLUMBUS] was the local leader of that settlement. Roldan and his rebels overtook this group and shortly thereafter started plundering native villages and raping their women.
- vi. Columbus wrote to the Queen about this and she sent **Bobadilla** [[BAD ACTOR WHOSE ACTIONS ARE FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO COLUMBUS] to investigate the complaints of Columbus of the rebels and their complaints of mismanagement. Instead of investigating, Bobadilla imprisoned Columbus and charged him with being the rebellious and sent them back to Spain. Bobadilla seized all of Columbus and his people’s property.
- vii. The monarchs were astonished by the arrival of Columbus as a prisoner. They saw that Bobadilla had abused the trust placed in him. The people also saw the injustice, and everything was done to relieve Columbus from his humiliating condition and assure him of the royal favor, except to reinstating him as Governor of the Indies.
- viii. **In sum, he was not found to have performed the atrocities attributed to him and was awarded a fourth voyage.**

d. 4th Voyage

- i. 5/11/1502 departed with 4 ships and 140 men; left Spain with a 51 Year Old Columbus in deteriorating health.
- ii. Returned to relieve Bobadilla
- iii. This was a trip filled with hurricanes which he was able to shelter his own ships but a treasure fleet including Bobadillo Roldan and the rebels with the gold leaving Santo Domingo did not make it.
- iv. They sailed to Jamaica, Guantanamo Bay, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama (Central America)
- v. He was attacked in Panama by natives and fled with 3 ships and eventually marooned in Jamaica but Captain Diego Mendez sailed a canoe to Hispaniola where he was imprisoned by governor Ovando for 7 months
- vi. Columbus's men were hungry and desperate and ½ **mutinied**. Eventually Mendez was released and despite not being given a ship by Ovando, he chartered one to rescue Columbus and the men.
- vii. Ovando [**BAD ACTOR WHOSE ACTIONS HAVE BEEN FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO COLUMBUS**] refused entry because if Columbus learned of how he treated the Indians, he would be recalled also
- viii. They returned to Spain on 11/7/1504 unsuccessful in the goal of obtaining sufficient gold to commence the quest to Jerusalem.

E. Present Unfounded Allegations against Columbus

a. **Enslaver**

- i. Columbus **personally DID NOT HAVE ANY SLAVES** nor did he approve of it but did allow it to occur based upon the rules/morals/thinking of the 1400's which was that it was accepted in certain circumstances, including a Papal edict
- ii. Those who were baptized as Christian could not be enslaved
- iii. He wanted to convert all to Christianity. He continually petitioned the Queen to send priests
 1. **"Ordered that they should be treated courteously because they are the best and most gentle people in the world, and especially, because I have much hope in Our Lord that Your Highness will make all of them Christians and that they will all be your subjects " P. 105 citing Diario p. 231**
 2. "Columbus envisioned the Spanish sovereigns as both the lords and protectors of these people who felt threatened by those of the Grand Khan." He also thought they could be put to work. P. 105

- iv. It was never Columbus' idea to enslave or send natives back as slaves. Unfortunately, they were but not by his order. Those people were rounded up by the rebels and put on the ships...
- v. Claims that Columbus took 1600 slaves by his order on voyage 2 is false
 - 1. Multiple settlement posts were established with multiple leaders
 - 2. DeCuneo took 550 Caribs and other Indians who attacked them.
 - a. the Sovereigns sent back an order to enslave any of the Indians who attacked the Christians
- vi. On Voyage 3 Columbus sent a letter to his brother Bartholomew "to pay a group of these men to go work in the mines. Other were to help build a new settlement and plant wheat and other foodstuffs." p. 164
- vii. **Writers have attributed the attacks on the Arawaks on Haiti to Columbus when he wasn't even there. Some attacks on them began after the second voyage and Columbus' involvement and authority was challenged and eliminated. The true attack began the decade AFTER the fourth voyage.**

b. Rapist

- i. Eg. On the 3rd voyage, One of the 3 ships set to go to Hispaniola was forced off course and landed where Roldan was the local leader of that settlement. **Roldan** and his rebels overtook this group and shortly thereafter started plundering native villages and raping their women.

c. Torturer

- i. COLUMBUS NEVER KILLED ANY NATIVES AND CONTINUALLY ADMONISHED HIS MEN NOT TO MARAUD, RAPE OR PLUNDER.
- ii. Allegations of Columbus cutting off hands
 - 1. It did occur but against all orders of Columbus for all 4 voyages
- iii. False allegation were made about Columbus cutting his own men's tongues on Voyage 2. Rather that **Fernand Perez de Luna**, on his own authority, threatened to do this. See De Cueno's Letter.
- iv. He removed Margarit and instated Hojeda
 - 1. Believed Spaniards molested the Indians because Columbus didn't
 - 2. Columbus wanted his men to be of a higher standard than the Indians
 - 3. **Hojeda** in the second voyage disobeyed Columbus and cut off the ears of one and captured some who Columbus then released after distracting the Spaniards p. 146

F. Leadership

- a. Captain of a Ship
- b. Poor Leader of a Trading Post / Colony
- c. Columbus was a sailor and navigator; he was not cut out for the job of administrator; even less as contractor, and he had had no training for this role. P. 135
- d. Evidenced by the "mutinies" on land not while he was commanding his fleet