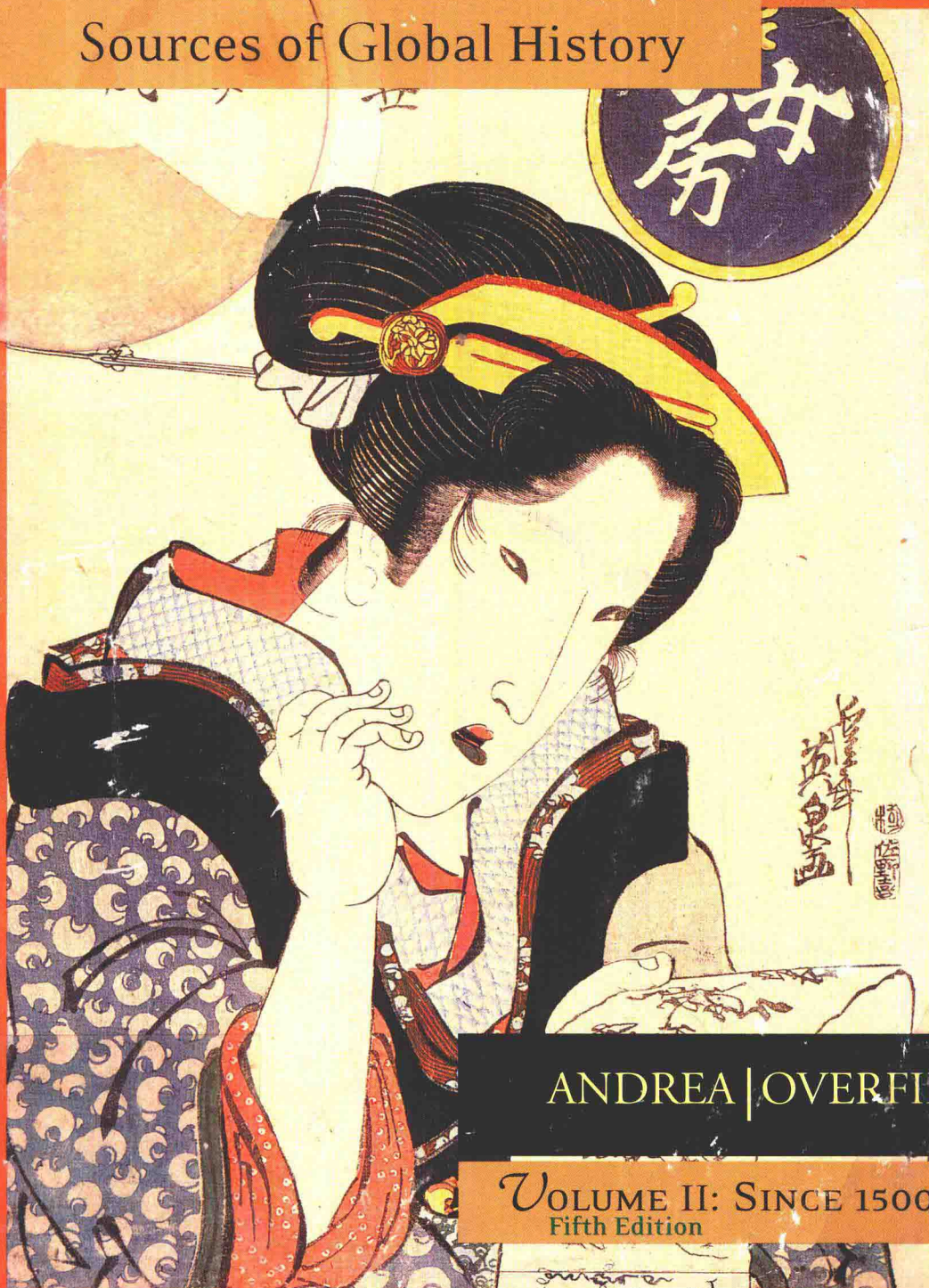


THE HUMAN RECORD

Sources of Global History



ANDREA | OVERFIELD

VOLUME II: SINCE 1500
Fifth Edition

The
HUMAN
RECORD

SOURCES OF GLOBAL HISTORY

FIFTH EDITION / Volume II: Since 1500

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HUMAN RECORD

Volume II



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*As always, our love and thanks to
Juanita B. Andrea and Susan L. Overfield*

Preface

The fifth edition of *The Human Record: Sources of Global History* follows the principles that guided the first four editions. Foremost is our commitment to the proposition that all students of history must meet the challenge of analyzing primary sources, thereby becoming active inquirers into the past. Working with primary-source evidence enables students to see that historical scholarship is an intellectual process that involves drawing inferences and discovering patterns from clues yielded by the past, not of memorizing someone else's judgments. Furthermore, such analysis motivates students to learn by stimulating curiosity and imagination, and it helps them develop into critical thinkers who are equipped to deal with the complex intellectual challenges of life.

Themes and Structure

We have compiled a source collection that traces the course of human history from the rise of the earliest civilizations to the present. Volume I follows the evolution of cultures that most significantly influenced the history of the world from around 3500 B.C.E. to 1700 C.E., with emphasis on the development of the major social, religious, intellectual, and political traditions of the societies that flourished in Africa and Eurasia. Although our focus in Volume I is on the Eastern Hemisphere, we do not neglect the Americas. Volume I concurrently develops the theme of the growing links and increasingly important exchanges among the world's cultures down to the early modern era. Volume II picks up this theme of growing human interconnectedness by tracing the gradual establishment of Western global hegemony; the simultaneous historical developments in other civilizations and societies around the world; the anti-Western, anticolonial movements of the twentieth century; and the emergence of the twenty-first century's integrated but still often bitterly divided world.

To address these themes in the depth and breadth they deserve, we have chosen primary sources that present an overview of global history in mosaic form. Each source serves two functions: It presents an intimate glimpse into some meaningful aspect of the human past and simultaneously contributes to the creation of a single large picture — an integrated history of the world. With this dual purpose in mind, we have tried to avoid isolated sources that provide a taste of some culture or age but, by their dissociation, shed no light on patterns of cultural creation, continuity, change, and interchange — the essential components of world history.

In selecting and arranging the various pieces of our mosaic, we have sought to create a balanced picture of human history that reflects many different perspectives and experiences. Believing that the study of history properly concerns every aspect of past human activity and thought, we have chosen sources that mirror the practices and concerns of as wide a variety of representative persons and groups as availability and space allow.

Our pursuit of historical balance has also led us into the arena of artifactual evidence. Although most historians center their research on documents, the discipline of history requires us to consider all of the clues surrendered by the past, and these include its artifacts. Moreover, we have discovered that students enjoy analyzing artifacts and seem to remember vividly the insights they draw from them. For these reasons, we have included works of art and other artifacts that users of this book can and should analyze as historical sources.

New to This Edition

We have been gratified with the positive response by colleagues and especially students to the first four editions of *The Human Record*. Many have taken the trouble to write or otherwise contact us to express their satisfaction. No textbook is perfect, however, and these correspondents have been equally generous in sharing their perceptions of how we might improve our book and meet more fully the needs of its readers. Such suggestions, when combined with continuing advances in historical scholarship and our own deeper reflections on a variety of issues, have mandated periodic revisions. In the current revision, as was true in the previous three, our intent has been to make the book as interesting and useful as possible to students and professors alike.

As difficult as it is to let go of sources that have proved valuable and important for us and our students (and our classroom has always been the laboratory in which we test and refine *The Human Record*), we are always searching for sources that enable us and our students to explore more fully and deeply the rich heritage of world history. For this reason, almost one-third of the sources that appear in the fifth edition are new.

In Volume I we added eight new sources relating to the Silk Road and the peoples of Central Asia, scattering them among three chapters. The United States' heightened interest and involvement in the lands and cultures of that region was one factor that led to this decision, but equally important were the voices of many users of the text who asked for more material on the pastoral peoples of Inner Asia and the manner in which they related to their neighbors. Now students can study *The Old Tang History's* account of how an eighth-century Chinese emperor used an imperial marriage alliance to gain the help of the Uighurs in putting down a civil war. Among the other new Silk Road sources, there is the biography of the nun An Lingshou, which illustrates how Buddhism infiltrated into China from Central Asia during the fifth century; a seventh-century Chinese description of Nalanda, India's premier Buddhist monastery and a magnet for wandering saints and scholars from lands as distant as Persia and Sumatra; and the Spaniard Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo's description of how Samarkand became the most prosperous city in Central Asia during the Age of Tamerlane.

In response to an avalanche of recent interest in the Sufi poetry of Jalaluddin al-Rumi, Chapter 8 of Volume I contains several of this thirteenth-century mystic's poems and a short excerpt from Ahmed al-Aflaki's biography of al-Rumi, *The Virtues of Those Who Know*. Several other sources also offer the spe-

cial insight that poetry provides. New selections from the poetry of Du Fu provide, better than ever before, a privileged view of China's turbulent history in the mid eighth century. To illustrate the vivacity of Egypt's New Kingdom, we have included several love songs probably composed by an upper-class woman. Love is also a key element in the *Pillow Book* of Sei Shonagon, an eleventh-century Japanese court lady, whose frank and, at times, scandalous ruminations force us to rethink stereotypical images of East Asian women and their place in society.

American Indian civilizations also get a new look, thanks to three Mayan sculptures and Diego Durán's *Book of the Gods and Rites*, which reveals the confluence of commercial vitality and religion in the Aztec marketplace. Religion and tragic drama existed side by side in the theaters of Classical Greece, and nowhere is this better illustrated than in Euripides' *The Bacchae*. Complementing this masterpiece are three new Hellenic works of art, including the provocative *Meanad*, or female Bacchic devotee.

Among the many other new sources in Volume I, several have received new translations by A. J. Andrea that are improvements on flawed or antiquated available translations. These include works by two first-century Roman authors: Pliny the Elder's description of Roman trade with India and other lands to its east and Tacitus's two accounts of the rebellion of Queen Boudica in first-century Britain. They also include several Roman sources relating to the persecution of Christians and an early-fourteenth-century description of China by the Italian missionary Odoric of Pordenone.

A number of sources carried over from the fourth edition have been reconfigured and revised. In Volume I these include excerpts from China's *Book of Songs*, the *Analects of Confucius*, the *Quran*, Charlemagne's *Capitularies*, excerpts from the writings of Maimonides, as well as the already-mentioned poems of Du Fu.

Longtime users of Volume II of *The Human Record* will note that its organization in the fifth edition has been changed in subtle but significant ways. First, the chapter order of Part One has been recast. Ever since the second edition, this part has begun with a chapter on Europe, with those on Africa and the Americas, South and Southwest Asia, and East and Southeast Asia following. This arrangement sent the unintended message to some of our students that Europe came first because it was more important, more advanced, and more powerful than other regions of the world. Putting Europe first for such reasons might be defensible for later periods in world history, but certainly not for the years covered in these initial chapters, when in most fields of human endeavor — art, literature, technology, government, military power, agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing — Europe lagged behind the older civilizations of the Middle East, India, and East Asia. Now European material is covered in Chapter 3, which follows chapters on East and Southeast Asia and the Islamic heartland and precedes the material on Africa and the Americas, the two regions most affected by Europe's overseas expansion.

The other organizational change in Volume II is that material on the world since 1945 has been broken down into two chapters, meaning that for the first

time in its publishing history Volume II of *The Human Record* will have fourteen, not thirteen, chapters. The reason for the change is simple: Time marches on and history expands. Ever since the first edition of *The Human Record* Chapter 13 has been entitled "The Global Community since 1945." In the first edition this meant it covered forty-five years of recent history, already a formidable task. For the fifth edition the number of years to be covered increased almost 33 percent to almost sixty years. In these additional years the Cold War ended, the Soviet Union collapsed, the Internet revolution took place, globalization became a hot topic, new pandemics swept the world, and world terrorism emerged as a major threat. In this edition Chapter 13 covers the period from 1945 to the mid 1980s, while Chapter 14 covers the last two decades.

Of the approximately forty new sources in Volume II, four are in Chapter 14. Two sources are devoted to the debate on the role of free trade and open markets in the new global economy, with Ralph Nader's 1993 anti-NAFTA essay representing free trade's critics and the excerpt from Brookings Institution scholars' 1998 book *Globaphobia* presenting the views of free trade's defenders. Chapter 14 also includes a section on terrorism, with focus on the events of September 11, 2001. The subsection consists of two sources: first, excerpts from Osama bin Laden's 1996 "Declaration of Jihad against Americans," and second, excerpts from "The Last Night," the list of instructions drawn up by the chief planner of the September 11 suicide missions, Mohammed Atta, that was to be read by the participants on the evening of September 10.

The other new sources for Volume II fall into two main categories. First, a number of sources that appeared in one or more of the first three editions of the book and disappeared in later editions reappear in the fifth edition. Every source we drop from one edition of the book to the next is someone's favorite, and we usually hear about it via e-mail, phone calls, letters, or conversations at professional meetings. It appears that quite a few people favored some of the sources dropped from the fourth edition, such as Darwin's writings on evolution, Voltaire's moving defense of religious toleration, Anna Bijl's spirited poem "Unyoked Is Best," the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," and the encomienda records from Nestalpa, Mexico. All of these have been reinstated.

Totally new sources make up the second category. They have been introduced to the fifth edition because we believe they will be more effective and useful for classroom teaching than those they replaced. Several new sources on women have been introduced to strengthen what has been an emphasis in *The Human Record* since it first appeared. They include excerpts from Leon Battista Alberti's *On the Family*, a book that provides instructive insights into upper-class Florentine male attitudes toward wives and daughters. It has the further advantage of adding a source on the Italian Renaissance. Chapter 2 includes a new source consisting of legal opinions and judgments by the seventeenth-century Islamic jurist Khayr al-Din Ramli pertaining to marriage, divorce, and sexual abuse in the region of Syria-Palestine in the Ottoman Empire. It is a fascinating source, with much more potential for classroom use

than the short section on divorce from Ogier de Busbecq's *Turkish Letters* that had to suffice in previous editions.

Other new sources in Volume II include three documents in Chapter 3 on the motives behind Europe's overseas expansion (excerpts from Azurara's *Chronicle of Guinea*; the 1492 agreement between Columbus and the Spanish monarchs; and Hakluyt's *A Discourse on Western Planting*). Chapter 5 now includes a series of political cartoons that illustrates the loss of privilege on the part of the clergy and nobility in the early years of the French Revolution. A soldier's memoir has been added to Chapter 11 to convey the horrors and futility of trench warfare in World War I. It replaces poems by Wilfred Owen and two artworks, which our students found moving but did not spark much in the way of class discussion. Excerpts from Theodor Herzl's *The Jews' State* have been added to the section on European nationalism in Chapter 8, and sources on sixteenth-century Chinese commerce, German reaction to the Treaty of Versailles, and pre-World War II Japanese nationalism also appear for the first time.

We also have an obligation to reflect in our work the most up-to-date scholarly discoveries and controversies. With that in mind, we have revised many of our introductions and commentaries. More than one-third of the pages dedicated to editorial commentary and notes have been rewritten.

Learning Aids

Source analysis can be a daunting challenge for any student. With this in mind, we have labored to make these sources as accessible as possible by providing the student-user with a variety of aids. First there is the *Prologue*, in which we explain, initially in a theoretical manner and then through concrete examples, how a historian interprets written and artifactual sources. Next we offer *part*, *chapter*, *sub-chapter*, and *individual source introductions* — all to help the reader place each selection into a meaningful context and understand each source's significance. Because we consider *The Human Record* to be an interpretive overview of global history and therefore a survey of the major patterns of global history that stands on its own as a text, our introductions are significantly fuller than what one normally encounters in a book of sources.

Suggested *Questions for Analysis* precede each source; their purpose is to help the student make sense of each piece of evidence and wrest from it as much insight as possible. The questions are presented in a three-tiered format designed to resemble the historian's approach to source analysis and to help students make historical comparisons on a global scale. The first several questions are usually quite specific and ask the reader to pick out important pieces of information. These initial questions require the student to address two issues: What does this document or artifact say, and what meaningful facts can I garner from it? Addressing concrete questions of this sort prepares the student researcher for the next, more significant, level of critical thinking and analysis: drawing inferences. Questions that demand inferential conclusions

follow the fact-oriented questions. Finally, whenever possible, we offer a third tier of questions that challenge the student to compare the individual or society that produced a particular source with an individual, group, or culture encountered earlier in the volume. We believe such comparisons help students fix more firmly in their minds the distinguishing cultural characteristics of the various societies they encounter in their survey of world history. Beyond that, it underscores the fact that global history is, at least on one level, comparative history.

Another form of help we offer is to *gloss the sources*, explaining fully words and allusions that first-year college students cannot reasonably be expected to know. To facilitate reading and to encourage reference, the notes appear at the bottom of the page on which they are cited. A few documents also contain *interlinear notes* that serve as transitions or provide needed information.

Some instructors might use *The Human Record* as their sole textbook. Most will probably use it as a supplement to a standard narrative textbook, and many of these might decide not to require their students to analyze every entry. To assist instructors (and students) in selecting sources that best suit their interests and needs, we have prepared *two analytical tables of contents* for each volume. The first lists readings and artifacts by geographic and cultural area, the second by topic. The two tables suggest to professor and student alike the rich variety of material available within these pages, particularly for essays in comparative history.

In summary, our goal in crafting *The Human Record* has been to do our best to prepare the student-reader for success — *success* being defined as comfort with historical analysis, proficiency in critical thinking, learning to view history on a global scale, and a deepened awareness of the rich cultural varieties, as well as shared characteristics, of the human family.

Using The Human Record: Suggestions from the Editors

Specific suggestions for assignments and classroom activities appear in the manual *Using The Human Record: Suggestions from the Editors*. In it we explain why we have chosen the sources that appear in this book and what insights we believe students should be capable of drawing from them. We also describe classroom exercises for encouraging student thought and discussion on the various sources. The advice we present is the fruit of our own use of these sources in the classroom.

Feedback

As already suggested, we want to receive comments and suggestions from professors and students who are using this book. Comments on the Prologue and Volume I should be addressed to A. J. Andrea, whose e-mail address is <Alfred.Andrea@uvm.edu>; comments on Volume II should be addressed to J. H. Overfield at <James.Overfield@uvm.edu>.

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Finally, our debt to our spouses is beyond payment, but the dedication to them of each edition of this book reflects in some small way how deeply we appreciate their constant support and good-humored tolerance.

A. J. A.
J. H. O.

The
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RECORD
Volume II

Prologue



Primary Sources and How to Read Them

Imagine a course in chemistry in which students never set foot in a laboratory; or a literature course in which they read commentaries on Shakespeare's plays but none of the plays; or a course on the history of jazz in which they never listen to a note of music. Most students would consider such courses strange and deficient, and many would soon be beating a path to the door of their academic advisor or college dean with complaints about flawed teaching methods and wasted tuition payments. No one can understand chemistry without doing experiments. No one can understand literature without reading plays, poetry, and fiction. No one can understand music without listening to performances.

In much the same way, no one can understand history without reading and analyzing *primary sources*. Although we shall see an exception to the rule when we look at oral traditions, in most instances, *primary sources are historical records produced at the same time the event or period that is being studied took place or soon thereafter*. They are distinct from *secondary sources* — books, articles, television documentaries, and even historical films — produced well after the events they describe and interpret. Secondary sources — *histories* in the conventional sense of the term — organize the jumble of past events into understandable narratives. They also provide interpretations, make comparisons, and discuss motive and causation. When done well, they provide pleasure and insight to their readers and viewers. But such works, no matter how well done, are still secondary, in that they are written well after the fact and, more important, derive their evidence and information from primary sources.

History is an ambitious discipline that deals with all aspects of past human activity and belief. This means that the primary sources historians use to recreate the past are equally wide-ranging and diverse. Most of the primary sources they use are written sources — government records, law codes, private correspondence, literary works, religious texts, merchants' account books, memoirs, and the list goes on almost endlessly. So important are written records to the study of history that societies and cultures that had or have no system of writing are called *prehistoric* — not because they lack a history but because there is no way to construct a detailed narrative of their histories due to the lack of written records. Of course, even so-called prehistoric societies leave behind evidence of their experiences, creativity, and belief systems in their *oral traditions* and their *artifacts*.

Let us look first at oral traditions — the remembered past passed down by word of mouth. The difficulty of working with such evidence is significant. You are aware of how stories change as they are transmitted from person to

person. Imagine how difficult it is to use such stories as historical evidence. Yet, despite the challenge they offer us, these sources cannot be overlooked. Although the oral traditions of ancient societies were often written down long after they were first articulated, they are often the only recorded evidence that we have of a far-distant society or event. So, the farther back in history we go, the more we see the inadequacy of the definition of primary sources that we offered above (“historical records produced at the same time the event or period that is being studied took place or soon thereafter”). The early chapters of Volume I contain quite a few primary sources based on oral traditions. We will inform you when this is the case and offer you sufficient information and suggestions as to which questions you can validly ask of them to enable you to use them effectively.

Artifacts can help us place oral traditions into a clearer context by producing tangible evidence that supports or calls into question legends. Artifacts can also tell us something about prehistoric societies whose oral traditions are lost to us. They even serve as primary sources for historians who study literate cultures. Written records, no matter how extensive and diverse, never allow us to draw a complete picture of the past, and we can fill at least some of those gaps by studying what human hands have fashioned. Everyday objects, such as fabrics, tools, kitchen implements, weapons, farm equipment, jewelry, pieces of furniture, and family photographs, provide windows into the ways that common people lived. Grander cultural products — paintings, sculpture, buildings, musical compositions, and, more recently, film — are equally important because they also reflect the values, attitudes, and styles of living of their creators and those for whom they were created.

To be a historian is to work with primary sources. But to do so effectively is not an easy task. Each source provides only one glimpse of reality, and no single source by itself gives us the whole picture of past events and developments. Many sources are difficult to understand, and can be interpreted only after the precise meaning of their words have been deciphered and their backgrounds thoroughly investigated. Many sources contain distortions and errors that can be discovered only by rigorous internal analysis and comparison with evidence from other sources. Only after all these source-related difficulties have been overcome can a historian hope to achieve a coherent and reasonably accurate understanding of the past.

To illustrate some of the challenges of working with primary sources, let us imagine a time in the mid twenty-first century when a historian decides to write a history of your college class in connection with its fiftieth reunion. Since no one has written a book or article about your class, our historian has no secondary sources to consult, and must rely entirely on primary sources. What primary sources might he or she use? The list would be a long one: the school catalogue, class lists, academic transcripts, yearbooks, college rules and regulations, and similar official documents; lecture notes, syllabi, examinations, term papers, and textbooks; diaries and private letters; articles from the campus newspaper and programs for sporting events, concerts, and plays; posters and handbills; recollections written down or otherwise recorded by some of your

classmates long after they graduated. With a bit of thought you could add other items to the list, among them some artifacts, such as souvenirs sold in the campus store, and other unwritten sources, such as recordings of music popular at the time and photographs and videotapes of student life and activity.

Even with this imposing list of sources our future historian will only have an incomplete record of the events that made up your class's experiences. Many of those moments — telephone conversations, meetings with professors, and gossip exchanged at the student union — never made it into any written record. Also consider the fact that all the sources available to our future historian will be fortunate survivors. They will represent only a small percentage of the material generated by you, your classmates, professors, and administrators over a two- or four-year period. Wastebaskets and recycling bins will have claimed much written material; the "delete" key and inevitable changes in computer technology might make it impossible to retrieve basic sources, such as your college's website, e-mail, and a vast amount of other online materials. It is also probable that it will be difficult to find information about certain groups within your class, such as part-time students, nontraditional students, and commuters. The past always has its so-called silent or near-silent groups of people. Of course, they were never truly silent, but often nobody was listening to them. It is the historian's task to find whatever evidence exists that gives them a voice, but often that evidence is tantalizingly slim.

For these reasons, the evidence available to our future historian will be fragmentary at best. This is always the case when doing historical research. The records of the past cannot be retained in their totality, not even those that pertain to the recent past.

How will our future historian use the many individual pieces of surviving documentary evidence about your class? As he or she reviews the list, it will quickly become apparent that no single primary source provides a complete or unbiased picture. Each source has its own perspective, value, and limitations. Imagine that the personal essays submitted by applicants for admission were a historian's only sources of information about the student body. On reading them, our researcher might draw the false conclusion that the school attracted only the most gifted, talented, interesting, and intellectually committed students imaginable.

Despite their flaws, however, essays composed by applicants for admission can still be important pieces of historical evidence. They certainly reflect the would-be students' perceptions of the school's cultural values and the types of people it hopes to attract, and usually the applicants are right on the mark because they have read the school's catalogue and the brochures prepared for prospective students by the admissions office. Admissions materials and, to a degree, even the catalogue, are forms of creative advertising, and both present an idealized picture of campus life. But such publications have value for the careful researcher because they reflect the values of the faculty and administrators who composed them. The catalogue also provides useful information regarding rules and regulations, courses, instructors, school organizations, and similar items. Such factual information, however, is the raw material of history,

not history itself, and certainly it does not reflect anything close to the full historical reality of your class's collective experience.

What is true of the catalogue is equally true of the student newspaper and every other piece of evidence pertinent to your class. Each primary source is a part of a larger whole, but as we have already seen, we do not have all the pieces. Think of historical evidence in terms of a jigsaw puzzle. Many of the pieces are missing, but it is possible to put most, though probably not all, of the remaining pieces together in a fashion to form a fairly accurate and coherent picture. The picture that emerges will not be complete, but it can still be useful and valid. The keys to fitting these pieces together are hard work and imagination. Each is absolutely necessary.

Examining Primary Sources

Hard work speaks for itself, but students are often unaware that historians also need imagination to reconstruct the past. After all, many students ask, doesn't history consist of strictly defined and irrefutable dates, names, and facts? Where does imagination enter into the process of learning these facts? Again, let us consider your class's history and its documentary sources. Many of those documents provide factual data — dates, names, grades, statistics. While these data are important, individually and collectively they have no historical meaning until they have been *interpreted*. Your college class is more than a collection of statistics and facts. It is a group of individuals who, despite their differences, shared and helped mold a collective experience. It was and is a community evolving within a particular time and place. Any valid or useful history must reach beyond dates, names, and facts and interpret the historical characteristics and role of your class. What were its values? How did it change and why? What impact did it have? These are some of the important questions a historian asks of the evidence.

To arrive at answers, the historian must examine each and every piece of relevant evidence in its full context and wring from that evidence as many *inferences* as possible. *An inference is a logical conclusion drawn from evidence, and it is the heart and soul of historical inquiry.* Facts are the raw materials of history, but inferences are its finished products.

Every American schoolchild learns at an early age that “in fourteen hundred and ninety-two, Columbus sailed the ocean blue.” In subsequent history classes, he or she might learn other facts about the famous explorer: that he was born in Genoa in 1451; that he made three other transatlantic voyages in 1493, 1497, and 1503; that he died in Spain in 1506. Knowing these facts is of little value, however, unless it contributes to our understanding of the motives, causes, and significance of Columbus's voyages. Why did Columbus sail west? Why did Spain support such enterprises? Why were Europeans willing and able to exploit, as they did, the so-called New World? What were the short- and long-term consequences of the European presence in the Americas? Finding answers to questions such as these are the historian's ultimate goal, and these answers can only be found in primary sources.