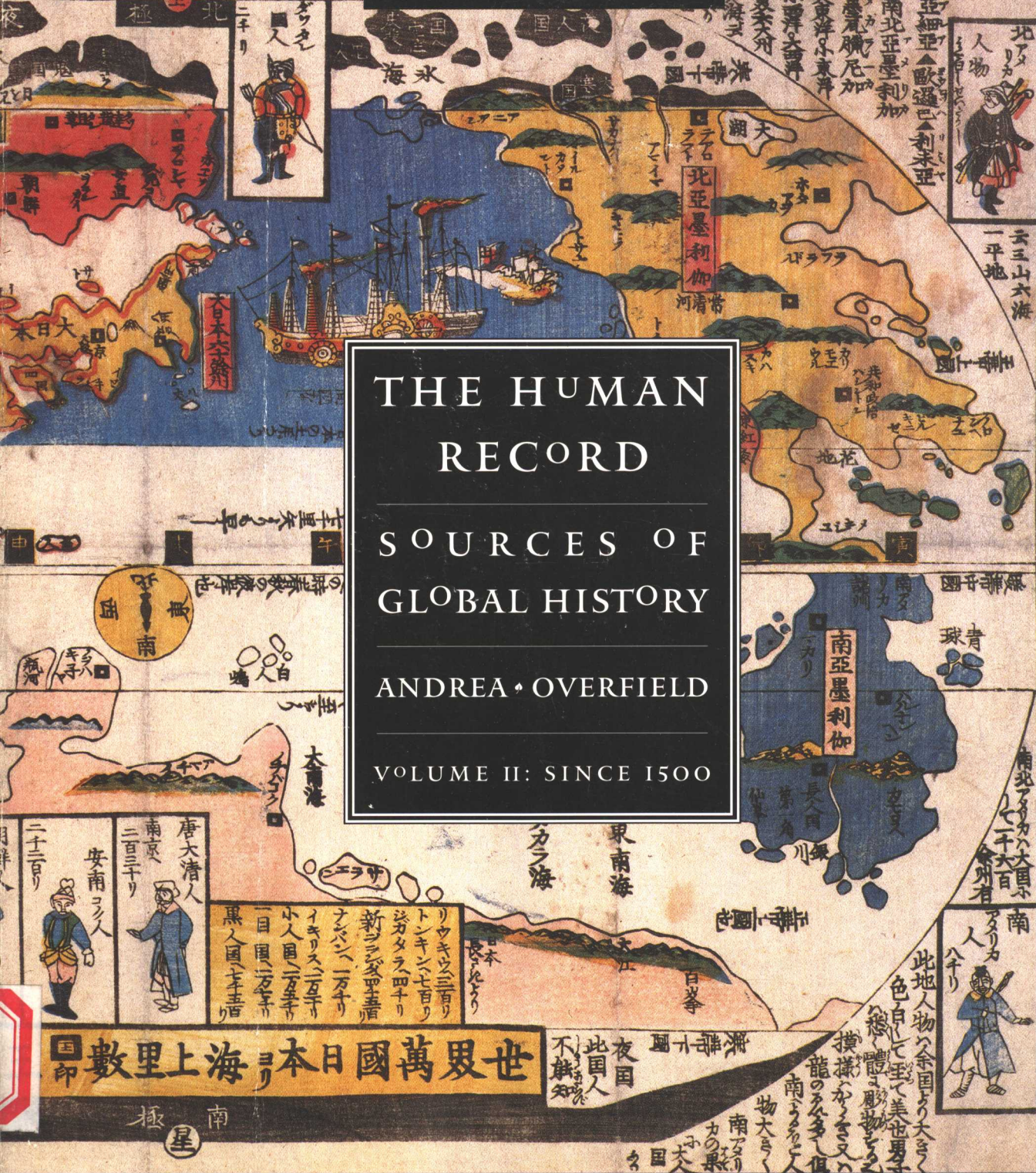


初下月五本日詩

SECOND EDITION



THE HUMAN RECORD

SOURCES OF
GLOBAL HISTORY

ANDREA OVERFIELD

VOLUME II: SINCE 1500

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The
HUMAN
RECORD

SOURCES OF GLOBAL HISTORY

SECOND EDITION / Volume II: Since 1500

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Preface

Many goals and principles have guided our work on *The Human Record*. 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 rather than passive recipients of historical facts. Involvement with primary-source evidence enables students to see that historical scholarship is principally the intellectual process of drawing inferences and perceiving patterns from clues yielded by the past, not of memorizing someone else's conclusions. Moreover, such analysis motivates students to learn by stimulating curiosity and imagination, and it helps them develop into critical thinkers who are comfortable with complex challenges.

Not only does primary-source evidence permit the student of history to discover what people in the past thought and did, it also allows the researcher to detect significant changes, as well as lines of continuity, in the institutions and ways of thought of a culture or cluster of cultures. This in turn allows the historian to divide the past into meaningful periods that highlight the historical turning points, as well as constancies, that constitute the human story. In short, primary-source analysis is the essence of the historian's craft and the basis for all historical understanding.

THEMES AND STRUCTURE

We have compiled a source collection that traces the long and intricate course of human history. Volume I follows the evolution of the cultures that most significantly influenced the history of the world from around 3500 B.C. to A.D. 1700, with emphasis on the development of the major religious, social, intellectual, and political traditions of that supercontinent of interconnected societies known as the "Afro-Eurasian ecumene." Although our primary focus in Volume I is on the eastern hemisphere, we do not neglect the Americas. This first volume 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 today's still often bitterly divided but integrated "one world."

In order to address these themes in depth, we have chosen and arranged selections to present an overview of global history in mosaic form, in which each source contributes to a single large composition. We have been careful 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 placing the various pieces of our mosaic, we sought to create a balanced picture of human history and to craft a book that reveals the contributions of all the world's major societies. We also have attempted to give our readers a collection of sources representing a wide variety of perspectives and experiences. Believing that the study of history properly concerns every aspect of past human activity and thought, we sought sources that mirror the practices and concerns of a wide variety of representative persons and groups.

Our quest for historical balance has also led us into the arena of unwritten evidence. Although most historians center their research on documents, the discipline 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 conclusions they draw from them. For these reasons, we have included a number of illustrations of works of art and other artifacts that users of this book can analyze as historical sources.

LEARNING AIDS

Source analysis can be a daunting exercise for students. Therefore, to make these selections as accessible as possible, we have provided our readers 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 student of history goes about the task of interpreting written and artifactual sources. Next we offer part, chapter, subchapter, and individual source introductions, all to help the reader place each selection into a meaningful context and understand each source's historical 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, our introductions are significantly fuller than those one normally encounters in a book of sources.

Suggested questions for analysis also 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 specific and ask the reader to pick out important pieces of information. These initial questions require the student to address the 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 brief survey of world history. Beyond that, we believe that global history is, by its very nature, comparative history.

Another form of help we offer is to gloss the sources, explaining fully words and allusions that 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. Some documents also contain interlinear notes that serve as transitions or provide needed information.

Some instructors may use *The Human Record* as their sole textbook. Most, however, will probably use it as a supplement to a standard narrative textbook, and many of these professors 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.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

A major goal in crafting *The Human Record* has been to do everything in our power to set the student-reader up for success — success being defined as comfort with historical analysis, proficiency in critical thinking, and learning to view history on a global scale. To continue to meet these objectives, we have made a number of changes. Moreover, because the study of history is an ongoing dialogue between the present and the past, recent events, such as the collapse of Soviet Communism, the eruption of bitter ethnic rivalries in many parts of the world, and the growing appeal of militant religious fundamentalism, have made revision of some portions of our book desirable. In addition, recent scholarly discoveries, such as archeological evidence that strongly points to the historical reality of China's Xia Dynasty, have made revision not just desirable, but necessary.

Users of the first edition will discover that about one-third of the documents and artifacts are new to the second edition. Volume I, for example, has an entirely new chapter, Chapter 11, devoted to Africa and the Americas in the age preceding any significant contact with Europeans. The sources selected for this chapter illustrate the social, religious, and political structures of a number of significant African and American civilizations. Additionally, some of the new sources appearing in Volume I, such as the signature seals of ancient Mesopotamia, India, and Crete (source 9), Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (source 41), and al-Bakri's account of ancient Ghana (source 85) were chosen because they reveal the important process of cultural syncretism, whereby elements from two or more cultures merge to form a new cultural complex, obviously an essential aspect of global history.

Likewise, we expanded Volume II's coverage of a number of new areas and topics. For example, sources 60 and 61 deal with developments in the South Pacific, specifically New Zealand and Tasmania, after the beginning of European settlement. Writings by Mazzini and Treitschke (sources 69 and 70) increase our coverage of nationalism. Readers will also find that sources 64, 126, and 127 deal with humanity's relationship with the environment. In the area of global politics, Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations (source 113) illustrates the recent dramatic end of the Cold War, while Václav Havel's "New Year's Address to the Na-

tion" of 1990 (source 124) underscores the equally amazing retreat of world communism in the past several years.

Other new sources reflect our ongoing commitment to social-cultural history. In this vein we added a number of documentary and artifactual sources that reflect everyday life and gender issues — topics emphasized in the first edition but important enough to justify expanded coverage. In Volume I these include *The Satire on the Trades* (source 5) from ancient Egypt, a rock painting of women gathering wild grains in the central Sahara (source 8), an account of the origins of Buddhist female monasticism (source 21), a source reflecting the role of female saints in the early Christian Church (source 56), a statue depicting the powerful role played by female leaders in the Yoruba culture of West Africa (source 87), and a number of other new sources. In Volume II they include two documents that reflect the impact on Amerindian peoples of Spanish policies of enforced labor (sources 19 and 20), an eyewitness account of eighteenth-century slavery in interior Africa (source 47), a description of the plight of Japanese peasantry under the late Tokugawa Shogunate (source 59), Cao Ming's *A Native of Ya'nan*, which illustrates the Maoist ideal of a heroic peasant woman (source 108), as well as other new sources.

Some new choices are simply new translations of documents that appeared in the previous edition. The main reason in those cases is to provide selections that are written in clear and idiomatic modern English. All translations from Chinese have been rendered into the *Pinyin* style of transliteration adopted by the People's Republic of China.

Although the book largely follows the format of the first edition, we made several structural changes to enhance its clarity and usefulness. Every source is now numbered, for easier reference. Moreover, each selection now has a descriptive title as a way of helping readers identify those sources that address their particular needs and interests. We have also reorganized along geographic lines Parts I and II of Volume II, which cover the period 1500–1850. We believe this new geographic-chronological structure will equally satisfy students, who will find it clear and straightforward, and instructors, who now will have greater flexibility in using these sources.

To reflect our rethinking and restructuring of many source selections, we also thoroughly revised many of the book's introductions and explanatory notes, occasionally expanding them in order to provide even greater help to the student-reader.

INSTRUCTOR'S RESOURCE MANUAL

Specific suggestions for assignments and classroom activities appear in the Instructor's Resource Manual that accompanies *The Human Record*. In this manual, prepared by the editor-authors, we explain why we have chosen the sources that appear in these volumes and what insights we believe students should be capable of drawing from them. Further, we describe classroom tactics for eliciting thought and discussion on the various sources and offer bibliographic suggestions. The advice we present is the fruit of our own use of these sources in the classroom.

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

Prologue: How to Read the Evidence

What Is History?

Many students believe that the study of history involves simply memorizing dates, names, battles, treaties, and endless numbers of similar facts. After all, so the argument goes, the past is over and done with. Historians know what has happened, and all that is left for students to do is to absorb this body of knowledge. But this notion is wrong. History, as is true of all branches of human understanding, involves discovery and interpretation. Historians are continually learning more about the past and shedding new light on its meaning. So our understanding of history is constantly changing. Just as significant, each person who studies the past brings to it a perspective and questions that are unique to that individual. Although there is certainly an objective past that we all must endeavor to discover and understand, each of us must personally explore a past that has meaning to us in order to find in it insights and truths relevant to our own needs and concerns. We trust that as you become involved in interpreting historical evidence, you will come to understand and appreciate the creative process that takes place as each individual investigates the past.

The drive to understand what has gone before us is innately human and springs from our need to know who we are. History serves this function of self-discovery in a variety of ways. Its subject matter is universal, dealing with all aspects of past human activity and belief. Among the many issues historians face in interpreting our complex and variegated historical heritage, two are fundamental: continuity and change. How and why do things change over time, and how and why do certain values and practices endure throughout a society's history? Answers to these questions, no matter how partial or tentative, reveal a culture's inner dynamics. When applied to the global community, historical perspective enables us to appreciate the richness of human experience and expression and the factors underlying the striking similarities and differences that exist among the world's peoples.

This collection of sources will help you discover some of the major lines of historical development within world history and understand the major cultural traditions and forces that shaped history around the globe. We will not hand you

answers, however; you will have to work for them, for hard work lies at the heart of historical study. The word *history*, which is Greek in origin, means “learning through inquiry,” and that is precisely what historians do. They discover and interpret the past by asking questions and conducting research. Their inquiry revolves around an examination of evidence left by the past. For lack of a better term, historians call that evidence *primary source material*.

Primary Sources: Their Value and Limitations

Primary sources for the most part are records that have been passed on in written form, thereby preserving the memory of past events. These written sources include, but are not limited to, official records, private correspondence, literature, religious texts, memoirs — the list goes on and on. None of these sources by itself contains unadulterated truth or the whole picture. Each gives us only a glimpse of reality, and it is the historian's task to fit these fragments of the past into a coherent picture.

Imagine for a moment that some historian in the late twenty-first century decides to write a history of your college class. Think about the primary sources that researcher would seek out: the school catalogue, the registrar's class lists, academic transcripts, and similar official documents; class lecture notes, course syllabi, exams, term papers, and textbooks; diaries and private letters; the school newspaper, yearbooks, and sports programs; handbills, posters, and even photographs of graffiti; recollections recorded by some of your classmates long after they have graduated. With some more thought you could add other items to the list, among them some nonwritten sources, such as recordings of popular music and photographs and videotapes of student life and activity. But let us confine ourselves, for the moment, to written records. What do all these documentary sources have in common?

As we examine this list of sources, we realize that, though numerous, these records do not and cannot present the past in its entirety. Where do we see among them the long telephone calls home, the all-night study groups, the afternoons spent at the student union? Someone may have recorded memories of some of these events, but how complete and trustworthy is that evidence? Also keep in mind that all the documents available to our twenty-first-century historian will be fortunate survivors. They will represent only a small percentage of the vast bulk of written material generated during your college career. Thanks to the wastebasket, the delete key, the disintegration of materials, and the inevitable loss of life's memorabilia as years slip by, the evidence available to the future historian will be fragmentary. This is always the case with historical evidence. We cannot preserve the records of the past in their totality. Clearly, the more remote the past, the more fragmentary our documentary evidence. Imagine the feeble chance any particular document from the twelfth century had of surviving the wars, wastebaskets, and worms of the past eight hundred years.

Now let us consider those many individual pieces of documentary evidence relating to your class's history that have survived. As we review the list, we see that not one of those primary sources gives us a pure, unvarnished, and complete picture. Each has its perspective, value, and limitations.

You certainly know that every college catalogue presents an idealized picture of campus life. Despite its flaws, however, that catalogue can be an important piece of evidence because it reflects the values of the faculty and administrators who composed it and provides useful information by listing rules and regulations, courses, instructors, school organizations, and similar items. That information, however, is the raw material of history, not history itself, and certainly it does not reflect the full historical reality of your class.

What is true of the catalogue is equally true of the student newspaper and every other piece of evidence generated by or 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 your 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 reasonable fashion to form a fairly accurate and coherent picture. The picture that emerges may not be complete, but it is useful and valid. The keys to fitting these pieces together are hard work and imagination. Each is absolutely necessary.

Examining the Sources

Hard work speaks for itself, but students are often unaware that a historian also needs an 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 — and these data are important, but individually and collectively they have no historical meaning until they are interpreted. Your college class is not a collection of statistics and facts. It is a group of individuals who, despite their differences, share and help mold a collective experience. It is a community evolving within a particular time and place. Influenced by its larger environment, it is, in turn, an influence on that world. Any valid or useful history must reach beyond a mere list of dates, names, and facts to 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.

In order to arrive at answers the historian must examine each and every piece of evidence as fully as possible and wring from that evidence as many *inferences* as possible. Facts may be the foundation stones of history, but inferences are its edifices. An inference is a logical conclusion drawn from evidence, and it is the heart and soul of historical inquiry.

Every American schoolchild learns that Christopher Columbus "sailed the ocean blue in 1492." That fact is worthless, however, unless the student understands the motives, causes, and significance of this late fifteenth-century voyage. Certainly a historian must know when Columbus sailed west. After all, time is history's framework. Yet the questions historians ask go beyond simple chronology. Why did Columbus sail west? What factors made possible and almost inevitable Spain's in-

volvement in such enterprises at this time? Why was Europe willing and able to exploit the "New World"? What were the short- and long-term consequences of the European presence in the Americas? These are some of the significant questions to which historians seek inferential answers, and those answers can only be found in the evidence.

One noted historian, Robin Winks, has written a book entitled *The Historian as Detective*, and the image is appropriate, although inexact. Like the detective, the historian examines clues in order to reconstruct events. However, the detective is essentially interested in discovering what happened, who did it, and why, while the historian goes one step beyond and asks what it all means.

Like the detective interrogating witnesses, the historian examines the testimony of sources, and both investigators ask similar questions. First and foremost, the historian must evaluate the *validity* of the source. Is it what it purports to be? Artful forgeries have misled many historians. Even if the source is authentic, and most are, it can still mislead the historian. The possibility always exists that the source's author is lying or otherwise deliberately misrepresenting reality. Even if this is not the case, the historian can easily be led astray by not fully understanding the *perspective* reflected in the document. As any detective who has examined a number of eyewitnesses to an event knows, viewpoints differ radically due to a number of factors. The police detective has the opportunity to reexamine witnesses and offer them the opportunity to change their testimony in the light of new evidence and deeper reflection. The historical researcher is usually not so fortunate. Even when the historian attempts to establish a creative interchange with documentary evidence by studying it in a probing manner and comparing it with other evidence, there is no way to cross-examine it in detail. What is written is written. Given this fact, it is absolutely necessary for the historian to understand, as fully as possible, the source's perspective. Thus, the historian must ask several key questions. *What* kind of document is this? *Who* wrote it? For *whom* and *why*? *Where* was it composed and *when*?

The *what* is important, because understanding the nature of the particular source can save the historian a great deal of frustration. Many historical sources simply do not directly address the questions a historian would like to ask of them. That twenty-first-century historian would be foolish to try to learn much about the academic quality of your school's courses from a study of the registrar's class lists and grade sheets. Student and faculty class notes, copies of old syllabi, exams, papers, and textbooks would be far more fruitful sources.

Who, for *whom*, and *why* are equally important questions. The official school catalogue undoubtedly addresses some issues pertaining to student social life. But should this document, designed to attract potential students and to place the school in the best possible light, be read and accepted uncritically? Obviously not. It should be tested against student testimony, discovered in such sources as private letters, memoirs, posters, the student newspapers, and the yearbook.

Where and *when* are also important questions to ask of a primary source. As a general rule, distance in space and time from an event colors perceptions and can adversely affect the validity of a source's testimony. The recollections of a person celebrating a twenty-fifth class reunion may prove quite insightful and valuable.

Conceivably, this graduate now has a perspective and even information that were absent a quarter of a century earlier. Just as conceivably, this person's memory might be playing tricks. A source can be so close to or so distant from the event it deals with that its view is distorted or totally erroneous. Even so, the source is not necessarily worthless. Often the blind spots and misinformation within a source reveal to the researcher much about the author's attitudes and sources of information.

The historical detective's task is not easy. In addition to constantly questioning the validity and perspectives of available sources, the historical researcher must often use whatever evidence is available in imaginative ways. Researchers must interpret these fragmentary and flawed glimpses of the past and piece together the resultant inferences as well as possible. While recognizing that a complete picture of the past is never possible, the historian assumes the responsibility of recreating a past that is valid and has meaning for the present.

You and the Sources

This book will involve you actively in the work of historical inquiry by asking you to draw inferences based on your careful analysis of primary source evidence. This is not an easy task, especially at first, but it is well within your capability. Moreover, we will help you all along the way.

You understand by now that historians do not base their conclusions on analysis of a single isolated source. Historical research consists of laborious sifting through mountains of documents. We have already done much of this work for you by selecting important sources that individually allow you to gain some significant insight into a particular historical culture or era. In doing this for you, we do not, however, relieve you of the responsibility of recognizing that no single source, no matter how rich it may appear, offers a complete picture of the society that produced it. Each source we ask you to analyze will provide valuable evidence, but it is only partial evidence.

You will analyze two types of evidence, documents and artifacts. Each source will be authentic, so you do not have to worry about validating it. We will supply you with the information necessary to place each piece of evidence into its proper context and will suggest questions you legitimately can and should ask of each source. If you carefully read the introductions and notes, the questions for analysis, and, most important of all, the sources themselves — and think about what you are doing — solid inferences will follow.

To illustrate how you should go about this task and what is expected of you, we have prepared a sample exercise, which we will take you through step by step. The exercise consists of analyzing two sources: a document from the pen of Christopher Columbus and a reproduction of an early sixteenth-century woodcut. First, we present the document, just as it would appear in any of the chapters of this book: introduction, suggested questions for analysis, and the source itself, with explanatory notes. (Because this source from Columbus is intended to introduce you to the art of historical inquiry, it is longer than most source excerpts that you will encounter in the text.) Then we show you how to read that document. The exercise

will not draw every possible insight and inference from the document, but it will demonstrate how to set about answering several of the important questions you should ask of that source.

Following that, we introduce you to the art of “reading” a nonwritten piece of historical evidence. After a few general observations on how a historian uses artifacts as evidence, we present the piece of evidence just as it would appear in the book. Then we show you what we read in this picture. If you have worked closely with us, by the end of this exercise you should be ready to begin interpreting sources on your own.

Christopher Columbus, *A LETTER CONCERNING RECENTLY* *DISCOVERED ISLANDS*

There is no need to recount in detail the story of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), a Genoese sea captain in the service of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, who sailed westward into the Atlantic seeking a new route to the empires of East Asia described by Marco Polo, whose book of travels Columbus had read and copiously annotated. On October 12, 1492, his fleet of three ships dropped anchor at a small Bahamian island, which Columbus claimed for Spain and named San Salvador. The fleet then sailed to the major islands of Cuba, which he named Juana, and Hispaniola (where the modern nations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic are located), which he named Española. After exploring the two islands and establishing the post of Navidad del Señor on Española, Columbus departed for Spain in January 1493. On his way home Columbus prepared a public account of his expedition to the “Indies” and posted it from Lisbon, Portugal, where he landed in early March. As intended, the letter preceded Columbus to the Spanish royal court, which he entered in triumph in April.

As you analyze the document, you should be aware of several facts. The admiral was returning with only two of his vessels. He had lost his flagship, the *Santa Maria*, when it was wrecked on a reef off present-day Haiti on Christmas Day. Also, many of Columbus’s facts and figures are based more on his enthusiasm than dispassionate analysis. His estimate of the dimensions of the two main islands he explored grossly exaggerates their sizes. His optimistic report of the abundance of such riches as gold, spices, cotton, and mastic (an aromatic gum) was not borne out by subsequent explorations and colonization. Gold was rare in the islands; the only indigenous “spice” proved to be the fiery chili pepper; the wild cotton was excellent but not plentiful; and mastic, native to eastern Mediterranean lands, was nonexistent in the Caribbean.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does Columbus indicate that these lands deserve the careful attention of the Spanish monarchs?

2. What does Columbus's description of the physical attributes of the islands he explored suggest about some of the motives for his voyage?
3. Often the eyes see only what the mind prepares them to see. What evidence is there that Columbus saw what he wanted to see and discovered what he expected to discover? In other words, how had his cultural environment prepared Columbus to see and interpret what he encountered in the Caribbean?
4. What do the admiral's admitted actions regarding the natives and the ways in which he describes these people allow us to conclude about his attitudes toward these "Indians" and his plans for them?
5. What does this letter tell us about the culture of the Tainos on the eve of European expansion into their world? Is there anything that Columbus tells us about these people that does not seem to ring totally true?
6. What evidence suggests that Columbus's letter was a carefully crafted piece of self-promotion by a person determined to prove he had reached the Indies?
7. Notwithstanding the obvious self-promotion, is there any evidence that Columbus also attempted to present an objective and fairly accurate account of what he had seen and experienced? To what extent, if at all, can we trust his account?
8. How does this letter illustrate the fact that single historical sources read in isolation can mislead the researcher?

Knowing that it will afford you pleasure to learn that I have brought my undertaking to a successful termination, I have decided upon writing you this letter to acquaint you with all the events which have occurred in my voyage, and the discoveries which have resulted from it.

Thirty-three days after my departure . . . I reached the Indian sea, where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled,¹ of which I took possession without resistance in the name of our most illustrious Monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of the blessed Savior² (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other islands; to each of these I also gave a name, ordering that one should be called Santa Maria de

la Concepción,³ another Fernandina, the third Isabella, the fourth Juana,⁴ and so with all the rest respectively. As soon as we arrived at that, which as I have said was named Juana, I proceeded along its coast a short distance westward, and found it to be so large and apparently without termination, that I could not suppose it to be an island, but the continental province of Cathay.⁵ . . .

In the meantime I had learned from some Indians whom I had seized, that that country was

¹The Tainos, a tribe that spoke a language belonging to the Arawak family. Arawak speakers inhabited an area from the Amazon River to the Caribbean.

²Jesus Christ.

³Holy Mary of the Immaculate Conception — Mary, mother of Jesus, who Catholics believe was so sinless she was conceived without the stain of Original Sin on her soul.

⁴Named for the daughter and heiress of Isabella and Ferdinand.

⁵Technically, Cathay was that area along China's northern frontier ruled by the Khitans, a people from Manchuria, between 907 and 1125. Columbus understood Cathay to be the entire Chinese empire of the Great Mongol Khan, not realizing that the Chinese had expelled the Mongols in the mid-fourteenth century. See Volume I, Chapter 12, sources 91–95, for additional information on the Mongols in China.

certainly an island: and therefore I sailed towards the east, coasting to the distance of three hundred and twenty-two miles, which brought us to the extremity of it; from this point I saw lying eastwards another island, fifty-four miles distant from Juana, to which I gave the name of Española. . . .

In . . . Española there are mountains of very great size and beauty, vast plains, groves, and very fruitful fields, admirably adapted for tillage, pasture, and habitation. The convenience and excellence of the harbors in this island, and the abundance of the rivers, so indispensable to the health of man, surpass anything that would be believed by one who had not seen it. The trees, herbage, and fruits of Española are very different from those of Juana, and moreover it abounds in various kinds of spices, gold, and other metals.

The inhabitants of both sexes in this island, and in all the others which I have seen, or of which I have received information, go always naked as they were born,⁶ with the exception of some of the women, who use the covering of a leaf, or small bough, or an apron of cotton which they prepare for that purpose. None of them . . . are possessed of any iron, neither have they weapons, being unacquainted with, and indeed incompetent to use them, not from any deformity of body (for they are well-formed),⁷ but because they are timid and full of fear. They carry however in place of arms, canes dried in the sun, on the ends of which they fix heads of dried wood sharpened to a point, and even these they dare not use habitually; for it

has often occurred when I have sent two or three of my men to any of the villages to speak with the natives, that they have come out in a disorderly troop, and have fled in such haste at the approach of our men, that the fathers forsook their children and the children their fathers. This timidity did not arise from any loss or injury that they had received from us; for, on the contrary, I gave to all I approached whatever articles I had about me, such as cloth and many other things, taking nothing of theirs in return: but they are naturally timid and fearful. As soon however as they see that they are safe, and have laid aside all fear, they are very simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they have; none of them refusing any thing he may possess when he is asked for it, but on the contrary inviting us to ask them.

They exhibit great love towards all others in preference to themselves: they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return. I however forbade that these trifles and articles of no value (such as pieces of dishes, plates, and glass, keys, and leather straps) should be given to them, although if they could obtain them, they imagined themselves to be possessed of the most beautiful trinkets in the world. Thus they bartered, like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles, and jars; which I forbade as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me, taking nothing from them in return; I did this in order that I might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the King and Queen, our Princes and all Spaniards, and that I might induce them to take an interest in seeking out, and collecting, and delivering to us such things as they possessed in abundance, but which we greatly needed.

They practice no kind of idolatry,⁸ but have a firm belief that all strength and power, and

⁶Marco Polo (Volume I, Chapter 12, source 93) described a number of islanders in South Asia who went naked. Compare also Columbus's description of this nudity with John Mandeville's account of the people of Sumatra in Volume I, Chapter 12, source 97.

⁷Europeans were prepared to find various races of "monster" humans and semihumans in the Indies. Such accepted travelogues as the fourteenth-century account of John Mandeville told of dog-headed people and a species of individuals who, lacking heads, had an eye on each shoulder. Columbus fully believed that such marvelous people resided somewhere in these islands (see note 10).

⁸Columbus claims they do not worship idols, or statues.