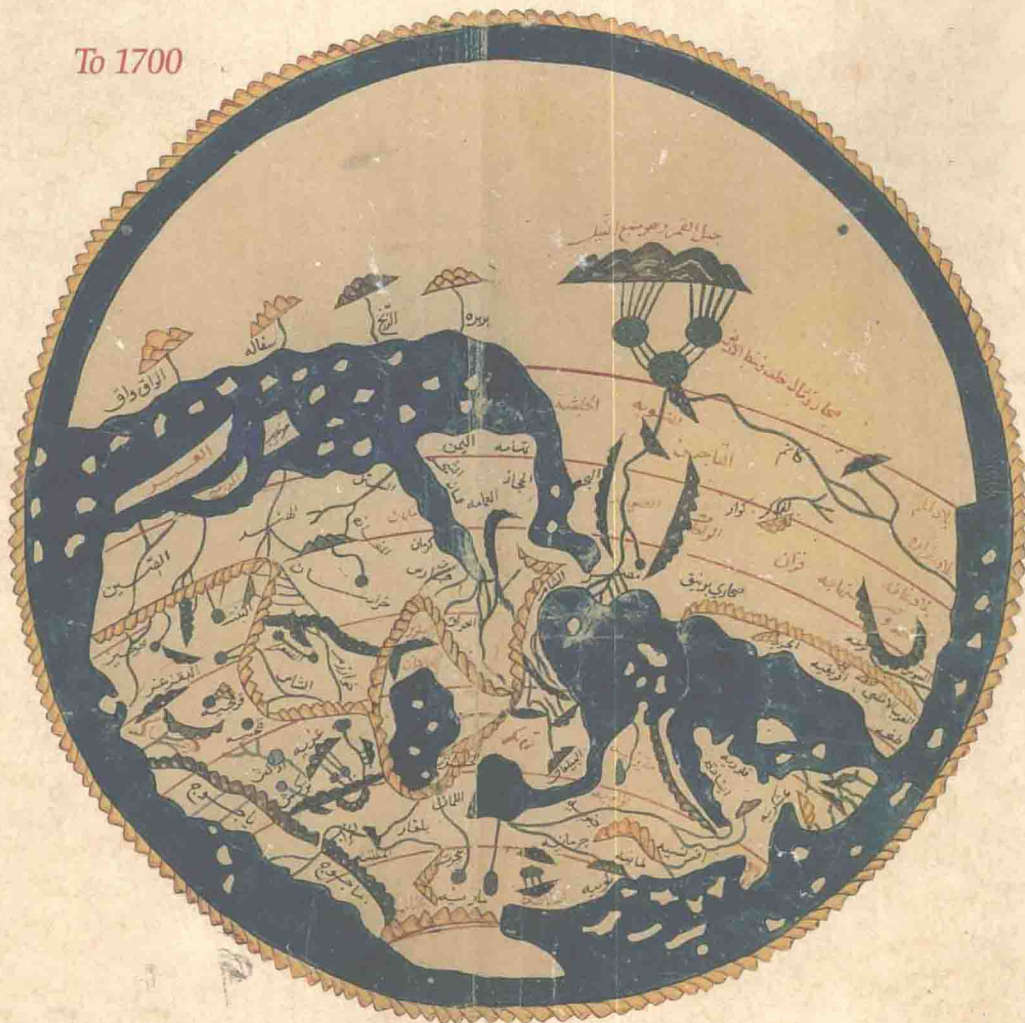


THE HUMAN RECORD

Sources of Global History

VOLUME I

To 1700



ANDREA / OVERFIELD

THE HUMAN RECORD

Sources of Global History

VOLUME I: *To 1700*

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Cover

World Map by al-Idrisi (twelfth century); MS. Pococke 375, folios 3v.–4v., Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Chapter-Opening Illustrations

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We Dedicate This Book with Love and Thanks to
Juanita B. Andrea and Susan L. Overfield

PREFACE

Many goals and principles have guided our work on *The Human Record*. We are committed to the proposition that students of history at all levels need to meet the challenge of analyzing primary sources. Involvement with the evidence of the past enables students to see that historical scholarship is primarily a process of drawing inferences from incomplete and often ambiguous clues, not of collecting, cataloguing, and memorizing immutable facts. Analysis of primary sources is also the basis for historical understanding; to discover what people thought and did and to organize this into a record of the human past, historians must search for evidence—for the sources of history. For the student of world history, who attempts to understand the development over time of human institutions and ways of thought, this search is essential to determine periods of significant historical change, as well as lines of continuity.

For these reasons, we have compiled a collection of sources that emphasizes the long and intricate course of human history and that reveals the differences and affinities among the world's cultures. Volume I follows the evolution of the cultures that most significantly influenced world history from 3500 B.C. to A.D. 1700, with particular emphasis on the major religious, social, and intellectual traditions of the Afro-Eurasian ecumene. It concurrently develops the theme of the growing interconnectedness of human societies down to the early modern age. Volume II traces the gradual emergence of the West to a position of global hegemony, the simultaneous historical development of other civilizations and societies around the world, the eventual anticolonial revolts of the twentieth century, and the emergence of today's "one world." We have taken care to group selections thematically, avoiding isolated sources that provide a "taste" of some culture or age but, by their dissociation, shed no light on the dual phenomena of historical change and continuity. Our objective is to present an overview of global history in mosaic form.

In selecting and placing the various pieces of our mosaic, we aimed to create a balanced picture of human history and to craft a book that reveals the contributions of all major geographic areas. In a similar vein, we 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 behavior, we sought sources that mirror the concerns and practices of all manner of persons and groups.

At the same time, most of the sources that appear in these two volumes reflect the actions and thoughts of history's great and near great. It cannot be otherwise in a book that seeks to cover the highpoints of over five millennia of history.

Our quest for historical balance also led us into the arena of nonverbal evidence. Although most historians center their research on documentary sources, the discipline obligates us to consider all of the clues surrendered by the past, and these include its artifacts. Moreover, we have discovered that students enjoy analyzing pictures of 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 that we ask the users of this book to analyze as historical sources. We also took special care in selecting the artwork that opens each chapter. Each piece of art illustrates an important theme developed in the chapter, and we urge our readers to study these pictures as additional sources. All are identified at the rear of the volume.

For the introductory student, source analysis is often a daunting exercise. 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 to understand its historical role and significance.

Suggested questions for analysis also precede each source. The questions fall into three categories. Some are quite specific and are intended to assist the reader in picking out important pieces of information or in noticing something we consider especially suggestive. Answering concrete questions of this sort prepares the student researcher for the next, more significant level of analysis, drawing general inferences. Questions that demand such conclusions invariably follow. Finally, we offer 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.

Another form of help we proffer is to gloss the sources, explaining in full those words and allusions that a first-year college student cannot reasonably be expected to know. To facilitate reading, these footnotes appear at the bottom of the page on which they are cited. Some documents also contain italicized interlinear notes that serve as transitions and suggest the main themes of the passages that follow. Used primarily in lengthier sources from the great thinkers, these notes help to guide students through the readings.

By virtue of its comprehensiveness, organization, and pedagogic features, some instructors may choose to use *The Human Record* as a replacement for a standard textbook. Most of our colleagues, however, will probably use it as a supplement to a standard text, and many will decide not to require their students to analyze every entry. To assist professors (and students) in selecting documents and artifacts 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 instructor and student alike the rich variety of material available within these pages, particularly for research papers in comparative history.

Specific suggestions for assignments and classroom activities are offered in the Instructor's Manual that accompanies *The Human Record*. In this manual, prepared by the editors, we also explain our reasons for choosing the sources that appear in these volumes and the insights we believe students should be capable of drawing from them. Further, we describe classroom strategies for eliciting thought and discussion on the various sources and offer bibliographic suggestions. Much of the advice we present is the fruit of our own use of these sources in the classroom.

Our final duty is to thank the many professionals who offered their expert advice and assistance during the preparation of this book. Among our friends and colleagues at the University of Vermont, we must acknowledge the cheerful and competent help of Bridget M. Butler, the Department of History's Administrative Assistant, and the invaluable support of the entire Reference Department of Bailey-Howe Library, particularly Nancy Crane, its director, and Bonnie Ryan, head of interlibrary loan services. Scholars at UVM who generously shared their expertise with us include Robert V. Daniels, Constance McGovern, Kristin M. Peterson-Ishaq, Abubaker Saad, Wolfe W. Schmokel, Peter Seybolt, John W. Seyller, Marshall True, and Denise Youngblood. We wish to thank especially Peter D. Andrea, who drew the prototype for map 2 in Volume I.

We wish also to acknowledge the following instructors who read and commented on all or portions of our manuscript in its various stages of preparation. Their comments and suggestions helped us to see more clearly what we were doing and where we were headed. They forced us to rethink a number of our conclusions and general statements, and in several instances we deleted or added a particular text in response to excellent advice. Even on those occasions when we disagreed with their interpretations and suggestions, we benefited from the exchange of ideas.

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Finally, our debt to our spouses is beyond payment, but the dedication of this book to them reflects in some small way how deeply we appreciate their support.

A. J. A.

J. H. O.

PROLOGUE: HOW TO READ THE EVIDENCE

1. What Is History?

Many students believe that studying history simply involves memorizing dates, names, battles, treaties, and countless similar facts. After all, so the argument goes, the past is over and done with. Historians know what has happened, and all students have to do is absorb that 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 fresh light on its meaning. As you become involved in interpreting historical evidence, you will come to understand and appreciate the creative process that takes place as we explore 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 past, 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 the dynamics of a culture. 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.

The collection of sources in this book will help you discover some of the principal lines of development within world history and understand the major cultural traditions and forces that have 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."

2. 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 can add other items to the list, among them some important 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, nor do we wish to. 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 800 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 com-

posed 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.

3. 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 space. Influenced by the larger environment in which it finds itself, 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 inference that 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 Co-

lumbus sail west? What factors made possible and almost inevitable Spain's involvement in such enterprises at this time? Why was Europe willing and able to exploit the "New World"? These are some of the significant questions whose inferential answers historians seek, and those answers can be found only 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 further and asks what it all means.

Like the detective interrogating witnesses, the historian also examines the testimony of sources, and both researchers 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 draw the historian into significant error. 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 newspaper, 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. It is possible for a source to 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. He or she must interpret these fragmentary and flawed glimpses of the past and piece together the resultant inferences as best as possible. While realizing that a complete picture of the past is never possible, the historian assumes the responsibility of re-creating a past that is valid and has meaning for the present.

4. 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, and we will help you all along the way.

You will analyze two types of evidence, documents and artifacts. Each source will be authentic, so you will not need to worry about validating it. We will supply you with the information necessary to place each piece of evidence in its proper context, and we will suggest questions you legitimately can and should ask of each source. If you carefully read the introductions and notes, the questions, and the sources — 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 a document written by 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 analytical questions, and the source itself, with explanatory notes. 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 more 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 words 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. By the end of this exercise, if you have worked closely with us, 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 over the Atlantic Ocean seeking a new route to the empires of East Asia. On October 12, 1492, his fleet of three ships dropped anchor at a small Bahamian island, which Columbus claimed for Spain, naming it 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 reflect more his enthusiasm than dispassionate analysis. His estimate of the dimensions of the two main islands he explored exaggerates their sizes. His optimistic report of the wide availability of such riches as gold, spices, cotton, and mastic, an eastern Mediterranean 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 was nonexistent in the Caribbean.

Questions for Analysis

1. What evidence is there in the letter that allows us to judge Columbus’s reliability as an objective reporter? To what extent can we trust his account?

2. 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?
3. What does Columbus's description of the physical attributes of the islands he explored suggest about some of the motives that underlay his voyage?
4. What does this letter tell us about the culture of the people of the Caribbean on the eve of European expansion into that region?

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, 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 Savior¹ (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 Concepcion, another Fernandina, the third Isabella, the fourth Juana,² 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.³ . . .

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

1. Jesus Christ.

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

3. Technically, Cathay was that area of northern China ruled by the Khitan Mongols

from 907 to 1101. Columbus understood Cathay to be the entire Chinese empire of the Great Khan, not realizing that the Chinese had expelled the Mongol khans in the mid-fourteenth century.

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,⁴ 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), but because they are timid and full of fear. They carry however in lieu 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. It even happened that a sailor received for a leather strap as much gold as was worth three golden nobles, and for things of more trifling value offered by our men, especially newly coined blancas, or any gold coins, the Indians would give whatever the seller required; as, for instance, an ounce and a half or two ounces of gold, or thirty or forty pounds of cotton. . . . 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, but have a firm belief that all strength and

4. Marco Polo, whom Columbus had read, described a number of island folk in South Asia who went naked.

power, and indeed all good things, are in heaven, and that I had descended from thence with these ships and sailors, and under this impression was I received after they had thrown aside their fears. Nor are they slow or stupid, but of very clear understanding; and those men who have crossed to the neighboring islands give an admirable description of everything they observed; but they never saw any people clothed, nor any ships like ours. On my arrival at that sea, I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language, and communicate to us what they knew respecting the country; which plan succeeded excellently, and was a great advantage to us, for in a short time, either by gestures and signs, or by words, we were enabled to understand each other. These men are still traveling with me, and although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to entertain the idea that I have descended from heaven; and on our arrival at any new place they published this, crying out immediately with a loud voice to the other Indians, "Come, come and look upon beings of a celestial race": upon which both women and men, children and adults, young men and old, when they got rid of the fear they at first entertained, would come out in throngs, crowding the roads to see us, some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing affection and kindness.

Each of these islands has a great number of canoes, built of solid wood, narrow and not unlike our double-banked boats

in length and shape, but swifter in their motion: they steer them only by the oar. These canoes are of various sizes, but the greater number are constructed with eighteen banks of oars, and with these they cross to the other islands, which are of countless number, to carry on traffic with the people. I saw some of these canoes that held as many as seventy-eight rowers. In all these islands there is no difference of physiognomy, of manners, or of language, but they all clearly understand each other, a circumstance very propitious for the realization of what I conceive to be the principal wish of our most serene King, namely, the conversion of these people to the holy faith of Christ, to which indeed, as far as I can judge, they are very favorable and well-disposed. . . .

Juana . . . I can assert . . . is larger than England and Scotland united; . . . there are in the western part of the island two provinces which I did not visit; one of these is called by the Indians Anam,⁵ and its inhabitants are born with tails.⁶ . . . But the extent of Española is greater than all Spain from Catalonia to Fontarabia, which is easily proved, because one of its four sides which I myself coasted in a direct line, from west to east, measures five hundred and forty miles. This island is to be regarded with especial interest, and not to be slighted; for although as I have said I took possession of all these islands in the name of our invincible King, and the government of them is unreservedly committed to his said Majesty, yet there was one large town in Española of which especially I took possession, situated in a remark-

5. Havana.

6. Marco Polo reported the existence of tailed humans (possibly orangutans) in the islands of Southeast Asia.