

AP US History
Summer Assignment
2018-2019
Ms. Carey and Mr. Demharter



**Due: Wednesday, September, 12th (Green Day) and Thursday,
September 13th (Blue Day)**

Assignment #1: Maize Cultivation

Accompanied Readings:

Read the Native Tech article on the History of the Corn. Then answer the following questions:

- 1) How did maize cultivation alter both the economic and cultural practices of various Native American groups?
- 2) How did Native Americans in New England alter their environment in order to cultivate maize?

Assignment #2: First Impressions

Accompanied Readings:

- Letters on Christopher Columbus's first voyage, 1492
- Letters on the voyage of John Cabot, 1497
- Letter on the voyage of Gaspar Corte Real, 1501

Read the three (3) provided letters on the Europeans' first impressions of the New World; answer the following questions.

- 1) Overall, what are the Europeans' first impressions of the new lands and their inhabitants?
- 2) How do the native inhabitants respond to the explorers? How do the Europeans interpret these responses?
- 3) How does each document address its intended audience?
- 4) What evidence is presented for the explorers' having reached Asia?
- 5) What goals do the Europeans stress for further expeditions?

Assignment #3: The Columbian Exchange

Accompanied Reading:

Read the article by J.R. McNeill on the Columbian Exchange. Then complete the following questions:

- 1) What was the Columbian Exchange?
- 2) What were some of the most important things that were "exchanged" with the Columbian Exchange?
- 3) How did the Columbian Exchange impact both the New World and the Old World?
- 4) Who got the better deal in the Columbian Exchange, the Europeans or the Native Americans? Why?

Assignment #4: Native American, point of view

Accompanied Readings:

- **Accounts of the Spanish arrival in the Yucatan, 1520s**
- **Statement to the French missionary in Canada, 1680**

Read the provided accounts from the Native Americans' point of view on early interaction with the Europeans (Spanish and French). After you have finished reading answer the following questions.

- 1) How did the Indians interpret their first encounter with Europeans?
- 2) How did their impressions influence future relationships with Europeans?
- 3) How do the accounts differ by source? By record? By nationality of the Europeans encountered?
- 4) How accurately can we know what happened?

Assignment #5: Slave Trade

Accompanied Readings:

- **The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea, 1450**
- **Carried Thence for Trafficke of the West Indies Five Hundred Negroes, 1567**
- **A Priest's Condemnation of the Slave Trade, 1587**

Read the three accounts of the slave trade from the European perspective. After you have finished, answer the following questions.

- 1) How do the authors interpret the slave trade as a human, political, or economic institution?
- 2) What is "right" or "wrong" in their estimation about the capture and scale of Africans?
- 3) Compare the vehicles for these descriptions—an official chronicle, a scholarly essay, a personal memoir.
- 4) Compare the European-African encounters with the European-Indian encounters.

Assignment #6: First Arrivals

Accompanied Readings:

- **Columbus's First Settlement in the New World, 1493**
- **The First Months of the Jamestown Colony, 1607**
- **The First Year of the Plymouth Colony, 1620-21**

After reading the previous readings, answer the following questions.

- 1) Which experiences are shared by the "first arrivals"? Which experiences are unique?
- 2) What obstacles to settlement do these accounts describe?
- 3) How does each settlement's purpose and leadership affect its outcome?
- 4) What roles did the environment, native inhabitants, and European sponsors play in the development of the settlements?

- 5) Which decisions made in the first months of a settlement prove critical to its outcome? Do they seem critical at the time they are made?
- 6) What surprised you in reading primary texts from these settlements? How do they compare with the cultural icons of “Columbus,” “Jamestown,” and “Plymouth”?

Assignment #7: Essay

Select **one** of the following questions to answer in an essay of 1000-1200 words:

1. Keeping in mind the documents and essays that you have read for this assignment, discuss the impact of European exploration on North and South America, Africa and Europe. Include in your discussion both the positive and negative cultural and social impacts of this exploration along with effect on the environment of North and South America.
2. How were Spanish, French, and Dutch colonial strategies similar? How did they differ? In what ways were the similarities and differences reflected in the nations' settlements in the New World? Select two of the three nations to compare.
3. What were the major social and environmental developments that made America a “new world” for both Europeans and Indians? What factors allowed them to continue their traditions and cultures in this “new world”?

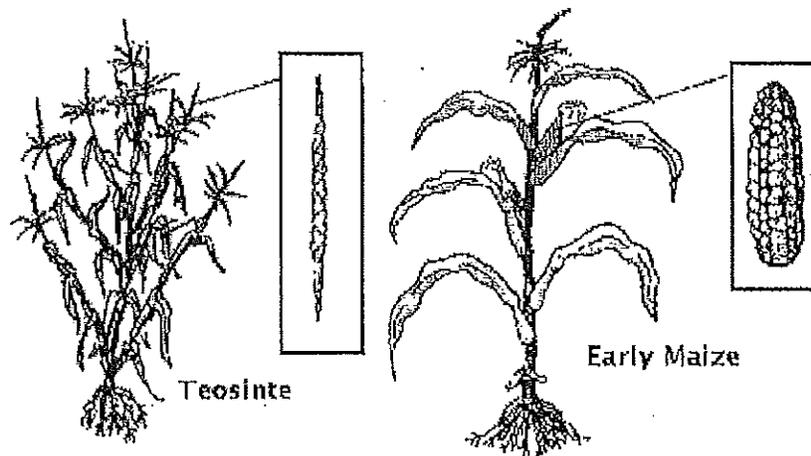
NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY OF CORN

Read about some Uses of Indian Corn

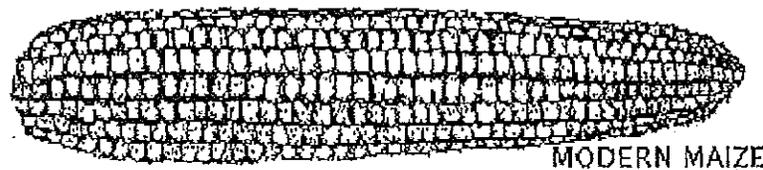
Try some Recipes from the Woodland Culture Area

Evolution of Maize Agriculture

Corn or maize (*zea mays*) is a domesticated plant of the Americas. Along with many other indigenous plants like beans, squash, melons, tobacco, and roots such as Jerusalem artichoke, European colonists in America quickly adopted maize agriculture from Native Americans. Crops developed by Native Americans quickly spread to other parts of the world as well.



Over a period of thousands of years, Native Americans purposefully transformed maize through special cultivation techniques. Maize was developed from a wild grass (Teosinte) originally growing in Central America (southern Mexico) 7,000 years ago. The ancestral kernels of Teosinte looked very different from today's corn. These kernels were small and were not fused together like the kernels on the husked ear of early maize and modern corn.



By systematically collecting and cultivating those plants best suited for human consumption, Native Americans encouraged the formation of ears or cobs on early maize. The first ears of maize were only a few inches long and had only eight rows of kernels. Cob length and size of early maize grew over the next several thousand years which gradually increased the yields of each crop.

Eventually the productivity of maize cultivation was great enough to make it possible and worthwhile for a family to produce food for the bulk of their diet for an entire year from a small area. Although maize agriculture permitted a family to live in one place for an extended period of

time, the commitment to agriculture involved demands on human time and labor and often restricted human mobility. The genetic alterations in teosinte changed its value as a food resource and at the same time affected the human scheduling necessary for its effective procurement.

Maize in New England

As the lifeways of mobile hunting and gathering were often transformed into sedentary agricultural customs, very slowly the cultivation of maize, along with beans and squash, was introduced into the southwestern and southeastern parts of North America. The practice of maize agriculture did not reach southern New England until about a thousand years ago.

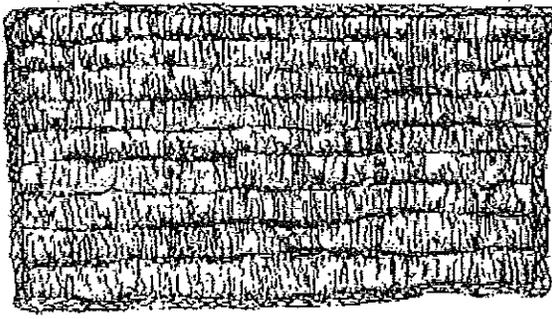
A Penobscot man described the transformation of maize for the shorter growing season of northern New England. Maize was observed to grow in a series of segments, like other members of the grass family, which took approximately one phase of the moon to form, with approximately seven segments in all, from which ears were produced only at the joints of the segments. Native Americans of northern New England gradually encouraged the formation of ears at the lower joints of the stalk by planting kernels from these ears. Eventually, as ears were regularly produced at the lower joints of the cornstalk, the crop was adapted to the shorter growing season of the north and matured within three months of planting.

Native Americans of New England planted corn in household gardens and in more extensive fields adjacent to their villages. Fields were often cleared by controlled burning which enriched not only the soil but the plant and animal communities as well. Slash and burn agriculture also helped create an open forest environment, free of underbrush, which made plant collecting and hunting easier.

Agricultural fields consisted of small mounds of tilled earth, placed a meter or two apart sometimes in rows and other times randomly placed. Kernels of corn and beans were planted in the raised piles of soil to provide the support of the cornstalk for the bean vine to grow around. The spaces in between the mounds were planted with squash or melon seeds. The three crops complemented each other both in the field and in their combined nutrition.

Native Americans discovered that, unlike wild plants and animals, a surplus of maize could be grown and harvested without harming their environment. Tribes in southern New England harvested great amounts of maize and dried them in heaps upon mats. The drying piles of maize, usually two or three for each Narragansett family, often contained from 12 to 20 bushels of the grain. Surplus maize would be stored in underground storage pits, ingeniously constructed and lined with grasses to prevent mildew or spoiling, for winter consumption of the grain.

The European accounts of Josselyn in 1674, indicate Native Americans used bags and sacks to store powdered cornmeal, "which they make use of when stormie weather or the like will not suffer them to look out for their food". Parched cornmeal made an excellent food for traveling. Roger Williams in 1643, describes small traveling baskets: "I have travelled with neere 200. of them at once, neere 100. miles through the woods, every man carrying a little Basket of this [Nokehick] at his back, and sometimes in a hollow Leather Girdle about his middle, sufficient for a man three or foure daies".



Cornhusk bed mat; Iroquois.
Rolled husks sewn with basswood cord.
Braided Edge.



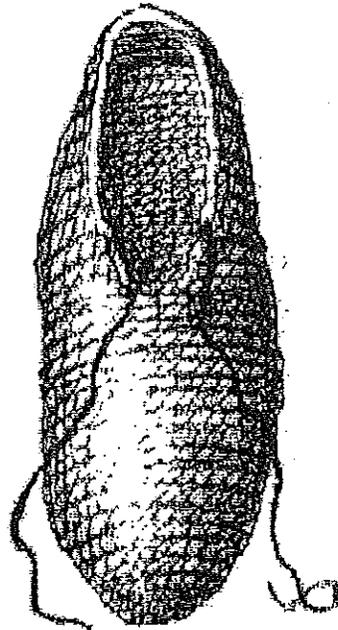
Cornhusk foot mat; Seneca.
Braided and sewn in a coil.
Fringe from spliced cornhusks left on one side.

Native American Origins of Maize

Many Native American traditions, stories and ceremonies surround corn, one of the "three sisters" (maize, beans and squash). Even in New England there are many variations on how maize was brought or introduced to Native Americans here. Generally in southern New England, maize is described as a gift of Cautantowwit, a deity associated with the southwestern direction; that kernels of maize and beans were delivered by the crow, or in other versions the black-bird. Responsible for bringing maize, the crow would not be harmed even for damaging the cornfield. Other Algonquian legends recount maize brought by a person sent from the Great Spirit as a gift of thanks.



Cornhusk, wool and basswood cord
twined bag; Narragansett (made in 1675).



Cornhusk moccasin; Seneca.
Two-strand twined construction.

New England tribes from the Mohegan in Connecticut to the Iroquois in the Great Lakes region had rituals and ceremonies of thanksgiving for the planting and harvesting of corn. One ceremony, the Green Corn ceremony of New England tribes, accompanies the fall harvest. Around August Mahican men return from temporary camps to the village to help bring in the harvest and to take

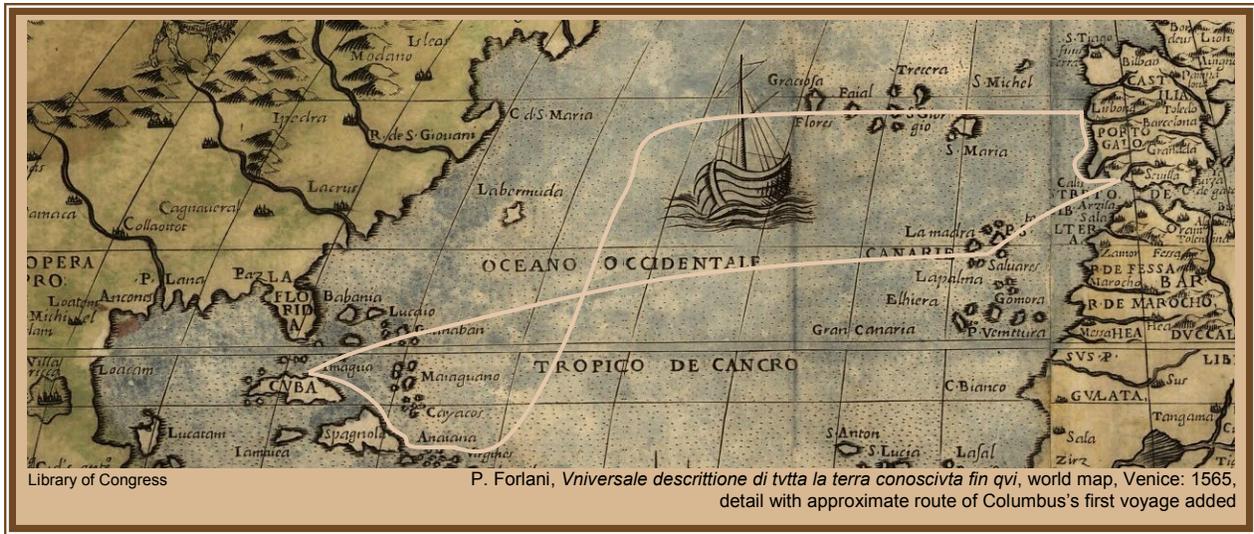
part in the Green Corn ceremony which celebrates the first fruits of the season. Many tribes also had ceremonies for seed planting to ensure healthy crops as well as corn testing ceremonies once the crops were harvested.

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“the glorious success that our Lord has given me in my voyage”

LETTER OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS ON HIS FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA, 1492

Written in 1493, to the Treasurer of Aragon, Luis de St. Angel, who had provided Castile Taíno Indians his settlement La Navidad on the north coast of present-day Haiti

SIR:

AS I know you will be rejoiced at the glorious success that our Lord has given me in my voyage, I write this to tell you how in thirty-three days I sailed to the Indies with the fleet that the illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, gave me, where I discovered a great many islands inhabited by numberless people; and of all I have taken possession for their Highnesses by proclamation and display of the Royal Standard [Spanish flag] without opposition. To the first island I discovered I gave the name of San Salvador in commemoration of His Divine Majesty, who has wonderfully granted all this. The Indians call it Guanaham.¹ The second I named the Island of Santa Maria de Concepcion; the third, Fernandina; the fourth, Isabella; the fifth, Juana; and thus to each one I gave a new name.²

When I came to Juana, I followed the coast of that isle toward the west and found it so extensive that I thought it might be the mainland, the province of Cathay [China]; and as I found no towns nor villages on the seacoast, except a few small settlements, where it was impossible to speak to the people because they fled at once, I continued the said route, thinking I could not fail to see some great cities or towns; and finding at the end of many leagues that nothing new appeared and that the coast led northward, contrary to my wish, because the winter had already set in, I decided to make for the south, and as the wind also was against my proceeding, I determined not to wait there longer and turned back to a certain harbor whence I sent two men to find out whether there was any king or large city. They explored for three days and found countless small communities and people, without number, but with no kind of government, so they returned.

National Humanities Center, 2006: nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/. Charles W. Eliot, ed., *American Historical Documents, 1000-1904*, Harvard Classics, vol. 43 (New York: Collier, 1910). Some paragraphing added by NHC. Image on this page: detail from Diego Gutiérrez, *Americae sive qvartae orbis*, map of the western hemisphere, 1562; courtesy of the Library of Congress. Complete image credits at nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/amerbegin/imagecredits.htm.

¹ Also Guanahani. Columbus made landfall in the Bahamas or the Turks & Caicos, north of the island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic). While there is insufficient evidence to specify the island, contenders include San Salvador (formerly Watling Island) and Samana Cay in the Bahamas.

² *Island of Santa Maria de Concepcion*: Rum Cay, Bahamas. *Fernandina*: Long Island, Bahamas. *Isabella*: Crooked Island, Bahamas. *Juana*: Cuba.

I heard from other Indians I had already taken that this land was an island, and thus followed the eastern coast for one hundred and seven leagues³ until I came to the end of it. From that point I saw another isle to the eastward, at eighteen leagues' distance, to which I gave the name of Hispaniola.⁴ I went thither and followed its northern coast to the east, as I had done in Juana, one hundred and seventy-eight leagues eastward, as in Juana. This island, like all the others, is most extensive. It has many ports along the seacoast excelling any in Christendom — and many fine, large, flowing rivers. The land there is elevated, with many mountains and peaks incomparably higher than in the centre isle. They are most beautiful, of a thousand varied forms, accessible, and full of trees of endless varieties, so high that they seem to touch the sky, and I have been told that they never lose their foliage. I saw them as green and lovely as trees are in Spain in the month of May. Some of them were covered with blossoms, some with fruit, and some in other conditions, according to their kind. The nightingale and other small birds of a thousand kinds were singing in the month of November when I was there. There were palm trees of six or eight varieties, the graceful peculiarities of each one of them being worthy of admiration as are the other trees, fruits and grasses. There are wonderful pine woods, and very extensive ranges of meadow land. There is honey, and there are many kinds of birds, and a great variety of fruits. Inland there are numerous mines of metals and innumerable people.

Hispaniola is a marvel. Its hills and mountains, fine plains and open country, are rich and fertile for planting and for pasturage, and for building towns and villages. The seaports there are incredibly fine, as also the magnificent rivers, most of which bear gold. The trees, fruits and grasses differ widely from those in Juana. There are many spices and vast mines of gold and other metals in this island. They have no iron, nor steel, nor weapons, nor are they fit for them, because although they are well-made men of commanding stature, they appear extraordinarily timid. The only arms [weapons] they have are sticks of cane, cut when in seed with a sharpened stick at the end, and they are afraid to use these. Often I have sent two or three men ashore to some town to converse with them, and the natives came out in great numbers, and as soon as they saw our men arrive, fled without a moment's delay although I protected them from all injury.

“Hispaniola is a marvel.”

At every point where I landed and succeeded in talking to them, I gave them some of everything I had — cloth and many other things — without receiving anything in return, but they are a hopelessly timid people. It is true that since they have gained more confidence and are losing this fear, they are so unsuspecting and so generous with what they possess, that no one who had not seen it would believe it. They never refuse anything that is asked for. They even offer it themselves, and show so much love that they would give their very hearts. Whether it be anything of great or small value, with any trifle of



³ The Spanish league was about 2.6 miles.

⁴ “C de SPANOLA” on the Gutiérrez map above (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic).

whatever kind, they are satisfied. I forbade worthless things being given to them, such as bits of broken bowls, pieces of glass, and old straps, although they were as much pleased to get them as if they were the finest jewels in the world. One sailor was found to have got for a leathern strap, gold of the weight of two and a half castellanos, and others for even more worthless things much more; while for a new *blancas* they would give all they had, were it two or three castellanos of pure gold or an arroba or two of spun cotton.⁵ Even bits of the broken hoops of wine casks they accepted, and gave in return what they had, like fools, and it seemed wrong to me. I forbade it, and gave a thousand good and pretty things that I had to win their love and to induce them to become Christians, and to love and serve their Highnesses and the whole Castilian nation, and help to get for us things they have in abundance, which are necessary to us.

They have no religion nor idolatry, except that they all believe power and goodness to be in heaven. They firmly believed that I, with my ships and men, came from heaven, and with this idea I have been received everywhere, since they lost fear of me. They are, however, far from being ignorant. They are most ingenious men, and navigate these seas in a wonderful way and describe everything well, but they never before saw people wearing clothes, nor vessels like ours. Directly I reached the Indies in the first isle I discovered, I took by force some of the natives, that from them we might gain some information of what there was in these parts; and so it was that we immediately understood each other, either by words or signs. They are still with me and still believe that I come from heaven. They were the first to declare this wherever I went, and the others ran from house to house, and to the towns around, crying out, “Come! come! and see the men from heaven!” Then all, both men and women, as soon as they were reassured about us, came, both small and great, all bringing something to eat and to drink, which they presented with marvelous kindness.

In these isles there are a great many canoes, something like rowing boats, of all sizes, and most of them are larger than an eighteen-oared galley.

They are not so broad, as they are made of a single plank, but a galley could not keep up with them in rowing, because they go with incredible speed, and with these they row about among all these islands, which are innumerable, and carry on their commerce. I have seen some of these canoes with seventy and eighty men in them, and each had an oar. In all the islands I observed little difference in the appearance of the people, or in their habits and language, except that they understand each other, which is remarkable. Therefore I hope that their Highnesses will decide upon the conversion of these people to our holy faith, to which they seem much inclined.

I have already stated how I sailed one hundred and seven leagues along the seacoast of Juana [Cuba] in a straight line from west to east. I can therefore assert that this island is larger than England and Scotland together, since beyond these one hundred and seven leagues there remained at the west point two provinces where I did not go, one of which they call Avan, the home of men with tails. These provinces are computed to be fifty or sixty leagues in length, as far as can be gathered from the Indians with me, who are acquainted with all these islands. This other, Hispaniola, is larger in circumference than all Spain from Catalonia to Fuentarabia in Biscay, since upon one of its four sides I sailed one hundred and eighty-eight leagues from west to east. This is worth having, and must on no account be given up. I have taken

⁵ *Blanca*: Spanish copper coin. *Castellano*: Spanish gold coin. *Arroba*: Spanish unit of weight, app. 25 pounds.



“They firmly believed that I, with my ships and men, came from heaven”

possession of all these islands for their Highnesses, and all may be more extensive than I know or can say, and I hold them for their Highnesses, who can command them as absolutely as the kingdoms of Castile.

In Hispaniola, in the most convenient place, most accessible for the gold mines and all commerce with the mainland on this side or with that of the great Khan on the other,⁶ with which there would be great trade and profit, I have taken possession of a large town, which I have named the City of Navidad.⁷ I began fortifications there which should be completed by this time, and I have left in it men enough to hold it, with arms, artillery, and provisions for more than a year; and a boat with a master seaman skilled in the arts necessary to make others. I am so friendly with the king of that country that he was proud to call me his brother and hold me as such. Even should he change his mind and wish to quarrel with my men, neither he nor his subjects know what arms are nor wear clothes, as I have said. They are the most timid people in the world, so that only the men remaining there could destroy the whole region, and run no risk if they know how to behave themselves properly.

In all these islands the men seem to be satisfied with one wife, except they allow as many as twenty to their chief or king. The women appear to me to work harder than the men, and so far as I can hear they have nothing of their own, for I think I perceived that what one had others shared, especially food. In the islands so far I have found no monsters, as some expected, but, on the contrary, they are people of very handsome appearance. They are not black as in Guinea, though their hair is straight and coarse, as it does not grow where the sun's rays are too ardent. And in truth the sun has extreme power here, since it is within twenty-six degrees of the equinoctial line [equator]. In these islands there are mountains where the cold this winter was very severe, but the people endure it from habit, and with the aid of the meat they eat with very hot spices.

As for monsters,⁸ I have found no trace of them except at the point in the second isle as one enters the Indies, which is inhabited by a people considered in all the isles as most ferocious, who eat human flesh. They possess many canoes, with which they overrun all the isles of India [West Indies], stealing and seizing all they can. They are not worse looking than the others, except that they wear their hair long like women, and use bows and arrows of the same cane, with a sharp stick at the end for want lack of iron,⁹ of which they have none. They are ferocious compared to these other races, who are extremely cowardly, but I only hear this from the others. They are said to make treaties of marriage with the women in the first isle to be met with coming from Spain to the Indies, where there are no men. These women have no feminine occupation, but use bows and arrows of cane like those before mentioned, and cover and arm themselves with plates of copper, of which they have a great quantity. Another island, I am told, is larger than Hispaniola, where the natives have no hair, and where there is countless gold; and from them all I bring Indians to testify to this.¹⁰

To speak, in conclusion, only of what has been done during this hurried voyage, their Highnesses will see that I can

“their Highnesses will see that I can give them as much gold as they desire”

give them as much gold as they desire, if they will give me a little assistance, spices, cotton, as much as their Highnesses may command to be shipped, and mastic¹¹ as much as their Highnesses choose to send for, which until now has only been found in Greece, in the isle of Chios, and the Signoria can get its own price for it; as much lign-aloe¹² as they command to be shipped, and as many slaves as they choose to send for, all heathens. I think I have found rhubarb and cinnamon. Many other things of value will be discovered by the men I left behind me, as I stayed nowhere when the wind allowed me to pursue my

⁶ *Kahn*: Mongol ruler of China.

⁷ On the north coast of present-day Haiti.

⁸ Many Europeans, including Columbus, predicted that “monstrous races” existed in the unexplored world, including dog-headed men.

⁹ I.e., due to the lack of iron.

¹⁰ Columbus took

¹¹ *Mastic*: valuable resin from a species of gum tree, used in food and medicine at the time.

¹² *Lign-aloe*: another tree resin.

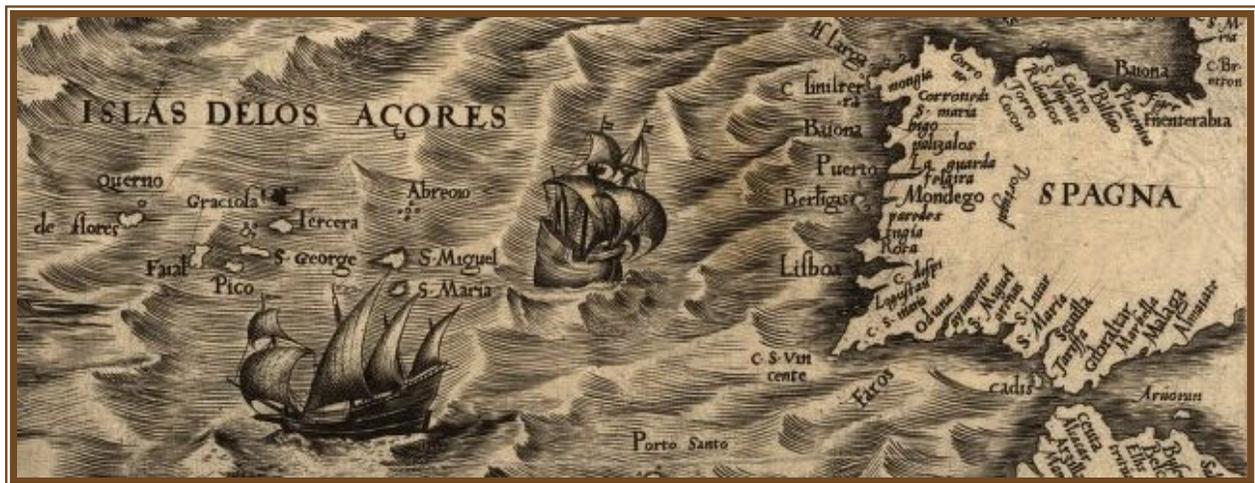
voyage, except in the City of Navidad, which I left fortified and safe. Indeed, I might have accomplished much more, had the crews served me as they ought to have done.

The eternal and almighty God, our Lord, it is Who gives to all who walk in His way, victory over things apparently impossible, and in this case signally so, because although these lands had been imagined and talked of before they were seen, most men listened incredulously to what was thought to be but an idle tale. But our Redeemer has given victory to our most illustrious King and Queen, and to their kingdoms rendered famous by this glorious event, at which all Christendom should rejoice, celebrating it with great festivities and solemn Thanksgivings to the Holy Trinity, with fervent prayers for the high distinction that will accrue to them from turning so many peoples to our holy faith; and also from the temporal benefits that not only Spain but all Christian nations will obtain. Thus I record what has happened in a brief note written on board the *Caravel*, off the Canary Isles, on the 15th of February, 1493.

Yours to command,
THE ADMIRAL.

Postscript within the letter

Since writing the above, being in the Sea of Castile, so much wind arose south southeast, that I was forced to lighten the vessels, to run into this port of Lisbon to-day which was the most extraordinary thing in the world, from whence I resolved to write to their Highnesses. In all the Indies I always found the temperature like that of May. Where I went in thirty-three days I returned in twenty-eight, except that these gales have detained me fourteen days, knocking about in this sea. Here all seamen say that there has never been so rough a winter, nor so many vessels lost. Done the 14th day of March.



them over their shoulders and arms. And their privy parts are fastened with cords made of very strong sinews of fish, so that they look like wild men. They are very shy and gentle, but well formed in arms and legs and shoulders beyond description. They have their faces marked like those of the Indians, some with six, some with eight, some with less marks. They speak, but are not understood by anyone, though I believe that they have been spoken to in every possible language.

In their land there is no iron, but they make knives out of stones and in like manner the points of their arrows. And yet these men have brought from there a piece of a broken gilt sword, which certainly seems to have been made in Italy. One of the boys was wearing in his ears two silver rings which without doubt seem to have been made in Venice, which makes me think it to be mainland, because it is not likely that ships would have gone there without their having been heard of.² They have great quantity of salmon, herring, cod and similar fish. They have also great store of wood and above all of pines for making masts and yards of ships. On this account his Majesty here intends to draw great advantage from the said land, as well by the wood for ships, of which they are in want, as by the men, who will be excellent for labor and the best slaves that have hitherto been obtained. This has seemed to me worthy to be notified to you, and if anything more is learned by the arrival of the captain's caravel, I shall likewise let you know.



² Pietro Pasqualigo had evidently not heard of the Cabot expeditions to the north Atlantic, and his inference is that this was the mainland of Asia, to which the articles must have travelled otherwise than by sea, i.e., eastwards from Europe across the continent. [Williamson, footnote, p. 41]

Modern History Sourcebook:

John Cabot (c.1450-1499): Voyage to North America, 1497

John Cabot, in Italian Giovanni Caboto, was born in Genoa, Although a citizen of Venice, he obtained letters-patent from Henry VII of England in 1496 for a voyage of discovery.

He crossed the Atlantic in 1497 and touched on the mainland of North America - probably the Labrador coast. The following three documents contain all the evidence from contemporary witnesses whose information may have come from John Cabot himself. The text is from the Hakluyt Society's edition of Columbus' Journal.

Letter from Lorenzo Pasqualigo to His Brothers Alvise and Francesco.

[Calendar of State Papers (Venice), i. p. 262, No. 752.]

London, 23rd August, 1497.

Our Venetian, who went with a small ship from Bristol to find new islands, has come back, and says he has discovered, 700 leagues off, the mainland of the country of the Gran Cam, and that he coasted along it for 300 leagues, and landed, but did not see any person. But he has brought here to the king certain snares spread to take game, and a needle for making nets, and he found some notched trees, from which he judged that there were inhabitants. Being in doubt, he came back to the ship. He has been away three months on the voyage, which is certain, and, in returning, he saw two islands to the right, but he did not wish to land, lest he should lose time for he was in want of provisions. This king has been much pleased. He says that the tides are slack, and do not make currents as they do here. The king has promised for another time, ten armed ships as he desires, and has given him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to go with him, as he has requested; and has granted him money to amuse himself till then. Meanwhile, he is with his Venetian wife and his sons at Bristol. His name is Zuam Talbot, [note: A misprint: "T" for "C."] and he is called the Great Admiral, great honour being paid to him, and he goes dressed in silk. The English are ready to go with him, and so are many of our rascals. The discoverer of these things has planted a large cross in the ground with a banner of England, and one of St. Mark, as he is a Venetian; so that our flag has been hoisted very far away.

First Despatch of Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan. (Extract.)

[Calendar of State Papers (Venice), iii. p. 260, No. 750.]

24th August, 1497.

Some month afterwards His Majesty sent a Venetian, who is a distinguished sailor, and who was much skilled in the discovery of new islands, and he has returned safe, and has discovered two very large and fertile islands, having, it would seem, discovered the seven cities 400 leagues from England to the westward. These successes led His Majesty at once to entertain the intention of sending him with fifteen or twenty vessels.

Second Despatch of Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan.

[note: *Annuario Scientifico*, Milan, 1866, p. 700; *Archiv d'Etat Milan*, reprinted by Harrisse in his *John Cabot*, p. 324, from the *Intorno of Desimoni*, and translated from his text for the Hakluyt Society, with his permission.]

18th December, 1497.

My most illustrious and most excellent Lord,

Perhaps amidst so many occupations of your Excellency it will not be unwelcome to learn how this Majesty has acquired a part of Asia without drawing his sword. In this kingdom there is a certain Venetian named Zoanne Caboto, of gentle disposition, very expert in navigation, who, seeing that the most serene Kings of Portugal and Spain had occupied unknown islands, meditated the achievement of a similar acquisition for the said Majesty. Having obtained royal privileges securing to himself the use of the dominions he might discover, the sovereignty being reserved to the Crown, he entrusted his fortune to a small vessel with a crew of 18 persons, and set out from Bristo, a port in the western part of this kingdom. Having passed Ibernica, which is still further to the west, and then shaped a northerly course, he began to navigate to the eastern part, leaving (during several days) the North Star on the right hand; and having wandered thus for a long time, at length he hit upon land, where he hoisted the royal standard, and took possession for his Highness, and, having obtained various proofs of his discovery, he returned. The said Messer Zoanne, being a foreigner and poor, would not have been believed if the crew, who are nearly all English, and belonging to Bristo, had not testified that what he said was the truth. This Messer Zoanne has the description of the world on a chart, and also on a solid sphere which he has constructed, and on which he shows where he has been; and, proceeding towards the east, he has passed as far as the country of the Tanais. And they say that there the land is excellent and (the climate?) temperate, suggesting that brasil and silk grow there. They affirm that the sea is full of fish, which are not only taken with a net, but also with a basket, a stone being fastened to it in order to keep it in the water; and this I have heard stated by the said Messer Zoanne.

The said Englishmen, his companions, say that they took so many fish that this kingdom will no longer have need of Iceland, from which country there is an immense trade in the fish they call stock-fish. But Messer Zoanne has set his mind on higher things, for he thinks that, when that place has been occupied, he will keep on still further towards the east, where he will be opposite to an island called Cipango, situated in the equinoctial region, where he believes that all the spices of the world, as well as the jewels, are found. He further says that he was once at Mecca, whither the spices are brought by caravans from distant countries; and having inquired from whence they were brought and where they grow, they answered that they did not know, but that such merchandize was brought from distant countries by other caravans to their home; and they further say that they are also conveyed from other remote regions. And he adduced this argument, that if the eastern people tell those in the south that these things come from a far distance from them, presupposing the rotundity of the earth, it must be that the last turn would be by the north towards the west; and it is said that in this way the route would not cost more than it costs now, and I also believe it. And what is more, this Majesty, who is wise and not prodigal, reposes such trust in him because of what he has already achieved, that he gives him a good maintenance, as Messer Zoanne has himself told me. And it is said that before long his Majesty will arm some ships for him, and will give him all the malefactors to go to that country and form a colony, so that they hope to establish a greater depot of spices in London than there is in Alexandria. The principal people in the enterprise belong to Bristo. They are great seamen, and, now that they know where to go, they say that the voyage thither will not occupy more than 15 days after leaving Ibernica. I have also spoken with a Burgundian, who was a companion of Messer Zoanne, who affirms all this, and who wishes to return because the Admiral (for so Messer Zoanne is entitled) has given him an island, and has given another to his barber of Castione, [Footnote 5: Perhaps Castiglione, near Chiavari.] who is a

Genoese, and both look upon themselves as Counts; nor do they look upon my Lord the Admiral as less than a Prince. I also believe that some poor Italian friars are going on this voyage, who have all had bishopricks promised to them. And if I had made friends with the Admiral when he was about to sail, I should have got an archbishoprick at least; but I have thought that the benefits reserved for me by your Excellency will be more secure. I would venture to pray that, in the event of a vacancy taking place in my absence, I may be put in possession, and that I may not be superseded by those who, being present, can be more diligent than I, who am reduced in this country to eating at each meal ten or twelve kinds of victuals, and to being three hours at table every day, two for love of your Excellency, to whom I humbly recommend myself. London, 18 Dec. 1497, your Excellency's most humble servant, Raimundus.

Source:

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The Columbian Exchange

BY J.R. MCNEILL

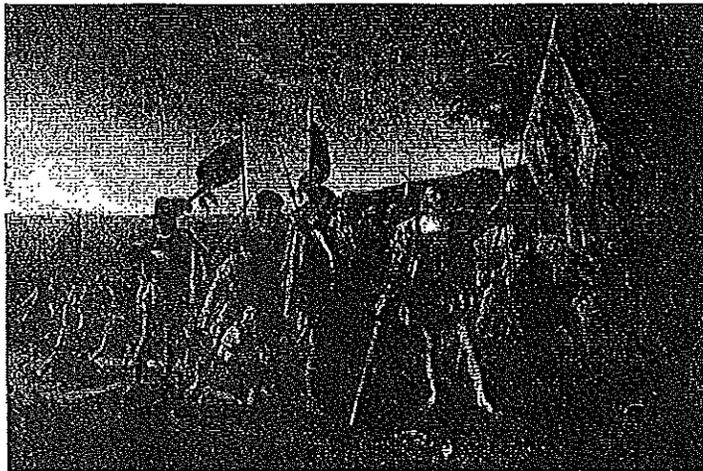


Figure 1. The arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas marked the meeting of previously separate biological worlds.

Geologists believe that between 280 million and 225 million years ago, the earth's previously separate land areas became welded into a landmass called Pangaea. About 120 million years ago, they believe, this landmass began to separate. As this happened, the Atlantic Ocean formed, dividing the Americas from Africa and Eurasia. Over the course of the next several million years in both the Americas and in Afro-Eurasia, biological evolution followed individual paths, creating two primarily separate biological worlds. However, when Christopher Columbus and his crew made land in the Bahamas in October 1492, these two long-separated worlds were reunited. Columbus' voyage, along with the many voyages that followed, disrupted much of the biological segregation brought about by continental drift.

After Columbus' arrival in the Americas, the animal, plant, and bacterial life of these two worlds began to mix. This process, first studied comprehensively by American historian Alfred Crosby, was called the Columbian Exchange. By reuniting formerly biologically distinct land masses, the Columbian Exchange had dramatic and lasting effects on the world. New diseases were introduced to American populations that had no prior

experience of them. The results were devastating. These populations also were introduced to new weeds and pests, livestock, and pets. New food and fiber crops were introduced to Eurasia and Africa, improving diets and fomenting trade there. In addition, the Columbian Exchange vastly expanded the scope of production of some popular drugs, bringing the pleasures — and consequences — of coffee, sugar, and tobacco use to many millions of people. The results of this exchange recast the biology of both regions and altered the history of the world.

The flow from east to west: Disease

By far the most dramatic and devastating impact of the Columbian Exchange followed the introduction of new diseases into the Americas. When the first inhabitants of the Americas arrived across the Bering land bridge between 20,000 and 12,000 years ago, they brought few diseases with them. Why? For one reason, they had no domesticated animals, the original source of human diseases such as smallpox and measles. In addition, as they passed from Siberia to North America, the first Americans had spent many years in extreme cold, which eliminated many of the disease-causing agents that might have traveled with them. As a result, the first Americans and their descendants, perhaps 40 million to 60 million strong by 1492, enjoyed freedom from most of the infectious diseases that plagued populations in Afro-Eurasia for millennia. Meanwhile, in Asia and Africa, the domestication of herd animals brought new diseases spread by cattle, sheep, pigs, and fowl.

Soon after 1492, sailors inadvertently introduced these diseases — including smallpox, measles, mumps, whooping cough, influenza, chicken pox, and typhus — to the Americas. People who lived in Afro-Eurasia had developed some immunities to these diseases because they had long existed among most Afro-Eurasian populations. However, the Native Americans had no such immunities. Adults and children alike were stricken by wave after wave of epidemic, which produced catastrophic mortality throughout the Americas. In the larger centers of highland Mexico and Peru, many millions of people died. On some Caribbean islands, the Native American population died out completely. In all, between 1492 and 1650, perhaps 90 percent of the first Americans had died.

This loss is considered among the largest demographic disasters in human history. By stripping the Americas of much of the human population, the Columbian Exchange rocked the region's ecological and economic balance. Ecosystems were in tumult as forests regrew and previously hunted animals increased in number. Economically, the population decrease brought by the Columbian Exchange indirectly caused a drastic labor shortage throughout the Americas, which eventually contributed to the establishment of African slavery on a vast scale in the Americas. By 1650, the slave trade had brought new diseases, such as malaria and yellow fever, which further plagued Native Americans.

The flow from east to west: Crops and animals

Eurasians sent much more than disease westward. The introduction of new crops and domesticated animals to the Americas did almost as much to upset the region's biological,



Figure 2. Oranges, now a staple of the Florida economy, didn't grow in the Americas until after the arrival of Spanish explorers.

economic, and social balance as the introduction of disease had. Columbus had wanted to establish new fields of plenty in the Americas. On his later voyages he brought many crops he hoped might flourish there. He and his followers brought the familiar food grains of Europe: wheat, barley, and rye. They also brought Mediterranean plantation crops such as sugar, bananas, and citrus fruits, which all had originated in South or Southeast Asia. At first, many of these crops fared poorly; but eventually they all flourished. After 1640, sugar became the mainstay of the Caribbean and Brazilian economies, becoming the foundation for some of the largest slave societies ever known. The production of rice and cotton, both imported in the Columbian Exchange, together with tobacco, formed the basis of slave society in the United States. Wheat, which thrived in the temperate latitudes of North and South America and in the highlands of Mexico, eventually became a fundamental food crop for tens of millions of people in the Americas. Indeed, by the late 20th century, wheat exports from Canada, the United States, and Argentina were feeding millions of people outside the Americas. It is true that the spread of these crops drastically changed the economy of the Americas. However, these new crops supported the European settler societies and their African slave systems. The Native Americans preferred their own foods.

When it came to animals, however, the Native Americans borrowed eagerly from the Eurasian stables. The Columbian Exchange brought horses, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and a collection of other useful species to the Americas. Before Columbus, Native American societies in the high Andes had domesticated llamas and alpacas, but no other animals weighing more than 45 kg (100 lbs). And for good reason: none of the other 23 large mammal species present in the Americas before the arrival of Columbus were suitable for domestication. In contrast, Eurasia had 72 large animal species, of which 13 were suitable for domestication. So, while Native Americans had plenty of good food crops available before 1492, they had few domesticated animals. The main ones, aside from llamas and alpacas, were dogs, turkeys, and guinea pigs.



Figure 3. The introduction of horses made hunting buffalo much easier for the Plains Indians.

Of all the animals introduced by the Europeans, the horse held particular attraction. Native Americans first encountered it as a fearsome war beast ridden by Spanish conquistadors. However, they soon learned to ride and raise horses themselves. In the North American great plains, the arrival of the horse revolutionized Native American life, permitting tribes to hunt the buffalo far more effectively. Several Native American groups left farming to become buffalo-hunting nomads and, incidentally, the most formidable enemies of European expansion in the Americas.

Cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats also proved popular in the Americas. Within 100 years after Columbus, huge herds of wild cattle roamed many of the natural grasslands of the Americas. Wild cattle, and, to a lesser degree, sheep and goats, menaced the food crops of Native Americans, notably in Mexico. Eventually ranching economies emerged, based variously on cattle, goats, or sheep. The largest ranches emerged in the grasslands of Venezuela and Argentina, and on the broad sea of grass that stretched from northern Mexico to the Canadian prairies. Native Americans used the livestock for meat, tallow, hides, transportation, and hauling. Altogether, the suite of domesticated animals from Eurasia brought a biological, economic, and social revolution to the Americas.

The flow from west to east: Disease

In terms of diseases, the Columbian Exchange was a wildly unequal affair, and the Americas got the worst of it. The flow of disease from the Americas eastward into Eurasia and Africa was either trivial or consisted of a single important infection. Much less is known about pre-Columbian diseases in the Americas than what is known about those in Eurasia. Based on their study of skeletal remains, anthropologists believe that Native Americans certainly suffered from arthritis. They also had another disease, probably a form of tuberculosis that may or may not have been similar to the pulmonary tuberculosis common in the modern world. Native Americans also apparently suffered from a group of illnesses that included two forms of syphilis. One controversial theory asserts that the venereal syphilis epidemic that swept much of Europe beginning in 1494 came from the Americas; however, the available evidence remains inconclusive.

The flow from west to east: Crops and cuisine



Figure 4. Maize has become a dietary staple in southern Africa.

America's vast contribution to Afro-Eurasia in terms of new plant species and cuisine, however, transformed life in places as far apart as Ireland, South Africa, and China. Before Columbus, the Americas had plenty of domesticated plants. By the time Columbus had arrived, dozens of plants were in regular use, the most important of which were maize (corn), potatoes, cassava, and various beans and squashes. Lesser crops included sweet potato, papaya, pineapple, tomato, avocado, guava, peanuts, chili peppers, and cacao, the raw form of cocoa. Within 20 years of Columbus' last voyage, maize had established itself in North Africa and perhaps in Spain. It spread to Egypt, where it became a staple in the Nile Delta, and from there to the Ottoman Empire, especially the Balkans. By 1800, maize was the major grain in large parts of what is now Romania and Serbia, and was also important in Hungary, Ukraine, Italy, and southern France. It was often used as animal feed, but people ate it too, usually in a porridge or bread. Maize appeared in China in the 16th century and eventually supplied about one-tenth of the grain supply there. In the 19th century it became an important crop in India. Maize probably played its greatest role, however, in southern Africa. There maize arrived in the 16th century in the context of the slave trade. Southern African environmental conditions, across what is now Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and eastern South Africa, suited maize handsomely. Over the centuries, maize became the primary peasant food in much of southern Africa. In late 20th-century South Africa, for example, maize grew in two-thirds to three-quarters of the region's cropland.

Despite maize's success, the humble potato probably had a stronger impact in improving the food supply and in promoting population growth in Eurasia. The potato had little impact in Africa, where conditions did not suit it. But in northern Europe the potato thrived. It had the most significant effect on Ireland, where it promoted a rapid population increase until a potato blight ravaged the crop in 1845, bringing widespread famine to the area. After 1750, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, Germany, Poland, and Russia also gradually accepted the potato, which helped drive a general population explosion in Europe. This population explosion may have laid the foundation for world-shaking developments

such as the Industrial Revolution and modern European imperialism. The potato also fed mountain populations around the world, notably in China, where it encouraged settlement of mountainous regions.



Figure 5. Cassava root.

While maize and potatoes had the greatest world historical importance of the American crops, lesser crops made their marks as well. In West Africa, peanuts and cassava provided new foodstuffs. Cassava, a tropical shrub native to Brazil, has starchy roots that will grow in almost any soil. In the leached soils of West and Central Africa, cassava became an indispensable crop. Today some 200 million Africans rely on it as their main source of nutrition. Cacao and rubber, two other South American crops, became important export items in West Africa in the 20th century. The sweet potato, which was introduced into China in the 1560s, became China's third most important crop after rice and wheat. It proved a useful supplement to diets throughout the monsoon lands of Asia. Indeed, almost everywhere in the world, one or another American food crops caught on, complementing existing crops or, more rarely, replacing them. By the late 20th century, about one-third of the world's food supply came from plants first cultivated in the Americas. The modern rise of population surely would have been slower without them.

In contrast, the animals of the Americas have had very little impact on the rest of the world, unless one considers its earliest migrants. The camel and the horse actually originated in North America and migrated westward across the Bering land bridge to Asia, where they evolved into the forms familiar today. By the time of the Columbian Exchange, these animals were long extinct in the Americas, and the majority of America's domesticated animals would have little more than a tiny impact on Afro-Eurasia. One domesticated animal that did have an effect was the turkey. Wild animals of the Americas have done only a little better. Probably after the 19th century, North American muskrats and squirrels successfully colonized large areas of Europe. Deliberate introductions of American animals, such as raccoons fancied for their fur and imported to Germany in the 1920s, occasionally led to escapes and the establishment of feral animal communities. However, no species introduced from the Americas revolutionized human affairs or animal ecology anywhere in Afro-Eurasia. In terms of animal populations as with disease, the Americas contributed little that could flourish in the conditions of Europe, Africa, or Asia.

The Columbian Exchange in the modern world



Figure 6. At Lake Ontario in Canada, zebra mussels cling to the inside of a rusty pipe.

As the late dates of the introduction of muskrats and raccoons to Europe suggest, the Columbian Exchange continues into the present. Indeed, it will surely continue into the future as modern transportation continues the pattern begun by Columbus. Recently, for example, zebra mussels from the Black Sea, stowed away in the ballast water of ships, invaded North American waters. There they blocked the water intakes of factories, nuclear power plants, and municipal filtration plants throughout the Great Lakes region. Just as the arrival of Christopher Columbus's ships in America in the 15th century resulted in the worldwide exchange of disease, crops, and animals, the 20th-century practice of ships using water as ballast helped unite the formerly diverse flora and fauna of the world's harbors and estuaries. Similarly, air transport allows the spread of insects and diseases that would not easily survive longer, slower trips. Modern transport carries on in the tradition of Columbus by promoting a homogenization of the world's plants and animals. To date,

however, the world historical importance of modern exchanges pales beside that which took place in the original Columbian Exchange.

On the web

The importance of one simple plant

<http://www.learnnc.org/lp/pages/1874>

The natives of America could trace the history of maize to the beginning of time. Maize was the food of the gods that had created the Earth. It played a central role in many native myths and legends. And it came to be one of their most important foods. Maize, in some form, made up roughly 65 percent of the native diet. When European settlers reached the New World, they learned to cultivate Indian corn from their native neighbors.

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About the author

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Figure 1 (page 1)

John Vanderlyn, Landing of Columbus, Commissioned 1836/1837; placed 1847. Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C. This image is believed to be in the public domain. Users are advised to make their own copyright assessment.

Figure 2 (page 3)

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Figure 3 (page 3)

Paul Kane, Assiniboine Hunting Buffalo, ca. 1851-1856. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. This image is believed to be in the public domain. Users are advised to make their own copyright assessment.

Univ. of Texas-Austin



Homanno, *Regni Mexicani* . . . , ca. 1763 (detail)

The Mayan Account of the Spanish Conquest (1540-1546) in the Chilam Balam of Chumayel

EXCERPTS

The Chilam Balam are sacred texts of the Yucatan Maya that record history, myth, religion, prophecies, medicine, and calendars. Each town compiled its own texts; the excerpts here are from the town of Chumayel.

La ix u katunil

Yax hulci ob *español*essob

Uay

Tac lumil lae

T u uuc pis tun

Buluc ahau

U katunil

Ti ix hop'i *xpnoil* lae

T u habil *quinientos dies y nueve*

años D° 1519. . . .

T u kin y an sulim chan

T u kin y an chikin putun

Uiilnom che

Uiilnom tunich

Ah satal uiil

Ychil ah buluuc ahau katun

Buluuc ahau u hop'ol u xocol

Y oklal lay katun y an ca uli tz'ulob

Ti u talel ob

Ti likin ca uli ob e

Ti ix hop'i *christianoil* xan i

Ti lakin u tz'oc than

Ych can si hoo

U hetz' katun

He u kahlay uchc i

Bal t u mentah ob . . .

Ca oci num ya

Ca oci *christianoil*

T u men lay hach *christianoob*

That then was the *katun* period¹

When the Spaniards first arrived

Here

In these lands.

On the seventh measured *tun*

Of 11 Ahau

Was also the *katun* period that began

Christianity,

In the year or our lord fifteen nineteen,

1519 V [1546 M].² . . .

At that time there was Zulim Chan;

At that time there were western Chontal.³

Hungering were the trees;

Hungering were the rocks.⁴

The destroyer hunger

Was during the *katun* of the lord of 11 Ahau.

11 Ahau was the beginning of the count

Because this was the *katun* when the foreigners arrived.

When they came,

They arrived from the east.

When Christianity began also,

In the east was its word completed.

Heaven Born Merida

Was the seat of the *katun*.⁵

This is the account of what occurred,

Of what they did. . . .

When misery came,

When Christianity came

From these many Christians

Excerpted by the National Humanities Center, 2006: www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/pds/pds.htm. From Munro S. Edmonson, ed., trans., *Heaven Born Merida and Its Destiny: The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), pp. 63, 108, 109-111. Reproduced by permission. Complete image credits at www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/pds/amerbegin/imagecredits.htm.

¹ *katun*: a period of 7200 days, app. twenty years. *Tun*: 360 days. 11 Alau: Mayan calendar cycle beginning in 1539.

² V/M: different Mayan calendars. Edmonson notes that the Franciscan missionaries reached the Yucatan in 1546, and Merida in 1549.

³ *Zulim Chan*: the rain god. *Chontal*: the Maya of Itzá, the last to be conquered by the Spanish in the late 1600s.

⁴ A serious drought afflicted the northern Yucatan during this period.

⁵ *Merida*: Mayan city captured and named by the Spanish in 1541. Most of the Yucatan Maya were defeated by the end of the decade.

Ti ul i
 Y etel hahal ku
 Hahal *D^s*
 He uac u chun num ya
 T oon
 U chun patan
 U chun *limosna*
 U chun hoc mucuuc tza
 U chun tz'on bacal tza
 U chun cumtan tza
 U chun tocluksah
 U chun tz'al pach p'ax
 U chun pak pach p'ax
 U chun caca tza
 U chun numzah ya
 U chun tocluksah
 U chun u meyahtabal *españolesob*
 Y etel ah kinob
 U meyahtabal ba tabob
 U meyahtabal camsahob
 U meyahtabal *fiscalob*
 T u men mehen palalob
 U palil cahob
 Ta muk uchac numzah ti ya
 Ah num yaob
 Lay hach otzilob e
 Lay hach otzilob ma likul ob i
 Ti lic u mentic
 Cij u tz'aal pach
 Lay u *antachristoil*
 Y okol cabob lae
 Uh cab cohil cahob
 U chamacil cahob
 Uh picil cahob
 Y ah tz'utz'il otzil *maseualob* lae
 He uac bini to kuchuc
 T u kin u kuchul
 Y alil u u ichob
 Y icnal ca
 Ca yumil
 Ti *D^s*.
 Emon u *justisia* ca yumil
 Ti *D^s*.
 Hun yuk
 Ti bal cah
 Hach likul Ti *D^s*.
 Bin tal bal
 Ah kan tenal
 Yx puc y ol a
 U tz'utannilob
 Y okol cab lae.



Who arrived
 With the true divinity,
 The True God.
 For this indeed was the beginning of misery
 For us,
 The beginning of tribute,
 The beginning of tithes,
 The beginning of strife over purse snatching,
 The beginning of strife with blowguns,
 The beginning of strife over promotions,
 The beginning of the creation of many factions,
 The beginning of forced seizure for debts,
 The beginning of forced imprisonment for debts,
 The beginning of village strife,
 The beginning of misery and affliction,
 The beginning of forcible separation,
 The beginning of forced labor for the Spaniards
 And the sun priests,
 Forced labor for the town chiefs,
 Forced labor for the teachers,
 Forced labor for the public prosecutors,
 By the boys,
 The youths of the towns,
 While the force of great suffering
 Afflicted the suffering people.
 These were the very poor,
 These were the very poor who did not rebel
 At the oppression
 That was inflicted on them.
 This was the Antichrist
 Here on earth,
 The Earth Lions of the towns,
 The Foxes of the towns,
 The Bedbugs of the towns
 Are the bloodsuckers of the poor peasants here.
 For indeed the time is coming soon
 Of the day of the coming
 Of tears to the eyes
 And the presence
 Of our Lord
 Who is God.
 The justice of our Lord
 God will descend
 Everywhere
 In the world.
 God will be very angry
 And something will come
 From Yellow Death
 And the Destroying Spirit,
 The oppressors
 On the face of this earth.

“Your People Live Only Upon Cod”: An Algonquian Response to European Claims of Cultural Superiority

From the start of colonization, Indians and Europeans viewed each other across a wide cultural gulf. Sure about the superiority of their civilization, European missionaries and teachers tried to convert Indians to Christianity and the European way of life. Some Indians did adopt new ways after disease and violence had decimated their communities; others rejected the European entreaties and pointed out the arrogance of these claims of cultural superiority. French priest Chrestian LeClerq traveled among the eastern Algonquian people who lived in what are now the Maritime Provinces of Canada. He recorded a Micmac leader's eloquent response to these attempts at "reform" that pointed out how difficult Europeans found it to live in Indian country. If France was such a terrestrial paradise, he asked, why were colonists making their way across the Atlantic to live in the forests of North America?

I am greatly astonished that the French have so little cleverness, as they seem to exhibit in the matter of which thou hast just told me on their behalf, in the effort to persuade us to convert our poles, our barks, and our wigwams into those houses of stone and of wood which are tall and lofty, according to their account, as these trees. Very well! But why now, do men of five to six feet in height need houses which are sixty to eighty? For, in fact, as thou knowest very well thyself, Patriarch—do we not find in our own all the conveniences and the advantages that you have with yours, such as reposing, drinking, sleeping, eating, and amusing ourselves with our friends when we wish? This is not all, my brother, hast thou as much ingenuity and cleverness as the Indians, who carry their houses and their wigwams with them so that they may lodge wheresoever they please, independently of any seignior whatsoever? Thou art not as bold nor as stout as we, because when thou goest on a voyage thou canst not carry upon thy shoulders thy buildings and thy edifices. Therefore it is necessary that thou prepares as many lodgings as thou makest changes of residence, or else thou lodgest in a hired house which does not belong to thee. As for us, we find ourselves secure from all these inconveniences, and we can always say, more truly than thou, that we are at home everywhere, because we set up our wigwams with ease wheresoever we go, and without asking permission of anybody. Thou reproachest us, very inappropriately, that our country is a little hell in contrast with France, which thou comparest to a terrestrial paradise, inasmuch as it yields thee, so thou safest, every kind of provision in abundance. Thou sayest of us also that we are the most miserable and most unhappy of all men, living without religion, without manners, without honour, without social order, and, in a word, without any rules, like the beasts in our woods and our forests, lacking bread, wine, and a thousand other comforts which thou hast in superfluity in Europe. Well, my brother, if thou dost not yet know the real feelings which our Indians have towards thy country and towards all thy nation, it is proper that I inform thee at once. I beg thee now to believe that, all miserable as we seem in thine eyes, we consider ourselves nevertheless much happier than thou in this, that we are very content with the little that we have; and believe also once for all, I pray, that thou deceivest thyself greatly if thou thinkest to persuade us that thy country is better than ours. For if France, as thou sayest, is a little terrestrial paradise, art thou sensible to leave it? And why abandon wives, children, relatives, and friends? Why risk thy life and thy property every year, and why venture thyself with such risk, in any season

whatsoever, to the storms and tempests of the sea in order to come to a strange and barbarous country which thou considerest the poorest and least fortunate of the world? Besides, since we are wholly convinced of the contrary, we scarcely take the trouble to go to France, because we fear, with good reason, lest we find little satisfaction there, seeing, in our own experience, that those who are natives thereof leave it every year in order to enrich themselves on our shores. We believe, further, that you are also incomparably poorer than we, and that you are only simple journeymen, valets, servants, and slaves, all masters and grand captains though you may appear, seeing that you glory in our old rags and in our miserable suits of beaver which can no longer be of use to us, and that you find among us, in the fishery for cod which you make in these parts, the wherewithal to comfort your misery and the poverty which oppresses you. As to us, we find all our riches and all our conveniences among ourselves, without trouble and without exposing our lives to the dangers in which you find yourselves constantly through your long voyages. And, whilst feeling compassion for you in the sweetness of our repose, we wonder at the anxieties and cares which you give yourselves night and day in order to load your ship. We see also that all your people live, as a rule, only upon cod which you catch among us. It is everlastingly nothing but cod—cod in the morning, cod at midday, cod at evening, and always cod, until things come to such a pass that if you wish some good morsels, it is at our expense; and you are obliged to have recourse to the Indians, whom you despise so much, and to beg them to go a-hunting that you may be regaled. Now tell me this one little thing, if thou hast any sense: Which of these two is the wisest and happiest—he who labours without ceasing and only obtains, and that with great trouble, enough to live on, or he who rests in comfort and finds all that he needs in the pleasure of hunting and fishing? It is true, that we have not always had the use of bread and of wine which your France produces; but, in fact, before the arrival of the French in these parts, did not the Gaspesians live much longer than now? And if we have not any longer among us any of those old men of a hundred and thirty to forty years, it is only because we are gradually adopting your manner of living, for experience is making it very plain that those of us live longest who, despising your bread, your wine, and your brandy, are content with their natural food of beaver, of moose, of waterfowl, and fish, in accord with the custom of our ancestors and of all the Gaspesian nation. Learn now, my brother, once for all, because I must open to thee my heart: there is no Indian who does not consider himself infinitely more happy and more powerful than the French.

Source: William F. Ganong, trans. and ed., *New Relation of Gaspesia, with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, by Chrestien LeClerq (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1910), 103–06.

Gomes Eannes de Azurara

THE CHRONICLE OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF GUINEA

ca. 1450

Portuguese chronicler Gomes Eannes de Azurara compiled accounts of the earliest voyages along the west African coast and the capture of Africans by Europeans.

CHAPTER XXV.

Wherein the Author reasoneth somewhat concerning the pity inspired by the captives, and of how the division was made.

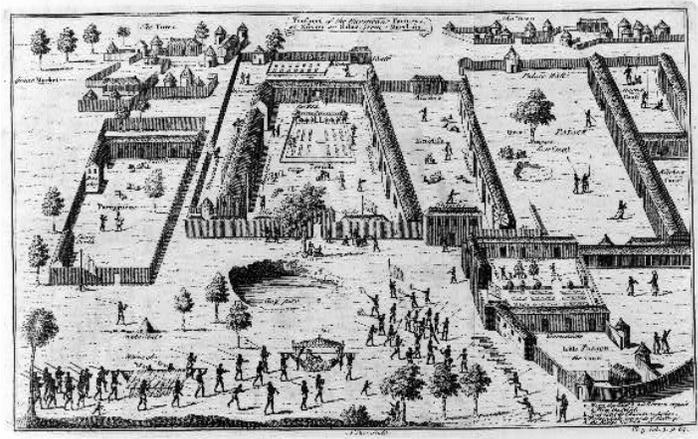
... On the next day, which was the 8th of the month of August, very early in the morning, by reason of the heat, the seamen began to make ready their boats, and to take out those captives, and carry them on shore, as they were commanded. And these, placed all together in that field, were a marvellous sight; for amongst them were some white enough, fair to look upon, and well proportioned; others were less white like mulattoes; others again were as black as Ethiops, and so ugly, both in features and in body, as almost to appear (to those who saw them) the images of a

lower hemisphere. But what heart could be so hard as not to be pierced with piteous feeling to see that company? For some kept their heads low and their faces bathed in tears, looking one upon another; others stood groaning very dolorously, looking up to the height of heaven, fixing their eyes upon it, crying out loudly, as if asking help of the Father of Nature; others struck their faces with the palms of their hands, throwing themselves at full length upon the ground; others made their lamentations in the manner of a dirge, after the custom of their country. And though we could not understand the words of their language, the sound of it right well accorded with the measure of their sadness. But to increase their sufferings still more, there now arrived those who had charge of the division of the captives, and who began to separate one from another, in order to make an equal partition of the fifts; and then was it needful to part fathers from sons, husbands from wives, brother from brothers. no respect was shewn either to friends or relations, but each fell where his lot took him.



Guinea propria, nec non Nigritiae vel Terrae Nigrorum maxima pars ,
1743 (details)





Slave compounds maintained by European traders on the Gulf of Guinea in what is now Nigeria, engraving, publ. 1746

O powerful fortune, that with thy wheels doest and undoest, compassing the matters of this world as pleaseth thee, do thou at last put before the eyes of that miserable race some understanding of matters to come; that they may receive some consolation in the midst of their great sorrow. And you who are so busy in making that division of the captives, look with pity upon so much misery; and see how they cling one to the other, so that you can hardly separate them.

And who could finish that partition without very great toil? for as often as they had placed them in one part the sons, seeing their fathers in another,

rose with great energy and rushed over to them; the mothers clasped their other children in their arms, and threw themselves flat on the ground with them; receiving blows with little pity for their own flesh, if only they might not be torn from them.

And so troublously they finished the partition; for besides the toil they had with the captives, the field was quite full of people, both from the town [Lagos] and from the surrounding villages and districts, who for that day gave rest to their hands (in which lay their power to get their living) for the sole purpose of beholding this novelty. And with what they saw, while some were weeping and others separating the captives, they caused such a tumult as greatly to confuse those who directed the partition. . . .

CHAPTER XXXI.

How Dinis Diaz went to the land of the Negroes, and of the Captives that he took.

. . . [A]s the caravel was voyaging along that sea, those on land [Africans] saw it and marvelled much at the sight, for it seemeth they had never seen or heard speak of the like; and some of them supposed it to be a fish, while others thought it to be a phantom, and others again said it might be a bird that ran so on its journey over that sea. And after reasoning thus concerning the novelty, four of them were bold enough to inform themselves concerning this doubt; and so got into a small boat made out of one hollow tree-trunk without anything else being added thereto. . . . And they came a good way out towards where the caravel was pursuing its course; and those in her could not restrain themselves from appearing on deck. But when the negroes saw that those in the ship were men, they made haste to flee as best they could; and though the caravel followed after them, the want of a sufficient wind prevented their capture. And as they [Portuguese] went further on, they met with other boats, whose crews, seeing ours to be men, were alarmed at the novelty of the sight; and moved by fear they sought to flee, each and all; but because our men had a better opportunity than before, they captured four of them, and these were the first to be taken by Christians in their own land, and there is no chronicle or history that relateth aught to the contrary.

And for certain this was no small honour for our Prince [Henry], whose mighty power was thus sufficient to command peoples so far from our kingdom, making booty among the neighbours of the land of Egypt; and Dinis Diaz ought to share in this honour, for he was the first who (by his [Prince Henry's] command) captured Moors in that land. And now he pushed on till he arrived at a great cape, to which they gave the name of Cape Verde.

A Spanish Priest's Critique of the Slave Trade

The European colonization of the New World brought three disparate geographical areas together: the Americas, western Europe, and western Africa. Some of the consequences of this inter-cultural contact are well-known, such as the introduction of horses, pigs, and cattle into the New World, and the transfer of potatoes, beans, and tomatoes to Europe. But other consequences of the Columbian exchange are less noted. As a result of the Atlantic slave trade, such New World food crops as cassava, sweet potatoes, squash, and peanuts were carried to Africa, sharply stimulating African population growth and therefore increasing the population in ways that helped make the slave trade possible.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. Which groups are accused of taking part in the slave trade?
2. Why are the Africans not chastised for their part in the slave trade?
3. What is one irony about the Columbian exchange in terms of its impact on Africa?

A Critique of the Slave Trade, 1587

Fray Tomas de Mercado

It is public opinion and knowledge that no end of deception is practiced and a thousand acts of robbery and violence are committed in the course of bartering and carrying off Negroes from their country and bringing them to the Indies and to Spain....

Since the Portuguese and Spaniards pay so much for a Negro, they go out to hunt one another without the pretext of a war, as if they were deer; even the very Ethiopians, who are different, being induced to do so by the profit derived. They make war on one another, their gain being the capture of their own people, and they go after one another in the forests where they usually hunt....

In this way, and contrary to all justice, a very great number of prisoners are taken. And no one is horrified that these people are ill-treating and selling one another, because they are considered uncivilized and savage. In addition to the pretext, of parents selling their children as a last resort, there is the bestial practice of selling them without any necessity to do so, and very often through anger or passion, for some displeasure or disrespect they have shown them....

The wretched children are taken to the market place for sale, and as the traffic in Negroes is so great, there are Portuguese, or even Negroes themselves, ready everywhere to buy them. There are also among them traders in this bestial and brutal business, who set boundaries in the interior for the natives and carry them off for sale at a higher price on the coasts or in the islands. I have seen many acquired in this way. Apart from these acts of injustice and robberies committed among themselves, there are thousands of other forms of deception practiced in those parts by the Spaniards to trick and carry off the Negroes finally as newly imported slaves, which they are in fact, to the ports, with a few bonnets, gewgaws, beads and bits of paper under which they give them. They put them aboard the ships under false pretenses, hoist anchor, set sail, and make off towards the high seas with their booty....

I know a man who recently sailed to one of those Islands and, with less than four thousand ducats for ransom, carried off four hundred Negroes without license or registration....

They embark four and five hundred of them in a boat which, sometimes, is not a cargo boat. The very stench is enough to kill most of them, and, indeed, very many die. The wonder is that twenty percent of them are not lost.

(From J.A. Saco, *Historia de la Escalvitud de la Raza Africana*, Tomo II, pp. 80-82)



Library of Congress

Cape Cod and town of Plymouth, detail of 1639 Dutch map of northeast North America

“in these hard and difficult beginnings”

Surviving the First Winter of the Plymouth Colony, 1620-1621

William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 1656, excerpts

William Bradford served as governor of the Plymouth Colony five times between its founding in 1620 and his death in 1657. His famed history of the colony, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, published the year before his death, recounts the hardship of the Pilgrims' first winter and their early relations with the Patuxet Indians, especially the unique Squanto, who had just returned to his homeland after being kidnapped by an English seaman in 1614 and taken to England. Here we take up Bradford's account of the colony's founding after the adoption of the Mayflower Compact on November 11, 1620.

After this [the signing of the Mayflower Compact] they chose, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver (a man godly and well approved amongst them) their Governor for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or common store (which were long in unlading for want of boats, foulness of the winter weather, and sickness of diverse [various kinds]) and begun some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admit, they met and consulted of laws and orders, both for their civil and military Government, as the necessity of their condition did require, still adding thereunto as urgent occasion in several times, and as cases did require.

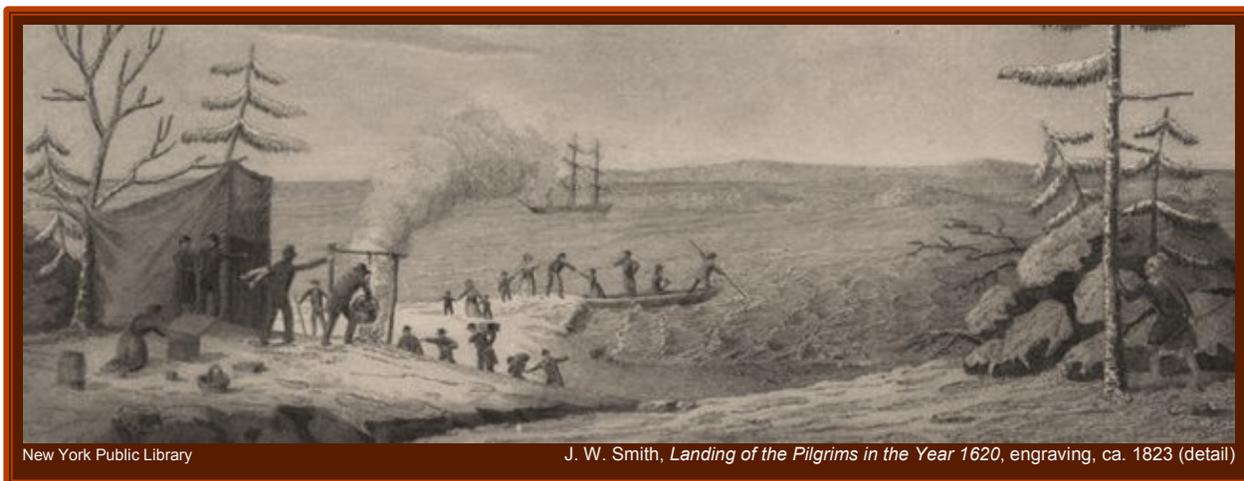
In these hard and difficult beginnings they found some discontents and murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches and carriages in other; but they were soon quelled and overcome by the wisdom, patience, and just and equal carriage of things by the Governor and better part, which clave faithfully together in the main. But that which was most sad and lamentable was that in two or three months' time half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting [lacking] houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their inaccomodate condition had brought upon them, so as there died sometimes two or three of a day, in the aforesaid time, that of one hundred and odd persons, scarce fifty remained. And of these in the time of most distress, there was but six or seven sound [healthy] persons who, to their great commendations be it spoken, spared no pains, night or day, but with abundance of toil

and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, dressed [prepared] them meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed and unclothed them; in a word, did all the homely and necessary offices for them which dainty and queasy stomachs cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any grudging in the least, showing herein their true love unto their friends and brethren. A rare example and worthy to be remembered. . . .

But I may not hear pass by another remarkable passage not to be forgotten. As this calamity fell among the passengers that were to be left here to plant [farm], and were hasted ashore and made to drink water, that the seamen might have the more bear, and one in his sickness desiring but a small can of beer, it was answered, that if he were their own father he should have none; the disease began to fall amongst them also, so as almost half of their company died before they went away, and many of their officers and lustiest [hardiest] men, as the boatson, gunner, quartermasters, the cook, and others. At which the master was something stricken and sent to the sick ashore and told the Governor he should send for beer for them that had need of it, though he drunk water homeward bound. But now amongst his company there was far another kind of carriage in this misery than amongst the passengers; for they that before had been boone companions in drinking and jollity in the time of their health and welfare, began now to desert one another in this calamity saying they would not hazard their lives for them, they should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins, and so, after they came to lie by it, would do little or nothing for them, but if they died let them die. But such of the passengers as were yet aboard showed them what mercy they could, which made some of their hearts relent, as the boatson (and some others), who was a proud young man, and would often curse and scoff at the passengers; but when he grew weak, they had compassion on him and helped him; then he confessed he did not deserve it at their hands, he had abused them in word and deed. O! saith he, you, I now see, show your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one another lie and die like dogs.

Another lay cursing his wife, saying if it had not been for her he had never come this unlucky voyage, and anon [soon] cursing his fellows, saying he had done this and that for some of them, he had spent so much and so much amongst them, and they were now weary of him and did not help him, having need. Another gave his companion all he had, if he died, to help him in his weakness; he went and got a little spice and made him a mess [meal] of meat once or twice, and because he died not so soon as he expected, he went amongst his fellows, and swore the rogue would cousen [deceive] him, he would see him checked before he made him any more meat; and yet the poor fellow died before morning.

All this while the Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show themselves aloof of, but when any approached near them, they would run away. And once they stole away their tools where they had been at work and were gone to dinner. But about the 16th of March a certain Indian came boldly amongst them and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse [conversation] with him that he was not of these parts but



New York Public Library

J. W. Smith, *Landing of the Pilgrims in the Year 1620*, engraving, ca. 1823 (detail)

belonged to the eastern parts, where some English ships came to fish, with whom he was acquainted and could name sundry [several] of them by their names, amongst whom he had got his language. He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the east parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of the people here, of their names, number, and strength; of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them.

His name was Samasett [Samoset]. He told them also of another Indian whose name was Squanto, a native of this place, who had been in England and could speak better English than himself. Being, after some time of entertainment and gifts, dismissed, a while after he came again, and five more with him, and they brought again all the tools that were stolen away before, and made way for the coming of their great Sachem [chief], Massasoit, who, about four or five days after, came with the chief of his friends and other attendants with the aforesaid Squanto. With whom, after friendly entertainment, and some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued this twenty-four years) in these terms.

- 1• That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of their people.
- 2• That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish him.
- 3• That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.
- 4• If any did unjustly war against him, they would aide him; if any did war against them, he should aid them.
- 5• He should send to his neighbors confederates [allies] to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised [informed] in the conditions of peace.
- 6• That when their men came to them, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them.¹

After these things he returned to his place called Sowams, some forty miles from this place, but Squanto continued with them and was their interpreter, and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set [plant] their corn, where to take fish, and to procure other commodities, and was also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them till he died. He was a native of this place, and scarce any left alive besides himself.²

. . .
Anno ·1621·¹

They now began to dispatch the ship away which brought them over, which lay till about this time, or the beginning of April. The reason on their part why she stayed so long was the necessity and danger that lay upon them, for it was well towards the end of December before she could land anything here, or they able to receive anything ashore. Afterwards, the 14th of January the house which they had made for a general randevoze [rendezvous/meeting house] by casualty fell afire, and some were fain to retire aboard for shelter. Then the sickness began to fall sore amongst them, and the weather so bad as they could not make much sooner any dispatch. Again, the Governor and chief of them, seeing so many die, and fall down sick daily, thought it no wisdom to send away the ship, their condition considered, and the danger they stood in from the Indians, till they could procure some shelter; and therefore thought it better to draw some more charge upon themselves and friends, than hazard all. The master and seamen likewise, though before they hasted the passengers ashore to be gone, now many of their men being dead, and of the ablest

¹ This treaty was renewed by Ousamequin [Massasoit] and his son, Moanam [Wamsutta, or Alexander], in 1639, with certain additions to the terms, one of them being that "hee or they shall not give, sell, or convey away any of his or their lands, territories, or possessions whatsoever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the priutie and consent of this gouernment, other then to such as this gouernment shall send and appoint." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, 1. 133. The peace lasted during the life of Massasoit and during the times of his two sons who succeeded him, until the termination of the war, known by the name of the younger, that of Philip, in 1675. [Footnote in White, et al., eds. *History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 202]

² Most of the Patuxet Indians had died in an epidemic during the previous decade. See p. 4.

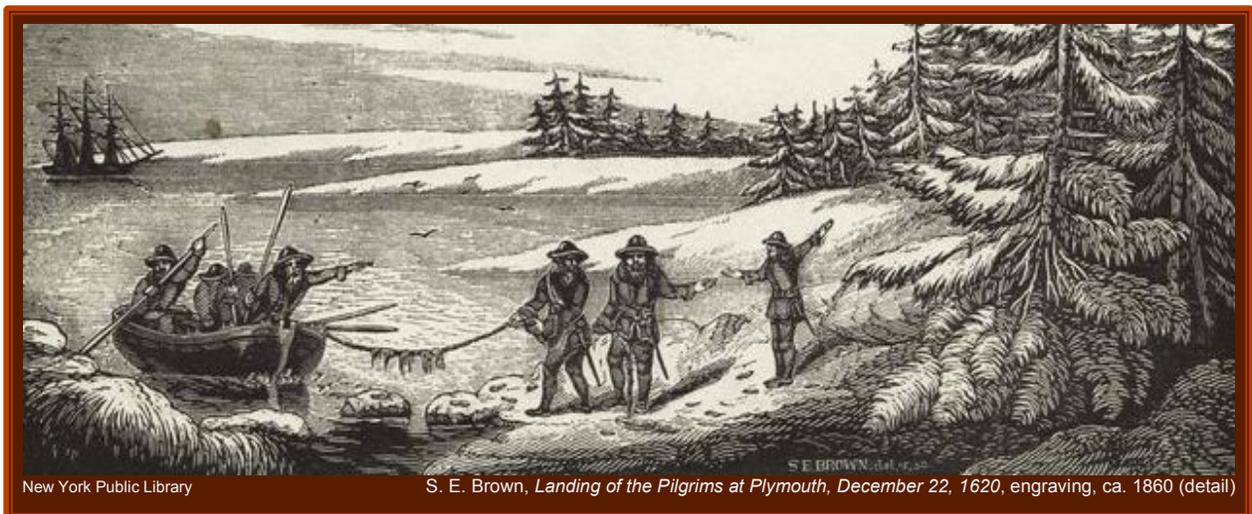
of them (as is before noted) and of the rest many lay sick and weak, the master durst [dared] not put to sea, till he saw his men begin to recover, and the heart of winter over.

Afterwards they (as many as were able) began to plant their corn, in which service Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both the manner how to set it, and after how to dress and tend it. Also he told them except they got fish and set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing,³ and he showed them that in the middle of April they should have store enough come up the brook, by which they began to build, and taught them how to take it, and where to get other provisions necessary for them; all which they found true by trial and experience. Some English seed they sow, as wheat and peas, but it came not to good, either by the badness of the seed or lateness of the season, or both, or some other defect.

In this month of April whilst they were busy about their seed, their Governor (Mr. John Carver) came out of the field very sick, it being a hot day; he complained greatly of his head, and lay down, and within a few hours his senses failed, so as he never spake more till he died, which was within a few days after. Whose death was much lamented and caused great heaviness amongst them, as there was cause. He was buried in the best manner they could, with some volleys of [gun] shot by all that bore arms; and his wife, being a weak woman, died within five or six weeks after him. . . .

Having in some sort ordered their business at home, it was thought meet [wise] to send some abroad to see their new friend Massasoit, and to bestow upon him some gratuity [gift] to bind him the faster unto them; as also that hereby they might view the country and see in what manner he lived, what strength he had about him, and how the ways were to his place, if at any time they should have occasion. So the 2nd of July they sent Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Hopkins, with the foresaid Squanto for their guide, who gave him a suit of clothes and a horseman's coat, with some other small things, which were kindly accepted; but they found but short commons, and came both weary and hungry home. For the Indians used then to have nothing so much corn as they have since the English have stored them with their how's [plows] and seen their industry in breaking up new grounds therewith.

They found his place to be forty miles from hence, the soil good, and the people not many, being dead and abundantly wasted in the late great mortality which fell in all these parts about three years before the coming of the English, wherein thousands of them died; they not being able to bury one another, their skulls and bones were found in many places lying still above ground, where their houses and dwellings had been, a very sad spectacle to behold. But they brought word that the Narragansetts lived but on the other side of that great bay, and were a strong people, and many in number, living compact together, and had not been at all touched with this wasting plague.

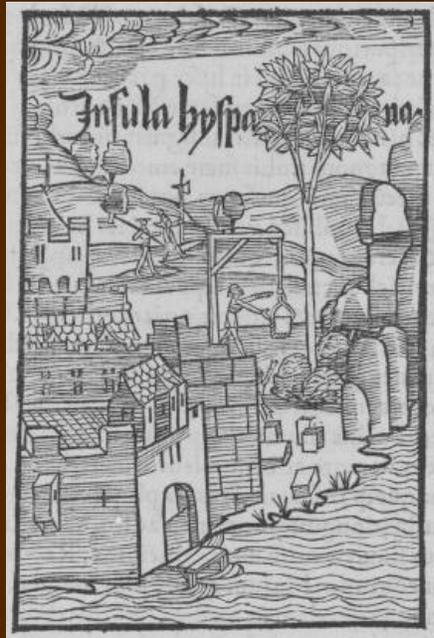


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S. E. Brown, *Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, December 22, 1620*, engraving, ca. 1860 (detail)



Caribbean islands named by Columbus, 1493: Ferna[n]da, Hyspana, Isabella, Salvatorie, and Conceptoi[ne] marie



"Insula hyspana": Spanish islands, with a fortified settlement, 1494

"THE FIRST IN THE INDIES"

Columbus establishes the Town of Isabella on Hispaniola, 1493

Compiled from Spanish state papers by Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas in *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del Mar Oceano* (*General History of the deeds of the Castilians on the Islands and Mainland of the Ocean Sea*), Madrid, 1601-1615. Translated by John Stevens, 1740. Excerpts.

Columbus sailed on his first voyage with three ships and about 100 men, landing in the Bahamas on an island whose identity remains uncertain. After exploring the Bahamas and Cuba, he reached the island he named La Isla Español (Hispaniola). When the *Santa Maria* became grounded, he ordered a small fort to be built with its salvaged lumber, named it La Navidad, and left about forty men to remain there until his return. On his second voyage in 1493, he sailed with seventeen ships and about 1200 men, arriving in Hispaniola in late November to find the fort of La Navidad destroyed with no survivors. Near its ruins, on the northern coast of the present-day Dominican Republic, he founded the short-lived town of Isabella.

THE ADMIRAL SETTLES THE COLONY CALL'D ISABELLA IN THE ISLAND HISPANIOLA

. . . The Admiral was now in the Port de la Navidad, of the Nativity, very thoughtful how to behave himself to give a good beginning to his enterprise; and thinking that the Province of Marien, where his Ships were riding, was very low land and had no stone or other materials for building, though it had good harbors and fresh water, he resolved to turn back along the coast to the eastward to find out a proper place to build a town. Accordingly on Saturday the 7th of December he sailed out with all the fleet and came to an anchor that evening near some small islands not far from Monte Christo, and the next day being Sunday, close under that mount; and fancying that Monte de Plata was nearer to the country of Cibao, where he had been informed the rich gold mines were, which he imagined to be Cipango [Japan], as has been said before, he was desirous to draw near that place. . . . He landed at an Indian village there was in that place and discovered a very delightful plain up the river, and observed that there might be trenches drawn from the river into the town for erecting mills and other conveniences for building. Resolving to make a settlement there, he ordered the men and horses to be landed, the latter being almost spoiled and the former quite tired. In this place he began to build a

town, which was the first in the Indies, which he thought fit to call Isabella in honor of Queen Elizabeth [of Castile] whom he highly respected; and having met with proper necessaries of lime and stone and all he could desire, the soil being extraordinarily fruitful, he used the utmost diligence in building a church, a

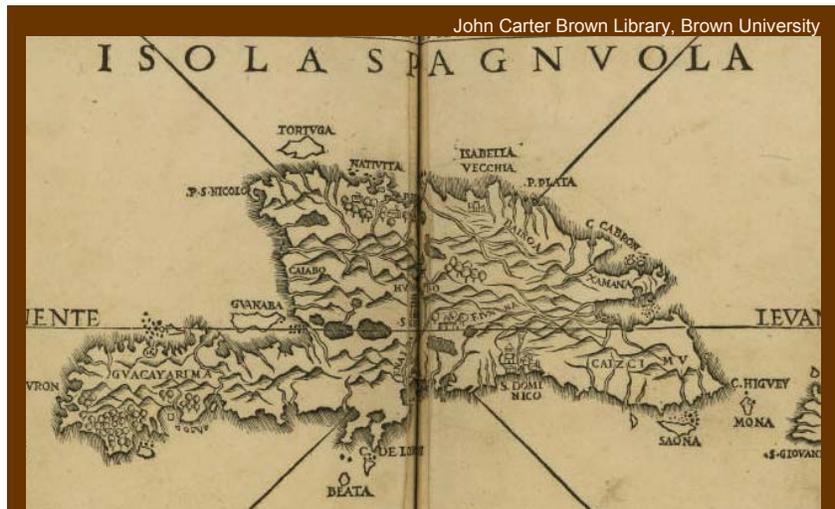
magazine, and a house for himself. He marked out plats for houses, with streets and squares. The public structures were built with stone, the rest of timber thatched, as every one was able.

The men being fatigued with so long a voyage, most of them not used to the sea and the toil of that work ensuing upon it, being stinted in their allowance, and none liking the country bread, they began to sicken apace, the change of air contributing to it, though the country of itself is very healthy, and they died for want of conveniences, all being equally employed in the work. Nor were they less afflicted for being so far from their native country, without any hopes of relief, or of that gold and immense wealth they had conceited they should meet with immediately. The Admiral did not escape, for as he had much fatigue at sea, the whole fleet depending on his care, so was his toil no less ashore, providing to order all things in such manner, that they might answer the hopes conceived of him in that important affair. And though he kept his bed, he pressed on the work of the new town, and to the end that no time might be lost, nor the provisions consumed without any advantage, he was desirous to know the secrets of the country and to find what his Cipango was, which so much misled him, because the Indians affirmed that Cibao was near by. He therefore sent Ojeda with fifteen soldiers to view all parts, and in the meantime applied himself to send back twelve ships into Spain, keeping with him five of the largest, being two ships, and three caravels. . . .

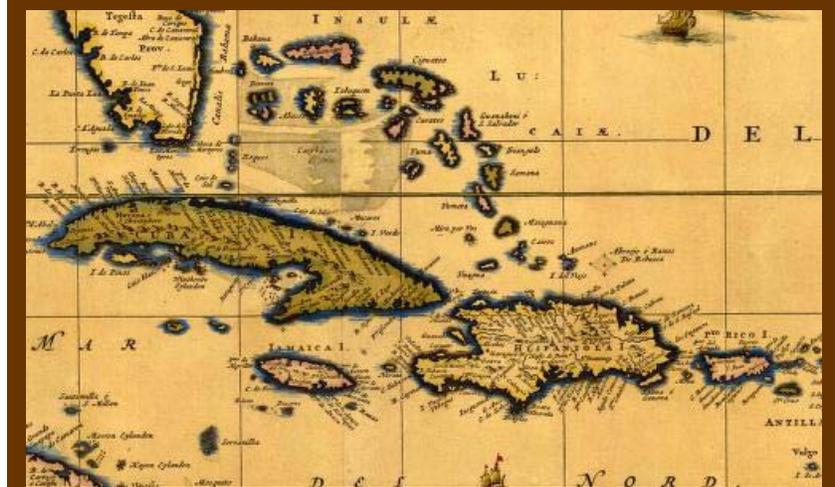
[Ojeda is well received by the Indians who lead him to nearby gold deposits. He returns with large gold nuggets to give to Columbus, who sends them back to Isabella and Ferdinand in Spain.]

**THE GREAT UNEASINESS
THE ADMIRAL HAD
WITH HIS MEN, AND
HOW MUCH THE
SPANISH SUFFERED FOR
WANT OF PROVISIONS**

The ships being gone, and the Admiral recovered of his indisposition, was informed that some who repented of their undertaking that voyage, taking Bernal de Pisa for their chief, contrived to steal away or take by force the five ships that remained, or at least part of them, to return into Spain. He ordered Bernal de Pisa be secured, and having drawn up the proceedings against him, to be put aboard a ship to be sent to the King. Some of the others he caused to be punished, and though he did it not with the severity that the case required, his enemies slandered him as a cruel man. For this reason he ordered the great guns, ammunition, and naval stores belonging to the four ships to be all laid up aboard the Admiral,



Map of Hispaniola, in *Summario de la generale historia de L'Indie Occidentali*, 1534



Caribbean, 1634

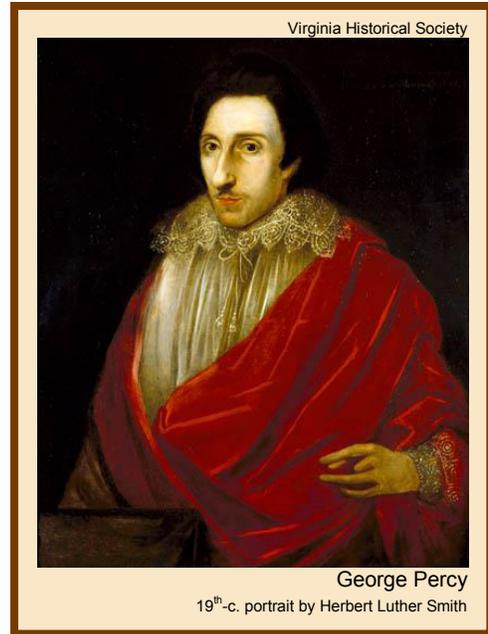
JAMESTOWN: 1607, THE FIRST MONTHS

❖
**Observations Gathered out of a
*Discourse of the Plantation of the
Southern Colony in Virginia
by the English, 1606.***

**Written by that honorable Gentleman,
Master George Percy.**

London: 1608 ❖ Excerpts

In December 1606 three ships left England with 144 men and boys to establish a Virginia colony, chartered by King James I and funded by investors in the London Company. One of the thirty-eight noblemen in the expedition was George Percy, who twice served as the colony's governor. He left Virginia in 1612 to return to England.



APRIL 1607

. . . The six and twentieth day of April, about four o'clock in the morning, we descried the Land of Virginia. The same day we entered into the Bay of Chesupioc [Chesapeake] directly, without any let or hindrance. There we landed and discovered [explored] a little way, but we could find nothing worth the speaking of, but fair meadows and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof.

At night, when we were going aboard, there came the Savages creeping upon all fours, from the Hills, like Bears, with their Bows in their mouths, [who] charged us very desperately in the faces, hurt Captain Gabriel Archer in both his hands, and a sailor in two places of the body very dangerous. After they had spent their Arrows, and felt the sharpness of our shot, they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left us.

The seven and twentieth day we began to build up our Shallop [small boat]. The Gentle- men and Soldiers marched eight miles up into the land. We could not see a Savage in all that march. We came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had been newly roasting Oysters. When they perceived our coming, they fled away to the mountains, and left many of the Oysters in the fire. We eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

The eighteenth day [28th] we launched our Shallop. The Captain and some Gentlemen went in her, and discovered [explored] up the Bay. We found a River on the Southside running into the Main[land]; we entered it and found it very shallow water, not for any Boats to swim. We went further into the Bay, and saw a plain plot of ground where we went on Land, and found the place five mile in compass, without either Bush or Tree. We saw nothing there but a Canoe, which was made out of the whole tree, which was five and forty foot long by the Rule. Upon this plot of ground we got good store of Mussels and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thick as stones. We opened some, and found in many of them Pearls.

We marched some three or four miles further into the woods, where we saw great smokes of fire. We marched to those smokes and found that the Savages had been there burning down the grass, as we thought either to make their plantation there, or else to give signs to bring their forces together, and so to give us battle. . . .

Excerpted, spelling and punctuation modernized, and images added by the National Humanities Center, 2006: www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/pds/pds.htm. In Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625* (New York: Scribner's, 1907); full text online at American Journeys: Eyewitness Accounts of Early American Exploration and Settlement (Wisconsin Historical Society), www.americanjourneys.org/aj-073/. Complete image credits at www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/pds/amerbegin/imagecredits.htm.

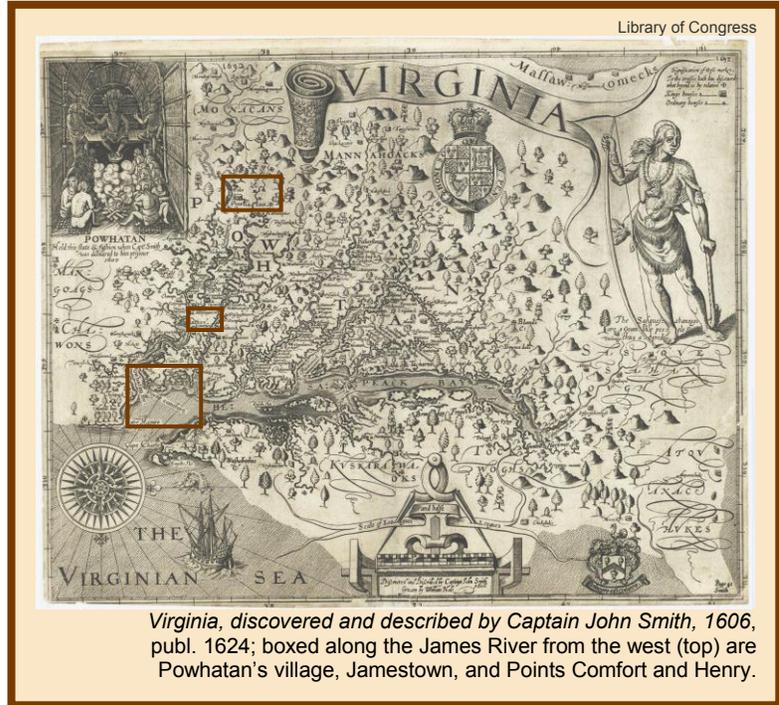
All this march we could neither see Savage nor Town. When it grew to be towards night, we stood back to our Ships, we sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put us out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which rode at the mouth of the River. We rowed over to a point of Land, where we found a channel, and sounded six, eight, ten, or twelve fathoms: which put us in good comfort. Therefore we named that point of Land Cape Comfort.

The nine and twentieth day we set up a Cross at Chesupioc Bay, and named that place Cape Henry. Thirtieth day, we came with our ships to Cape Comfort; where we saw five Savages running on the shore. Presently the Captain caused the

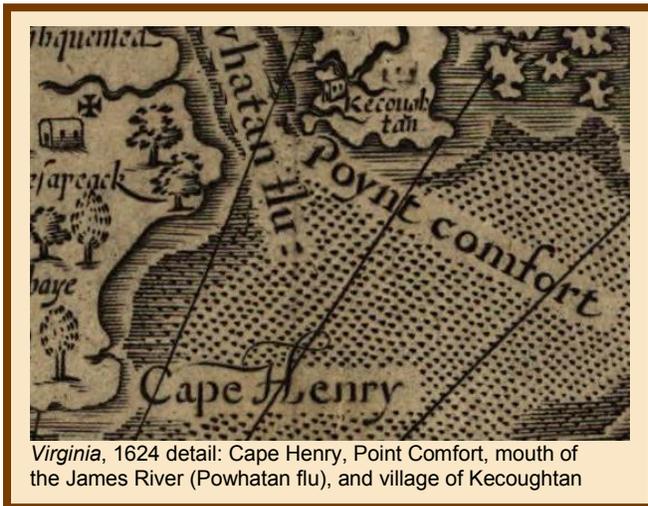
shallop to be manned; so rowing to the shore, the Captain called to them in sign of friendship, but they were at first very timorous, until they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart; upon that they laid down their Bows and Arrows, and came very boldly to us, making signs to come ashore to their Town, which is called by the Savages Kecoughtan [“great town,” commanded by a son of Powhatan]. We coasted to their Town, rowing over a River running into the Main[land], where these Savages swam over with their Bows and Arrows in their mouths.

When we came over to the other side, there was a many of other Savages which directed us to their Town, where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a doleful noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nails. We did think they had been at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid upon the ground: the chiefest of them sat all in a rank; the meanest sort brought us such dainties as they had, and of their bread which they make of their Maize or Gennea [Guinea] wheat. They would

not suffer us to eat unless we sat down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After we were well satisfied they gave us of their Tobacco, which they took in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowl fashioned together with a piece of fine copper. After they had feasted us, they showed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion. One of the Savages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Antic tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolves or Devils. . . .



Virginia, discovered and described by Captain John Smith, 1606, publ. 1624; boxed along the James River from the west (top) are Powhatan's village, Jamestown, and Points Comfort and Henry.



Virginia, 1624 detail: Cape Henry, Point Comfort, mouth of the James River (Powhatan flu), and village of Kecoughtan

MAY 1607

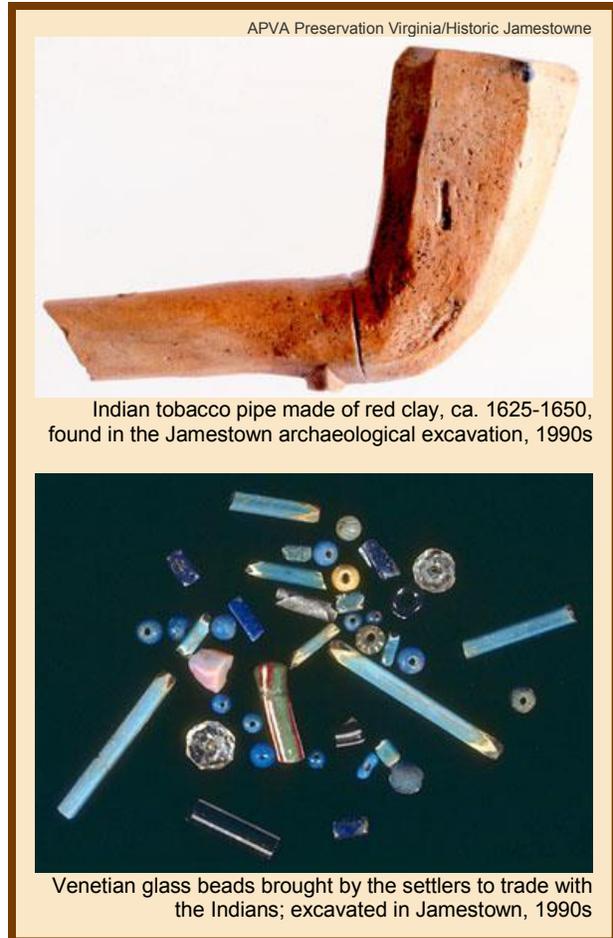
The fourth day of May, we came to the King or Werowance of Paspie [Paspahgh]: where they entertained us with much welcome. An old Savage made a long Oration, making a foul noise, uttering his speech with a vehement action, but we knew little what they meant. While we were in company with the Paspies, the Werowance of Rapahanna came from the other side of the River in his Canoe. He seemed to take displeasure of our being with the Paspies. He would fain have had us to come to his Town. The Captain was unwilling. Seeing that the day was so far spent, he returned back to his ships for that night.

The next day, being the fifth of May, the Werowance [leader] of Rapahanna sent a Messenger to have us come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gave him trifles which pleased him. We manned our shallop with Muskets and Targatiers sufficiently: this said Messenger guided us where our determination was to go. When we landed, the Werowance of Rapahanna came down to the water side with all his train, as goodly men as any I have seen of Savages or Christians: the Werowance coming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deer's hair colored red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of hair, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head, with two long Feathers in fashion of a pair of Horns placed in the middle of his Crown. His body was painted all with Crimson, with a Chain of Beads about his neck, his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver Ore as we thought, his ears all behung with Bracelets of Pearl, and in either ear a Bird's Claw through it beset with fine Copper or Gold. He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had been a Prince of civil government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behavior. . . .

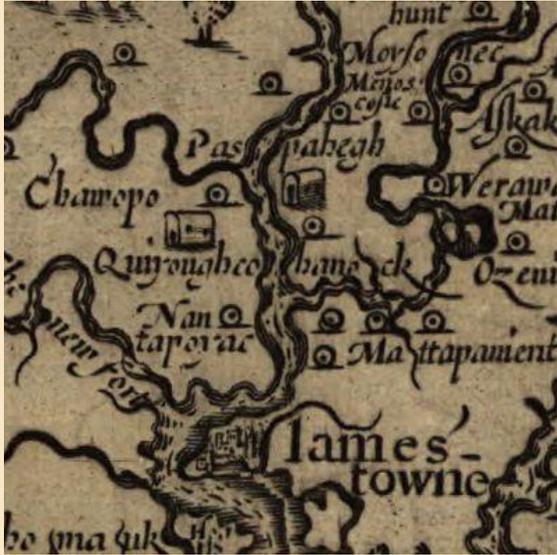
The eighth day of May we discovered [explored] up the River. We landed in the Country of Apamatica. At our landing, there came many stout and able Savages to resist us with their Bows and Arrows, in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backs beset with sharp stones, and pieces of iron able to cleave a man in sunder. Among the rest one of the chiefest, standing before them cross-legged, with his Arrow ready in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold uttering of his speech, demanded of us our being there, willing us to be gone. We made signs of peace, which they perceived in the end, and let us land in quietness. . . .

The thirteenth day, we came to our seating place [Jamestown] in Paspahas Country, some eight miles from the point of Land, which I made mention before: where our ships do lie so near the shore that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water.

The fourteenth day, we landed all our men, which were set to work about the fortification, and others some to watch and ward as it was convenient. The first night of our landing, about midnight, there came some Savages sailing close to our quarter. Presently there was an alarm given; upon that the Savages ran away, and we [were] not troubled any more by them that night. Not long after there came two Savages



Library of Congress



Virginia, 1624, detail: Jamestown and Pasphegh (to the west) on the James River

APVA Preservation Virginia/Historic Jamestowne



James Fort, archaeological excavation begun in 1994

that seemed to be Commanders, bravely dressed, with Crowns of colored hair upon their heads, he came as Messengers from the Werowance of Paspiahae, telling us that their Werowance was coming and would be merry with us with a fat Deer.

The eighteenth day, the Werowance of Paspiahae came himself to our quarter, with one hundred Savages armed, who guarded him in a very warlike manner with Bows and Arrows, thinking at that time to execute their villainy. Paspiahae made great signs to us to lay our Arms away. But we would not trust him so far. He seeing he could not have convenient time to work his will, at length made signs that he would give us as much land as we would desire to take. As the Savages were in a throng in the Fort, one of them stole a Hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed: whereupon he took it from him by force, and also struck him over the arm. Presently another Savage seeing that, came fiercely at our man with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his brains. The Werowance of Paspiahae saw us take to our Arms, went suddenly away with all his company in great anger. . . .

The twentieth day of Werowance of Paspiahae sent forty of his men with a Deer, to our quarter: but they came more in villainy than any love they bare us. They faine would have lain in our Fort all night, but we would not suffer them for fear of their treachery. . . .

At Port Cotage in our Voyage up the River, we saw a Savage Boy about the age of ten years, who

had a head of hair of a perfect yellow and a reasonable white skin, which is a Miracle among all Savages¹.

. . .

The four and twentieth day we set up a Cross at the head of this River, naming it Kings River, where we proclaimed James King of England to have the most right to it. When we had finished and set up our Cross, we shipped our men and made for James Fort. By the way, we came to Pohatan's Towre [*sic*], where the Captain went on shore suffering none to go with him. He presented the Commander of this place, with a Hatchet which he took joyfully, and was well pleased.

But yet the Savages murmured at our planting in the Country, whereupon this Werowance made answer again very wisely of a Savage, Why should you be offended with them as long as they hurt you not, nor take any thing away by force. They take but a little waste ground, which does you nor any of us any good.

I saw Bread made by their women, which do all their drudgery. The men take their pleasure in hunting and their wars, which they are in continually, one Kingdom against another. . . .

¹ Tyler writes that this person was "possibly a descendant of the lost colony of Roanoke. On the theory, not generally agreed to, that that colony was not wholly destroyed, and that descendants of some of its members are still to be found in North Carolina." Tyler, *Narratives*, 17.

JUNE -JULY 1607

The fifteenth of June we had built and finished our Fort, which was trianglewise, having three Bulwarks, at every corner, like a half Moon, and four or five pieces of Artillery mounted in them. We had made ourselves sufficiently strong for these Savages. We had also sown most of our Corn on two Mountains [slight elevations]. It sprang a man's height from the ground. This Country is a fruitful soil, bearing many goodly and fruitful Trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Cedars, Cypress, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance.

Monday the two and twentieth of June, in the morning, Captain Newport in the *Admiral* departed from James Port for England.

Captain Newport being gone for England, leaving us (one hundred and four persons) very bare and scanty of victuals, furthermore in wars and in danger of the Savages, we hoped after a supply which Captain Newport promised within twenty weeks. But if the beginners of this action do carefully further us, the Country being so fruitful, it would be as great a profit to the Realm of England, as the Indies to the King of Spain. If this River which we have found had been discovered in the time of war with Spain, it would have been a commodity to our Realm, and a great annoyance to our enemies.

The seven and twentieth of July, the King of Rappahanna demanded a Canoe, which was restored, lifted up his hand to the Sun (which they worship as their God), besides he laid his hand on his heart, that he would be our special friend. It is a general rule of these people, when they swear by their God which is the Sun, no Christian will keep their Oath better upon this promise. . . .

AUGUST -SEPTEMBER 1607

The sixth of August there died John Asbie of the bloody Flux [dysentery]. The ninth day died George Flower of the swelling. The tenth day died William Bruster, Gentleman, of a wound given by the Savages, and was buried the eleventh day.

The fourteenth day, Jerome Alicock, Ancient, died of a wound, the same day, Francis Midwinter, Edward Moris, Corporall, died suddenly.

The fifteenth day, there died Edward Brown and Stephen Galthorpe. The sixteenth day, there died Thomas Gower, Gentleman. The seventeenth day, there died Thomas Mounslic. The eighteenth day, there died Robert Pennington, and John Martin, Gentleman. The nineteenth day, died Drue Pigasse, Gentleman. The two and twentieth day of August, there died Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, one of our Council: he was honorably buried, having all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off, with many volleys of small shot.

After Captain Gosnold's death, the Council could hardly agree by the dissension of Captain Kendall, which afterward was committed about heinous matters which was proved against him.

The four and twentieth day, died Edward Harrington and George Walker, and were buried the same day. The six and twentieth day, died Kenelme Throgmortin. The seven and twentieth day died William Roods. The eight and twentieth day died Thomas Stoodie, Cape Merchant.

The fourth day of September died Thomas Jacob Sergeant. The fifth day, there died Benjamin Beast. Our men were destroyed with cruel diseases, as Swellings, Fluxes, Burning Fevers, and by wars, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of mere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a foreign Country in such misery as we were in this new discovered Virginia. We watched every three nights, lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soever came [and] warded all the next day, which brought our men to be most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barley sod in water, to five men a day, our drink cold water taken out of the River, which was at a flood very salty, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five months in this miserable distress, not having five able men to man our Bulwarks upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terror in the Savages' hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruel Pagans, being in that weak estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in every corner of the

Fort most pitiful to hear. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their hearts to bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and outcries of our sick men without relief, every night and day, for the space of six weeks, some departing out of the World, many times three or four in a night; in the morning, their bodies trailed out of their Cabins like Dogs to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortality of diverse of our people.

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortal enemies to relieve us with victuals, as Bread, Corn, Fish, and Flesh in great plenty, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise we had all perished. Also we were frequented by diverse Kings in the Country, bringing us store of provision to our great comfort.

The eleventh day, there was certain articles laid against Master Wingfield which was then President; thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Council. Afterwards Captain John Ratcliffe was chosen President.

The eighteenth day, died one Ellis Kinistone, which was starved to death with cold. The same day at night, died one Richard Simmons. The nineteenth day, there died one Thomas Mouton.

The rest is omitted, being more fully set down in Cap. Smith's Relations. [Sidenote by Samuel Purchas, who published Percy's *Observations* in 1625. The original of Percy's text is lost.]

In January 1608 Captain Newport returned with supplies and 100 new settlers.
Of the original 140 men, only 38 were still alive.

