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**Author**

Prins, Harald E. L.

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## To the Land of the Mistigoches: American Indians Traveling to Europe in the Age of Exploration

HARALD E. L. PRINS

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[T]hey had observed that there were men amongst us, full and gorged with all kinds of good things, and that their [compatriots] were begging at their doors, emaciated with hunger and poverty; and that they thought it strange how these have-nots could suffer such injustice, and that they did not seize the others by the throat or set fires to their houses."

—*Montaigne writing about the observations of  
Tupinambá visiting Rouen, 1562*<sup>1</sup>

By the time English Pilgrims sailing on the *Mayflower* landed on the shore of Massachusetts in 1620, perhaps as many as two thousand American Indians had already made the passage to Western Europe.<sup>2</sup> About two-thirds went as captives, usually sold as slaves, but, of these unfortunates, almost all went to Europe before 1500 A. D. Although Indian slaving continued afterwards, few of the subsequent transatlantic voyages with Indians on board involved people destined for the slave markets of Spain and Portugal. Indeed, the vast majority of the voyages after 1500 A. D. were made by American Indians who traveled for other reasons—as adventurers, envoys, sightseers, or performers. As far as we

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Harald Prins is a professor of anthropology at Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas. He has been a researcher for the Micmac Indians since 1981 and has produced a documentary about them. His case study of the tribe will be published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

know, they did not write down their observations. However, the Europeans with whom they had contact sometimes did. On the basis of ships' logs, merchant reports, travel accounts, and other historical records, we can usually determine their ethnic identities.

They hailed from as far north as Labrador and as far south as Brazil, representing widely contrasting cultural backgrounds. Some of the voyagers belonged to migratory hunting bands like the Beothuk, Micmac, and Montagnais, while others came from horticultural villages such as the various Abenaki, Carijo, Iroquois, Pawtucket, Tupinambá, Wampanoag, or Yamasee tribespeople. Finally, there were a number of Indians who formed part of highly organized political states such as the Aztec, Inca, Tlaxcala, or Totonac.

So far, I have been able to recover about fifty-five recorded journeys involving a total of more than 1,600 individuals. Although most were males, there were also numerous females and even children. These Indians, at one time or another, could be found walking in the streets of Spanish cities such as Barcelona, Cadiz, Corunna, Madrid, Malaga, Palos, Seville, and Toledo; French cities such as Bayonne, Bordeaux, Dieppe, Honfleur, Paris, Rouen, Saint Malô, and Troyes; and English cities such as Bristol, London, and Plymouth. While the captives among these Indians must have been mortified by the experience, the others probably regarded the journey with a mixture of anxiety and fascination.<sup>3</sup>

In this text, I will review a number of these journeys, focusing on who traveled where, their means of transportation, and the reasons why they crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Moreover, in order to provide some necessary historical context, I will touch on some of the cultural conditions in sixteenth-century Europe. Although I encountered fascinating material on a range of reactions among both Indians and Europeans to life abroad, those reactions do not fall within the scope of this paper.<sup>4</sup>

First, in order to appreciate the unique historical context of these American Indian journeys to Europe, we need to consider briefly the geographic imagination of the period. For instance, what was the Indians' intellectual construction of the world and what was their concept of the east—the direction from which the Europeans came when they landed on their shores? There seems no doubt that American Indians were as unaware of the remote land masses on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean as Europeans were of the distant lands to the west. While Christians in the late Middle Ages believed that in the west "lay Paradise, which no living man

should or could reach,"<sup>5</sup> coastal Indians such as the Micmac believed that in the east was the sacred abode of Grandfather Sun to whom they turned in time of need.<sup>6</sup> When the Algonquians of coastal North America first saw masted ships appearing on the eastern horizon, they believed that these sailing vessels were floating islands.<sup>7</sup> In this regard, it is understandable that the Taino of the Caribbean Sea, who first saw the Spanish vessels arriving in 1492, welcomed Christopher Columbus and his crew as divine creatures who "came from heaven and that the realms of Castile were in heaven . . ."<sup>8</sup>

Second, whatever the significance of such ideological barriers to exploring the seas beyond their horizons, American Indian mariners also faced certain technological limitations to making long-distance voyages. Except for an intriguing historical snippet noting that a large canoe with Indians from Newfoundland had made port in the north German city of Lubec in 1153, it is unlikely that Indians ever made the transatlantic journey in native-built vessels.<sup>9</sup> Although Indian mariners could be fearless seamen and were accustomed to long canoe-borne excursions—repeatedly making the passage between the widely scattered Caribbean islands or paddling across the broad Gulf of St. Lawrence—there are several important considerations that would have limited the length of their ocean voyages. For example, coastal and island-dwelling Indians facing the Atlantic generally depended on paddle power alone. Their big dugouts, which in the Caribbean could measure up to about one hundred feet (some were actually about twenty feet longer than the average-sized Iberian caravels), were helpless in heavy seas and thus were unsuitable for stormy Atlantic conditions. The same can be said of the region's balsa rafts, the walrus-hide *umiaks*, or the large birchbark canoes of northeastern Algonquians such as the Micmac.<sup>10</sup>

Based on historical documentation and barring any further evidence to the contrary, it appears that, when American Indians traveled across the Atlantic Ocean, they did so aboard European sailing vessels. This conclusion leads to the conjecture that the Indians who supposedly landed in Germany in 1153 made the transatlantic voyage on a European vessel. If this is what actually happened, they would have come on board a Viking knarr, a sailing vessel some sixty feet long and perhaps forty tons burden, typically outfitted with a single mast and a square sail.<sup>11</sup> After all, the Norse had reached Greenland as early as 982 A. D. and appear to have reached Labrador four years later. Following two aborted

settlements in Newfoundland (c. 1000–c. 1012), these Viking mariners appear to have continued their voyages to the region in search of timber and furs as late as the fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Proof of this twelfth-century Indian voyage to Lubec remains elusive, but we do possess well-documented evidence that American Indians began arriving in Europe in 1493, traveling on Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese), Basque, Breton, French Norman, or English sailing vessels. Initially, they did not distinguish between the various European nationalities, lumping them in terms of what they found to be distinctive. For instance, the Montagnais and Algonquians referred to the Europeans frequenting the St. Lawrence River as *Mistigoches*—"Builders of Ships."<sup>13</sup> The Narragansett of Rhode Island, on the other hand, called the Europeans "Coat-men" or "Sword-men."<sup>14</sup> Soon enough, of course, Indians became aware of the different European nationalities. For example, after almost a century of contact, Micmac in the early 1600s carefully distinguished between Normans (*Nortmandia*), Bretons [St. Malô] (*Samaricois*), and Basques (*Bascua*).<sup>15</sup>

Before turning to those American Indians who actually made the crossing, we first need to consider the early European voyages made during that momentous period known as the Age of Exploration, from the late fifteenth through the early seventeenth centuries. Probably aware of the Norse exploits across the Atlantic, which do not appear to have been a secret in northern Europe's fishing ports, English fishing vessels from Bristol sailed across the Atlantic from about 1490, perhaps even earlier.<sup>16</sup> There is reason to believe that Columbus knew about these activities when he organized his own expedition in 1492 and set sail from Palos in southern Spain with two small caravels and one *náo*.<sup>17</sup>

In 1493, on his second voyage to the Caribbean Sea, Columbus sailed with a fleet of seventeen vessels, carrying some 1,500 colonists, twenty-four horses, ten mares, three mules, as well as cows, swine, sheep, and goats, "a few of each, for breeding . . ." <sup>18</sup> Soon, Spanish vessels were scuttling back and forth between port cities such as Seville and the Caribbean, a passage that normally took about thirty days. From here they pushed further, exploring the coast of North and South America. In 1497, Giovanni Caboto of Genoa, alias John Cabot, sailed from Bristol to explore the North Atlantic and returned with stories about the rich fishing grounds off Newfoundland.<sup>19</sup> The next year, Columbus explored the coast of Venezuela, followed a year later by Amerigo Vespucci, embarking on a voyage to the mouth of the Amazon.<sup>20</sup>

In 1500, a Portuguese fleet of thirteen ships commanded by Pedro Álvares Cabral sailed for nine days along the coast of Brazil, a place that seemed to them an "earthly paradise," before moving off towards South Asia. At their first anchorage, two Brazilian warriors boarded the Portuguese flagship, where Cabral greeted them with all possible pomp, thinking he was meeting envoys of some oriental lord.<sup>21</sup> Although Cabral found no gold or other precious metals, he did note immense supplies of wild brazilwood, also known as red-dye wood, which could be used in Europe's scarlet cloth industry. He tapped local tribesmen to help load his supply ship with the valuable wood, then sent the cargo back to Portugal.<sup>22</sup> A year later, on a second voyage from Portugal to Brazil, Amerigo Vespucci also reported that he had "found an endless growth of very good dyewood, enough to load all the ships that nowadays sail the seas, and free from cost." For the next thirty years, Brazil was chiefly valued as a source of red dyewood.<sup>23</sup>

Other Europeans were also interested in brazilwood. The first French vessel to arrive on the coast of southern Brazil was a 120-ton barque named *L'Espoir* from Honfleur, Normandy, at the time an important French port at the mouth of the river Seine. Among the sixty men sailing under command of captain Paulmier de Gonneville in 1503 were two Portuguese pilots, perhaps men who earlier sailed with Cabral or Vespucci.<sup>24</sup> Because they depended on the local Carijó Indians for felling the trees, cutting the hard wood into logs, and transporting them to the coast for loading onto the ship, the French had come well stocked with trade goods, including three hundred pieces of various cloths, four thousand metal axes and other tools, as well as fifty dozen small mirrors, 240 dozen knives, and six hundredweight of beads.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, from the early 1500s onward, growing numbers of fishermen from England, Portugal, and France had begun to frequent the rich fishing grounds off Newfoundland and Cape Breton. By 1527, there were at least fifty vessels on the Banks, primarily engaged in cod fishing. Because of the so-called dry fisheries, part of these crews settled ashore for the season.<sup>26</sup> Soon, hundreds of fishermen were camping out on the shores of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Labrador, where they dried cod and engaged in barter with Indians who offered them beaver and other furs. In 1578, the Newfoundland fisheries numbered at least 350 ships, of which over one hundred were Spanish cod fishers, "besides twenty or thirty more than come from Biscay to kill whale for train." Further,

there were some fifty Portuguese vessels and about 150 from French ports.<sup>27</sup> In total, these fisheries involved about 20,000 men.<sup>28</sup>

Gradually, more and more furs were added to the cargoes of dried codfish being carried to southern Europe's port cities. Occasionally, as I will explain later in more detail, Indians joined the Basque, Breton, French Norman, or English fishermen for a brief visit to their home ports in Europe before making the crossing back to America the following season. Although the fishing fleets usually went out in April and came back from the fishing grounds in August, French fishermen in the late 1500s made a winter voyage as well as a summer one.<sup>29</sup> From the early 1580s onward, voyages were organized specifically for trading on the St. Lawrence River in order to obtain furs ("soft gold") from Canada's vast interior woodlands.<sup>30</sup>

As noted above, Indians traveling to Europe typically made the passage on fishing or trading vessels from Spain, Portugal, France, or England. The earliest voyages were made on small caravels (about sixty tons), fast, two-masted ships—lateen or square-rigged—of a type commonly used by Iberian merchants for coastwise trading. Others sailed on square-rigged barques, ranging in size from 30 to 300 tons. Finally, quite a few Indians made the journey on fishing boats, generally averaging about eighty tons.<sup>31</sup>

Earlier, I mentioned that perhaps two-thirds of the Indians traveling to Europe did not go by choice; they were captives taken to be sold as chattel. Some one thousand of these unfortunates were Taino, Carib, and Lucayo from the West Indies, who made the crossing before 1500 A. D. In this context, it must be noted that slavery was deeply entrenched in Europe during this time. Merchants purchased hundreds of thousands of captives, regardless of their sex, religion, or skin color, to be sold on the slave markets of the Mediterranean. For example, merchants from the Italian port city of Genoa (where Columbus was born and raised) bought and transported Muslim slaves from Spain and North Africa; captives from the Balkans, Greece, the Black Sea, and beyond; and increasing numbers of African Blacks from the sub-Saharan. In the mid-1400s, Portuguese raiding parties began capturing Black slaves on the West African coast. From 1490 onward, up to two thousand slaves were imported annually to Lisbon.<sup>32</sup>

Considering this European tradition of forced labor, we should not be surprised to see so many Indians taken as slaves. In 1493, Columbus began rounding up Indians in the Caribbean to be sold in the slave markets of Cadiz or Seville. The first cargo, shipped

with the twelve caravels returning to Spain in the fall of 1494, consisted of several dozen Carib who had been captured in the Outer Antilles.<sup>33</sup> When the fleet arrived at Cadiz, Italian merchants visiting the port city noticed that there were twenty-six Indians on board "of different islands and languages, . . . three of them Canibali who live on human flesh."<sup>34</sup>

The following year, Columbus and his men began hunting down Taino in the interior of Haiti. Using horses and hounds, they rounded up over 1,500 people. Hundreds of these captives, described as "the best males and females," were stowed in four caravels setting sail for Spain. Commenting on the dreadful journey with the Taino confined below hatches, one eyewitness wrote, "[A]bout two hundred of these Indians died . . . We cast them into the sea . . . and very soon after we had reached Cadiz, in which place we disembarked all the slaves, half of them were sick. For your information they are not working people and they very much fear cold, nor have they long life."<sup>35</sup> Andrés Bernáldez, the academic curate of Extremadura and chronicler of his own times, noted that his friend Columbus had "sent five hundred Indian men and women, all in the flower of their age, between twelve years and thirty-five, or thereabouts, all of whom were delivered at Seville, to Don Juan de Fonseca [the archdeacon of Seville]. They came as they went about in their own country, naked as they were born . . . They were sold [but] the greater part died."<sup>36</sup>

Hearing about the Indians being sold in Seville's slave market, the Spanish monarchs discussed whether the indigenous peoples of the Americas "can be sold in good conscience." Based on political and canonical considerations, the monarchs decided that conquest and conversion were inseparable processes where pagan peoples were concerned and ordered the Indians in Spain set free and no more bought.<sup>37</sup> In 1496, Columbus's brother Bartolomeo captured three hundred Indians, labeled them "prisoners of war" to get around the royal prohibition, and had them sold at Cadiz.<sup>38</sup> It appears that similar slave shipments took place in the years following.<sup>39</sup> Columbus himself informed the Spanish monarchs in 1498 that "as many slaves as can be sold" could be shipped from the Caribbean, noting that there was a market for about four thousand Indians.<sup>40</sup>

Following their "discovery" in 1492, the peaceful Lucayo in the Bahamas also found themselves the target of slave raiders from Europe. In 1499, more than four hundred fell into the merciless hands of Amerigo Vespucci (whose name spoils the Western



Hemisphere) and were sold in the slave market of Cadiz. As the businessman from Florence himself explained, "They were all timid people of small intellect; we did what we liked with them . . . . When we arrived at Cadiz, we shared our slaves. We found that we had two hundred of them alive, the others that made up the total of two hundred and thirty-two having died at sea. Having sold them all, the profit that we had above the cost of the ships was five hundred ducats, which had to be divided into fifty-five shares, so that each of us received little."<sup>41</sup> Soon afterwards, about sixty captured Beothuk from Newfoundland were taken to Lisbon by the Portuguese navigator Gaspar Corte-Real. Admiring these "tall, well-built" tribesmen who reminded him of gypsies, the Venetian ambassador to Lisbon observed in 1501 that they "will make the best slaves I have ever seen."<sup>42</sup>

While most Indians made the passage as victims of brutal European exploitation, there were also those who were captured for purposes other than slavery. Among those who were kidnapped, for example, were Indians sent to Europe to become interpreters and informants and to serve later as guides. First lured by trade goods, they were usually taken by surprise and locked below deck. Once at sea, they probably were released and likely received more friendly treatment than the slaves did from their abductors. Because their value depended on their willingness to provide information about the geography of their lands, the numbers of people, indigenous customs, and precious resources, these Indians even received some courtesy while in Europe. I have selected seven such cases to present here, representing a cross-section of the voyages made in this category.

The earliest and probably the best known was a Taino interpreter and guide who later became known as Don Diego Colón. He hailed from Guanahani Island in the Bahamas (San Salvador), from where he and five other Arawak-speaking Indians were taken by Columbus in 1492.<sup>43</sup> With several other Indians from Haiti (Hispaniola), these Taino sailed to Spain in caravels. Arriving in Seville in 1493, they lodged in a house near the Gate of the *Imágenes*, "where Bartolomé de las Casas remembered staring at them as a boy."<sup>44</sup> Leaving four Indian comrades behind in Seville, Diego and five other Taino walked with Columbus to Barcelona (eight hundred miles overland), to visit the royal court. There the party remained for five or six weeks, parading before King Ferdinand, Queen Isabella, and the rest of the admiring crowd. Later, the feathered Taino were baptized in the city's magnificent

cathedral, the king, queen, and others acting as godparents. One Taino noble from Haiti received the name Fernando de Aragon, while another became Juan de Castilla, named after the Infante Don Juan. Perhaps this was also when the Taino from Guanahani received his name Diego Colón (no doubt, after Columbus's brother). One of these Taino, the man now known as Don Juan, remained with the king's household, "where he was well-behaved and circumspect, as if he had been the son of an important caballero."<sup>45</sup> Of the remaining nine Taino, seven joined Columbus on his second voyage to the Caribbean. Five of these died at sea, leaving only two who ultimately made it back to the Americas. One was the famous Don Diego, who served Columbus as guide and interpreter during his subsequent explorations in the Caribbean Sea.<sup>46</sup>

Although these Taino were native Arawak speakers like many other Indians throughout the West Indies, Columbus also required Carib-speaking guides. This is why several Carib were abducted and taken to Cadiz in 1494 "to be turned into good Christians and interpreters."<sup>47</sup> One particularly fascinating case involved a tribesman from South Carolina, probably a Yamasee Indian, who was captured by Spanish slavers from Santo Domingo, together with seventy other Indians. Baptized and renamed Francisco de Chicora, he won the trust of his master, Don Lucas Vazques de Ayllon, who took him to the Spanish court at Toledo. There he told Emperor Charles V fables about giant kings and pygmies with crocodile tails, and whetted the Spanish appetite with tales about a wealth of gold and pearls. In 1526, having lived quite comfortably among the Spaniards for five years, Don Francisco finally returned home when Ayllon tried to found a colony on the South Carolina coast. The fleet carrying the Yamasee back consisted of six ships transporting some four hundred Spanish settlers, one hundred African slaves, and ninety horses, goats, swine, and chickens. However, Don Francisco soon escaped. Presumably, he rejoined his own family, while the ill-starred colony at San Miguel was aborted.<sup>48</sup>

Another noteworthy instance involved two sons of Iroquoian chief Donnacona of Stadacona (Quebec), Taignoagny and Domagaya, who, in 1534, traveled from Honguedo (Gaspé) to the French Breton port city of St. Malô. They were taken aboard the one-hundred-ton *Grande Hermine* by French navigator Jacques Cartier to serve as guides and go-betweens for his next voyage in search of the Northwest Passage to China. It appears that Cartier

had some experience in this scheme of taking Indians back to Europe. For example, returning from a voyage to Brazil in 1527, he had an Indian girl on board who was later baptized at St. Malo, with Cartier's wife acting as godmother.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps she was still living in St. Malo when the two Iroquoians arrived in the city. At any rate, both young men learned French. They told Cartier that the St. Lawrence was not the strait to China but the way to countries named Canada and Saguenay, which, so they led him to believe, should contain the gold Cartier was seeking.<sup>50</sup>

The following year, Taignoagny and Domagaya returned to Canada aboard Cartier's ship, guiding the French up the St. Lawrence River, where "began the kingdom of the Saguenay . . ." <sup>51</sup> In 1536, the two Stadaconans made yet another voyage to France. This time, Cartier also pressed their father Donnacona to come along, as well as several other leading Iroquoians, plus three girls who had been presented to Cartier. However, it seems that this time not one of the ten Iroquoians, three of whom were later baptized in St. Malô, ever returned to Canada. By 1541, all the men lay in their graves, including Donnacona, "who died in France as a good Christian, speaking French, for he had lived there four years . . ." <sup>52</sup>

The abduction and return of a York River Algonquian in 1561 is another curious example. Perhaps a native from Kiskiack, this Indian was picked up by a Spanish vessel cruising Chesapeake Bay and was taken to Cuba, where he was educated and baptized. His godfather was the viceroy of New Spain, who gave him his new name, Luis de Velasco. After a couple of years in Cuba, Don Luis left for Spain, where he remained for about two years. In 1570, he returned to coastal Virginia as a guide for Spanish Jesuits who planned to found a mission there. The following year, however, Indian warriors destroyed the small mission, most likely aided by Don Luis, who had recently rejoined his own people.<sup>53</sup>

Somewhere on the coast of North Carolina, about one hundred miles south of the York River, another abduction of coastal Algonquians took place in 1584. The victims, Manteo and Wanchese, were taken on an English vessel to Plymouth in southwest England, where they were welcomed by Sir Walter Raleigh, who had just obtained a patent from the English queen to found a colony in North America.<sup>54</sup> These two Algonquians were not the first Indians to visit England; quite a number had preceded them, beginning with three (probably Beothuk) from Newfoundland, who arrived on a Bristol vessel in 1501 and were later presented at

the court of King Henry VII, where at least two of them were still living in 1504.<sup>55</sup> One of the North Carolina Algonquians, Wanchese, remained one year in England, returning to America as a guide and interpreter with a group of one hundred English colonists settling at Roanoke Island in 1585. His friend Manteo, on the other hand, stayed another two years before boarding the vessel that carried him back to North Carolina. Pleased with "his faithful service" as guide and interpreter, Raleigh honored Manteo, grandiloquently titling him Lord of Roanoke and Dasamongueponke.<sup>56</sup>

One final example of coerced Indian informants concerns a Wabanaki chieftain named Dehanada and four fellow tribesmen from coastal Maine, who were carefully selected for their "ready capacity" to serve the interests of Raleigh's associates, fellow gentlemen-entrepreneurs including Sir John Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.<sup>57</sup> Raleigh's colleagues dispatched Captain George Weymouth, who landed at Pemaquid in the summer of 1605. After some friendly trading, the five Wabanaki were seized and locked below deck. Also taken back to England were their "two canoas, with all their bowes and arrowes." As one eyewitness later wrote, "We have brought them to understand some English and we understand much of their language; so as we are able to aske them many things. And this we have observed, that if we shew them anything, and aske them if they have it in their cuntry, they will tell you if they have it, and the use of it."<sup>58</sup> Gorges himself later recalled, "And the longer I conversed with them, the better hope they gave me of those parts where they did inhabit, as proper for our uses . . . . And having kept them full three years, I made them able to set me down what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had, and the like . . . ."<sup>59</sup>

It appears that three of the Wabanaki tribesmen were kept at Plymouth Fort for Gorges, at the time military commander of this important coastal stronghold. The other two were taken to London, where Popham, who was then England's lord chief justice, resided.<sup>60</sup> After a year in England as guests of Popham and Gorges, two of the Wabanaki, Maniddo and Assacomoit, boarded a small barque to explore the Maine coast for a suitable site to establish another English colony. Having taken the southern route, the vessel was attacked off the Florida coast by a "Spanish fleet that came from Havana, by whom they were taken and carried into Spain, where their ship and goods were confiscated." Maniddo and Assacomoit shared the wretched fate of the captured English

crew and were thrown in jail, where they suffered "in greate extremity." While Maniddo's fate is uncertain, Gorges was able to ransom Assacomoit and return him to England. In 1614, after an absence of nine years, Assacomoit (and two other Indians) finally boarded a vessel that carried them back to their homeland.<sup>61</sup>

Meanwhile, Dehanada, one of Assacomoit's comrades from Pemaquid, had already returned as a guide on yet another English vessel, commanded by Captain Thomas Hanman, that sailed for Popham and Gorges to the Maine coast in 1606. With Dehanada's help, the captain "made a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors he was informed of by his instructions . . ."<sup>62</sup> The following year, when Popham founded a new English colony at Sagadahock River (lower Kennebec, Maine), Dehanada's companion Skitwarres traveled as guide and interpreter on one of the ships.<sup>63</sup> Seven years later, in 1614, Dehanada joined Captain John Smith at Monhegan Island, helping him chart the coast of what became known as New England. As Smith himself later explained, "The main assistance next God . . . was my acquaintance among the savages, especially with Dohannida, one of their greatest lords, who had lived long in England."<sup>64</sup>

Yet another category of Indian voyagers was those who went to Europe more or less as scouts. Some of these tribesmen appear to have been specially assigned for this unique and dangerous task by their own chiefs in order to report on the lands of the European strangers. Certainly among the first of such voyages was a journey undertaken in 1505 by Essomericq and Namoa, two young Carijó men from southern Brazil. They traveled as guests of the aforementioned French captain, Paulmier de Gonneville, who had promised Chief Arosca that his son Essomericq would learn "artillery, which they greatly desired to dominate their enemies, and also how to make mirrors, knives, axes and all that they saw and admired among the Christians." During the three-month voyage across the Atlantic, Namoa and some of the French crew died of scurvy. Essomericq, however, recovered from the disease and arrived in Honfleur, where he was "well regarded . . . in all the places we passed: for there had never been in France a person from so distant a country."<sup>65</sup>

Although the plan was that Essomericq would return to his Carijó village when Gonneville made another run for the precious brazilwood, Chief Carisco never saw his son again. Instead of going home to teach his fellow Carijó the art of making artillery, mirrors, and knives, the young man stayed in France, where he

was baptized and renamed Binot. Ultimately, the Brazilian Indian married the captain's daughter and received property as well as the name and arms of Gonneville. Having had at least one son and grandson, Essomericq finally died in 1538.<sup>66</sup> Of course, it is quite conceivable that Essomericq, alias Binot de Gonneville, personally encountered numerous other American Indians in French seaports such as Dieppe, Honfleur, Rouen, and St. Malô. In 1509, for instance, he may have visited nearby Rouen, where an amazing spectacle took place: Seven painted and feathered Beothuk from Newfoundland, dressed in loin cloths, carrying bows and arrows, and equipped with a birch bark canoe, paraded "to the wonder and applause of France."<sup>67</sup>

Another curious instance involved a Huron from Canada, who traveled to Honfleur in 1610. This younger brother of a Huron chieftain named Tregouaroti made the voyage at the request of Chief Ochasteguain. The agreement was that the French, who were commanded by Samuel de Champlain, would leave one of their own among the Huron, "to learn their language, get acquainted with the country . . . so that, on his return, he could give us information," while one of the Huron would join Champlain on his journey back to France, "in order to report to them what he should see."<sup>68</sup> A French chronicler, who himself had lived among the Micmac in Nova Scotia from 1606 to 1607, later wrote, "I have often seen this savage of Champlain at Paris. He was a tall and sturdy youth named Savignon, who often when he saw two men quarreling without coming to blows or killing one another, would mock at them, saying they were nought but women, and had no courage."<sup>69</sup> The following summer, having been one year in France, Savignon returned to Canada with Champlain, who noted that the Huron "were very much pleased to see our savage well, for they had supposed him dead [and they] praised the treatment I had shown to our savage as if he were a brother . . ."<sup>70</sup>

In the category of voluntary voyages, quite a few records exist regarding Indians who made the passage to Europe for reasons somehow related to the fur trade. As in the examples noted above, they freely boarded the vessels loaded with dried codfish and skins, and particularly valuable beaver. Usually, the voyage from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to France took three to four weeks. After several months in Europe, they typically returned in the spring. In the summer of 1584, for example, two tribesmen from the Gulf of St. Lawrence sailed on Breton ships, which were heavily laden with furs, from Canada to St. Malô "in order to facilitate trade and

intercourse." After almost six months in France, where they were baptized, they probably sailed back when the fleet set out on its next trading voyage.<sup>71</sup>

One of the truly fascinating characters who made the passage across the Atlantic was Messamoet, a Micmac chieftain from Nova Scotia, who visited France sometime before 1580. After a stay as the guest of the governor of the Basque port city of Bayonne, Messamoet returned home, probably on a Basque whaler or cod fisher, and became a successful middleman in the emerging fur trade of northeast North America.<sup>72</sup> He may have been the "Tarrentine" mariner encountered by an English crew at Cape Neddick (southern Maine) in 1602, who reported to have met a party of Micmac sailing in a Basque shallop: "[T]he commander wore a waistcoat of black work [serge], a pair of breeches, cloth stockings, shoes, hat and band, [and] with a piece of chalk described the coasts thereabouts and could name Placentia [Plaisance] of the Newfoundland; they spoke divers Christian words, and seemed to understand much more than we . . ." <sup>73</sup> Messamoet later served the French as interpreter and guide. For instance, he accompanied Samuel de Champlain on his first voyage exploring and mapping the Maine coast in 1604. Six years later, having just been baptized and renamed Martin, Messamoet suddenly died of a European disease.<sup>74</sup>

Finally, there are those American Indians who made the long journey to Europe for political purposes. While some went as envoys representing the interests of their own people, others made the journey as unwitting pawns on the chessboard of European colonial empire builders, or perhaps for reasons that were a mixture of both. The rather ambiguous nature of the early voyages is well illustrated by the example of a female Carib chief from the island of Guadeloupe who accompanied Columbus on his journey to the royal court at Burgos in 1496. She made the passage with her daughter and thirty other Indians aboard two dangerously overcrowded caravels. Among the other Indian passengers was a Taino chieftain from Haiti, "the great cacique Caonabó, and a brother of his, and a son, about ten years old." But, commented Bernáldez later, "Caonabó died on the water, from grief and vexation."<sup>75</sup> The survivors accompanied Columbus on his overland journey from Seville to Burgos, where the monarchs held court during this time: "Cages of brightly colored parrots acted as advance publicity by their screams, and whenever [Columbus] was about to enter a town, jewelry was unpacked from the saddlebags and displayed on the Indians."<sup>76</sup> Regrettably, I have

found no records suggesting what ultimately became of the Carib chieftainess and her fellow Indian travelers.

Among other Indian voyagers who crossed the Atlantic for political reasons were several Mexican caciques (lords) from Tlaxcala and Tenochtitlán. One of them was the Aztec emperor Moctezuma's son, who wished to accompany Hernando Cortés on his 1528 voyage to the court of Emperor Charles V at Toledo. The two ships sailing from Villa Rica at the Gulf of Mexico to the little Spanish seaport of Palos also carried a number of Indian entertainers, including a dozen Aztec jugglers and acrobats, as well as several wild animals and birds of beautiful plumage. Traveling by way of Seville to Toledo, the cavalcade "presented a spectacle such as had not been seen since the return of Columbus [and] the Indian chieftains, who, by the splendors of their barbaric finery, gave additional brilliancy, as well as novelty, to the pageant." The Aztec acrobats remained in Europe, having been presented to Pope Clement VII, who was "greatly delighted with the feats of the Indian jugglers." There is some reason to believe, however, that the caciques ultimately returned to Mexico.<sup>77</sup> While in Spain, these Indians from Mexico may have encountered some of the Tumbes and other South American Indians accompanying conquistador Francisco Pizarro on his return journey from the Peruvian coast to the royal court at Toledo.<sup>78</sup>

Although Indian visitors from across the Atlantic were gradually becoming a more or less familiar sight in the various seaports and at the royal courts of Europe, probably the most remarkable episode took place in Rouen. Having organized a fabulous pageant to welcome King Henri II, the rich seaport's officials and merchants also presented an exotic tableau representing French interests in Brazil. Their aim was to thank their king for giving the city a monopoly on Brazilian imports, especially red dyewood, and to win his support against foreign competitors, particularly the Portuguese.<sup>79</sup> At least fifty Tupinambá, perhaps from Guanabara Bay, were specially brought over for the pageant.<sup>80</sup> Typically, their bodies were probably painted with geometric designs, and each had a tuft of ostrich plumes suspended from his buttocks. With white or green stone buttons stuck in their pierced lower lips, and wearing high diadems made of brightly colored parrot feathers, these splendid Indians surely appealed to the rich imaginations of Renaissance Europe.<sup>81</sup>

A meadow alongside the river Seine was set up to look like a Brazilian jungle. Workers built thatched huts, planted new trees



and bushes, enhanced existing trees with extra branches, and festooned the verdant scene with imitation fruit. To make it all even more fantastic, they released a coterie of colorful parrots, monkeys, and other South American animals. In addition to the fifty Tupinambá, the tableau included 250 French sailors disguised as hostile Tobajara, native allies of the Portuguese: "They spoke the language as well, and expressed themselves as naively in the gestures and mannerisms of the savages, as if they were natives of that same country."<sup>82</sup> As recaptured by John Hemming, "The pageant opened with the real natives and the naked sailors going about their daily life, demonstrating archery, chasing game 'like troglodytes after waterfowl,' swinging in hammocks, or loading wood on to a French ship anchored in the river. This peaceful scene was suddenly broken by an attack on the Tupinambá village by their Tobajara enemies. Norman sailors and real Indians staged a mock battle wielding clubs and bows and arrows; but the Tupinambá—traditional allies of the French—were victorious. The spectacle's climax was the burning of the Tobajara hut. The King and his court were enchanted by it all."<sup>83</sup>

In this summary review of American Indians traveling to Europe before 1620, I have focused on a select number of voyages made by tribespeople from highly diverse regions in the Americas, sailing to different European countries, and for all manner of reasons. Because Europe was a "New World," too, the history of these early Indian voyages sheds light on the complexity of the encounter between Europe and the Americas, which involved so many different cultures, actors, objectives, and circumstances. And even though we now know that perhaps more than two thousand Indians made the passage to Europe in the Age of Exploration, the stunning lack of balance is well demonstrated by the fact that well over 400,000 Europeans also crossed the Atlantic during this period.<sup>84</sup> But, perhaps even more telling, virtually all Indians visiting Europe chose to return home if they could.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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## NOTES

1. In his essay "Des Cannibales," Michel de Montaigne recalls his visit with three Tupinamba in Rouen in 1562. The statement made by the Tupinambá chieftain was a response to the following: "The King (Charles IX) had a long talk with them. They were shown our ways, our pomp, the form of a fine city. After that somebody asked their opinion, desiring to know what they most wondered at." See J. M. Robertson, ed., *The Essays of Montaigne* (London, 1927).

2. My estimate is based on the fact that there is documentary evidence of at least 1,600 individuals having made the voyage. It is highly unlikely that my current files are complete. No doubt, there are European archival records that contain numerous additional references. Accordingly, my educated guess of two thousand is probably still on the low side.

3. As captives, they typically expected to be killed. Compare this with African captives, one of whom was a young man named Augustino who was taken to Brazil. He later recalled that several of the younger Africans taken aboard the slave ships "jumped overboard, for fear they were being fattened to be eaten . . . They do not know for what object they are taken, and the idea comes into their head that it is from being made food of." Quoted in Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 39. In my "Children of Gluskap: Wabanaki Indians on the Eve of the European Invasion," to be published in *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega*, edited by E. Baker, E. Churchill, R. d'Abate, K. Jones, V. Konrad, and H. Prins (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming), I have sketched Wabanaki Indian attitudes toward the European newcomers on their coasts.

4. In the course of my own research on this subject, I recently became aware of Olive P. Dickason's work, in particular a fascinating chapter called "Amerindians in Europe," which appeared in her book *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984).

5. Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Discoverers: A History of Man's Search to Know His World and Himself* (New York: Random House, 1983), 154.

6. R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travel and Exploration of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (Cleveland, OH: Burrows, 1896-1901), 3: 133-35.

7. Silas T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1894), 152-54; William S. Simmons, *The Narragansett* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 27.

8. Columbus's journal (1492), quoted by Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest of the Impossible* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 97.

9. "In the yeere 1153 . . . it is written, that there came to Lubec, a citie of Germanie, one Canoa with certaine Indians, like unto a long barge: which seemed to have come from the coast of Baccalaos, which standeth in the same latitude that Germanie doth." (Antoine Galvano, in Goldsmid's ed. of *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 16: 293, quoted in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 1: 307-308.)

10. J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance: Discovery, Exploration and Settlement 1450 to 1650* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963), 53-55, 65, 141. In contrast to the balsa rafts of the Atlantic coast, the rafts built by American Indians on the shores of the Pacific were outfitted with large square-sails of cotton

when out at sea. This feature is described by several sixteenth-century observers, including the Inca chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, who wrote the *Royal Commentaries* (1609, 1617; New York: Avon Books, 1961), and a Spanish navigator named Ruiz in 1528 (see William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru, with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas* [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1847], 1: 244–45). For further background on American Indian watercraft, see also Kenneth G. Roberts and Philip Shackleton, *The Canoe: A History of the Craft from Panama to the Arctic* (Camden, ME: International Marine Publishing Company, 1983), 15–19; Edwin Tappan Adney and Howard I. Chapelle, *The Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1964), 7–10; Irving Rouse, "The Arawak," in *Handbook of South American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1948), 4: 527. Regarding the subject of seafaring Indians, I have also benefited from my discussions with anthropologist/sailor Martin Ottenheimer at Kansas State University.

11. G. V. Scrammel, *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires c. 800–1650* (London: Methuen, 1981), 21.

12. *Ibid.*, 1–9.

13. The term *Mistigoches* is also spelled *mistekoushou*. Samuel de Champlain, *Works*, ed. H. P. Biggar (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922–1936), 2: 121, 125; Baron de LaHontan, *New Voyages to North America*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1905, from the 1703 English edition), 738; Prins, "Children of Gluskap."

14. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 24: 61–63. Roger Williams, "Key into the Language of the Indians of New England" (1648), in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, (first series), 3: 81, 89. The term *wenooch* (also spelled *waunnuxuk*, or *a8enn8tsak*) is another widely used Algonquian term for the Europeans. Derived from *awaun-ewo* (who is that?), *wenooch* is usually translated as "strangers" (see Prins, "Children of Gluskap").

15. Pierre Biard (1612), in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 1: 163, 165.

16. Parry, *Age of Reconnaissance*, 154; Scrammel, *World Encompassed*, 461.

17. Parry, *Age of Reconnaissance*, 70; Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (New York: A Plume Book, 1991), 15, 65.

18. A. Bernáldez, "Historia de los Reyes Católicos" (1513), translated and published in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (3d series), 8: 36; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest*, 116.

19. H. P. Biggar, *The Early Trading Companies of New France: A Contribution to the History of Commerce and Discovery in North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1901; Clifton: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1972), 18.

20. Parry, ed., *The European Reconnaissance: Selected Documents* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 176.

21. John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians, 1500–1760* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 2, 3.

22. *Ibid.*, 15.

23. Parry, *Age of Reconnaissance*, 258; *idem*, *Selected Documents*, 174, 190.

24. Michel Mollat, *Le Commerce Maritime Normand à la Fin du Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1952), 250.

25. Hemming, *Red Gold*, 9–10.

26. Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, 18–19.

27. Letter (1578) written by Bristol gentleman-entrepreneur Anthony Pakhurst to Richard Hakluyt, cited in *The Elizabethan's America: A Collection of Early Reports*

by *Englishmen of the New World*, ed. L. B. Wright (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 77–81.

28. Patricia K. L. Niefeld, *Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure* (Unpublished dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1981), 286–98; Carl O. Sauer, *Sixteenth-Century North America: The Land and the People as Seen by the Europeans* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971), 241.

29. Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, 26.

30. *Ibid.*, 32; Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France 1524–1663* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), 56–58.

31. Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, 26; Parry, *Age of Reconnaissance*, 53, 63; Scrammel, *World Encompassed*, 263.

32. David B. Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 33, 47, 53–55, 61, 64; see also James A. Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), 9–16, 21–26, 51–56.

33. Sale, *Conquest of Paradise*, 137, 138.

34. Quoted in Samuel E. Morrison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942), 435.

35. Eyewitness report by Michele de Cuneo, quoted in Morrison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 487–88.

36. Bernáldez, "Historia de los Reyes Católicos," 32; Fernandez-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest*, 25.

37. *Ibid.*, 131–44; Sale, *Conquest of Paradise*, 156.

38. Morrison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 562–63.

39. Sale, *Conquest of Paradise*, 156.

40. In this letter to the Spanish monarchs, Columbus went on, "And although at present they die on shipment, this will not always be the case, for the Negroes and Canary Islanders [Guanches] reacted in the same way at first." Quoted in Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest*, 147.

41. Cited in Parry, *Selected Documents*, 184, 185.

42. Quoted in John S. C. Abbott, *The History of Maine, From the Earliest Discovery of the Region by Northmen until the Present Time* (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1875), 24 n. 2.

43. Morrison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 238.

44. *Ibid.*, 354.

45. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, "Historia General y Natural de las Indias" (1535), quoted in Morrison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 360.

46. Morrison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 360.

47. *Ibid.*, 436.

48. Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 104; David B. Quinn, *New American World* (New York: Arno Press/Hector Bye, 1979), 1: 261.

49. Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 210.

50. Anne Denieul-Cormier, *The Renaissance in France 1488–1559* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969), 212.

51. Jacques Cartier, in *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, ed. H. P. Biggar (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1924), 103; see also Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 210.

52. André Thevet (1558), who apparently knew both Cartier and Donnacona personally, as quoted in Bernard G. Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier: Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North America, 1497–1550* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 156; see also Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 210–11.

53. Sauer, *Sixteenth-Century North America*, 222–24; Christian F. Feest, "Virginia Algonquians," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 15: 254.
54. Parry, *Age of Reconnaissance*, 209–212.
55. Quinn, *New American World*, 110; Sauer, *Sixteenth-Century North America*, 15.
56. Wright, *Elizabethan's America*, 105–112, 136, 288.
57. Henry O. Thayer, *The Sagadahock Colony, Comprising the Relation of a Voyage into New England* (Portland, ME: Gorges Society, 1892; New York: Research Reprints Inc., 1970), 20–24.
58. James Rosier, "A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made This Present Yeare 1606, by Captain G. Weymouth," in *The Discovery of the Land Virginia*, with an introduction and notes by H. S. Burrage (London, 1605; Portland 1887), 131, 158.
59. Ferdinando Gorges, "A Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America, Especially, shewing the Beginning, Progress and Continuance of that of New England" (1658), in *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine*, ed. James P. Baxter (Boston: Publications of the Prince Society, 1890), 2: 17–18.
60. See also H. C. Porter, *The Inconstant Savage: England and the North American Indian 1500–1660* (London: Duckworth, 1979), 272.
61. Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrims, Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907), 19: 284, 288; H. S. Burrage, "Exploration Schemes with Reference to the Coast of Maine in 1606," in *Tercentenary of the Landing of the Popham Colony at the Mouth of the Kennebec River* (Portland, ME, 1907), 54.
62. Gorges, "Briefe Narration," 19, 21.
63. Thayer, "The Sagadahock Colony," 56, 57.
64. John Smith, "A Description of New England" (1616), in *American Colonial Tracts Monthly* 2:1 (1898): 1, 29.
65. Quoted in Hemming, *Red Gold*, 532 n. 11.
66. Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 209; Hemming, *Red Gold*, 12, 110.
67. Pierre Biard, "Relation of New France and Its Lands, Nature of the Country, and of Its Inhabitants" (1616), in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 3: 39; Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 209; Hemming, *Red Gold*, 12; Sauer, *Sixteenth-Century North America*, 51.
68. Samuel de Champlain, *The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain (1604–1616)*, trans. Annie N. Bourne (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1904), 1: 228, 229.
69. Marc Lescarbot, *The History of New France (1609–1612)*; Toronto: Publications of the Champlain Society, 1911–1914), 3: 22.
70. Champlain, *Voyages and Explorations*, 1: 233, 242–43, 249.
71. Richard Hakluyt, cited in Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, 32 n. 3; Trudel, *Beginnings of New France*, 55–58.
72. See also Bruce J. Bourque and Ruth H. Whitehead, "Tarrentines and the Introduction of European Tradegoods in the Gulf of Maine," *Ethnohistory* 32 (1986): 327–41.
73. These observations were made by men aboard a "small bark," the *Concord*, which had left the English seaport of Falmouth in March 1602 and explored the central New England coast until mid-June. Some of the Cambridge-

trained gentlemen on board, including Gabriel Archer and John Brereton, wrote detailed accounts of the voyage that were published in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (3d series), 8: 72–81, 83–123.

74. Lescarbot, *History of New France*, 2: 234; 3: 44.

75. Bernáldez, "Historia de los Reyes Católicos," 65.

76. Morrison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 496, 499, 505–507.

77. William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror Hernando Cortez* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843), 3: 312, 317.

78. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 1: 292–93, 301–314.

79. For a good background description of the pageant at Rouen, see Gayle K. Brunelle, "Sixteenth-Century Perceptions of the New World: Rouennais Commerce and a Renaissance Tableau," in *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, ed. Gordon C. Bond (Auburn, AL: Auburn University, 1990), 17: 75–81.

80. How many Tupinambá actually came to Rouen is not clear. Brunelle, in "Sixteenth-Century Perceptions" (p. 75), notes "between fifty and three hundred native Brazilian Tupinambá Indians brought to France especially for the celebration."

81. See also Alfred Métraux, "The Tupinamba," in *Handbook of South American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1948), 3: 105–108.

82. Quoted from "La Deduction du sumptueux ordre," the official pageant record, reproduced in *Une Fête brésilienne célébrée à Rouen en 1550*, ed. Ferdinand Denis (Paris, 1851); see also Hemming, *Red Gold*, 12.

83. Hemming, *Red Gold*, 12–13; Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 212–13.

84. With respect to European migration to the Americas, the first substantial wave began in 1502, when 2,500 immigrants arrived in Haiti: "Possibly 250,000 Spaniards migrated to America in the period 1506–1600, and 200,000 in 1600–50 . . ." See John Lynch, *Spain 1516–1598: From Nation State to World Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 213–14. In addition to these Spanish emigrants, there were also substantial numbers of Portuguese and French colonists, as well as several hundreds of English settlers in the various aborted and successful colonies before 1620. Finally, of course, there were the many tens of thousands of fishermen from France, England, Spain, and Portugal, sailing once or twice a year to the great banks off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, as well as hundreds of Basque whalers, and numerous men on French and Portuguese brazilwood carriers. Last but not least, there were many thousands of men sailing on the Spanish fleets, traveling in convoys between Spain and the West Indies, as well as the crews on the numerous English, French, Portuguese, and Dutch privateers. Based on these considerations, I believe that an estimated 400,000 Europeans making the passage to the shores of the Americas before 1620 is probably conservative.

