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Rereading the “Écriteau”: Protestant Myths, Native Alliances, and the Histories of French Florida

JOHN H. POLLACK

One of the more curious, and dubious, stories to circulate about the 1565 Spanish attack upon the French colony of Fort Caroline centers on the “écriteaux” that the leader of the Spanish expedition, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, placed near or draped around the necks of those he then hanged. An “écriteau” in early modern France was, simply, a sign or notice: a public poster or announcement, often attached to buildings as advertising (“chamber à louer,” for example) or to people suffering public punishment.¹ The écriteaux placed by Menéndez may have contained an inscription that we know from the French version given by René de Laudonnière: “Je ne fay ceci comme à François, mais comme à Lutheriens”: “I do this not to Frenchmen, but to Lutherans.”²

This dramatic form of public writing suggests the interpretation that Menéndez wished to attach, quite literally, to his actions and to his enemies. What was at stake for Menéndez, it seems, as much or more than imperial or territorial rivalry, was religion. Some of the Spanish sources do suggest that this attack became for him, in the words of John McGrath, “a religious crusade” in addition to a defense of territories claimed by the Spanish against a rival European power.³ In this essay, I focus upon the écriteau as an act of interpretation, a claim about the colony’s meaning.

We know of this public inscription only in French sources, the first of which dates in its printed form to 1586, twenty-one years after the massacre. This is the famous *Histoire notable* of René de Laudonnière, who was one of the few to survive. Jean Ribault’s first outpost, Charlesfort, on Parris Island, South Carolina, had lasted a mere three months in 1562 before it was abandoned.⁴ The second French settlement, Fort Caroline, led by Laudonnière and located near the mouth of the St. John’s River, endured from July 1564 to September 1565, before its catastrophic demise. After

several battles with nearby Timucuas and a stretch of virtual starvation, Laudonnière's colony was attacked by Menéndez and his Spanish forces, who killed as many as three hundred French. A powerful hurricane sank the relief ships of the returning Ribault. Approximately one hundred survivors of French Florida struggled back to France, and the only other French contact with Florida consisted of a reprisal raid by Dominique de Gourges in 1568, which damaged Spanish settlements but was never intended for any other purpose but revenge.⁵

Laudonnière's tale of the *écriteaux* reminds us of one central *reading* of French Florida: according to this narrative, the colony was conceived as a Lutheran refuge. This understanding of the Florida settlement as fundamentally religious in its conception—as a “Huguenot colony”—has dominated modern historiography. The Canadian historian Marcel Trudel, for example, places his accounts of French Florida and Brazil together within a chapter entitled “Pour une Nouvelle-France Protestante, 1555-1565.” He argues that both settlements essentially sprang from the imagination of the Admiral Coligny, “a Protestant colonizer” who, motivated by the increasing level of violence directed against Huguenots in France, sought to institute “a program of emigration to America designed to create a haven from European persecution.”⁶ William J. Eccles also sees Florida as Coligny's project, motivated by the Admiral's desires to “create a sanctuary for his coreligionists; and to weaken the Catholic powers by breaking their hold on the Americas.”⁷

Those historians who have looked less at the colony itself and more at the many texts generated by its fate share this understanding of Florida as a venture whose meaning resides in its Protestantism. Frank Lestringant situates the Florida writings within a century-long series of Protestant speculations about and plans for a “Refuge huguenot” in the New World. Lestringant argues that although at its inception the colony was an “affaire personnelle” of Coligny, its violent end transformed it into a defining moment for Protestants. Their tales of the events envisioned the French settlers as religious martyrs cut down by diabolical Catholics. Narratives of Florida were dominated by Protestant publicists, to the point that attempts to rewrite Florida's history in a less partisan mode may well have been resisted and suppressed.⁸

Lestringant also suggests that representations of America's Native peoples were crucially shaped by this polemic. Natives, in European Protestant texts, took on an important but entirely static role, as exemplars of the myth of the “bon sauvage.”⁹ Noble inhabitants of a threatened paradise beyond the reach of Christianity, they held up a mirror to Europe, exposing crimes it had committed in the name of religion. Theodor De Bry's engravings, Lestringant argues, gave final form to this vision of Floridean Natives. Rather than interpretations of Timucuan culture, the engravings are instead perfect illustrations of the “Floridean dream,” one that places the Timucuas in “an idyllic, springlike Nature.”¹⁰ José Rabasa argues that De Bry's views of Florida's lushness and natural wealth also enabled the English chronicler Richard Hakluyt to argue against Spanish territorial claims in favor of English ones,

using the memory of the French Protestants to justify English Protestant plans for an apparently benign “colonization and occupation” of the Southeast.¹¹

Yet for Laudonnière and other early authors writing the history of French Florida, the colony’s Protestantism—the meaning that the *écriteau* puts into public, written form—is central neither to its existence, nor to its end. Downplaying the significance of Florida as a Huguenot refuge or a sectarian venture, these writers carefully avoid making religion the centerpiece of their narratives. Instead of memorializing its martyrs, they attempt to recover lessons about Native-French cooperation, recounting alliance formation and rupture, and communication successes and failures. They argue that the colony’s fate depended on its Native relations, on the effectiveness and durability of French alliances with Native leaders along the Southeast coast, and on the narrative “relations” told by both sides while seeking to control a fragile regional balance of power.

To a surprising degree, modern readings of French Florida largely follow the interpretation promoted in one of the earliest and most popular of the Florida relations, that of Nicolas Le Challeux, a Dieppe carpenter who narrowly escaped the Spanish (see also Daniel Vitkus’s essay in this forum). Le Challeux’s account of the massacre went through at least four editions in 1566, was translated into English in the same year, and exercised a profound influence upon many subsequent accounts.¹² The editor and translator Urbain Chauveton, whom one historian has called “a Huguenot militant and a vigorous polemicist,” appended Le Challeux’s text to his French and Latin translations of Girolamo Benzoni’s *Historia del mondo nuovo*, and in this form Le Challeux’s story circulated widely in Protestant circles.¹³ Le Challeux argues that the Spanish became inflamed against the French not because of their presence in disputed territory but because of the French settlers’ religion, and that Menéndez and his crew acted with such ferocity “principalement pour l’advertissement que on leur auroit donné, que nous serions de ceux qui seroyent reformez à la predication de l’Évangile” (“principally for the knowledge that hath bene give[n] them, that we are of those that are returned to the preaching of the Gospell”).¹⁴ Le Challeux also describes the massacres in graphic detail, and his account includes a printed petition to King Charles IX seeking support for families of those killed.¹⁵

This radically Protestant interpretation of French Florida might simply appear to be the dominant discourse, from Le Challeux’s moment to our own. Yet Richard Hakluyt, ostensibly the champion of English Protestant expansionism, excludes all mention of the colonists as martyred Protestants in his 1587 translation of Laudonnière’s *Notable Historie*. In a dedicatory epistle to Walter Raleigh, Hakluyt argues for the particular relevance of the history of Florida for Raleigh’s current Virginia project, stating that “...no historie hetherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginea, then this of Florida.”¹⁶ The “resemblance,” Hakluyt explains, lies not only in the similar ecological and material conditions of Florida and Virginia, and the “manifold commodities” common to both,

but also, and more ominously, in the potential for Raleigh's venture to conclude as disastrously as had Laudonnière's. Hakluyt carefully makes clear that the Florida disaster was of French, not of Spanish, making, and he expresses his hope that, "by the reading of this my translation," future colonists would be "forewarned and admonished as well to beware of the grosse negligence in providing sufficiencie of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the french, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to prevent and avoyde the like..." (1). The French, that is, brought their fate upon themselves.

Hakluyt's refusal to mention the Protestant martyrs seems difficult to explain away, given the Englishman's apparent position as both an advocate of colonization and a strong supporter of the French Huguenot cause.¹⁷ If Hakluyt were seeking to promote Protestant England in its rivalry with Catholic Spain, ignoring the Protestantism of the Florida colonies, certainly a useful colonial precedent, would seem counterproductive. Perhaps Hakluyt does not mention the Huguenots simply because Florida's Protestant significance was so obvious that it needed no reference, in a climate suffused with Catholic-Protestant debate. Yet his explicit criticism of French leaders suggests an attempt to dissociate his own narrative of Florida from Protestant martyrologies like that of Le Challeux.

Le Challeux's account itself provides a clue as to why this might be so: his message is resolutely anti-colonial. Le Challeux condemns not only the conduct of the Spanish but also the idea of colonization more generally, arguing in his preface that he and his fellows have suffered God's wrath "pour avoir ainsi abandonné nos familles, desquelles nous devons avoir soin en premier lieu" ("for leaving our families, the which we ought to care for most of all, next to God") and that in the future no family men should abandon their domestic duties in search of "l'adventure" in the New World.¹⁸ Thus, for Hakluyt, a strong advocate of colonization, invoking Le Challeux's tale of Protestant martyrs might have the unfortunate side effect of raising questions in readers' minds about the danger and foolishness of all such colonial projects.

In his 1609 *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Marc Lescarbot turns to the tale of the écriteau and hints at another reason why he, like Hakluyt, resists the Protestant reading of Florida. Near the conclusion of his extended review of the French colonial episode, Lescarbot explains the Spanish justification of the massacre. For Lescarbot, the écriteaux that the Spanish force Laudonnière's colonists to wear is the key to understanding Spanish intentions. Lescarbot, however, attempts to disprove the claim it makes:

Car les François demeurez avec lui [Laudonnière] qui tomberent entre leurs mains furent tous pendus, avec cet écriteau: *Je ne fay ceci comme à François, mais comme à Lutheriens*. Je ne veux point defendre les Lutheriens: mai je diray que ce n'estoit aux

Hespagnols de conoitre de la Religion des sujets du Roy... Car quoy qu'il y eust des heretiques, il y avoit aussi des Catholiques, & y en eust eu plus abondamment avec le temps...

For the French with him [Laudonnière] who fell into their hands were all hanged, with this sign: *I do not do this to them as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans*. I do not wish to defend the Lutherans: but I will say that the Spanish could not have known the religion of the King's subjects ... Because if there were heretics, there were also Catholics, and would have been greater numbers of them in time...¹⁹

Although the placards prove that the Spanish singled out the colonists' Protestantism as the reason for their execution, Lescarbot asserts that the colonists were a mixed group of Protestants and Catholics unified in their status as "sujets du Roy." Lescarbot also conjures up a fictional colonial future in which Catholics gradually and peacefully come to outnumber Protestants—perhaps an outcome that, writing in 1609, he hoped to see in Canada.

For Lescarbot, describing Florida as a colony of "Lutherans" would imply his endorsement of the Spanish version of events, one that, as a historian of "New France," he tries diligently to deny. Instead, he makes a very different claim for the colony's significance, arguing that the French and the Indians became model partners, based on their joint suffering at Spanish hands. The French and the Indians are natural allies. Thus, in his summary of French expeditions along the coast, Lescarbot insists that the French were received "fort courtoisement & humainement" ("very courteously and humanely") wherever they landed.²⁰ If the Spanish are monsters, the Indians, by contrast, are fully as human as the French and share with them the values of courtesy. Lescarbot relates how the French were greeted in 1564 by the Timucuan chief Saturiwa and his followers at the St. John's River, who show them the stone column planted two years previously by Ribault and invite the French to join with them in kissing it reverently. While a "Lutheran" reading of this moment might have condemned these Timucuas as idol worshippers, Lescarbot states that the French willingly participated in the ritual, and he applauds their joint gesture: "En quoy se reconoit combien la la [sic] Nature est puissante d'avoir mis une telle sympathie entre ces peuples-ci & les François, & une totale antipathie entre-eux & les Hespagnols" ("In this can be seen the extent to which Nature is powerful in having created such a sympathy between these peoples and the French, and a total antipathy between them and the Spanish").²¹ The alliance between the two groups is more than strategic: it is grounded in a mutual "sympathy" ordained by "Nature."

Lescarbot's interpretation should draw our attention back to the Florida sources on which he relied. There, too, alliances feature prominently. Proclaiming the

existence and durability of Native-French cooperation seems to have been central to the French rhetorical justification for their colony from the outset. Jean Ribault's 1563 account of his first settlement at Charlesfort, *The Whole and true Discoverye of Terra Florida*, makes no mention of any French intention to found a Huguenot "refuge" in the New World or to bring Protestant Christianity to coastal Natives—this despite the probability that Ribault, a Huguenot, prepared the manuscript in England in order to gain the attention and support of Queen Elizabeth.²² Instead, Ribault emphasizes the vital need for his crew to build coalitions with Southeast Native groups and promotes his successful efforts in doing so.

In Ribault's account, the French form alliances almost effortlessly. Welcomes and agreements seem to await them at every stop along the Floridean coast. After spending barely a day with the inhabitants of a Timucuan village on the north shore of the St. John's, Ribault claims with confidence that his crew "congratulated, made aliaunce, & entered into amitie wyth them."²³ When the French cross to the south side of the river in order to trade with the Timucuas there—perhaps the Saturiwas²⁴—Ribault announces his sadness at leaving "frō this our first alliance."²⁵ Nevertheless, he rapidly establishes a "second aliance" with the Saturiwas. Ribault does not ignore the apparent hostility between certain Native groups in the St. John's region: when his crew plants their "Pillour or Columne of harde stone" near the south shore, he observes that "our first Indians," those on the north shore, gathered and appeared agitated, leading him to conclude "that there is some enimitie betwene them and the others."²⁶ Nevertheless, Ribault seems to suggest that the French can stand outside of this "enimitie" and comfortably make "aliance" with both groups.²⁷

These "aliances," Ribault's text suggests, not only rest upon simple exchanges of goods but also demand fluent cultural communication between the two sides. In a passage which has led some commentators to suggest that the French had missionary as well as colonial intentions, Ribault recounts how he and his men kneel and recite a prayer after stepping on shore, observed by the Saturiwas:

I made a signe unto their king, lifting up myne arme, & stretching forth one finger, only to make them looke up to heavenward. He lykewyse liftinge up his arme towards heaven put forth two fingers: whereby it seemed that he made us to understande, that they worshipped the Sunne & the Moone for Gods: as afterwards we understood it so.²⁸

Ribault moves easily and confidently from his observation of the Timucuan leader's gesture to a bold statement about the Timucuan spiritual system, one he claims to have been verified by subsequent French "understanding."²⁹ Such a clear, unproblematic "understanding" of the Timucuas suits Ribault's rhetorical strategy: his narrative, by describing how quickly French and Indians come quickly to

“understand” each other, implies that this understanding will insure the survival of the French colony. In this context, Ribault neither condemns Timucuan religion nor suggests that he will attempt to change it. Alliance and understanding would seem, in this case, to exclude conversion.³⁰

An anonymous account of the early phases of Laudonnière’s second voyage, entitled the *Coppie d’une lettre venant de la Floride* and published the year after Ribault’s relation of the first expedition, echoes its language. The Saturiwas and other nearby Timucuan groups once again welcome the French as alliance partners. When Laudonnière and twelve soldiers step on shore at the St. John’s in a reprise of Ribault’s action, they are greeted by “trois roys avec plus de quatre cens sauvages” (“three kings with more than four hundred savages”) who lead the French to a gathering place.³¹ There, according to the narrator, the partnership is made complete with a series of mutual “signs” and promises:

lesdicts roys... s’assirent tous ensemble, monstrant signe d’auoir grād joye de nostre arriuée, et aussi faisant signe (en mōstrant ledict seigneur de Laudōniere et le Soleil) disant que ledict seigneur estoit frere du Soleil, et qu’il yroit faire la guerre avec eulx cōtre leurs ennemys, lesquels ils appellent Tymangoua ... ce que ledict seigneur de Laudōniere leur promist qu’il yroit avec eulx....

The kings ... sat all together, showing signs of being overjoyed at our arrival, and also making signs (by showing the seigneur de Laudonnière and the Sun) meaning that the seigneur was a brother of the Sun, and that he would go to war with them against their enemies, whom they call Tymangoua ... to which the seigneur de Laudonnière promised them that he would go with them....³²

The narrator of this scene, apparently a soldier or sailor who refers to Laudonnière as “seigneur,” makes clear that this is no simple exchange of trade goods, but a diplomatic gathering attended by a number of Timucuan “kings.” The scene dramatizes the roles of both the French leader and of the Timucuan chiefs—this, in French terms, is a meeting between kings and lords. Given the status of all parties involved, the alliance takes on added importance.³³ Without hesitation, the Timucuas propose a joint military expedition with the French, and, equally quickly, Laudonnière agrees.

In this relation the French seem to have near-mystical abilities to forge alliances wherever they go. After completing the construction of Fort Caroline, Laudonnière sends two boats up the St. John’s in order, he claims, to gather more information about Saturiwa’s enemies, the “Tymangoua.”³⁴ When the French land and seek to trade with these Timucuas, they are at first unable to do so—until they begin to cry, “*Amy Thypola Panassoon!* qui est autāt à dire frere et amy cōme les

doigtz de la main” (“Amy Thypola Panassoon! which is to say, brother and friend, like two fingers on a hand”).³⁵ These words, perhaps a combination of the French “ami,” with two Timucuan words,³⁶ draw the Timucuas to the shore to trade, and the narrator confidently claims that they promise the French to exchange gold and silver, which exists in abundance not far away, for French axes and knives. Thus, by deft usage of some shreds of the Timucuan language, the French appear to have surrounded themselves with the “friendships” of chiefs near and far, and with the promise of riches close at hand.

Writing after the demise of both Charlesfort and Fort Caroline, René de Laudonnière could hardly project such easy optimism. Although his text is no less committed than the earlier accounts to defending the concept of Franco-Native alliances, its depiction of the processes of negotiation is far more ambivalent. When describing the first French voyage of Ribault along the coast, Laudonnière again envisions the moment when the French stop to worship on the shore of the St. John’s River, observed by the Timucuas—but he reads this episode rather differently than the other texts. In Laudonnière’s version, it is the Timucuas, rather than the French, who draw conclusions about the ceremony they witness:

Les prieres achevees, les Indiens qui s’estoient rendus fort attentifs à les escouter, estimans (à mon jugement) que nous adorions le Soleil, pour ce que nous avons tousjours les yeux au Ciel, se leverent tous et vindrent saluer le Capitaine Jean Ribault, promettant de luy monstrier leur Roy, qui ne s’estoit levé comme eux...

The prayers being ended, the Indians which were very attentive to harken unto them, thinking, in my judgement, that we worshipped the sunne, because wee always had our eyes lifted up towarde heaven, rose all up and came to salute the Capitaine John Ribault, promising to shewe him their king, which rose not up as they did...³⁷

Whereas Ribault had asserted that these peoples held “the Sunne and Moone for Gods,” Laudonnière archly counters that the Indians, seeing the French pointing upwards, probably think the French to be the sun-worshippers. Interpreting signs and gestures, it would appear, is no simple matter.

Words are no easier to interpret. When the Timucuas bring Ribault to their chief, Ribault sits mute and glum during the chief’s long speech: the Frenchman “...l’entendit assez longuement discourir, mais avec un assez maigre plaisir, pource qu’il ne pouvoit entendre son language, et moins encore la conception de son esprit” (“heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because he could not

understand his language, and much lesse his meaning”).³⁸ The French appear wholly unable to grasp the meanings of the words and signs around them.

Nor will the French be able to remain outside of the complex world of Native politics in the way Ribault had suggested they might. Laudonnière notes, for example, that shortly after the French plant their stone column near the mouth of the St. John’s, the Saturiwas greet them silently, appearing displeased. Laudonnière describes Ribault’s attempts to guess at the reasons for their unhappiness: “Le Capitaine ne sçachant que juger du port de cest homme, pensa qu’il estoit jaloux de ce que premierement nous estions allez vers l’autre, ou bien qu’il n’estoit trop content de la borne que nous avions plantée” (“Our Captaine knowing not what to judge of this mans behaviour thought he was jelous because we went first unto the other king, or els, that he was not wel pleased w[ith] the pillar or colume which he had planted”).³⁹ Historian Patricia Seed has argued that planting the column was one of a variety of “ceremonial” French acts intended to convey “possession” of territory.⁴⁰ But Laudonnière’s interpretation suggests that his claim of “possession” may have done little more than arouse hostility and, furthermore, that the French may have unwittingly taken sides with one chief, angering another.

Laudonnière’s version of his second encounter with the column, upon his return to the St. John’s in 1564, raises still more doubts about how successful the French gesture has been. The Saturiwas lead the French to the column, which they have decorated and surrounded with corn. Although it might seem as if that the Saturiwas have come to regard their allies the French with respect and reverence, the Saturiwas are in fact the ones who proceed to make demands and claims of “possession.” The French, feeling insecure rather than confident, do as they are told:

Ils la baisèrent lors à leur arrivée avec grande reverence, et nous supplierent de faire le semblable: ce que nous ne leur voulusmes refuser, à celle fin de plus en plus les attirer à nostre amitié. Ce fait, le *Paraousti* me prit par la main, comme s’il eust eu desire me faire entendre quelque grand secret: et par signes me monstra fort bien dedans la reviere, les limites de son obeissance: et me dit qu’il se nommoit *Paracousi Satouriona*, que vaut autant que Roy *Satouriona*...

Then when they came thither they kissed the same wth great reverence & besought us to do the like, which we would not deny them, to ye end we might draw them to be more in friendship with us. This done ye Paracoussy tooke me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me understand some great secrete, and by signes shewed me very well up within the river the limits of his dominion & said that he was called Paracussy Satorioua, which is as much as king Satourioua...⁴¹

The French kiss the column out of necessity, to solidify their “friendship” and alliance. And their gesture only encourages Sauriwa to make the French “understand” that he controls these territories, while the French reside in “his dominion.” The ceremonial language of possession, that is, seems to be reclaimed by the Sauriwas.

Laudonnière’s perspective on the scene should encourage us to look carefully at Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues’s nearly contemporary representation of this scene, engraved by Theodor de Bry and published in 1591 (this image is also analyzed in close detail by Frank Lestringant elsewhere in this forum). The image would seem, at first, to convey the peaceful beauty of the encounter, in which Sauriwa’s son Athore shows the French their column decorated and surrounded by foodstuffs, while the Sauriwas kneel alongside it. The anthropologist William Sturtevant has noted what he sees as the “equality and friendliness” between the Timucuas and the French visible here.⁴² When read alongside Laudonnière’s text, however, Athore’s gesture appears less “friendly” and more like the expression of ownership that Laudonnière describes. And Le Moyne’s caption for the image, like Laudonnière’s text, suggests an undercurrent of rivalry and tension between the two sides; it notes the “caution and vigilance” exercised by Laudonnière and his men when approaching the column and their quick return to their ship to seek out a site for a fort (1:141).

Creating good diplomatic relations and mutual “understanding,” Laudonnière makes clear, would require the French to listen very closely to their new “alliance” partners. In representing this process as an arduous one, Laudonnière also promotes himself as the leader most capable of successfully forging such cross-cultural understanding, and he emerges in his text as a quick language learner. During the first voyage, after Ribault has kidnapped two Natives, possibly Guales, Laudonnière states that after much hard work he managed to get them to speak and to bear him “si grande amitié” (“great good will”). In turn, he learns their language:

Voyans si grande amitié, je m’essaye d’apprendre quelques termes Indiens, et commence à leur demander, monstrant la chose, de laquelle je desirois sçavoir le nom comment ils l’appelloient. Ils estoient fort joyeux de me le dire; et cognoissans l’affection que j’avois de sçavoir leur langage, ils m’invitoient apres à leur demander quelque chose. Tellement que mettant par escrit les termes et locutions Indiennes, je pouvois entendre la plus grand part de leur discours.

... I sought to learn some Indian wordes, and began to aske them questions, shewing them the thing whereof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad

to tell it me, and knowing the desire that I had to learne their language, they encouraged me afterward to aske them everye thing. So that putting downe in writing the wordes and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to understand the greatest part of their discourses.⁴³

Laudonnière's written glossary, if it ever existed, has not survived.⁴⁴ For his French and English readers, though, this passage suggests his ability to create a bond between himself and Native peoples, a skill vital for the French. Whereas Ribault sits uncomprehendingly during Native speeches, Laudonnière, for his part, becomes an active learner of Native words.

But words are never enough, and the latter sections of Laudonnière's account make clear that in addition to learning language, the French must promise to act, militarily, alongside their allies. Thus, when Laudonnière desires to learn from Sauriwa where the French might find silver mines, Sauriwa responds heatedly, and with an implied challenge. According to Laudonnière's paraphrase, Sauriwa tells him the silver comes from his adversaries, "...nommé par eux *Thimogona*, ses plus anciens et naturels ennemis... lors qu'il prononçoit *Thimogona*, j'entens ce qu'il vouloit" ("named by them Thimogoua, their most auncient and naturall enimies...when he pronounced Thimogoua, I understood what hee would saye").⁴⁵ Laudonnière's dawning "understanding" of complex rivalries between Timucuan chiefdoms here leads him to make his own bold political commitment: "Et pour me rendre plus affectionné, je luy promis de l'accompagner de tout mon pouvoir, s'il les vouloit combattre..." ("And to bring my selfe more into his fauour I promised him to accompany him with all my force, if he would fight against them...").⁴⁶

Yet not long after making this promise, Laudonnière makes another, quite contradictory one. He sends his officer Captain Vasseur to meet the "Thimogona," described as allies of the chief Outina.⁴⁷ Vasseur assures Outina's subordinates, according to Laudonnière, "that one day I shold march with my forces into those countries, and that ioyning my self with his Lord Olata, I would subdue the inhabitants of the highest of those mountains" (26 v.).⁴⁸ The contradictory stories of political allegiance that the French seem quite willing to tell rival Native groups compel them to invent still other stories to cover their tracks. When on his return to the St. John's after his meeting with Outina's allies, Vasseur is met by a chief allied with Sauriwa. Needing to explain why he has been in enemy territory, Vasseur must quickly invent a "relation" of how he stabbed several "Thimogoua" with his sword, washing it afterwards in the river to eliminate the blood.

Constantly active as a storyteller, Laudonnière pitches alliances to all sides in order to obtain "amitie"—and its accompaniment, food supplies. Yet, ultimately, these competing fictions undermine the French cause. When Sauriwa asks Laudonnière to accompany him on an attack against Outina, Laudonnière refuses, giving the excuse that he is still constructing his fort. Sauriwa and his forces proceed

into battle without the French, and upon their return, the French trick him into giving up two captives that they then use to bargain with Outina. This double-dealing, Laudonnière suggests ruefully, marks a turning point in French-Native relations—after this, he can no longer trust Saturiwa’s words or his acts:

Le *Paracousi* grandement irrité de ceste bravade, se meit à songer tous les moyens pour se venger de nous: toutefois pour ne nous en donner soupçon, et mieux couvrir son fait, il nous envoya souvent ses ambassades tousjours accompagnez de quelques presens.

This paracoussy, being wonderfully offended with this bravado, bethought himself by all means how he might be revenged of us. But to give us no suspicion thereof, and the better to cover his intention, he sent his messengers oftentimes unto us bringing alwaies with them some kind of presentes.⁴⁹

In Laudonnière’s reading, the Saturiwas prove as able as the French at manipulating their alliance and the language of diplomacy, sending “messengers” and even gifts while at the same time seeking ways to undermine the colonists.

The breakdowns in relations between French and Timucuas, and even the end of the colony itself, Laudonnière admits, result from these kinds of miscommunication. When the French, facing starvation, resort to kidnapping their former ally Outina in an attempt to blackmail his villages for food, Laudonnière argues that the move backfired because the French could not make the Timucuas *understand* their reasoning. Native customs of captive-taking, Laudonnière asserts, would require him to kill his prisoner, and because of this, Outina’s followers, convinced he will die at French hands, refuse to provide any food and proceed to elect a new leader. Meanwhile, Saturiwa and his allies plead with the French to have Outina, their enemy, handed over to them. When the French refuse, they too stop providing any rations. Finally, the desperate French must listen to their prisoner. He convinces them to return with him to his village—where the French soldiers, having been given baskets of food in order to weigh them down, come under attack and barely escape with their lives. Faced with the hostility of all Native groups in the region, the French begin to dismantle their fort—well before the arrival of the Spanish. In the central irony of Laudonnière’s text, the very alliances that he promotes as central to the identity of French Florida prove to be the colony’s undoing.

Perhaps to answer his French critics, Laudonnière pauses in his description of the colony’s final weeks to justify his behavior and that of his crew toward the Timucuas. He insists that if Ribault had arrived earlier with relief supplies from France,

the French would not have “eu occasion de mal contenter les Indiens, lesquels j’avois avec toutes les peines du monde, entretenu en bonne amitié” (“had occasion to offend the Indians, which with all pains in the world I entertayed in good amitié”). Though obliged to steal food from Timucuan villages, he also claims, “si n’avoy-je perdu l’alliance de huict Roys et seigneurs mes voisins” (“yet I lost not the alliance of eight kings and Lords my neighbours”) (49 v.).⁵⁰ Maintaining the fiction of alliance remains central to Laudonnière’s rhetorical task, despite the clear collapse of the alliances he has constructed. The *possibility* of harmonious, productive Franco-Native “alliances” thus remains alive.

Laudonnière’s own narrative project in the 1580s involves a rewriting of the history of French Florida that places these alliances at its very center, and in his conclusion, the *écriteau* itself becomes one of his narrative vehicles for doing so. Laudonnière’s only reference to the placards comes in the final section of *L’Histoire notable*, devoted to the “fourth voyage,” the Dominique de Gourgues raid of 1568. Although the first printing of a version of this account, in 1568, probably had a very limited distribution, subsequent versions like that of Laudonnière gave the story wide circulation.⁵¹ Gourgues, Laudonnière tells us, hangs the Spaniards from the same trees as they had hanged the French, and he composes a new *escriteau*, stating, “Je ne fay ceci comme à Espagnols, ny comme à Mariniers, mais comme à traistres, voleurs & meurdriers” (“I do this not to Spaniards, nor to sailors, but to traitors, thieves, and murderers”) (63 v.). Gourgues, or Laudonnière, here rewrites the Spanish version of events, condemning the enemy not for being Spanish, and not for being Catholic, but for treachery and violence.

Who was this sign (if we wish to credit it) written *for*? Gourgues’s performance may well have been staged for the Native population—for his raid would not have been successful without a temporary revival of the alliance between the French and the Saturiwas. In a passage that sounds all too familiar, the French rebuild these ties almost immediately after their ships appear off the Florida coast. Gourgues sends his trumpeter ashore to assure Saturiwa “qu’ils n’estoient là venus que pour renouer l’amitié et l’ancienne confederation des François avec eux” (188) (“that they were come thither for none other end byt to renue the amitie and auncient league of the French with them” [60 v.]). He mythologizes the alliance as a “confederation” with long historical roots.

In Laudonnière’s account, at least, no sooner are the words said than the alliance is restored. Yet, of course, after the French departure Saturiwa and his people are left to face the Spaniards alone. As he sails off, Gourgues “cōseille les Roys persister en amitié & cōfederation ancienne” (“counselled the kings to continue in the amitie and auncient league”), while the Saturiwas, gathered together in a *tableau*, shed tears. Interpreting the Saturiwas’ motives at this point is difficult, perhaps impossible.⁵² But what emerges clearly is the French wish-fulfilling claim of an eternal “amitié” and “confederation” with the Florideans, a trope as central to the textual legacy of French Florida as its Protestantism.

Notes

¹ Jean Nicot provides this definition in 1606: “Escriteau. m. acut. disyll. Est diminutif de Escrit, comme de Arbre, Arbrisseau, de Compte, Comptereau, et signifie un escrit petit en mots & volume, comme sont ceux qu’on attache aux portes des maisons et autres edifices qui sont à vendre ou à louer.” Nicot, *Thresor de la langve francoyse, tant ancienne que moderne* (Paris: chez David Dovceur, 1606), 250. The 1694 *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* definition includes an additional reference to an “escriteau” being attached to prisoners who are hanged, identifying their offenses: “Escriteau. s. m. Certaine inscription en grosse lettre que l’on met sur un papier, sur du bois, &c. pour faire connoistre quelque chose au public. *Escriteau de maison, de chambre à louer. il y a un escriteau sur sa porte pour marquer que la maison est à louer ou à vendre. il a mis un escriteau pour faire sçavoir qu’il enseigne les Mathematiques, qu’il montre à écrire, qu’il prend pensionnaires. on a pendu cet homme avec un escriteau, devant & derriere, où il y avoit, Faussaire, faux monoyeur, &c.*” *Le Dictionnaire de l’Academie Française, dédié au Roy* (Paris: chez la veuve de Jean Baptiste Coignard, chez Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1694), 389.

² René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *L’Histoire notable de la Floride situees es Indes occidentales ...* (Paris: Chez Guillaume Auvray, 1586), 121r. On the “escriteau,” first mentioned in the 1568 account of Gorges’s revenge raid, and its dubious historical validity, see Suzanne Lussagnet, ed., *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIIe siècle vol. 2: Les Français en Floride* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 197n6; and Frank Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage: L’Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555-1589)* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1990), 37n41.

³ John T. McGrath, *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 154. For a collection of the major Spanish archival documents in English translation, see David Beers Quinn, Alison M. Quinn, and Susan Hillier, eds., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, 5 vols. (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 2:384-472. Menéndez’s letter of October 15, 1565, details the Spanish attacks on the French but contains no reference to any “écriteau”: see 395-404.

⁴ For the location of Charlesfort, see McGrath, *The French in Early Florida*, 201n27. Ribault’s name was spelled in a variety of ways in the sixteenth century; on this point, see McGrath 194-195n1.

⁵ The most detailed recent survey of the French history in Florida is McGrath, *The French in Early Florida*. For another overview, see Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1990) 205-30. For recent attempts to consider the impact of the French presence upon the Timucuas, see John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996) 335-49, and Jerald T. Milanich, *The*

Timucua (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 82-8. More generally, see Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995).

⁶ “un colonisateur protestant”; “un programme d’émigration en Amérique pour y assurer un refuge contre la persécution européenne”: Marcel Trudel, *Histoire De La Nouvelle France I: Les Vaines Tentatives, 1524-1603* (Montréal: Fides, 1963) 178, 211.

⁷ W.J. Eccles, *The French in North America 1500-1783*, Revised Edition (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998) 9.

⁸ “les voies de la polémique partisane”: Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, 152-3. Lestringant suggests that Laudonnière’s *Histoire notable* may have failed to reach print for this reason.

⁹ “Le mythe du Bon Sauvage... fiction qui surgira tout armée pour combattre, au temps des guerres de Religion, dans le camp des huguenots révoltés contre la ‘tyrannie’ espagnole et catholique”: *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, 31. Lestringant has also argued that the “Good Savage” forged in the sixteenth century Protestant consciousness became the crucial foundation of the “Noble Savage” myth so central to Enlightenment and Romantic discourse. See, for example, Frank Lestringant, “The Philosopher’s Breviary: Jean De Léry in the Enlightenment,” in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

¹⁰ “rêve floridien”; “une nature idyllique et printanière”: *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, 150.

¹¹ Jose Rabasa, *Writing Violence on the Northern Frontier: The Historiography of Sixteenth-Century New Mexico and Florida and the Legacy of Conquest* (Duke University Press, 2001) 231. For another interpretation of the changes in representations of Southeastern Native peoples during the sixteenth century, relying on both Spanish and French sources, see Daniel S. Murphree, “Constructing Indians in the Colonial Floridas: Origins of European-Floridian Identity, 1513-1573,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 81, no. 2 (2002): 133-54.

¹² The *European Americana* bibliography locates four French editions, plus the English translation: *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493-1776*, ed. John Alden and Dennis C. Landis, 6 vols. (New York: Readex Books, 1980-88), 1:112.

¹³ Janet Whatley, “Une Révérence Réciproque: Huguenot Writing on the New World,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (1987-8): 270-271.

¹⁴ Nicolas Le Challeux, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride ...* (Dieppe: n.p., 1566), reprinted in *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle*, ed. Suzanne Lussagnet, vol. 2: *Les Français en Floride* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 219. English translation: Nicolas Le Challeux, *A True and Perfect Description, of the Last Voyage or Navigation, Attempted by Capitaine John Rybaut ...* (London: Henry Denham, for Thomas Hacket, 1566), C5r.

¹⁵ Chauveton translates the petition into Latin for his *Historia*, and De Bry's *Brevis narratio* of 1591 includes this Latin translation, giving the text a kind of legitimacy as a historical document and suggesting the continuing power of Le Challeux's account.

¹⁶ René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes Unto Florida*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587) "To the Right Worthie and Honorable Gentleman, Sir Walter Raleigh knight," 1.

¹⁷ Lestringant suggests that Hakluyt conceived of the publications of Laudonnière's *Histoire notable* as a means of reviving "une tradition coloniale interrompue" in Protestant Europe: *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, 202.

¹⁸ Le Challeux, *Discours*, 204; *A True and Perfect Description*, A4v.

¹⁹ Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France...* (Paris: Chez Jean Milot, 1609), 128. My translation.

²⁰ Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, 61.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 62. On this problem of idolatry, see also Frank Lestringant, "A Staged Encounter: French Meeting Timucua in Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues," in this forum.

²² On the context of Ribault's preparation of his *Whole and True Discoverye*, see McGrath 87ff, and H. P. Biggar, "Jean Ribaut's Discoverye of Terra Florida," *The English Historical Review* 32, no. 126 (1917).

²³ Jean Ribault, *The Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida...* (London: R. Hall, for T. Hacket, 1563) sig. Bii r. No French version of Ribault's narrative has ever been found; it did, however, circulate in manuscript form in England before being printed by Hacket: see Biggar, "Jean Ribaut's Discoverye of Terra Florida." I cite page signatures from the printed edition, which is unpaginated; further references are cited parenthetically in the text. The association of "aliance" and "amitie" which Ribault makes here seems to have been common in the sixteenth century, both in English and in French: other uses of the phrase are documented in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and in Jean Nicot's 1606 *Thresor de la langue française*. The extent to which the use of the two terms implies a connection between diplomacy, or diplomatic language, and the language of emotion merits further attention.

²⁴ Hann suggests that the first Timucuas to greet the French were residents of the village of Alimacani, on Fort George Island and that the second group, those on the south bank, were the Saturiwas: *A History of the Timucua Indians*, 36.

²⁵ Jean Ribault, *The Whole and True Discoverye*, B6v.

²⁶ Ribault, *The Whole and True Discoverye*, B5r-B5v. Milanich and other scholars of Timucuan culture essentially accept the French view that many of the Native leaders in the region were hostile to each other. See Milanich, *The Timucua*, 47ff. Worth suggests

that rivalries between chiefs may have been exacerbated by Spanish and French incursions: *The Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 23.

²⁷ The French had clearly entered a complex world marked by rivalry, competition, and occasional conflict. Most anthropologists argue that the Timucuas, like many of the Native groups in the Southeast, organized themselves as chiefdoms, with individual chiefs exercising certain kinds of political control over a number of villages, and with some few chiefs, often called “paramount chiefs,” controlling a greater number of villages and subordinate chiefs. Hann suggests that there were “at least five chiefdoms” in the St. Johns region and that these chiefdoms were part of a complex system of “rival chiefdoms and alliances”; the two major confederations in the vicinity of the French were the Saturiwa and the Outina confederations. Some chiefs were labeled as “paracusi,” others, perhaps paramount chiefs, as “utinas”; the meanings of these position titles, though are not well understood. See Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians*, 75-6, 80-1. Worth notes that, whether or not Outina ruled a “regional chiefdom” or “a regional confederacy of smaller chiefdoms,” he was, in either case, perceived by both French and Spanish as a powerful leader: *The Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 22.

²⁸ Ribault, *The Whole and True Discoverye*, B1r.

²⁹ Stephen Greenblatt has pointed out “how confident the early voyagers were... in their ability to make themselves understood and to comprehend unfamiliar signs”: Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 93.

³⁰ Neither Ribault nor Laudonnière mention any attempts to bring Protestant Christianity to Native peoples in Florida—a fact which has led most historians to argue that, in the words of David Beers Quinn, “there is no evidence that missionary work was attempted” by the French in Florida. David Beers Quinn, “Religion in North America in the Sixteenth Century,” in *European Approaches to North America, 1450-1640* (Aldershot, Great Britain: Ashgate, 1998), 203. On this question, see also Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, 164. Instead of the condemnations present in other more clearly Protestant accounts of the New World—for example, the Calvinist Jean de Léry’s *Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre de Brésil*—Laudonnière’s text comments positively on Native religious ceremonies. One striking episode is Laudonnière’s description of a “Toya,” a feast given by chief Audusta upriver from the French settlement at Charlesfort. For the suggestion that the *Toya* may be a green corn festival, see Daniel G. Brinton, *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, Its Literary History, Indian Tribes and Antiquities* (Philadelphia: Joseph Sabin, 1859; reprint, New York: Paladin Press, 1969), 127-128. Although the *Toya* witnessed by the Charlesfort French occurred after Laudonnière himself had returned to France, he claims to have heard of it when traveling with two Guales kidnapped by Ribault, thus giving his summary a kind of credibility. Beyond labeling the events “superstitious,” Laudonnière makes no other negative judgments of them, instead recounting the elaborate preparations, singing and drumming in an apparently objective tone. Laura Fishman

argues that these “detailed and straightforward” descriptions reveal Laudonnière’s careful effort to avoid strident or partisan rhetoric when appealing to his French patrons: see Laura Fishman, “Old World Images Encounter New World Reality: René Laudonnière and the Timucuaans of Florida,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26, no. 3 (1995): 551. A different key to reading this episode, though, may lie in Laudonnière’s initial and final comments about it. He stresses that the French attend the *Toya* at the request of Audusta, who invites them in formal diplomatic fashion: “hee sent Ambassadors unto our menne to request them on his behalfe to be there present. Whereunto they agreed most willingly...” (12 r.) (“il envoya des Embassadeurs vers les François, pour les supplier des sa part d’y assister, ce qu’ils accorderent tres volontiers” [69]). Running low on food, the French surely realized that it was in their best interest to cultivate this powerful Native leader, and Laudonnière, looking back over the episode, makes their cooperation seem natural. The French, if they are to keep their alliances, and indeed to survive, must attend, and must do so willingly.

³¹ *Coppie d’une lettre venant de la Floride, envoyée à Rouen, et depuis au Seigneur d’Everon ...* (Paris: Pour Vincent Norment et Jeanne Bruneau, 1565; repr., *Voyages, Relations et Mémoires Originaux pour servir à l’histoire de la découverte de l’Amérique, publiés pour la première fois en français*, ed. H. Ternaux-Compans, 20 vols, Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1841), 20:237. For a full English translation of the *Coppie d’une lettre*, along with a reproduction of the woodcut showing Fort Caroline that accompanies it, see Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonnière & Fort Caroline: History and Documents* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), 65-70.

³² *Coppie d’une letter*, 237: “lesdicts roys... s’assirent tous ensemble, monstrant signe d’auoir grãd joye de nostre arriuée, et aussi faisant signe (en mōstrant ledict seigneur de Laudōniere et le Soleil) disant que ledict seigneur estoit frere du Soleil, et qu’il yroit faire la guerre avec eulx cōtre leurs ennemys, lesquels ils appellent Tymangoua... ce que ledict seigneur de Laudōniere leur promist qu’il yroit avec eulx...”

³³ On the language of social status and royalty as applied to Native leaders, in an English colonial context, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 92ff.

³⁴ As Milanich and others have pointed out, the very word “Timucua,” used by scholars as a label for the Native groups of eastern and northern Florida derives from a misunderstanding of this word “Tymangoua,” which was apparently used by the Saturiwas to refer their enemies and first appears in print in this text. See Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*, 84.

³⁵ *Coppie d’une lettre*, 244. For a study of the language of fraternity in the seventeenth-century diplomacy of New France, see Peter Cook, “‘Vivre Comme Frères’: Le Rôle Du Registre Fraternel Dans Les Premières Alliances Franco-Amérindiennes Au Canada (Vers 1580-1650),” *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec* 31, no. 2 (2001).

³⁶ Scholars of the Timucuan language have failed to identify any of these words: see Brinton, *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula*, 138, and Julian Granberry, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language*, 3rd ed. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993).

³⁷ René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *L'Histoire Notable De La Floride Située Ès Indes Occidentales...*, ed. Martin Basanier (Paris: Chez Guillaume Auvray, 1586; reprint, Suzanne Lussagnet, ed., *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle*, vol. 2: *Les Français en Floride* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958], 27-200), 51. I quote the English 1587 translation printed by Richard Hakluyt: Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes Unto Florida* (London: Imprinted by Thomas Dawson, 1587), 5r.

³⁸ Laudonnière, *L'Histoire notable*, 51; *A Notable Historie*, 5r.

³⁹ Laudonnière, *L'Histoire notable*, 52; *A Notable Historie*, 5v.

⁴⁰ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 48, 57-8. Seed argues that the Timucuan misunderstood the French gesture; my reading suggests that they understood it—and rejected it.

⁴¹ Laudonnière, *L'Histoire notable*, 88; *A Notable Historie*, 20v.

⁴² Paul Hulton, ed., *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne De Morgues: A Huguenot Artist in France, Florida, and England*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1977) 1:164.

⁴³ Laudonnière, *L'Histoire notable*, 59; *A Notable Historie*, 8r.

⁴⁴ Ives Goddard calls this the earliest attempt to write down a Southeastern North American Indian language; he believes that the language was Guale. Ives Goddard, “The Description of the Native Languages of North America before Boas,” in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 17: Languages*, ed. Ives Goddard (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 17.

⁴⁵ Laudonnière, *L'Histoire notable*, 93; *A Notable Historie*, 22v.

⁴⁶ Laudonnière, *L'Histoire notable*, 93; *A Notable Historie*, 22v.

⁴⁷ On the Outina (or Utina) chiefdoms, see Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians*, 80-2, Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*, 88; and Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 21-5. According to Worth, “Whether the society ruled by Outina is best called a regional chiefdom or simply a regional confederacy of smaller chiefdoms is difficult to gauge” (22).

⁴⁸ “... que quelque jour, je m’acheminerois avec mes forces, en ce pais : et que me joignant avec son seigneur *Olata*, je retournerois victorieux des plus hautes montagnes” (103).

⁴⁹ Laudonnière, *L’Histoire notable*, 111; *A Notable Historie*, 29v.

⁵⁰ “... nous... n’eussions eu occasion de mal contenter les Indiens, lesquels j’avois avec toutes les peines du monde, entretenu en bonne amitié... et avec lesquels je m’estois tellement comporté, qu’encore que j’eusse esté quelques fois contraint de prendre des vivres en quelques villages, si n’avoy-je perdu l’alliance de huit Roys et seigneurs mes voisins...” (158).

⁵¹ Lestringant describes the circulation of the Gorges account in *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, 156-163. He argues that Gorges’s “voyage” provided readers a kind of narrative closure to the French colonial episode, marking its end as a victory for French Protestants over Spanish Catholics.

⁵² Hann takes the narrative of the Gorges raid as recounted in the French texts essentially at face value; he notes that the Spanish took strong “retaliation” against Natives who had assisted the French. See Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians*, 64-67.

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