

***Performances of entangled emotions and beliefs:
French and Spanish cultural transformations
on the sixteenth-century Florida peninsula***

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Abstract

This essay explores how interpretations and practices of entangled emotions and beliefs were critical to European engagement with Florida during the mid-sixteenth century. It analyses emotional performances of religious, racial and cultural beliefs that lay at the heart of colonising activities of both the French and Spanish, articulated in affective forms such as facial expression, gestures, sexual practices and violent acts, and rhetorically in verbal encounters and textual presentations. It contends that these performances occurred both as practices in the Florida region and Europe, and through rhetorical and visual forms in contemporary epistolary, manuscript and printed texts. The study argues that conflicting European activities with indigenous peoples and lands in Florida produced complex emotional and affective labour among European and indigenous agents — rulers, captains, crews, spiritual envoys and diplomatic personnel. This essay suggests new insights into colonial power relations may be developed by consideration of emotions in cross-cultural performances, whether by securing diplomatic relations or as an unexpected, disruptive force to other behaviours within official negotiations. In the eyes of participants, through these entangled belief and emotional performances about Florida, indigenous, French and Spanish peoples were themselves all culturally transformed.

The essay analyses performances of entangled emotions and beliefs — religious, racial and cultural — that lay at the heart of colonising activities of both the French and Spanish in a region that has become known today as Florida. These emotional performances of belief, I contend, occurred in multiple sites, both in practices in the Florida region and Europe, and also through rhetorical and visual forms in contemporary epistolary, manuscript and printed texts. I argue that conflicting European activities with local peoples and lands in Florida produced what were perceived as cultural transformations through complex emotional and affective labour that expressed divergent religious, racial and cultural beliefs among European and indigenous agents. These emotional performances were articulated in affective forms through bodies, facial expression and gestures, sexual practices and violent acts. Others were expressed rhetorically in verbal encounters and textual presentations.

These were sophisticated forms of emotional labour, performed by a range of

participating agents from indigenous and European leaders, captains and crews, to spiritual envoys and diplomatic personnel. By the term ‘emotional labour,’ I am following the conceptualisation of sociologist Arlie Hochschild, who argued, in the modern workplace context, that certain roles require particular cognitive emotion work, affective comportment and emotional expression for successful achievement.¹ These were not emotional ‘reactions’ to global activities and associated cultural transformations in the sense that they were spontaneous but were instead strategic, managed displays of specific emotional content in particular contexts. However, this is not intended to imply that such labour was not felt and experienced by agents, but rather that choices were being made about what emotions were rendered visible for consumption by others. Moreover, in suggesting that such labour was calculated and with profound political consequences, I do not mean that the emotional performances I study here were political emotions in the sense that they held only, or largely, symbolic valence. Indeed, ambassadors, for example, regularly looked to interpret emotional display in their interlocutors as a potential alternative insight into the latter’s views and feelings.² Furthermore, emotional labour took place between negotiants both in physically proximate sites, but also between authors and readers, artists and viewers, whose texts were likewise crafted emotional performances with their own assumptions and agendas.

This essay explores how interpretations and practices of entangled emotions and beliefs were critical to European engagement with Florida during the mid-sixteenth century. Scholars have rightly highlighted that the term ‘entanglement’ obscures the power relations of colonising relationships that were rarely, if ever, equal.³ However, for my purposes the term ‘entangled’ helpfully alludes to the sense of interwoven complexities of performances that projected and reflected beliefs through emotional practices. The French attempt to control the Florida peninsula, along with the failed *France antartique* colony, has generally been studied as a political disaster, as its challenge to Spanish colonial dominance in the region was crushed. Scholars have typically focussed upon the politico-religious consequences of the strong Huguenot component of each endeavour, and on the literary and cultural dimensions of French encounters in the Americas.⁴ However, despite increasing

¹ ARLIE RUSSELL HOCHSCHILD, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of human feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

² On the gendered aspects of their interpretations, see my “Catherine’s tears: diplomatic corporeality, affective performance and gender at the sixteenth-century French court”, in *Fluid Bodies: Corporeality in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by ANNE M. SCOTT, DEBORAH SEILER and MICHAEL BARBEZAT (forthcoming).

³ See, for example, the discussion in STEPHEN W. SILLMAN, “Cultural contact or colonialism? Challenges in the archeology of native North America”, *American Antiquity* 70, (2005): 55–74.

⁴ Key studies assessing Florida include FRANK LESTRINGANT, *L’expérience huguenote au nouveau monde (XVI^e siècle)* (Geneva: Droz, 1996); JOHN T. MCGRATH, *The French in Early Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000); FRANK LESTRINGANT, *Le huguenot et le sauvage: L’Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de religion, 1555-1589* (Geneva: Droz, 2004); *Les huguenots et l’Atlantique: Pour Dieu, la cause ou les affaires*, ed. by MICKAËL AUGERON, DIDIER POTON and

scholarly attention to the importance of analysing emotions in cross-cultural engagements within missionary, mercantile and colonial frameworks during the early modern period, study of these vital emotional dimensions is only now emerging.⁵ How were religious, racial and cultural beliefs about others — Catholic, Huguenot or non-Christian, indigenous or European, French or Spanish, women and men — understood and the emotional performances they engendered practised by European powers as they encountered local peoples, and each other, in Florida? Following recent literature that proposes to complicate the grand narrative of European colonialism in the region, this essay aims to offer new insights into colonial power relations that may be suggested by consideration of emotions in cross-cultural performances.⁶ The essay analyses how French and Spanish colonial agents interacted with local peoples in the Florida region. These were not, however, simply acts practised through extra-European activities and sites but were enacted in textual forms designed for European consumption. Moreover, as I explore in the second half of the paper, these same questions and practices were also negotiated by monarchs, ambassadors, spies and agents who likewise represented European colonial aims and achievements through highly-situated emotional performances at court, in missives and through bodies.

Scholars are increasingly considering emotions as fundamental to European political and diplomatic discourse. In particular, they have considered the performative power of emotions to structure the relationship between rulers, and between rulers and their subjects,⁷ and key concepts such as ‘friendship’ as critical to

BERTRAND VAN RUYMBEKE (Paris: Indes savants, 2009). Lestringant has a new volume specific to Florida forthcoming in 2016, *Le Théâtre de la Floride* (Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne).

⁵ SUSAN BROOMHALL, “Emotional Encounters: Indigenous peoples in the Dutch East India Company's interactions with the South Lands”, *Australian Historical Studies* 45, 3 (2014): 350-67; SHINO KONISHI, “Early encounters in Aboriginal place: the role of emotions in French readers of Indigenous sites”, *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2, (2015): 12-23; “Emotions and Conversions”, *Journal of Religious History* 39, 4 (2015), special issue ed. by JACQUELINE VAN GENT and SPENCER YOUNG; Bronwyn DOUGLAS, “Agency, affect, and local knowledge in the exploration of Oceania”, in *Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on exploration archives*, ed. by SHINO KONISHI, MARIA NUGENT and TIFFANY SHELLAM (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015), 103-29; GIOVANNI TARANTINO, “Disaster, emotions and cultures: The unexpected wink of Shiba Kokan (1738–1818)”, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, forthcoming 2016 (I thank the author for allowing me to read this pre-publication); SUSAN BROOMHALL, “Tears on silk: Cross-cultural emotional performances among Japanese-born Christians in seventeenth-century Batavia”, *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies* (Special Opening Issue: Emotions and Marginalized Communities) 1, 1 (2016): 18–42; MARIA NUGENT, “Indigenous/European encounters” and DONNA MERWICK, “Colonialism”, in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁶ Most recently, MARIA XIMENA SENATORE and PEDRO PAULO A. FUNARI, “Introduction: Disrupting the Grand Narrative of Spanish and Portuguese Colonialism”, in *Archaeology of Culture Contact and Colonialism in Spanish and Portuguese America*, ed. by MARIA XIMENA SENATORE and PEDRO PAULO A. FUNARI (New York: Springer, 2015), 1–15.

⁷ See HELEN WATANABE-O'KELLY, “Monarchies”, in *Early Modern Emotions*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL.

political socialities, hierarchies and interactions in the premodern world.⁸ Emotions were not merely abstract concepts, although their symbolic valences were vital to political negotiation. They were also lived experiences of specific individuals who acted for declared communities of interest but also in the light of their own objectives. New insights about political life have emerged recently from analysis of the consequences of strategic emotional expression and affective comportment in particular contexts.⁹ At the same time, attention is beginning to be paid to the importance of emotions as part of the ideology and practice of European mercantile, missionary and colonial spaces and regimes.¹⁰ Donna Merwick reminds

⁸ See, for example, MICHEL REY, “Communauté et individu: Amitié comme lien social à la Renaissance”, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 38 (1991): 617–25; RANDALL LASAFFER, “«Amicitia» in Renaissance Peace and Alliance Treaties (1450-1530)”, *Journal of the History of International Law* 4 (2002): 77–99; JEAN-MARIE CONSTANT, “L’amitié: le moteur de la mobilité politique dans la noblesse de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle”, in *La Noblesse en liberté, XVI^e-XVII^e siècles* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2004), 173–87; JEAN-PIERRE DEDIEU, “Amistad, familiar, patria, ...y rey. Las bases de la vida política en la Monarquía española de los siglos XVII y XVIII”, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 25, 1 (2005): 27–50; KLAUS OSCEMA, *Freundschaft und Nähe im spätmittelalterlichen Burgund, Studien zum Spannungsfeld von Emotion und Institution* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag Köln, 2006); *Freundschaft oder ‘amitié’? ein politisch-soziales Konzept der Vormoderne in zwischen-sprachlichen Vergleich (15–17 Jahrhundert)*, ed. by KLAUS OSCEMA (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2007); LAURENT SMAGGHE, *Les Émotions du Prince: Émotion et discours politique dans l’espace bourguignon* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2012); FRANÇOIS FORONDA, *El espanto y el miedo: Golpismo, emociones políticas y constitucionalismo en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2013).

⁹ See TRACY ADAMS, ‘Married Noblewomen as Diplomats: Affective Diplomacy’, and SUSAN BROOMHALL, ‘Ordering Distant Affections: Fostering Love and Loyalty in the Correspondence of Catherine de Medici to the Spanish Court, 1568–1572’, in *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 51–66 and 67–88; SUSAN BROOMHALL, ‘Performing Diplomacy: Emotions, Gender and Materiality in Medieval and Early Modern Courtly Relations’, in the *Routledge History Handbook for Emotions in Europe, 1100–1700*, ed. by ANDREW LYNCH and SUSAN BROOMHALL (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

¹⁰ INGA CLENDINEN, *Dancing with Strangers: Europeans and Australians at First Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); NICOLE EUSTACE, “The sentimental paradox: humanity and violence on the Pennsylvania frontier”, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 65, 1 (2008): 29–64; *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, ed. by TONY BALLANTYNE and ANTOINETTE M. BURTON (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); TIFFANY SHELLAM, *Shaking Hands on the Fringe: Negotating the Aboriginal World at King George’s Sound* (Crawley: UWA Press, 2009); PETER ROBB, *Useful Friendship: Europeans and Indians in Early Calcutta* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); SUSAN BROOMHALL, “Emotional encounters: indigenous peoples in the Dutch East India Company’s interactions with the South lands”, *Australian Historical Studies* 45, 3 (2014): 350–67; “Emotions and Conversions,” *Journal of Religious History* 39, 4 (2015); *Emotions and Christian Missions: Historical Perspectives*, ed. by CLAIRE MCLISKY, KARIN VALGÅRDA and DANIEL MIDENA (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); ANGELIQUE STASTNY, “The politics of friendship: expectations and self-reflection in times of conciliation”, *Histories of Emotion, from Medieval Europe to Modern Australia*, Blog of the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotion, <https://historiesofemotion.com/2015/07/31/the-politics-of-friendship-expectations-and-self-reflection-in-times-of-conciliation/> accessed 22 May 2016; SUSAN BROOMHALL, “Shipwrecks, Sorrow, Shame, and the Great Southland: The Use of Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Dutch East India Company Communicative Ritual”, in *Emotion, Ritual and Power in Pre-Modern Europe: 1200 to the Present*, ed. by KATIE BARCLAY and MERRIDEE BAILEY (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2016); JACQUELINE VAN GENT, “Global trading companies” and “Protestant global missions”, GIUSEPPE MARCOCCI, “Amerindian and African slaves”, PETER A. GODDARD, “Missionary Catholicism”, DONNA MERWICK, “Colonialism”, NICOLE EUSTACE, “Theories of empire”, MARIA NUGENT, “Indigenous/European

us that European colonialism was a practice that was made up of individuals with feelings — anxieties, fears, uncertainties as well as ambitions and intimacies.¹¹ Furthermore, Pekka Hämäläinen's research recognises the ways in which different actors, European and indigenous groups alike, in these interactions could be mutually opportunistic.¹² With such recent scholarship in mind, the essay examines multiple individual performances of entangled emotions and beliefs that constituted colonising activities of both the French and Spanish not just in Florida but for varied audiences and readers in Europe.

This essay considers emotions performed in both acts and texts; that is, through gestures and faces, speech acts, and rhetorical expression of emotion in written texts, as well as social practices of gift exchange, ceremonies, and bodies employed in ritualised behaviours. 'Emotions,' in this context, were neither bodily and intellectual experiences sharply defined nor necessarily interpreted by observers as intended. Words and acts held multiple layers of meaning and consequences beyond the control of those who performed them. Considering emotional experience as performance does not suggest necessarily a degree of falseness or a lack of weight to these behaviours; rather it reflects an understanding of emotional performance as part of a construction of self in a given context.¹³ The key sources studied here were produced by French and Spanish colonial agents, who were political protagonists and eyewitnesses to the emotional behaviours they experienced, perceived and described in letters, reports, and memoirs, some writing in the moment and others in reflection years after the events. In doing so, they were providing presentations of themselves as they created texts for wider consumption. As such, conformity to contexts and conventions of distinct European readerships were typically prioritised over potentially more socially-confronting emotional performances.

encounters", in *Early Modern Emotions*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL.

¹¹ MERWICK, "Colonialism", in *Early Modern Emotions*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL and previously MERWICK, *Stuyvesant Bound: An Essay on Loss Across Time* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); *The Shame and the Sorrow: Dutch-Amerindian Encounters in New Netherland* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

¹² PEKKA HÄMÄLÄINEN, "The Shapes of Power: Indians, Europeans, and North American Worlds from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century", in *Contested Spaces of Early America*, ed. by JULIANA BARR and EDWARD COUNTRYMEN (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 58.

¹³ JUDITH BUTLER, "Gender as performance", in *A Critical Sense: Interviews with Intellectuals*, ed. by PETER OSBORNE (London: Routledge, 1996), 109–25; JUDITH BUTLER, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999). See also WILLIAM M. REDDY, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); MONIQUE SCHEER, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion", *History and Theory* 51, 2 (2012): 193–220.

Emotional disruptions and cultural transformations at the peninsula

Positive relationships with the local Timucua people were vital to French ambitions on the Florida peninsula.¹⁴ As a rule, eye-witnesses recounting their experiences in the settlement initially celebrated the willingness of local peoples to forge relationships with them, but they also charted a narrative of increasing challenges and emotional disruptions to the hoped-for French domination of the region. In 1562, Huguenot navigator Jean Ribault had been selected by Admiral of French Navy, fellow Huguenot Gaspard de Coligny, to lead an expedition to found what was hoped to be a colony under French control in the region.¹⁵ Arriving in May near the mouth of a river (now St Johns River), Ribault began to establish what he understood, and promoted in his account with pride, as positive alliances with local people. Ribault interpreted the establishment of friendship with the local Timucua through his perception of their positive emotion display ‘without any taken of feare or dowbte’, the assistance rendered to the French, ‘shewing unto us the easiest landing place’ and their exchange of material resources: ‘on our parte tokens of assurance and frendelynes’ and ‘his lorde [...] his girdell in token of assurance and ffrendship’.¹⁶ Vanessa Smith has argued powerfully for a slightly later period that in European minds, the rhetoric of friendship absolved colonisers of the suggestion that their actions were calculated.¹⁷ French narratives certainly emphasised indigenous agency in creating relationships. Accompanying Ribault was Huguenot nobleman and navigator, René Goulaine de Laudonnière, whose account of his time in Florida was not published until after his death. It demonstrates how he searched for recognisable gestures and facial expressions among the Timucua to understand their agreement. Accepting French gifts of bracelets, mirrors, and knives, Laudonnière concluded that the chief had ‘indicated that he was very happy and fully satisfied’.¹⁸ Encountering a second group across the river, Laudonnière recalled the careful emotional negotiations, and assumptions, of both Ribault and his indigenous counterpart:

The two children graciously received the Captain, but the king, their father, showed a

¹⁴ A far larger historiography discusses the image of the ‘savage’ gained from a broader range of French interactions in the Americas, especially from Brazil. On the peoples in the area of Florida, see JOHN E. WORTH, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida: vol 1. Assimilation* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998)

¹⁵ See JOHN T. MCGRATH, “Admiral Coligny, Jean Ribault, and the East Coast of North America,” *French Colonial History* 1 (2002): 63-76; *Coligny, les protestants et la mer: actes du colloque organisé à Rochefort et La Rochelle les 3 et 4 octobre 1996*, ed. by MARTINE ACERRA and GUY MARTINIÈRE (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997).

¹⁶ The first publication of his work was in London, in 1563. JEAN RIBAUT, *The Whole & True Discoverie of Terra Florida: A Facsimile Reprint of the London Edition of 1563*, ed. by JEANNETTE THURBER CONNOR (Deland: The Florida State Historical Society, 1927), 66-67.

¹⁷ VANESSA SMITH, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 285.

¹⁸ ‘Le Roy se môstra en estre fort ioyeux, & amplement satisfait’. RENÉ DE LAUDONNIÈRE, *L’Histoire*

kind of gravity and did nothing but shake his head a little. [...] The Captain, not knowing how to judge the deportment of this man, thought that he might be jealous because we went first to the other, or that he was not very happy about the marker we had erected [...] we indicated by signs that he had come from a great distance on purpose to see him, to make known the friendship that he wanted to have with him. To better ally with him, he drew from a small chest a few trinkets, such as gilt- and silver-plated bracelets, and presented them to the king, a few others to his children. This was the reason that the king began to become amiably disposed towards the Captain and us.¹⁹

Having thus ‘made alyance and entered into amytye,’ Ribault claimed the lands for France with a column marked with the date and the arms of the king, Charles IX.²⁰ On modern-day Parriss Island, he tasked a small contingent of men to build a fort, Charlesfort, named for the young monarch, promising to soon return with renewed supplies from France.

The eyes of the Huguenot nobility were firmly fixed on the fledgling settlement and Coligny encouraged Charles IX and his mother Catherine de Medici to send reinforcements. Laudonnière was selected for the task of supplying Charlesfort and establishing another settlement on the St Johns River, Fort Caroline. On his arrival in June 1564, Laudonnière was met, in the report of eye-witness, artist Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, with a warm welcome by the local people:

they demonstrated many indications of friendship and favour ... The things that we received from these traders were mainly things that they themselves valued the most, things for nourishing or protecting the body.²¹

While eye-witnesses recounting their experiences in the settlement as a rule

notable de la Floride situee es Indes Occidentales (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586), 9r.

¹⁹ ‘Les deux enfans receurent gratuitement le Capitaine: mais le Roy leur pere monstant vne grauité, ie ne scay quelle, ne fait sinon bransler quelque peu la teste: [...] le Capitaine ne sçachant que iuger du port de cest homme, pensa qu’il estoit ialoux de ce que premieremēt nous estiōs alle vers l’autre, ou bien qu’il n’estoit trop content de la borne que nous auions plantee. Sur ce ne sçachant que resouldre, l’un fit par signes, qu’il l’estoit venu trouver exprez de lointaine region, pour luy faire cognoistre l’amitié qu’il vouloit auoir avecques luy: pour lauquelle mieux allier, luy tira d’une malette quelque singularitez, comme des brasselets en façon d’or & d’argent, qu’il luy presenta, & quelques autres ioyaux à ses enfans: qui est cause que le Roy se mit à caresser amiablement le Capitaine, & nous’. LAUDONNIÈRE, *L’Histoire notable*, 9v -10r.

²⁰ RIBAUT, *Whole & True Discoverye*, 70.

²¹ ‘Quandoquidem multa amicitiae & favoris indicia demonstrarunt, [...]: eae verò merces, quas à novis istis negotiatoribus accipiebamus, magna ex parte constabant ex rebus, quae ab illis maximè aestimantur, nempe quaecumque ad humani corporis alimentum & conservationem spectant’. JACQUES MOYNE DE MORGUES, *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae provincia Gallis acciderunt* (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1591), secunda pars, 7. On Le Moyne de Morgues’ art, see PAUL HULTON, *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues: A Huguenot Artist in France and Florida*, 2 (London: British Museum Publications, 1977); Laura Fishman, ‘Old World Images encounter new world reality: Rene de Laudonniere and the Timucuas of Florida’, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26, 3 (1995): 547-59; TODD OLSON, ‘Markers: Le Moyne de Morgues in 16th-century Florida’, in *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World* ed. by DANA LEIBSOHN and JEANNETTE FAVROT PETERSON (London: Routledge, 2012), 193-212.

celebrated the willingness of local peoples to forge relationships with them, Laudonnière's memoirs of his second voyage emphasised his particular, personal achievement of strong relationships with the Timucua, who — he claimed — greeted him, crying out 'with a loud voice in their Indian language *Antipola Bonnassou*, which means brother, friend, or something similar.'²² The Timucua chief, in Laudonnière's account, actively sought out the French alliance.

*Crying out from the distance, Antipola, antipola, and showing such great joy that he almost lost his composure. ... even recognizing those from the previous voyage, they addressed themselves chiefly to them, using this language ... and by evident signs made us understand how happy they were at our arrival.*²³

Similarly, an anonymous French correspondent writing home to his father in 1564 observed the Timucua 'making signs as they approached and crying out *Amy Thybola Panassoon!* which means brother and friend like the fingers of one hand.'²⁴ In judging their relations, French witnesses noted the gestures and looks they interpreted as conveying joy, excitement and happiness in the renewed encounter but also highlighted details that would be meaningful to their European readership: the use of specific terms that they understood to mean brotherhood and friendship, and gestures of concordance between the parties.

The transactional nature of these emotional performances of friendship were, however, evident in French sources. Laudonnière had been instructed to capture local people who could be taken to France, and described in acute detail his interpretation of the emotional display of the two unwilling men whom he had attempted to kidnap. Although the French attempted to appease them with gifts, 'these they disdained to take, and returned all we had given them, thinking that these gifts obligated them, and in returning them, they would be granted their freedom.'²⁵ Whatever Laudonnière understood of the practices of these men in developing a relationship that could lead to assistance for them, it did not deter him from his own objectives. French pleasantries though came to a fruitless conclusion; the Timucua escaped. Laudonnière's account also revealed that Timucua leaders created

²² 'À haute voix en leur vulgaire Indien, *Antipola Bonnassou*, qui vaut autāt à dire, cōme, frere, amy, ou chose semblable.' LAUDONNIÈRE, *L'Histoire notable*, 36v.

²³ 'S'escria d'assez loing, *Antipola, Antipola*, & estant esmeu de si grande ioye, que presques il perdoit toute contenance, [...] mesme recognoissans ceux du precedent voyage, ils s'adressoient principalement à eux pour leur vser de ce langage [...] par signes euidents nous faisoient entendre, quel contentement ils auoiēt de nostre venue.' *Ibid.*, 37r-v.

²⁴ 'Faisant signe q' lō s'approchast, criāt Amy Thybola Panassoon! qui est autāt à dire frere et amy cōme les doigtz de la main.' *Coppie d'une lettre venant de la Floride, enuoyee a Rouen, et depuis au Seigneur d'Euron; ensemble le plan et portraict du fort que les Francois y ont faict* (Paris: Vincent Norment et Jeanne Bruneau, 1565), reproduced in *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique: Recueil de pièces sur la Floride*, ed. by HENRI TERNAUX-COMPANS (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1841), 237, 244.

²⁵ 'Lesquelles ils desdaignoient prendre, & rendoient à l'opposite tout ce qu'on leur avoit donné, pensans que tels dōs les eussent du tout obligez, & qu'en les rendants, la liberté leur seroit octroyee', LAUDONNIÈRE, *L'Histoire notable*, 14v.

sociabilities; that is, as ‘exclusive groups that defined themselves as discrete cohort through specific social and emotional behaviours,’ which were deeply challenging for the French.²⁶ The Timucua chief, Satouriona, called upon Laudonnière: ‘to show myself a friend of his friends, and enemy of his enemies’.²⁷ Ignoring local conventions of alliance and enmity, Laudonnière declined to fight alongside the Timucua in their wars, arguing that peace among all the groups of the region would be best for them; certainly it was best for him. It was after all ‘the principal goal of all my plans: to gain and maintain them [...] while I discovered the goods of the land and tried to strengthen my position there’.²⁸ Satouriana’s problematic demand that Laudonnière fulfil indigenous sociabilities forged in military collaboration disrupted French ambitions for the alliance and marked a key moment in the disintegration of their relations in the region.

Moreover, within the French community, there was also fractures created by divergent emotional, sexual and moral practices and beliefs. Evidently, the French leadership struggled to control the sexual behaviour of some among the fledging community of settlers. The group comprised a diverse collection of would-be settlers, including Catholics, artisans, labourers, women, prisoners, and foreigners who had been captured but permitted to live freely in the settlement.²⁹ A report by Huguenot Captain Giles de Pysièrè pinpointed a cohort for whom the Florida site offered an opportunity to practise what he perceived as divergent sexual affinities, men who wanted ‘to live in the greatest abomination and Epicurean life ever heard of, without God, without faith, and without law’.³⁰ The Christian leadership had instructed these men not to pursue sexual relations with local women unless they were formally married. Significantly, Pysièrè described these men as ‘strangers,’ who did not share the moral values of the Christian majority; they were, he argued, ‘Moors and Savages’.³¹ He took a dim view of their capacity to form part of the community that he imagined to be building in Florida since ‘it is difficult for them to leave their sluts ... to live as decent people and in the company of Christians’.³² According to Pysièrè’s report, in the Florida environment, these men had been rendered spiritually and morally incapable of resisting the temptations of native flesh

²⁶ SUSAN BROOMHALL, ‘Introduction’ in *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in England, 1650–1850*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL (London: Routledge, 2015), 1.

²⁷ ‘Pour entendre si ie voulois continuer en la promesse que ie luy auois faite, lors que premierement P’estois descendu en ce païs: qui estoit de me monstrier amy de ses amys & ennemy de ses ennemis’. LAUDONNIÈRE, *L’Histoire notable*, 53r.

²⁸ ‘Le principal but de tous mes dessseins, que de les gaigner & entretenir, [...] pendant que ie descouvrois les commoditez du païs, & que ie taschois de m’y faire fort’. LAUDONNIÈRE, *L’Histoire notable*, 94r.

²⁹ As indicated in GILLES DE PYSIÈRÈ, *Discours de l’entreprise et saccagement que les Forsaires de l’isle Floride avoient conclud de faire a leurs capitaines et gouverneurs, estans unis en liberte* (Paris, Pierre de Langre, 1565).

³⁰ ‘Viure en la plus grande abomination & vie Epicurienne, qu’il est possible la sacuoir racompter, sans Dieu, sans foy, ne sans loy’. *Ibid.*, Aiiij v.

³¹ ‘Estrangers,’ Mores & sauuages.’ *Ibid.*, Aiiij v.

³² ‘Il leur faisoit mal de laisser leurs putains [...] pour vivre en gens de bien, & en compaignee de Chrestiens’, *Ibid.*, Aiiij v.

and becoming part of the virtuous Christian community that the French sought to establish.

Despite Pysière's demarcation of these men's sexual behaviour and moral character as deviant, it was clear from other French reports that the community's emotional engagements with local peoples were sustained by, and generated, erotic and sexual elements. Indeed, scholars are increasingly recognising the importance of the sexual and sensual in colonial project and its lived experiences.³³ The near-naked state (to colonists' eyes) of the Timucua was striking, encouraging sexualised readings of local women and men. Settlers appraised native bodies directly alongside assessments of character. Ribault considered the Timucua 'of a goodly stature, mighty, faire and as well shapen and proportioned of bodye as any people in all the worlde, very gentill, curtious and of a good nature.'³⁴ Laudonnière twice described the children of their ally, Satouriona, particularly favourably: his eldest son Atore was 'a man that I dare to call perfect in beauty,' Satouriona's sons being 'as handsome and as powerful as can be found anywhere on earth'.³⁵ French colonists marvelled at the potential emotional and moral capacity that they saw in the local peoples who had chosen to contract alliances with the French. This surprise responded to existing views among Europeans that indigenous peoples in the Americas were rationally and morally inferior, but also justified the decision of the French to engage with them. Ribault found resemblance between colonists' gendered sensibilities and the comportment of Timucua men and women. The latter he considered 'well favored and modest and will not suffer that one approche them to nere'.³⁶ Atore was not only handsome but also perfect in 'prudence, with an honest countenance [...] gentle and tractable'.³⁷ One chief's daughters, Laudonnière considered, were 'very well formed and so well taught that I was convinced that their mother had served as a teacher to them and taught them good manners and to strictly maintain their honesty'.³⁸ This moral similitude was important in colonists' representations of the possibilities of friendship between them. And as such, heterosexual relations between the allies (notably never represented as violence achieving colonial domination) were not disdained. Such politically calculated alliances of European men to local women were

³³ ELEANOR CONLIN CASELLA and BARBARA L. VOSS, "Intimate encounters: An Archeology of Sexualities within Colonial Worlds", in *The Archeology of Colonialism: Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects*, ed. by ELEANOR CONLIN CASELLA and BARBARA L. VOSS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1–10.

³⁴ RIBAUT, *The Whole & True Discoverye*, 69.

³⁵ 'Homme que j'ose dire parfait en beauté', 'aussi beaux & puissants personnages, qui se puissent trouver en toute la terre', LAUDONNIERE, *L'Histoire notable*, 38r, 37v. Michel de Montaigne's essay 'De l'amitié' has generated interest among scholars in terms of considerations sexual elements of friendship, see discussion in GARY FERGUSON, *Queer (Re)Readings in the French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender and Culture* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008); and MARC D. SCHACHTER, *Voluntary Servitude and the Erotics of Friendship: From Classical Antiquity to Early Modern France* (London: Ashgate, 2008)

³⁶ RIBAUT, *Whole & True Discoverye*, 69–70.

³⁷ 'Prudence, & contenance honneste [...] doux & traictable'. LAUDONNIERE, *L'Histoire notable*, 38r.

³⁸ 'Si bien formees & si bien apries, que ie me persuadé aisément que la mere leur auoit seruy de maistresse, & leur auoit enseigné la maniere de bien & estroitement garder l'honnesteté'. *Ibid.*, 42v.

widespread colonial practices, which echoed elite political practices of alliance between kingdoms in Europe. Le Moyne related how a young colonist, Pierre Gamble, made his own alliance with chief Adelano, becoming ‘so intimate and beloved, that the chief gave him his daughter’ and Gamble governed in his absence.³⁹ Sexual, emotional and reproductive transactions, voluntary for some, violent for others, were fundamental to such treaties among settlers and local Timucua.

Spanish contemporaries demonstrated deep concerns about the nature of relationships between French and Timucua in Florida. A number of men at the tiny Charlesfort settlement had lost faith in the return of their French compatriots and by 1562, had determined to flee to Havana. There, they were captured and interrogated by the Spanish. One mutineer, Stefano de Rojomonte, was questioned ‘as to whether they had friendship, [and] were friends with the Indians’.⁴⁰ Rojomonte’s response reflected the initial good relations between the groups:

*they had great friendship with them and the Indians had always brought them fish and many fruits of the soil and they had safely entered and left their villages and homes, and that they had likewise come to the camp of the said French.*⁴¹

Spanish reports concerning mutineers from the French settlement increased the anxieties of Philip II of Spain to curtail French influence on the Florida peninsula, which he perceived as a threat to maritime routes and a contravention of Spanish claims to the region from the 1513 explorations of Juan Ponce de León. In 1564, Philip ordered the governor of Cuba, Diego de Mazariegos, to destroy physical markers of the French claim. Mazariegos charged Hernando Manrique de Rojas with the task. He located one with the assistance of Guillaume Rouffi, a seventeen-year-old French settler. Rouffi had himself been abandoned by the mutineers of Charlesfort, surviving only by being supported in a local Timucua community for two years.⁴² In March 1565, Philip also equipped experienced naval official, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Captain General of the Spanish Fleet of the Indies, and provided him the *capitulacion y asiento* to capture French forts, and to defend himself and the Spanish position on the coast so that local peoples could more easily be brought to the Catholic faith.⁴³

Menéndez pursued Philip’s orders vigorously but advised of the difficulties caused by French-Timucua emotional alliances. Indeed, it was the perceived transformative emotional bonds between them that encouraged the violence of the

³⁹ ‘Tantum cum illo familiaritatem contraxit, ut ipsi fieret carissimus, atque adeo filiã illi donaret,’ LE MOYNE, *Brevi narratio*, secunda pars, 15.

⁴⁰ *Laudonniere & Fort Caroline: History and Documents* (1964), ed. by CHARLES E. BENNETT (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001), 95.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴² RIBAULT, *Whole & True Discoverye*, 109-110. See also LUCY L. MANHOLD, ‘Manrique de Rojas’ Report on the French Settlement in Florida, 1564,’ *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38, 1 (1959): 58.

⁴³ 20 March 1565, reproduced in *La Florida: Su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés; Apéndices*, 2, ed. by EUGENIO RUIDÍAZ Y CARAVIA (Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893), 415-27.

Spanish response. Menéndez warned Philip of ‘the friendship formed by them with the natives who would help them so that even if with great difficulty, cost and expense we could take it, the Indians would remain our enemies.’⁴⁴ He recommended therefore that Philip give the French ‘no place, and take over these coast and land so that they can more easily be wiped out’.⁴⁵ In Menéndez’s mind, Protestants and the local people together formed a malignant community:

*if other nations should go on settling and making friends with the Indians of the land, it would be very difficult to gain it, especially if the French and English settle there, Lutheran people, who, because the Indians and they are just about of one lan, maintain friendship easily with each other.*⁴⁶

Menéndez willingly interpreted the French settlement as a ‘Lutheran’ colony, allowing him to emphasise the dangers of a Protestant-Timucua sociability that justified the force of his own actions in Florida.

Despite Menéndez’s fears, not all local peoples were predisposed to a supportive relationship with the French colonists at Fort Caroline. Some assisted the Spanish to establish a fortified base, St Augustine, and to locate the French settlements. By their calculated support to alternative European agents, local peoples helped to seed further disunity among Christian colonisers and thus to avoid a rapid, joint European domination of the region. On 20 September, Menéndez began an assault that would obliterate the French positions on the peninsula, killing most adult men including the recently-returned Jean Ribault, and capturing some 50 women and children who were taken to Puerto Rico to be integrated in new social and sexual relationships there. A few survivors escaped into the hinterland and a small contingent, including Laudonnière and Le Moyne, limped back to Europe to bear witness to the massacre. Menéndez himself described to his king how he had told the settlers who had agreed to surrender and be hand-cuffed, that they were to be killed because he ‘had a war of fire and blood, as Governor and Captain General of these provinces, against all who had come to settle and plant the evil Lutheran sect in Your Majesty’s lands’.⁴⁷ A French eye-witness reported that Ribault’s body had been quartered and placed at the four corners of the fort.⁴⁸ French (‘Lutheran’) attempts

⁴⁴ ‘Por la amistad que tendrán tomado con los naturales, por que los mesmos naturales les ayudarán de manera que con grandísima dificultad, aunque hagan grandes costas y gastos, se podrían hechar; de mas que aunque los hechasen, los mismos yndios quedarian por nuestros enemigos’. *Ibid.*, 322.

⁴⁵ ‘Para no darles lugar que se apoderen de aquella costa é tierra, para que con mas facilidad sean hechados de allí’, in Memorial de Pero Menéndez de Aviles in *Ibid.*, 320.

⁴⁶ ‘Si van algunas otras Naciones á poblarla, tomando como tomarán amistad con los yndios de la tierra, será después dificultosísimo de ganarla y señorearla, en especial si la pueblan los franceses ó yngleses, gente luterana, que por ser los yndios y ellos casi de una ley, como tengo dicho, tendrán con gran facilidad amystad los unos con los otros’. *Ibid.*, 324.

⁴⁷ ‘Porque senbravan la secta luterana en estas provincias de V. M., é que yo tenia guerra á fuego y á sangre, como Governador y Capitán General deslas provincias, contra todos los que destas partes viniesen á poblar y plantar la mala secta luterana’, Letter from Menéndez de Avilés to Philip II of Spain, 15 October 1565, in *La Florida*, 2, 89.

⁴⁸ Huguenot carpenter and lay preacher, Nicolas Le Challeux, citing the report of Christofle le Breton,

at emotional and spiritual transformation of the Florida peninsula were represented with horror in Menéndez's narrative of his own emotional and violent response.

Now it was Menéndez's chance to build relations with local people, although he warned Philip that the transformations wrought by French emotional and belief performances would take years to undo.

These French held many Indians for friends, who have shown much feeling for their loss, especially for two or three teachers of their evil sect which they taught to the caciques and Indians, who followed after them like the Apostles after our Lord. It is a thing of admiration to see how these Lutherans enchanted the poor savage people. I shall seek all possible means to win over these Indians who were such friends of the French.⁴⁹

In Menéndez's view, Timucua and 'Lutherans' were, it seems, natural allies in their shared wickedness. However, it was precisely through these close relationships that he was able to build local and linguistic knowledge to build the new settlement, relying on former French colonist Rouffi as a mediator with local peoples.⁵⁰

However, colonial rule would, with time, require Menéndez and his Spanish crews to accept their own moral transformation at the peninsula, one that would enable the Spanish leader to be incorporated into local Florida politics. Interestingly, much as the French had judged local peoples, the Spanish found much to appreciate about the local Calusa peoples who assisted them. Chronicler Gonzalo Solís de Merás described their leader, Carlos, as 'very much of a gentleman' and a Spanish captive later considered him 'the handsomest and largest of all that region, and an energetic and powerful leader'.⁵¹ Signs of friendship and assistance by the Calusa emotionally predisposed Spanish observers to positive and sympathetic assessments of native people, but these were often proffered with a note of surprise, having been framed by European assumptions about indigenous moral and emotional inferiority. Both these elements were reflected in the earlier account of explorer Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca who had been shipwrecked in the Florida region in 1527, and had observed a reciprocal empathetic response with the local peoples who assisted him for eight years before he made contact with Spaniards in the north of today's

in his *Deuxième voyage du Dieppois Jean Ribaut à la Floride en 1565*, ed. by Gabriel Gravier (Rouen: Henry Boissel, 1872), 46.

⁴⁹ 'Estos franceses tenían muchos yndios por amigos, y an mostrado mucho sentimiento por su perdición, en especial por dos ó tres maestros de su mala secta que enseñavan á los caciques é yndios y se andavan tras ellos como los apóstoles tras Nuestro Señor; que es cosa de admiración ver como estos luteranos travan encantada a esta pobre gente salvage. Yo procuraré lo posible de ganar la v duntad á estos yndios que eran amigos destos franceses'. Letter from Menéndez de Avilés to Philip II of Spain, 15 October 1565, in *La Florida*, 2, 87.

⁵⁰ 'Guillermo', Menéndez's interpreter with local peoples, whose role is documented in the Memorial del Dr. Gonzalo Solís de Merás's account in *La Florida*, 1, ed. by RUIDÍAZ Y CARAVIA (Madrid: Hijos de J.A. Garcia, 1893)

⁵¹ STEPHEN EDWARD REILLY, "Marriage of Expedience: The Calusa Indians and Their Relations with Pedro Menéndez de Aviles in Southwest Florida, 1566-1569", *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59, 4 (1981), 402-3.

Mexico:

*The Indians, understanding our full plight, sat down and lamented for half an hour so loudly they could have been heard a long way off. It was amazing to see these wild, untaught savages howling like brutes in compassion for us. It intensified my own grief at our calamity and had the same effect on the other victims.*⁵²

Cabeza de Vaca's account is suggestive of Hämäläinen's argument that a 'shared sense of weakness, combined with an acute sense of vulnerability from without, renders people more willing to embrace others across seemingly insurmountable cultural divides'.⁵³ Individual objectives inevitably shaped many of these Spanish accounts, just as they did those of the French. The Catholic Priest Bartolomé de Las Casas, who had left the Americas in the late 1540s, disdaining the violence of Spanish colonial activities, offered in his *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (published in Seville in 1552) a sympathetic reading of the emotional disposition of indigenous people as 'naturally so gentle, so peace-loving, so humble and so docile'.⁵⁴ As such, they deserved, he argued, the kindness of the Christian message. In practice, the Spanish appeared as susceptible to local charms and engaging in sociable relations as had the French 'Lutherans'.

Further events also suggested the willingness of leading Spanish agents to overlook Catholic rites and moral practice temporarily, flexibly applying their religious beliefs where it served national colonial ambitions. By 1566, the Calusa leader, Carlos, sought to embed Menéndez further in kinship ties. As Solís de Merás reported, Carlos sought Menéndez 'as his older brother, ... he wanted to give him for a wife an older sister whom he loved'.⁵⁵ In doing so, Solís de Merás claimed, Carlos hoped that Menéndez 'might take her to the land of Christians, and that when she returned, if he sent her back, he would go likewise and become a Christian, with all his Indians, which seemed better than being an Indian'.⁵⁶ Carlos' rhetorical submission, and carefully calculated, apparent willingness to undergo social

⁵² ÁLVAR NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, *Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America* [1542], trans. by CYCLONE COVEY (1961) (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), chapter 19, accessed online <http://www.ibiblio.org/eldritch/cdv/rel.htm>

⁵³ HÄMÄLÄINEN, *The Shapes of Power*, 62.

⁵⁴ BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, trans. by Nigel Griffin (London: Penguin, 1992), 6.

⁵⁵ 'Le dixo que le quería tomar por su hermano mayor, [...] que le quería dar por mujer una hermana que tenía, mayor que él, á quien quería mucho', *La Florida*, 156. See also EUGENE LYON, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville, 1976), REILLY, *Marriage of Expedience*, 395-421; and more broadly, DAVID J. WEBER, "Foundations of Empire: Florida and New Mexico", *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); JOSÉ RABASA, *Writing Violence on the Northern Frontier: The Historiography of Sixteenth-Century New Mexico and Florida and the Legacy of Conquest* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); ROBERT C. GALGANO, *Feast of Souls: Indians and Spaniards in the Seventeenth-century Missions of Florida and New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005)

⁵⁶ 'Para que la llevase á tierra de cristianos y se la volviese á inviar, que cuando volviese, él iría también y se haría cristiano, con todos sus indios, que le parecía que era meor que no ser indio', *La Florida*, 1, 156-7.

transformation to Spanish religious and cultural beliefs represented a considerable challenge to Menéndez, not merely because he was already married. Solís de Merás's account of Menéndez's bigamous marriage framed his leader's actions as a complicated acceptance of a delicate diplomatic situation into which he had been tricked by Carlos. This interpretation reinforced longheld European views about the untrustworthiness of indigenous peoples while conveniently excusing Menéndez's crime. After a lavish ceremony in which Menéndez was feted as guest of honour, Carlos announced Menéndez was to take his new wife back to the ships. When Menéndez stalled for time, declaring he could not have a non-Christian wife, the 'cacique replied that he and his sister, and he and his people, were [Christians], having taken him [Menéndez] as his elder brother.'⁵⁷ Indigenous assertions about Christian spiritual beliefs were a powerful complicating factor to these negotiations. Back at the ship, Solís de Meris emphasised Menéndez's torment about his own spiritual beliefs but argued that he was eventually persuaded by his men that 'they should baptize and give her a name; and the Adelantado sleep with her, because this would be a great beginning to trusting him and other Christians.'⁵⁸ Through his body and that of 'Doña Antonia', Menéndez had thus secured a key intimate and social relationship that firmed up a political alliance with the Calusa. However, the depiction of this strategic engagement had to be carefully constructed in Spanish memoirs as an emotional performance of surprise, angst and finally sacrifice.

Emotional performances in these encounters were in each case calculated transactions by all parties, intended to serve the objectives of those concerned as well as disrupt those of others. They were highly dynamic practices that commonly led to transformations of both European and local peoples in the eyes of others. The French described Timucua facial expressions, corporal gestures and repetition of social acts of gift-acceptance, support, and introductions to other local networks of sociability that engendered trust, as demonstrating positive emotions and desire for friendship, just as did the Spanish about the Calusa. These political transactions included vital emotional and corporeal components expressed through heterosexual cross-cultural practices. Some authors, notably Laudonnière, celebrated the powers of persuasion and influence of their own emotional labour in forming personal relationships that were vital for the fledgling settlement, and held significant consequences for European kingdoms. These texts were produced in French and Spanish sources for European readers, although they could reveal indigenous strategic actions and individuals as powerful emotional interlocutors. They constructed an emotional satisfying narrative of the challenges and success of French crews or demonstrated the role of local peoples as active agents who contributed to Spanish dominion in their region.

⁵⁷ 'El cacique le respondió que ya su hermana y él y su gente lo eran, pues le había tomado por hermano mayor', *La Florida*, 1, 164.

⁵⁸ 'La bautizasen é pusiesen nombre, é que el Adelantado durmiese con ella, porque sería este gran principio para que se confiasen dél é de los demás cristianos'. *La Florida*, 1, 165.

Moreover, it was not only indigenous peoples who were culturally transformed by these interactions on the Florida peninsula; in the eyes of Spanish and French witnesses, it was also each other. While Europeans saw indigenous acculturation to European faith and cultural beliefs as beneficial (both to themselves and locals), European transformations at the peninsula held a more ambiguous charge. Significantly, although the French saw limits to the similitude of beliefs they shared with local peoples, as they made their accounts afterwards, Spanish observers did not agree. The latter perceived a dangerous resemblance of beliefs and values between the 'Lutherans' and indigenous peoples who were both, to Spanish Catholic onlookers, excluded from their notion of the Christian community and thus, 'Other'. European transformations of themselves and others justified an intensely emotional, violent, response. By contrast, the evident transformations that they too underwent as a result of their emotional interactions with the Calusa, entailing spiritual compromises and moral ambiguities, were represented for European audiences as sacrifices for the benefit of Spain and the Catholic faith.

Disruptive emotions and diplomatic translations

Emotional performances about French and Spanish colonising activities in Florida were not just produced on the peninsula but also practised as complex emotional labour in Europe.⁵⁹ All we know of European and indigenous behaviours and expressions in Florida is narrated in visual and textual sources within printed and manuscript letters, reports, and memoirs circulated in Europe, that were themselves participating in emotional performances for readers and viewers about these events. Additional to those documents studied above were multiple texts by ambassadors, courtly officials and rulers embedded in challenging cross-cultural gift, epistolary and bodily exchanges, ceremonial displays and representational interviews about transactions on the Florida peninsula. These were likewise emotional practices that were negotiated across faiths, cultural beliefs and nation states with different colonial objectives. Bertrand Haan has argued that the Franco-Spanish friendship of this period between princes was a social and political contract founded on mutual aid.⁶⁰ Denis Crouzet and others have also demonstrated how a complex enactment of evolving sociabilities among factions at a time of dispute during the 1560s and 1570s

⁵⁹ Discussion of the political import of the diplomatic interactions can be found in JEAN-MICHEL RIBERA, "Un conflit révélateur: l'affaire de la Floride", in *Diplomatie et espionnage: les ambassadeurs du roi de France auprès de Philippe II: du Traité du Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) à la mort de Henri III (1589)* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 2007) and more broadly, VALENTÍN VÁSQUEZ DE PRADA, *Felipe II y Francia (1559-1598): Política, Religión y Razón de Estado* (Pamplona, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2004).

⁶⁰ BERTAND HAAN, *L'amitié entre princes: Une alliance franco-espagnole au temps des guerres de Religion (1560-1570)* (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2011), 1.

in France entailed multiple emotional performances.⁶¹ These articulated religious, racial and cultural beliefs for their protagonists, as the identity of the rulers and the kingdoms that they led slowly transformed as a result of their Florida encounters. This section explores how different emotional practices maintained official diplomatic channels, offered alternative interpretations that could not be voiced formally, and provided a mechanism to alleviate frustrations and give space for disruptive emotions.

Expressions of shock and surprise constituted key elements of the emotional performance of the Spanish king in response to France's initial actions on the Florida peninsula. In April 1565, the French ambassador at the Spanish court, Jean Ébrard, seigneur de Saint-Sulpice, warned Charles IX that Philip intended to send Menéndez with a fighting force to the French settlements in Florida.⁶² Philip too sent a series of letters to his ambassador at the French court, Francesco Beaumont y Alavá, designed to warn Charles IX and his mother Catherine de Medici. Philip expressed his amazement that ships sponsored by the French political leadership would encroach known 'Spanish territories' in Florida.⁶³ Thus, he instructed Alavá to convey to Catherine in June 1565:

*that I have marveled as is reason at news so foreign to the friendship between me and the Christian King, her son, [...] having understood, as is said, that they have primed the said seven ships to go to Florida by the commandment of the Admiral and the Christian Queen.*⁶⁴

Philip invoked his territorial rights but also articulated surprise that a friend, Charles, could do such a thing to him, although he displaced the specific responsibility for the order to Huguenot Admiral Coligny and Catherine. A clear concern voiced by the Spanish was the strongly Huguenot composition of the new settlement. Philip left the Duke of Alba to inform more forcefully Raimond Beccarie de Pavie, seigneur de Fourquevaux, the new French ambassador at the Spanish court, that the French settlement was both 'an usurpation' and that Spain knew that 'they sent ministers with their wives and children.'⁶⁵ Philip subsequently framed the settlers not as French subjects but as 'pirates and disturbers of the public peace,' and insisted that any

⁶¹ DENIS CROUZET, "«A strong desire to be a mother to all your subjects»: A Rhetorical Experiment by Catherine de Medici", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, 1 (2008), 103–118; SUSAN BROOMHALL, "Ordering Distant Affections", in *Gender and Emotions*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL.

⁶² St Sulpice to Charles IX, 3 April 1565, *Correspondance de Jean Ebrard, seigneur de Saint-Sulpice, de 1562 à 1565*, ed. by EDMOND CABIÉ (Paris: A. Picard, 1903), 364.

⁶³ Philip II to Alavá, 2 June 1565, *Negociaciones con Francia*, 7 (Madrid: Editorial Maestre, 1953), 372.

⁶⁴ 'De que me he maravillado tanto como es razón de una novedad tan agena de amistad que ay entre mí y et Rey Christianísimo, su hijo, [...] habiendo entendido, come está dicho, que se han aprestado los dichos siete navíos para ir a la Florida por mandamiento des Almirante y comisión y orden de la dicha Reina Christianísima'. *Ibid.*, 372-3.

⁶⁵ 'Usurpation', 'Ÿon y a envoyé des ministres avc leurs femme et enfans', Fourquevaux to Charles, 24 December 1565, *Dépêches de M. de Fourquevaux, ambassadeur du roi Charles IX en Espagne, 1568-1572*, 1, ed. by CÉLESTIN DOUAIS (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1896), 17.

colony was not in keeping with the ‘brotherhood’ that he had with Charles nor the ‘clarity and sincerity with which he had proceeded,’ but closed his missive by assuring Charles of his ‘love, accordance and brotherhood.’⁶⁶

Equally Charles emphasised the relationship he enjoyed with Philip as a familial one, terming the king ‘my brother’.⁶⁷ Insisting on an intimate relation between them, he rejected Philip’s assessment of the specific lands on which the French settlements were established as Spanish claims, demanded French rights to free navigation in the region, and clearly confirmed those who had established the colonies as his subjects acting in French interests:

*to suggest that they have concerns for their vessels returning from there, between friends this concern does not exist; my actions and those of my subjects are so sincere that not only the Catholic King but any friend I have will find the same assurance that he would have asked of his own subjects.*⁶⁸

Charles identified Philip as an especially close friend, which assumed a set of honest behaviours with each other. Nonetheless, his emotional evocations were coupled with allusions to the more legalistic and political framework of the peace treaties that existed between Spain and France, including the 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. This treaty had been sealed with the intimate bodily and emotional transaction of marriage between Philip II and Charles’ sister, Elisabeth, just as were French and Spanish alliances with the Timucua and Calusa. These, it was hoped, would be sustained through their subsequent reproductive labour. Such contractual references, however, somewhat diluted the emotional force of Charles’ responses as acts of empathetic reciprocity.

When news broke of the intra-European violence on the peninsula, in expectation of a strong response from France, Philip sought to provide a rationale that could perhaps allow Charles and Catherine to save face, but only if they acquiesced to his political agenda and beliefs. He directed Alavá to indicate that he was certain that the site could not have been occupied by order of Charles and Catherine ‘but rather that they would be displeased, as is reason and what is due our

⁶⁶ ‘Pyratas fractorez y perturbantores de la pas publica’, ‘pensava no tratar mas dello pero que la hermandad que tienne con el Roy Chris^{mo} y la claridad y sinceridad con que a de proceder con el’, ‘el amor conformiada y hermandad’. *Plainte de l’ambassadeur du Roy catholique présentée au Roy Très Chrestien sur le fait de la Floride*, Douais (ed.), “Lettres de Charles IX à M. de Fourquevaux, ambassadeur du roi Charles IX en Espagne, 1568-1572,” *Mémoires de l’Académie des sciences et lettres de Montpellier*; Section des lettres, 2e série, vol. 2 (1897), 3.

⁶⁷ ‘Mon Frere’, Charles to Fourquevaux, 28 November 1565. *Ibid.*, 1.

⁶⁸ ‘D’alleguer l’ombre qu’ilz peuvent avoir pour leurs vaisseaulx qui retourneront de plus avant, entre amys ceste consideration là n’a poinct de lieu; d’autant que je veulx et entenz que les actions et depportemens de moy et de mes subjectz soyent si sinceres, que, non pas le Roy Catholiques seullement, maiz le moindre amy que je puisse avoir y trouve la mesme seuretté qu’il scauroit demander de ses propres subjectz’, Charles to Fourquevaux, 28 November 1565. *Ibid.*, 1-2.

brotherhood'.⁶⁹ Philip focussed ever more closely on the contentious Protestant dimensions of the Florida settlement, insisting upon the threat of rebellion of a settlement he described as comprised of 'Lutherans of diverse nations, as much French as others', whose presence there 'might give rise to even the Indians to rebel, and take the heart of any Spaniard over there.'⁷⁰ Echoing Menéndez, Philip conceptualised a dangerous faith endeavour on the peninsula that would engender a local emotional response threatening to his nation's interest. The king then targeted Coligny 'as a disturber of the peace and cause of the disorder that had ensued' for sponsoring the mission and insisted that Charles punish him accordingly.⁷¹ Fourquevaux's assessment to Catherine of his interviews with the king and the Duke of Alba concluded that the Spanish strategy would be 'to attack the Admiral to cover and disguise the wrong that they have done in killing your subjects.'⁷² This conceptualisation of a Catholic brotherhood that excluded Charles' Huguenot subjects such as Coligny was unacceptable to Charles and to a religiously-fractured France in which Huguenots formed a significant force in the elite French political and social community. Indeed, as Fourquevaux warned, for France's Huguenots, Philip's orders would be 'the best news that they could see, for instead of Your Majesties being fortified in your friendship and alliance to value, help and assist each other in your great affairs, your subjects were instead murdered and chased away.'⁷³ Philip's purposeful emotional performance of a delighted shared spiritual union across their kingdoms undermined the fragile balancing of religious practices within France.

Friendship was a conveniently capacious concept for political engagement, as scholars have noted.⁷⁴ French evocations of the idea demanded that Philip consider his duties to uphold, rather than undermine, the authority of a brother and sovereign of an independent nation. Menéndez's actions that had been undertaken in the name of both Spanish and Catholic interests proved immensely complicated for Charles and his mother, Catherine, who may have shared Philip's faith but neither his hardline approach to exterminate Protestants nor his colonial interests. Their pursuit of justice for the victims of the Florida massacre emphasised Charles' obligations to protect his subjects from the cruelty with which they had been murdered by

⁶⁹ 'Sino que antes les habrá desplacido dello, come es razón y lo deben a nuestra hermandad', Philip to Alavá, 23 February 1566, *Negociaciones con Francia*, 8 (Madrid: Editorial Maestre, 1954), 248.

⁷⁰ 'Luteriens de diverses nations, tant François que autres', 'il donneroit occasion aux mesmes Indiens de rebeller, et osteroit le cuer à ses Espaignolz d'y habiter', Fourquevaux to Catherine, 9 April 1566, *Dépêches*, 1, 72.

⁷¹ 'Comme perturbateur de la paix et cause du desordre adven'. Fourquevaux to Charles, 22 February 1566. *Ibid.*, 60.

⁷² 'S'ataquer contre Monsieur l'Admiral pour couvrir et desguizer le tort qu'ilz vous ont fait de tuer voz subjectz'. Fourquevaux to Catherine, 23 February 1566. *Ibid.*, 63.

⁷³ 'La meilleure nouvelle qu'ilz peussent entendre de veoir que du cousté et endroit d'où Voz Majestez pençoient s'estre fortiffiez d'amytié et alliance pour vous en valoir et estre securez et assistez en tous grandz afferes, ce fut de là que voz subjectz estoient meurtriz, deboutiz et chassez'. Fourquevaux to Catherine, 9 April 1566. *Ibid.*, 71.

⁷⁴ See note 8 above.

representatives of an ally nation. A memoir composed in May 1566—considered that

*They [the Spanish] make quite clear the little will they have that justice be done to the authors of such a barbarous and inhumane act; nevertheless, considering how such an intervention carries to his greatness and reputation, His Majesty [Charles] has chosen the means most appropriate to their friendship, which is to remonstrate on the wrong that was done to him and to beg him to maintain the same respect that he would desire to be used by His Majesty.*⁷⁵

Despite the slim prospect of a satisfactory Spanish response, Charles insisted that Fourquevaux continue to pursue the matter, hoping that Philip ‘would love better to please such a great King, an ally so close and a friend so useful, in doing him justice than to upset him in pardoning brigands’.⁷⁶ What was at stake was not only the two monarchs’ continued personal relationship but also political support as sovereign leaders:

*this cruel murder which cannot be excused or concealed between friends by the Catholic King without showing what little esteem that he holds for the friendship and kindness of so great a King, from whom he can receive such good, convenience and advantage for the maintenance of his grandeur than any other friend whatsoever that he could have.*⁷⁷

Charles reformulated the relationship as not only that of family and allies but also as monarchs who formed a unique and exclusive community of men in commanding positions of rule who ought to share, and practise with each other, values of authority that served to maintain their mutual status and power. During these epistolary negotiations between French and Spanish rules regarding colonial ambitions, the capacious and ambiguous concepts of brotherhood and community maintained lines of communication through a carefully considered dialogue of emotional performance, sustaining a productive relationship necessary for their protagonists’ political status and future actions.

However, just had occurred on the Florida peninsula, assessing other emotional performances and gestural display of parties in audiences and interviews

⁷⁵ ‘Il ayt assez congneu avec combien de raisons colorées ilz veullent justifier leur execution, par où ilz demonstrent assez le peu de volonté qu’ilz ont que justice soit faicte des autheurs et executeurs d’ung acte si barbare et inhumain; ce neantmoins, considerant combien une telle entreprinse importe à sa grandeur et reputation, Sa Majesté a choisy le moyen plus convenable à leur amityé, qui est de luy remonstrer le tort qui luy est faict et le prier luy garder le mesme respect qu’il desire luy estre usé par Sa Majesté et que jusques icy luy a esté usé en tout ce qui La touche’, Charles IX. *Memoire*, 12 May 1566, “Lettres de Charles IX,” 23.

⁷⁶ ‘Aymera myeulx contenter ung si grant Roy, son si proche allyé et si utile amy, en faisant justice, que le mal contenter en pardonnant à des brigands, de qui la vye ne luy peult apporter aucun bien à l’avantage de ses affaires’. *Ibid.*, 24.

⁷⁷ ‘Ce cruel meurtre, qui ne peult estre entre amys excusé ny passé soubz dissimulation par le Roy Catholique sans monstrier que il faict peu d’estime de l’amityé et bienveillance d’ung si grant Roy, de laquelle il peult plus recevoir de bien, commodité et avantage pour le maintient de sa grandeur que d’aulture amy quelconque qu’il scauroit avoir’. *Ibid.*, 23.

as insights to political meaning were vital for ambassadors and their readers.⁷⁸ When French ambassador Fourquevaux reported to Catherine in February 1566 the certain news of the violence that had transpired in Florida, he emphasised the mood of the Spanish court, ‘rejoicing more than if it had been a victory over the Turk: also they say that Florida is more important to them than Malta.’⁷⁹ Catherine de Medici conveyed to Fourquevaux both Alavá’s warning about Philip’s impassioned sentiments and her assessment of Alavá’s own emotionally-charged response: ‘the Ambassador, showing himself little satisfied by all these reasons [...] began to tell me that his master could not tolerate these ways of acting without being affected by it; I took these words as a threat’.⁸⁰ Catherine’s analysis highlights the importance of emotional display by ambassadors as well as rulers for both political insight and content. At the Spanish court, her daughter, Elisabeth, similarly offered an important and intimate assessment of Philip’s perceived intensity of feelings regarding the matter.⁸¹ She reported to Fourquevaux her concerns for the French in the region, warning that ‘nothing is more certain than that the King takes to heart the matter of Florida, to employ there all the force he can so as to chase away the French’.⁸² The queen, herself the subject of bodily transaction for a political cause, occupied a vital emotional and corporeal role as a mediator between French and Spanish interests.

Likewise, Alavá detailed the affective outbursts and reactions of Catherine in a number of meetings after the news of the Florida massacre had been relayed to France. Demonstrations of anger were particularly complex, for within contemporary society, visible displays of violent passion had gendered interpretations and power dimensions. Expressions of anger were conventionally permitted by those in positions of superiority such as rulers, over subordinates such as ambassadors.⁸³ However, as Tilman Haug has argued, provoking strong emotions

⁷⁸ See BROOMHALL, “Catherine’s tears,” and “Performing Diplomacy”. On the diplomatic labour of the interview environment in a broad historical context, see *Paroles de négociateurs. L’entretien dans la pratique diplomatique de la fin du Moyen Âge à la fin du XIX^e siècle*, ed. by STEFANO ANDRETTA et al. (Rome: École française de Rome, 2010)

⁷⁹ ‘Ceste court s’en est plus resjouye que si ce fut pour une victoire obtenue contre le Turc. Car aussi ont ilz dict et dient que la Floride leur importe trop plus que Malte’. Fourquevaux to Charles, 18 February 1566, *Dépêches*, 1, 56.

⁸⁰ ‘L’ambassadeur se monstrent estre peu satisfaict de toutes ces raisons, [...] est entré à me dire que son maistre ne pouvoit tollérer telles façons de faire sans s’en ressentir, avec quelques paroles que j’ai prises pour menaces’. Catherine to Fourquevaux, 20 January 1566, *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, 2, ed. by H. DE LA FERRIÈRE (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1885), 342.

⁸¹ On the shifting familial and political negotiations between Catherine de Medici and her daughter, Elisabeth de Valois, see BROOMHALL, “«My daughter, my dear»: The correspondence of Catherine de Medici and Elisabeth de Valois”, *Women’s History Review* 25, 4 (2015), 548-69; and HAAN, *L’amitié entre princesses*, 35–54.

⁸² ‘Nestre rien plus certain que le Roy Catholique prend à cueur le fait de la Floride, pour y employer ce qu’il pourra de ses forces pour en dechasser les François qui s’en sont emparez’, Fourquevaux to Catherine, 3 November 1565, *Dépêches*, 1, 9–10.

⁸³ On gendered aspects of anger in the early modern period, see GWYNNE KENNEDY, *Just Anger: Representing Women’s Anger in Early Modern England* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000); on anger in early modern letters by leading men, see SUSAN BROOMHALL and JACQUELINE VAN

such as anger in others could offer diplomats valuable insights.⁸⁴ What were perceived to be uncontrolled emotional displays by a woman, even a powerful one, and subordinates were interpreted by the Spanish as evidence of French weakness of character, which offered them a power in diplomatic negotiation.⁸⁵ Alavá provided descriptions in cipher of Catherine shaking her head as she heard his explanation for events.⁸⁶ Describing for Philip their encounter in March 1566, as Alavá began to broach the matter of Florida, he wrote:

*Before I even spoke a word, the Queen jumped up and became like a lioness, while turning her face to Montmorency and the Bishop of Valence and many others who were there, and saying in a loud, clear voice that could easily be heard: Have the Turks or Moors ever done such cruelties as the Spanish have to the subjects of my child?*⁸⁷

Alavá was not prepared to accept these insults, he reported to Philip, and retorted equally dramatically, ‘raising my voice somewhat, that she would hear how [...] their punishment was very well deserved’.⁸⁸ Alavá’s account contrasted what he saw as his controlled defence with Catherine’s emotional weakness and poorly-managed anger: ‘Her eyes were filled with tears of rage, and she trembled with agitation’.⁸⁹ Indeed, Catherine was ‘like a rabid person, unable to speak’, only capable of asides to her ministers.⁹⁰ Alavá considered that these affective responses had a strategic value for him, for ‘when she is taken by surprise, her embarrassment is great, and we learn more of their mind’.⁹¹ Similarly, Philip reported to Alavá on an audience the Duke of Alba had given to Fourquevaux in April in which he had ‘come in great anger’⁹² and another in which Fourquevaux demanded punishment of Menéndez, ‘much exaggerating the (so called) cruelty’.⁹³ At a subsequent audience with Catherine,

GENT, “Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family”, *Journal of Family History* 34, 2 (2009): 143–65; *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL and JACQUELINE VAN GENT (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

⁸⁴ TILMAN HAUG, “Negotiating with «Spirits of Brimstone and Saltpetre»: Seventeenth Century French Political Officials and Their Practices and Representations of Anger”, in *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by KARL A.E. ENENKEL and ANITA TRANINGER (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 381–402.

⁸⁵ See also ambassadorial interpretations of Catherine’s tears, in Broomhall, ‘Catherine’s tears’.

⁸⁶ Alavá to Philip. 19 January 1566, *Negociaciones*, 8, 202.

⁸⁷ ‘Y como digo a Vuestra Majestad, en commensando a proponer, saltó esta Reina, sin dexarme hablar palabra, hecha una leona, diciendo a voz alta y volviendo el rostro a Momoransi y al Obispo de Valencia y otros muchos que estaban allí, con curiosidad clara para que lo entendiesen: Hase hecho entre turcos ni entre moros tan grand crueldad como han hecho españoles en los súbditos de mi hijo?’ Alavá to Philip. 16 March 1566, *Ibid.*, 262.

⁸⁸ ‘Respondí, alzando algo la voz, que oyese cómo [...] el castigo de los que allí se hallaron fué muy bien merecido’. *Ibid.*, 262.

⁸⁹ ‘Veinte veces los ojos rasados en agua y temblándole el rostro como una azogada’, *Ibid.*, 262.

⁹⁰ ‘Como una rabiosa, no me dexando hablar’. *Ibid.*, 263.

⁹¹ ‘Tomándola de improviso es grande su embarazo y sácase más de sus ánimos’. *Ibid.*, 265.

⁹² ‘Vino en gran cólera’. Philip to Alavá, 7 April 1566, *Negociaciones*, 8, 315.

⁹³ ‘Exagerando mucho la crueldad (que así la llamó) que Pero Menéndez había hecho y pidiéndome le mandase castigar exemplarmente’. *Ibid.*, 314.

Alavá expressed surprise at the continued strength of her emotional reactions and distress about the incident: ‘we had a lengthy discussion on the matter — truly [in cipher: with her trembling]; it is strange that she has such fresh outrage about it all.’⁹⁴ As Philip and Alavá constructed it in their correspondence to each other, these French emotional responses reflected their weakness and irrationality on this matter. This perspective, which explained for the Spanish why the French lacked the mettle to control the problem of Huguenots growing before their eyes, encouraged Philip to continue his rigid religious recommendations for the French kingdom.

These interactions, filled with robust emotional rhetoric and affective performances readily interpreted by observers, continued to be oriented around conceptualisations of brotherhood and community. These discussions clearly exposed widely differing ideas of the sociable, cultural and belief alignments of varied protagonists and how resemblance (and alterity) could be conceptualised: familial or contractual, French or Spanish, Christian or Catholic. To Alavá directly, Catherine lamented, ‘what would Christendom say when it learned that in a season of such brotherly love so cruel a war had been waged?’⁹⁵ Alavá responded, significantly shifting Catherine’s shared but exclusive realm of ‘Christendom’ to what Alavá termed instead ‘the world,’ arguing:

*that when the world, as she called it, should hear the facts it would not fail to be scandalised that in a season of such friendship and brotherly love, when they had received so many benefits from Your Majesty, they should send the greatest and most infamous heretics of France to usurp his territories, and the more so when it learned that from the least to the greatest they were all notable Huguenots.*⁹⁶

Charles and Catherine had made clear in repeated emphasis on reparations for the abuse of ‘their subjects’ that the French nation included Huguenots as well as Catholics. They refused to broach directly the matter of the settlement’s dominant religious persuasion. These messages charted fundamentally different communities from whom each agent perceived they held responsibilities of protection and from which they could expect support in what were shared concerns.

Moreover, a further crucial set of emotional performances within the French diplomatic network voiced the strong frustrations, anger and grief of Charles, Catherine and Fourquevaux in a receptive and intimate community of understanding. Catherine expressed anger in her own correspondence to Fourquevaux, as she reported on successive, unsatisfactory interviews with the Spanish ambassador. In

⁹⁴ ‘Y pasé un largo debate en la materia; verdaderamente/descrifado: e tomaban temblores/; es cosa extraña qué fresca tienen aquella indignación todos’. Alavá to Philip, 20 July 1566. *Ibid.*, 438.

⁹⁵ ‘Que qué diría la cristiandad que en tiempo, de tanta hermandad se haya hecho una tan cruda guerra’, Alavá to Philip. 16 March 1566, *Ibid.*, 263.

⁹⁶ ‘Que el mundo, como ella decía, cuando entendiése el caso no podría dexar de esdard, habiendo recibido tantas buenas obras de Vuestra Majestad, enviasen hombres los mayores herejes e infames de la Francia a usurparle sus tierras, y más cuando entudiesen que desde el mayor hasta el menor eran todos notables huguenotes y tanto’. *Ibid.*, 263.

March 1566, she described hearing Alavá confess that Menéndez's orders 'had been carried out a little more rudely and cruelly than his lord had desired.'⁹⁷ Catherine made clear to Fourquevaux her anger, 'I was beside myself when I thought of it'.⁹⁸ She demanded that, in his interview with Philip, Fourquevaux express the depth of her hurt and anger as mother to both Philip and Charles, and insist that he provide the French with justice as

*a demonstration worthy of the friendship and good peace between us ... for I will never be at ease nor happy until I see it match the sincerity of our affections and actions towards him, it angers me too much that it has been abused and I will have great regret to have lost so much of the pain, care and the ways that I have sought to nurture these two princes and their crowns in perpetual friendship.*⁹⁹

This epistolary emotional feedback loop persisted through much of the year, long after Fourquevaux had warned his masters in February that they could expect no formal reparation from Spain, just 'pretty words'.¹⁰⁰

Elisabeth, the French-born Spanish queen, and sister of Charles IX, played a critical role in performing (and describing) affective displays before the French ambassador that assuaged her mother and brother and suggested a certain sympathy with their position. Fourquevaux eagerly reported Elisabeth's claims to being

*very shocked and displeased to see your just sorrow: for she never thought that the carnage that occurred to your subjects should be done so bitterly; and, what is more, she told me that she had cried her heart out, for fear that some alteration in the relation between the two kings would come of it.*¹⁰¹

Fourquevaux whose mission had been to impose French views upon his Spanish hosts, expressed his frustrations and excused his diplomatic failure, by providing confidential criticisms of the Spanish, tracing a racialised assessment of their bloodthirsty character:

these Spanish have shown their prowess on disarmed men, half dead from hunger, who had surrendered and were seeking mercy. This inhumanity was never used by the Turks on the old soldiers that they took at Castelnuovo and at Gerbes; barbarians

⁹⁷ 'Bien confessoit-il que ce avait esté un peu plus rudement et cruellement que sondict maistre n'eust désiré'. Catherine to Fourquevaux, 17 March 1566, *Lettres*, 2, 354.

⁹⁸ 'J'estois comme hors de oy quand j'y pensois'. *Ibid.*, 354.

⁹⁹ 'Par démonstration digne de l'amitié et de la bonne paix qui est entre nous [...] car je ne seray jamais à mon aise ne bien contente jusques à ce que je la voye conforme à la syncerité de noz affections et actions en son endroit, dont il me fascheroit trop que l'on abusast et aurois un merueilleuz regret d'avoir perdu tant de peine, de soing et des moyens que j'ay cherchez pour nourrir ces deux princes et leurs couronnes en perpetuelle amitié'. *Ibid.*, 355.

¹⁰⁰ 'Belles parolles'. Fourquevaux to Catherine, 9 April 1566, *Dépêches*, 1, 69.

¹⁰¹ 'Bien esbahie et desplaizante qu'elle fut de veoir leans votre juste douleur: car ne pençoit elle point que le carnage avenu sur voz subjectz deubt estre prins si aigrement; et m'estoit adviz qu'avec petite choze davantage elle en eust pleuré son saoul, de crainte qu'elle a qu'il ne survienne quelque alteration entre les deux Roys'. Fourquevaux to Catherine, 9 April 1566. *Ibid.*, 69.

*never used such cruelty. [...] as a Frenchman and your subject, I am horrified when I think of a so detestable a fact and it seems to be that God would not want them left unpunished.*¹⁰²

Fanning the flames for revenge, Fourquevaux visualised a French moral community distinct from the Spanish, who, significantly, were ranked in their cruelty as beyond non-Christian peoples. In April 1566, Fourquevaux complained of a fruitless audience with Philip in which he had remonstrated that this was ‘a new indignity ever heard or to have happened between Christians [...] for even the Turks and barbarians have never used the like, out of the heat of combat’.¹⁰³ Later, Catherine would repeat Fourquevaux’s phrasing of the comparative barbarity of the Spanish and Turks in an audience with Alavá.¹⁰⁴ This epistolary circulation of shared French feelings among a highly exclusive sympathetic community may have continued to circulate and re-ignite powerful sentiments of frustration and grief, but also provided an emotionally satisfying outlet to lived feelings that had little place in the official negotiations between kingdoms.

In April 1568, the French Catholic slave-trader, and ostensibly free agent, Dominique de Gourgue, returned to the Spanish settlement of San Mateo (previously Fort Caroline). Recruiting the assistance of previous Timucua allies of the French, they massacred the fort’s inhabitants. Now, Alavá’s call for justice at the French court fell on deaf ears. To Alavá’s eyes, as he reported to Philip in late June 1568, Catherine could not control her obvious delight at this turn of events: she ‘said it with a gesture that showed her great joy about it [...] I said that what I thought was that, the more brotherhood and friendship Your Majesty showed them and the more we helped them in their work, the less correspondence there was and would be with Your Majesty.’¹⁰⁵ This moment represented an action that, for the French, could achieve brief emotional satisfaction, but it did not constitute a colonial re-engagement with Florida.

As on the Florida peninsula and in its European textual narratives, court colonial negotiations were explored through a wide range of emotional expressions, affective behaviours and a range of social practices of textual, material and bodily

¹⁰² ‘Lesquelz Espaignolz ont monstré leur prouesse sur gens desarmez, mortz à demy de fain, renduz et requerantz qu’on le print à mercy. Laquelle inhumanité ne fut pas usée par les Turcs aux vieux soldats qu’ilz prindrent à Castelnuovo et aux Gerbes, ne jamais barbares uzèrent de telle cruauté. [...] comme François et votre subject, j’avois horreur quand je pensois à ung fait si execrable et me sembloit que Dieu ne le voudroit pas laisser impuny’. Fourquevaux to Charles, 22 February 1566. *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁰³ ‘C’estoit une nouvelle indigne d’estre entendue et moins advenue entre chrestiens [...] car les mesmes Turcz et barbares n’en uzèrent onc de semblable hors la chaleur du combat’. Fourquevaux to Catherine, 9 April 1566. *Ibid.*, 70–1.

¹⁰⁴ Alavá to Philip, 16 March 1566, *Negociaciones*, 8, 262.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Lo dixo con un ademán que mostrò tener alegría grande dello,’ ‘Dixe que lo que yo consideraba era que cuanto más hermandad y amistad Vuestra Majestad les mostraba y cuanto más les ayudaba en sus trabajos, tanta menos correspondencia hallaba y hallaría Vuestra Majestad’. Alavá to Philip, 28 June 1568, *Negociaciones con Francia*, 10 (Madrid: Editorial Maestre, 1959), 487–488.

exchange. Through this staged emotional labour, individual French and Spanish agents ranged widely in articulating both inclusions and exclusions of the other from communities of shared faith or cultural similitude. Power dynamics between the kingdoms shaped emotional expression. The relative weakness of France's position was reflected in the locations in which more challenging emotional content could be explored. Emotional performances articulated between monarchs were very different to those perceived by ambassadors in their audiences at their respective courts. Here verbal and corporeal displays spoke for feelings that could not be voiced as part of official communications between the two rulers. Finally, letters contained alternative emotional performances that voiced frustrations and explained failures in a limited circulation among sympathetic readers.

Conclusions

The conceptualisation of communities of sentiment, nationhood, men, race, and faith asserted myriad emotional performances expressing pride, self-righteousness, anger, and concern among other feelings as acts of power. Indigenous and European agents employed gestural, textual, visual and violent practices of emotional labour to produce meanings and identities for the Florida peninsula and for each other. These performances aimed to contain or subjugate, as they were practised by and with Timucua, Calusa and European peoples, but also to establish cohorts of mutual interest. They were constructed through interpretation of affective behaviours, speech acts often in translation or expressed through third-party interpreters, rhetorical expression of emotion in written texts, and social practices of exchange of objects, resources and bodies.

Analysis of emotions in such contexts helps to disrupt a narrative framework in which colonisers typically dominate indigenous ideas and activities. In this case study, all participants were engaged in negotiations through emotional performances that produced diverse interpretations and counter-narratives. Yet emotion practices operate within power frameworks that are culturally specific. When cultures crossed paths in such ways, the outcomes were not straightforward — emotional behaviours could reinforce power hierarchies but also act as disruptions to them. No simple dichotomy between coloniser and colonised captures the complex, challenging and shifting emotional practices that shaped identities and thus intimacies and sociabilities at personal, group and national levels here.¹⁰⁶ Religious beliefs, cultural differences and racial stereotypes were rarely stable as they were represented in emotional performances about Florida interactions. Community formations and belief practices were highly dynamic and responsive to new circumstances and

¹⁰⁶ This follows the considerations of ANN STOLER, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 13.

engagements with indigenous and European peoples. In the eyes of other participants, Timucua, Calusa, French and Spanish peoples were all culturally transformed through entangled belief and emotional performances about Florida.