Itinerario, Vol. 43, No. 3, 397–422. © 2019 Research Institute for History, Leiden University
doi:10.1017/S0165115319000524

"Have You Not Heard of Florida?" Jean Ribault, Thomas Stukeley, and the Dream of England's First Overseas Colony

JONATHAN DECOSTER*

Email: jdecoster@otterbein.edu

English overseas colonialism is generally traced to the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish ideologies of Richard Hakluyt, Humphrey Gilbert, and other exponents in the 1570s and 1580s. This article puts Florida at the forefront of English colonialism by taking seriously Thomas Stukeley's proposed colonisation expedition in 1563. The focus on the 1560s reveals how a dynastic rivalry with France, rather than a religious rivalry with Spain, gave birth to England's first colonial impulse. Jean Ribault, well known as the founder of French Florida, serves as the connecting link between Florida and England. His previously unappreciated role in European diplomacy unwittingly turned his fledgling colony into a pawn to be traded among France, Spain, and England. Furthermore, Queen Elizabeth's interest in joining the race for colonies may have been fuelled more by her desire to regain Calais from the French than to plant settlers in America. But while her motives may well have been cynical, the English public for the first time began to see itself as a colonising people. The end result was that Florida not only emerged as part of the fountainhead of English colonialism, but also came to play an important role in European politics.

Keywords: Thomas Stukeley, Jean Ribault, Queen Elizabeth I, Florida, English colonialism

"Have you not heard of Florida?" a balladeer asked Londoners in 1563. If indeed you had not, he offered:

> Come drink a pint of wine;
> Where you shall hear such news, I fear,
> As you abroad will compel.[1]

London would seem to have been abuzz with the news of Thomas Stukeley's impending voyage to colonise Florida for England. Stukeley had gathered five ships in the Thames, including one contributed by Queen Elizabeth herself, and in June of 1563 made ready to

launch England's first colonial venture to the New World.[2] Songs such as "Have You Not Heard of Florida?" vividly convey the sense of an eager English public anticipating great things of Stukeley's American voyage.

Stukeley's expedition was intertwined with the French activity in Florida in 1562–1565, and historians of colonial America are well aware of Jean Ribault's Charlesfort and René Goulaine de Laudonnière's Fort Caroline. If anything, the current interest in transnational history has brought the scholarship on French colonialism closer to the mainstream of colonial American history.[3] Yet Stukeley's ambitions to colonise Florida have all but disappeared from the annals of the origins of English colonialism, and Elizabeth's interest in Florida has never been fully explored.[4]

In one sense, the reason for the neglect of English Florida is obvious: Stukeley never launched his colonial venture. He chose instead to turn his purported colonial expedition into a pirate fleet and attack French ships in the English Channel. His reputation sank still lower when he subsequently turned traitor and tried to lead a Catholic invasion of Ireland. As a result, his proposed colony in Florida has either been ignored as unimportant, treated as an afterthought to the Franco-Spanish clash in Florida, or dismissed as a mere cover for privateering. When historians of early English colonialism have seen a connection between French Florida and the origins of English Virginia, Stukeley has played little role in that story.[5]

This failure to take seriously Stukeley's Florida project leads to several misunderstandings. Because they generally ignore Stukeley's voyage of 1563, scholars have instead attempted to locate the first English colonial impulses in the 1580s. A major consequence of this difference in timing has been an overemphasis on the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish attitudes of that era as the driving forces behind English overseas enterprise. Even those historians who seek to place English colonialism in a broader milieu, such as Renaissance humanism, nevertheless take for granted a nascent English identity defined in contrast to Catholicism and in opposition to Spanish domination of Europe and the Americas.[6] Yet issues of religious and national rivalry played out very differently in the 1580s, and even in the later 1560s, than they did in 1562 and 1563, when Stukeley operated in the context of a moderate policy towards Catholics and a longstanding alliance between England and Spain accompanied by a greater emphasis on a potentially threatening France. In particular, the diplomatic manoeuvring between England and France over the 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis played a pivotal and previously unappreciated role in inspiring Queen Elizabeth to consider launching a colonial venture. Since this was her first commitment to colonisation, it is important to understand this commitment in its proper context. Anti-Catholicism and anti-Spanish attitudes cannot fully explain Stukeley's expedition, and consequently they cannot fully explain England's early interest in colonisation; it would be a mistake to read those attitudes backward into the early 1560s, obscuring the diplomatic wrangling with France that occupied centre stage at that earlier time. Even though Stukeley's venture never came to fruition, it nonetheless demands explanation within its specific historical context and an examination of its influence on subsequent English colonial projects. Taking

seriously Stukeley's proposed expedition to Florida, therefore, allows us to better understand what followed.

English Florida began its life as Spanish Florida, one of Spain's least auspicious attempts at conquest. As the colony of New Spain developed into a source of tremendous wealth for the Spanish Crown, the Bahama Channel took on a crucial importance in transporting gold and silver to Seville. However, it also allowed French corsairs to easily pick off treasure-laden galleons as they passed through. If the French gained a secure land base in Florida, they would become even more dangerous. Yet all Spanish attempts to colonise Florida in the early sixteenth century had ended in disaster. By 1561 Florida had become Spain's most expensive project in the Indies, with little to show for it, as the only Spaniards permanently living there were castaways and prisoners living in Indian villages.[7]

Florida seemed doomed as a field for colonisation, but in the 1560s the French revived European interest. To understand how the English became involved, it is necessary to trace French intervention in Florida. The Spanish jealously guarded access to their American dominions, and English sailors generally complied with this claim, as they could often gain licence to trade in the Indies thanks to the English alliance with Spain that held intermittently until 1569. The French, however, challenged the legitimacy of the Spanish monopoly, and instead resisted through continual raids by corsairs. In this climate, the 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, a negotiated peace that brought a close to over a half-century of the destructive Habsburg-Valois Wars between Spain and France, avoided the issue of American territorial claims. This meant that any conflicts in the Caribbean and North America would not be conclusively resolved by the treaty, but neither would such conflicts jeopardise peace in Europe, a policy that became known as "no peace beyond the line," referring to an imaginary meridian generally understood to pass through the Azores, west of which the treaty did not apply.[8]

The French generously interpreted the treaty's vagueness to open up an opportunity for North American colonisation. Florida, in particular, was effectively uninhabited by Spaniards. From the French perspective, it therefore did not fall under exclusive Spanish jurisdiction. French admiral Gaspard de Coligny took the lead on the colonisation of Florida. He had first shown his interest in overseas colonisation in 1555, when he helped support the establishment of France Antarctique, a French colony in Brazil. The Portuguese eventually destroyed this colony in 1567, but even before its ultimate demise Coligny had continued to look for another, and safer, location for a French base. By the time Coligny cast his eye on Florida, in 1561, he had emerged as the leader of the Protestant faction in France, the Huguenots. Some historians have argued that Coligny intended Florida as a Huguenot refuge, while others counter that the project received support from the Queen Mother, the Catholic Catherine de' Medici. The more recent consensus is that Coligny hoped to prevent his country from falling into full-blown civil war, and he believed that a Protestant colony in Florida might temporarily provoke just enough sabre rattling between France and Spain to unite French Protestants and Catholics in a patriotic fervour, all without actually pushing Spain to open war with France.[9] So despite the largely negative experience in France Antarctique, Coligny

decided to once again press ahead with a colony in territory already claimed by another empire.

To lead this new colonial project, Coligny picked a highly qualified seaman from Dieppe named Jean Ribault. Ribault's biography is only sparsely known, but the evidence indicates that he was uniquely positioned to lead Coligny's colony. Born in 1515 to a family of seafarers, Ribault honed his skills in the 1530s among the group of intrepid Dieppois seafarers that one historian has called "a school of pilots and cartographers."[10] The English actively recruited skilled foreign pilots, and Ribault found his way into English service by 1543.[11] His fortunes waxed and waned during his time in England, but his naval reputation continually rose.[12] The daring corsair with the signature red beard was considered "by all accounts a good navigator and expert pilot."[13]

This reputation earned him the privilege of working closely with the renowned navigator and cartographer Sebastian Cabot. From 1548 onwards, Cabot brought to England the previously secret knowledge and experience of the Spanish House of Trade, having served as its chief pilot since 1512, and he was rumoured to have collaborated with Ribault in 1551 on an expedition to Asia via the long hoped for Northwest Passage.[14] Though one eyewitness claimed to have seen actual preparations for the journey, there is no record of the voyage itself.[15] This may not have been Ribault's first experience with American navigation. His early training could have brought him into contact with the Dieppois shipowner Jean Ango, who had financed the exploratory voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano.[16] Ango himself represented the vanguard of French interest in the Americas; his father had been involved in some of the earliest transports of American Indians to France in 1508, and one historian has called him "the New World kingpin."[17] Ribault, with a firm connection to Cabot and possible ties to the Verrazzano and other expeditions, may have had as much familiarity with planning American colonial ventures as almost anyone in England or France by the 1550s.

In addition to his seafaring knowledge, Ribault possessed significant experience with secrecy and covert diplomacy. When he returned to French service in 1553, the English Privy Council fretted continually about his activities, as they considered him "one of the best men of the sea in all Christendom."[18] Their fears were tempered, however, by his willingness to pass information to them about French naval activities. This was only consistent with his previous practice; during his years with the English, he had kept his French contacts well informed on English developments.[19] In sum, then, the man Coligny chose to lead his colony in Florida was an expert pilot and naval leader, with at least secondhand knowledge of North American navigation and how to plan a transatlantic voyage, and who possessed ample experience with covert diplomacy. Just as important, Ribault, like Coligny, had converted to Protestantism, possibly as a result of his sojourn in England among those of the reformed religion.[20]

Preparations for the Florida venture began in Normandy in 1561.[21] Ribault chose for his pilot Nicolas Barré, who had served as a pilot to Coligny's earlier Brazil colony in 1555, and for his second in command he named René Goulaine de Laudonnière, another sailor from Dieppe and associate of Coligny.[22] They were all Huguenots, as were almost all of the Frenchmen on the expedition, whether by design or simply because the reform

movement was especially strong in the Norman ports from which the crew was recruited.[23] The French ships departed Le Havre on 18 February and reached land at the mouth of the present-day St. Johns River, Florida, on the first of May. Ribault cruised the coastline, eventually sailing as far north as present-day Parris Island, South Carolina, where he suggested to the company that some might remain behind "to fortify and people the country," adding that physical occupation, unlike Spanish treaty claims, "is the true and chief possession."[24] Around twenty-eight of the Frenchmen chose to remain in the colony, and Ribault and the others helped to construct the settlement they called Charlesfort. He promised to return with more colonists and supplies in six months, and then left for France on 11 June.[25]

Ribault arrived in Dieppe around 20 July 1562, presumably intending to return immediately to succour Charlesfort.[26] Unfortunately, although he had departed France amid rising tensions between Catholics and Protestants, circumstances escalated dramatically during his absence, and civil war had erupted in March. The Huguenots began to seize towns, leading the Queen Mother, Catherine de' Medici, to turn to the Catholic forces to try to bring the country back under control. The Catholics augmented their forces with Spanish and German soldiers, while the Huguenots appealed to England's Queen Elizabeth to join the fight. The French internal conflict now ensnared Europe.[27]

England shared the Protestant religion with the Huguenots, but that was not enough to push them to intervene. In fact, English commitment to Protestantism was not so deep in 1562, and aid to the Huguenots was not without risk. England's religious policy had swung wildly during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I, and the Crown had only returned to Protestantism in 1559 with the accession of Elizabeth, who was still careful to avoid overtly offending England's many Catholics. Additionally, the English had long maintained an alliance with the Spanish Catholics that Elizabeth was anxious to preserve. Her own position was so vulnerable that she would see little benefit from setting a precedent of ecumenically based foreign intervention. In the early 1560s, Elizabeth pursued a moderate policy with Catholics at home and avoided conflict abroad with one exception: France.[28] A Catholic victory over the French Huguenots would leave the House of Guise dominant in France, and the Duke of Guise was uncle to Mary, Queen of Scots, a rival claimant to the English throne who challenged Elizabeth's legitimacy and counted many supporters in England. England and France had already fought what one historian has called a "surrogate war" in Scotland, and Guise domination of the eleven-year-old French king Charles IX could threaten a full-fledged invasion and the downfall of Elizabeth herself.[29]

It is possible that religious inspiration was sufficient for Elizabeth to aid the Huguenots, and that the political advantage of weakening the House of Guise merely tipped the balance in her decision. In any event, Elizabeth and her counsellors clearly sensed an opportunity in dividing the French and drove a hard bargain as the price of their aid. At the high point of the Hundred Years' War in the fourteenth century, the English kings had won large parts of France, but their holdings had since dwindled, leaving only Calais by 1453. Elizabeth's father and older half sister had tried to restore their lost glory, but this led only to the humiliating loss of that last vestige of English

continental glory, Calais, in 1558. (Jean Ribault had, in fact, played a key role in the French victory.) The 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, which had done so little to resolve French and Spanish claims over the Indies, did stipulate that France retained possession of Calais for only nine years, unless England violated the peace, in which case France would gain permanent title.[30] But the French civil war aroused English impatience to cut this waiting period short. As early as April 1562, the English ambassador to France, Nicholas Throckmorton, wrote to Elizabeth that "the Queen's ma[jestie] may make her profit of these troubles," as the Huguenots might be willing to give her possession of Calais, Dieppe, or Le Havre (called Newhaven by the English) in exchange for military assistance.[31] A month later, Throckmorton was writing even more specifically about seizing Le Havre to later swap for Calais, and this eventually emerged as the price of English intervention.[32] This English hunger for Calais was also what would draw them indirectly to Florida, in large part because Jean Ribault, leader of the French colony in Florida, would find himself at the centre of negotiations for Calais.

The eruption of war meant for Ribault that any thought of attending to Charlesfort had to be banished; all ships were concentrated on defending against or fleeing from the Catholics, and Dieppe was embroiled in the conflict. By the summer the Huguenots were reeling from Guise victories and were besieged in their strongholds, including Dieppe and Le Havre. Huguenots had overcome their traditional animosity towards England and reached out to their coreligionists in April and again in July, but Elizabeth still hesitated to commit herself. The captain of Dieppe, Charles Poussard, Sieur de Fors, began soliciting English aid himself just as Ribault returned from Florida in mid-July.[33] Fors tried to go to England in person to plead directly, but he was unable to gain entry. He then contemplated sending the newly arrived Ribault, presumably because of the seaman's long service and extensive contacts in England.[34] Ribault remained in Dieppe instead, where he played a key role in discussions with English representatives who arrived on 17 August to negotiate the terms of intervention.[35] The English representative, Henry Killigrew, made it clear to the leadership of both Dieppe and Le Havre that English aid came with a price, and that "he would not set a man on land without assurance of [Le Havre]."[36] This came as no surprise, as the Huguenots had been negotiating along these lines all summer, but Killigrew recognised that this would be a bitter pill to swallow, and he feared the French Protestants would renege on the arrangement.[37] Accordingly, Ribault was appointed to greet the English navy when it arrived and assure them that the Huguenots had not lost their nerve at the prospect of admitting English soldiers to their city.[38]

A month later Elizabeth agreed to the Treaty of Hampton Court, in which she promised aid to the Huguenots in exchange for Le Havre.[39] Any high hopes, however, were soon dashed. Ambrose Dudley, the Earl of Warwick, arrived in Le Havre on 29 October with the English forces, but the next morning he was greeted by a message from Ribault notifying him that the people of Dieppe had decided not to admit the English soldiers after all.[40] The Queen Mother had managed to win back Dieppe and other Protestant strongholds with a promise of at least liberty of conscience, if not the open practice of their religion.[41] Just as Dudley arrived, she had issued a proclamation

promising that "all such as have borne arms in this matter of religion if they will now come into the camp, and help the king to expel the Englishmen out of Newhaven and Dieppe, they shall have this pardon."[42] Catherine was appealing for national identity to trump religious identity, and for at least some their Frenchness prevailed. Reunited by their mutual mistrust of the English, the royal forces rallied Catholics and Protestants together against the invading English army. Ribault himself delivered Dieppe's articles of surrender to the French royal army on 30 October.[43] (In point of fact, Coligny's dream had come true, except that it was animosity towards the English, rather than the Spanish, that reunited the French people.) Other French Protestants, however, may have mistrusted Catherine de' Medici or feared reprisals from the Catholics, for all was chaos in Dieppe as Huguenot refugees from other towns poured into boats headed for Rye, a port on the south coast of England. Ribault ferried many of them across, and then he too joined them, disembarking on 6 November and making his way to London.[44]

Ribault was disappointed and possibly embarrassed by this outcome. After all, it had been his duty to convince the English that this would not happen. Once the English had taken control of Le Havre, he thought it was foolish to antagonise Elizabeth when she had the ability to paralyse French coastal shipping. He drafted a statement for the French Crown advising them of the damages that a war with England would do to commerce and tax revenues along the French coast. He also specifically indicated that Le Havre was far more valuable than Calais, and that Elizabeth had a legitimate claim to Calais (presumably deriving from the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis). It would be wise, he felt, to make the exchange, leading to her "pacification & contentment," and demonstrating to all the world that the French would not "persist in dissimulations."[45] He had particular experience related to Calais, having gained accolades for his role in helping the French under the Duke of Guise in taking Calais from the English in 1558.[46] He clearly understood the relative merits of the two ports, and he deemed Le Havre far more important. But with his strategic views effectively rejected by the Huguenots' decision to surrender to the Catholics, he reconsidered his options. He had previously made it known that he would rather return to the service of the English than stay on under the French Catholics, particularly the Duke of Guise. Now, in December, he asked Elizabeth to reimburse him for his damages so that his vessel would again be suitable for her service.[47] She seems to have accepted his offer, as by January he once again served the English Crown.[48] With him came both his knowledge and personal investment in French Florida, which now passed into English hands.

We cannot know how much the fate of Charlesfort weighed upon Ribault while he dealt with the consequences of civil war and the surrender of Dieppe. It certainly seemed to concern others in France, as rumours circulated concerning a relief expedition that was prevented from going to Florida by tensions within France and with the English.[49] The Edict of Amboise in March 1563 brought a reprieve from the fighting in France, and Coligny now asked for Ribault's release from his English obligations, though it seems to have had no effect.[50] Yet it is clear that Ribault now turned his attention back to Charlesfort as he composed a manuscript account of his earlier voyage. Though it took the form of a report to Coligny, the manuscript seems to have circulated only

among the English, and no French manuscript is known to have existed.[51] Despite his many years in England, all of Ribault's surviving writings are in French, so he was almost certainly aided in dictating or translating this manuscript. Because we know that his actions in Florida were already accurately known by those well placed in English politics, it is also unclear whether he wrote the tract in a calculated move to raise interest at the court, or whether interested parties simply seized upon his report to Coligny to publicise the Florida colony. We can say, however, that by the time his manuscript was published in May as *The Whole and True Discouerye of Terra Florida*, Elizabeth was interested enough that preparations were already under way for an English expedition to Florida.[52]

Elizabeth chose Thomas Stukeley to command, rather than Ribault himself, despite the Frenchman's experience in leading sensitive English operations. Stukeley's career bore certain similarities to Ribault's own. Born around 1525 to minor gentry in Devon, he too rose to some prominence in the 1540s thanks to his daring in the same Habsburg-Valois Wars that had won renown for Ribault.[53] Since both men served at Berwick castle on the Anglo-Scottish border in the mid-1540s, it is conceivable that they met at that early date.[54] But also like Ribault, Stukeley's fortunes waxed and waned with those of his influential court patrons, and Stukeley spent time in exile on the continent. Curiously, each had been implicated in separate counterfeiting plots. More importantly, both earned reputations as dangerous pirates (or privateers, depending on the diplomatic relations of the moment), and both had acted as double agents for England and France in the 1550s.[55] In sum, then, Stukeley bore at least some of the same qualifications as Ribault: a skilled and daring military leader, experienced in sensitive and covert diplomacy, and well connected at the English court.

But why add Stukeley to the expedition when he had no experience with the North Atlantic, no experience with colonisation, and questionable allegiances? Even after the fact, Elizabeth remained canny about her intentions.[56] One possibility is that she never intended for him to go to Florida at all. Scholarship in this vein has dismissed the colonisation plan as "a cover" or "a ruse" to cover piracy against the French.[57] The Spanish ambassador reported this rumour, though he himself did not entirely believe it.[58] A key piece of evidence for the premeditated nature of Stukeley's so-called piracy is Elizabeth's notice, sent at the end of May to the Earl of Sussex in Ireland, indicating that Stukeley might arrive in possession of several French ships.[59] This raises the consideration that the entire Florida scheme may have been simply a mask for a privateering venture with Elizabeth's covert approval, and Stukeley may have been selected solely for his experience as a corsair and his skill with covert action. The fact that Stukeley did indeed attack ships in the English Channel instead of going to Florida, coupled with his generally unscrupulous reputation, has contributed to a dismissive attitude towards the colonisation plan, when it has been acknowledged at all.[60]

There is, however, significant evidence indicating that the journey to Florida was at least *perceived* as a bona fide colonial venture. To begin with, the expedition included not only two ships financed by Stukeley, but one from the Queen, one from Ribault, another described as "chartered," and another undescribed.[61] This indicates that

Ribault intended to join the venture, which, if it were no more than a voyage of piracy, makes little sense. Though a sometime corsair himself, he would have needed to abandon all concern for his colonists at Charlesfort, which does not fit with his subsequent actions, and also act the pirate against French ships, which is utterly inconsistent with his character. Additionally, Stukeley's royal licence and passport indicated that he was headed to "the Contrey called Terra Florida."[62] While this could have been part of an elaborate fraud, it meant that even the officials of the Admiralty Court were being deceived or in on the plot. Furthermore, Elizabeth herself also later told the Spanish ambassador that she had indeed intended to seize Florida from the French, professing that she hadn't thought the Spanish held any claim to it.[63]

Stukeley also made it clear to the Spanish ambassador, Alvaro de la Quadra, that he was expected to go to the French colony in Florida with Ribault. The circumstances under which he made this known, however, call into question his underlying motives and intentions. As he was preparing his ships throughout May 1563, he also tried to engage in secret negotiations with the Spanish ambassador. According to Quadra, Stukeley remained vague about precisely what he intended or was offering to do for Spain, but he claimed that he considered the voyage to Florida "knavish and bad business" and that he would "make of them a joke that was heard around the world."[64] The ambassador did not trust Stukeley, and nothing came of the negotiations.

Given Stukeley's history as a double agent and his subsequent defection to the Spanish in the 1570s, it is impossible to reach a definitive conclusion as to his true intentions, or indeed, those of Elizabeth, the Spanish ambassador, or even Ribault. Our knowledge that Stukeley ultimately did not go to Florida, and may have never intended to go, has made it easy to dismiss the colonisation plan as irrelevant and unimportant. Yet Stukeley's negotiations with the Spanish ambassador also demonstrate that he was at least *expected* to go to Florida. Consequently, whether or not Stukeley intended to go, those who financed his ships, provided his armaments and supplies, and especially those who volunteered for the journey, all committed and prepared themselves to launch an English colony in Florida. Because of this, any dismissal of Stukeley's voyage as fraudulent or unimportant neglects the fact that many of his contemporaries in London clearly *believed* that he was going to Florida.

Londoners had every reason to take Stukeley seriously. He conducted a spectacle on the Thames, with the Queen in attendance, accompanied by gongs, drums, and trumpets, and he also made sure to display the Queen's standard, proclaiming her approval of the voyage.[65] Her acknowledgement must have carried some weight. She was quick to deny responsibility for her subjects' American adventures under the flimsiest of pretexts, claiming not to know which lands the Spanish forbade to English traders, or that contrary winds must have driven her subjects into Spanish American ports (where they sold their cargoes of slaves).[66] Yet she never repudiated Stukeley's intentions to colonise Florida. Even when the Spanish ambassador insisted that "it was a notorious thing" that Florida had been discovered and claimed by Spain, Elizabeth simply told him that "she asked for forgiveness from your Majesty for having tried to send to conquer it," thereby explicitly acknowledging that a Florida colony was at least her avowed intention.[67]

The Stukeley venture was further publicised through several broadsheet ballads, a key vehicle for the spread of news in Elizabethan England.[68] Robert Seall's ballad described little of the venture but praised Stukeley as one gifted with "a noble heart indeed. / And worthy great renown."[69] There is only brief mention of the French—this was Stukeley's show now, his "wished land to find," not Ribault's.[70] Another ballad asked, perhaps surprised, "Have you not heard of Florida?"[71] It too offered scant details on Stukeley's voyage, providing instead an impression of easy riches that soon enough would belong to England. In these popular representations, the French and Spanish were written out of the story so that Londoners could more easily envision themselves in possession of their own American colony. Here we can see the English engaging for the first time in the kind of colonialist discourse that would later become so prominent.

Ribault was clearly a significant part of the original English plan. His familiarity with the route and the location was obviously unparalleled in England; the expedition included his ship; and according to Stukeley, Elizabeth compensated Ribault for the journey in advance.[72] But something went wrong. The Edict of Amboise, signed on 19 March, had brought a temporary reprieve from the sectarian fighting in France, and Admiral Coligny had requested Ribault's return.[73] Ribault's biographer, La Grassière, argues that the English would not release Ribault from their service, prompting Ribault to attempt to flee England.[74] Yet a month after Coligny's request, Ribault still was widely expected to join the expedition to Florida, so this is unlikely to have transpired.[75] It seems more likely that Ribault began to mistrust Stukeley and then plotted to abandon the venture. Whether he learned of Stukeley's negotiations with the Spanish ambassador, or perhaps worried that Stukeley intended to conquer rather than rescue Charlesfort, or whether he doubted that Stukeley intended to go at all, there was ample fodder for suspicion. What is certain is that in the middle of June, Ribault tried unsuccessfully to escape to France with three French hostages. They were all captured and thrown into the Tower of London.[76]

Historians have generally assumed that the other Frenchmen captured along with Ribault were members of the expedition. This confusion has resulted in part from the fact that after the escape attempt, Stukeley planned to bring three French pilots with him to Florida "in chains," with the implication that these were the same three who tried to escape with Ribault.[77] In fact, there were two different trios of Frenchmen locked up in London. The three hostages whom Ribault led in the escape attempt had stood as surety against the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (along with a fourth hostage who did not attempt to escape). When Elizabeth and her councillors presented the French on 3 June with a laundry list of threats, pleas, and complaints, all intended to justify the restoration of Calais, they grumbled that these same hostages frequently left the city of London in violation of the agreement. Because of these and other various infractions, some major and many trivial, Elizabeth and her councillors concluded that they could justly hold or demand any possessions in France, especially Calais, in consideration of their "ancient right."[78] The heart of the negotiation was the exchange of Le Havre for Calais—the scheme, personally endorsed by Ribault, that had prompted the ill-fated English invasion force in 1562. The historical records identify Ribault as the ringleader of the escape

attempt, with the implication that the scheme was instigated by the French ambassador. The consequences of the attempt stretched beyond the Florida expedition; the retention of the hostages proved to be the major sticking point in Anglo-French negotiations over the fate of Le Havre and Calais for the next several months.[79] Historians have recognised the diplomatic significance of the other hostages but have not connected them with Ribault's imprisonment.[80]

The close connections between Ribault, the English interest in Florida, and the English attempt to regain Calais suggest that Elizabeth may have viewed the Stukeley expedition as yet another bargaining chip in her negotiations with France. The Queen and her councillors stated that their only interest in helping the Huguenots was the hope of gaining leverage for their territorial ambitions. If religious affiliation played an important role, they did not express it as such. The English also made it clear from the outset that Calais would be the price of any military aid to the Huguenots. Furthermore, when that plan collapsed, they showed a powerful commitment to identifying any pretext, large or small, that could be construed as a violation of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, with the specific goal of justifying the return of Calais. Perhaps they viewed Florida as one more item that could be easily taken and then sold back to the French, just as they had Le Havre. Stukeley's, and possibly Elizabeth's, interest in Florida seems to have flagged sometime between the summer and the fall of 1563, and perhaps not coincidentally, the French recaptured Le Havre, seriously undermining Elizabeth's bargaining power. It is also interesting that Ribault attempted to steal away with the three diplomatic hostages, leaving behind at least three other members of his crew. Perhaps he too had his eyes on the bigger diplomatic picture. He had certainly been intimately involved in the Calais negotiations from the start and had sacrificed the fate of Charlesfort in 1562 for what he perceived as more pressing matters. Whether or not the pursuit of Calais was Elizabeth's true ambition, and whether such a fear motivated Ribault's behaviour, the Florida venture must be seen as more than an isolated and aborted colonial project. It was closely tied to the great political problem of the day.

Unfortunately, Ribault's delays had disastrous consequences for the French colonists left at Charlesfort. Without supplies, their dependence on neighbouring Guale and other Indians led to tensions. A fire in their settlement exacerbated their plight, culminating in a mutiny and the execution of their captain. Under their new captain, Nicolas Barré, they determined to build their own ship and try to sail to France. Lacking any skilled shipwrights or navigators, however, their amateur craft sailed so slowly that they quickly exhausted their provisions and were driven to cannibalism.[81] They continued drifting until, in an incredible irony, they were found by Thomas Stukeley near the end of November 1563.[82] He had finally launched his expedition at the end of June, sans Ribault, but instead of going to Florida, he prowled the English Channel taking French, Spanish, and Portuguese ships, and it was here that he found the refugees from Charlesfort. Rumours of his imminent departure to Florida persisted, but so did French and Spanish condemnations of his piracy over the next year.[83]

The French, meanwhile, had tried to launch their own relief expedition in early 1563, before Ribault had convinced Elizabeth to involve herself, but the ongoing conflict with England kept them bottled up in their Norman ports.[84] After Stukeley picked up the survivors of Charlesfort, he initially paraded them before the English court, and he does not seem to have treated them kindly.[85] Nevertheless, some of them somehow made their way back to France, where they found preparations underway, no longer for a relief expedition, but instead, for another attempt to colonise Florida. This was led by Ribault's lieutenant from the 1562 voyage, René Goulaine de Laudonnière. Several of the veterans of Charlesfort joined Laudonnière and left again for Florida in April 1564, just a month after they had finally returned to France.[86] Laudonnière constructed a new fort, Fort Caroline, at the mouth of the St. Johns River, the site of Ribault's first landing in Florida. They experienced similar problems to their predecessors at Charlesfort, and once again attempted to build their own ships to make their way home.[87]

Laudonnière and his colonists had reached the final stages of their preparations to depart when, on 3 August, the English privateer John Hawkins arrived at the French colony. He claimed to have come ashore in search of fresh water, but the idea that he stumbled upon Fort Caroline by coincidence is hardly credible. He had been on a slaving voyage in Africa since the previous October, yet he conveniently had with him Martin Atinas, a pilot from Dieppe and a veteran of Ribault's 1562 expedition. We also know that the English held prisoner another veteran pilot from that expedition, Nicolas Barré, from November 1564, possibly because of his association with Ribault.[88] This strongly indicates an ongoing English commitment to maintaining information and access related to the French colony. A member of Hawkins' crew also claimed that they had cruised the Florida coastline asking the Indians where they might find the French.[89] Laudonnière recognised that the Frenchman Atinas had led Hawkins to Fort Caroline, and when Hawkins generously offered to carry the beleaguered colonists back to France, the French leader's suspicions were aroused because he "was afraid he would want to do something in Florida in the name of his mistress," a decision that enraged the other Frenchmen who wanted only to go home.[90] Hawkins' visit has inspired some historians to speculate that he had been tasked with investigating Fort Caroline and removing the French or colonising it if the opportunity presented itself. James Williamson even claimed that John Hawkins and his brother William had wrested control of the Florida project from Stukeley.[91] This is speculative, but at the least, Hawkins' visit to Fort Caroline does confirm an ongoing English interest in Florida even after Stukeley had abandoned it. The Spaniards certainly believed that the English still intended to colonise there in 1565, in part because of the testimony of a captured English sailor named Nicolas Jaspar.[92] Only the formal prohibition of English travel to the Indies after November 1566 put an end to the prospect of an English Florida. Unlike the French, the English wanted to preserve Spanish goodwill, and Elizabeth would see this prohibition enforced. John Hawkins was particularly singled out.[93]

Tragically for Laudonnière and his colonists, the Spaniards also kept a close eye on Fort Caroline. King Philip II selected Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, a captain-general of the combined fleets of the provinces of New Spain and Tierra Firme and a mariner

with a decorated history of pursuing French corsairs, to destroy the colony.[94] As Menéndez made his preparations, Jean Ribault was readying another reinforcement for Florida, having apparently been released by the English sometime since the previous summer.[95] Ribault departed over a month before Menéndez, but the Spaniards made a quicker journey, arriving on 4 September 1565, just a week after Ribault. A brief naval skirmish ensued, followed by a hurricane that ran the French fleet aground. In the meantime, Menéndez led his men overland during the storm and defeated the sick and wounded Frenchmen left behind at the fort. As Ribault's fleet foundered over the next few weeks, local Indians helped Menéndez locate the surviving Frenchmen in several batches. Since they were nearly all Protestants, the Spanish leader executed many of these prisoners, perhaps two to three hundred Huguenots in total. Another 175 or so prisoners were kept alive, and perhaps as many as 220 sought refuge with the surrounding Timucuan Indians. Ribault himself was stabbed, and his notorious red beard was cut off as a trophy for King Philip.[96]

Given this disastrous ending to the French colony, it is not surprising that early Florida suffered an inglorious reputation in the mainstream history of American colonisation. The massacre in Florida became a key component in the growing "Black Legend" of Spanish Catholic cruelty and perfidy.[97] What fame and recognition early Florida possessed seemed to derive from its very failure. Perhaps Nicolas le Challeux, a carpenter from Dieppe who managed to escape the slaughter of the Huguenot prisoners, put it most pithily:

> Who wants to go to Florida,
> Let him go there where I have been:
> And return dry and arid,
> And felled by poverty:
> For all the goods I brought back
> A beautiful white stick in my hand,
> But I am sensible, not disgusted:
> That there is only this to eat; I'm dying of hunger.[98]

Challeux's poem neatly confines Florida to the past, an unpleasant memory to be avoided if at all possible.

If French Florida earned only notoriety, English Florida barely rates a footnote in colonial history, due in no small part to Stukeley's thoroughly sullied personal reputation. In addition to his inglorious part in the Florida debacle, he involved himself in several subsequent plots against Elizabeth, earning himself the sobriquet of "Traitor Extraordinary" and adding a further blemish by association to the stillborn Florida expedition. Whether he appeared as the subject of a biography or the protagonist in a drama, his Florida scheme came to symbolise just one more item in his long record of deceit and treachery.[99]

Stukeley's abandonment of his Florida plans doomed the English interest in Florida to obscurity, and the fact that the colony never came to fruition certainly justifies the lack of scholarly interest. Stukeley's failure also tainted the endeavour for his contemporaries. In 1564 Alexander Lacye published "A Ballad Made by One Being Greatly Impoverished

by the Voyage Prepared to Terra Florida, etc."[100] Though no copy of the song survives, the fact that Lacye believed he might find a market for this ballad indicates both a specific commitment on the part of at least some individuals to invest in the voyage, and a general interest in the Stukeley expedition, notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, its failure. We may legitimately question whether Stukeley or Elizabeth ever had any intention of going to Florida, but there is no doubt that some in the general public believed he would, and they were interested in the story.

Florida also did have an effect on subsequent English colonisation projects. The French experience loomed large in the minds of the English during their voyages to Roanoke and Jamestown, in particular for the chronicler Richard Hakluyt. He translated Laudonnière's narrative into English for Walter Ralegh because he believed that "no history hitherto set forth hath more affinity, resemblance, or conformity with yours of Virginia, than this of Florida."[101] But even Stukeley's abortive voyage may have had its effects. Humphrey Gilbert, perhaps the most influential early proponent of English colonisation, was described as Stukeley's cousin (perhaps a figure of speech rather than a literal kin relation), and on one occasion he leapt to Stukeley's defence in an argument over his treasons.[102] Gilbert expressed his first interest in an overseas voyage—a search for the Northwest Passage—around 1565, just after Stukeley's Florida venture.[103] He would not follow up on this idea for another nine years, but given the timing, it is quite possible that the idea was stimulated by Stukeley's plans. When he did propose his voyage of discovery in 1574, he cited Elizabeth's grant to Stukeley as evidence that "possession, planting of people and habitation, hath been already indeed lawful" within the territories claimed by the Spaniards.[104]

Gilbert tried to launch a colony in Newfoundland in 1583, but he perished in the attempt. His enthusiasm and his patent then passed to his stepbrother, Walter Ralegh, who used Gilbert's patent for his Roanoke colony of 1584–1587. When Queen Elizabeth forbade Ralegh from going to Virginia himself, he chose another "cousin," Richard Grenville, to go in his stead. Grenville had previously demonstrated his own interest in colonisation; he had held custody of Stukeley's French pilots in 1564, and he too contracted plans for a colonial voyage and a search for the Northwest Passage. While his proposals likely dated from around 1574, his involvement with the French pilots strongly indicates that Stukeley's project influenced his thinking, and according to Carole Shammas, Grenville was also a friend and distant relative of Stukeley's[105] Gilbert and Ralegh are usually seen among the founding generation of English overseas colonisers, with their ventures taking place in the 1580s. Yet Gilbert and Grenville's interest in overseas colonisation clearly dated to the 1560s (and Ralegh's interest was descended from Gilbert's). Historian David Beers Quinn has suggested that Gilbert picked up his interest in colonisation from the French while in Le Havre, but it would seem equally or more likely to have come from Stukeley, with whom Gilbert and Grenville each had definitive ties specifically related to American colonisation.[106]

But perhaps the exact mechanism of transfer is less significant—Humphrey Gilbert failed to record precisely how he got the idea to start an American colony—than the consequences of considering how a colonial impulse looked different in the mid-1560s than

it did even a few years later. Narratives of English colonial ideology usually emphasise conflict with Catholicism in general and Spain in particular. According to such narratives, the colonial impulse emerged from efforts to attack and emulate Spain's commercial base in the Americas, which in turn fuelled England's self-perception as a Protestant nation. If we restrict our lens to Gilbert's and Ralegh's projects of the 1580s, anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiments loom large in the ideology behind colonisation, just as anti-Spanish piracy constitutes the commercial impetus, and it is reasonable to attribute to the English a "militant Protestant imperialism that drew on widespread anti-Catholicism."[107] But this does not adequately explain English attitudes and motivations in 1563. English rivalry focused more squarely on France, and Elizabeth did not begin to take on an aggressive anti-Catholic policy until the late 1560s.[108] Even Gilbert's and Grenville's proposals from 1574 took pains to indicate that they intended to lawfully abide by the Spanish claims.[109] Only later, mainly in the 1580s, years after the Stukeley venture, would the Spanish massacre of Huguenot Florida become an essential piece of propaganda in the creation of England's militant Protestantism and the Black Legend.[110] French Florida would then be read retrospectively to support what had become English policy. But English Florida fit awkwardly into this narrative. At the time of its inception it was not framed as an affront to Spain or a bastion of English Protestantism. At least publicly, Elizabeth sought to ameliorate any offence it may have caused to Philip II, and the publicity surrounding Stukeley's expedition avoided any mention of other European rivals.

How much more complicated and contingent those colonial origins then become when we realise that they originally emerged less from fledgling Protestant nationalism and more by happenstance from continental politics—especially the French Wars of Religion and the negotiations over Le Havre and Calais. We must reckon with the jumble of commercial motives, vague evangelical impulses, and personal ambitions that drove Stukeley's project no less than his successors. When Sir Thomas Smith tried to build a colony in Ulster in 1572–1573, he worried that he and his son would be seen as "deceivers of men and enterprisers of Stewelie's [sic] voyage of Terra Florida."[111] He remembered English Florida, and it cast a pall over his own project. All the more reason, then, to take Stukeley's Florida seriously as England's first overseas colonial venture. While less successful than subsequent expeditions—spectacularly unsuccessful, in fact—it was nonetheless taken seriously in its time.

Bibliography

Unpublished Primary Sources

Archives Nationales de France, Paris (ANF)
–Série K. Monuments Historiques

Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (AGI)
–Patronato
–Santo Domingo

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (BNF)
–Manuscrits Français

–Manuscrits Français Nouvelle Acquisitions
British Library, London (BL)
–Additional Manuscripts
–Cotton Manuscripts
–Lansdowne Manuscripts
–Sloane Manuscripts
The National Archives of the UK, Kew (TNA)
–Privy Council (PC)
–State Papers (SP)
University of Oxford
–Ashmole Manuscripts, Bodleian Library

Published Primary Sources

Arber, Edward. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640, A.D.* 2 vols. London, 1875.

[Barré, Nicolas.] *Copie de quelques letres sur la navigation du Cheuallier de Villegaignon*. Paris, 1557.

Bennett, Charles E. *Laudonnière and Fort Caroline: History and Documents*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964.

——, trans. *Three Voyages*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975.

Biggar, H. P. "Jean Ribaut's Discoverye of Terra Florida." *English Historical Review* 32:126 (April 1917): 253–70.

Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared Under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Elizabeth. Volume I. 1558–1560. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939.

Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared Under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Elizabeth. Volume II. 1560–1563. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948.

Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared Under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Philip and Mary. Vol. I. A.D. 1553–1554. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937.

Le Challeux, Nicolas. *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride*. Dieppe, 1566.

Collinson, Richard, ed. *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*. London, 1867.

The Famous Historye of the Life and Death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley. London, 1605.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principall Nauigations, Voiages and Discoueries of the English Nation*. London, 1589.

Haue Ouer the VVater to Floryda. Tallahassee: Fonthill Press, 1976.

Haynes, Samuel. *A Collection of State Papers, Relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, from the Year 1542 to 1570. Transcribed from Original Letters and Other Authentick Memorials, Never before Publish'd, Left by William Cecill Lord Burghley, and Now Remaining at Hatfield House, in the Library of the Right Honourable the Present Earl of Salisbury*. London, 1740.

Hume, Martin A. S., ed. *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to British Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas. Vol. II. Elizabeth. 1568–1579*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894. Available at British History Online (website), https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/simancas/vol2.

Knighton, C. S., ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Mary I, 1553–1558, Preserved in the Public Record Office*. Rev. ed. London: Public Record Office, 1998.

Laudonnière, René Goulaine. *L'histoire notable de la Floride*. Paris, 1586.

——. *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes Vnto Florida*. Translated by Richard Hakluyt. London, 1587.

Lefèvre-Pontalis, Germain, ed. *Correspondance politique de Odet de Selve, ambassadeur de France en Angleterre (1546–1549)*. Paris, 1888.

Lyon, Eugene, ed. *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.

Machyn, Henry. *The Diary of Henry Machyn*. London, 1848.

El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, José Sancho Rayon, and Francisco de Zabalburu, eds. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España.* Vol. 87*, Correspondencia de Felipe II con sus Embajadores en Inglaterra, 1558–1584* (vol. 1). Madrid, 1886.

El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, José Sancho Rayon, and Francisco de Zabalburu, eds. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España.* Vol. 89*, Correspondencia de Felipe II con sus Embajadores en Inglaterra, 1558–1584* (vol. 2). Madrid, 1887.

Peele, George. *The Battle of Alcazar*. London, 1594.

Pollard, A. F., ed. *Tudor Tracts, 1532–1588*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1903.

Quinn, David Beers, ed. *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*. 2 vols. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1940.

Ramusio, Giovanni Battista. *Terzo volume delle Navigatione et viaggi nel quale si contengono le navigationi al Mondo Novo, alli antichi incognito*. Venice, 1556. http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/ramusio1556bd3.

Real Academia de la Historia. *Negociaciones con Francia, 1559–*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1950.

Ribaut, Jean. *The Whole and True Discouerye of Terra Florida*. London, 1563.

Rigg, J. M., ed. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Vatican Archives and Library. Volume 2, Elizabeth, 1572-1578*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926. British History Online (website), https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/vatican/vol2.

Ruidíaz y Caravia, Eugenio. *La Florida: Su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1893.

Seall, Robert. *A Comendation of the Adueterus Viage of the Wurthy Captain M. Thomas Stutely Esquyer and Others, towards the Land Called Terra Florida*. London, 1563.

Slafter, Carlos, and Edward Haies. *Sir Humfrey Gylberte and His Enterprise of Colonization in America*. Boston: The Prince Society, 1903.

Stevenson, Joseph, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1562. Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*. Vol. 5. London, 1867. British History Online (website), https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol5.

Tyler, Royall, ed. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain, Preserved in the Archives at Vienna, Brussels, Simancas, and Elsewhere. Vol. X. Edward VI. 1550–1552*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1914. British History Online (website https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10. [CSV Spain]

——, ed. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain, Preserved in the Archives at Vienna, Brussels, Simancas, and Elsewhere. Vol. XII. Mary. January–July 1554*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949. British History Online (website), https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol12. [CSV Spain]

Vertot, René, ed. *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre*. 5 vols. Leyde, 1763.

Wenhold, Lucy L. "Manrique de Rojas' Report on French Settlement in Florida, 1564." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38:1 (July 1959): 45–62.

Secondary Sources

Álvarez-Recio, Leticia. *Fighting the Antichrist: A Cultural History of Anti-Catholicism in Tudor England*. Translated by Bradley L. Drew. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2011.

Andrews, Kenneth R., Nicholas P. Canny, and P. E. H. Hair, eds. *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480–1650*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979.

Appelbaum, Robert, and John Wood Sweet, eds. *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Armitage, David. *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Augeron, Mickaël, John De Bry, and Annick Notter. *Floride, un rêve français (1562–1565)*. La Rochelle: Musée du Nouveau Monde, 2012.

Augeron, Mickaël, Didier Poton, and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, eds. *Les Huguenots et l'Atlantique. Volume I: Pour Dieu, La Cause Ou Les Affaires*. 2 vols. Paris: Les Indes savantes; Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009.

Brickhouse, Anna. *The Unsettlement of America: Translation, Interpretation, and the Story of Don Luis de Velasco, 1560–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Canny, Nicholas P. "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 30:4 (October 1973): 575–98.

Canny, Nicholas P., and Alaine M. Low, eds. *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Cumming, W. P. "The Parreus Map (1562) of French Florida." *Imago Mundi* 17 (1963): 27–40.

Doran, Susan. *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558–1603*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Fitzmaurice, Andrew. *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Francis, Michael J., and Kathleen M. Kole. *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Guale Uprising of 1597*. American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers 95. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 2011.

Games, Alison. *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

La Grassière, Paul Bertrand. *Jean Ribault: Marin dieppois et lieutenant du Roi en Neuve-France, Floride Française en 1565*. Paris: La Pensée Universelle, 1971.

Harisse, Henry. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot: Leur origine et leurs voyages*. Paris, 1882.

Haskell, Alexander B. *For God, King, and People: Forging Commonwealth Bonds in Renaissance Virginia*. Williamsburg: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2017.

Haynes, Alan. *Invisible Power: The Elizabethan Secret Services, 1570–1603*. Wolfeboro Falls, N.H.: Alan Sutton, 1992.

Hazlewood, Nick. *The Queen's Slave Trader: John Hawkyns, Elizabeth I, and the Trafficking in Human Souls*. New York: William Morrow, 2004.

Hoffman, Paul E. *A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

—— *The Spanish Crown and the Defense of the Caribbean, 1535–1585: Precedent, Patrimonialism, and Royal Parsimony.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.

Holt, Mack P. *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Horn, James. *A Kingdom Strange: The Brief and Tragic History of the Lost Colony of Roanoke*. New York: Basic Books, 2010.

Horning, Audrey. *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2013.

Izon, John. *Sir Thomas Stucley, c*. 1525–1578: Traitor Extraordinary. London: Andrew Melrose, 1956.
Jennings, Matthew. *New Worlds of Violence: Cultures and Conquests in the Early American Southeast*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011.
Kelsey, Harry. *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.
——. *Sir John Hawkins: Queen Elizabeth's Slave Trader*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.
Knecht, R. J. *The French Wars of Religion, 1559–1598*. Harlow, U.K.: Longman/Pearson, 2010.
Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *The Jamestown Project*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.
——. *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*. Rowman & Littlefield, 1984.
Lestringant, Frank. *L'expérience huguenote au Nouveau Monde: XVI^e siècle*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996.
——. "Geneva and America in the Renaissance: The Dream of the Huguenot Refuge 1555–1600." Translated by Ann Blair. *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26:2 (Summer 1995): 285–95.
——. *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.
Levin, Carole. *The Reign of Elizabeth I*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
Lyon, Eugene. *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez De Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565–1568*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976.
MacCaffrey, Wallace T. "The Newhaven Expedition, 1562–1563." *Historical Journal* 40:1 (March 1997): 1–21.
Mancall, Peter C., ed. *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007.
—— *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007.
Mattingly, Garrett. "No Peace Beyond What Line?" Transactions of the Royal Historical Society *13* (1963): 145–62.
McFarlane, Anthony. *The British in the Americas, 1480–1815*. London: Longman, 1994.
McGrath, John T. *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
Mouquet, Remy-Benjamin. "Jean Ribault et ses compagnons glorifiés en Amérique." *Les amys due vieux Dieppe* 25:3, 4 (1927): 10–22.
Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c*. 1500–c. 1800. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.
Peele, George. *The Stukeley Plays: The Battle of Alcazar by George Peele; The Famous History of the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukeley*. Edited by Charles Edelman. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
Pennington, Edgar Legare. "Sir John Hawkins in Florida." *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 10:2 (1 October 1931): 86–101.
Probasco, Nathan. *Researching North America: Sir Humphrey Gilbert's 1583 Expedition and a Reexamination of Early Modern English Colonization in the North Atlantic World*. PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 2013.
Quinn, David Beers. *England and the Discovery of America, 1481–1620*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.
——. *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500–1625*. London: Hambledon Press, 1990.
Sáinz Sastre, María Antonia. *Florida in the XVIth Century: Discovery and Conquest*. Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992.

Shepard, Leslie. *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning*. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962.
Taylor, Alan. *American Colonies*. New York: Penguin, 2001.
Tazón, Juan E. *The Life and Times of Thomas Stukeley (c. 1525–78)*. Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2003.
Van Zandt, Cynthia J. *Brothers Among Nations: The Pursuit of Intercultural Alliances in Early America, 1580–1660*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
Wagner, John, ed. *Historical Dictionary of the Elizabethan World: Britain, Ireland, Europe, and America*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
Watt, Tessa. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Watts, David. *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change since 1492*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
Williamson, James A. *The Age of Drake*. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965.
—— *Sir John Hawkins: The Time and the Man*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1927.
Wintroub, Michael. *A Savage Mirror: Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006.
Worth, John E. *Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014.

Notes

* Jonathan DeCoster is associate professor of history at Otterbein University in Westerville, Ohio. His recent book Conflict and Accommodation in Colonial New Mexico is part of Oxford University Press's Debating American History series. His work on colonialism and native politics also appears in Florida Historical Quarterly, Terrae Incognitae, and the edited volume Firsting in the Early-Modern Atlantic World.

1 University of Oxford, "Poem about Florida," 1640, Bodleian Library, Ashmolean MSS 48: fol. 140–41. Also published as *Haue Ouer the VVater to Floryda*.

2 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II,* vol. 1, 512–3.

3 For example, though they are focused on Virginia, not Florida, Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*, includes a section about French Florida, 79–83; and Mancall, *The Atlantic World and Virginia*, contains an essay by Philip P. Boucher, "Revisioning the 'French Atlantic,'" 274–304. The French Fort Caroline even warranted a brief mention in Alan Taylor's widely used *American Colonies*, 77.

4 Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*; Appelbaum and Sweet, *Envisioning an English Empire*; Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*; Horn, *A Kingdom Strange*.

5 Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America*, 266; Andrews et al., *The Westward Enterprise*, 154; Lestringant, *Le huguenot et le sauvage*, 110, 149–82, 263–66; McFarlane, *The British in the Americas*; Mancall, *The Atlantic World and Virginia,* 66–96, 274–304; Jennings, *New Worlds of Violence*, 57–76; Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, 113.

6 Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization"; Canny and Low, *The Origins of Empire*; Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*; Pagden, *Lords of All the World*; McFarlane, *British in the Americas;* Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*; Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*; Van Zandt, *Brothers Among Nations*; Games, *The Web of Empire*; Probasco, "Sir

Humphrey Gilbert's 1583 Expedition"; Haskell, *For God, King, and People*. The exceptions are Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*; and Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, who seek to explain the origins of imperial ideology in classicism and humanism. However, they do highlight the centrality of anti-Spanish attitudes, particularly in the 1570s and 1580s, as foundational for English colonialism.

7 Sáinz Sastre, *Florida in the XVIth Century*, 14; Hoffman, *A New Andalucia*, 1–168; Worth, *Discovering Florida*, 8–31; Francis and Kole, *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida*, 1–19; Brickhouse, *The Unsettlement of America*, 47–8; McGrath, *The French in Early Florida*, 22–3.

8 Mattingly, "No Peace Beyond What Line?," 145–62; Hoffman, *The Spanish Crown*, 63–107; Watts, *The West Indies*, 130.

9 Frank Lestringant has argued that Coligny sought a Protestant refuge in the Americas, but this has been challenged by other historians. See Lestringant, "Geneva and America in the Renaissance," 285–95; Notter, "Floride: Massacre d'un rêve français," in Augeron, De Bry, and Notter, *Floride, un rêve*, 7, tentatively makes a similar claim; while the notion of a Protestant refuge is contested by Boucher, "Revisioning the 'French Atlantic,'" in Mancall, *The Atlantic World and Virginia,* 278; McGrath, *The French in Early Florida*, 59–60; Augeron, "Prêcher ou commercer?" in Augeron, Poton, and Van Ruymbeke, *Les Huguenots et l'Atlantique,* 1:88; and Lhoumeau, "Floride et diplomatie," in Augeron, De Bry, and Notter, 106.

10 Harisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 195; La Grassière, *Jean Ribault: marin dieppois*, 30; McGrath, *The French in Early Florida*, 50.

11 La Grassière, *Jean Ribault*, 453; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Correspondance politique de Odet de Selve*, 170.

12 Evidence of Ribault's English service in TNA, Letter William Paget to William Petre, 23 May 1546, SP 1/219: fol. 40; English pensions and annuities in TNA, "Signed by Stamp," October 1545, SP 4/1; BL, "Quarter Wagis at Cristemas," 25 December 1545, Additional Manuscripts 27,404: fol. 17; TNA, "Declaration of Fees Paid by Royal Warrant out of the Exchequer to Foreigners," 30 April 1547, SP 10/1: fol. 126v; TNA, "Pension for Jean Ribault," 24 July 1547, PC 2/2: fol. 201; his knighthood recorded in BL, "Names of Those That Were Advaunced to the Honorable Ordre of Knighthode in the Happy Reigne of Kinge Edward the Sixt," 1547, Cotton Manuscripts, Claudius C III: fol. 151; "Grant to Henry and Edward Wheler," 28 June 1563, in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Elizabeth*, vol. 2, 494, states that on 21 May 1551, Jean Ribault was granted Northey Manor, although the Patent Rolls preserve no such entry from the original date. In contrast, Ribault was caught fleeing to France in Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Correspondance politique de Odet de Selve*, 242–3; pardoned in TNA, "Pardon for Jean Ribault," 8 June 1550, PC 2/4: fol. 47; imprisoned in TNA "Letter to Receiver of the Duchy," 29 February 1552, PC 2/4: fol. 498; and implicated in counterfeiting in TNA, "Deposition of [William] Hunnis," May 1556, SP 11/7: fol. 87.

13 Quote from Letter Jehan Scheyfve to Queen Dowager, 24 June 1550, in Tyler, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain* [CSP Spain], vol. 10, British History Online, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10/pp108-118; his signature beard described in Lyon, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 98.

14 "Advices from Jehan Scheyfve," January 1551, in Tyler, CSP Spain, vol. 10, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10/pp203-219; McGrath, *The French in Early Florida,* 49, 51.

15 "Advices from Jehan Scheyfve," January 1551, in Tyler, CSP Spain, vol. 10, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10/pp203-219.
16 Mouquet, "Jean Ribault et ses compagnons," 11.
17 Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror,* 73. For the Indians' transport to France, see Ramusio, *Navigatione et viaggi*, fol. 423v.
18 Vertot, *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles,* vol. 5, 142. Evidence of his French service in BNF, "Tabelliouage de Rouen," 17 February 1553, Manuscrits Français Nouvelle Acquisitions 9317: fol. 125–26.
19 TNA, Letter Cecil to Throckmorton, 9 July 1559, SP 70/5: fol. 107; TNA, Letter Throckmorton to Cecil, 19 July 1559, SP 70/5: fol. 154–55; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Correspondance politique de Odet de Selve,* 165, 221–2; La Grassière, *Jean Ribault*, 42.
20 La Grassière, *Jean Ribault*, 43; McGrath, *The French in Early Florida,* 52.
21 TNA, Letter Throckmorton to Elizabeth I, 13 December 1561, SP 70/33: fol. 24–26; Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, 7v. A convenient translation is Bennett, *Three Voyages*.
22 Barré's presence on Ribault's voyage comes from Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride,* 29v; two letters from Barré describing the Villegagnon expedition of 1555 were published as *Copie de quelques letres*. Laudonnière's brief biography can be found in Bennett, *Three Voyages*, xvii.
23 Augeron, "Prêcher ou commercer?" in Augeron, Poton, and Van Ruymbeke, *Les Huguenots et l'Atlantique*, 1:88.
24 Biggar, "Jean Ribaut's Discoverye of Terra Florida," 269.
25 The details of this voyage are drawn largely from the accounts of Ribault and Laudonnière, with some additional but also contradictory details drawn from the Spanish interrogation of one of the French colonists in AGI, Manrique de Rojas, "Relaçion de los Franceses," 9 July 1564, Santo Domingo 99, R.8, N.28, available in translation in Wenhold, "Manrique de Rojas' Report."
26 The manuscript copy of Ribault's account says they returned on 23 July, but Laudonnière says 20 July. Laudonnière is probably correct, as the English were already aware of his return to Dieppe and many details of his voyage on 21 July. BL, Ribaut, "A Book of Voiage into the West Indies in the Time of Queen Elizabeth," 1562, Sloane Manuscripts 3644: 111; Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride,* 32r; and TNA Letter John Clarke to Killigrew, 21 July 1562, SP 70/39: fol. 112–3.
27 Holt, *French Wars of Religion*, 45–9; Knecht, *French Wars of Religion*, 35–6.
28 Álvarez-Recio, *Fighting the Antichrist,* 68–71.
29 MacCaffrey, "The Newhaven Expedition," 4.
30 Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, 42.
31 TNA, Letter Throckmorton to Cecil, 17 April 1562, SP 70/36: fol. 68r.
32 TNA, Letter Throckmorton to Cecil, 18 May 1562, SP 70/37: fol. 101–2; "Memoranda," July 1562, Stevenson, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth,* vol. 5, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol5/pp141-151; Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy*, 1–14; Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, 43.
33 TNA, Letter Armigil Waade to Cecil, 16 June 1562, SP 70/38: fol. 133–4; TNA, Letter Sir Peter Mewtas to Cecil, 23 July 1562, SP 70/39: fol. 136–7.
34 TNA, Letter Cuerton to Challoner, 9 August 1562, SP 70/40: fol. 98–9; TNA, Letter Killigrew to Cecil, 10 August 1562, SP 70/40: fol. 109v.
35 TNA, Letter William Woodhouse to Lord Clinton, 18 August 1562, SP 70/40: fol. 170–71.
36 TNA, Letter, Killigrew to Cecil, 10 August 1562, SP 70/40: fol. 106r. Newhaven is indicated by a coded symbol.

37 MacCaffrey, "The Newhaven Expedition," 8–11.
38 TNA, Letter, Killigrew to Cecil, 10 August 1562, SP 70/40: fol. 102r.
39 Knecht, *French Wars of Religion,* 36.
40 TNA, Letter Dudley (Earl of Warwick) to Cecil, 30 October 1562, SP 70/43: fol. 198r.
41 MacCaffrey, "The Newhaven Expedition," 13–4.
42 TNA, "News Sent from France," 31 October 1562, SP 70/43: fol. 218v.
43 TNA, Letter Young to Cecil, 2 November 1562, SP 12/25: fol. 66r.
44 TNA, Letter Young to Cecil, 6 November 1562, SP 12/25: fol. 76.
45 BL, Jean Ribault, "Discourse of ye Incomodities yt shuld co[m] to France by warre of England," 1562, Lansdowne Manuscripts 5/56, fol. 180.
46 Mouquet, "Jean Ribault et ses compagnons," 12; La Grassière, *Jean Ribault*, 42.
47 TNA, Letter Ribault to Cecil, December 1562, SP 70/47: fol. 207.
48 TNA, Letter Montgomery to Cecil, 27 January 1563, SP 70/49: fol. 170.
49 ANF, Letter Thomas Perrenot de Chantonnay and Frances de Alava to Philip II, 9 January 1563, Série K, Monuments Historiques, K. 1499, doc. 1; Ibid., 18 January 1563, K. 1500, doc. 27.
50 TNA, Letter Ambrose Dudley (Earl of Warwick) to Robert Dudley and William Cecil, 29 March 1563, SP 70/53: fol. 118v.
51 The manuscript copy of Ribault's account is BL, Jean Ribaut [sic], "A Book of Voiage into the West Indies in the Time of Queen Elizabeth," 1562, Sloane Manuscripts 3644: 111–21. This manuscript differs slightly from the version published in 1563, *The Whole and True Discouerye of Terra Florida*. H. P. Biggar transcribed the manuscript, noting differences from the published version, in "Jean Ribaut's Discoverye of Terra Florida," 253–70.
52 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 1, 512–13.
53 Tazón, *Life and Times of Thomas Stukeley*, 21.
54 TNA, "Defence of the Realm," 1545, SP 1/200: fol. 144; BL, "Names of Those That Were Advaunced to the Honorable Ordre of Knighthode in the Happy Reigne of Kinge Edward the Sixt," 1547, Cotton Manuscripts, Claudius C III: fol. 151; Pollard, *Tudor Tracts*, 90, 92.
55 Stukeley was recognised several times for good service, such as in TNA, "Men Meet to Be Remembered for Their Good Service Now Having Double Pays," 1546, SP 1/216: fol. 52; and TNA, "Stukeley Named Standard Bearer in Earl of Huntingdon's Army," 12 November 1549, PC 2/3: fol. 33. But Stukeley was associated with the Duke of Somerset, and after his fall, was implicated in an alleged plot mentioned in Letter Jehan Scheyfve to Charles V, 10 October 1551, and Letter Scheyfve to Charles V, 26 October 1551, in Tyler, *CSP Spain,* vol. 10, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10/pp376-391. Stukeley escaped but was ordered arrested in TNA, Privy Council to Sheriff of Devon, 21 November 1551, PC 2/4: fol. 444. He was vouched for by the King of France in TNA, Letter Henry II to Edward VI, 3 August 1552, SP 68/10: fol. 62; but then claimed to be acting as a double agent saving England from a French invasion, a claim treated sceptically as seen in TNA, "Information of Thomas Stukeley," 19 September 1552, SP 68/10: 145–47. This landed him in the Tower of London, shown in TNA, Letter Privy Council to Lieutenant of the Tower, 12 October 1552, PC 2/4: fol. 619; but he was pardoned in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary,* vol. 1, 427, 453. Nevertheless, we see him "banished" to the Continent in Letter Simon Renard to Bishop of Arras, 7 January 1554, Tyler, *CSP Spain,* vol. 12, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol12/

pp1-20. He returned to England but was then accused of counterfeiting in TNA, Letter Privy Council to Sheriff of Devon and Sheriff of Chester, 24 June 1555, PC 2/7: fol. 272; and apparently piracy in TNA, "Appearance of Thomas Stukeley," 7 July 1558, PC 2/8: fol. 112–13. He was pardoned again in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Elizabeth,* vol. 1, 227. By 1562, his old friend Robert Dudley used Stukeley to try to disrupt negotiations to engage Elizabeth to marry the King of Sweden, seen in TNA, Letter Keyle to Preston, 27 July 1562, SP 70/39: fol. 175r; and TNA, Letter Keyle to [Harvey], 27 July 1562, SP 70/39: fol. 177v. Ribault's counterfeiting in TNA, "Deposition of [William] Hunnis," May 1556, SP 11/7: fol. 87; and piracy in TNA, Letter William Howard (Lord Admiral) to Queen Mary, 20 June 1557, SP 11/11: fol. 22–23.

56 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 2, 216, 382–4.

57 Holmes, "Stucley, Thomas (c.1520–1578)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26741; Wagner, *Historical Dictionary of the Elizabethan World*, 294.

58 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 1, 512–3.

59 Haynes, *A Collection of State Papers,* 401. The Spanish ambassador raised the possibility of the expedition as a cover for piracy but indicated that he believed they were truly bound for Florida in El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 1, 512–3.

60 Scholars who have discussed Ribault have often neglected to mention Stukeley, while those interested in Stukeley have generally ignored or downplayed his Florida scheme. See, for example, Andrews et al., *Westward Enterprise*, 154; Hoffman, *A New Andalucia*, 212, 222; Haynes, *Invisible Power*, 26; Appelbaum and Sweet, *Envisioning an English Empire*, 136, 158–64, 285–90; Peele, *The Stukeley Plays,* 1–5; Horn, *A Kingdom Strange,* 12–4; Jennings, *New Worlds of Violence*, 57–76. The exceptions are McGrath, *The French in Early Florida*, 88–93; Tazón, *The Life and Times of Thomas Stukeley*, 62–70; and Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*, 44–9.

61 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 1, 512–3, 524–5.

62 Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies,* 261.

63 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 2, 292–3.

64 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 1, 512.

65 Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 309; El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 1, 525.

66 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 2, 383.

67 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, 293.

68 Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad,* 23–4, 54; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 16–24.

69 Seall, *A Comendation*.

70 Ibid.

71 "Poem about Florida," Ashmolean 48: fol. 141r.

72 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Elizabeth,* vol. 2, 518; El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 1, 531.

73 TNA, Letter Ambrose Dudley (Earl of Warwick) to Robert Dudley and William Cecil, 29 March 1563, SP 70/53: fol. 118v.

74 La Grassière, *Jean Ribault*, 73–4.

75 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 1, 512.

76 Ibid., 527.

77 Ibid., 531.

78 TNA, "The Queen's Demand of Calais," 3 June 1563, SP 70/58: fol. 16–24.

79 TNA, Letter Thomas Smith to Elizabeth I, 19 December 1563, SP 70/66: fol. 106–17. They were also the first item in TNA, "Treaty of Troyes," 12 April 1564, SP 70/70: fol. 54–60.

80 The connection has probably escaped notice in part because of the disconnect between the scholarship on the European diplomacy and that on Florida, and also because Ribault is only mentioned in company with the hostages in one document, and his name does not appear in the Calendar of State Papers entry for this document. TNA, "Conference with France," 14 June 1564, SP 70/72: fol. 72v.

81 Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride,* 21v–32r; AGI, Manrique de Rojas, "Relaçion de los Franceses," 9 July 1564, Santo Domingo 99, R.8, N.28: 20 makes it sound less like a mutiny than a quarrel.

82 BL, Letter William Cecil to Thomas Smith, 28 November 1563, Lansdowne Manuscripts 102/44: fol. 81.

83 TNA, Letter Cuerton to Thomas Challoner, 15 December 1563, SP 70/66: fol. 68; ANF, Letter Thomas Perrenot de Chantonnay and Frances de Alava to Philip II, 19 December 1563, Série K, Monuments Historiques, K. 1499, doc. 122; El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 2, 13; TNA Letter Oliver Leson to Thomas Challoner, 24 August 1564, SP 70/73 f.207; TNA Letter Thomas Challoner to William Cecil, 24 December 1564, SP 70/75 f.194.

84 ANF, Letter Thomas Perrenot de Chantonnay and Frances de Alava to Philip II, 18 January 1563, Série K, Monuments Historiques, K. 1500, doc. 27.

85 BL, Letter William Cecil to Thomas Smith, 16 December 1563, Lansdowne Manuscripts 102/46: fol. 83v.

86 AGI, Stefano de Rojomonte, "Nueuas de la Florida," Patronato 19, R.14: 3.

87 Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride,* 33r–94v.

88 Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride,* 94v–95r; TNA, Letter Sébastien de L'Aubespine to Elizabeth I, "Memorial of the French Ambassador," 2 November 1564, SP 70/75: fol. 2v; Letter L'Aubespine to Elizabeth I, "Memorial of the French Ambassador," 28 November 1564, and Elizabeth I to L'Aubespine. "Reply to the Memorial of M. de L'Aubespine," 29 November 1564, in Stevenson, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth,* v. 7, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol7/pp234-252. See Cumming, "The Parreus Map," 30, for the idea that the English held Barré along with Ribault with the intention of colonising Florida.

89 Sparke, "The Voyage Made by M. John Haukins," in Hakluyt, *Principall Nauigations,* 538.

90 Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride,* 96r.

91 Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins*, 97, 111; Williamson, *The Age of Drake*, 60–1; Pennington, "Sir John Hawkins in Florida," 90; Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, 5. Among modern historians, Hazlewood, *The Queen's Slave Trader*, 138, only considers Laudonnière's fear that Hawkins might turn Florida over to Elizabeth without speculating about whether this was a premeditated plan, while Kelsey avoids guessing at Hawkins' motives for locating the French settlement in Florida in *Sir Francis Drake*, 19; and *Sir John Hawkins*, 29–30.

92 Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, vol. 2, 65–6.

93 El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, Rayon, and Zabalburu, *Correspondencia de Felipe II*, vol. 2, 396–7.

94 Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 11, 20.

95 ANF, Letter Frances de Alava to Philip II, 2 April 1565, Série K, Monuments Historiques, K. 1503, doc. 52; several

documents recording the arming of Ribault's fleet in BNF, Manuscrits Français 21544: fol. 31–9, 53–7; Spanish intelligence on the fleet in Lyon, *Pedro Menéndez,* 97–9.

96 Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, covers the Spanish perspective comprehensively, as McGrath does the French in *The French in Early Florida*. Some of the most important primary sources are Le Challeux, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride.* 22–54; Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable*, fol. 99r–114r; AGI, Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, "Memoria del buen suçesso," 1565, Patronato 19, R.17; "Memorial que hizo el Dr. Gonzalo Solís de Merás," printed in Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, vol. 1; and Letter Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Philip II, 15 October 1565, also printed in Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, vol. 2, 84–105.

97 Lestringant, *L'expérience huguenote au Nouveau Monde*, 229–42.

98 Le Challeux, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride*, 8.

99 Izon, *Sir Thomas Stucley*; *The Famous Historye*; Peele, *The Battle of Alcazar*. There are numerous references to Stukeley's involvement in plots against Elizabeth from Ireland, Spain, and Italy, including the Ridolfi Affair. His reputation is summarised by the Privy Council as "a man of evil life, dissolute habits and a traitor" in "Translation from the Latin of Points Submitted by Certain of the Councillors of the Queen of England to Don Guerau de Spes," 30 December 1571, in Hume, *Calendar of State Papers Simancas*, vol. 2.

100 Arber, *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, vol. 1, 116.

101 Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie*, unnumbered page.

102 Tazón, *Life and Times of Thomas Stukeley,* 91.

103 BL, "Petition from Humphrey Gilbert to the Queen," [c. 1565–1566], Additional Manuscripts 4159: fol. 175. Quinn dates the petition to this time in *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises,* vol. 1, 105–6.

104 TNA, "Specification in Detail of the Advantages to Be Gained by Proposed Voyage of Discovery," 22 March 1574, SP 12/95: fol. 139v.

105 Shammas, "English Commercial Development," in Andrews, Canny, and Hair, *The Westward Enterprise*, 155. See BL, Lansdowne Manuscripts 100/4: fol. 52–4 and 100/18: fol. 142–7, for Grenville's plans.

106 Quinn, *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises,* vol. 1, 4–5.

107 Canny and Low, *Origins of Empire,* 56.

108 Álvarez-Recio, *Fighting the Antichrist*, 69–72; Canny and Low, *Origins of Empire*, 60. The conclusion of Doran's *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy* discusses the historiographical debate over whether Elizabeth sufficiently supported Protestant causes abroad. It is notable that all of the instances mentioned in which Elizabeth was willing to risk antagonising Spain occurred in 1569 and later.

109 BL, "A Discovery of Lands Beyond the Equinoctial," Lansdowne Manuscripts 100/18: fol. 143–4; TNA, "Specification in Detail of the Advantages to Be Gained by Proposed Voyage of Discovery," 22 March 1574, SP 12/95: fol. 139v.

110 Lestringant, *Le huguenot et le sauvage,* 149–82.

111 Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea,* 114.