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The origin of Carolina

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Compliments of A. S. Salley, Jr.

Bulletins of the Historical Commission of
South Carolina.—No. 8

The Origin of Carolina

By A. S. SALLEY, Jr.
Secretary of the Commission

Printed for the Commission by
The State Company
Columbia, S. C.
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On October 30, 1629, Charles I., of England, granted to Sir Robert Heath, his Attorney General, all of the territory of North America lying between the 31st and 36th parallels of north latitude and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Seas (Pacific Ocean), the grant designating the name for this province as follows:

Sciatis quod nos de ampliori gratia nostra, certa scientia et mero motu nostris dictae regionis territorium ac insulas in provinciam erigendas esse duximus; prout eas ex plenitudine potestatis et prorogativae nostrae regiae pro nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris in provinciam erigimus et incorporamus, eamque Carolanam seu Provinciam Carolaneam et insulas praedictas Insulas Carolaneas nominamus et sic in futuris perpetuis temporibus nominari volumus.

[You must know that we, of our fuller favor, certain knowledge and own motion, have thought that the territory of the said region and the islands should be erected into a province; accordingly, out of the fulness of our power and our royal prerogative, for ourselves, our heirs, and successors, we erect and incorporate them into a province, and we name it Carolana, or Province of Carolana, and the said islands Islands of Carolana, and so for all time hereafter we wish them to be called.¹]

A great part of this province so created was claimed by Spain by right of Ponce de León's discovery in 1513; De Soto's conquest in 1539, and settlements by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón in 1526; Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565-1566; Pedro Menéndez Márquez in 1577, and others. The part claimed by Spain was a part of what had been called Florida since 1513 when Ponce de León gave it that name. Prior to this grant to Sir Robert Heath an English colony had been planted in Virginia above the 36th parallel of latitude on territory also claimed by Spain, but England gave little heed to Spain's protests thereagainst. England not only claimed that territory also by right of discovery, but claimed farther south and emphasized that claim by making this grant.

During the next thirty-two years neither Sir Robert nor his heirs did anything toward developing Carolana, and we seldom find it referred to in any written or printed documents of that day by the name that Charles I. had given it with the intention of perpetuating his own name therein. In some instances that part next to Virginia was referred to as South Virginia and in 1650 Edward Bland, a merchant of Virginia, and others, made

¹The writer is indebted to Professor Edwin L. Green, of the Department of Ancient Languages of the University of South Carolina, for translating this colloquial Latin, which was recorded in archaic script.

titlis decorat. Statim qd nos de ampliori gra nra tta scientia z n
 meo motu nro dicit Regior Gutorum ac Insul in Provinciam exigendum n
 esse dignimr put ead ex plenitudine potatis z prerogative nre Regie p n
 nos heredes z Successoribz nris in Provinciam exigimus z incorporamus eamq
 Carolaniam den Provinciam Carolanensem z Insul p dicit Insulam Carolanensem
 nominamus z sic in futuris perpetuis temporibz nominari volumus Et quoniam n

Lines of the grant from Charles I. to Sir Robert Heath, showing order naming the province Carolana.

an expedition into that section, which is now a part of North Carolina, and, in a pamphlet which they prepared giving an account of their discoveries, called it New Brittain.¹

On May 8, 1654, Francis Yeardley wrote a letter at Linne-Haven, Virginia, to "John Farrar, Esq; at his mannor of Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire", in which he described "an ample discovery of South Virginia or Carolina" which he had just made.²

At the Restoration in 1660 Sir John Colleton, who was then living in Barbadoes,³ meeting Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper at Court, suggested that they, with others, obtain from His Majesty a grant to the province of Carolina (as they called it), as Sir Robert Heath had apparently allowed his title to lapse.

The suggestion was carried through, and on March 24, 1662/3, Charles II. granted to "our right trusty, and right well beloved Cousins and Councillors, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, our high Chancellor of England, and George, Duke of Albemarle, Master of our horse and Captain General of our Forces, our right trusty and well beloved William, Lord Craven, John, Lord Berkeley, our right trusty and well beloved Counsellor, Anthony, Lord Ashley, Chancellor of our Exchequer, Sir George Carteret, Knt. and Baronet, Vice Chamberlain of our household, and our trusty and well beloved Sir William Berkeley Knt. and Sir John Colleton, Knight and Baronet" the territory lying between the 31st and 36th parallels of north latitude and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Seas and "do, for us, our heirs and successors, erect, incorporate and ordain the same into a Province, and call it the Province of Carolina, and so from henceforth will have it called".

Notwithstanding the fact that there is no known publication, or manuscript, issued, or prepared, prior to the grant of the province to Sir Robert Heath in 1629 under the name Carolana, which used that name, or a similar name, for the country, or any part thereof beyond the fort on the St. John's River, yet within less than ten years after the date of this last grant of the province under a slightly altered name historical inaccuracies began to appear which soon developed into an unfounded claim that Carolina had been named for Charles IX. of France by the

¹See *Narratives of Early Carolina* (Salley), 1-19. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.)

²See *Narratives of Early Carolina* (Salley), 21-29. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.)

³*Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, V, 3.

French Protestants whom Admiral Coligny had attempted to settle at two places in Florida a century before.

Let us see the process of evolution of this myth. Coligny's first expedition reached Florida the last of April, 1562, and on May 1st discovered the St. John's River, already known to and named by Spanish explorers, and erected a stone near its mouth bearing the arms of France. From there the expedition moved up the coast until a great harbor was reached, which was also known to the Spaniards, to which they gave the name Port Royal. There, on what is now Parris Island, a little fort was built and named Charlesfort.¹

A garrison of twenty-eight men was left there to form the nucleus of a French colony. This expedition was commanded by Jean Ribaut and his second in command was René Laudonnière. Soon after their return to France each of them wrote an account of the expedition. Ribaut's account was published in France in 1563 and was translated into English and published in London the same year. Its title is *The Whole and true discoverye of Terra Florida*.

In 1564 Laudonnière commanded a second expedition to Florida and built a fort near the mouth of the St. John's River, and there established a second colony, which was soon destroyed by Spaniards from San Augustin. Laudonnière escaped the slaughter and returned to France. Soon thereafter he wrote an account of "The second voyage unto Florida." These narratives were published in 1586 as *L'Histoire Notable de la Floride sitvée es Indes Occidentales* descrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois moys² On page 20 thereof Laudonnière, referring to the fort at Port Royal, says:

Ayant finy son propos, nous prismes congé de tous, & nauigeasmes vers nos vaisseaux, laissés au fort le nom de *Charlesfort*, & à la petite rivièrre celuy de *Chenonceau*.

[Having ended his exhortation, we took our leaves of each of them, and sailed toward our ships, calling the fort by the name of Charlesfort, and the river by the name Chenonceau.]

¹Its exact location is not known. The United States government, at the instance of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, has recently erected on the site of the ruins of a fort that had stood upon Means's Creek a beautiful and artistic monument which bears the claim that it is on the site of Charlesfort. Spanish official records of the period show conclusively that the extensive ruins which stood on this spot, until levelled by the United States Marines assembled there in 1917, were those of the Spanish fort, San Marcos, built there in 1577, "near the site of the French Fort."

²Mise en lumière par M. Basanler, / gentil homme François Mathématicien / Paris. / Chez Guillaume Auray, M. D. LXXXVI /

The writer is indebted to Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor, of New York and Florida, for procuring this title and the photostat of pages 20-21 thereof for him from the Library of Congress. He is also indebted to Mr. Hugh A. Morrison, of the Library of Congress, for notes on this volume.

18 deuoir, & si modestement gouverner la pe-
 19 tite troupe, que ie vous laisse, laquelle de si
 20 grande gayeté demeure souz vostre obeis-
 21 sance, que iamais ie n'aye occasion que de
 22 vous louer, & ne taire, comme i'en ay bon-
 23 ne enuie, deuant le Roy, le fidelle seruice,
 24 qu'en la presence de nous tous luy promet-
 25 tez faire en la nouuelle France. Et vous cō-
 26 pagnons, dil-il aux soldats, ie vous supplie
 27 aussi recognoistre le Capitaine Albert, com-
 28 me si c'estoit moy mesme qui demeurast luy
 29 rendans obeissance que le vray soldat doit
 30 faire à son Chef & Capitaine, viuans en fra-
 31 ternité les vns avec les autres sans aucune
 32 dissention: & ce faisant Dieu vous assistera,
 33 & benira vos entreprises. Ayant finy son
 34 propos, nous prîmes congé de tous, & na-
 35 uigâmes vers nos vaisseaux, laîssâs au fort
 36 le nom de *Charlesfort*, & à la petite riuere
 37 celuy de *Chenonceau*. Satisfaits au possible
 38 d'auoir si heureusement executé nos entre-
 39 prises, nous déliberâmes le lendemain sor-
 40 tir de ce lieu, esperans bien, si l'occasion le
 pouuoit souffrir, decouurir au certain la
 riuere de Iordan. Pour ceste cause haussâ-
 mes les voilles sur les dix heures du matin,
 puis estans appareillez, le Capitaine Ribaut
 commanda tirer canonnades pour dire

Le du Fort
 fut nom-
 mé *Char-
 lesfort*.

adieu à nos François, qui de leur part ne
 soublierent à le nous rendre: ce fait, nous
 poursuuîmes le Septentrion: & fut lors
 la riuere nommee pour sa grâdeur & beau-
 22 té excellente, *Port Royal*. Esloignez d'icelle *Port royal*
 23 enuiron quinze lieues, nous vîmes vne ri-
 24 uiere, qui fut occasion d'y enuoyer la bar-
 25 que, afin de la recognoistre. Laquelle de re-
 26 tour, nous recita n'auoir trouué à l'embou-
 27 cheure au plus profond, que demy bras-
 28 se d'eau. Ce qu'entendu, sans en faire autre cas,
 29 nous continuâmes la route, & luy donnâ-
 30 mes le nom de Riuere basse. Sondâs à cha-
 31 cune heure, nous ne trouuions sinon cinq
 32 & six brassées d'eau, iacoit que fussions di-
 33 stâs de terre six grâdes lieues: en fin noⁿ n'en
 34 trouuâmes sinon trois, ce qui nous donna
 35 beaucoup à pèser. Et sans plus poursuivre le
 36 chemin, mîmes les voilles bas, en partie
 37 pour le peu d'eau, en partie aussi pour la
 38 nuit qui approchoit. Pendant laquelle, le
 39 Capitaine Jea Ribaut discourut en luy mes-
 40 me, s'il deuoit passer plus outre, à cause des
 41 perils eminens, qu'à chacune minute d'heu-
 42 re nous voyons deuant nos yeux: ou bien
 43 s'il se deuoit contenter de ce qu'il auoit au
 44 certain recognu: mesme laîssé François, qui
 45 ia possèdoiet la terre. Ne pouuant resouldre

*Riuere
 basse.*

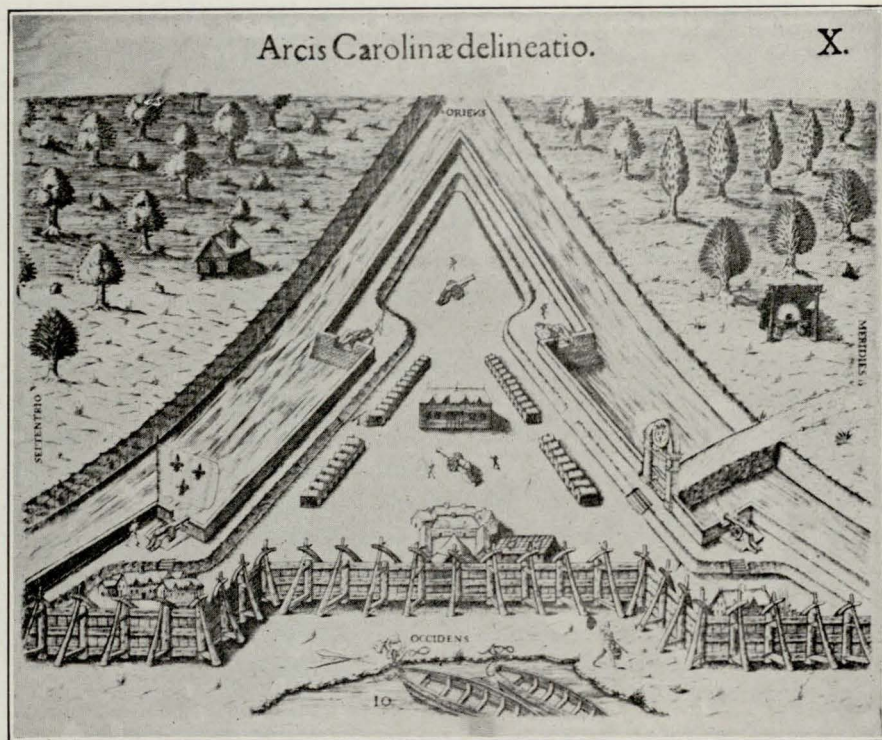
Again on pages 46-47 Laudonnière, referring to the fort on the St. John's, says:

Nostre fort estoit basty en triangle. Le costé de l'Oest qui estoit celuy de la terre, estoit fermé d'une petite tranchée & releuée de gazons faicts en forme de parapet, de la hauteur de neuf pieds, l'autre costé qui estoit vers la riuere, estoit fermé d'une palissade de cliés, de la maniere que l'on fait les gabions. Il y auoit du costé du Sud vne forme de bastion, dedans lequel ie feis bastir vne grange aux munitions. Le tout estoit basty de fascines & de sable, excepté enuiron la hauteur de deux ou trois pieds de gazon, dont les parapets estoient faicts. L'auois fait faire vne grange place au meilleu, de dix huict pas de long & de large, au meilleu de laquelle, tirat sur l'un des costez vers le Sud, ie feis bastir vn corps de garde, & vne maison de l'autre costé vers le North. laquelle i'auois fait esleuer vn peu trop haut: car vn peu de le temps apres, le vent me l'abbatit: & l'experience m'aprist qu'il ne faut pas bastir à ceste terre à ceste terre à hauts estages, à cause des grands vents, ausquels elle est subiecte. L'un des costez qui fermoit ma court, laquelle i'auois fait faire belle & spatieuse, touchoit à la grange des munitions: & en l'autre vers la riuere, estoit ma maison, à l'entour de laquelle il y auoit des galleries tout couuertes. La principale saillie de mon logis estoit au meilleu de la grande place, & l'autre estoit deuers la riuere. Assez lo in du fort ie feis bastir vn four, pour euer aux fortunes du feu, à cause que les maisons sont couuertes de *Palmites*, qui sont prompts à estre bruslez, depuis que le feu y prend: si bien qu'à grand peine peut on auoir le loisir de l'esteindre. Voila en brief la description de nostre forteresse, que ie nomay la *Caroline* en l'honneur de nostre prince le Roy Charles.

[Our fort was built in form of a triangle. The side toward the West, which was toward the land, was inclosed with a little trench and raised with turves made in form of a battlement of nine foot high: the other side which was toward the river, was inclosed with a palisado of planks of timber after the manner that gabions are made. On the South side there was a kind of bastion within which I caused a house for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and sand, saving about two or three foot high with turfs, whereof the battlements were made. In the midst I caused a great court to be made of eighteen paces long and broad, in the midst whereof on the one side drawing toward the South I builded a corps de gard, and a house on the other side toward the North, which I caused to be raised somewhat too high: for within a short while after the wind beat it down: and experience taught me, that we may not build with high stages in this country, by reason of the winds whereunto it is subject. One of the sides that inclosed my court, which I made very fair and large, reached unto the grange of my munitions: and on the other side toward the river was mine own lodging, round about which were galleries all covered. The principal door of my lodging was in the midst of the great place, and the other was toward the river. A good distance from the fort I built an oven to avoid the danger against fire, because the houses are of palm leaves, which will soon be burnt after the fire catcheth hold of them, so that with much ado a man shall have leisure to quench them. Lo here in brief the description of our fortress, which I named *Caroline* in honour of our Prince King Charles.]

In 1589 *L'Histoire Notable de la Floride* was translated into English and published in England by Richard Hakluyt as a part of *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea and over Land, to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth*.¹ In the translation

¹London: George Bishop, 1589.



LeMoyne's drawing of la Caroline, published by DeBry.

REDUCTA igitur in triangulum arce, quæ Carolina postea nuncupata est, latus Occidenti obiectum & continentem spectans, exigua fossa & vallo ex cespitibus constante novem pedum altitudine cludebatur; aliud latus flumini obiectum tabulis & cratibus septum fuit. Latere Meridiem spectante veluti propugnaculum quoddam assurgebat, in quo horreum ad annonam recondendam exstructum. Omnia ex fasciculis & sabulo constabat præter valli superiorem partem, quæ ex cespitibus duos aut tres pedes altis erat. In media arce ampla fuit area decem & octo passus longa, totidem lata, in cuius medietullo ad partem Meridiei obversam locus ad militum stationem paratus: parte vero ad Septentrionem vergente ædificium, quod, quoniam altius quam par erat, fuit exstructum, paulo post ventus disiecit: nosque experientia docuit, humilioribus contignationibus fabricanda esse ædificia in ea regione magnis ventis obnoxia. Erat præterea alia area satis capax, cuius alterum latus ipsam claudens horreo supra dicto contiguum erat, & in altero latere annum spectante Laudonniæ domicilium porticu circumquaque cinctum. Huius anterior janua maiorem arcam seu forum respiciebat, posticum autem, flumen. Satis procul ab arce furnus exstructus ad vitanda incendia: cum enim ades palmarum ramis essent tecta, facillime ignem concepissent.

three inaccuracies occur. Where Laudonnière says twenty-eight men were left at Charlesfort Hakluyt makes it twenty-six. He spells Ribaut: Ribault, and Charlesfort: Charles-fort. The fort was intended for the nucleus of a town and one word was made of it; just as we have Beaufort now.

Accompanying Laudonnière on "The second voyage unto Florida" was Jacques LeMoyne, an artist, who made some drawings of what he saw and also some from descriptions given him of scenes at Port Royal. These drawings were published in 1591 in *Indorum/ Floridam provinciam inhabitantium eicones,/ primum ibidem ad vivum expressæ/ à Jacobo LeMoyne cui cogno= / men DeMorgues:/ addita ad singulas brevè earum declaratione./ Nunc verò recens à Theodorode DeBry./ Leodiense in æs incisæ,/ &. evulgatæ./ Francoforti ad Noenum/ Tÿpis Joànīs Wecheli, Sumtibus vero Theodori/ de Bry Anno MDXCI./ Venales repertutur in officina Sigismundi Feirabèdii/*

Plate X of LeMoyne's work bears the superscription *Arcis Carolinæ delineatio*, and beneath the drawing a description in Latin, which translated, is as follows:

The fort, which was afterwards called Carolina, being arranged in triangular form, the side exposed to the west and facing the mainland was inclosed by a rampart of turf nine feet high; another side facing the river was inclosed with timbers and fascines. On the side looking south rose a kind of tower, in which was constructed a granary storehouse for storing provisions. All consisted of fascines and coarse sand except the upper part of the rampart, which was of turf two or three feet high. In the middle of the fort was an open space eighteen paces long, the same number wide, in the middle of which facing south was a place prepared for housing soldiers; in the section facing the north a building was erected, which, since it was higher than it should be, was a little later blown down; and experience taught us, that buildings in this region exposed to violent winds should be constructed of lower stories. There was further a fairly large space, one of whose inclosing sides was next to the above mentioned granary, and on the other side facing the river was Laudonnière's house surrounded on all sides by a porch. The front door of this looked out over the larger space, or forum, the back door [overlooked] the river. At some distance from the fort a furnace was built to avoid fires: for since the buildings were covered with palm branches, they very easily caught fire.¹

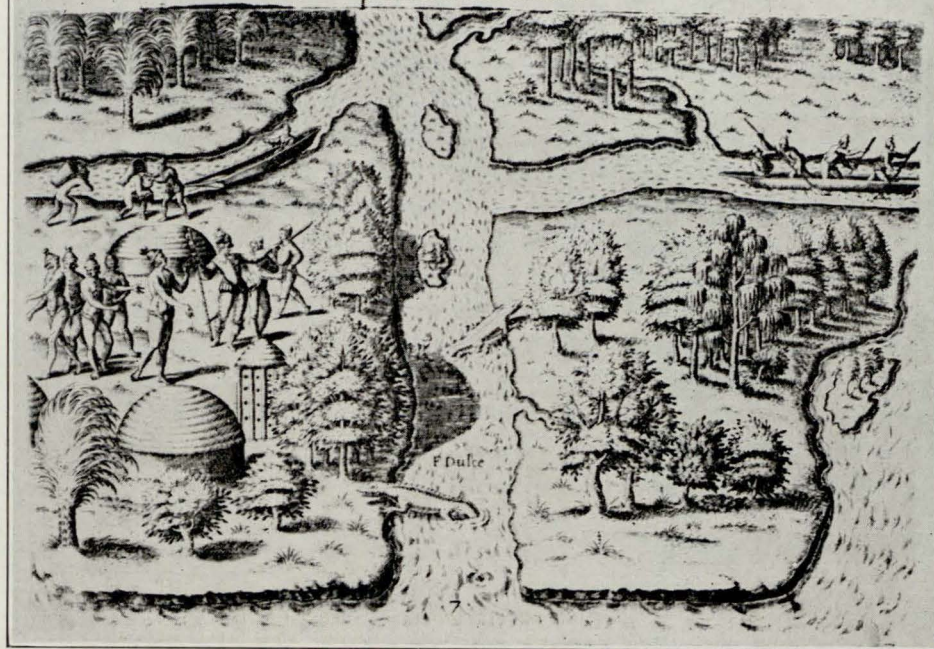
Plate VII bears the superscription: *Galli in Caroli propugnaculo reticti, annonæ penuria laborant* [The French left at Charlesfort suffer from lack of food] and beneath the drawing a narrative, which translated, is as follows:

A little after the departure of Ribaut from Florida, those who had been left in Charlesfort [that had been] built by him above the little river that enters into an island which lies in the larger stream of

¹The writer is indebted to Professor Edwin L. Green, of the Department of Ancient Languages of the University of South Carolina, for these translations.

Galli in Caroli propugnaculo relictī, annonæ
penuria laborant.

VII.



LeMoyne's drawing of an Indian town visited by the French of Charlesfort
in search of food.

PAVLO post Praefecti Ribaldi è Florida abintum, qui in Charles fort propugnaculo supra fluvium, in su-
 lam, quæ in majore Portus Regalis alveo Septentrionem spectante sita est, ingredientem, ab ipso extructo,
 relictis fuerant, annona penuria laborare cæperunt, varijs igitur exquisitis sententijs, qua ratione his dif-
 ficultatibus occurrere posset, nihil consultius futurum censuerunt, quam ad Regem Ouadè, & Couëxis ipsius
 fratrem proficiscere: ea de causa aliquot e suis ad eos ablegarunt, qui indica cymba per regionis interiora cir-
 citer decem miliaria progressi, elegans & magnum flumen aquæ dulcis invenerunt, in quo plurimos Crocodilos Nilacis
 longe maiores observarunt: fluminis ripæ celsis cupressis sunt obsita. Paululum eo loco commorati, deinde ulterius progres-
 si, ad Regem Ouadè peruenierunt: à quo perhumaniter excepti, sui adventus causam ipsi exposuerunt, orantes ne in tanta
 necessitate eos desereret. Hac re intellecta, legatos ad fratrem Couëxis mittit petiitum mayzum & fabas. Quod ille sine
 mora fecit: nam postridie summo mane legati cum comœatu reversi, & iubente Rege annona in cymbam illata, Galli plu-
 rumum hac Regis liberalitate gaudentes, valedicere voluerunt: verum ille non permittens, eo die apud se retinuit,
 & gemaliter eos habuit. Postridie mane demonstratis milijs sive mayzi agris, significavit, ne penuria se
 premi sinerent, quamdiu id milium superesset: deinde à Rege dimissi, eadem via, qua
 a dvenerant, ad suos redierunt.

Port Royal looking north, began to suffer from a lack of food; therefore having gone over many plans, how these difficulties might be met, they decided that there was nothing better than to go to King Ouadé and his brother Couexis: for this reason they selected certain of their men [to go] to them, who in an Indian canoe went through the interior about ten miles and found a large, fine river of sweet water, in which they saw very many crocodiles larger than those of the Nile: the banks of the rivers were lined with cypresses. Delaying a little while in that place, then proceeding onward, they came to King Ouadé, by whom they were kindly received, and they set forth to him the reason of their coming, begging him not to fail them in such need. Having understood this condition he sent envoys to his brother Couexis to ask maize and beans. This he did without delay; for early on the following day the envoys returned with provisions, and at the king's order the food was placed in the pinnace; the French very grateful for this generosity of the king wished to say farewell; but he, not permitting it, kept them with him that day and treated them kindly. Next morning showing them fields of millet or maize, he told them they should not allow themselves to be pinched by want, as long as this millet lasted; then, dismissed by the king, they returned to their friends by the same route by which they had come.

Here are three separate accounts of the explorations and attempts to make settlements in Florida by French Protestants. They were written by the two ranking officers of the expeditions and an artist who was "on the spot". Not one of them asserts that they named the country Carolina, but all call it Florida. Two of them show that a small fort in a part of Florida that has never been identified with Carolina was called "la Caroline" (which Hakluyt translated into English as Caroline and DeBry into Latin as Carolinæ).

A great majority of the publications and manuscripts bearing on that country continued the use of the name Florida for the part thereof to which Charles I. gave the name Carolana, even after that change had been ordered, and in some publications it was still called Florida after Charles II. had granted it as Carolina, even up to the establishment of an English settlement in what is now South Carolina in 1670.

In August, 1663, William Hilton, of Barbadoes, explored the coast of Carolina and wrote an account of his discoveries, which was published the next year under the following title:

A/ RELATION/ of/ A Discovery lately made on the Coast of/ FLORIDA./ (From Lat. 31. to 33 Deg. 45 Min. North-Lat.)/ By William Hilton Commander, and/ Commissioner with Capt. Anthony Long, and/ Peter Fabian, in the Ship Adventure, which set Sayl/ from Spikes Bay, Aug. 10, 1663. and was set/ forth by several Gentlemen and Merchants/ of the Island of BARBADOES./ Giving an account of the nature and temperature of the/

*Soyl, the manners and disposition of the Natives, and whatsoever/ else is remarkable therein./ Together with/ Proposals made by the Commissioners of/ the Lords Proprietors, to all such persons as shall/ become the first Settlers on the Rivers, Harbors,/ and Creeks there./ London,/ Printed by J. C. for Simon Miller/ at the Star neer the West-end of St. Pauls,/ 1664.*¹

Hilton's narrative was followed two years later by *A Brief DESCRIPTION/ OF/ The Province of CAROLINA/ On the COASTS of FLOREDA,/ and/ More perticularly of a New-Plantation/ begun by the ENGLISH at Cape-Feare,/ on that River now by them called Charles-River,/ the 29th of May. 1664./ wherein is set forth/ The Healthfulness of the air; the fertility of/ the Earth, and Waters; and the great Pleasure and/ Profit will accrue to those that shall go thither to enjoy/ the same./ Also,/ Directions and advice to such as shall go thither whether/ on their own accompts, or to serve under another./ Together with/ A most accurate MAP of the whole PROVINCE./ London, Printed for Robert Horne in the first Court of Gresham-/ Colledge neer Bishopsgate-street, 1666./*

In 1666 Robert Sandford made explorations along the coast of what is now South Carolina and wrote "A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of Carolina, Formerly called Florida, in the Continent of Northern America, from Charles River near Cape Feare, in the County of Clarendon, and the Lat. of 34 Deg: to Port Royall, in the North Lat: of 32 Deg: begun 14th June, 1666."²

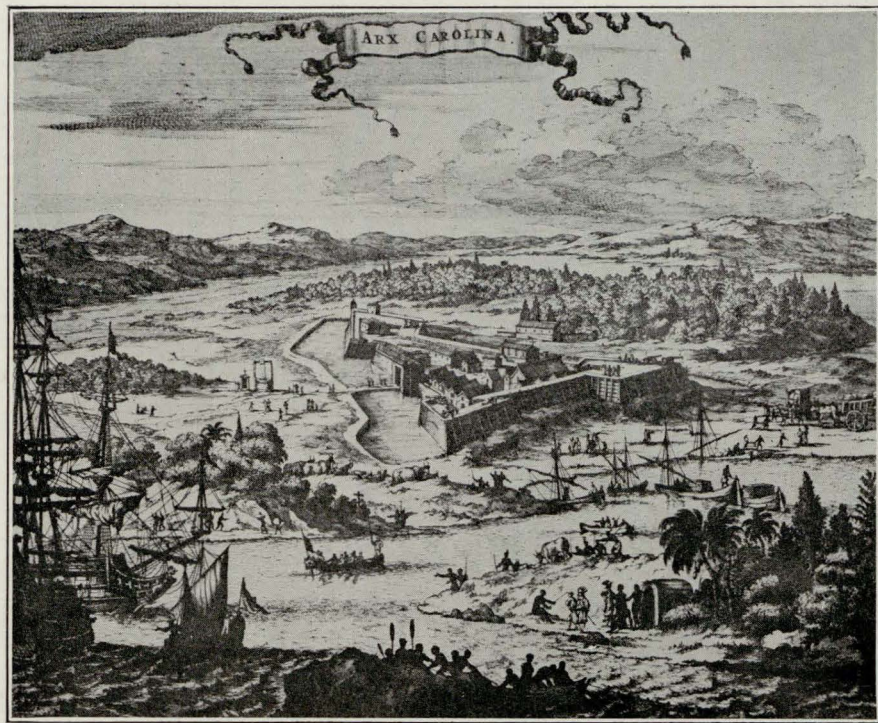
This was followed by *De Nieuwe en Onbekende/ WEERELD:/ of/ Beschryving/ van/ AMERICA/ en/ t'ZUID-LAND/ Arnoldus Montanus/ t'Amsterdam/ Anno 1671*³

Between pages 98 and 99 is a plate showing what, in modern parlance, would be called an "up to date" reproduction of Le-Moyne's drawing of the fort on the St. John's River, Florida, which Laudonnière had named la Caroline. In addition to many improvements to the fort, added by his artist, Montanus labelled his engraving ARX CAROLINA, and that was the beginning of the myth of the derivation of the name of Carolina from Charles IX.

¹*The Genesis of South Carolina* (Courtenay), 1-40. (Columbia, S. C., 1907.)

²*The Genesis of South Carolina* (Courtenay), 41-48. (Columbia, S. C., 1907.)

³The writer is indebted to Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor for the title and for a photostat of the ARX CAROLINA plate therefrom.



From Montanus's *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*. (Amsterdam, 1671.)

Also in 1671 there was published in London:

America:/ being an/ Accurate Description/ of the/ New World;/ containing/ The Original of the Inhabitants; the Remarkable/ Voyages thither:/ The Conquest of the vast Empires/ of/ Mexico and Peru,/ Their ancient and later Wars./ With their several/ Plantations,/ Many, and Rich Islands;/ Their Cities, Fortresses, Towns, Temples,/ Mountains, and Rivers:/ Their Habits, Customs, Manners, and Religions,/ their Peculiar Plants, Beasts, Birds, and Serpents./ Collected and Translated from most Authentick Authors,/ And Augmented with later Observations;/ Illustrated with Notes, and Adorn'd with peculiar Maps, and Proper Sculptures,/ By John Ogilby, Esq;/ . . ./ London/ Printed by Tho. Johnson for the Author . . ./ M. DC. LXXI.¹

This work was apparently based in part on Montanus's book, which was granted copyright in July, 1670. Ogilby reproduced the ARX CAROLINA plate exactly as Montanus had it. An edition of Montanus's book, translated into German, was also published, in 1673.

In 1682 T. A. Gent [Thomas Ashe, Gentleman], who was a clerk on H. M. S. *Richmond*, published a pamphlet entitled *Carolina; or a Description of the Present State of that Country*, etc., in which he clearly shows the effect upon him of Montanus's engraving:

Carolina derives her name either from our present Illustrious Monarch, under whose glorious Auspices it was first establisht an English Colony, in the Year One Thousand Six Hundred and Seventy, and under whose benign and happy Influence it now prospers and flourishes. Or from Charles the Ninth of that Name King of France, in whose Reign a Colony of French Protestants were transported thither, at the encouragement of Gasper Coligni, Admiral of that Kingdom; the place of their first Settlement named in Honour of their Prince Arx Carolina; but not long after, that Colony, with Monsieur Ribault their Leader, were by the Spaniard at once cut off and destroy'd

It would be difficult to crowd more errors into that paragraph than Ashe has done. Carolina, as has been shown, was created a province by Charles I. in 1629, and regranted by Charles II. in 1663. It was never a colony. Gaspard de Coligny was the name of the promoter of the French expeditions. The place of their first settlement was named Charlesfort. That colony was not destroyed by Spaniards. The place of their second settlement was named Caroline. Ribaut is misspelled. In striking

¹Folio, pages 6 + 629; plates, maps and plans. The writer is indebted to Mr. Hugh A. Morrison, of the Library of Congress, for this title.

contrast is the following statement in another pamphlet issued the same year by Samuel Wilson and entitled *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America*.

Carolina is that part of Florida which lies between twenty nine and thirty six degrees, and thirty minutes of Northern Latitude; On the East it is washed with the Atlantick Ocean, and is bounded on the West by Mare Pacificum (or the South Sea) and within these bounds is contained the most healthy Fertile and pleasant part of Florida, which is so much commended by the Spanish Authors.

In 1708 John Oldmixon published *The History of the British Empire in America*, two chapters of which were devoted to Carolina. In referring to Ribaut's expedition he says:

Admiral Coligny, in the reign of Charles IX. procur'd two of the King's Ships to be sent thither, the Command of which he gave to Jean Ribaut At the Mouth of Albemarle River, then call'd the Great River; the Port being safe and commodious, he built a Fort, which he called Charles Fort, and gave it the name of Port Royal, in 32 Degrees of Latitude, bordering on Virginia, now North Carolina, where the first Settlement was made by any European Nation. A peace being concluded 2 Years after in France, between the Papists and the Protestants, Coligny, who was then in Favour at Court, procur'd other Ships to be sent to this Country, which was now call'd Carolina, from Fort Charles, as that was from the French King.

The ignorance of the whole subject displayed by Oldmixon makes valueless his statement as to Carolina.

In 1723 a history of Florida in Spanish by Andreas Gonzales Barcia was published, bearing the following title page:

Ensayo/ Cronológico,/ para la/ Historia General/ de la/ Florida. /Contiene Los Descubrimientos,/ y principales sucesos, acaecidos en este Gran Reino, à los Españoles,/ Franceses, Succos, Dinamarqueses, Ingleses, y otras Naciones,/ entre si, y con los Indios: cuías Costumbres, Genios, Idolatria,/ Gobierno, Batallas, y Astucias, se refieren: y los Viages de algunos/ Capitanes, y Pilotos, por el Mar de el Norte, à buscar Paso/ à Oriente, ò vnion de aquella Tierra,/ con Asia./ Desde el Año de 1512. Oue Descubrió/ la Florida, Juan Ponce de Leon, hasta el de 1722./ Escrito/ Por Don Gabriel de Cardenas z Cano/ Dedicado/ Ae Principe Nuestro Señor./ Con Privilegio: En Madrid./ En la Oficina Real, y à Costa de Nicholas Rodriguez Franco,/ Impresor de Libros. Año de M D CC XXIII./ Se hallaràn en su Casa, en la Calle de el Poço, y en Palacio./

Discussing Ribaut's doings at Port Royal he says on pages 44 and 45:

26 de ellos, que con la esperanza de la vtilidad de la buena Tierra, que juzgaron aver adquirido, resolvieron quedarse à invernar en ella; à los quales, para que estuviesen con mas comodidad, precediendo Consejo

de Renato Laudonier, y de Sola, que sabia de Arquitectura, les hizo Ribao Edificar vn Fuerte pequeno, en Triangulo, sobre el Mar, à la otra parte del Rio, y le puso por Nombre, la Carolina, por llamarse Carlos el Rei de Francia:

Alberto Ribao, que avia quedado en la Carolina, con los 26 Franceses, empleò su desvelo en fortificarla, y ponerla en defensa, [. . . 26 of them who, with the hope of profiting from the good land which they thought they had acquired, resolved to remain and spend the winter in it; after consultation with René Laudonnière and Salles, which latter was familiar with building work, Ribaut, in order that they might have greater comfort, had these build a small triangular fort overlooking the sea on the other side of the river and gave it the name Carolina because the king of France was named Charles.

Albert Ribaut, who had remained behind in Carolina with the twenty six Frenchmen, employed his talents in fortifying it and putting it in condition of defense.]¹

Here was more misleading *misinformation*. The fort which Ribaut built at Port Royal was not called Carolina, but Charlesfort, as we are fully informed. Albert Ribaut was not the name of the man who remained behind, but his name was Albert de la Pierria, as shown by the writings of Ribaut, Laudonnière and LeMoyne. Barcia should have written Charlesfort instead of Carolina where he wrote of the captain "who had remained behind in Carolina". His reference was to the fort only; not to the country, but his error has furnished a straw for those who persist in clinging to the myth to grab at. In his next chapter Barcia has Laudonnière to return to Florida in 1564 and build Charlesfort on the St. John's River, instead of la Caroline.

The next work in which we find a discussion of the name Carolina is a memoir by Antonio de Arredondo, a Spanish engineer and diplomatist who was on, or about to go on, duty in Florida when he prepared this brief in 1742, at the request of Güemes y Horcasitas, captain-general of Havana. An official draft of it had lain unpublished in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville, until 1925, when Herbert E. Bolton, Professor of American History and Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California, published it, with an English translation and copious notes, in *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*.¹ The title of the memoir is: DEMOSTRACION HISTORIOGRAPHICA del derecho que tiene el Rey Catolica á el territorio que oy posee el Rey Britanico con el nombre de Nueva Georgia en las Provincias y Continente de la Florida, en

¹The writer is indebted to Professor Oscar L. Keith, of the University of South Carolina, for translating the Spanish.

²University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1925.

la que se prueba el dominio positivo que tiene el Rey de España hasta la latitud septentrional de 32 grados 30 minutos inclusive, en que se halla la barra de la Isla de Santa Elena, termino por el qual se deben arreglar los limites de las respectivas poseciones en esta parte de mundo entre la Florida y la Carolina.—Havana y Marzo 20 de 1742.

Using Professor Bolton's translation, we find in Arredondo's second chapter an account of the French expedition to Santa Elena, or Port Royal, wherein he says:

Finally, he established a fort in the province of Orista,¹ at the port of Santa Elena, in 32° 30', naming it Carolina, for his King, Charles IX, who was then reigning in France.

Before proceeding it will be well to clear up the confusion that has been occasioned by the name of Carolina, given by Ribaut to the settlement which he made on the river called by him Port Royal and by Lucas Vázquez called Santa Elena,² so that the errors into which some foreigners have fallen may not serve as a pretext for controversy by furnishing a plea for delaying the decision, to the advantage of the English nation, as has happened heretofore.

The name Carolina, given by Ribaut in the year 1562, certainly was not applied to all the provinces and regions comprehended between 29° and 39° latitude, to which these foreigners thoughtlessly extend it. On the contrary, he merely applied it to the one small settlement which he left in charge of Albert; for as careful reflection would tell us, it was impossible to encompass so many provinces with only twenty-six³ Frenchmen, including the commander.

It might, of course, be true that it was the intention of Ribaut and Admiral Coligny to take possession of the whole of the territory described. But the accidents that prevented the execution of the plan, and Nicolás Barri's forced withdrawal, are clear evidence that they did not succeed in doing it. Consequently, this name of Carolina began and ended of itself in the space of a year.

Gaspar Coligny, being somewhat relieved of his pernicious tasks, and not dissuaded by previous failure of Ribaut and his men, ordered René Laudonnière to renew the undertaking. . . . On reach-

¹Orista was the Spanish interpretation of the name of the Indian tribe which the French called Audusta and the English subsequently called Edisto. The section of country lying just east of that occupied by the Edistoos was called by the Spaniards "the province of Chicora". It was occupied by the Kiawah, Etiwan and Seewee Indians, who had no provinces, or other political subdivisions. Province was a Spanish simile for section of country. Antonio de Herrera, a Spanish historian whose works were published in 1720, says: "There was a town there named Orizta, but the Spaniards called it Chicora, because they never could help distorting the words a little." The distorting of the Indian word was probably more than "a little" in this case, but it has been the foundation for further distortion. Even in this day there are those who assert (without a particle of authority) that South Carolina was called Chicora by the Indians. The writer has looked in vain among early English records of South Carolina to find a single mention of the name, or one similar enough thereto to identify the Indian word which the Spaniards interpreted as Chicora.

²Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón did not give the name to that port. It was given by Francisco Gordillo (who was conducting an exploring expedition under the patronage of Ayllón and Diego Caballero, of Espanola) and Pedro de Quexos (a slave hunter), who were sailing in consort along that coast and on St. Helen's day in 1521 discovered the island subsequently called St. Helena. They named the eastern projection thereof Punta de Santa Elena (head of St. Helen), and it was not long after they had made their discovery known before the great port there and its vicinity were well known to Spanish navigators and officials as Santa Elena.

³There were twenty-eight, but that does not weaken Arredondo's point. He had the error of Hakluyt and Barcia before him and not the original statements of Ribaut and Laudonnière.

ing the River May, or San Juan, on the 20th of June he established a settlement at the Bluffs of San Mateo and erected a post which he called Charlesfort, without any mention of the name Carolina, as the previous establishment had been called.

While Arredondo was correct in saying that the country was never called Carolina, and offered a logical argument in support of his statements, he greatly weakened them by following the error of Barcia in exchanging the names of the two French settlements.

In 1761 there was published in London *A Description of South Carolina*, by James Glen, who had been governor of the province from 1738 to 1756. Although Governor Glen's work is one of the most valuable of the early publications on South Carolina, he adopted the fully developed error started by Ashe, with a mental reservation, however, expressed in the words "generally thought":

The whole Extent was formerly called *Florida*, and hath been successively possessed by the Spaniards, the French, and the English.

The Name Carolina, afterwards given to that Country, and still retained by the English, is generally thought to have been derived from Charles the Ninth of France; in whose reign Admiral Coligny made some settlements on the Florida Coasts; but the French were soon after driven from thence by the Spaniards, who in their turn were also expelled by the Natives.

That such was the derivation of the name was not so "generally thought" as Governor Glen supposed is attested by the following statement in the chapter of "Political Annals of South Carolina" in *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies*, Book 1, to 1688, by George Chalmers:¹

Whether this fine province derived its name from Charles IX. of France, or Charles II. of England, has been formally debated by historians. In support of the former hypothesis no evidence has been produced; the present patent demonstrates the latter.

In *A Short Description of the Province of South Carolina*, written in 1763 and published in London in 1770, the author says:

South-Carolina is part of that extensive country on the Eastern Shore of *North-America*, named by the Spaniards *Florida*, and by the English, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, Virginia.

In *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*² Dr. Alexander Hewat, who seldom, by any chance, stated anything correctly, says:

Ribaud landed at the mouth of the river now called Albemarle, which was then considered as part of Florida, where he built a fort, for the security of himself and followers, and called the country Carolina.

¹London, 1780.

²Printed for Alexander Donaldson, / No. 48 St. Paul's Church-yard, London. / M. DCC.LXXIX. Reprinted in Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*. (New York, 1836.)

A writer who did not know the name of the chief character of his narrative and who made him plant his settlement hundreds of miles from the actual location of it is scarcely the proper person to inform us. He tells us that Ribaut did a thing which Ribaut himself did not claim that he had done.

In *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina*¹, Professor William J. Rivers, the first historian of South Carolina to make use of the great store of official records available, and who, for that reason, was the most accurate of all the ante-bellum writers, says²:

The part of North America embracing the present States of North and South Carolina, first received the name of Florida, which was given by the Spaniards. The French called it by the same name. The English, after the colonization of Virginia, called the same region Southern Virginia³. Yet from the year 1628-9, in the reign of Charles I., the name of Carolina was indefinitely applied to the territory south of Virginia, as may be observed in the list of MSS. under this date in the Appendix. At length, in 1663, from a happy coincidence of the names of the kings, it was retained and definitely applied to the province granted to the proprietors by Charles II., and in compliment to that monarch, as stated by authors of the time and indicated in the first charter. Our historians are not agreed whether the name was derived from Charles IX. of France or Charles II. of England. There would be more reason in introducing the claims of Charles I. If the name originated from that of the fort "Arx Carolina," built by Laudonniere on the St. John's River, or Charles Fort at Port Royal, it was not applied to the territory by the French, who continued to call it Florida.

Professor Rivers's suggestion that if the name originated either from that of "Arx Carolina", the fort on the St. John's, or from Charlesfort, at Port Royal, the French did not apply it is pertinent. From the evidence before us it is perfectly patent that Thomas Ashe, John Oldmixon, Governor Glen and Dr. Alexander Hewat are responsible for the derivation of the name from Charles IX., and not one of them ever offered any evidence, or cited any authority, to sustain his assertion. The works of Oldmixon and Hewat are masses of errors from title page to colophon. Governor Glen merely states that it is "generally thought" that such was the origin of the name. Ashe was misled by the plate "Arx Carolina" in the works of Montanus and Ogilby, but he offered an alternative, nevertheless. And so we see that from a ship clerk's misinterpretation of a Latin superscription on a fanciful picture of Fort Caroline began an error that has grown with the years, until now there are many who refuse to believe that it is not true.

¹Charleston: McCarter & Co., 1856.

²Page 62, note.

³*Ante*, p. 4.