The Origin of Carolina

By A. S. SALLEY, Jr.
Secretary of the Commission
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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 meri motu nostris dictae regionis territorium ac insulas in provinciam erigendas esse duximus; prout eas ex plenitudine potestatis et prorogativa nostra regiae pro nobis, hereditibus et successoribus nostris in provinciam Carolanam 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.]

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 Vásques de Ayllón in 1526; Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565-1566; Pedro Menéndez Marqués 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

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The 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.
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 Brittan1.

On May 8, 1654, Francis Yeardley wrote a letter at Linne-Haven, Virginia, to "John Farrar, Esq; at his manor 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 Councillor, 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.)
3Collections 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 discovery 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 située es Indes Occidentales . . . des crits par le Captaine Laudonnière qui y a commandé l’espace d‘vn an trois moys . . . . ² On page 20 thereof Laudonnière, referring to the fort at Port Royal, says:

Ayant finy son propos, nous prîmes congé de tous, & nauigeasmes vers nos vaisseaux, laissès au fort le nom de Charlesfort, & à la petite riuierc celuy de Chernoceau.

[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 Chernoceau.]

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 Meane’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[the French Fort].”

²Mise en lumière par M. Basanlier. / gentil homm François Mathematicien / 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.
Pages of Laudonnière's narrative, showing his statement as to Charlesfort.
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’Ouest qui estoit celuy de la terre, estoit fermé d’une petite tranchee & releuee de gazons faicts en forme de parapet, de la hauteur de neuf pieds, l’autre costé qui estoit vers la riuier estoit fermé d’une palissade de clies, de la maniere que l’on faict les gabions. Il y aouoit 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, excepte enuiron la hauteur de deux ou trois pieds de gazon, dont les parapets estoient faicts. L’auois faict faire vne grange place au meilleur, de dix huiet pas de long & de large, au meilleur de laquelle, tirat sur l’vn des costez vers le Sud, ie feis bastir vn corps de garde, & vne maison de l’autre costé vers le North. laquelle l’auois faict 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’vn des costez qui fermit ma court, laquelle iaouois faict faire belle & spatieuse, touchoit à la grange des munitions: & en l’autre vers la riuier, estoit ma maison, à l’entour de laquelle il y auoit des galleries tout couuertes. La principalle saillie de mon logis estoit au meilleur de la grande place, & l’autre estoit deuers la riuier. Assez lo in du fort ie feis bastir vn four, pour euter 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’a 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’honere 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 turues 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 garde, 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 buildt 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, Voijages 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.

LeMoyne's description of la Caroline.
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 draw-
ings 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 expressa/ à Jacobo LeMoyne cui
cognito=/ men DeMorgues:/ addita ad singulas brevi earum
declaratione./ Nune verò recens à Theodorode DeBry./  
Leodiense in æs incisæ, &/ evulgatae./ Francoforti ad Noenum/
Týpis Joannis Wecheli, Sumtibus vero Theodorì/ de Bry Anno
MDXCI./ Venales repertutur in officina Sigismundi Feirabèdii/

Plate X of LeMoyne’s work bears the superscription Arcis
Carolineæ 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 main-
land 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 build-
ings 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 Laudonniere’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 propug-
naculo 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.
LeMoyne’s drawing of an Indian town visited by the French of Charlesfort in search of food.
Av 1. 0 post Presidei Ribaldi et Florida abitum, qui in Charles fort propagaculo supra fluvium, insu- 
lan, quae in majore Portus Regalis alveo Septemtrionem spectante sita est, ingredientem, ab ipso extracto, 
remediis fuerant, annone penuria laborare ceverunt, variis iis tur exquisitis sententias, qua ratione huius 
dificibus occurrit posset, nihil consulunt futurum conferunt, quam ad Regem Quado et Coueexis sum 
fratrem provocauerunt de causa aliquot eis ad eos ablegarunt, qui indix cymba per regionis interioris cir- 
citer decem miliaria progressae leges, magnam flumen aqua duleis irxkerunt, in quo plurimos Crocodilos Nabiris 
longe maiores observavant; fluminis ripa celsis cupressis sunt obsitae. Paululum eo loco commoratis, deinde ulterius progres- 
sum, ad Regem Quado pennexunt in quo per hum. uter exceptis, sui aduentus causam ipsi expulsurunt, orantes ne in tanta 
necessitate eos defeceret. Hac intellexta, legatos ad fratrem Coueexismittit petitum maxum & fabas. Quod illa sine 
mora fecit: nam posridie summo mane legati cum comminatur reversi, et ibente Rege annona in cymbam iulata, Galli plu- 
rurnum hac Regis liberalitate gaudentes, ssehodicere voluerunt: verum ille non permittens, eo die apud se retinuit, 
& gentem liter eos habuit. Posridie mane demonstratis miles se maxum agros significatis, ne penuria se 
premirent, quamdui id milium superesxerit: deinde a Regi dimissi, cadem via, qua 
advenierunt, ad suis redierunt.

LeMoyne's account of the French left at Charlesfort.
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 cypress. 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 De Bry into Latin as Carolinae).

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 Carolina, 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/
Soyal, 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 Setlers on the Rivers, Harbors, and Creeks there. London. Printed by J. C. for Simon Miller at the Star near the West-end of St. Paul's, 1664.

Hilton's narrative was followed two years later by A Brief Description of the Province of CAROLINA: On the Coasts of Florida and More particularly 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 accounts, 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 near 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."

This was followed by De Nieuwe en Onbekende WEEREILD: of Beschryving van AMERICA en 'tZUID-LAND Arnoldus Montanus Amsterdam Anno 1671.

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.)
3 The writer is indebted to Mrs. Jeanetté 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:

_Ameri ca:; 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._

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 establishd 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 Gaspard 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

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3Folio, 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. procure’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, procure’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, Sucesos, Din- amarqueses, Ingleses, y otras Naciones,/ entre sí, y con los Indios: cuias Costumbres, Genios, Idolatria,/ Govierno, Batallas, y As- tucias, se refieren: y los Viages de algunos/ Capitanes, y Pilotos, por el Mar de el Norte, à buscar Paso/ á Orieente, ó union de aquella Tierra, con Asia./ Desde el Año de 1512. Oue Descub- rió/ la Florida, Juan Ponce de Leon, hasta el de 1722./ Escrito/ Por Don Gabriel de Cardenas z Cano/ Dedicado/ Ae Principe Nuesto Señor./ Con Privilecio: En Madrid./ En la Oficina Real, y à Costa de Nicholas Rodríguez 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 esperanca de la utiilidad 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 hico 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, empleó su desvío 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.

Alberto 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.2 The title of the memoir is: DEMOSTRACION HISTORIOGRAPHICA del derecho que tiene el Rey Catolica á el territorio que oy posee el Rey Britisho con el nombre de Nueva Georgia en las Provincias y Continente de la Florida,

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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 pruebe 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 cual se deben arreglar los limites de las respectivas posesiones 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 Vásquez 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-six 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 Nicholas 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.

1Orista was the Spanish interpretation of the name of the Indian tribe which the French called Auduesta and the English subsequently called Edisto. The section of country lying just east of that occupied by the Edistoes was called by the Spaniards ‘‘the province of Chicora’’. It was occupied by the Kiawah, Etivan 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 Oriza, 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 Chiora 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 Vásquez 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 Quezox (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 Hakkyut 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:

> 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* 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.

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1 London, 1780.
2 Printed 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*, 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, says:

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 Virginia. 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.