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GABRIEL MANIGAULT: CHARLESTON MERCHANT

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Gabriel Manigault (1704-1781) was one of Charleston's greatest merchants, according to both older and more recent historians of South Carolina.¹ In a career that extended from about 1725 to 1767, he conducted from his shops on Tradd Street a commercial enterprise that was unspectacular but highly rewarding. Carl Bridenbaugh has classified Manigault as one of the "old traders" who seldom advertised their wares but depended on the steady patronage of regular customers, who usually bought in wholesale lots,² and the available information tends to confirm this classification.³ He did not achieve his wealth, as did some northern merchants, by profits from contracts for supplies to the government.⁴ The largest single claim he ever submitted was for £2,654 19s 8d currency for six months' hire of his sloop.⁵ His other claims were usually much smaller, often less than £100 currency. Many southern merchants made money by dealing in slaves,⁶ but not Manigault. He occasionally

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¹ Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776*, New York, 1899, p. 400; George C. Rogers, Jr., *Evolution of a Federalist, William Loughton Smith of Charleston, 1758-1812*, Columbia, 1962, pp. 21, 26.

² *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776*, New York, 1955, p. 77.

³ Virtually all the Manigault commercial papers have apparently disappeared, probably consumed in the Charleston fire of 1861. Manigault Family Record (1860), p. 116, typescript copy in Manigault Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia (henceforth SCL). In the absence of extant papers, I have pieced together this account from bits of information contained in family traditions, newspaper advertisements, records of the public treasurer, duty payments, shipping returns, and the papers of Henry Laurens.

⁴ See William T. Baxter, *The House of Hancock: Business in Boston, 1724-1775*, Cambridge, Mass., 1945.

⁵ April 17, 1744, Council Journal, No. 11, Part 1, p. 206, S. C. Archives. The South Carolina pound had a value about one-seventh that of the British pound sterling.

⁶ See David Duncan Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens, With a Sketch of the Life of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens*, New York, 1915; W. Robert Higgins, "Charles Town Merchants and Factors Dealing in the External Negro Trade, 1735-1775," this *Magazine*, LXV (1964), 205-217. Higgins ranks Manigault 63rd in importance among the Charles Town merchants with total slave duty payments of £1,795 currency. The most important merchants—Austin & Laurens, and the successor firm Austin, Laurens, & Appleby—paid slave duties of £68,010.

that he went directly from Charleston to St. Augustine as some writers have evidently assumed.⁵³ When Brown's passage through Dorchester on his return to the backcountry was reported to the Provincial Congress on November 9, that body assumed that he had gone "probably to increase the commotion raised in the backcountry by Patrick Cunningham." The Congress immediately issued a warrant for his arrest and directed Colonel Thomson "to use the most effectual means for apprehending and bringing to Charlestown the body of Thomas Brown." He was charged with having violated the treaty of Ninety-Six. As the Provincial Congress authorized Thomson to "impress horses from any person or persons," it can be assumed that a hot pursuit was begun to prevent Brown's junction with Patrick Cunningham's force.⁵⁴ This pursuit undoubtedly kept Brown from lingering in the backcountry, and with Richardson's force sweeping the whole region for loyalist leaders there was no place of safety in South Carolina.⁵⁵ Brown was in Savannah, Georgia, on December 26, 1775, so it is probable that he escaped the dragnet by crossing the Savannah River into Georgia. He apparently reached St. Augustine in early January of 1776.⁵⁶

By the end of 1775 the initial struggle for control of the South Carolina backcountry was over. The loyalists had been defeated as much by their own isolated position and lack of united leadership as by the Machiavellian techniques of the opposition. Brown had been but one of several prominent loyalist leaders in this initial phase of the struggle. Now he was preeminent. Fletchall, the Cunninghams, Pearis, and other loyalist leaders were jailed at Charleston; Moses Kirkland was imprisoned at Philadelphia. Brown was the only major loyalist leader still at large who could provide leadership to the loyalists residing in the Georgia and South Carolina backcountry. He was more than eager to renew the struggle.

⁵³ See Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists*, I, 260-265, and Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 323-324.

⁵⁴ Dorchester, no longer in existence, was located about twenty-six miles from Charleston on the north bank of the Ashley River. Proceedings of the Provincial Congress, November 9, 1775, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, IV, 42.

⁵⁵ Fletchall, Pearis, and several other loyalist leaders had been captured by December 12th. Richardson to Henry Laurens, December 12, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 239.

⁵⁶ Extract of a letter from Savannah, Georgia, to Mr. Morrison of Birtley White House near Newcastle, December 26, 1775, *Letters of the American Revolution, 1774-1776*, ed. Margaret W. Willard, Boston, 1925, pp. 245, 246.

(To be Continued)

handled slaves, but never regularly. Although he owned several hundred slaves for use on his plantations, he had such an aversion to the trade in slaves that he would not loan money to slave dealers.⁷ Trading mainly with the West Indies, Philadelphia, and New York, and occasionally with England, Manigault specialized in the importation of rum, sugar, wines, oils, fabrics, and flour, and the exportation of rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, lumber, shingles, sole leather, deer skins, corn, peas, beef, and pork.⁸

Pierre Manigault, his father, had also been a merchant. Originally a cooper, Pierre had branched out into the distilling of rum and eventually became an importer. Little is known of his mercantile activities, and it is not entirely clear whether Gabriel took over his interests or set up shop independently.⁹ Gabriel was established as a merchant before his father died in 1729, but the only transaction recorded during the early years was his supplying of Capt. Thomas Mountjoy's sloop *Palmer* in 1727 with provisions worth £73 10s 10½d currency.¹⁰

Significant information about his commercial activities begins with his purchase of the sloop *Neptune* toward the end of 1732. The master and co-owner Edward Lightwood brought the *Neptune* into Charleston harbor from Rhode Island in November 1732, carrying 16 firkins of butter, 5 barrels of train oil, 5,000 bricks, and a parcel of onions and apples.¹¹ A month later the sloop was sent out to Jamaica with 96 barrels of rice, 10 barrels of pitch, 52 barrels of tar, 100 bushels of corn, 54 bushels of peas, 30,000 shingles, and 60 hogs.¹² It returned with 11 hogsheads and

⁷ Henry Laurens to Samuel and William Vernon, June 12, 1756, quoted in Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina Before the Revolution," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (1928), 815. The inventory of Manigault's estate listed about 286 slaves and mentioned that 15 more had been bequeathed by his will. Inventories A (1785-1793), pp. 434-437, S. C. Archives.

⁸ Public Treasurer, Journal A: Duties (1735-1748), and Journal B: Duties (1748-1765), S. C. Archives; Shipping Returns, British Public Record Office, CO 5/509, 5/510, 5/511 (British Manuscripts Project items D570, D571, D572). In many ways the career of Gabriel Manigault resembles that of the Pepperrells, of whom it was said that they "owed their prosperity to perseverance, to their careful, meticulous tactics. . . . All their transactions were, individually, on a small scale, even by contemporary standards; but in the aggregate they commanded the respect of the Pepperrells' fellow merchants." Byron Fairchild, *Messrs. William Pepperrell: Merchants at Piscataqua*, Ithaca, N. Y., 1954, p. 163.

⁹ Mabel L. Webber, "Pierre Manigault," DAB.

¹⁰ Public Treasurer, Ledger 1725-1730, p. 118, S. C. Archives. He was mentioned as early as 1725 as a merchant. Miscellaneous Records A (1726-1727), (WPA Transcripts), p. 258, S. C. Archives.

¹¹ Shipping Returns, Quarter Ending Christmas 1732 (Inwards), November 13, 1732, BPRO CO 5/509.

¹² Quarter Ending Christmas 1732 (Outwards), December 11, 1732, *ibid.*

5 barrels of sugar.¹³ Thereafter until December 1736 the *Neptune* was usually sent out to Jamaica in late winter or early spring for sugar and rum, and to a northern port (New York, Philadelphia, or Boston) once or twice during the summer and autumn for bread, flour, and other provisions. On both outward legs of the voyages, Manigault sent out rice, naval stores, and a few miscellaneous articles.¹⁴

The *Neptune* was not carrying all of Manigault's goods during these years, however. During 1735, for example, Manigault imported in vessels belonging to others 7,759 gallons of rum and various other articles paying £299 17s 6½d in general duties. In addition, he exported 6,600 pounds of tanned sole leather to Barbados on the *Sweet Nelly*. The *Neptune* brought in goods on which he paid only £56 4s 9½d in general duties, so by far the greater part of his trade was carried on by vessels belonging to other persons.¹⁵

Manigault became public treasurer in 1735 and continued in that office until his resignation in 1743.¹⁶ His business continued under his name, for he advertised Barbados rum, "a few choice new Negro Men," "good Cocoa Nutts" (cocoa beans, from which chocolate was made), and clayed and muscovado sugar for sale.¹⁷ The shipping returns for the latter part of the period are missing, and the duty journals have no entries under his name from late 1735 to 1743. Apparently someone was acting as a clerk for him and conducting most, if not all, of the business. There is considerable evidence that his nephew, John Royer, son of his half-brother, was the clerk.¹⁸

¹³ Quarter Ending Lady Day 1733 (Inwards), February 26, 1732/3, *ibid*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *passim*. The importation of rum may indicate that Manigault disposed of the rum distrillery that his father had operated.

¹⁵ Journal A, pp. 1-3, 5-9, 13. The journals list only duties paid; there is no specification of articles on which they were paid. The shipping returns list specific items, but not the merchants to whom they were consigned. Unless a merchant is known to have been the sole consignee of a particular vessel's cargo, it would not be possible to determine from the records how much he imported. Export duties were collected only on sole leather and deer skins. It is, therefore, impossible to tell from the duty journals what other exports Manigault may have made.

¹⁶ Mabel L. Webber, "Gabriel Manigault," *DAB*.

¹⁷ *South-Carolina Gazette*, April 12, 1735; January 15, 1737; February 16, August 3, 1738; April 9, 1741.

¹⁸ Pierre Manigault married Judith Giton Royer, the widow of Noe Royer, who had three sons, including John, the father of John Royer. Manigault Family Record (1860), pp. 47-48, SCL. Royer's name begins to appear in the duty lists immediately after Manigault's name disappears, and it in turn disappears within six months after Manigault resigned his office. The volume and routing of shipments agree very well with those of Manigault's business after 1743 except for

Manigault and Lightwood advertised the *Neptune* for sale in the autumn of 1736¹⁹ and sold her sometime between December 1736 and May 1737.²⁰ To take her place, they bought a larger sloop, the *Nancy of Charles Town* (commonly called the *Nancy*), rated at fifty tons. The *Nancy* was engaged in the same pattern of trade as the *Neptune*, except that Barbados, not Jamaica, was the favorite destination in the West Indies.²¹

Because of the break in the shipping returns from 1739 to 1752, the pattern of Manigault's trade in his own vessels is not known for that period. The duty journals reveal that he continued to import goods from Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, and St. Kitts. Imports from Rhode Island were fairly heavy while they lasted, but there were none after 1756. New York and Philadelphia were frequent sources of his goods until after 1762, when imports from those places ceased altogether. More and more Manigault depended on two-way trade with the West Indies. During the 1760's he was employing two of his own vessels in that trade: the *Sukey and Nancy*, a 30-ton sloop owned jointly with its master Josiah Dickinson and John Savage, and the *Elizabeth*, a 35-ton sloop owned jointly with its master James Gilcrist and Savage.²²

a rather larger volume of deer skins exported by Royer. If Royer were acting for Manigault, the erroneous inclusion of his private ledger among the records of the Public Treasurer would be understandable (see below, note 34).

¹⁹ *Gazette*, October 30, 1736.

²⁰ Shipping Returns, Quarter Ending Christmas 1736 (Outwards), December 15, 1736; Quarter Ending Midsummer 1737 (Inwards), May 17, 1737, BPRO CO 5/510.

²¹ *Ibid.*, *passim*. There is an unfortunate break in the shipping returns from June 1739 to December 1752. After the latter date there is no mention of the *Nancy*. Vessels are not named in the duty journals, but Manigault imported goods on some vessel commanded by Lightwood as late as 1744. Journal A, p. 265.

²² Journal A, Journal B, *passim*. During this period he had a whole or partial interest in the following vessels: *Carolina*, a 40-ton brigantine; *Postillion*, a sloop; *Swanzy*, a 40-ton schooner; *Good Intent*, a 45-ton schooner; *Foesby*, a 100-ton brigantine; *St. Philip of Charles Town*, a 180-ton ship; *Non-Pareil* and *Pearl*, sloops-of-war; *Sally*, a 160-ton ship; *Two Friends*, a brig; *St. Andrew*, a 220-ton ship. Entries of March 2, 1743; November 15, 1744; September 23, 1745; July 25, 1746; April 18, 1748. Ship Register, Port of Charles Town, 1735-1765, S. C. Archives; January 26, 1744, Council Journal No. 11, Part 1, p. 70, S. C. Archives; *The Colonial Records of South Carolina: The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, January 19, 1748-June 29, 1748*, ed. J. H. Easterby and Ruth S. Green, Columbia, 1961, p. 231; Shipping Returns, Quarter Ending July 5, 1758 (Inwards), June 5, 1758; Quarter Ending January 5, 1760 (Inwards), October 22, 1759; December 28, 1759; Quarter Ending July 5, 1760 (Outwards), July 3, 1760; Quarter Ending January 5, 1762 (Outwards), November 24, 1761, BPRO CO 5/510.

At one time or another, Gabriel Manigault traded with Boston, Rhode Island, New York, Philadelphia, Virginia, Cape Fear, Georgia, Bermuda, Jamaica, Barbados, Turks Island, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, Grenada, Curacao, St. Eustatius, Providence, Madeira, Lisbon, Bristol, and London. A tabulation of the imports recorded in the duty journals shows that the West Indies accounted for 51% of the shipments by number, although not necessarily by value. Trade with the mainland colonies accounted for another 47% (Philadelphia alone supplied 23% of the total shipments), and Europe and England supplied only 2% of the total number of shipments.²³ There can be no comparable calculation for exports because of the lack of data. In general, however, it would seem likely that Manigault tried to export to the same places from which he imported in order to maintain a favorable balance of trade for himself. Exportation to England is a special case. Manigault exported much more to England than he imported from there, a phenomenon which is well documented for the period 1749-1751 in the records of the young firm of Austin & Laurens, and later by the large balances which he had with English merchants.²⁴

Throughout his career Gabriel Manigault was active in the importation of both clayed and muscovado sugar and of West Indian rum. Occasionally, too, he advertised Madeira wine for sale.²⁵ During the 1730's he imported much flour and bread from Philadelphia, but there are no such entries for the later period.²⁶ Neither the shipping returns nor the duty journals reveal the source of the "good *Welch* plains, and strip'd duffils" and the "good white plains, blew plains, and striped duffils" that he advertised for sale.²⁷ After 1758 his imports in his own

²³ Gabriel Manigault was therefore not typical of Charleston merchants. Compare his pattern of trade with statistics for all shipping that entered Charleston in two typical years, as derived from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*, Washington, 1960, p. 760:

| From | 1735 | % | 1768 | % |
|-------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Great Britain | 57 | 24.5 | 139 | 31.0 |
| Ireland | 4 | 1.7 | 11 | 2.4 |
| Europe | 38 | 16.2 | 18 | 4.0 |
| Africa | 9 | 3.9 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Bahama Islands | 27 | 11.6 | 21 | 4.7 |
| Bermuda Islands | 1 | 0.4 | 9 | 2.0 |
| 13 Colonies | 57 | 24.6 | 88 | 19.6 |
| Caribbean | 42 | 18.1 | 129 | 28.8 |
| Other American Colonies | 15 | 6.5 | 33 | 7.4 |

²⁴ See below, notes 46 and 52.

²⁵ *Gazette*, June 10, 1756.

²⁶ Shipping Returns, BPRO CO 5/509, 5/510, 5/511, *passim*.

²⁷ *Gazette*, July 24, 1749; August 6, 1750.

vessels consisted almost entirely of rum and sugar, with occasional small quantities of limes, cocoa, and coffee. Rather frequently after 1762 his vessels returned from the West Indies in ballast.²⁸

There was hardly such a thing as a typical shipment. The same vessel that in August brought in 123 hogsheads and 3 tierces of rum might in November bring in only 57 hogsheads. The volume and value of shipments cannot be determined from the existing records with any certainty. The rum accounts readily yield the number of gallons imported, but they were discontinued after 1745. In 1743 Manigault imported 18,615 gallons of rum; in 1744, 13,657 $\frac{1}{3}$ gallons; and in 1745, 10,885 $\frac{2}{3}$ gallons.²⁹ Perhaps a guess can be made about the value of other articles imported. Specific duties were frequently set at a level of roughly 5% of the value of the articles. If all duties were levied at this rate, during his earlier career Manigault was importing goods worth approximately £200,000 currency annually. After 1752 the value of goods imported annually would have been nearly double that amount.³⁰

Manigault's record on the slave trade is curious. Although he disliked the business, he imported slaves on eleven occasions, most of them for a few slaves at a time. In 1751, 1752, and 1755, however, there were very large payments of duties as if entire shiploads were entered. Because varying duties were charged according to heights (and therefore largely according to age) it is not possible to tell exactly how many slaves were involved, but the number in each case was obviously about forty or fifty.³¹

Turning now to exports, there are several categories of goods in which Gabriel Manigault traded almost constantly. Foremost of these was rice, which appears on practically all the lists of shipments made in his own vessels, which were mostly to the West Indies but occasionally to the northern continental colonies. Almost as important as rice was the trade in naval stores—pitch, tar, and turpentine.

²⁸ Shipping Returns, BPRO CO 5/511, *passim*.

²⁹ Journal A, pp. 244-245, 269, 282, 298.

³⁰ In a typical year (1745), he paid general duties amounting to £1,025 2s 6d currency. *Ibid.*, pp. 290-294, 305-307. In a year typical of his later career (1758), he paid general duties amounting to £1,928 14s 6d currency. Journal B, pp. 193-196, 210-212.

³¹ Journal B, pp. 64, 89, 136. The shipping returns reveal two occasions of slave importation which do not show up in the duty records. One was in March 1735, before the duty records begin, when thirty-six were brought in from Jamaica; the other was in July 1764, when thirty were imported from Antigua. Shipping Returns, Quarter Ending Lady Day 1735 (Inwards), March 21, 1735, BPRO CO 5/509; Quarter Ending July 5, 1764 (Inwards), July 5, 1764, BPRO CO 5/511.

Manigault produced rice on his own plantations, but he probably bought much rice from other planters. His share of rice shipped jointly with the firm of Austin & Laurens in 1750-1751 was 707 barrels, equal to the production of two usual rice plantations.⁸² In 1766 he shipped in his own vessels 1,639 barrels of rice, equal to the production of five plantations.⁸³ Possibly some pitch, tar, and turpentine were produced on Manigault's own plantations, but at least on occasion he bought from others.⁸⁴

Lumber and shingles were major items of export. Shingles appeared on the export lists as early as 1732, but they were not regularly shipped until about 1760. Lumber was exported often, and staves and heading for barrels were shipped from time to time. Manigault advertised in 1737 his willingness to purchase white oak hogshead heading,⁸⁵ but he probably produced a great deal of his own wood, for he advertised for a sawmill operator in 1739.⁸⁶ A minor, but consistent, item of export was provisions—corn, peas, beef, and pork.

Gabriel Manigault engaged in the export of both deer skins and sole leather. The trade in deer skins was negligible, amounting to only four shipments for the entire period 1735-1765.⁸⁷ But Manigault was a large factor in sole leather—that product appears constantly in his shipping returns. In 1757, when a total of 12,732 pounds of sole leather was shipped out of Charleston, his share alone was 7,212 pounds.⁸⁸ From 1743 through 1763, he shipped an average of 10,111 pounds annually, mostly to the West Indies and to Philadelphia. The amounts ranged from a low of 1,048 pounds in 1751 to a high of 23,054 pounds in 1759.⁸⁹

The general absence of indigo from records relating to Gabriel Manigault is puzzling. Indigo was a major crop at his "Silkhope" planta-

⁸² A[ustin] & L[Laurens], Waste Book, 1749, *passim*, Henry Laurens Papers, South Carolina Historical Society; Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, Gloucester, Mass., 1958, I, 284; William W. Abbot, *The Royal Governors of Georgia*, Chapel Hill, 1959, pp. 23-24. This amount of rice might well have been produced on Manigault's plantation at Auendaw (the Sewee Barony). A survey of 1772 shows two old rice fields. John McCready Plats, Case Plats 155, 480, Mesne Conveyance Office, Charleston.

⁸³ Shipping Returns, BPRO CO 5/511, *passim*.

⁸⁴ [John Royer], Ledger 1740-1747, p. 100, S. C. Archives. This ledger has previously been classified as belonging to the Public Treasurer, but Miss Wylma Wates has identified it as being a private ledger of John Royer, Gabriel Manigault's nephew.

⁸⁵ *Gazette*, November 5, 1737.

⁸⁶ *Gazette*, June 30, 1739.

⁸⁷ If John Royer's shipments are included, the total rises to eighteen shipments.

⁸⁸ Journal B, p. 176.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 233, 248, *et passim*.

tion,⁴⁰ but the only evidence that he traded in it at all comes very late in his life, after he had retired from active commerce.⁴¹ An intimate of the family recalled (probably mistakenly, however) that Manigault had in fact helped to introduce the culture of indigo into South Carolina by hiring a French workman.⁴² One possible explanation for the lack of evidence is that as an enumerated and bountied product, nearly all the indigo would have been shipped to England, and Manigault rarely made shipments to England. There are only two itemized records of shipments made by him to England after indigo had become commercially important, and neither lists indigo as part of the cargo.⁴³

Gabriel Manigault did not deal very much in the re-exportation of goods. Debentures were issued in his name for drawbacks (refunds) on import duties only eighteen times from 1745 through 1765. Significantly, eleven of these occasions were during the time his son Peter was studying in England, and he probably re-exported goods to England to build up credits to pay for Peter's education.⁴⁴

Probably Manigault acted as a factor or agent for merchants from other places. Certainly he had accounts with merchants elsewhere. As late as 1779 he had credit balances with the following firms abroad: Thomas Dougan & Company; Henry Bonnum of Antigua; Lytcott & Company of Barbados; Conel & Moroni, and Mayne & Company of Lisbon; William Manning, Neufville & Rolleston, Richard & Thomas Shubrick, all of London; and Edward Neufville and Thomas Sims, both of Bristol.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Louis and Gabriel E. Manigault, "The Manigault Family of South Carolina from 1685 to 1886," *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, IV (1897), 61.

⁴¹ On April 26, 1777, he was paid £20,000 by the state for some indigo. Commissioners of the Treasury, Ledger 1775-1777, p. 190, S. C. Archives. A few months later he advertised twenty casks of indigo for sale. *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, June 19, 1777. Sometime before 1779 he shipped four half-barrels of indigo to Bermuda. "List of Debts, Bonds, Notes &c. due to G. Manigault," May 24, 1779, Manigault Family Papers, SCL.

⁴² John Farquharson to Gabriel Manigault II, June 24, 1789, Manigault Family Papers, SCL. This story has a strong resemblance to the legend of Eliza Lucas and indigo culture. It is likely that Farquharson was recalling incorrectly the work of Jean Louis Gibert, whom Manigault encouraged in the cultivation of silk at "Silk-hope." *Gazette*, August 3, 1765.

⁴³ Shipping Returns, manifests for the ship *Sally*, dated February 23, 1764, and for the ship *Heart of Oak*, dated March 29, 1764, BPRO CO 5/511.

⁴⁴ Journal B, pp. 31, 41, 54, 64.

⁴⁵ "List of Debts, Bonds, Notes &c. due to G. Manigault," May 24, 1779, Manigault Family Papers, SCL.

On December 31, 1774, Manigault listed credit balances in England of £10,363 2s 11d sterling, which he allowed to remain there during the war:⁴⁶

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Neufville & Rolleston | £ 3,429 1s 2d |
| Edward Neufville | 3,034 1 9 |
| Bank annuities £500, and bank stock £500 (with Richard Shubrick) | 1,000 |
| Sundry funds with William Manning | 2,600 |

Some of the funds in England were invested in the East India Company.⁴⁷

It is family tradition that Gabriel Manigault retired from commerce shortly after 1750 to devote himself to his plantations. His nephew, William Banbury, is supposed to have taken over the affairs of the business.⁴⁸ It is obvious from the duty journals and shipping returns that the tradition is wrong, for Manigault continued to trade extensively until the mid-1760's. Banbury did advertise that he was carrying on business at "Mr. Manigault's store in *Union-str.*," but a few months later Banbury was operating a shop under his own name: "WILLIAM BANBURY, has to sell, at his store in *Union-street*. . . ." ⁴⁹ The duty journals indicate clearly that Banbury was importing independently, but it is entirely likely that Manigault established the young man in business.

Manigault remained in business until at least 1766, and the shipping returns mention voyages by his vessels in 1767.⁵⁰ He advertised one of his stores on Tradd Street for rent in July 1767 and again in 1768, at which time the store adjoining it was also offered for rent.⁵¹ By that time Manigault was an old man, and his fortune had already been made many times over. One does not have to look further for reasons for his retirement. It is possible, however, that his business had been unprofitable

⁴⁶ Manigault Family Record (1873), p. 21, in the possession of Mr. Joseph E. Jenkins, Charleston. When Henry Laurens was captured by the British and imprisoned, Manigault offered the funds on deposit with William Manning as a ransom, but the offer was refused. David Duncan Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens*, New York, 1915, p. 382.

⁴⁷ Robert Williams, Jr., to Gabriel Manigault II, October 12, 1785, Manuscript Collection, Charleston Library Society.

⁴⁸ "Manigault Family," *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, IV (1897), 59. Manigault's sister Judith married James Banbury, a sea captain, and was the mother of six children, including William. Manigault Family Record (1867), pp. 269-271, in possession of Mr. Joseph E. Jenkins.

⁴⁹ *Gazette*, December 18, 1752; February 5, 1753. Union St. is now State St.

⁵⁰ Shipping Returns, Quarter Ending September 30, 1767 (Outwards), July 4, 1767, BPRO CO 5/511.

⁵¹ *South-Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, July 28, 1767; April 5, 1768.

in recent years (many of his vessels had returned in ballast rather than carrying cargo), and Henry Laurens' difficulties with the customs officials may have prompted Manigault to close out his career before the officials attacked him also.

Manigault always had a special attachment to young Henry Laurens. It would seem that Manigault helped Laurens establish himself in business in 1749, and Laurens ever after had the highest regard for his old friend. A wastebook kept by the firm of Austin & Laurens from 1749 to 1751 reveals that during 1750 and 1751 Manigault was a partner with the firm in mercantile ventures in pitch, green tar, turpentine, and rice, to London, Lisbon, Cadiz, Amsterdam, and Cowes, for a share of £16,233 18s 9d currency.⁵² Few of the later records of the firm survive, and they do not show any participation at all by Manigault. Probably he joined his efforts with those of the young firm to get it started successfully and then left it on its own.⁵³

Manigault's greatest service to Laurens was his assistance in the disputes with the customs officials and the vice-admiralty court. Laurens' *Wambaw* was seized by the authorities in 1767 because its captain had not posted a lumber bond in Georgia, although Laurens had been careful to inform the authorities of the difficulties involved in posting a bond in the wilderness of Georgia and had apparently received their acquiescence. Upon the initial refusal of the collector to admit the vessel to the harbor, Henry's brother James Laurens and Gabriel Manigault

⁵² A[ustin] & L[Laurens], Waste Book, 1749, Laurens Papers, SCHS, *passim*. Laurens' partner was George Austin.

⁵³ Gabriel Manigault was usually a "lone wolf" in his mercantile enterprises. He is reputed to have disliked partnerships. Gabriel Manigault II to Joseph Manigault, September 13, 1808, "Early Manigault Records," ed. Slann Legaré Clement Simmons, *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, LIX (1954), 40. He never engaged in a mercantile partnership except for single ventures or for the ownership of sailing vessels. One reason for his insistence on independence may have been a disastrous experience with the ill-fated Fire Insurance Friendly Society that was formed in Charles Town late in 1735. Manigault was elected treasurer of the company, which had a subscribed capital of about £100,000 currency. *Gazette*, November 15, 1735; January 3, February 7, 1736. The great fire of November 18-20, 1740, devastated the town. Estimates of the loss ranged as high as £250,000 sterling, but claims amounting to only £60,486 8s 4½d sterling were filed when a Parliamentary bounty was given to the sufferers. *The Colonial Records of South Carolina: The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, September 12, 1739-March 26, 1741, ed. J. H. Easterby, Columbia, 1952, p. 408; June 4, 1742, Upper House Journal, No. 9, p. 50 (first pagination series), S. C. Archives. The Society was doubtless bankrupted by the fire, for there is no further record of it.

offered to give security that similar cases had never been refused. After a few days a caller "seeming to represent the collector" hinted that the collector would admit the vessel if he were asked to do so as a personal favor. Because the merchants of Charleston were currently engaged in a dispute with the customs officials about the collection of fees, Manigault and Laurens refused the offer. The seizure was then made. Despite the defense, the ship was condemned, and Laurens was obliged to pay fees amounting to £277 and to pay £175 to repurchase his vessel.⁵⁴

Continuing the battle with the customs house, Gabriel Manigault and John Neufville, another prominent merchant, brought suit against Collector Daniel Moore for requiring "Fees, Gratuities or Rewards, for signing four several Indigo Certificates" in violation of the law. They asked that he be dismissed from office and fined £100 sterling for each offense. Moore pleaded that the practice had been followed by his predecessors as well as by the naval officer and the comptroller of customs. In one of the more remarkable decisions of his court of vice-admiralty, Judge Egerton Leigh acquitted Moore of the charges but ruled that since there was ample reason for bringing the suit, Moore should pay the costs of his plea.⁵⁵

When the officials seized the *Ann*, another of Henry Laurens' vessels, for loading goods before posting bond, Manigault again came to the defense of his young friend. He swore under oath that few or none of the vessels cleared for a considerable length of time previously had given bond before the time of clearing the port, and he used the records of the customs house itself to prove his point. This time his testimony was more rewarding—the *Ann* was released. Laurens, however, had to pay part of the costs of his defense, because Judge Leigh issued a certificate of "probable cause," which prevented him from suing his accuser at common law to recover damages.⁵⁶

How much Laurens relied upon the advice of Gabriel Manigault is not known. But during the early 1770's, when he was away in England, he relied very heavily upon his brother James and upon Manigault

⁵⁴ [Henry Laurens], *Extracts from the Proceedings of the High Court of Vice-Admiralty in Charlestown, South Carolina . . .*, 2d edn., Charles Town, 1769, pp. [1-10].

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42; *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, September 18, 1767. A subscription was begun for the purpose of prosecuting the suit against Moore. James Laurens contributed an unknown sum to Manigault for that purpose, but it was later returned. Private cash account of James Laurens, June 1, 1767, Laurens Papers, SCHS. The amount is blotted out and cannot be read.

⁵⁶ Laurens, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 31, 42.

for the direction of his affairs, although he also employed other agents. The letters of Henry Laurens abound in directions for his correspondents to "take Mr. Manigaults Advice."⁵⁷

Certainly Laurens had great respect for Manigault, both as a merchant and as a person. In his account of the admiralty trials he referred to him as "Mr. *Manigault*, a Gentlemen of most exalted Merit, whose Veracity was never doubted, and whose good Intentions were never suspected by any Man but a *Judge of the Admiralty*. . . ." ⁵⁸ Judge Leigh penned a stinging answer to the entire pamphlet. In alluding to this remark, Leigh struck very close to the truth of the matter when he spoke of Laurens' "friend Mr. Manigault (to whose goodness he [Laurens] daily offers up the morning sacrifice of hat and hand). . . ." ⁵⁹ Laurens could hardly have found a better model for his own conduct. How many merchants could say, as could Gabriel Manigault, that they had handled their affairs so scrupulously that they had never been sued in their life?⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Examples may be found in Henry Laurens to James Laurens, February 6 and 11, 1772, and Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, February 28, 1772, Letter Book 1771-1772, pp. 182-183, 185, 196, Laurens Papers, SCHS.

⁵⁸ Laurens, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵⁹ Egerton Leigh, *The Man Unmasked: Or, The World Undecetved in the Author of a Late Pamphlet*, . . . , Charles Town, 1769, p. 25.

⁶⁰ Gabriel Manigault II to Joseph Manigault, September 13, 1808, "Early Manigault Records," *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, LIX (1954), p. 40. The records of the Court of Common Pleas, S. C. Archives, confirm this statement.

THE ABIEL ABBOT JOURNALS
A YANKEE PREACHER IN CHARLESTON SOCIETY, 1818-1827

EDITED BY JOHN HAMMOND MOORE

(Continued from July)

In the summer of 1827, after nearly a decade of great activity—writing, preaching, lecturing, and laboring for the Unitarian faith—Abiel Abbot's cough returned. And, as his general condition worsened, he decided once more to seek out Carolina's warm sun. He sailed from Boston on November 1 aboard the *Brookline*. The first two pages of this 1827 journal are missing, and it actually covers only about two weeks, November 2 to 14. However, several letters which Abbot wrote to his wife (1827-1828) are in the Archives of the South Carolina Historical Society; and, reproduced here along with this fragmentary journal, they tell us much about Abbot's second sojourn in Charleston.

. . . In the evening we dropped anchor 5 m. from the bar of Charleston with the *Climatis* near us & other vessels in sight.¹ At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 7th the anchor was weighed, & we sailed with a smart breeze & played off & on till the tide should favor our crossing the bar. It is a difficult pass, not much exceeding the length of our ship. During this agreeable waste of time, the sun rose out of the ocean. I had several times seen this interesting spectacle, but never with such circumstances of sublimity & beauty as this morning. A narrow, level cloud of many degrees extent stretched itself out as a canopy over the god of day as he sent upward the first fair radiance proclaiming his coming. The edges of the cloud were well defined & of a golden hue, & the whole crimsoned with a ruddy & increasing blush. Below a sea green cloud seemed settled on the horizon, which we expected would obscure the rising. But, as the moment drew near, irregular streaks of light, like lightning, played across the spot, & immediately a limb of the orb of day shot its beam to our eyes, clear of vapor. It thrilled the bosom, like the first rays of the sun after a total eclipse, & interjections of surprise & delight were all that was heard till the full orb'd glory was above the horizon.

At half past 7 we crossed the bar & were soon in the harbor.² Mr.

¹ The *Climatis* left Boston the day before the *Brookline* sailed for Charleston.

² The Charleston *Courier*, November 8, 1827, noted the arrival of the *Brookline* on the 7th, commanded by Captain Dickinson. The passengers included "Mr. Cleveland and lady, Mr. Greene and lady, Mr. Redding and lady, Rev. Mr. Abbot, Messrs. B. K. Hough, Jr., B. Sylvester, and one in steerage."