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THE SOUTH CAROLINA REVOLUTIONARY DEBT AND ITS HOLDERS, 1776-1780

W. ROBERT HIGGINS *

When the people of South Carolina joined the Revolution against Great Britain, their provisional government was confronted with the necessity of raising and equipping an army for defense and outfitting a navy to protect the coast. To obtain the funds required for the military, and to pay the costs of routine governmental operation, the Provincial Congress, and later the General Assembly, planned three methods of financial support. First, the Revolutionary government continued the direct and indirect taxes which had been collected by the colonial assembly. The second means of support used by the independent government was the printing and issuance of paper currency, first in pound denominations and later in dollars.

In spite of the large amount of currency authorized by the Revolutionary legislature, and substantial returns from taxes, the income of the South Carolina government after 1775 did not meet the extraordinary expenses of war. Consequently, the independent state government resorted to the third method of obtaining funds for the support of the war, loans from citizens of the state. The combined value of the three sources of support was sufficient to meet all expenses of the Revolutionary government prior to the siege and capitulation of Charleston to Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot and General Sir Henry Clinton on May 12, 1780.

Neither the collection of taxes nor the issuance of fiat money was unknown to the people of South Carolina. Both forms of revenue had been utilized since the first settlement of the colony. Loans to the government from the general citizenry were, however, an innovation in the former colony. Bonded government debt itself was new. The English had not financed their wars through a regularized system of loans until after the Glorious Revolution. When William III came to the British throne, he brought with him the advanced economic concepts of the Dutch. Through the establishment of the Bank of England, the British government was able to float bonds in time of war and repay the money in peace. This method had been used by the English for less than one

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hundred years when it was adopted by the South Carolina Revolutionary legislature to finance the War for Independence.¹

The first authorization for the printing of paper currency was made by the Provincial Congress on June 14, 1775. The resolution ordered the stamping and signing of bills totaling one million pounds.² A portion of the proposed bills was to be expended by the Revolutionary government to outfit two regiments of infantry.

Five months after the passage by the Provincial Congress of the first resolution for printing fiat money, a second authorization was made. The value of this second issuance of Revolutionary currency was much smaller than the first. Only £120,000 in paper notes were to be stamped, and the total amount was to be spent by the government in organizing and arming a regiment of state artillery.³

The two resolutions of the Provincial Congress of June 14 and November 15, 1775, were the independent assembly's only authorizations for the printing of fiat money which were not linked to a system of governmental loans. On March 6, 1776, the Revolutionary legislature adopted the system of governmental loans with its resolution that an additional sum of £750,000 currency be printed and issued by the treasurers. To avoid an excess of paper money, a paragraph within this ordinance provided that the Charleston Council of Safety could borrow any amount of the total sum. The value of the loans was to be subtracted from the whole and only the remainder would be issued in currency by the treasurers.⁴

Only three loans were made to the Revolutionary government under authorization of the resolution of the Provincial Congress. Gabriel Manigault, the richest man in South Carolina at the time, lent £700 on June 11, and £14,800 on July 22, 1776. A third loan of £2,900 was

¹ An excellent book dealing with the establishment of the English system of governmental loans is P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688-1756* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967).

² South Carolina Provincial Congress, *Extracts of the Journals of the Provincial Congresses of South Carolina, 1775-1776*, edited by William Edwin Hemphill and Wylma Anne Wates (Columbia, S. C.: South Carolina Archives Department, 1960), pp. 50-51. Hereafter cited as *Extracts* W. Robert Higgins, "A Financial History of the American Revolution in South Carolina," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of History, Duke University, 1969, Appendix "A". Hereafter cited as Higgins, "A Financial History". This and all following figures are stated in currency rather than in sterling.

³ *Extracts*, p. 113.

⁴ *Extracts*, pp. 224-26.

made by Samuel Price of the Charleston merchant firm of Price, Hest, and Head, on October 8, 1776.⁵ All three sums were lent for short periods of time and did not constitute bonded debt. Because no long-term loans were obtained by the Council of Safety, the Revolutionary treasurers issued the full amount of paper money authorized, £750,000.

On October 19, 1776, because of the great expenses already incurred by the South Carolina government, a fourth issue of paper money was ordered. This was the first authorization made by the new government established under the Constitution of 1776.⁶ By the terms of the act of October 19, 1776, £130,000 currency in bills was to be printed and not more than £500,000 was to be borrowed at a fixed interest rate of six per cent. This first authorization by the legislature differed from the previous resolutions by the Provincial Congress in that the bills were ordered to be printed in dollar amounts, based upon the Spanish milled coin, rather than the British pound sterling. The rate of six per cent interest offered by the South Carolina Revolutionary government, however, was not sufficient to obtain large sums of money from the citizens of the state. Only sixteen loans were made between the implementation of the act and the passage of the next ordinance dealing with monetary matters.⁷

Only two months after the passage of the ordinance for printing 130,000 pounds in paper money and borrowing £500,000, the South Carolina legislature ordered the treasury to prepare 500,500 pounds more in paper bills. In the same act the Assembly authorized solicitation of additional governmental loans of £499,499. For the first time since the original attempt to obtain £750,000 currency in loans from its citizens, the state government clearly defined the method of bonds sales, and as a further inducement, raised the annual interest rate on Revolutionary loans from six to seven per cent. With the increased interest rate on governmental loans, the General Assembly on January 2, 1777, made the state bonds more competitive by reducing the maximum permissible interest rate on private loans from eight to seven per cent. Thus, by the beginning of 1777, the South Carolina Revolutionary

⁵ South Carolina Department of Archives and History, South Carolina Treasury, "Public Ledger, 1775-1776," MSS, pp. 113, 154.

⁶ The Provincial Congress had written the document and simply became the legislature under the new Constitution. The name changed, but the members remained the same, there being no new election of representatives.

⁷ South Carolina General Assembly, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, edited by Thomas Cooper and David McCord (X; Columbia, S. C.: A. S. Johnson, 1836-93), IV, 360. Hereafter cited as *Statutes*.

government had provided a clearly defined system of governmental loans and had placed state bonds on a par with private borrowing.⁸

Three months after the passage of the act of December 1776 which clarified and standardized the method of governmental loans, the General Assembly passed another ordinance providing for the issuance of additional paper currency and authorizing the borrowing of a similar sum from the people. By the terms of the act of February 14, 1777, the South Carolina legislature instructed the treasury to prepare £500,000 worth of bills in dollar equivalents. By authorization of the two previous laws which ordered the issuance of fiat money, the treasury had been allowed to borrow as much as £999,999 currency. By February 1777 when the new legislation was enacted, although only £191,515 had been lent to the government, the bill provided for additional loans of £500,000—equal to the amount of the bills to be printed.⁹

On August 23, 1777, the legislature again authorized the borrowing of £500,000.¹⁰ The further printing of fiat money, however, was not ordered by this ordinance. The next act concerning governmental loans passed by the Revolutionary government was a bill of February 6, 1778, which increased the debt ceiling by 500,000 dollars. By the terms of the act, the Spanish milled dollar was given a value, within South Carolina, of thirty two shillings six pence, or slightly over one and a half times the worth of the paper pound notes circulating within the state. The state treasury was thus authorized to borrow an additional 812,500 pounds in fiat money.¹¹

One month after the implementation of the act of February 1778, the General Assembly of independent South Carolina prepared and passed an ordinance calling for the preparation of new currency and for increased borrowings from the people of the state. By authorization of the legislative act of March 28, 1778, the treasury was to issue £100,000 in bills of small denominations. Since the legislature specified that the new notes would be for thirty shillings or less, it obviously planned these bills as replacements for currency of low face value which circulated frequently and easily throughout the state. By a paragraph of the money act, the treasurers were ordered to accept as much as two million dollars in new loans. As an alternative, the ordinance authorized the state president to order the printing of one million dollars in new

⁸ *Statutes*, IV, 361-65.

⁹ *Statutes*, IV, 392-93; Higgins, "A Financial History," Appendix "B".

¹⁰ *Statutes*, IV, 398-99.

¹¹ *Statutes*, IV, 402.

bills, if the government could not obtain the two million dollars through loans.¹²

The legislature of South Carolina waited almost a year before passing another authorization for paper money and loans. On February 8, 1779, the Assembly approved an ordinance consisting of three parts. By the terms of the first section, the treasury was to stamp and issue one million dollars in currency. The second portion of the act authorized the borrowing of an additional four million dollars from the citizens of the state. The final part of the law gave the state president the option, if conditions warranted, of printing and circulating new bills of four million dollars value rather than accepting loans.¹³

On September 9, 1779, the South Carolina Assembly passed its last loan authorization prior to the British occupation. The ordinance provided for the borrowing of six million pounds currency. By the time this act was signed by the president, the continued independence of South Carolina was doubtful. The number of persons willing to lend money to the state had declined, and many earlier loans were being redeemed by their holders. To encourage individuals to lend money, and to discourage redemption of funds already on deposit, the act passed in September raised the interest rate for the six million pound loan from seven to ten per cent. The new interest rate was also guaranteed on all old bonds issued by the state.¹⁴

Only forty five months had elapsed between the passage of the first act providing for the borrowing of funds by the South Carolina government until the last ordinance became law just before the final siege of Charleston. A total of nine statutes concerning loans was adopted by the General Assembly and altogether the borrowing of 19,312,500 pounds currency was authorized. The terms offered by the state in its first law were not satisfactory to investors, and no long-term loans were obtained under its specifications. Thus, state bonds sold by the Revolutionary government were negotiated according to the terms of only eight of the state's nine acts.

Beginning in February 1777, the number of loans made each month, and the amount of the sums lent to South Carolina, increased significantly. Since the first loan of 700 pounds currency negotiated in June 1776, the independent government had concluded thirty four transactions by the end of January 1777. From these dealings, the state had

¹² *Statutes*, IV, 444-46.

¹³ *Statutes*, IV, 461-63.

¹⁴ *Statutes*, IV, 506-07.

accrued £209,915. In February 1777 alone, thirty two individuals lent £174,733.1.8 currency to the South Carolina Revolutionary government.¹⁵

After a slow beginning, the independent government of the state had found a successful means of obtaining funds for the Revolutionary War from the residents of South Carolina. The people of the area had gradually accepted the idea of personal loans to the government and rallied to its support. During 1777, 280 transactions between the state and individuals returned £1,359,335.18.11 currency for the fight against the British. The following year the number of transactions increased to 469 while the funds accruing to South Carolina through this means of finance amounted to £2,558,996.9.10 fiat money.

By 1779, the number of state and Continental bills in circulation had caused rampant inflation. The conquest of South Carolina had become imminent with the occupation of Georgia by the British and General Augustine Prevost's unsuccessful invasion of the state. If the Continental Army and the state troops and militia, with French help, were unable to defeat the English at Savannah, then South Carolina would also fall to the enemy. The tremendous amount of currency circulating in Carolina would then become worthless. In order to aid in the defense of the state and, at the same time, to utilize excess paper money, South Carolinians lent a total of £8,639,879.9.7 currency to the government during 1779.

By 1780, the hope of driving the British out of Georgia was gone. In spite of the desperate situation which faced the residents of South Carolina—conquest by the enemy and forced reintegration into the empire—large amounts of currency were lent to the state during the first four months of the year. Through 225 transactions the Revolutionary government obtained 2,609,613 pounds currency.

For forty six months—between June 1776 and April 1780—the independent state of South Carolina obtained loans of paper money from its citizens. During four of those months, June through September 1776, three short-term loans were made. Thus, only during the forty-two months prior to the capitulation of Charleston did the Revolutionary government receive financial support through bonded debt from residents of the state. In spite of the short period of time, large sums of money were obtained. A total of £15,308,949.18.4 currency was lent to South Carolina for periods of at least a year.¹⁶

¹⁵ Higgins, "A Financial History," Appendix "B".

¹⁶ This figure is compared with the total amount authorized, 19,312,500 pounds currency.

South Carolina bondholders¹⁷ in the period before the fall of Charleston to the British were almost as diverse as the population of the area. They ranged from the extremely wealthy and powerful Gabriel Manigault to a free Negro, identified simply as Joe, who lent £1,510 to the state on March 27, 1779. Large numbers of people who were not citizens of the state also provided funds to the Revolutionary government.¹⁸ Some of these people lent money through a desire to see the British defeated and the continental states independent. Other lenders who resided outside South Carolina deposited paper currency in the treasury because there was no way to take the funds out of North America without great depreciation in the value of the sums. Individuals were not alone in supplying money to the state government. Both of South Carolina's insurance companies, established to provide underwriting for the state's wartime trade, and the private Bank Company invested their capital in state bonds. Various religious organizations and fraternal societies invested their endowments in the interest-bearing notes. A surprising number of women either invested or had their funds invested in the Revolutionary debt.¹⁹ Even the enemy owned a portion of the South Carolina debt.²⁰ The fact that the independent state was able to borrow a large portion of the money necessary to support an army, navy, and Revolutionary government, and received loans from 701 separate individuals, groups, or companies between 1776 and 1780, indicates that support for the Revolution within the state was widespread.

Following are lists of the fifty largest bondholders of the South Carolina Revolutionary debt prior to the capitulation of the capital, religious and fraternal organizations which lent money to the state, and foreign investors in the government of independent Carolina.

¹⁷ South Carolina Treasury, "Cash Book, 1777-80"; South Carolina Treasury, "Public Ledger, 1777-80" (reconstructed 1783); and South Carolina Treasury, "Journal, 1777-80"; all MSS in the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

¹⁸ See List II following.

¹⁹ A total of 145 different women made loans to South Carolina between 1776 and 1780.

²⁰ When Royal Governor Sir William Campbell fled and later was killed, his estate was seized by the Revolutionary government and the assets, held in trust for his wife and children, were invested in state bonds. George Austin, a resident of England, died during the Revolution. Austin's assets in Carolina were so great that the profits, invested in the state debt, placed the estate within the fifty largest bondholders.

LIST I

The Fifty Largest Bondholders of The South Carolina Debt, 1776-1780

Name	Number of Loans	Inclusive Dates	<i>All Sums in Pounds Currency</i>		
			Gross Amount of Loans	Redemptions	Net Amount Loans May, 1780
Gabriel Manigault	27 ^A	June 11, 1776-Dec. 11, 1779 ..	652,500 ^B	278,602	373,898 ^C
Samuel Wainwright	19	May 26, 1778-Feb. 15, 1780 ..	362,558	29,018	333,540
Lestergette, Carrier & Co. ^D	2	Jan. 4-Feb. 16, 1779	300,000	—	300,000
John Edwards ^E	25	Oct. 21, 1776-Dec. 4, 1779 ...	241,590	—	241,590
William Gibbes	10	Feb. 8, 1777-Dec. 30, 1779 ...	254,240	13,647	240,595
John Paul Grimke	27	May 23, 1777-Apr. 24, 1780 ..	279,714	42,416	237,298
Henry Middleton	6	Apr. 28, 1778-Nov. 12, 1779 ..	210,000	—	210,000
Capt. Edward Frith	2	Mar. 2, 1780	197,328	—	197,328

^A This figure includes the two short-term loans made by Manigault in 1776. The value of the two loans is included in the "Gross Amount of Loans" column and in the "Redemptions" column.

^B This sum was achieved partially by cashing bonds and reinvesting the money in new state obligations. On December 11, 1779, Manigault redeemed indents worth £209,306.12.6 and then lent £211,300 to the state on the same day. This sort of transaction was not atypical.

^C The list shows the largest depositors before the capitulation of Charleston, but slightly distorts the pattern of lending because some firms and individuals lent *more* money than some on the list, but also redeemed a greater portion. The best example of this situation is the South Carolina Insurance Company, which lent £160,725, but also redeemed the principal and interest by July 1778.

^D A foreign firm providing financial support to the American Revolutionary government in its war against the English.

^E See also Edwards, Fisher and Ballentine. Loans were also made by Edwards, Fisher and Company. If the value of loans made by the three is added, the combination (£432,276.6.3) would surpass the support given by Gabriel Manigault.

Samuel Brailsford	11	Mar. 27-Dec. 29, 1777	180,000	—	180,000
Estate of Benjamin Coachman . .	6	Sept. 7-Oct. 4, 1779	179,670	—	179,670
Joseph Laserre, St. Iagu de Cuba ^F	1	Oct. 29, 1779	162,500	—	162,500
Henry Mounier of Rochelle . . .	1	Nov. 11, 1779	162,500	—	162,500
Edwards, Fisher & Ballentine . .	12	July 10, 1777-Nov. 6, 1779 . .	212,925	50,594	162,331
Roger Smith	16	Mar. 7, 1777-Oct. 25, 1779 . .	161,960	—	161,960
Morton Wilkinson	4	Apr. 30, 1779-Feb. 23, 1780 . .	161,316	—	161,316
Ralph Izard ^G	5	June 4, 1777-Jan. 19, 1780 . .	152,500	—	152,500
Estate of Benjamin Smith	14	Aug. 13, 1777-Nov. 3, 1779 . .	274,999	128,779	146,220
Don Gaupar Penia & Co. of Havanna ^H	2	Mar. 20-Nov. 13, 1779	141,700	—	141,700
John Harleston, Jr.	7	June 14-Dec. 14, 1779	141,163	—	141,163
Estate of Thomas Shubrick ^I . .	2	Feb. 3-24, 1780	136,050	—	136,050
William Williamson	3	June 19, 1779-Feb. 16, 1780 . .	132,620	—	132,620
Estate of George Austin ^J	8	Feb. 15, 1777-Dec. 1, 1779 . .	116,905	—	116,905
Josiah Smith, Jr. ^K	11	Feb. 8, 1777-Dec. 11, 1779 . .	163,899	55,028	108,871
Isaac Motte	14	Feb. 10, 1778-Dec. 16, 1779 . .	129,630	21,368	108,262

^F Place of residence is given for a few of the foreign depositors. When given, it will be listed here.

^G The loans were made for Izard by his agent, Henry Laurens.

^H Daniel Hall was the agent.

^I The Reverend Robert Smith was the agent.

^J Austin had been a merchant in Charleston in partnership with Henry Laurens and George Appleby. Josiah Smith was the executor of the estate in South Carolina.

^K If the money invested by Josiah Smith on his own account and that from the estate of George Austin were combined, then Smith would appear behind John Paul Grimke in this list of bondholders. Josiah Smith also acted as agent for eight other persons and institutions investing funds in Revolutionary bonds.

Name	Number of Loans	Inclusive Dates	All Sums in Pounds Currency		
			Gross Amount of Loans	Redemptions	Net Amount Loans May, 1780
Estate of Richard Beresford ^L . .	17	Mar. 23, 1779-Mar. 24, 1780 . .	106,619	1,819	104,400
Richard Hutson	3	Mar. 16, 1778-Sept. 22, 1779 . .	102,000	—	102,000
Henry Laurens ^M	13	Feb. 5, 1777-Sept. 25, 1779 . .	101,325.3.6	—	101,325.3.6
John Parker	1	Dec. 16, 1779	100,000	—	100,000
Mary Ellis, Sr. ^N	25	Feb. 28, 1777-Mar. 7, 1780 . .	148,940	50,805.19.5	98,134.0.7
Martens & Eytelwein	4	July 13, 1778-Mar. 31, 1780 . .	124,418	26,916	97,502
The Charlestown Insurance Company ^O	17	Sept. 9, 1777-Nov. 22, 1779 . .	109,325	13,843	95,482
James Moore	1	Feb. 15, 1780	92,782	—	92,782
James Skirving	9	Aug. 17-Dec. 7, 1779	91,986	—	91,986
John Allyne Walter	2	Apr. 28-July 15, 1779	90,250	—	90,250
Thomas Eveleigh ^P	1	Mar. 3, 1780	86,907	—	86,907
Joseph Brown	9	Mar. 6, 1778-Oct. 8, 1779	102,059	21,626	80,433
Estate of Peter Manigault ^Q	6	Dec. 19, 1778-Aug. 9, 1779 . . .	76,200	—	76,200
William Banbury	9	June 17, 1777-Dec. 11, 1779 . .	73,000	—	73,000

^L The Reverend Robert Smith was also agent for the Beresford estate. Without doubt, Reverend Robert Smith negotiated bonds for more people than anyone else.

^M Gabriel Manigault acted as agent for Laurens on March 24, 1778. At other times, John Lewis Gervais was the agent.

^N Mrs. Ellis was the only woman to invest a major sum of money in the South Carolina Revolutionary debt.

^O One of the two insurance companies in Charleston founded during the Revolution to underwrite the cargoes shipped from South Carolina.

^P Richard Mercer was the agent for the transaction.

^Q Peter was the son of Gabriel Manigault.

North & Trescott ^R	17	Nov. 3, 1777-Dec. 19, 1779 ...	121,354	48,637	72,717
Milner & Haynes	3	Jan. 4, 1779-Jan. 6, 1780	72,450	—	72,450
Reverend William Piercy	9	May 3-Sept. 29, 1779	67,500	—	67,500
James Ferguson	1	Mar. 31, 1780	66,600	—	66,600
Rawlins Lowndes ^S	7	July 3, 1777-Mar. 24, 1779	65,955	—	65,955
Thomas Doughty	5	Nov. 11, 1778-Dec. 29, 1779 ..	64,000	—	64,000
Daniel Legare	6	Apr. 14, 1777-Nov. 16, 1779 ..	62,000	—	62,000
Humphry Sommers	1	Nov. 23, 1779	60,000	—	60,000
John Lewis Gervais	1	Apr. 7, 1779	59,637.10	—	59,637.10
Daniel Hall & Co.	1	Mar. 20, 1779	59,312.10	—	59,312.10
The South Carolina Society ^T ..	14	Dec. 28, 1776-Dec. 11, 1779 ..	99,700	41,361	58,339
Justinus Stoll	11	Apr. 16, 1778-Feb. 8, 1780 ...	61,846	3,687	58,159

LIST II

Religious and Fraternal Organizations Which Lent Money to South Carolina, 1776-1780

The Baptist Church, Charles Town ^A	5	Apr. 14, 1778-Feb. 9, 1780 ...	14,700	—	14,700
Beaufort Presbyterian Congregation	1	July 31, 1779	1,925	—	1,925
The Charles Town Library Society ^B	11	Dec. 26, 1776-Dec. 10, 1779 ..	35,500	15,548	19,954

^R Additionally, North and Trescott invested money for ten individuals and foreign firms.

^S Rawlins Lowndes was the second president of independent South Carolina under the Constitution of 1776.

^T The South Carolina Society was the only eleemosynary society among the fifty largest contributors to the state debt.

^A Thomas Screven and John Rivers were the trustees.

^B Thomas Grimball was the agent in the transactions.

Name	Number of Loans	Inclusive Dates	All Sums in Pounds Currency		
			Gross Amount of Loans	Redemptions	Net Amount Loans May, 1780
Childbury School ^C	3	Nov. 25, 1777-Sept. 13, 1779 ..	12,163	—	12,163
Commissioners for Building Church at Santee, St. James Parish ^D	1	Apr. 24, 1778	1,365..8..5	—	1,365..8..5
Congregational Church of Charleston ^E	9	Feb. 24, 1778-Dec. 10, 1779 ..	18,120	3,017	15,103
The Fellowship Society	15	Jan. 23, 1777-Jan. 13, 1780 ...	28,388	4,448	23,940
For Instructing Indians and Negroes ^F	4	Dec. 8, 1777-Nov. 3, 1779 ...	18,100	7,122	10,978
Trustees for the French Church.	1	Dec. 8, 1779	1,500	—	1,500
The General Baptists ^G	5	Sept. 5, 1777-Sept. 21, 1779 ..	6,960	3,028	3,932
German Friendly Society ^H	1	Feb. 8, 1780	4,250	—	4,250
Namptwich Society	1	July 9, 1779	2,800	—	2,800
Presbyterian Congregation James Island ^I	3	Mar. 21, 1778-Nov. 18, 1779 ..	4,240	—	4,240
St. Cecilia Society	1	Aug. 21, 1778	2,250	—	2,250

^C The money was deposited by Isaac Harleston.

^D Jacob Motte was the commissioner who invested the St. James', Santee Parish funds.

^E Josiah Smith, Junior, and William Scott, Junior, were the agents.

^F The treasury records give only the name of the attorney for this unusual entry. He was Thomas Smith.

^G The trustees for the General Baptists were not those of the Baptist Church, Charleston. The former included Mathurin Guerin, Joseph Creighton, and George Tew.

^H Jacob Williman was the society's agent in this single transaction.

^I William Holmes and James Witter negotiated the loans.

St. George's Society ^J	2	Apr. 28, 1778-Dec. 23, 1779 . .	2,050	1,043	1,007
St. James' Parish, Goose Creek	10	July 25, 1778-Dec. 16, 1779 . .	60,463	19,971	40,492
St. John's Parish, Berkeley County ^K	1	Nov. 19, 1779	1,351	—	1,351
St. Philip's & St. Michael's Parishes ^L	4	Mar. 26-Nov. 20, 1779	22,471	—	22,471
St. Thomas' & St. Dennis' Parish	2	Aug. 4-Nov. 25, 1779	8,867	—	8,867
The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge	2	May 23, 1777-May 7, 1778 . . .	2,400	—	2,400
Society for Relief of Widows and Orphans ^M	1	Sept. 18, 1779	2,350	—	2,350
The Winyaw Indigo Society . . .	5	Mar. 19, 1777-Aug. 11, 1779 . .	6,250	—	6,250

LIST III

Foreign Investors in the Bonds of Independent South Carolina, 1777-1780

Antoine, Manuel ^A	1	June 16, 1779	26,747.10	—	26,747.10
Babut, V. & La Bouchere	1	Apr. 12, 1779	8,636.12	—	8,636.12
Beauvais, Monsieur	1	Jan. 5, 1780	18,000	—	18,000
Beyer, Hans Petri	2	Jan. 14-Feb. 22, 1779	4,284	—	4,284

^J The funds were deposited by Thomas Hutchinson, Noy Willie Hutchinson, and Pet Valton.

^K The Reverend Oliver Hart lent the money for his church.

^L Venerable Gabriel Manigault handled the transactions for St. Philip's and St. Michael's.

^M The Reverend James Edmunds lent the money for the Society.

^A Names are given as they appear in the treasury journals.

Name	Number of Loans	Inclusive Dates	All Sums in Pounds Currency		
			Gross Amount of Loans	Redemptions	Net Amount Loans May, 1780
Bize, Adrian Gabriel	4	Jan. 23, 1779-Jan. 29, 1780	14,017	2,520	11,497
Bize & Fabry ^B	2	Jan. 28-Mar. 27, 1779	14,273	12,237	2,036
Demars, Leopold Charles					
of Martinique	1	Apr. 2, 1778	7,500	—	7,500
DeMiralles, Don Juan ^C	1	Jan. 26, 1779	15,000	—	15,000
Graa, Christian John	1	Dec. 31, 1778	14,380.2.1	—	14,380.2.1
Griffuhle & Co.	1	Mar. 15, 1779	3,290	—	3,290
Griffuthe, J. J. & J. W. Du Moulin	1	Nov. 20, 1779	30,930	—	30,930
Gros, Jacques	2	July 7, 1777-Apr. 24, 1779	22,822	1,556	6,611
Guert, Sp. DeWindt & Co.	3	Dec. 31, 1778-Jan. 27, 1780	43,773	31,396	12,377
Harin, John Baptist Peter					
Dominique	3	Oct. 24-Dec. 4, 1778	34,000	—	34,000
Hendrick, Jan Schimmel	1	May 3, 1779	2,700	—	2,700
Hinson, Capt. Cornelius					
of Bermuda	5	Apr. 1, 1778-Dec. 11, 1779	9,290	2,679	6,611
Jennings, John & Richard					
of Bermuda	4	May 28, 1778-Mar. 31, 1780	27,542	9,232	18,310
Laserre, Joseph					
St. Iagu de Cuba	1	Oct. 29, 1779	162,500	—	162,500

^B Adrian Bize above was one of the partners.

^C Don Juan DeMiralles was the Spanish representative to the Revolutionary government.

LeBlanc, John ^D	1	Nov. 18, 1779	8,275	—	8,275
LesIllens, Monsieur de	1	Jan. 27, 1779	38,000	—	38,000
Lestergette, Carrier & Co.	2	Jan. 4-Feb. 16, 1779	300,000	—	300,000
Magens, Johannes	1	Jan. 4, 1779	4,875	—	4,875
Martens & Eytlewein	4	July 13, 1778-Mar. 31, 1780	124,418	26,916	97,502
Mounier, Henry of Rochelle	1	Nov. 11, 1779	162,500	—	162,500
Penia, Don Gaupar & Co.					
of Havanna	2	Mar. 20-Nov. 13, 1779	141,700	—	141,700
Rhode, Levin Jorgen	1	Jan. 14, 1779	3,164	—	3,164
Salsus, Sam of Bermuda	1	Dec. 22, 1777	8,000	—	8,000
Smith, John of Antigua	1	Mar. 31, 1780	8,000	—	8,000
Smith, William of					
St. Eustatius	1	Jan. 27, 1779	7,630	—	7,630
Sneyder, Hendrick	1	Aug. 28, 1778	2,000	—	2,000
Stevenson, Cornelius					
of St. Eustatius	2	Feb. 3, 1779-Mar. 31, 1780	6,979	3,772	3,207
Sylrieur, Marc	1	Aug. 15, 1778	3,050	—	3,050
Tilley & Thomas of Bermuda	2	Feb. 24, 1778-Mar. 18, 1779	17,478	—	17,478
Tucker, Henry of Bermuda	2	Dec. 10, 1777-Mar. 31, 1780	9,808	1,987	7,821
Zandre, Deme Julien Ann ^E	1	Oct. 17, 1778	20,700	—	20,700

^D The firm of North and Trescott was the agent for LeBlanc.

^E The only non-South Carolina woman to lend money to the Revolutionary cause.

SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE SECOND BANK OF THE
UNITED STATES:
CONFLICT IN POLITICAL PRINCIPLE OR ECONOMIC
INTEREST?

NORMAN GASQUE RAIFORD *

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, no state displayed more devotion to the Union or more ardent nationalism than did South Carolina. In 1812 South Carolinians figured prominently among War Hawks in Congress: John C. Calhoun, William Lowndes, Langdon Cheves, and David R. Williams were outspoken advocates of the American cause. Among the military leaders, Generals Ralph Izard, Wade Hampton, and David R. Williams headed the roster of South Carolina names.¹ Following the war, South Carolina notables, still imbibing of the high spirited nationalism, helped to design what Henry Clay later called the American system. More than simply binding up the country's wounds suffered in the second war with Great Britain, the goal of this system was to create an economically self-sufficient and powerful nation. The instruments for attaining this goal consisted of: high tariffs against foreign imports, a necessity if infant industries in the United States were to grow; internal improvements in the form of roads and canals to draw the states and sections together; and a national Bank of the United States to provide a common currency throughout the nation and to boost the national economy. Although at first South Carolinians heartily endorsed this spirit of what might well have been called "benevolent" economic nationalism, they later learned to abhor it. South Carolina's disenchantment with the tariffs culminated in the 1832-33 Nullification Crisis, a story well-known to students of American history. Less well known but quite as interesting was the Palmetto State's reaction to another component of the American system, the second Bank of the United States.

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¹ The enthusiastic Williams resigned his seat in Congress in order to participate on the field of battle. Becoming disgusted with the slow progress of the war, he retired to private life in 1814 but returned to public office as Governor of South Carolina in 1816.