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ROBERT WELLS, COLONIAL CHARLESTON PRINTER

CHRISTOPHER GOULD *

Near the corner of Tradd and Meeting Streets in Charleston, on a site now occupied by the First Scots Presbyterian Church, there flourished in the decade before the Revolution the printing and book-selling trade of a Scotchman whom printing historian Isaiah Thomas has called the principal bookseller of the colonial Carolinas.¹

Robert Wells, born December 27, 1728, was bred a bookseller and binder in Dumfries, where in 1750 he married Mary Rowand, who, according to family legend, was a descendant of the family of Ruthven, Earls of Gowrie, Scottish noblemen humiliated, possibly, by the retribution which followed the collapse of the last Jacobite rebellion, in 1745.² Whether attachment to an unpopular lost cause precipitated the Wells family's departure from Scotland in 1753,³ as it did their expulsion from Charleston a generation later, is an intriguing speculation. Nevertheless, Robert and Mary Wells departed for the American colonies with their infant son John (born about 1752),⁴ probably some of Mrs. Wells' kinsmen, with whom her husband set up business the fol-

* Professor in the Department of English, Southwest Missouri State University at Springfield.

¹ See Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Albany, N. Y., 1874), I, 343.

² Louisa Wells' (Robert's daughter) obituary in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, CI, ii (December 1831), 571, describes Mary Rowand Wells as "a descendant of the unfortunate family of Ruthven . . . who relinquished that name for Rowand."

³ Actually, the year of Wells' arrival in Charleston is a moot point. In testimony before a British commission investigating the losses incurred by exiled Tories (see *American Loyalist Transcripts*, LVI, 75), Wells dates his arrival 1752. William Wells' (Robert's younger son) obituary in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, LXXXVII, ii (October 1817), 467, cites 1753 as the year of his father's arrival. William's autobiography, in *Two Essays: One Upon Single Vision with Two Eyes; the Other on Dew* (London: Archibald Constable, 1818), also cites the later date. Since there is no evidence that Wells was engaged in business before 1754 and since Mrs. Wells bore a child somewhere around the middle of 1752 (see below), I accept the later date. The year 1758, sometimes cited, is patently incorrect.

⁴ William Wells (born May 1757) states in his autobiography, *Two Essays*, that John was "nearly five years older than myself." This, along with other portions of the autobiography, is reprinted in Louisa Wells' *The Journal of a Voyage From Charleston, S. C., To London Undertaken During the American Revolution by a Daughter of an Eminent American Loyalist* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1906).

lowing year, and perhaps, Wells' brother John ⁵ (easily confused with Robert's son, who in later years appended "junior" to his name).

There appears in the *South-Carolina Gazette* for April 9, 1754, the first advertisement for the partnership of Archibald Rowand and Robert Wells, though the new firm's involvement in the book trade is not announced until several weeks later, when Wells declared his intention "to keep up a stock of books" ⁶ and offered to order from London presumably any publication available in print. A year later he could boast of his ability to import "any magazines or other periodical works published in Britain" ⁷ and offer for sale copies of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*, published in London the same year. An auspicious beginning for Wells' enterprise.

The Wells-Rowand partnership was short lived, dissolving sometime during the summer of 1756. An advertisement to this effect was placed in the May 22 *South-Carolina Gazette* and continues to appear in subsequent issues through the latter part of August. The dissolution, which was to have been carried out within a month's time, must have been a protracted affair, for the long-running advertisement is followed on August 6 by Wells' complaint that his announcement had met only with the response of the firm's creditors. The May 22 announcement, however, concludes with Wells' insistence that he will "continue business as before in Elliott Street." ⁸ During the litigation, in fact, Wells' first lengthy list of book titles appears in the *Gazette* of July 1. Equally noteworthy is his October 14 advertisement, which is a harbinger of Wells' highly successful career as a public vendue, or commissioned auctioneer; ⁹ Robert Wells will, the announcement reads, sell books "on commission, either in private sale or at auction." By November, therefore, Wells could rightly assume the title of "Bookseller and auctioneer." ¹⁰ Still another dimension must have been added to Wells' trade in the fall of 1756, for in November he was also taking subscriptions

⁵ John Wells, senior, was settled on John's Island by 1771. See *South Carolina and American General Gazette* (hereafter SCAGG), March 18, 1771.

⁶ *South-Carolina Gazette* (hereafter SCG), May 14, 1754.

⁷ SCG, June 19, 1755.

⁸ In a subsequent advertisement (in SCG, March 17, 1757), the site of Wells' shop is specified: "Elliott Street facing Bedon's Alley."

⁹ Isaiah Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, 343-344, states that Wells was one of the principal auctioneers in Charleston: "this . . . business was very lucrative, especially the sale of cargoes of slaves." Wells claimed to have lost two hundred pounds *per annum* by having to surrender his duties as public vendue when he left Charleston in 1775 (*American Loyalist Transcripts, loc. cit.*).

¹⁰ SCG, November 4, 1756.

(a common method of bookselling at the time) for the printing in London of *A Complete History of England*.¹¹

Two developments of even greater significance to Wells' emerging firm occurred in the two following years. In the June 30, 1757, *South-Carolina Gazette* Wells, characteristically praising his own efforts "to offer all aspects of the book trade" to his customers, announced that he has engaged a bookbinder. Possibly, of course, Wells was only expanding an already established part of his operation, since he must have been a capable craftsman himself, but the phrasing of his advertisement suggests otherwise. And on August 25, 1758, Wells announced in the *South-Carolina Gazette* the publication of proposals to print by subscription "a collection of poems by a resident of South-Carolina."¹² Among those selling subscriptions, Wells alone was a printer. Although there is no evidence that the collection was ever published, the proposals themselves must represent the first Wells imprint. It is known at any rate that sometime during 1758, when Wells was still a man in his twenties, his business was flourishing¹³ and he invested in a printing press. For the first time there were competing printers in Charleston. In late November, furthermore, Wells introduced South Carolina's second newspaper, the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette*, the name of which was changed in April 1764 to the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* (hereafter the *General Gazette*). Understandably, Wells' advertisements in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, printed by his competitor, Peter Timothy, ceased in 1758, and since so few issues of Wells' *Weekly Gazette* survive,¹⁴ little can be ascertained about his activities in 1759, the year in which the earliest Wells imprint of which copies survive (Martin's *Some Thoughts on the Duration of the Torments of the Wicked*) appeared. It is probable, however, that in 1758 Wells initiated his partnership with David Bruce, the manager

¹¹ SCG, November 11, 1756. The advertisement does not identify the author.

¹² Again, the author is unidentified.

¹³ Wells' prosperity is suggested by the purchase of his house at 71 Tradd Street, the eventual location of his bookstore and printing house as well. A news item in SCAGG, October 10, 1766, announces: "Robert Wells is now removing his Printing-Office, Bookseller's and Stationer's Shop, &c. to the House on the Bay, next door to that where he has lived for eight years past."

¹⁴ In 1947 only three issues of the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette* were known to exist. See *The History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, Mass., 1947), II, 1041-1042. They were the issues for February 7, 1759; October 31, 1759; and December 10, 1760. Since then two pages of a supplement to the March 21, 1764, issue have been discovered.

of his printing house, which endured at least until 1765, after which Bruce became a competitor.¹⁵

Some time between 1757 and 1760—logically at the time printing operations began—Wells moved his business to the south corner of Tradd and Bay Streets, where it was to remain until October 1766, when it was moved next door to Wells' home at number 71 Tradd Street.¹⁶ After 1760 it was known as the Great Stationery and Book Store on the Bay, though after the second move it was several blocks from the waterfront. Wells published George Andrews' *South-Carolina Almanack* for 1760 (as well as the 1762 through 1765 editions of same), and in 1762 he printed *The Rules and By-Laws for the Charlestown Library Society*, of which organization he was a member. Surviving copies of Wells imprints published between 1759 and 1764 are few. Curiously, in 1762 both Wells and Peter Timothy were soliciting subscriptions for two publications in the *South-Carolina Gazette*; at least one of them almost certainly was printed in Charleston.¹⁷ Competition between the two printers may not yet have become intense.

In 1764, the year in which Wells changed the name of his newspaper, his firm undertook the publication of John Tobler's *South Carolina and Georgia Almanack*, which it was to continue through 1781. Wells' reputation as an auctioneer must have been confirmed by 1764 also, since in the supplement to his April 18 *General Gazette* he assumed the title "sole vendue master." Surviving copies of the *General Gazette* from 1764 and 1765 are scarce, but beginning with the issues of 1766, the run of extant copies becomes fairly regular. This was probably the year in which Wells emerged as a serious competitor to Peter Timothy. By summer he had begun reprinting in his paper articles, poems, and even a few satirical pieces from London periodicals. In June he could boast, if extravagantly, of having "as large a stock of books as is to be met with in America."¹⁸ Indeed, the length of Wells' advertised book lists testifies to the extensiveness of his inventory, some of them covering three and four columns of his newspaper.

The year 1766 was similarly promising for Wells' printing trade. His publication of *Standing Regimental Orders for the IX Regiment of*

¹⁵ The first known imprints by the Bruce firm appeared in 1770.

¹⁶ SCAGG, October 10, 1766.

¹⁷ SCG, February 20, 1762. The publication's title is *An Anthem and An Ode for Voices and Instruments . . . Being the Same that was Performed before the Ancient Fraternity of Free Masons at the Installation of the Hon. Benjamin Smith, Esq.; Grand Master in South-Carolina.*

¹⁸ SCAGG, June 20, 1766.

Foot signifies an encroachment on Timothy's monopoly on government printing. In October Wells moved his printing office and book shop, for the final time, to 71 Tradd Street, next door to his home. The same year he was advertising in the *General Gazette* for a journeyman printer,¹⁹ a position probably taken by Isaiah Thomas, who was employed by Wells from 1766 to 1770.²⁰ Though politically unsympathetic to Wells (Thomas was a Whig), he speaks well of his former employer in *The History of Printing in America*: "He was a staunch royalist, but a good editor, active in business, and just and punctual in his dealings."²¹ In the same passage, however, Thomas depicts Wells as a hard-nosed, if not unfeeling, businessman in relating the singular method used by the printer in dealing with unproductive slaves: "The water in the city is unfit to drink; and, as on many it operates medicinally, he would take his drunken negroes to the pump, and pour water down their throats until they began to sicken; then shut them up for an hour or two; and, the operation being there completed, they were taken out and put to press."

The third aspect of Wells' trade, bookbinding, must have begun to burgeon also sometime during the middle sixties. Advertisements seeking bookbinding apprentices, a tanner, and even leather appear occasionally in the *General Gazette* beginning early in 1767. That Wells was importing quantities of leather from Scotland by the early seventies is suggested by a letter from Wells to John Murray dated 8 February 1772. Wells thanks Murray "for the great attention. . .paid to my son [William]" and sends him a bill for thirty pounds to reimburse him for his expenses "and the ballance remit to Mr. Alexander Donaldson Bookseller in Edinburgh and desire him to lay it out in purchasing for me Calf Leather for Book binding and send it to me immediately by the way of London if no opportunity offers at that time from the Firth of Forth."

Wells' alienation from public opinion in Charleston, which culminated in his departure for England in 1775, had begun to set in by 1770, though he must always have made a rather flamboyant show of his loyalties to the mother country. His younger son, William, recalls in his autobiography: "I was always my father's favourite, and he, fearing that I should become tainted with the disloyal principles which

¹⁹ SCAGG, September 5, 1766.

²⁰ Thomas, *History of Printing*, I, 162.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 344.

²² The letter was discovered by Professor Calhoun Winton at Register House, Edinburgh, in the Murray of Murraythwaite MSS (GD 219/292).

began immediately after the peace of 1763 to prevail throughout America, obliged me to wear a tartan coat, and a blue Scotch bonnet; hoping, by these means, to make me consider myself a Scotchman."²³ Nevertheless, the first instance of the editorial bias which made Wells, in his son's words, "extremely offensive to the people of Carolina"²⁴ can be found in the April 6, 1770, *General Gazette*, in which Wells comments on the Boston Massacre of March 5: "Advices from New York inform us that sundry disturbances had happened between the Soldiers and inhabitants of Boston previous to the 5th of March, when a party of soldiers attacked some of the inhabitants and others. . . . The Commander in chief, Magistrates and principal inhabitants, exerted themselves on the Occasion and with them Colonel Dalrymple the Commanding Officer of the troops took every step in his power to quell the Disturbance." Wells devotes a scant eighty words to this very provocative episode, though at this point (in 1770), he could still hedge somewhat, concluding, though perhaps with an undercurrent of sarcasm, "We hope very soon to congratulate the Publick, on the repeal of the Acts of Parliament so much complained of [the hated Townsend Acts]." By 1771, though, Wells had become more admonitory toward the dissidents. He seems, for example, to uphold the Royal Governor of Georgia's prudence in dissolving the recalcitrant colonial Assembly; he pointedly follows this report with the "Extract of a Letter from St. Christopher's [Leeward Islands]," which stresses the threat of war from foreign fortifications in America.²⁵ Wells' growing anxiety over events is reflected in his account the following month of the Regulator uprising in North Carolina, to which he carefully appended a description of the tranquility in New York and Boston, where the military and populace were "on the best of terms."²⁶ The May 6 issue of the *General Gazette* praises the King for his love of peace and emphasizes the prosperity which has resulted from his conduct of affairs; and by the end of the year, responding predictably to the controversy over the "Wilkes Fund,"²⁷ Wells took advantage of a decline in John Wilkes'

²³ William Wells, *Two Essays*, pp. viii-ix.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

²⁵ SCAGG, March 26, 1771.

²⁶ SCAGG, April 10, 1771.

²⁷ In defiance of Parliament, the South Carolina Assembly appropriated fifteen hundred pounds sterling for Wilkes' Bill of Rights Society. For a discussion of the dispute arising from this action, see the editor's introduction to *The Nature of Colony Constitutions: Two Pamphlets on the Wilkes Fund Controversy in South Carolina By Sir Egerton Leigh and Arthur Lee*, ed. Jack P. Greene (Columbia, 1970), pp. 1-55.

popularity²⁸ by undertaking what was to become an extended attack on the English political agitator who was also Lord Mayor of London. The December 16 *General Gazette* satirizes Wilkes' vanity and greed by reprinting fictional letters in which he seeks the publication of his correspondence for his own enrichment. On April 20, 1772, Wells again employs satire, this time in a dramatic interlude entitled "A Peep Behind the Curtain," which attacked Wilkes' venality and insolence.²⁸ In 1774 Wells denounced, again predictably, the Boston Tea Party, and in the same issue (May 13) of his newspaper, reporting the freeing of a prisoner in Ninety-Six by an angry crowd, he sternly warned of the consequences of mob rule.

Wells' stance as a conservative journalist had so solidified that perhaps as early as the spring of 1774, in response to the second wave of colonial unrest, which finally led to open rebellion, he was contemplating the abandonment of his lucrative business in Charleston. Complaining of nonpayment of accounts by his customers, Wells spoke of undertaking a "new plan of life" which had hitherto been thwarted by his financial situation.³⁰ A logical surmise is that Wells was content to leave South Carolina with enough capital to reinvest in London. Such a motive may have stimulated the comparatively furious activity of Wells' press in 1774 and 1775.

Robert Wells' last two years in Charleston were indeed the most prolific in imprints, and however Charlestonians regarded Wells' political loyalties, they must have continued to purchase the products of his press. Ironically, these must have been the most lucrative years of the Wells firm. In the May 13 *General Gazette*, Wells proudly compared the price of his recent edition of Doddridge's *The Family Expositor* (eleven dollars) with that of the London edition (twenty-eight dollars). He lists other inexpensive editions available at his bookstore, though it is to be doubted that many bear his imprint. By July, however, Wells had begun, according to his statement, to publish at a rapid pace works of all sorts; some of the more familiar titles include: James Murray's *New Sermons to Asses*; *Oliver Goldsmith's The Vicar of Wakefield*; *The Letters of Abelard to Eloise*; and Benjamin Rush's *Experiments and Observations on the Mineral Waters of Philadelphia*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁹ Wilkes' arrogance toward the American colonies is exemplified by his open indignation over not receiving the fifteen hundred pounds for his personal use. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁰ SCAGG, June 3, 1774.

These are only a few of the titles which are advertised as "just published" by Wells in the issues of the *General Gazette* in 1774 and 1775. Hardly any of these publications (literally none of the ones listed above), however, are included in Robert Turnbull's *Bibliography of South Carolina, 1563-1950*. And only two Wells imprints from 1774 and virtually none from 1775 (excepting in both cases Tobler's almanac) are to be found in the holdings of the Charleston Library Society or the South Caroliniana Library in Columbia, both of which have extensive collections of early Charleston imprints. A plausible explanation is that Wells' "publications" were inexpensive London editions which were bound in his printing office.

John Wells, junior, must have been a man much more adaptable to circumstances than his father was. Although barely twenty-three when he assumed control of the business, perhaps as early as January 1775,³¹ he apparently was able to survive the changes in South Carolina's political climate between 1775 and 1780 (while avoiding permanent alienation from his family) with the aplomb reminiscent of courtiers of the preceding century. Nevertheless, whether he was inhibited by the circumstances surrounding the war or whether Charlestonians resented his lack of convictions, the Wells firm, from all appearances, did not prosper under John's management.³²

Isaiah Thomas depicts the younger Wells as a Whig until the surrender of Charleston in 1780:

Although the father was a zealous royalist, the son took a decided part in favor of the country. He printed and fought in its defence, until the city fell into the hands of the British in 1780.

Wells belonged to a military company in Charleston which marched to assist in the siege of Savannah, by the allied American and French armies, in 1779, and during this unsuccessful campaign, he acquired the reputation of a brave and vigilant soldier. When Charleston fell into the possession of the British, he, with many others, to save his property, signed an address to the British commander, and he printed a royal *Gazette*, which he continued until December 1782. For these offences he was proscribed by the state government, at the close of the war.³³

³¹ The first issue of SCAGG in 1775 bears the imprint of "Robert Wells and Son."

³² William Wells, *Two Essays*, p. xvii.

³³ Thomas, *History of Printing*, I, 351.

John's own testimony, presented by an attorney before a British commission investigating the losses sustained by American loyalists, sharply contradicts Thomas' account, insisting that his conformity to the "rebel cause" was brought about through duress.³⁴ A more reliable source, probably, is John's brother William, who depicts him in a less passive role:

Soon after he [his father] went away, public matters became worse and I was desired with others to sign a kind of state paper there, "The Association" which as it appeared to me to be an open act of rebellion, I positively refused to do. I therefore determined to leave the country also, but my services were now of considerable importance to my master [Dr. Alexander Garden], who was at the same time one of my Father's attorneys, my Mother's Brother [Robert Rowand] was also one of his attorneys; and these two along with my elder brother, strongly resisted the execution of my design, but my Mother who was a third attorney, a woman of an enthusiastic turn of mind, declared that the first public act of my life should never disgrace me; she therefore in spite of the attempts of the others sent me off to England about three months after my father had parted from her. I arrived in this country in the autumn of the same year and was most kindly received by my father, and was applauded by him for my conduct.³⁵

The elder Wells certainly did not applaud the conduct of his other son, who in the summer of 1775 began printing explicitly pro-Whig propaganda.³⁶ By the end of the year John had printed not only *Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the Continental Congress*, but also such clearly partisan publications as *The Duty of Standing Fast in our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties*, *The American Vine*, and *Observations on the Raising and Training of Recruits*.

Possibly owing to a shortage of materials caused by the British naval blockade, issues of the *General Gazette* are very few and irregular during 1776. There are hardly any surviving advertisements for the Great Stationery and Book Store, and except for two almanacs, no new publications appeared. Except for the more frequent publication

³⁴ *American Loyalist Transcripts*, LVII, 351.

³⁵ William Wells, *Two Essays*, p. xii.

³⁶ Douglas C. McMurtrie, in "The Beginnings of Printing in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIII, no. 2 (October 1944), holds that John's estrangement from his father resulted from the former's temporary adoption of Whig sympathies.

of the *General Gazette*, the affairs of the Wells firm seem not to have improved in the subsequent years before the British occupation. Acting as his father's attorney, John unwisely purchased sometime after 1776 a house at number 90 King Street.³⁷ He was apparently still residing at 71 Tradd Street during the disastrous fire of 1778, which destroyed Wells' property at the corner of Tradd and Bay, where his bookstore had previously been located.³⁸ In the January 29 *General Gazette* John announced that he had been driven from his house by the fire but that he had saved the greatest part of his printing materials and had found a new house in which to carry on business (the King Street property?). Wells' imprint on a proclamation by Cornwallis dated September 27, 1780, however, reads: "Charleston: Printed at Wells's office, no. 71, Tradd-street." At least the printing operation must have continued to be carried on at the same location.

A hiatus which extends through the spring and early summer of 1780, when Charleston was under siege, interrupts the run of the *General Gazette*. In July, however, John, having vindicated himself, perhaps as Isaiah Thomas claims, to the British captors, resumed the publication of his newspaper. Despite the printing of two of Cornwallis' proclamations dated September 1780— one of which opens: "Whereas the enemies of His Majesty's government continue to prac-

³⁷ In *American Loyalist Transcripts*, LVI, 75, Wells locates the property at 46 King Street; however, records concerning confiscated estates (*Accounts of Sales of Confiscated Property, Negroes, and Land, 1782*) held by the South Carolina Historical Society give the address I have cited. The confiscated house and lot were sold to Charles Pinckney (possibly the celebrated Governor and United States Senator, who was then twenty-five) for twenty-three hundred pounds. Wells requested, in vain, one thousand pounds' compensation from the British government. Subsequently, Mary Wells petitioned the South Carolina State Senate on November 28, 1792, through her brother, Robert Rowand, for compensation for the confiscated property. Her testimony reveals that her husband's earlier appeal to the British had been denied because the property had been purchased after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. A similar plea to the State Legislature in 1791 had resulted in "a fair and just valuation of house and lot . . . by three commissioners appointed by the Governor" so that Mary and her children might receive interest on the sum (see *Records of the General Assembly*, "Committee Reports," 1791, no. 196). The outcome of Mary's second appeal does not survive among legislative records.

³⁸ According to William King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, South Carolina* (Charleston, 1872), p. 22, *The South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* reported that the fire of January 15 had razed the buildings on Tradd Street to the eastward of Church Street. This newspaper, however, ceased publication in 1775. I have not located a similar account either in SCG or SCAGG. That Wells' Bay Street property was destroyed in the fire, though, is confirmed in Mary Wells' petition to the South Carolina Senate, described above.

tice every artifice and deceit to impose upon the minds of the people . . ." — Wells was advertising in the September 27 *General Gazette* a publication entitled *The Candid Retrospect; or, The American War examined by Whig Principles*. To put it generously, John Wells must have been apolitical.

William Wells left London in the autumn of 1780, requested by his father, according to William's account, "to go to that country, to look after his affairs, which had been greatly injured during the war; and as he had not been at all satisfied with my brother's conduct of them."³⁹ William had arrived in Charleston by February 1781,⁴⁰ and within a few days after the probable time of his arrival, though possibly not in consequence of it, "Robert Wells and Son" (John had been using his own imprint since 1778) were appointed by His Majesty "Printers in South Carolina." John's activities after his brother's arrival are not known. William speaks in his autobiography of having sent his brother to England for a reconciliation with their father after agreeing to manage his affairs in Charleston until his return.⁴¹ Douglas McMurtrie speculates that John left in 1781, making William the editor of the Wells newspaper through the latter part of 1781 and all of 1782.⁴² A fact which would seem to support this view is the appearance of two editions of John Tobler's *South Carolina and Georgia Almanack for 1782* (published late in 1781), one bearing the imprint of John Wells, junior, the other that of Robert Wells and Son. Nevertheless, John's testimony in the *Loyalist Transcripts* maintains that he was in Charleston until the evacuation of the British,⁴³ and other records indicate that he was acting General Secretary of the Masons (a position formerly held by his father) up until that time.

The final issue of the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* (February 28, 1781) carries the following announcement:

Will be published, THE FIRST NUMBER of The ROYAL GAZETTE. . . . THE EDITORS have spared no Expense in procuring every necessary Material for carrying on their Undertaking

³⁹ William Wells, *Two Essays*, p. xvii.

⁴⁰ William was attempting to collect debts owed to his father by that time. SCAGG, February 10, 1781.

⁴¹ William Wells, *Two Essays*, p. xviii.

⁴² McMurtrie, "The Beginnings of Printing in Florida," p. 64.

⁴³ *American Loyalist Transcripts*, loc. cit..

⁴⁴ A. G. Mackey, *The History of Freemasonry in South Carolina* (Columbia, 1861).

. . . And they particularly request those Gentlemen, who have distinguished THE GENERAL GAZETTE by their ingenious Letters and Essays, not to discontinue their exertions in support of Loyalty; but that . . . they will persevere in eradicating every seed of error, that has been sown by the late Tyrants of this country, and in drawing aside the veil which obstructs the sight of the deluded followers of the Rebellion.

This kind of rhetoric can only have rankled in the minds of South Carolinians. The defeat of the Continental Army may have appeared a safe bet throughout the greater part of 1781, but one wonders whether John Wells, if left to his own devices, would not have been more circumspect in his Loyalty. Less than two years later, he left for London involuntarily,⁴⁵ fearing, in Isaiah Thomas' words, "that he could not safely remain in Charleston when the British surrendered that place to the American government."⁴⁶ A short time later, his brother William, acting as John's attorney, purchased three slaves, took the printing press and departed for Saint Augustine, Florida. John's fears of retribution were confirmed the following year, 1783, when William, returning to Charleston at his father's request, was jailed on a legal technicality and the home he was to have visited was stormed by an angry mob.⁴⁷ He was finally freed after agreeing to pay a fine, and although members of the family continued for some years to petition the courts and the State Legislature for redress of their losses,⁴⁸ none of the Wellses ever returned to Charleston.

It is hard to overestimate the impact of the Wells firm on the evolution of bookselling in the Carolinas. As Calhoun Winton sees it:

⁴⁵ William, comparatively unschooled in the printing trade, left for Saint Augustine, Florida, with only three slaves. He was left to his own devices in reassembling the press after his arrival. He managed the printing house there and published the *East-Florida Gazette* until his brother's "arrival from England . . . in May 1784" (William Wells, *Two Essays*, p. xxviii). A replica of Wells' printing shop now stands at 27 Cuna Street in Saint Augustine.

⁴⁶ Thomas, *History of Printing*, I, 351.

⁴⁷ William Wells, *Two Essays*, p. xxiii.

⁴⁸ Aside from the appeals to the South Carolina General Assembly, mentioned above, there were various attempts through the courts at collecting debts (see South Carolina *Judgment Rolls*, 1789-713A, 1790-13A, 1790-319A, and 1790-594A). John even petitioned the South Carolina Senate on November 12, 1791, to rescind his banishment (the appeal reached the Senate from New Providence, Nassau, on December 6). The outcome of the appeal is unknown; John died shortly thereafter. The return of Florida to the Spanish in 1783 had, of course, precipitated his relocation to the West Indies.

"Robert Wells revolutionized the book trade in South Carolina, not in the sense of establishing a business system which would endure . . . but in the respect that he showed colonial South Carolina what could be done, the possibilities of a professionalized approach to what had been . . . a diffuse, haphazard, and uncertain operation."⁴⁹ The Great Stationery and Book Store was unquestionably the largest book-selling and printing business in the southern colonies, and yet it could not survive the intense political passions aroused by the American Revolution.

⁴⁹ Calhoun Winton, "The Colonial South Carolina Book Trade," *Proof*, II (1972), 79-80.

IMPRINTS OF THE ROBERT WELLS PRINTING FIRM, 1758-1782

The firm's publications are listed chronologically by year, with the entries for each year listed alphabetically by author (where known). Locations of all known copies and photocopies are given by the standard abbreviations of the *National Union Catalogue* of the Library of Congress. I have listed the earliest bibliographical reference to each entry, and I have listed subsequent references when they provide additional information about the imprint.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographies

Drake—Drake, Milton. *Almanacs of the United States*. 2 vols. New York: Scarecrow Press, 1962.

Evans—Evans, Charles. *American Bibliography*. 13 vols. New York: Peter Smith, 1941-1942; Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1955. Volume thirteen was compiled by Clifford Shipton.

Morgan—Morgan, Richard. *A Preliminary Bibliography of South Carolina Imprints, 1731-1800*. Clemson: n.p., n.d.

Sabin—Sabin, Joseph. *Bibliotheca Americana*. 29 vols. New York: Joseph Sabin, 1868-1936.

Turnbull—Turnbull, Robert. *Bibliography of South Carolina, 1563-1950*. 6 vols. Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1956-1960.

Newspapers (all printed by the Wells firm)

SCWG *South Carolina Weekly Gazette, 1758-1764*

SCAGG *South Carolina and American General Gazette, 1764-1781*

RG *Royal Gazette, 1781-1782*

Miscellaneous Abbreviations

ntp no title page

impf imperfect

ph photocopy

1759

1. ANDREWS, George. The South-Carolina almanack and register for the year of our Lord 1760.
Ref: Sabin 87746
Copies: DLC (ntp) MWA NHi NN (ph) Scu (2, 1 impf)
2. [A CATALOGUE of Books belonging to Andrew Rutledge, a late Rev. Clergyman deceased, and several Gentlemen about to depart this Province.]
Notes: Not seen; title mine. Identified by George McCay, *American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713-1934* (New York: New York Public Library, 1937), p. 44.
3. [MARTIN, John.] Some thoughts on the Duration of the Torments of the Wicked.
Ref: Sabin 86774 Turnbull p. 143
Copies: DLC MMeT-Hi
Note: Author's name supplied by Turnbull.
4. [WILLISON. The Mother's Catechism.]
Ref: Morgan 171
Note: Not seen; advertised in SCWG, Oct. 31, 1759, as "the cheapest Book ever printed in this Province." Author's name supplied by Morgan.

1761

5. ANDREWS, George. [The South-Carolina Almanack and Register For the Year of Our Lord 1762.]
Ref: Sabin 87748
Copies: DLC (tp impf) MWA (ntp) ScHi (ntp)
Note: First two lines of title are assumed; no known copy contains a perfect title page.
6. SIMPSON, William. The Practical Justice of the Peace And Parish-Officer.
Ref: Sabin 81376
Copies: BM DLC GHi ICN (ph) MH-L MiU-C N NCH RPJCB ScCF
ScClp ScHi ScU

1762

7. ANDREWS, George. The South-Carolina Almanack and Register, For The Year of our Lord, 1763.
Ref: Sabin 87749
Copies: MWA (impf) ScHi
8. CHARLESTON Library Society. Rules and By-Laws Of The Charlestown Library Society.
Ref: Evans 9087
Copies: CSmH ScC
9. SAINT ANDREW'S Society. Rules of the St. Andrew's Club, at Charleston in South Carolina, established in the year MDCCXXX; 2nd. ed., with a list of the members.
Ref: Mosimann 138
Copy: NcU

1763

10. ANDREWS, George. The South-Carolina Almanack And Register, For The Year of our Lord, 1764.
Ref: Sabin 87550
Copies: DLC (impf) NN (ph) ScU (2)
11. GREAT BRITAIN. Treaties. The Definitive Treaty of Peace And Friendship Between His Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th Day of February, 1763.
Ref: Evans 9397
Copy: MWA

1764

12. ANDREWS, George. [The South-Carolina Almanack and Register, For the Year of our Lord, 1765.]
Ref: Sabin 87751
Copy: ScC (ntp)
Note: Since only known copy lacks title page, title is assumed.
13. GREAT BRITAIN. Laws. Anno Regni Georgii III, Regis Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae, quarto. At the Parliament begun . . . the nineteenth day of May . . . 1761 . . . and from thence continued . . . to the fifteenth day of November.
Ref. Evans 41449
Copy: DLC
14. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina and Georgia Almanack, For The Year Of Our Lord 1765.
Ref: Evans 10187 Drake 13092
Copies: DLC Schi
Notes: Drake also locates a *South Carolina Almanack for 1765* by John Tobler (entry 13090) at Schi. I have not been successful in locating it.

1765

15. TOBLER, John. The South Carolina & Georgia Almanack, For the Year of the Christian AEra 1766.
Ref: Evans 10188
Copies: GU-De NHi ScC
Notes: There were possibly three pirated editions of this almanac. Wells' advertisement for the 1767 edition of Tobler's *Almanack* in SCAGG, Nov. 28, 1766, claims that there were, but in 1766 Charleston had only two printers, Charles Crouch and Peter Timothy, besides Wells. Perhaps one of the pirated editions was printed elsewhere, logically in Savannah. Since all surviving copies bear Wells' imprint, it seems unlikely that any of the pirated editions went through a second printing.

1766

16. [CATALOGUE of Books to be auctioned on the 23rd of June, 1766, belonging to the late James Grindlay.]
Ref: Morgan 230
Notes: Not seen; Morgan supplies title. Advertised in SCAGG, June 20, 1766.

17. GREAT BRITAIN. Army. Standing Regimental Orders For The IXth Regiment of Foot.
Ref: Evans 41621
Copy: NN
18. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina & Georgia Almanack, For the Year Of Our Lord 1767.
Ref: Evans 10509
Copies: NN (ph) ScU

1767

19. CHALMERS, Lionel. An Essay on Fevers . . . To Which Is Added, An Essay on the Crises of those Disorders.
Ref: Evans 10575
Copies: CtY-M PPAmP
20. CHILD, Nathan. To the Readers of the *South-Carolina & American General Gazette*. January 1, 1768.
Ref: Turnbull p. 168
Copy: NHi
21. [A POCKET Almanack for 1768.]
Ref: Morgan 242
Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Nov. 20, 1767.
22. [THE SHEET Almanack for 1768.]
Ref: Morgan 243
Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Nov. 27, 1767.
23. [SMOLLETT, Tobias. Travels through France and Italy.]
Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, June 26, 1767.
24. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina & Georgia Almanack, For The Year of Our Lord 1768.
Ref: Evans 10786
Copies: MWA (impf) ScC
25. WELLS, Robert. Well's [sic] Register of the Southern British American Colonies with an Almanack by George Andrews, Esq. . . . for 1768.
Ref: Sabin 87753
Copy: MWA

1768

26. ANDREW'S [sic] Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1769: Printed and Sold by Robert Wells, at the Old-Printing House, Great Stationery and Book Shop.
Ref: Sabin 87754
Copy: MWA
Note: This is a broadside advertisement; no known copy of the almanac (see entry below) exists.
27. [ANDREWS, George. Andrew's Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1769.]
Ref: Sabin 87754
Note: Not seen; see entry above.

28. [THE HOLY Bible in Verse; for the Use of Children.]
 Ref: Morgan 258
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Aug. 19, 1768.
29. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina And Georgia Almanack for 1769.
 Ref: Evans 11093
 Copies: NN (ph) ScC ScU
30. WELLS, Robert. Charlestown, February 3d, 1768. The sale of Negroes belonging to Mr. John Miles . . . is put off to . . . the 5th inst. when the said Negroes . . . will be sold by publick outcry at Mr. Nightingall's . . . Robert Wells, Vendue-Master.
 Ref: Evans 41896
 Copy: MWA
31. WELLS, Robert. Wells's Register. Together With An Almanack . . . By George Andrews, Esq . . . For the Year of Our Lord 1769.
 Ref: Sabin 87755
 Copy: MWA
32. [WHITEFIELD, George. A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship.]
 Ref: Morgan 259
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Aug. 19, 1768.
33. WHITEFIELD, George. A Letter To His Excellency Governour Wright, Giving an Account of the Steps taken relative to The Converting of The Georgia Orphan-House Into a College.
 Ref: Sabin 103562
 Copies: NN PPPrHi
- 1769
34. MONTAGU, Charles-Greville. By his Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Charles-Greville Montagu, Captain-General and Governour in Chief in and over his Majesty's said Province, Vice-Admiral of the same, &c. A Proclamation.
 Ref: Sabin 87358
 Copy: MWA
35. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina And Georgia Almanack, For The Year Of Our Lord 1770.
 Ref: Evans 11503
 Copies: GU-De (tp impf) NHi ScC ScHi
- 1770
36. CHARLESTON Library Society. A Catalogue Of Books Belonging To The Incorporated Charlestown Library Society.
 Ref: Evans 11596
 Copies: DLC ScC ScU (ph)
37. CHARLESTON Library Society. The Rules And By-Laws Of The Charlestown Library Society: And The Act Of The Legislature Of South-Carolina, Incorporating The Said Society . . . The Third Edition.
 Ref: Turnbull p. 176.
 Copies: DLC ScC

38. AN ELEGY on the much lamented death of the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield.
Ref: Morgan 1247
Copies: DLC (ph) MWA (ph) RPJCB
39. TOBLER, John. The Georgia Almanack, For The Year of Our Lord 1771.
Ref: Evans 11894
Copies: ICN NHi ScHi
40. TOBLER, John. The South Carolina and Georgia Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1771.
Ref: Evans 42177
Copies: InU MWA NHi ScU
41. [WELLS, Robert. Register of the Southern British American Colonies, for the Year 1770.]
Ref: Evans 11523
Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Nov. 14, 1769 ("will be published about New Year's Day"). Title is assumed by Evans from other editions in series.
42. [WELLS, Robert. Register of the Southern British American Colonies, for the Year 1771.]
Ref: Evans 11980
Notes: Not seen; a dubious imprint. Evans assumes its existence from the sequence. There are no advertisements in SCAGG for a 1771 edition.

1771

43. SMITH, Josiah. Death The End Of All Men: A Sermon, Sacred To The Memory Of The Reverend Mr. John Thomas, Pastor of the Independent Congregation at Charleston in South-Carolina.
Ref: Sabin 83449
Copies: NHi NcmHi ScU
44. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina and Georgia Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1772.
Ref: Evans 12249
Copy: DLC
45. [THE SOUTH-CAROLINA Sheet Almanack for the Year 1772.]
Ref: Morgan 325
Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Dec. 31, 1771.

1772

46. CHARLESTON Library Society. Appendix To The Catalogue Of Books, Belonging To The Incorporated Charlestown Library Society.
Ref: Turnbull p. 182
Copies: DLC ScC
47. CHARLESTON Library Society. A Catalogue Of Books, Given And Devised By John Mackenzie Esquire, To The Charlestown Library Society, For The Use Of The College When Erected.
Ref: Turnbull p. 182
Copies: IU ScC ScU (ph)

48. [A NEAT Kalendar for the Pocket.]
 Ref: Morgan 337
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Jan. 20, 1772.
49. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina and Georgia Almanack, For The Year Of Our Lord 1773.
 Ref: Evans 12582
 Copies: NN (ph) ScC ScU ViU
50. [WELLS, Robert. Register of the Southern British American Colonies for the Year 1772.]
 Ref: Evans 12279
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, March 16, 1772.

1773

51. DODDRIDGE, Philip. The Family Expositor: or, A Paraphrase of the New Testament.
 Ref: Morgan 348
 Copy: MWA
52. SAINT ANDREW'S Society. A Correct List of the Members of the St. Andrew's Club at Charlestown in South-Carolina.
 Ref: Turnbull p. 185
 Copy: NHi
 Notes: No printer, but Wells was a leading member of the organization.
53. SMITH, Johiah. The Broken Heart Revised [sic]: A Sermon, Preached At Charlestown, South-Carolina, March the 27th, 1763 . . . The Second Edition.
 Ref: Sabin 83454
 Copies: DLC NJP NcMHi
54. SMITH, Josiah. A Sermon, Preached at Charlestown, South-Carolina, In the Year 1739 . . . The Second Edition.
 Ref: Sabin 83447
 Copies: CSmH NcMHi
55. [THE SOUTH-CAROLINA Sheet Almanack for 1774.]
 Ref: Morgan 343
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Dec. 24, 1773.
56. TOBLER, John. The Georgia and South-Carolina Almanack, for the Year of our Lord 1774.
 Ref: Turnbull p. 186
 Copy: NHi
57. WELLS, Robert. Wells's Register, together with an Almanack for 1773.
 Ref: Drake 13113 Evans 12612?
 Copy: PPIU
 Notes: As with the 1771 edition (see entry 42, above), Evans assumes that there is a *Register of the Southern British American Colonies for the Year 1773*, though there is no known copy. I believe that Drake's title, cited here, and Evans' should be considered the same imprint.

58. WELLS, Robert, and George Andrews. *Wells's Register: Together With An Almanack . . .* By George Andrews, Esquire. For the Year of our Lord 1774.
 Ref: Evans 13072 Sabin 87760
 Copies: ScHi (impf) ScU
 Note: I believe Evans has again cited title incorrectly (see entry 57, above).

1774

59. [AN ADDRESS to Protestant Dissenters of all Denominations, on the approaching Election of Members of Parliament, with Respect to the State of Public Liberty in general, and of American Affairs in particular.]
 Ref: Morgan 374
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Nov. 18, 1774. This and many of the entries for 1774 and 1775 must be regarded as suspect. Wells advertises them as his publications, but in the absence of extant copies bearing his imprint, the likelihood is strong that they are in fact London editions of popular works bound in Charleston by Wells.
60. [BEATTIE, James. *The Minstrel; or the Progress of Genius. A Poem. In two Books . . . Third Edition.*]
 Ref: Morgan 369
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Dec. 9, 1774. See entry 59, above.
61. [BROOKE, Henry. *Juliet Granville; or, The History of the Human Heart.*]
 Ref: Morgan 375
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Oct. 28, 1774. See entry 59, above.
62. CHARLESTON Chamber of Commerce. *Rules Of The Charleston Chamber Of Commerce.*
 Ref: Sabin 12082
 Copy: MH
63. [CONTINENTAL Congress. *Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia, on the Fifth Day of September, 1774.*]
 Ref: Morgan 372
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Nov. 25, 1774.
64. [THE COURT and City Register for the Present Year.]
 Ref: Morgan 382
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, May 6, 1774, as "Lately Published by Robert Wells," but also listed with imports from London in SCAGG, April 22, 1774. See entry 59, above.
65. [DALRYMPLE, John. *Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland. . . . A New Edition, being the fourth, in 3 vols.*]
 Ref: Morgan 390
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, July 15, 1774. See entry 59, above.
66. FELLOWSHIP Society. *Rules Of The Fellowship Society . . . The Third Edition.*
 Ref: Sabin 12084
 Copies: MH ScU

67. [GOLDSMITH, Oliver. The Vicar of Wakefield . . . Two Volumes bound in one.]
 Ref: Morgan 380
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Oct. 7, 1774. See entry 59, above.
68. GREAT BRITAIN. Laws. Abstracts Of The Principal Regulations In The Acts Of Paliament Relative To The Trade Of The Plantations.
 Ref: Sabin 87
 Copies: MHi MWA
69. [The Examination of Dr. Marriott, his Majesty's Advocate General, before the House of Commons June 3d, 1773, on the Quebec Bill.]
 Ref: Morgan 373
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Nov. 18, 1774.
70. [LANGFORD, Nicholas. A Catalogue of Books to be Auctioned on Thursday, April 28. A large and valuable Library.]
 Ref: Morgan 388
 Notes: Not seen; a highly doubtful imprint. Advertisement appears in SCAGG, April 22, 1774, but also in the April 26 issue of the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, printed by Charles Crouch. The catalogue, mentioned in the latter advertisement, could have been published by Wells or by Crouch.
71. [LELAND, Thomas. The History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II . . . A new Edition in 3 vols.]
 Ref: Morgan 389
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, July 15, 1774. See entry 59, above.
72. [MACKENZIE, Henry. The Man of Feeling. A new Edition]
 Ref: Morgan 370
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Dec 9, 1774. See entry 59, above. TxU has a copy of a 1771 London edition.
73. [MACKENZIE, Henry. The Man of the World. Second Edition.]
 Ref: Morgan 371
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Dec. 9, 1774. See entry 59, above.
74. [MACKENZIE, James, and Dr. Tissot. Advice to the People in General with Respect to their Health . . . Translated from the French of Dr. Tissot . . . To this new Edition is added, The Art of Preserving Health . . . By James Mackenzie.]
 Ref: Morgan 376
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Oct. 28, 1774. See entry 59, above.
75. [MORE, Hannah. The Inflexible Captive. A Tragedy.]
 Ref: Morgan 377
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Oct. 14, 1774. See entry 59, above.
76. [MORE, Hannah. Search for Happiness: A Pastoral Drama . . . To which is added. Armine and Elvira: A Legendary Tale; in two Parts.]
 Ref: Morgan 378
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Sept. 16, 1774. See entry 59, above.

77. [MURRAY, James. *New Sermons to Asses. By the Authour of Sermons to Asses.*]
 Ref: Morgan 392 Evans 13450P
 Notes: Not seen; advertised ("This day is published . . .") in SCAGG, July 15, 1774. Author's name supplied by Evans in entry for 1774 Philadelphia edition, which may in fact be the one advertised by Wells (see entry 59, above). The author of *Sermons to Asses* is Benjamin Franklin.
78. [THE POCKET Calendar for the present Year.]
 Ref: Morgan 385
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Jan. 28, 1774.
79. [QUINCY, Josiah. *Observations on the Act of Parliament, commonly called the Boston Port Bill.*]
 Ref: Morgan 381 Evans 13561 or 13562P
 Notes: Not seen; advertised ("This day is published . . .") in SCAGG, Sept. 16, 1774. Evans lists 1774 Boston and Philadelphia editions; see entry 59, above.
80. [PROFOSALS for publishing by subscription *A View of Charlestown by Messrs. Woollett and Smith.*]
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Oct. 7, 1774.
81. [RUSH, Benjamin. *Experiments and Observations on the Mineral Waters of Philadelphia, Abington and Bristol in the Province of Pennsylvania.*]
 Ref: Morgan 391
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, July 15, 1774.
82. [RUSH, Benjamin. *An Oration delivered February 4, 1774, before the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.*]
 Ref: Morgan 393
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, July 15, 1774.
83. SAINT CECELIA Society. *Rules Of The St. Coecelia Society.*
 Ref: Evans 13196
 Copies: MWA (ph) ScU (ph) ScHi
84. SMITH, Josiah. *St. Paul's Victory and Triumph. The Substance of Six Short Sermons . . . Delivered At Charlestown, South Carolina, In The Year 1769.*
 Ref: Morgan 1262
 Copies: MWA NcMHi PPPrHi
85. TOBLER, John. *The South-Carolina And Georgia Almanack, For The Year of Our Lord 1774.*
 Ref: Turnbull p. 186
 Copies: ScHi ViU
86. TOBLER, John. *The Georgia And South-Carolina Almanack, For The Year of Our Lord 1775.*
 Ref: Evans 42723
 Copy: MWA
87. TOBLER, John. *The South-Carolina And Georgia Almanack, For The Year of Our Lord 1775.*
 Ref: Evans 13686
 Copies: ScC ScU MWA

88. [WATTS, Dr. The Visions of Thomas Say of the City of Philadelphia, which he saw in a Trance.]
 Ref: Morgan 388
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, July 15, 1774 ("This day are printed by Robert Wells") but also in April 22 issue as "lately published in Philadelphia."
89. WELLS, Robert. Register of the Southern British American Colonies for the Year 1775.
 Ref: Evans 13761
 Copy: MWA
90. [WELLS, Robert.] The Story of AEneas And Dido Burlesqued.
 Ref: Sabin 73932 Evans 13743
 Copies: DLC(2) MB NN PPRF RPJCB ScU (ph)
 Note: Evans supplies author's name.

1775

91. [ABELARD, Peter, John Hughes and Alexander Pope. The Letters of Abelard and Eloise. To which is prefixed a particular Account of their Lives, Amours and Misfortunes, by John Hughes, Esq. To this Edition is added, The Epistle of Eloise to Abelard. By Alexander Pope, Esq.]
 Ref: Morgan 407
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, May 5, 1775. See entry 59, above.
92. [BEAVER, Colonel. The Manual Exercise . . . as now practiced by The Charlestown Artillery Company. To which are added, Some General Observations on the "Duty of "Soliders" and "Non commissioned Officers."]
 Ref: Morgan 404
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, June 2, 1775. The time of this imprint's publication helps to fix the date of Robert Wells' departure from Charleston in 1775. Unlike John, his son, the father was an unyielding Tory, and it is unlikely that the Wells firm would have printed such a publication under his supervision.
93. [DALRYMPLE, Campbell. Observations on the Raising and Training of Recruits . . . To which are added, The Words of Command used in the Manual Exercise, as now practised by the Charlestown Light Infantry Company.]
 Ref: Morgan 405
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, June 23, 1775.
94. [CONTINENTAL Congress. Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the Continental Congress, which was begun and holden in Philadelphia, on Wednesday, May 10, 1775.]
 Ref: Morgan 401 Evans 14572?
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Aug. 4, 1775. Evans cites a Philadelphia edition (see entry 59, above).
95. [DUCHE, Jacob. The American Vine, A Sermon, Preached . . . before the Honourable Continental Congress, July 20th, 1775.]
 Ref: Morgan 399
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Oct. 6, 1775.

96. [DUCHE, Jacob. The Duty of Standing Fast in our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties, a Sermon, Preached in Christ Church, July 7th, before the First Battalion of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia; and now published at their Request.]
 Ref: Morgan 400
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Oct. 6, 1775.
97. [HAWKESWORTH, John. A New Voyage Round The World . . . performed by Capt. James Cook in the Ship Endeavour . . . In two volumes.]
 Ref: Morgan 409
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, March 31, 1775. See entry 59, above.
98. [THE HISTORY of Sir George Ellison; Or, The Man of Real Sensibility.]
 Ref: Morgan 408
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, May 5, 1775. Author not known. See entry 59, above.
99. [THE MACARONI Jester, being a Select Series of Original Stories.]
 Ref: Morgan 408
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, May 5, 1775. Author not known. See entry 59, above.
100. [MAXIMS for playing the Game of Whist.]
 Ref: Morgan 410
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, March 31, 1775.
101. [THE POCKET Calendar for the present Year.]
 Ref: Morgan 418
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Jan. 27, 1775.
102. [THE SENTIMENTS of a Foreigner on the Disputes of Great-Britain with America. Translated from the French.]
 Ref: Morgan 402
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, July 28, 1775.
103. [SMITH, William. A Sermon on the present Situation of American Affairs. Preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, June 23, 1775, at the Request of the Officers of the Third Battalion of the City of Philadelphia and District of Southwark.]
 Ref: Morgan 403 Evans 14459? 14460?
 Note: Not seen; advertised ("Just published and to be sold by Robert Wells") in SCAGG, July 21, 1775. Evans cites Philadelphia and Wilmington imprints of same; see entry 59, above.
104. [THE SOUTH-CAROLINA Sheet Almanack.]
 Ref: Morgan 396
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Jan. 27, 1775.
105. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina And Georgia Almanack, For The Year Of Our Lord 1776.
 Ref: Evans 14522 Turnbull p. 197 Drake 13119
 Copies: DLC NN (ph) PHi ScC ScHi ScU
 Notes: Turnbull incorrectly attributes publication to Charles Crouch. Evans cites John Wells as printer. Though Robert Wells had departed Charleston by the middle of 1775, however, the products of his press continued to bear his imprint (or that of Robert Wells & Son) until 1778.

106. [WELLS, Robert. Register of the Southern British American Colonies for the Year, 1776.]
 Ref: Evans 14617
 Notes: Doubtful; Evans assumes the existence of a 1776 edition. There are no known copies and no newspaper advertisements to confirm.

1776

107. [THE SOUTH-CAROLINA Sheet Almanack for the present Year.]
 Ref: Morgan 432
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, Jan. 12, 1776.

1777

108. [A CATALOGUE of a large and valuable Collection of Books in all languages to be Auctioned on Wednesday the 20th Day of August.]
 Ref: Morgan 456
 Notes: Not seen; see SCAGG, August 7, 1777.
109. [A CATALOGUE of Books belonging to the late Francis Salvador to be Auctioned on January 28, 1777.]
 Ref: Morgan 457
 Notes: Not seen; see SCAGG, Jan. 16, 1777.
110. [A COLLECTION of Books will be Auctioned by Nicholas Langford, at Mr. Valk's Room, on the Evenings of Wednesday and Thursday, being the 12th and 13th of March.]
 Ref: Morgan 461
 Notes: Not seen; see SCAGG, Feb. 27, 1777.
111. [THE CHRISTIAN Soldier, a Discourse preached before a Continental Brigade . . . Respectfully inscribed to Brigadier General Moultrie.]
 Ref: Morgan 458
 Notes: Not seen; proposals to print by subscription are advertised in SCAGG, May 15, 1777.
112. [PROPOSALS for printing the Acts of Assembly, and English Statutes, which are of Force in this State.]
 Ref: Morgan 463
 Notes: Not seen; advertised in SCAGG, March 13, 1777.
113. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina And Georgia Almanack, For The Year Of Our Lord 1777.
 Ref: Evans 15117
 Copies: NHi ScC (tp impf) ScU
114. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina And Georgia Almanack, For The Year Of Our Lord 1778.
 Ref: Evans 15615
 Copies: ScC (impf) ScU

1778

115. RAMSAY, David. An Oration On The Advantages Of American Independence: Spoken Before a Public Assembly of the Inhabitants of Charlestown in South-Carolina.
 Ref: Sabin 67702
 Copies: DLC MH NHi NjP PPL (2)

1779

116. CONSIDERATIONS on the Mode and Terms of A Peace with America.
Copies: ScCC ScU (ph)
Note: ScCC copy is bound with Christopher Gadsden's personal copy of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*.
117. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina And Georgia Almanack, For The Year Of Our Lord 1779.
Ref: Evans 16094
Copies: NN ScC (ntp) ScU (ntp)

1780

118. CONTINENTAL Congress. Rules and Articles for the Better Government of Troops raised, or to be raised and kept in pay and at the expense of the United States of America.
Ref: Turnbull p. 228
Copy: MiU-C
119. GREAT BRITAIN. Army. South Carolina. By the right honourable Charles, Earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces. . . . A proclamation . . . Given under my hand and seal, at head-quarters, in the district of Waxhaw . . . this sixteenth day of September, Anno Domini 1780.
Ref: Morgan 545
Copies: EuGeLP
120. GREAT BRITAIN. North-Carolina. By the Right Honourable Charles Earl Cornwallis. . . . A proclamation . . . Given . . . at Head-Quarters in Charlotte-Town.
Ref: Morgan 546
Copy: MiU-C
121. SIMPSON, James. An accurate Table, ascertaining The progressive Depreciation of the Paper-Currency, in the Province of South-Carolina.
Ref: Sabin 87369
Copies: GH i RPJCB
122. [SMITH, William.] The Candid Retrospect: Or, The American War examined by Whig Principles.
Ref: Sabin 10666
Copies: BM NN (ph)
123. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina And Georgia Almanack, For The Year Of Our Lord 1780.
Ref: Evans 16548
Copies: GU-De ScC (impf) ScHi ScU (2)

1781

124. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina and Georgia Almanack, For The Year of Our Lord 1781. Charlestown: Printed by John Wells, jun. Savannah: Printed by James Johnston.
Ref: Drake 13126
Copy: NHi

Note: ScC has a copy of the 1781 edition of Tobler's *Almanack*, but since the title page is wanting, it is not clear whether it is a copy of this imprint or that described in entry 125, below.

125. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina and Georgia Almanack, For The Year of Our Lord 1781. Charlestown: Printed by John Wells, jun. Savannah: Printed by David Zubly.

Ref: Evans 17008

Copies: DLC ScHi ScU

Note: See entry 124, above, for note on ScC copy.

126. GREAT BRITAIN. Army. Charlestown, March 26, 1781. Dispatches from Lord Cornwallis, dated Guilford, 17th of March, 1781, give the fullest authority for informing the publick, . . . that General Greene . . . was induced to advance . . . after Lord Cornwallis to Guilford.

Ref: Morgan 562

Copy: EuGeLP

127. TOBLER, John. The South-Carolina and Georgia Almanack, For The Year Of Our Lord 1782 . . . Charlestown: Printed by R. Wells and Son.

Ref: Drake 13129 Evans 17377?

Copies: NN (ph) ScC

Note: Drake cites another edition of the 1782 edition (entry 13128), bearing the imprint of John Wells, jun., and locates a copy at ScC. I have not located this copy, but I suspect that the double entry may be caused by Evans' citation of John Wells (followed by a "P") as the printer of Tobler's 1782 *Almanack*.

128. [THE TRIAL of Lord George Gordon.]

Ref: Morgan 570

Notes: Not seen; advertised in RG, April 21, 1781.

1782

129. [CHALMERS, George. Political Annals of the present United Colonies from their settlement to the peace of 1763.]

Ref: Morgan 573

Notes: Not seen; advertised in RG, April 10, 1782.

130. [GREAT BRITAIN. Laws. Act for amercing certain persons therein mentioned.]

Notes: Not seen; advertised in RG, July 13, 1782.

131. [To the Customers of the Royal Gazette. A Poem.]

Ref: Morgan 583

Notes: Introduces year 1782 in DLC microfilm of RG. I have not discovered the location of what must be the unique copy.

ANGLO-SPANISH RIVALRY IN THE CHATTAHOOCHEE BASIN AND WEST FLORIDA, 1685-1704

FRED LAMAR PEARSON, JR. *

In 1685, Doctor Henry Woodward, a South Carolinian, led a group of followers to the Columbus area on the Chattahoochee River to trade with the Apalachicola Indians.¹ There Woodward and the Carolinians bartered for deerskins and other furs, until Spanish troops from Apalachee² ascended the Chattahoochee to expel the intruders. Antonio Matheos, commanding the expedition against the English, failed, for the Indians concealed the traders.³

Governor Juan Marquéz Cabrera, hearing about continued English trade activity, sent Matheos up the Chattahoochee a second time. The governor, suspecting that the Apalachicolas had helped the Carolinians earlier, directed his emissary to use harsh measures if necessary to insure that the Indians cooperated by handing over the English. Accordingly, Matheos summoned representatives of the Apalachicola towns to meet with him. Four towns sent no delegates; the lieutenant had them burned, but he did not capture the English. The Spanish returned to Apalachee; Doctor Woodward resumed trade operations and prepared for his return to Charles Town in 1686. Henry Woodward never traded on the banks of the Chattahoochee thereafter, but he prepared the way for others. Accordingly he forced Spanish governors to change their policy regarding the Chattahoochee Basin.⁴

Lieutenant Matheos' punitive expedition caused considerable discontent among the Apalachicolas. These people resented destruction of

* Professor of History, Valdosta State College, Valdosta, Georgia. Preparation of this article was made possible by a research grant from Valdosta State College.

¹ Herbert Eugene Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land* (Berkeley, 1925), p. 48. The Spanish applied the name Apalachicola to the Lower Creeks in general. See John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), p. 129. The English were responsible for the term Lower Creeks.

² Apalachee province centered around present-day Tallahassee, Florida, and was limited principally by the Aucilla River on the east and the Ocklocknee River and its tributaries to the west. See Swanton, *Early History*, p. 110.

³ Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, pp. 48-52.

⁴ Walter A. Harris, *Here The Creeks Sat Down* (Macon, 1958), pp. 132-138; Herbert Eugene Bolton, "Spanish Resistance To The Carolina Traders In Western Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* IX (June, 1925), 123 (hereafter cited as *G.H.Q.*).