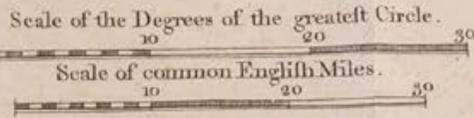
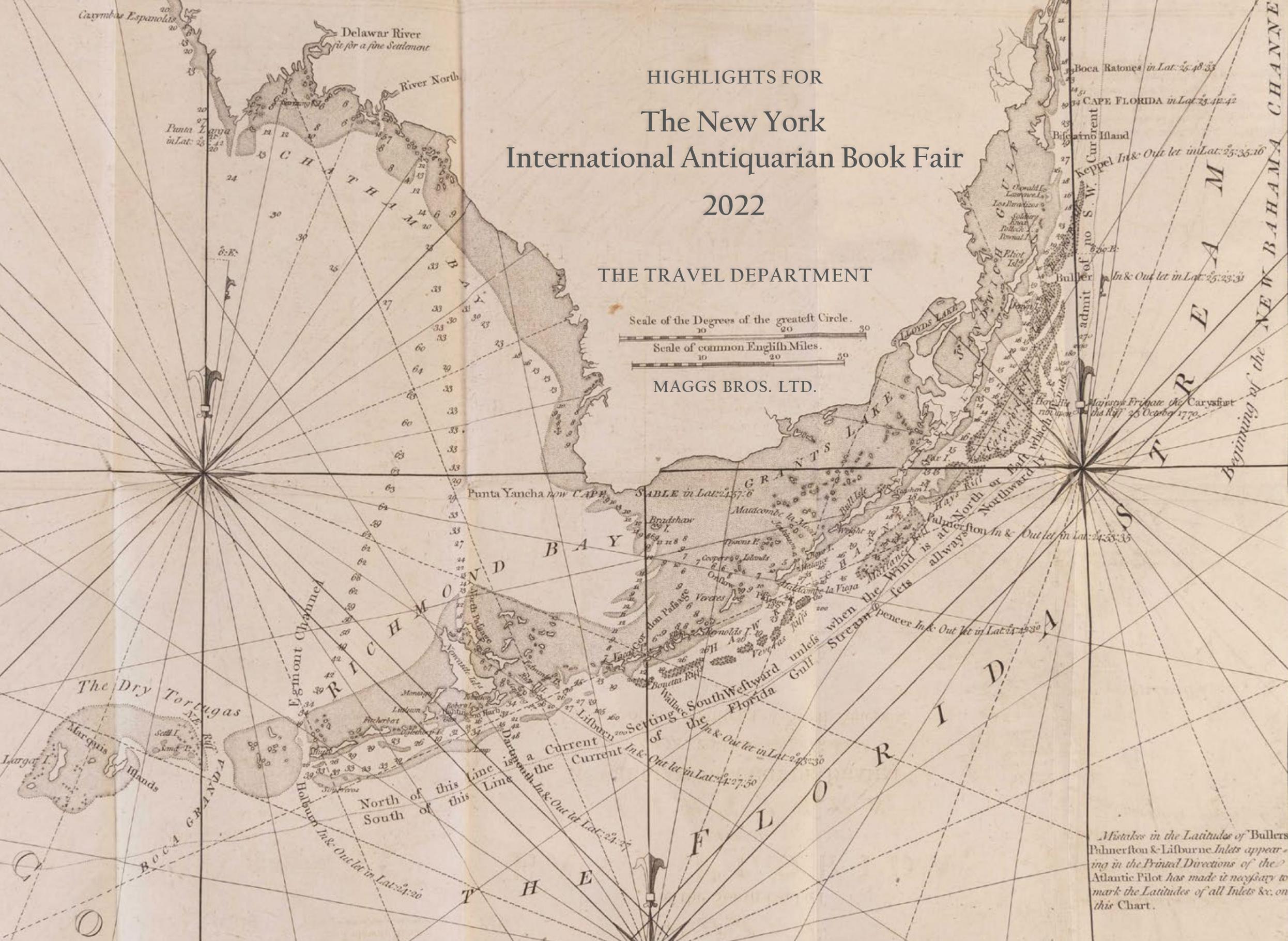


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The First Book of American Law

1 [LAWS FOR THE INDIES] CHARLES V. Leyes y ordenanças nueuamente hechas por su Magestad pa la gouernacion de las Indias y buen trata miento y conseruacion delos Indios: que se han de guardar en el consejo y audiecias reales q en ellas residen ...

First edition. Small folio (271 by 198mm). Removed from a volume, expert restoration to marginal worming and old folds, cleaned, with pulp repairs to infilled losses. Housed in a custom navy morocco slipcase & chemise. 14ff (the final blank is later). Alcala de Henares, Joan de Brocar, 1543. P.O.A.

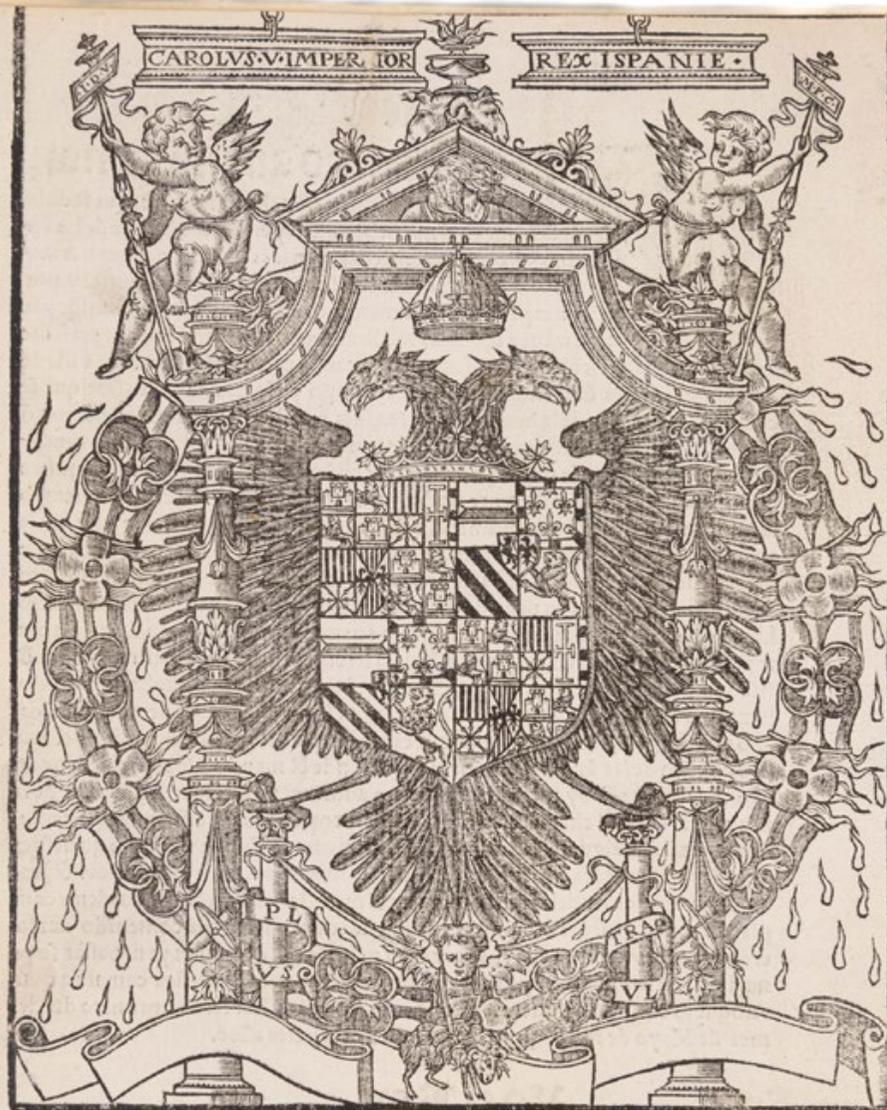
Exceedingly rare and important: the first book of American law. Published just fifty years after Columbus first landed on American soil, the *Leyes ...*, or New Laws as they're also known, sets out new regulations to provide better treatment for Indigenous Americans. **Extraordinarily, it includes an abolition clause.**

Hernán Cortes led the conquest of Mexico in 1519 and served as governor of New Spain from 1521-4. The impact of Spanish colonisation on the Indigenous population is well-documented, and while Cortes remains the poster-child for these excesses, the devastation commenced at first contact. "It took a full half century, from 1493 to 1543, to achieve, in legal and papal form, the complete cycle of devastation and degradation of the Aboriginal races ..." (Stevens & Lucas, ix). Of course, there was opposition and this legislation was partly due to the efforts of Bartolomé de las Casas (1484-1566) the Dominican Friar and "protector of the Indians" who wrote a series of works arguing for the better treatment of Indigenous Americans. In fact, Church notes that Las Casas "was actively interested in them and aided much in their promulgation." These New Laws were for the territory including New Spain, Peru, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Hispanola.

This document seeks to establish a number of things. First and foremost it sets out to codify better treatment for the Indigenous people [all translations are from Stevens]: "because our chief intention and will has always been and is the preservation and increase of the Indians, and that they be instructed and taught in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and be well treated as free persons."

The Crown takes a further step in this direction with the following: "We ordain and command that from henceforward for no cause of war nor any other whatsoever, though it be under title of rebellion, nor by ransom nor in other manner can an Indian be made a slave, and we will that they be treated as our vassals of the Crown of Castile since such they are."

This anti-slavery law includes "those who until now have been enslaved against all reason and right and contrary to the provisions and instructions there-upon." Furthermore, "no risk of life, health and preservation of the said Indians may ensue from immoderate burthen; and that against their own will and without being paid, in no case be it permitted that they be laden, punishing very severely



Leyes y ordenanças nueuamēte hechas
por su Magestad pa la gouernacion de las Indias y buen trata
miento y conseruacion delos Indios: que se han de guardar en el
consejo y audiecias reales q en ellas residen: y por todos los otros
Gouernadores / iuezes y personas particulares dellas.
Con priuilegio imperial.

El Rey.

Dorquáto nos auemos man

dado dar vna nuestra prouission de capítulos en que se da la orden que en el nuestro consejo y en las audiencias de las Indias y gouernacion dellas, y en la cõseruacion y buen tratamiento de los Indios se ha de tener de aquí adelante: y por vn capítulo della se manda que sea imprimida en molde y se cambie a todas las nuestras Indias: por ende por la presente damos licencia/ y facultad a vos Ioan de Brocar impressor vezino de la villa de Alcalá de Henares & mandamos que por tiempo y espacio de diez años que se cuenten desde el día de la hecha desta mi cedula en adelante vos y las personas que touieren vuestro poder/ y no otras algunas podays y puedan imprimir y vender impriman y vendan la dicha prouission de ordenanças so pena que qualquiera persona/ o personas que sin tener poder para ello vuestro durãte el dicho tiempo la imprimiere/ o hiziere imprimir & vender en estos nuestros reynos pierdan la impressiõ que hizieren y los moldes y aparejos con que lo hizieren/ y los volumenes que imprimieren siendo impressos y hechos durante el dicho tiempo/ & incurra cada vno dellos en pena de diez mil maravedis cada vez que lo contrario hizieren: la qual dicha pena mado que sea repartida en esta manera. La tercia parte para el juez que lo sentenciare, & la otra tercia parte para la nuestra camara & fisco: & la otra tercia parte para la persona que lo acusare: la qual dicha merced vos hazemos con tanto que ayays de vender y vendays cada pliego de molde del dicho volumen a quatro maravedis que es el precio que fue tassado por los del nuestro consejo de las Indias & no en mas ni allende & mando a los del nuestro consejo/ Presidentes & oydores de las nuestras audiencias/ alcaldes/ alguaziles de la nra casa & corte & chãcellerías/ & a todos los corregidores/ asistentes/ gouernadores/ alcaldes/ alguaziles merinos/ p̄bostes y otras justicias/ & juezes qualesq̄er de todas las ciudades/ villas/ y lugares de estos nuestros reynos & señorios: & a cada vno y qualquier dellos en sus lugares & iurisdicciones que vos guarden y cumplan & hagan guardar & cumplir esta nuestra carta y lo en ella contenido durãte el dicho tiempo/ y contra ella vos no vayan ni passen ni cõsientan yr ni passar so pena de la nuestra merced/ y de diez mil maravedis para la nuestra camara a cada vno que lo contrario hiziere. Fecha en la ciudad de Barcelona primero día del mes de Mayo de mil & quinientos & quarenta y tres años.

Yoel Rey.

Por mandado de su Magestad

Joan vazquez.

Leyes y ordenanças para las Indias. Fo. ij.



On Carlos por

la diuina clemẽcia Emperador semp augusto/ Rey d̄ Alemania. Doña Joana su madre y el mesmo don Carlos: por la gracia de dios reyes de Castilla/ de Leon/ de Aragon/ de las dos Sicilias/ de Hierusalem/ d̄ Nauarra/ de Granada/ de Toledo/ de Galicia/ de Balizia/ de Alhallorcas/ de Seuilla/ de Cerdeña/ de Cordona/ de Corcega/ de Alburcia/ de Faẽ de los Algarues/ de Algezira/ d̄ Sibraltar/ de las yslas de Canaria.

De las Yndias/ Yslas y tierra firme del mar Oceano.

Condes de Barcelona/ señores de Vizcaya y de Altolina/ Duques de Arbenas/ y de Neopatria/ condes de Ruyssellon/ y de Cerdania/ marqueses de Oristan/ y de Sociano/ Archiduques de Austria/ duques de Borgoña y de Brauãte/ condes de Flandes/ y de Tirol. etc. Al Illustrissimo principe DON. FELIPPE nuestro muy caro y muy amado nieto y hijo. y a los infantes nuestros nietos y hijos. y al Presidente y los del nuestro consejo de las Indias. y a los nuestros visorreyes/ presidentes y oydores de las nuestras audiencias/ y chãcellerías reales de las dichas nuestras Indias/ islas y tierra firme del mar Oceano: y nuestros gouernadores/ alcaldes mayores/ y otras nuestras justicias dellas/ y a todos los concejos/ justicias/ regidores/ caualleros/ escuderos/ oficiales y omes buenos de todas las ciudades/ villas/ y lugares de las dichas nuestras Indias/ islas y tierra firme del mar Oceano descubiertas y por descubrir: y a otras qualesquier psonas/ capitanes/ descubridores/ y pobladores/ y vezinos habitãtes y estantes y naturales della: de qualquier estado/ calidad/ condicion y prebeminencia que sean: ansí a los q̄ agora soys como a los q̄ fuerdes de aquí adelante/ y a cada vno/ y a qualquier de vos en vuestros lugares y iurisdicciones a quien esta nuestra carta fuere mostrada/ o su traslado signado de escriuano publico/ o dlla parte supierdes y lo en ella cõ-

Leyes y ordenanças para las Indias.

ni passays, ni consintays y ni passar agora ni en tiempo alguno, ni por alguna manera: solas penas en ellas contenidas, y porque todo lo suso dicho sea mas notorio: especialmente a los naturales de las dichas nuestras Indias en cuyo beneficio y puebo esto se ordena. Mandamos que esta nuestra carta sea imprimida en molde y se embie a todas las nuestras Indias a los religiosos q̄ en ellas entiēden en la instruction de los dichos Indios, a los quales encargamos que alla las hagan traduzir en lēgua India, para que mejor lo entiendan y sepā lo proueydo, y los vnos ni los otros no fagades ni fagā ende al por alguna manera sopena de la nuestra merced y de mil castellanos de oro para la nuestra camara a cada vno que lo contrario bisiere: y de mas mandamos al ome que vos esta nuestra carta mostrare que vos emplaze, que parezcade ante nos en la nuestra corte do quier que nos seamos del día que vos emplazare basta vn año primero siguiente, so la dicha pena siola qual mādamos a qualquier escriuano publico que para esto fuere llamado que de ende al que vos la mostrare testimonio signado con su signo porque nos sepamos en como se cumple nuestro mādado. Dada en la ciudad de Barcelona a veynte dias del mes de Nouiembre: año del nascimiento de nuestro saluador Jesu christo de mil e quinientos y quarenta y dos años.

Yo El Rey.

Yo Joan de samano secretario de sus Cesarea y Catholicas Magestades la fize escreuir por sumandado.

frater. S. Cardinalis Hispalensis.

Doctor, Bucuara. Doctor figueroa.

Registrada.

Ochoa de Luyando, por Chanciller.

Ochoa de Luyando.

Leyes y ordenanças para las Indias. Fo. x.



Don Carlos por

la diuina clemencia Emperador semp augusto: Rey de Alemania, Doña Joanna su madre / y el mismo don Carlos: por la gracia de dios Reyes de Castilla / de Leon / de Aragon de las dos Sicilias / de Hierusalem de Nauarra / de Granada de Toledo de Valencia / de Galizia de Albalorcas / de Seuilla / de Cerdeña / de Cordoua / de Corcega / de

Murcia de Baē de los Algarues / de Algezira / de Sibraltar de las Islas de Canaria. De las Indias Islas y tierra firme del mar Oceano.

Codes de Barcelona / señores de Escaya y de Alolina / Duques de Arbenas / y de Neopatria / condes de Ruyfelson / y de Cerdania / Marqueses de Oristā / y de Sociano / Archiduques de Austria / Duques de Borgoña / y de Brauante / Condes de flandes / e Tirol, etc. Al Illustrissimo Principe DON FELIPPE nuestro muy charo / e muy amado nieto / e hijo, y a los Infantes nuestros nietos e hijos, y al Presidente / y los del nuestro consejo de las Indias, y a los nuestros Alforreyes / Presidentes / e Oydores de las nuestras audiencias de las dichas nuestras Indias / Islas / y tierra firme del mar Oceano, y nuestros gouernadores / alcaldes mayores / y otras nuestras justicias dellas: y a todos los concejos / justicias / regidores / caualleros / escuderos / oficiales / y omes buenos de todas las ciudades / villas / y lugares de las dichas nuestras Indias Islas e tierra firme del mar Oceano, descubiertas / y por descubrir / y a otras qualesquier personas / capitanes / descubridores / y pobladores / y vezinos / y abitantes / y estantes / y naturales della: de qualquier estado / calidad / y condicion / y prebeminēcia q̄ sean: assi a los q̄ agora soys como a los que fuerē de aqui adelante: y a cada vno y qualq̄er de vos a quien esta nra carta fuere mostrada / o su traslado signado de escriuano publico / o della supiere:

him who shall act contrary to this.” This included working in the pearl fisheries. Critically, it states that any Indigenous Americans who are found being treated or held in such a manner will be removed and “placed under our Royal Crown.”

This leads us to labour practices in the Spanish Empire and the relationship between the Crown and colonists. “When the Spaniards conquered the New World, they resorted to a system of forced labor called the *encomienda*. An *encomienda* was an organization in which a Spaniard received a restricted set of property rights over Indian labor from the Crown whereby the Spaniard (an *encomendero*) could extract tribute (payment of a portion of output) from the Indians in the form of goods, metals, money, or direct labor services” (Yeager). In exchange, the *encomendero*, was obliged to provide for their protection, education, and religious welfare.

There are differences which distinguish this system from the slavery practised later in the Caribbean and United States. The Indigenous Americans were not owned, and thus could not be bought or sold; there was no inheritance built into the system (rights reverted to the Crown); nor could they be moved or relocated from their homes. But in practical terms – specifically the experience of the Indigenous American – there was little difference, and indeed many were enslaved outside of the *encomienda* system, which these New Laws addresses. To give an example of the scale of the system, Córtes himself was granted an *encomienda* that included 115,000 people and “it was generally recognized that some of these personal service activities contributed greatly to the destruction of the Indians” (Batchelder and Sanchez, 49).

Here the New Laws set out the following: “These regulations limited personal services to *encomenderos*, made Crown officials responsible for determining the amount and composition of the tribute from *encomiendas*, prohibited the creation of new *encomiendas* and the reassignment of old ones and freed Indian slaves” (*ibid*, 57). If it seems too good to be true, it was. The Crown applied these restrictions largely to curtail the power (and wealth) of their own colonists. **Importantly, with rights reverting to the Crown, which could also be confiscated, Spain retained complete control over its American colonies.** And in what became a truism for colonies in the Americas the next four hundred years, the implementation of these laws was hindered by lobbying by colonists.

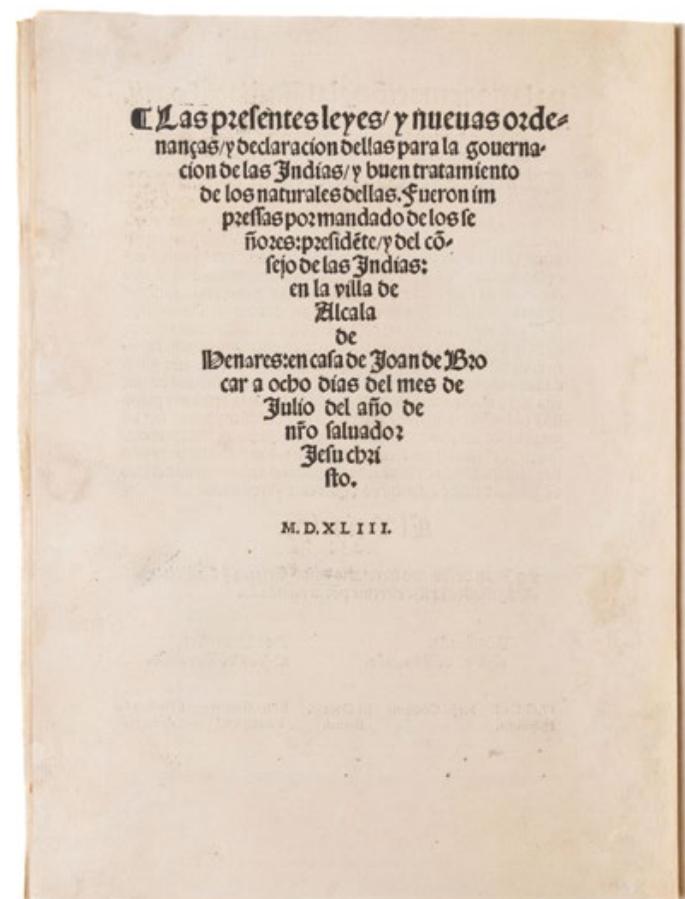
Harris confirms this: “They were issued especially for the better treatment of the Indians, and, we believe, for limiting the partitions of lands among the conquerors. Leon Pinelo states, on the authority of Juan de Grivalja, that these laws ‘tan odiosas,’ were prompted by the publication of the manuscript tract ‘Dies i seis remedios contra la peste que destruye las Indias.’ They were issued at Barcelona, November 20th, 1542, completed at Valladolid, July 4th, 1543, and ordered to be printed, and enforced immediately throughout the Indies.”

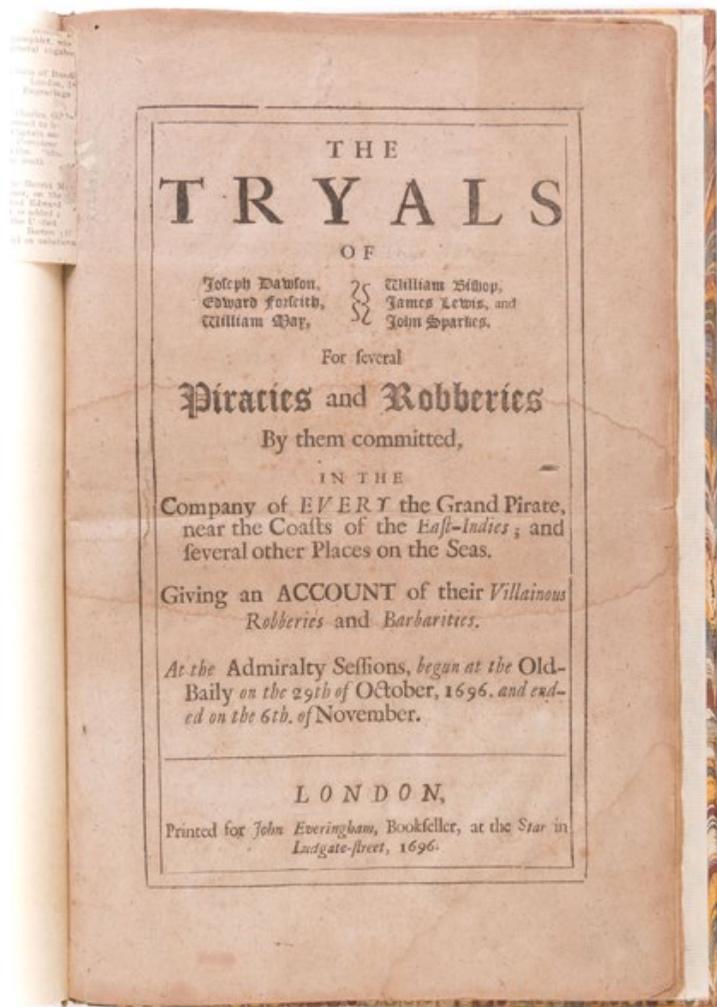
The New Laws concerns would reverberate through the next four hundred years of colonization, its riches and its horrors.

There are a handful of copies in institutions: JCB, Huntington, Newberry, Indiana, NYPL, Michigan Law, NLS, BL, and BNE. We find just two recorded copies for sale – Quaritch in 1889 (£40) and Lathrop Harper in 1941 (USD\$2950). Another listed at Sotheby’s in 1962 was withdrawn.

The copy at the BL is on vellum. We’ve compared ours to the one held at the Newberry Library and it’s the same.

Brunet “*Manuel du Libraire*,” III., col. 1042; Church, 80; Harris, “*Bib. Am. Vet.*,” No. 247; Sabin, 40902; Batchelder, R.W. & Sanchez, N., “The *encomienda* and the optimizing imperialist: an interpretation of Spanish imperialism in the Americas” in *Public Choice*, Vol. 156, No. 1/2 (July, 2013) pp.45-60; Stevens H., & Lucas, F., *Leyes y ordenanças nuevamente hechas: the new laws of the Indies for the good treatment and preservation of the Indians ...* (London, 1893); Yeager, T., “Encomienda or Slavery? The Spanish Crown’s Choice of Labor Organization in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America” in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), p.843.





Every's Men Brought to Justice and the Noose.

2 [EVERY (Henry).] **The Tryals of Joseph Dawson, Edward Forseith, William May, William Bishop, James Lewis, and John Sparkes. For Several Piracies and Robberies by them committed, in the company of EVERY the Grand Pirate, near the Coasts of the East-Indies; and several other places on the seas ... Giving an account of their Villainous Robberies and Barbarities. At the Admiralty Sessions, begun at the Old Baily on the 29th of October, 1696. and ended on the 6th. of November.**

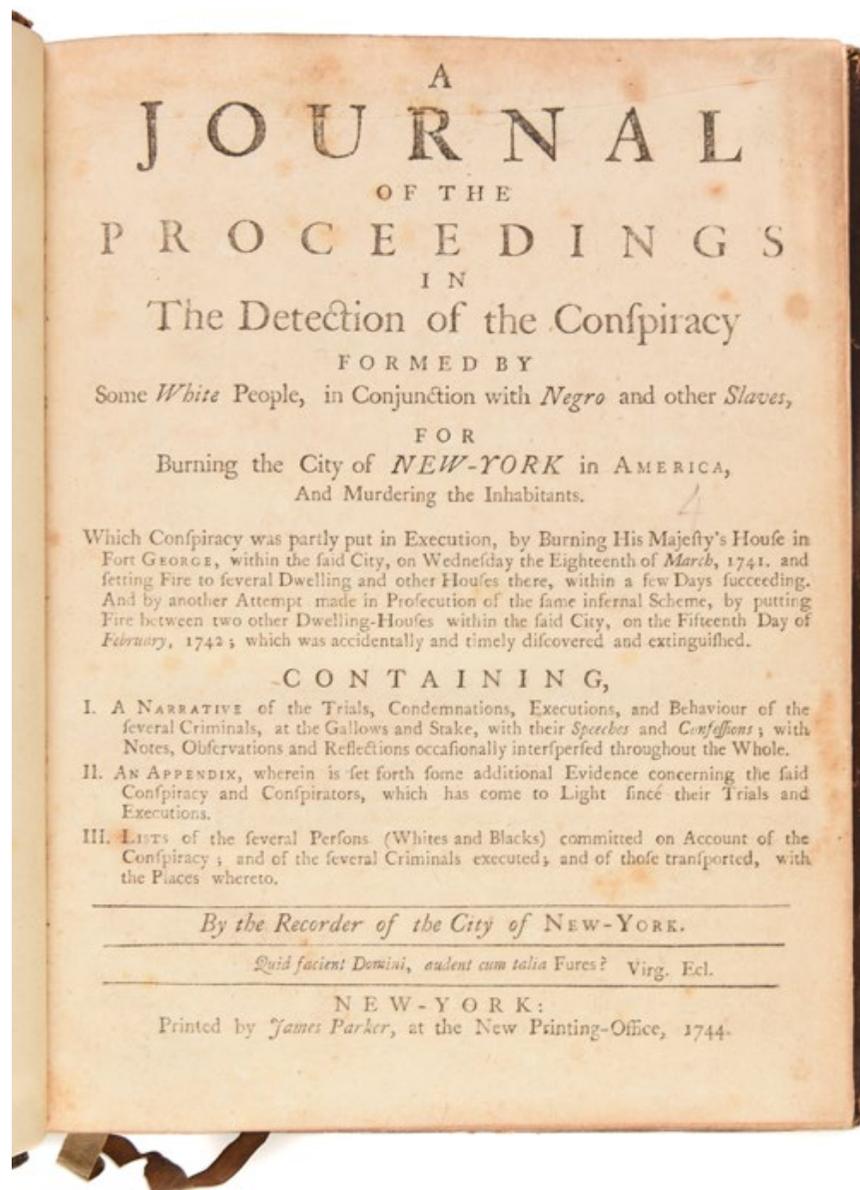
First edition. Folio. Modern quarter calf, the text somewhat browned with a little dampstaining. Old bibliographical clipping formerly tipped to title-page at upper gutter, now loose. 28pp. London, Printed for John Everingham, Bookseller at the Star in Ludgate-Street, 1696. **£11,000**

Henry Every (sometime Avery) aka Long Ben, the Arch Pirate, and King of the Pirates, was the most successful pirate of the so-called Golden Age of sea-going miscreants. Leading a bloodless mutiny against privateer Captain Gibson of the *Charles II*, Every, who had experience in the slave trade, made full use of this fast ship, now renamed the *Fancy*, sailing for the Indian Ocean. Once there, he raced it to overhaul and maraud, boasting, untruthfully, that he never boarded an English merchantman.

The spoils of his ventures were extraordinary in today's money: some £63 million. After the capture of the Grand Moghul's treasure ship returning from Mecca to India with royal pilgrims and laden with jewels and gold, and various other prizes taken in both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the principals received over £1000 each with shares reducing, depending on piratical contribution, with a minimum payable of £110 for interns. One of these apprentices had his wages stolen by the co-accused John Sparkes, and by here testifying for the Crown got his revenge.

The cruise ended at New Providence in the Bahamas, where the Governor was paid an enormous bribe to allow them to land. Tipped off about a proclamation newly arrived from England making them outlaws and placing a £500 price on Every's head, a sum later doubled by the East India Company, the party dispersed, mainly to America, some to Ireland and some within the West Indies. A few chanced their arms and attempted a return to England and of these some were captured. The main witness for the Crown was pardoned and was able to set himself up as a banker. Every was never caught having spread many a different tale of his intended whereabouts. According to Johnson, but entirely uncorroborated, he returned to his native Devon but died a pauper having frittered away his enormous wealth. The success of his ventures is thought to have engendered an era of piratical activity catalogued by Johnson in 1724-6.

The seizure of the Moghul's bounty strained diplomatic relations to the extreme and the government required scapegoats. These six unfortunates were the only members of his crew (thought to have numbered over one hundred men) brought to justice. The eight herein named were captured, but two were pardoned for testifying against their crewmates, and another had his sentence commuted. The initial trial resulted in acquittal, but the Crown hastily convened a second on different charges. Sparkes was the only member of the condemned to admit guilt. This printed trial though held in some number institutionally has seldom been offered for sale. This example has tipped to the inner margin a note from the Anderson Gallery sale of either 1919 or 1920. From the description of the binding our copy appears to be the first of these. *Wing, T2252; Gosse, p.68-69.*



“Excessively Rare” Account Of the 1741 Rebellion

3 [HORSMANDEN (Daniel).] A Journal of the Proceedings in the Detection of the Conspiracy formed by Some White People, in Conjunction with Negro and other Slaves, for Burning the City of New-York in America and Murdering the Inhabitants.

First edition. 4to. Contemporary calf, a little scuffed, some light foxing and toning to prelims but very good. [4], vi, 205, [3], 16pp. New York, James Parker, at the New Printing-Office, 1744. £45,000

A handsome copy of this vital work of American history. This is “one of the most important printed records of the early history of New York City and the main source of information respecting the Negro Plot of 1741, an event which threw the city and even the colonies into a state of fear” (Church). The first book printed in New York appeared only 50 years’ prior.

It commenced with a robbery in February which was followed by a series of fires in March and April: first at Fort George (then Lieutenant Governor George Clarke’s home), then across lower Manhattan, a total of thirteen fires were lit. “City officials acted quickly, interrogating more than 200 people, black and white, and soon uncovered what they believed to be a gang of dispossessed slaves and Irish indentured servants, who, it seems, had planned to burn New York City to the ground and kill their masters. Stunned by the boldness of the plot, authorities immediately began to investigate and to prosecute hundreds of alleged conspirators. Although authorities knew disgruntled indentured servants to be key conspirators, blame fell squarely on the city’s large slave population” (Doolen, 377).

However, suspicions also spread to Spaniards and Catholics as England was then at war with Spain, as well as a group of Mason thieves, and even a priest, John Ury. So many arrests were made that the jail could barely accommodate the accused.

The author, Daniel Horsmanden (1694-1788), “was a chief investigator and principal proponent of the theory that the rash of fires marked the opening assault of an abominable conspiracy of Spanish spies, slaves, Catholics and other traitorous whites to burn down New York City and murder its loyal white residents. As third justice of New York’s three-man Supreme Court of Judicature, Horsmanden also sat as a presiding trial judge in prosecutions that produced the thirty-four executions” (Davis). His stake in the matter couldn’t have been higher. He led the prosecution, and, as there was not yet a regular police force in New York (NYPD was not founded until 1845), issued the arrest warrants, and conducted much of the investigation.

As the trials proceeded, immunity was offered in exchange for the accusation of others and the number of arrests, trials and executions grew as a result – so much so that even at the time it was likened to the witch trials at Salem. Church adds: “A close examination of the testimony fails to show that the conspiracy was as widespread as was believed at the time. The fires and intended murders were probably only the revengeful acts of a few of the 20 whites and 154 negroes who were indicted on insufficient evidence. Two thirds of the accused were found guilty, and from the list at the end of the book we learn that of these 18 negroes and 2 white persons were hanged, 13 negroes were burned at the stake, and 70 were transported.” It comes as little surprise to learn that immediate, additional restrictions were placed on the city’s enslaved population.

One interesting aspect to the trials is that although evidence from enslaved workers was not permissible in court against those who were free, it was accepted when the accused were enslaved. This work includes several examples of the latter.

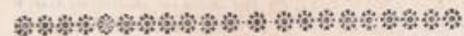
Examination of Sam, P. Low's Negro.

Second Confession.

HE said, "That last Easter was Twelve Months he went with Jacob, Abraham's Scipio to Hughson's House; that when he went in, he saw Judge Philip's Frank and the Widow Hyer's Tom, drinking a Mug of Beer; that he did not speak to Frank nor to Tom at that Time; that he does not know they ever have been told of the Plot by either White People or Negroes; and that they never mentioned the Plot to them, nor they to him; but confesses that he, Sam, was sworn as one of the Conspirators: The rest he refers to his former Examination. (1)

A List of the Negroes recommended this Day by the Judges to his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, to be pardoned in order for Transportation.

Table listing names of Negroes: Patrick, Will, Worcester, Jamaica, Scipio, Caesar, Fortune, English's, Vaarck's, Varian's, Ellison's, Abraham's, Pintard's, Fortune, Tom, Ben. Moore's, Lefferts's, Marfchalk's, Low's, Latham's, Clarkon's.



WEDNESDAY, 8th JULY.

THE Sentence of Sarah Hughson the Daughter, having been respited for upwards of three Weeks since the Execution of her Father and Mother, and she in that Time often importun'd to confess what she knew of the Conspiracy, did always peremptorily deny she knew any Thing of the Matter, and made Use of many wicked Imprecations, in order to move Compassion in those that mov'd it to her, after the Manner of her Parents, whose constant Practice it was, whenever spoke of about the Plot: And this being the Day appointed for Sarah's Execution, she was this Morning brought up to Mr. Pemberton, who came to pray by her, and after all his Admonitions, still denied her Guilt; and being carried back to her Dungeon where was the Negro Wench Sarah, under Sentence also to be executed this Day; Sarah Hughson at last owned to her, that she had been sworn into the Plot. --- This Negro Wench (thinking as may be supposed to make a Merit of it) soon after, told what had pass'd between them to the Under-Sheriff, who acquainted the Judges with it; and they sent for Sarah Hughson, who confess'd before them her Knowledge of the Conspiracy; whereupon the Execution of both Criminals was further respited.

(1) 3d July, p. 122, col. 2.

Examination of Sarah Hughson under Condemnation.

Before the Chief Justice, Second Justice, and others.

1. SARAH HUGHSON being examined, said, she saw William Kane sworn (z) one Sunday Evening, sometime before Christmas, she can't tell exactly; That he threaten'd to kill her if she discover'd, and the Negroes threaten'd her the same; her Father charged her to say nothing about it: They were first to begin with burning the Fort with a good Wind; after that they were to begin at the Upper End of the Town, with an East Wind, so as to burn the whole Town; to destroy the Whites; and after, to keep the Town and send Notice to the Spaniards, that they might come and hold it, so that it could not be taken from them again: She thinks her Mother knew of it.

2. "The first Time she saw Jury (a) was with Campbell, about a Fortnight before May Day, when they came to see the House; there were several Negroes there concerned: Walter's Quack, Philip's Coffee, Forke's (b) Caesar, Comfort's Jack, Balian, Negroes, used to come after dark; she can't remember them, but should know them if she saw them; has seen a middle sized white Man that called himself a Doctor, with black Hair always cut, of a sharp Chin, (c) often talking with the Negroes, and drinking with them: Peggy used to say that Quack, Walter's, was her Sweet-Heart, and she thought him the Handsomest among them: Thinks she has heard the Name of one Coffin; he is a fresh coloured long haired Man, who was often at Hughson's among the Negroes.

This Confession was so scanty, and came from her after much Difficulty, with great Reluctance, that it gave little or no Satisfaction; and notwithstanding, (it was said, after she return'd to Jail) she retracted the little said, and denied she had any Knowledge of a Conspiracy: So that after all, the Judges thought themselves under a Necessity, of Ordering her Execution, as the last Experiment, to bring her to a Disposition to unfold this Infernal Secret; at least, so much of it, as might be thought deserving a Recommendation of her, as an Object of Mercy.

(z) Meaning into the Conspiracy, which was the subject Matter she was examined upon.

(a) Alias Ury, the Priest.

(b) Vaarck's.

(c) Probably meaning Schutz; whom the Description seems somewhat to suit.

Supreme



Supreme Court:

THURSDAY, 9th JULY,

PRESENT.

The Chief Justice,

The Second and Third Justices.

The KING,

against

Scipio, Fortune, } Negroes.

SCIPIO and Fortune being brought to the Bar, desired Leave to retract their Plea of Not Guilty; Leave was given, and they pleaded Guilty, and submitted to Mercy.

The KING,

against

Quamino, and Forty One other Negroes.

THE following Negroes having been severally convicted of the Conspiracy, were put to the Bar, viz.

Table listing names of convicted Negroes: Quamino, Toby, Will, Warwick, Tom, Dipsford, Will, York, Scipio, 10 Guy, Cato, Tony, Scipio, Caesar, 15 Jack, Dundee, Tom, Starling, York, 20 Bridgewater, London, Pemberton's, Breast's, Ten Eyck's, Hunt's, Soumain's, Mr Mayor's, Lush's, Peck's, Van Borfom's, Horsefield's, Benson's, Brazier's, Bound's, Kortrecht's, Abraham's, Todd's, Rowe's, Lawrence's, Crooke's, Van Horn's, French's, Mars, Benson's, Primus, De Brosse's, Titus, Phenix's, 25 Lewis, Schuyler's, Jonneau, Vaarck's, Scotland, Marfion's, Worcester, Varian's, Jamaica, Ellison's, 30 Patrick, English's, Scipio, Abraham's, Fortune, Clarkon's, Caesar, Pintard's, Fortune, Wilkins's, 35 Tom, Moore's, Pompey, Lefferts's, London, Marfchalk's, Wan, Low's, Will, Vaarck's, 40 Fortune, Latham's, Mink, Groesbeck's, Jacob, H. Rutgers's.

And being asked what they had to say, why Sentence of Death should not pass against them according to Law? They all pleaded his Majesty's most gracious Pardon upon Condition of Transportation, and prayed that the same might be read and allowed; and the same was read, and

Ordered to be allowed; and that the Masters of the said Negroes or some one for them, do enter into Recognizance before one of the Justices of the Court, in the Penalty of Fifty Pounds each, to transport their Negro according to the Proviso in the Pardon mentioned; and that the said Recognizance be entered into before such Negro be taken out of Goal.

Court adjourned till To-morrow Morning Ten o'Clock.

EXAMINATION

Before One of the Judges.

NUMB. III.

WILLIAM KANE being duly sworn, says, "That he knows Edward Murphy, now in Goal, has seen him several Times at Hughson's, and knows he was concerned in the late Conspiracy to burn the Fort and Town, and kill and destroy the Inhabitants; and has heard the said Murphy say, some Time before the Fort was burnt, when the Negroes were talking at Hughson's about the Conspiracy, Damn him, if he would not lend Hand to the Fire as soon as any Body.

DEPOSITION

Before One of the Judges.

NUMB. VI.

MARY BURTON being duly sworn, saith, "That she has often seen Edward Murphy (now present) at the House of the late John Hughson, on Hudson's River; That she has often seen the said Murphy among the Negroes at the said House, whilst they (the Negroes) were plotting and conspiring to burn this City, and to kill and murder the Inhabitants thereof; That she hath heard the said Murphy say, That he would help the said Negroes and Hughson, to burn and destroy this City and Inhabitants, and would give them the said Hughson and Negroes all the Assistance in his Power.

Confirmed upon Examination before the Grnd Jury.

DEPOSITION

Before the Chief Justice.

NUMB. IV.

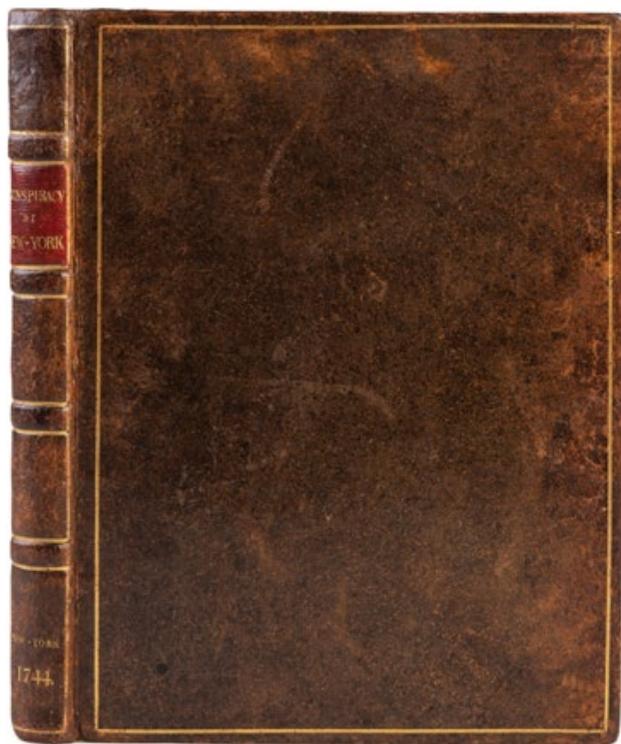
WILLIAM KANE being duly sworn, saith, "That he hath often seen David Johnson, Hatter (now shewn to him) at Hughson's; particularly since last Christmas, when there were several Negroes present; that he was called from the Company that came with him, into a Room by Hughson and Jury the Priest, and staid in the Room a considerable Time; and Jerry Corker told him the Day the Town was to be fired; that Johnson said, Damn him if he would not be as ready as

Indeed, two of the enslaved, Quack and Cuffee, were forced to conduct their own defence and on pp.41-42 the answers by Arthur Phillipse, James McDonald, Capt Rowe and Beekman to their examination are given though, alas, not the questions.

Not everyone was convinced of the allegations, nor of Horsmanden's actions, so he produced this work to justify his behaviour. "He compiled his documentary account from the prosecutor's notes, his memory of the suspects' examinations, addresses to the court by prosecutors and defendants, and both his firsthand reflections on the motivations of particular suspects and his proud commentary on the court's timely vigilance" (Doolen, 387). Although, he'd been commissioned to produce a compendium of the laws of New York and paid £250 to do so, he put that project aside in order to concentrate on this *Journal*. Despite his position on the Supreme Court, Horsmanden was also in constant need of money and hoped that sales from this book might secure his future. Several scholars have seen through the self-serving aspects of the text and Philip Morgan went so far as to call it an "exercise in post-hoc justification of a controversial prosecution."

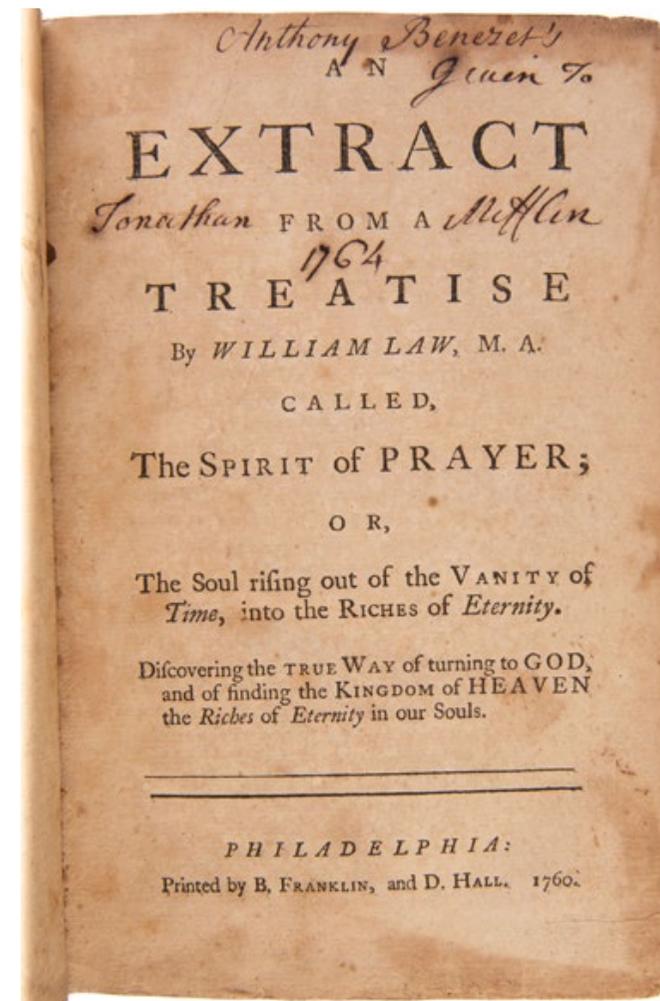
History has still not got to the bottom of this plot and **this is the only extant printed account of the incident and its trials**. A few charred fragments of the manuscript trial minutes and some of the confessions are held in the National Archives at Kew, but they are the only other source.

Church, 951; *Evans*, 5413; *Howes H652* ("c"); *Sabin*, 33058 ("an excessively rare work"); Davis, T.J. [review] "New York Burning ..."



NEW YORK HIGHLIGHTS

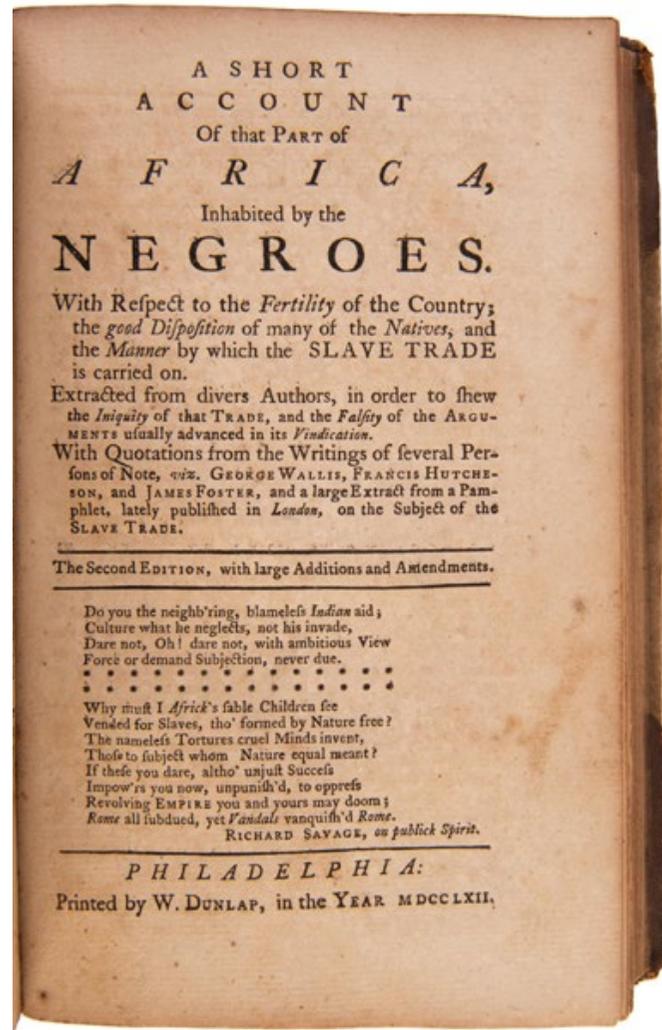
No.3, *Law War and History* (Fall, 2008) p.744; Doolen, A., "Reading and Writing Terror: The New York Conspiracy Trials of 1741" in *American Literary History*, Vol.16, No.3 (Autumn, 2004), pp.377-406; Lepore, J., *New York Burning ...* (New York, 2005); Morgan, P., "Conspiracy Scares" in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No.1 (Jan., 2002), p.164.



A Staggering Association Copy linking Benezet, Franklin and Mifflin

4 [BENEZET (Anthony).] LAW (William). **An Extract from a Treatise by William Law ... Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin & D. Hall, 1760.** [With:] HARTLEY (Thomas). **A Discourse on Mistakes Concerning Religion, Enthusiasm, Experiences ... Germantown, Christopher Sauer, 1759.** [And:] BENEZET (Anthony). **A Short Account of that Part of Africa Inhabited by the Negroes ... First and second editions. 8vo. An unsophisticated copy in contemporary half-calf, worn & rubbed, text toned throughout, some staining. In a customer quarter morocco clamshell box. 47, [1]; 71, [1]; 8opp. Philadelphia, 1762.**
£15,000

One hardly knows where to begin with this sammelband: the authors of these three pamphlets are all Quakers and abolitionists, William Law, Thomas Hartley,



and, of course, Anthony Benezet (1713-1784). The first work, a Quaker devotional text, was printed by Benjamin Franklin (commissioned by the Philadelphia Society of Friends), the second was printed by Christoph Sauer, and the last is Benezet's *A Short Account of That Part of Africa Inhabited by the Negroes* (1762). Then there's provenance. Anthony Benezet's own copy of *An Extract from a Treatise* by William Law given to one of his most important students, the prominent Quaker, Jonathan Mifflin (1753-1840), who served as Quartermaster in the Revolutionary War and later operated a station on the Underground Railroad. The inscription reads: "Anthony Benezet's Given to Jonathan Mifflin 1764."

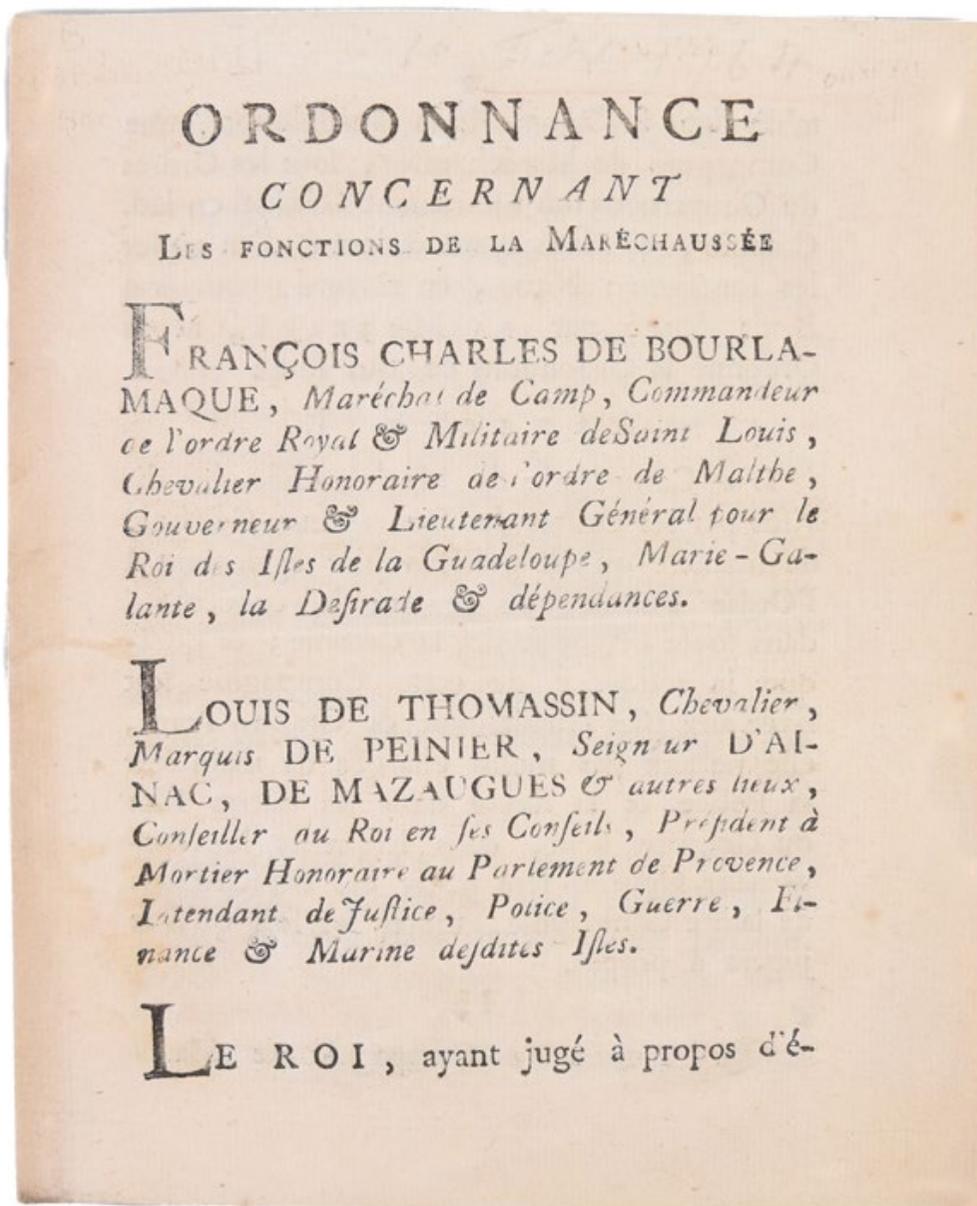
Leading by example, and recognizing the power of education, Benezet was a teacher first and foremost. Having privately tutored Black children at his home for a year, in 1770, with the assistance of the Society of Friends, he established a 'School for Africans.' His interest in abolitionism began much earlier.

Hugh Thomas summarises Benezet's role in the history of Quaker abolitionism: "Anthony Benezet, a 'worthy old Quaker' as Granville Sharp called him ... was talking to the world beyond Friends' House, and to England as well as North America, when between 1759 and 1771 he wrote a series of works such as *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and the Colonies* and then *Some Historical Account of Guinea*. These and other studies were remarkable for their use of material taken from far outside the normal range of Quaker reading." Thomas continues, "In the history of abolition, Benezet ... should have a place of honour. He was not only a link between the writings of the moral philosophers, such as Montesquieu and the Quakers, but also one between America and Britain; and indeed the Anglo-Saxons and the French." Indeed, Benezet's *A Short Account of That Part of Africa Inhabited by the Negroes*, included here, is one of his most important works where "he directly challenged assertions of innate black inferiority" (ANB).

In the *Directory of Friends in Philadelphia, 1757-1760*, Jonathan Mifflin is recorded as belonging to Fair Hill Meeting. Not very far away, Anthony Benezet was on the north side of Chestnut Street. At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, Mifflin settled with his wife and children in Wrightsville, Pennsylvania, south of Harrisburg on the Susquehanna River. He lived until 1840, and their house, called Hybla, became an important stop on the early Underground Railroad, owing to its proximity to the Maryland border. The station was maintained by his family after his death.

With the rare presentation inscription by Benezet, this desirable volume seems to encapsulate everything that was happening in Pennsylvanian Quaker and abolitionist circles at the second half of the eighteenth century. *Evans*, 8633, 8364, 9067; *Miller*, 731 (for the Franklin printing); *Sabin*, 4686 (cf. first edition); "A Directory of Friends in Philadelphia, 1757-1760" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 16, No. 2 (July, 1892) pp. 219-238; Thomas, H., *The Slave Trade* (London, 2006) pp. 469-71.





Establishing French Control of Martinique

5 BOURLAMAQUE (François-Charles de). Ordonnance concernant les fonctions de la Maréchaussée.

First edition. Small 4to (175 by 145mm). Two bifolia folded as issued, text very lightly toned. 8pp. Martinique, Pierre Richard, Imprimeur du Roi, [1764].

£12,500

An excellent copy of a hitherto unrecorded – and very early – Martinique imprint. Under the 1763 Treaty of Paris, signed at the conclusion of the Seven Years War, France gained control of Guadeloupe in exchange for her colonial holdings in Canada.

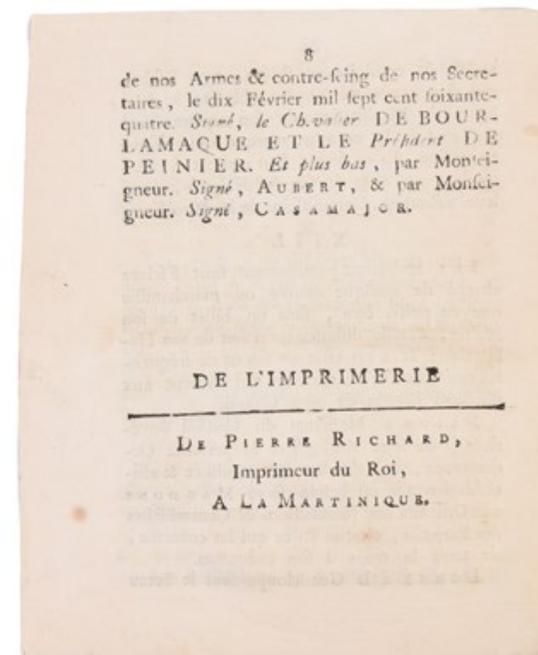
Signed in print by the new governor, Bourlamaque (1716-64) and Intendant, Louis Thomassin Peinier, this *ordonnance* formally establishes a French police force (constabulary) on Guadeloupe, which had just been transferred from British control. Bourlamaque had served with distinction in Canada during the Seven Years War as third-in-command of the regular troops. He was promoted to Major General in 1762, and made governor of Guadeloupe the next year. Printed at the height of the slave trade, the thirteen articles outlined here confirm that the primary responsibility of the maréchaussée is to maintain public order. These articles naturally reflect the concerns of the day and it's telling that more than half of them – numbers six to thirteen – concern the island's enslaved population, specifically the logistics of arresting fugitives.

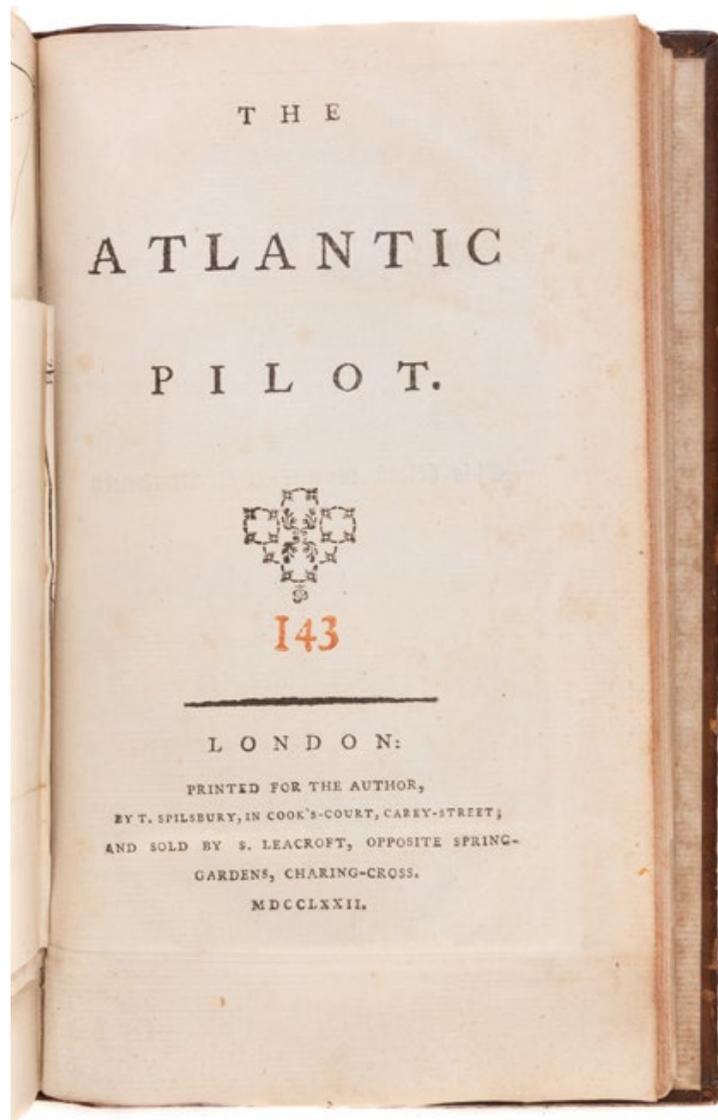
Just as the printing press in Jamaica was used to supply British settlements in Honduras and the Cayman Islands, so too did the French where “royalist printers in Dominica printed material for circulation in Martinique, or St. Kitts printers moved for safety to the Dutch island of St. Eustatius” (Cave). The first printer's patent on Martinique was issued in 1729 to a bookseller by the name of Devaux, but there is seemingly no evidence of him acting on it. A handful of broadsides and bills of lading were printed on the island, the first recorded being in 1739, but printing didn't really get underway until 1766 when Pierre Richard published the first issue of *Gazette de la Martinique* which ran until 1793. Presumably on that basis, he was contracted to publish the *Code de la Martinique* (1767), being the first proper book printed on the island. This *ordonnance* precedes the *Gazette* by two years and is one of the earliest Martinique imprints we have handled.

All eighteenth-century Caribbean imprints are rare. Given the climate, and vulnerability to insect damage, this copy is in particularly good condition.

Not in OCLC, not in COPAC, not in KVK, not in BnF.

Cave, R., *Printing and the Book Trade in the West Indies* (London, 1987), pp5-6.





First Notice of the Gulf Stream: with Important Maps

6 BRAHM (William Gerard de). *The Atlantic Pilot*.

First edition. 3 folding charts and 1 folding table. 8vo. 80mm closed tear to one chart, repaired with no loss. Number “143” printed in red on title-page. Final leaf shorter than the rest, with a table printed on the verso. viii, 25, [1]pp. London, Printed for the Author, by T. Spilsbury [...] and sold by S. Leacroft, 1772. [*bound after:*] BYRON (John). *A Voyage Round the World, in His Majesty's Ship The Dolphin* ... Second edition. Engraved frontispiece portrait, plus 2 engraved plates. A few ms corrections to the text. [2], 186, [2ads]pp.

London, J. & F. Newbery, 1777. [*plus:*] PENROSE (Bernard). *An Account of the Last Expedition to Port Egmont, in Falkland's Islands, in the year 1772*. First edition. Full contemporary calf with raised bands, red morocco label, plus gilt rules and titles. Expertly recased, with original spine preserved. A fine clean copy. 81, [1ad]pp. London, J. Johnson, 1775. £55,000

A handsome and desirable copy of this rare pilot, being a “pioneer attempt to examine the source and nature of the Gulf Stream” (Cumming). Contrary to early scholarship, it was De Brahm, and not Benjamin Franklin, who was the first to not only understand the Gulf Stream, but also record it on a map.

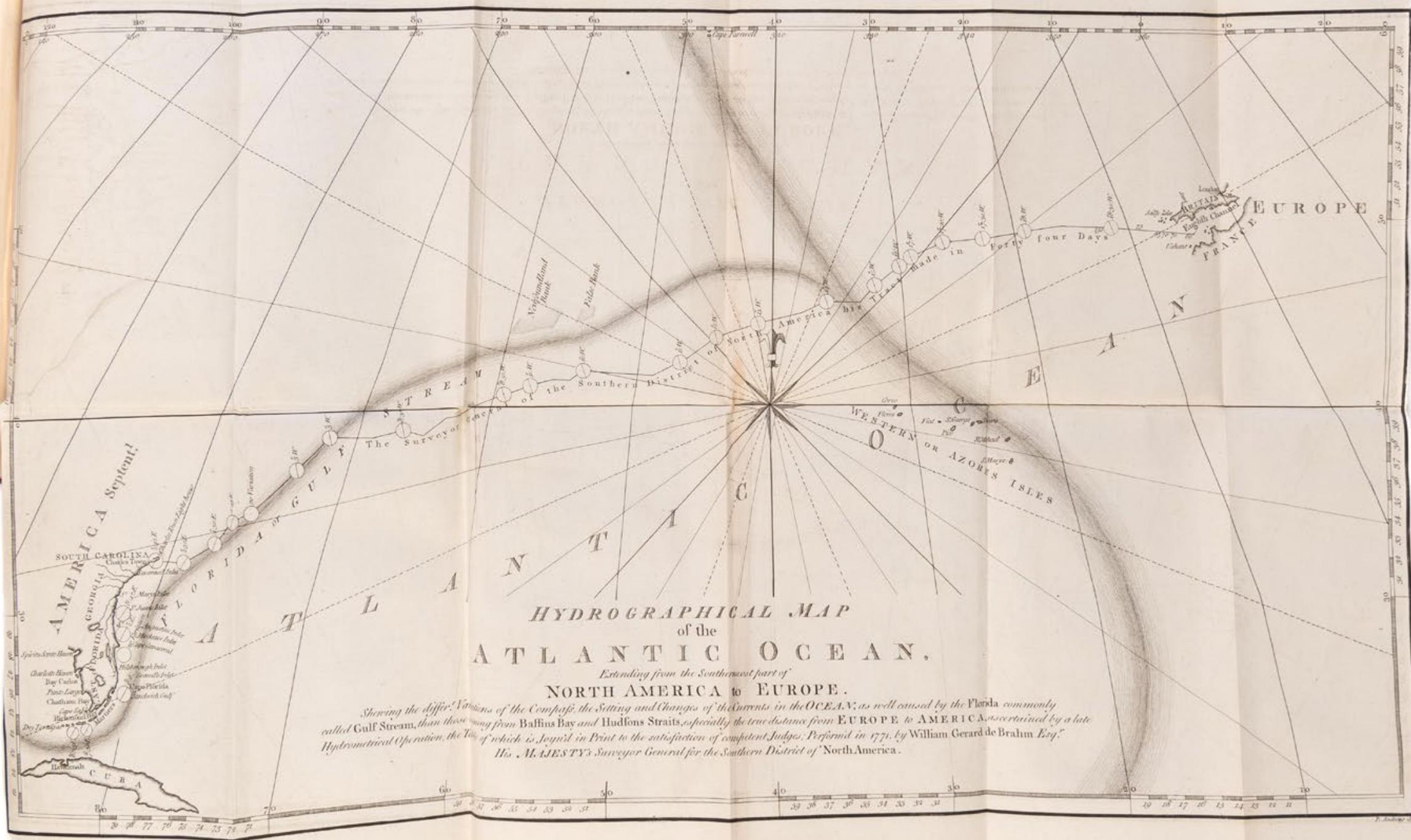
Appointed Surveyor General of the New British Colony of East Florida and the Southern District of North America in 1765, the German engineer, De Brahm (1717-1799), was ordered to survey and map the region south of the Potomac River and west of its head, with specific emphasis on East Florida from St Augustine south to Cape Florida. With much of the territory recently ceded by Spain, those lands were largely unknown to the English and it was on the basis of De Brahm's maps that future settlements would be planned.

Equipped with three quadrants purchased in Savannah, on the *Augustine Packet*, he spent 18 weeks surveying the Florida coast. Starting at St Augustine in February 1765, his survey of the province's Atlantic coastline, was to achieve the following “to identify any good harbors or anchorages ...; to assess the area's soil and climate to identify good locations for plantations; and to chart inland waterways that could be used to transport produce and potentially provide a navigable trans-peninsular route to the Gulf of Mexico” (Johnson).

These he did with great diligence, but it is his work on the Gulf Stream for which he is best known. De Brahm first mentioned it in his report to the Board of Trade on 4 April, 1765. Alas, the ms. map included with the report did not survive, but a later one, dated May 1765 did and is now at the LOC.

“De Brahm formulated theoretical and practical knowledge of the Gulf Stream ... [and] found the Gulf Stream to be an important phenomenon ‘forming a part of the domain of an American coast survey’ some few years before Benjamin Franklin and Timothy Folger compiled their famous map of the ocean current” (De Vorsey, 11). It wasn't until 1772 that De Brahm published his findings in *The Atlantic Pilot*, by which time his thinking on it had developed into a more sophisticated understanding of the stream, its size, and its implications for navigation.

The pilot includes three important maps, being: “The Ancient Tegesta, now Promontory of East Florida”; “Chart of the South End of East Florida, and Martiers”; and “Hydrographical Map of the Atlantic Ocean, Extending from the Southernmost part of North America to Europe.” De Vorsey clarifies the importance of the latter map: “He symbolized the Gulf Stream by a ribbon of closely spaced wavy lines issuing forth from the Gulf of Mexico that turn sharply north and parallel to the coastline of Florida and Georgia before heading to the northeast



HYDROGRAPHICAL MAP
of the
ATLANTIC OCEAN,
Extending from the Southernmost part of
NORTH AMERICA to EUROPE.

Shewing the different Variations of the Compass, the Setting and Changes of the Currents in the OCEAN; as well caused by the Florida commonly called Gulf Stream, than those coming from Baffins Bay and Hudsons Straits, especially the true distance from EUROPE to AMERICA, ascertained by a late Hydrometrical Operation, the Year of which is Inscrib'd in Print to the satisfaction of competent Judges, Performed in 1771. by William Gerard de Brahm Esq.
His MAJESTY'S Surveyor General for the Southern District of North America.

THE
ANCIENT TEGESTA,

now

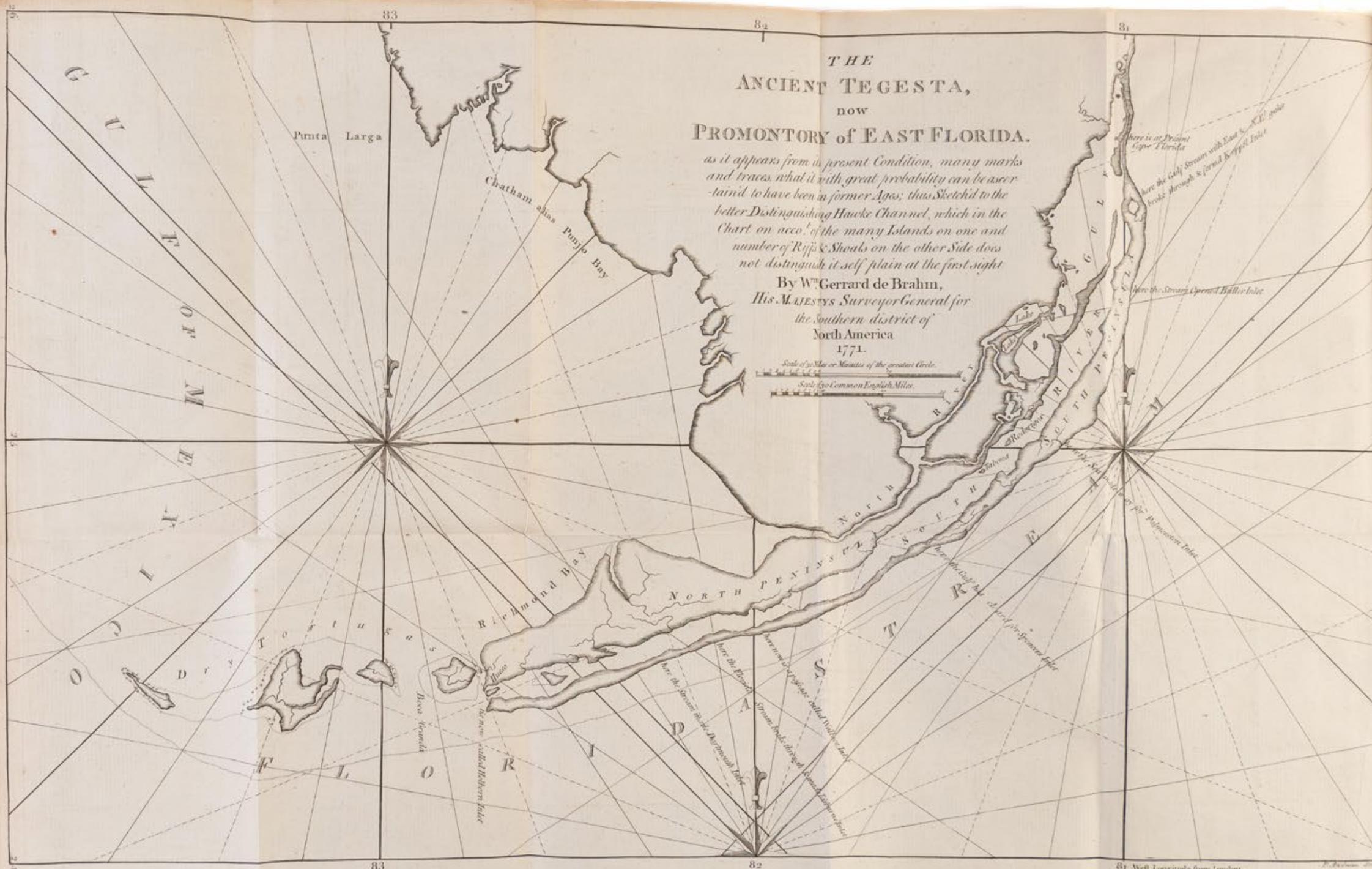
PROMONTORY of EAST FLORIDA.

as it appears from its present Condition, many marks
and traces what it with great probability can be ascer-
tained to have been in former Ages; thus Sketch'd to the
better Distinguishing Hawke Channel, which in the
Chart on acc^t of the many Islands on one and
number of Riffs & Shoals on the other Side does
not distinguish it self plain at the first sight

By W^m Gerrard de Brahm,
His MAJESTY'S Surveyor General for
the Southern district of
North America
1771.

Scale of 10 Miles or Minutes of the greater Circle.

Scale for Common English Miles.

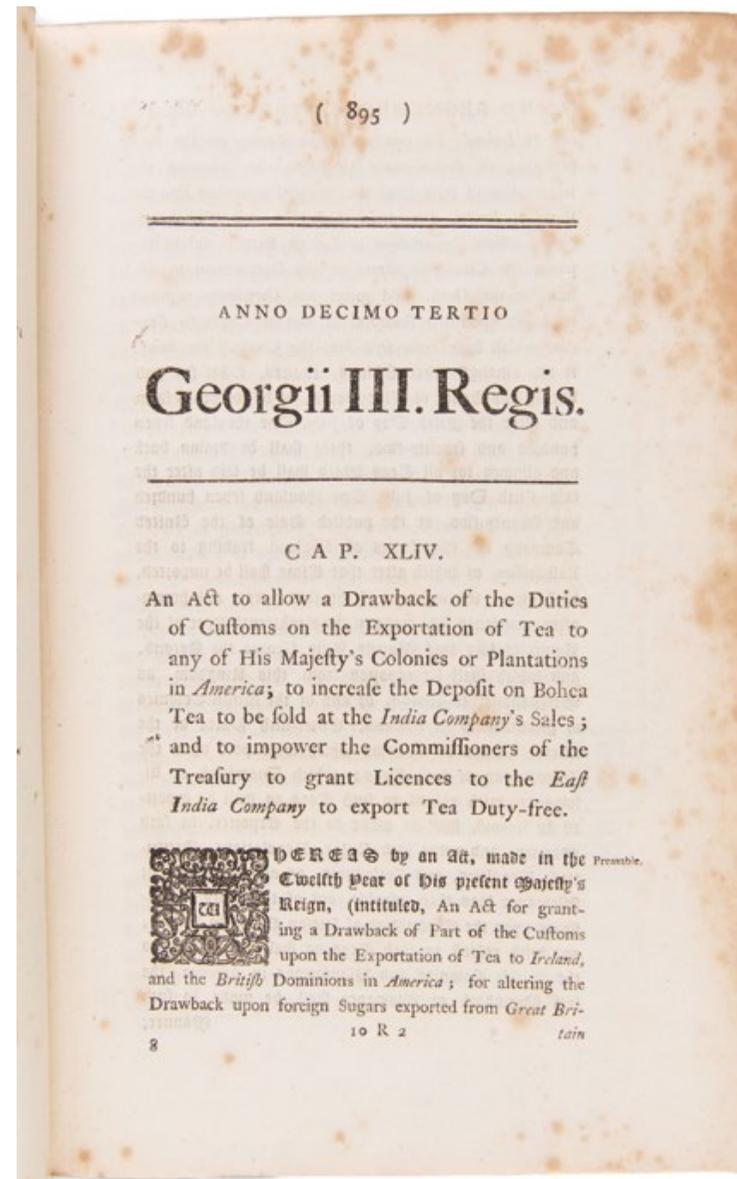
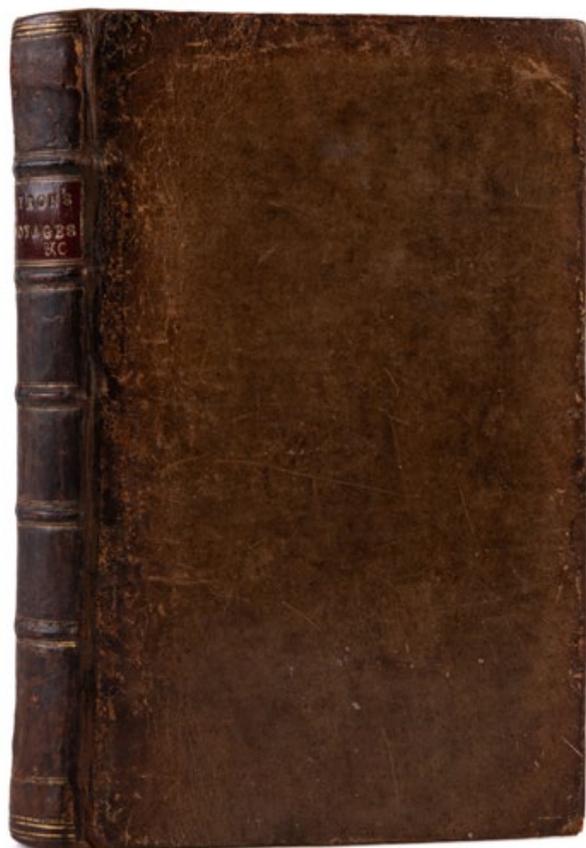


to join a similar but slightly broader ribbon flowing past Cape Farewell and the Azores Islands and arcing to the southern edge of the chart” (De Vorse, 13).

De Brahm returned to England in 1771. The Stream continued to occupy De Brahm’s thinking. Indeed, his studies “were carried further than his published work indicates, for one of the two unpublished De Brahm manuscripts now in the Harvard College Library is a continuation of the printed *Atlantic Pilot*, an extensive addition, with two manuscript charts, to his earlier investigations of the course and rate of flow of the Gulf Stream” (Wroth).

OCLC locates copies at Cornell, Yale, Georgia, JCB, BL, and NLS. ESTC adds LOC, Huntington, Library Company of Philadelphia, Royal Society, and St Andrews. The last copy at auction was at Christie’s in 2011 (rebacked, \$60,000); the Frank Streeter copy (later calf, \$78,000) before that in 2007.

Howes D188 “b”; JCB (3) II, 1821; Sabin, 7324 ; Cumming, W., *British Maps of Colonial America*, (Chicago, 1974) p.52; Howgego I, B151; Johnson, A., *The First Mapping of America ...* (Bloomsbury, 2017) p.99; Vorse, L. de, “The History of the Gulf Stream’s Missing Chapter: John William Gerard De Brahm” in *The Occasional Papers* (Winter 2016) LOC - <https://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/pdf/plp/occasional/OccPaper10.pdf> accessed online 17 Feb, 2022; Wroth, L., *Some American Contributions to the Art of Navigation*, (Providence, 1947), p.29.



The Infamous Tea Act: a Key Document in the Story of America's Independence - the Catalyst for the Boston Tea Party

7 [TEA ACT] An Act to allow a Drawback of the duties of Customs on the Exportation of Tea to any of his Majesty’s Colonies or Plantations in America; to increase the Deposit of Bohea Tea to be sold at the India Company’s Sales; and to empower the Commissioners of the Treasury to grant Licenses to the East India Company to export Tea Duty-free.

ANNO REGNI
GEORGI III.
REGIS

Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ,

DECIMO TERTIO.

At the Parliament begun and holden at *Westminster*, the Tenth Day of *May*, *Anno Domini* 1768, in the Eighth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of GOD, of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

And from thence continued, by several Prorogations, to the Twenty-sixth Day of *November*, 1772; being the Sixth Session of the Thirteenth Parliament of *Great Britain*.



L O N D O N :

Printed by CHARLES EYRE and WILLIAM STRAHAN,
Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty.

MDCCLXXIII.

First separate issue, with a general title-page. Small Folio (292 by 188mm). Foxed around the edges, very small holes through the inner margin (touching a few letters of text). Disbound from a larger volume with the remains of an old calf spine still visible. [2], 895-902pp. London, by Charles Eyre and William Strahan, 1773. £25,000

A memorable synopsis of the Boston Tea Party can be read here: "The tea destroyers hailed from all walks of life. Men with strong backs and hard Yankee accents, they were a mix of young merchants, craftsmen, apprentices, and workers. They believed in a wrathful God, and they feared that the temptations of tea would turn them into tools of a corrupt, tyrannical empire. The grown men among them believed they were embarked on a noble deed of patriotic virtue. The younger boys thrilled to the idea of an evening spent wreaking chaos and destruction ... On the evening of December 16, they spoke for all the dissidents in Boston who had squared off against the policies of the British government. **The Boston Tea Party wasn't a rebellion, or even a protest against the king – but it set in motion a series of events that led to open revolt against the British Crown**" (Carp).

Great Britain clearly hadn't foreseen the ramifications of what appeared to be a straightforward piece of legislation. The Tea Act was passed by the British Parliament on April 27th 1773 and received Royal assent shortly after on the 10th May. The Act allowed the faltering East India Company to export tea directly to America without paying customs duties. This gave the East India Company an effective monopoly on the lucrative trade by ensuring that it could be sold cheaply enough to undercut even the tea smuggled into the colony. **The Act was passed in Britain, "without opposition, nay, almost without remark"** (Mahon) with Benjamin Woods Labaree noting that "Perhaps no bill of such momentous consequences has ever received less attention upon passage in Parliament."

Not everyone was so complacent. Benjamin Franklin writing in London to Thomas Cushing on 4th June 1773 stated: "It was thought at the beginning of the session, that the American duty on tea would be taken off. But now the wise scheme is, to take off so much duty here, as will make tea cheaper in America than foreigners can supply us, and to confine the duty there, to keep up the exercise of the right. They have no idea that any people can act from any other principal but that of interest; and they believe, that three pence in a pound of tea, of which one does not perhaps drink ten pounds in a year, sufficient to overcome all the patriotism of an American."

Indeed, in America that Act was seen as another aggressive piece of tyrannical taxation and recalled previous protests such as those surrounding the Stamp Act of 1765. **Instead of celebrating the lower price, Americans were furious that their own middlemen in the tea trade were being driven out of business.** This culminated in the so-called Boston Tea Party on 16th December 1773 when colonists (many dressed as Native Americans) boarded East India Company ships in Boston

harbour and dumped the tea (valued at £18,000 – nearly a million dollars’ worth today) overboard. A revolution ensued and America was born.

Parliamentary Acts were issued individually – as here – with a separate title-page and as continuous runs (hence the pagination). A group of individual acts including the present act (as the leading item) were sold at Sotheby’s in 1988 for \$3,850. A copy of the (more common) Stamp Act of 1765 (*An Act for Granting and Applying certain Stamp Duties...in America*) sold at Sotheby’s in April 2010 (\$7,000). A copy of the Stamp Act is for sale online priced at \$27,500.

Rare. ESTC records copies at Lincoln’s Inn; Newberry, Tulane University, Library of Congress, University of Minnesota and Yale. OCLC adds a copy at the American Philosophical Society Library. *Not in Church, not in Howes, not in Sabin.* Carp, B., *Defiance of the Patriots: the Boston Tea Party and the Making of America* (Yale, 2010); Mahon, *History of England* (1858), vol V, p.319; Woods Larrabee, B., *The Boston Tea Party* (1979), p.73.

“You may by force of arms attack, subdue, and seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to Great Britain”

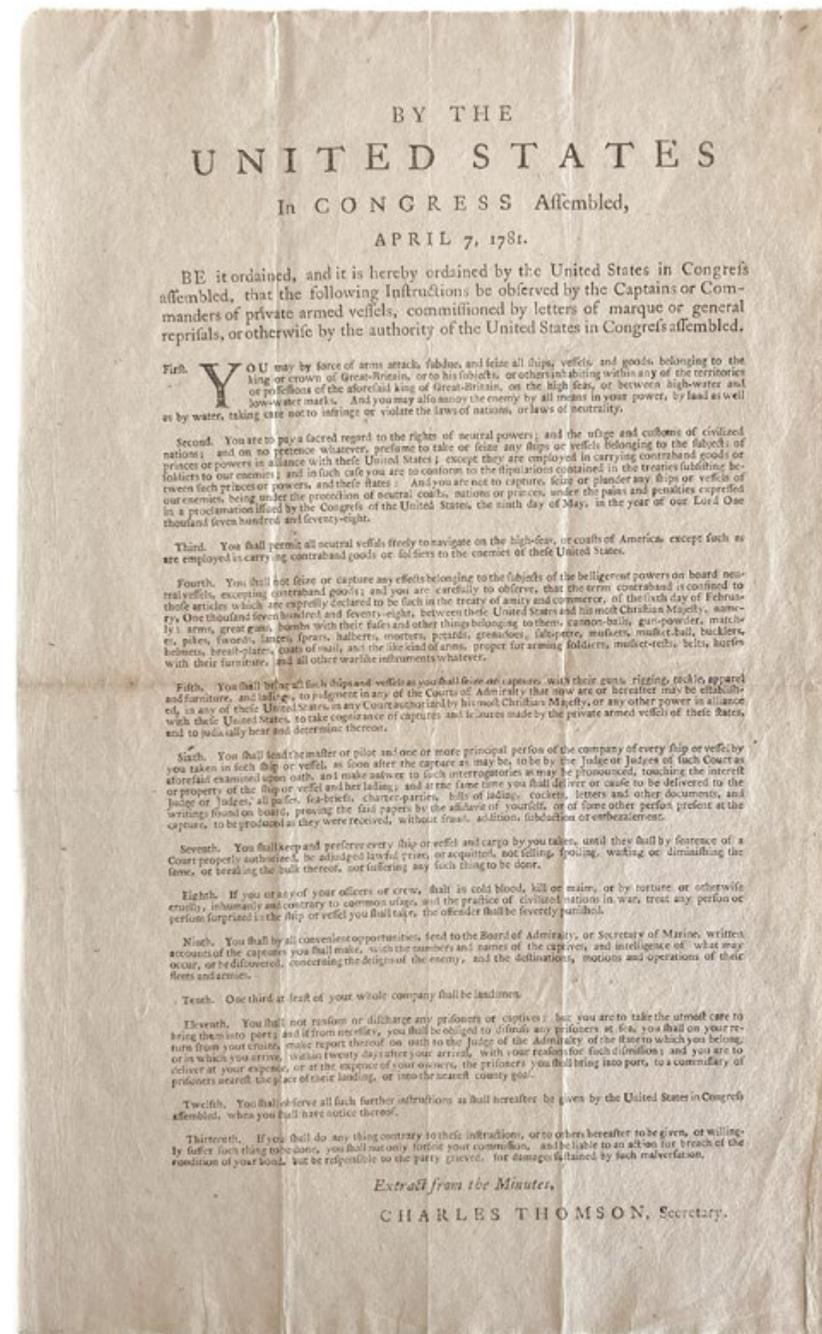
8 [REVOLUTIONARY WAR] U.S. CONGRESS. April 7, 1781 be it ordained ... the Following Instructions be Observed by the Captains or Commanders of Private Armed Vessels ...

Letterpress broadside measuring 335 by 205mm. Untrimmed with old folds, a little creased with a couple of spots, very good. [Philadelphia, David C. Claypoole], 1781. £6,500

While the exploits of John Paul Jones will be forever synonymous with American navy during the Revolutionary War, unlike “the army, there was nothing resembling a colonial structure for a navy, which meant American seapower relied totally on improvisation, every plan, promotion, and ship assignment required congressional support” (ANB). In fact, it wasn’t until 1797 that John Adams convened the first joint session of Congress where he argued for the formation of a United States Navy, which meant during the Revolutionary War the US was heavily reliant on not just her French allies, but also privateers.

This scarce decree encapsulates the above, providing an overview of the terms under which privateers were employed to assist in the war at sea against the British. It was an ever-expanding list, originally numbering just five, which grew to eleven by May 2, 1780, and apparently culminated in this definitive list of thirteen detailed instructions. (There doesn’t appear to be a further revision.)

It makes no apologies for the matter at hand and the first instruction states: “You may by force of arms attack, subdue, and seize all ships, vessels, and goods, belonging to the king or crown of Great Britain ... And you may also annoy the



enemy by all means in your power, by land as well as by water, taking care not to infringe or violate the laws of nations, or laws of neutrality.”

The second, third, and fourth points concern rights of neutral powers and their vessels. The next three detail procedures regarding the capture of prizes: the

presenting of such (vessels “with their guns, rigging, tackle, apparel and furniture, and ladings”) to judges at the Courts of Admiralty at either ports in the United States or her allies.

The eighth makes clear that privateers should abide by a code of conduct which severely punishes any instance where officers or crew “in cold blood, kill or maim, or by torture or otherwise cruelly, inhumanely and contrary to common usage, and the practice of civilized nations in war, treat any person surprized in the vessel of ship you shall take.” Similarly prisoners were not to be ransomed or ill-treated. One can’t help but wonder if precedent demanded so lengthy a clarification of these points.

The instructions also confirm that privateers were seen as integral not just for the mayhem they should cause to the British naval fleet but also serve as means of gathering intelligence. Item nine states: “You shall by all convenient opportunities, send to the Board of Admiralty or Secretary of Marine, written accounts of the captures you shall make, with the numbers and names of the captives, and intelligence of what may occur, or be discovered, concerning the designs of the enemy ...”

7 April 1781 was just two days after Samuel Huntington, then President of the Continental Congress, resigned due to ailing health. As such Congressional Secretary, Charles Thomson, has signed the document as Huntington’s replacement had not yet been appointed.

Of course, Great Britain and France also supplemented their fleets with privateers. By the end of the war, the US had commissioned over 500 private armed vessels.

Scarce in the trade: RBH list just seven records between 1895 and 2015.

Evans, 17384.

A Rare Study of Creole Health in Europe

9 GARDANNE (Jacques-Joseph de). *Des Maladies des Créoles en Europe, avec la Maniere de les Traiter et des Observations sur celles des Gens de Mer et sur quelques autres plus frequemment Observées dans les Climats Chaudes.*

First edition. 8vo. Nineteenth-century half sheep over speckled boards, spine gilt. xvi, 215, [1]pp. Paris, chez Valade, 1784. £2,500

A very good copy of this scarce work, written in the last years of the Revolutionary War. In the French empire, the term Creole not only referred to people of mixed ancestry in the Caribbean but also their colony in Mauritius.

While James Cook had made important advances regarding the health of crews, especially scurvy and hygiene, in 1784 there was still an array of tropical diseases that caused immense problems for Europeans in the Caribbean and elsewhere. Jacques-Joseph de Gardanne (1726-1786) was a doctor in the Faculty of Medicine

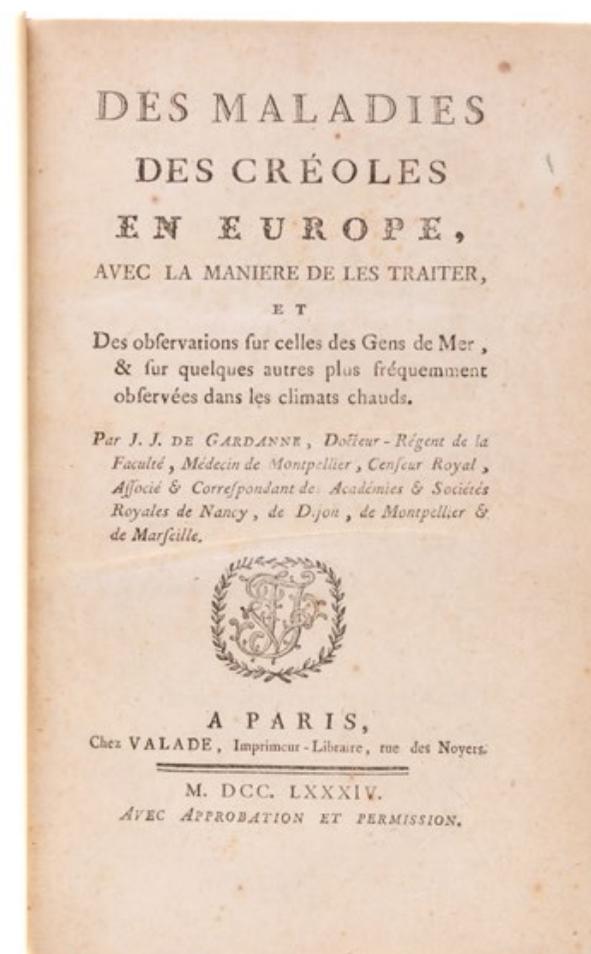
of Paris and Montpellier, and specialised in venereal disease and public hygiene. Later he founded the *Gazette de la Santé* and served as a royal censor.

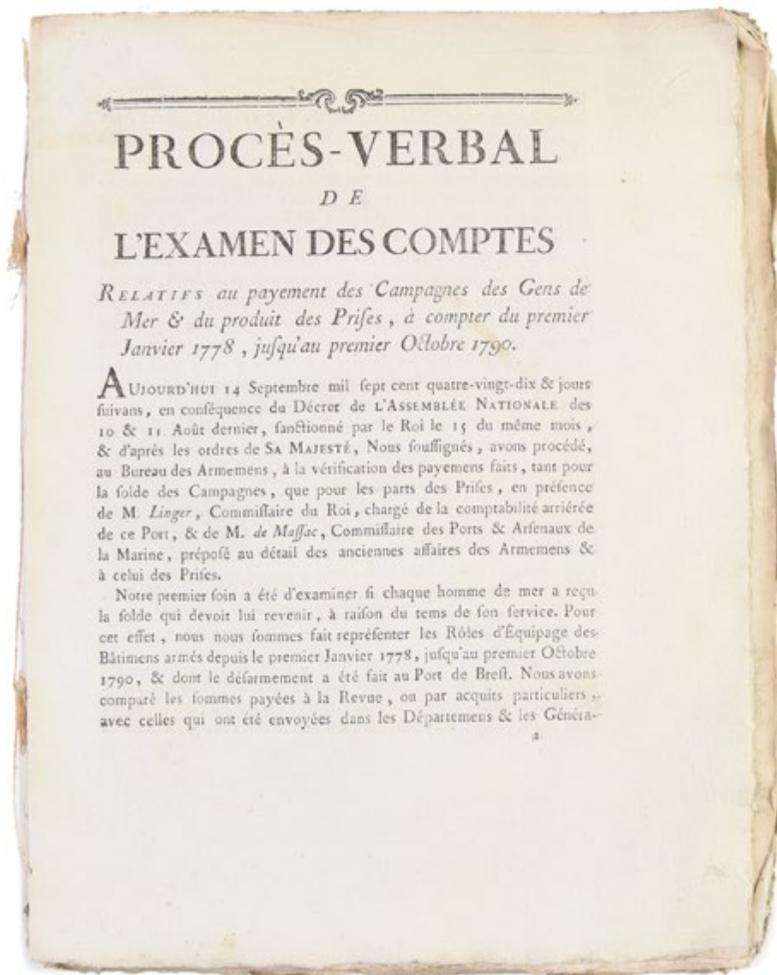
Divided into three sections, the first part of the book concerns the “nature and temperament of the Creoles,” and why they suffer from different diseases from Europeans. He attributes this partly to temperament, which believes that an individual’s health is governed by a balance of moods. The second part looks at the effect of travelling through Europe on Creole health and the third considers the means to prevent and treat those illnesses. These include detailed recipes for several difference medicines.

While all manner of works were written on the tropical diseases which particularly affected Europeans in the Caribbean and Africa, we see very little in the way of works such as this.

OCLC locates fourteen copies, just two in the US.

Que´rard III, p.257; Blake, J. NLM 18th cent. p.166; Wellcome III, p.88.





PROCÈS-VERBAL
DE
L'EXAMEN DES COMPTES

RELATIFS au payement des Campagnes des Gens de Mer & du produit des Prises, à compter du premier Janvier 1778, jusqu'au premier Octobre 1790.

Aujourd'hui 14 Septembre mil sept cent quatre-vingt-dix & jours suivans, en conséquence du Décret de L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE des 10 & 11 Août dernier, sanctionné par le Roi le 15 du même mois, & d'après les ordres de SA MAJESTÉ, Nous soussignés, avons procédé, au Bureau des Armemens, à la vérification des payemens faits, tant pour la solde des Campagnes, que pour les parts des Prises, en présence de M. Linger, Commissaire du Roi, chargé de la comptabilité arriérée de ce Port, & de M. de Massac, Commissaire des Ports & Arsenaux de la Marine, préposé au détail des anciennes affaires des Armemens & à celui des Prises.

Notre premier soin a été d'examiner si chaque homme de mer a reçu la solde qui devoit lui revenir, à raison du tems de son service. Pour cet effet, nous nous sommes fait représenter les Rôles d'Equipage des Bâtimens armés depuis le premier Janvier 1778, jusqu'au premier Octobre 1790, & dont le déchargement a été fait au Port de Brest. Nous avons comparé les sommes payées à la Revue, ou par acquits particuliers, avec celles qui ont été envoyées dans les Départemens & les Généra-

French Prizes in the Revolutionary War

10 [REVOLUTIONARY WAR] [MASSAC (Monsieur de), Commissioner of Ports and Naval Armory.] *Procès-verbal de l'Examen des Comptes Relatifs au Payement des Campagnes des Gens de Mer & du Produit Prises ...*

First edition. 5 folding tables (3 printed on blue paper). 4to. Uncut & unbound, spine stitched, binder's waste at rear. xvi, 163, [2], 166-188 [4]pp. [Brest], 1791. £8,500

An excellent copy of this rare tabulation of prizes taken by French ships during the Revolutionary War. Just as issued, many of the pages and tables are printed on handsome blue paper.

Eight officers formed the commission that published this report which was primarily concerned that each sailor had received his due pay.

The commission states specifically that there were several occasions where the distribution of prizes remained unknown. Of real interest, these include several of the most prominent Admirals during the Revolutionary War: Admiral Charles Henri d'Estaing (1728-94) while he was at St. Vincent, Grenada, and Georgia (the Battle of Savannah) in 1779; Admiral Guichen (1712-90) while he was in Martinique and Guadeloupe in 1780; Chevalier de Ternay (1723-80) while he was at Newport in 1780; Comte de Grasse in 1781 and 1782 when he was at Yorktown, Chesapeake Bay and St Kitts. The report urges those who feel they haven't received their due payment to come forward as soon as possible and provides a list of the information necessary to make a claim.

Comprised of a series of tables, it provides an invaluable overview of the campaigns of 1096 ships, their voyages and commanders, their prizes, and how they were divided among the crew, monies paid or owed and the names of all enemy ships captured. The years covered include the Revolutionary War as well as actions off Senegal and India.

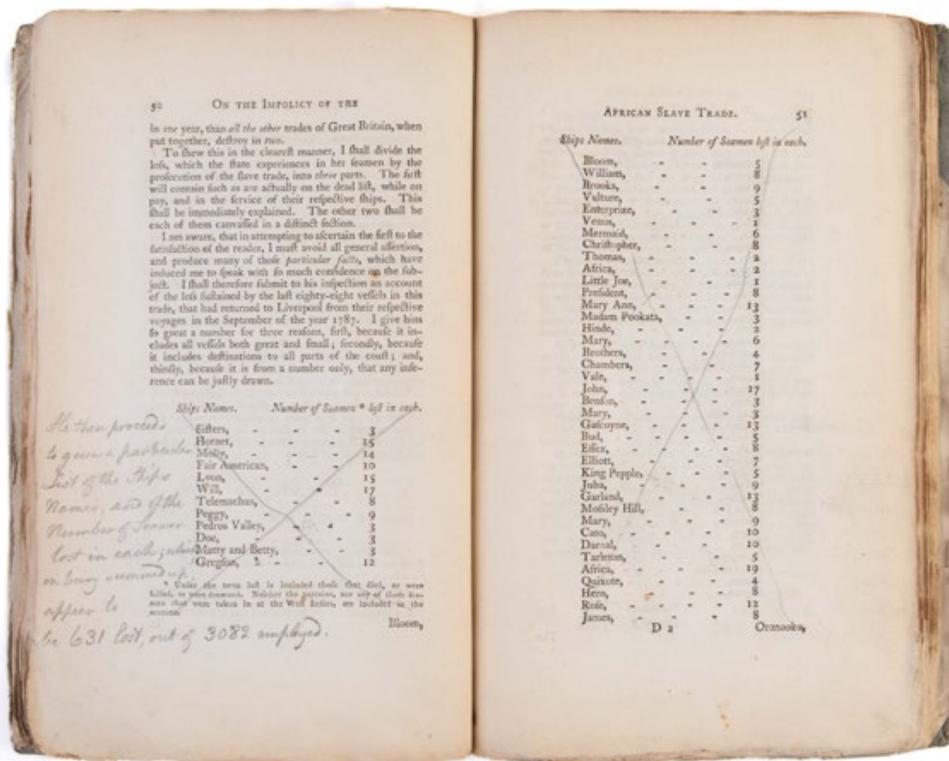
In fact, most of the maritime operations in this document take place in America and the Caribbean during the heart of the Revolutionary War. For example, Guichen is in Guadeloupe, Martinique and elsewhere the West Indies in May 1781; Grasse, the same year, is in Saint-Domingue, Virginia and the West Indies; d'Estaing is in Fort de France in 1779; Ternay, Destouches and Barras are in Newport in 1780.

Pages 117 to 158 reprints the *Répartition des Prises, Conformément à l'Ordonnance du Roi, du 28 Mars 1778*.

Privateers were used by both sides throughout the eighteenth century, not just in the Revolutionary War: on the French (which is to say American) side they were sometimes more important than the French Navy.

This copy collates identically to the copy listed in Polak and the one at JCB. OCLC locates a single copy at JCB. We find another at Cherbourg. No copies listed on auction records.

Polak, 6483.



Owned & Annotated by the Prominent Quaker Lindley Murray

11 CLARKSON (Thomas). An Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade.

First edition. 8vo. Contemporary blue boards, rebaked, paper label to spine, edges rubbed, text a little toned in places, ownership inscription to title-page in ink, contemporary pencil annotations throughout. ii, 134pp. London, James Phillips, 1788. £5,000

A very good copy formerly owned by the prominent Quaker Lindley Murray (1745-1826) who appears to have marked up this copy for a reading.

Having made the decision to devote his life to the abolition of the slave trade, Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) made important friends in the Quaker abolitionist movement such as the publisher, James Phillips, and William Wilberforce (this work commences with a letter to him). By May 1787 a committee for the abolition of the slave trade was formally established and included Granville Sharp. However, the real work was just beginning.

Clarkson dedicated the next years to gathering as much information about the slave trade as possible. He spent the next two years making a tour of the main ports, Bristol and Liverpool, as well as Manchester, Bath, Gloucester, Worcester, Chester, Lancaster, and Birmingham. He visited the African trading ship *Lively*, he

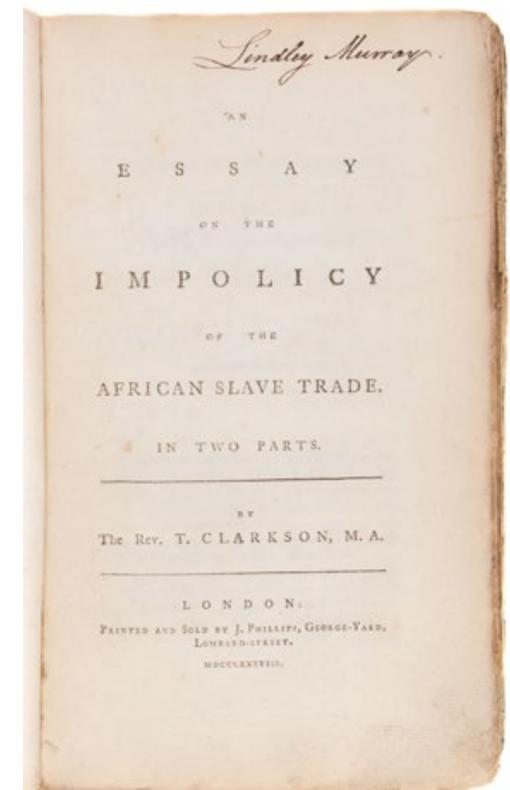
interviewed some 22,000 sailors, and acquired objects of torture, such as handcuffs and shackles. With the assistance of the Society of Friends, numerous local abolitionist societies formed and, importantly, petitioned parliament.

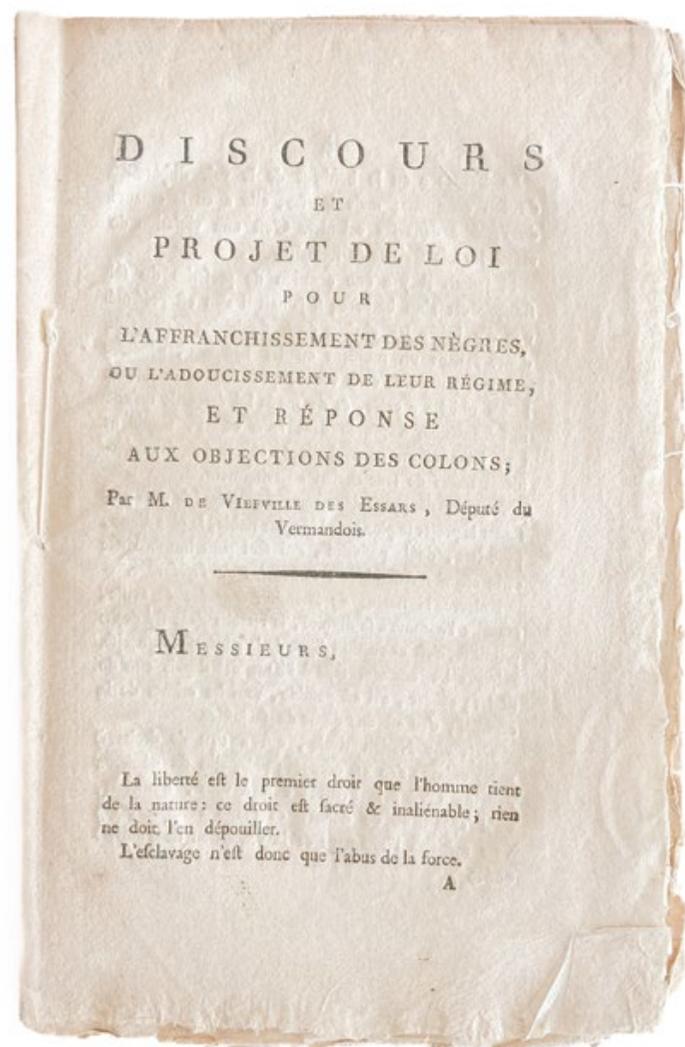
“His researches, pursued to the point of physical and mental exhaustion, and at substantial personal risk (an attempt was made to drown him at Liverpool) empowered the abolitionists for the first time with a comprehensive and irrefutable knowledge of the trade. Clarkson’s findings filled his writings, such as his *Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade* (1788), which the committee assiduously printed and distributed in large numbers, and lay behind the twelve propositions which Wilberforce put to parliament in his first great abolitionist speech on 12 May 1789” (ODNB).

Lindley Murray was born near Lancaster, Pennsylvania though his family moved to North Carolina and New York when he was young and he enjoyed a rather stop-start education before being privately tutored and eventually studying law under Benjamin Kissam (John Jay was a classmate). He prospered as both a lawyer and trader until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War when he moved to Long Island. In 1783, he established the Friends Seminary in New York and, having suffered a neurological illness moved to York, England where he spent the rest of his life. During this time, he wrote a number of moral and grammatical works, and also helped found the first modern mental hospital, The Retreat.

The Quakers were essential to the earliest phase of abolition in England and America. This is evidence that they closely followed the career and research of Thomas Clarkson. A second edition was published in the same year, as was another in Philadelphia.

Goldsmiths, 13688; *Kress, B.* 1380; cf. *Sabin*, 13480 for the second edition.





The First French Plan for Abolishing Slavery

12 VIEFVILLE DES ESSARS (Jean-Louis de). *Discours et Projet de Loi pour l'Affranchissement des Nègres, ou l'Adoucissement de leur Régime, et Réponse aux Objections des Colons ...*

First edition. 8vo. Stitched as issued in self-wrappers, untrimmed. 40pp. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, [May, 1791]. £5,000

Rare and important: this is the first instance of an abolitionist plan being presented to French parliament.

Though undated, lawyer and member of the Third Estate, Viefville des Essars (1744-1820) presented this project to the *Assemblée constituante* in May, 1791.

According to Sabin, it was a reply, in part, to Jacques-François Begouën's *Précis sur l'Importance des Colonies et sur la servitude des Noirs; suivi d'observations sur la Traité des Noirs* (Paris, c.1790).

After an entreaty to the *Assemblée*, framing it as an opportunity rather than a hardship, and a description of some of the appalling conditions endured on the Middle Passage and at chattel auctions, Viefville des Essars sets out his proposal over seventeen articles, namely for the complete abolition of slavery throughout the French Empire.

He suggested a gradual abolition of slavery which would take place over a period of sixteen years. In this time, a **sixteenth of the enslaved population would be emancipated each year**. The oldest would be freed first, either maintained at the expense of their former household or provided with an annual stipend. Next were those married with the most children (the entire family), while those who had worked for more than twenty years or were over the age of forty, were able to remain on properties to be fed and kept should they wish. Alternately, they would receive a home at the expense of the plantation owner. Newly emancipated people were given the right to trade – to buy, sell, or exchange goods and services.

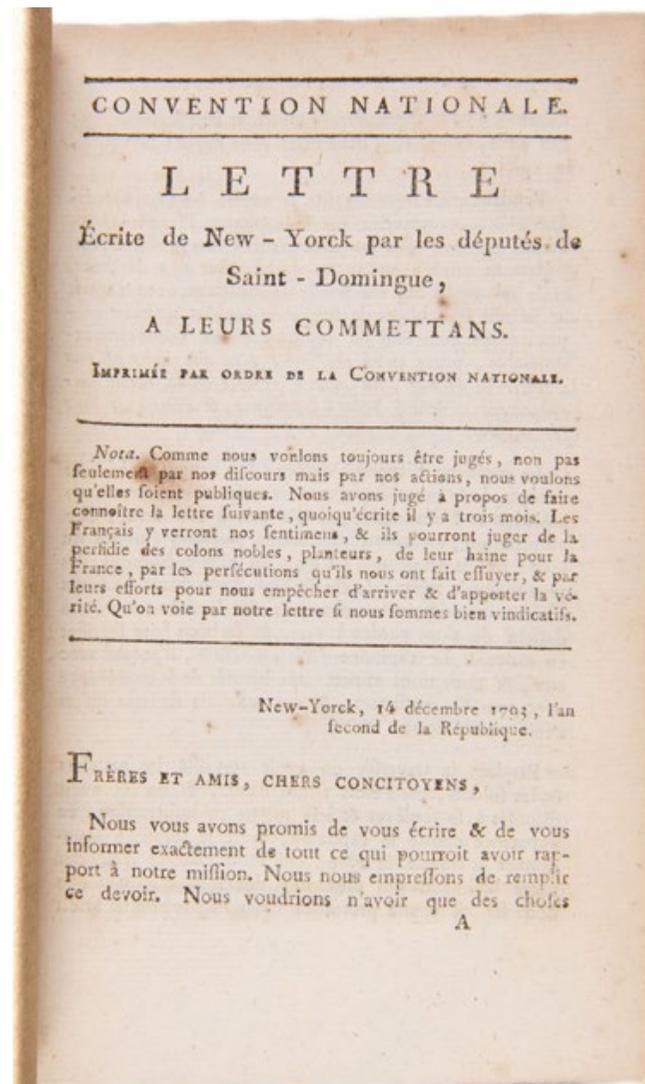
Subsequent articles considered the treatment of those awaiting emancipation. First and foremost, **the Code Noir would be abolished** as would the right of anyone to punish or mistreat any of the formerly enslaved population. Those who remained enslaved were accorded the right to marry whomever they wished and no women in the first or final six weeks of pregnancy should be forced to work. A legal committee of eight would be established in each quarter to deal with any difficulties arising.

However, the proposal was tabled at a time when the “slave trade and slavery became taboo subjects that the Constituent and Legislative assemblies simply refused to discuss. The demand for reform proved far weaker than even the *cahiers* had suggested. In May 1791, the Assembly passed a constitutional decree that explicitly guaranteed the slave regime against metropolitan interference” (Geggus). For all the talk of liberté, égalité and fraternité, the French economy – especially during the early years of revolution – was reliant on the vast revenues generated by its colonies in Guadeloupe, Martinique and Saint-Domingue. While brave to table this in the face of such opposition, and indeed published by the *Assemblée*, Viefville des Essars’ proposal was ultimately not discussed.

Of course, that climate changed radically in August the same year with the outbreak of the Haitian Revolution and as a result slavery would be abolished just three years later in February 1794.

OCLC locates copies at BL, UIC, BnF, Lyon, and Poitiers.

Geggus, D., “Racial Equality, Slavery, and colonial Succession during the Constituent Assembly” in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (Dec., 1989) p.1296; Sabin, 99518.



A Haitian Delegate Complains of Abuse in Philadelphia

13 BELLEY (Jean-Baptiste). *Convention nationale. Lettre écrite de New-Yorck.*

First edition. 8vo. A very good copy in modern wrappers, a little spotted. 2opp. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1794. £3,500

Jean-Baptiste Belley (1746/7-1805) was born on the island of Gorée (Senegal) and captured and later sold to a plantation owner in Saint-Domingue. However he was allowed to buy his own freedom which he did – saving the money through trade and then establishing himself as a wigmaker in the parish of Cap Français.

Belley was also one of 545 *Chasseurs-Volontaires de Saint-Domingue* who fought in Savannah during the Revolutionary War.

In the Haitian Revolution, he was made a captain of infantry and was wounded six times in action. On 24 September 1793, he was appointed one of three delegates elected to the French National Convention and was the first ever Black appointee.

This pamphlet concerns an incident en route to the National Convention. In October 1793, Belley and the other deputies (Joseph Georges Boisson, Jean Baptiste Mills, and Louis Pierre Dufay) stopped in America – first at Philadelphia where they were accosted and robbed by Saint-Dominguan exiles from the Galbaud Affair. Belley writes that they said “the most insulting remarks against the deputation, against France, and all the authorities constituted by it.” Furthermore, they broke into Dufay’s quarters, shouting, “These are the whites who take the side of the blacks, who are the most culpable; they are the ones that should be punished.”

They stopped again at New York where this text was written. Further humiliations awaited upon reaching France, where they were promptly arrested and jailed.

However, Belley was at the session and contributed to the historic debate over the abolition of slavery of 3 February 1794. Appearing before the Convention, Belley “explained what had happened in Saint-Domingue, arguing that the abolition of slavery had been both politically and militarily necessary. That National Convention, with little debate, ratified the decision taken in Saint-Domingue, declaring slavery abolished and all men, of all colors, citizens of France” (Scarano).

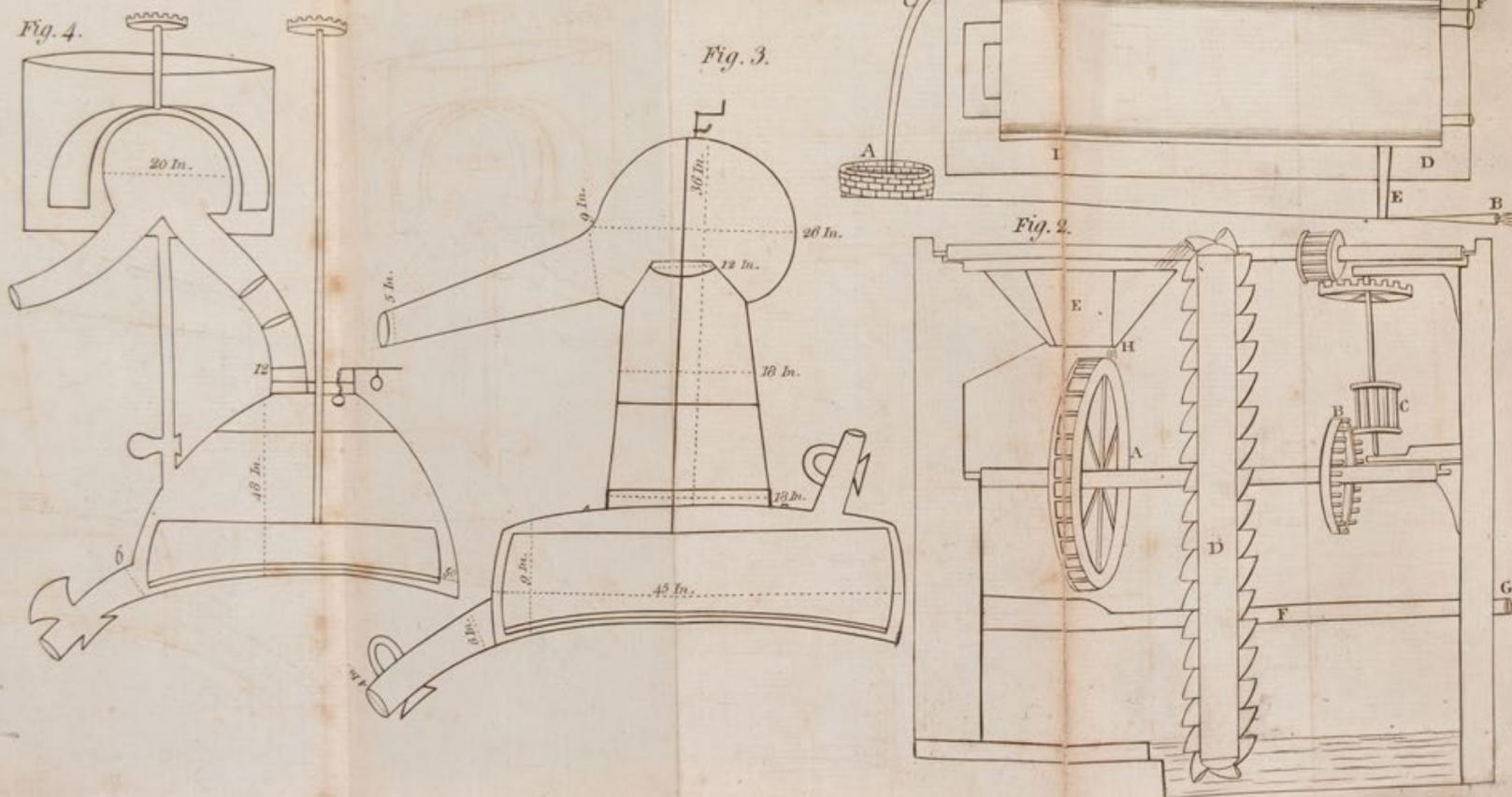
He remained a member of the National Convention until 1797 when he returned to Haiti, though was arrested, taken back to France and died in prison on Belle-Île-en-Mer in 1805.

Immortalised in Anne-Louis Girorder de Roussy-Trioson’s 1797 painting, Robin Blackburn notes that Belley “has become the iconic black Jacobin.” Furthermore he notes the importance of Belley and others in the wider struggle for abolition: specifically that “[w]ithout Condorcet, Jean-Baptiste Belley, Toussaint-Louverture, Louis Pierrot, Magloire Pelage, Admiral Truguet, Alexandre Pétion, and so many anonymous black *picquets*, the work of William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Simon Bolivar, Vicente Guerrero, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Victor Schoelcher, and Joaquin Nabuco would have had a quite different and even more daunting starting point.”

OCLC locates copies at BL, BnF, JCB and NLA. Libraryhub and KVK add no others. (NLA and the University of South Carolina have microfiche copies, but the work does not appear to have been digitised.) There are no copies listed in auction records.

Blackburn, R., “Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of the Democratic Revolution” in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 63, No. 4 (Oct., 2006), p.670n; Scarano, F & Palmie, S., *The Caribbean A History of the Region and Its Peoples* (Chicago, 2013), pp.282-3.

Form of a Still intended to evade my Patent.



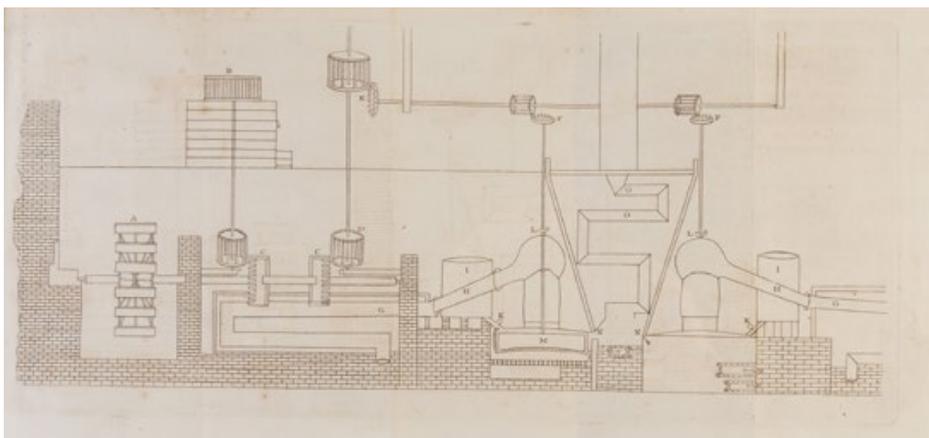
The First American Book on Distilling

14 KRAFFT (Michael). *The American Distiller, or, the Theory and Practice of Distilling, according to the latest discoveries and practices.*

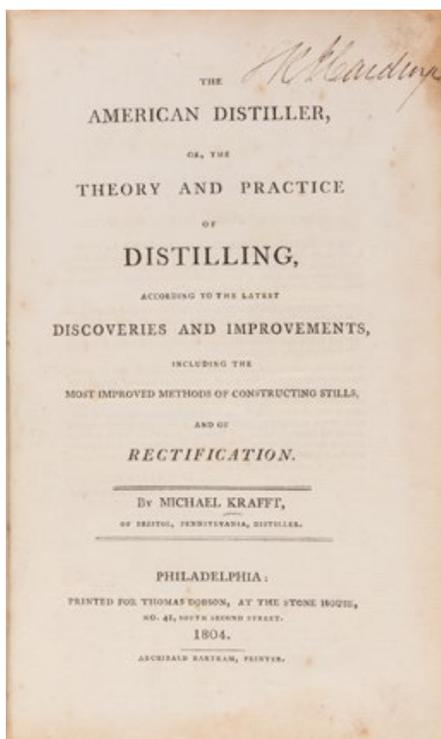
First edition. Two folding plates. 8vo. Contemporary sheep, expertly restored, a little spotted throughout, separation to fold of one plate, reattached with Japanese tissue, Eastport Public Library label to upper board & front paste-down, contemporary ms ink notations to prelims. [13], 10-151, [22], 152-219, [1]pp. Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson, 1804. £9,500

Dedicated to Thomas Jefferson as “the munificent patron of the sciences,” and contains directions for making apple-brandy, mint, citron, orange, cinnamon, clove, etc. waters” (Bitting), this is the first American book on distilling and is complete with both folding plates.

Krafft (born c.1775) lived a little over twenty miles north of Philadelphia in Bristol, Pa. In October 1801 he received a patent for an improvement in the construction of stills, successfully leasing the invention to 217 stills throughout the country. On 24 April, 1804, Krafft wrote to Jefferson asking his permission to

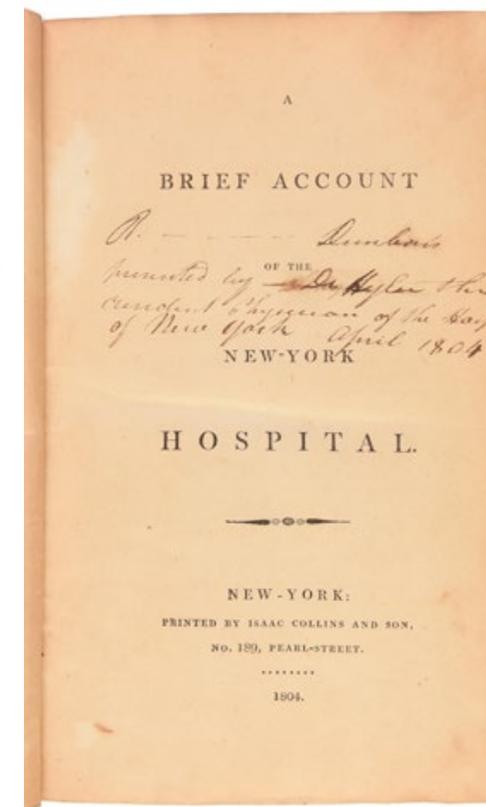


dedicate this work to him. In the letter he wrote: "For three Years last past I have been diligently employed in experimenting (under weighty expence) principally on Subjects immediately interesting to my Country such as that of our Domestic Distilleries &c. facts proved, and final results from which I have the strongest Conviction must ultimately tend to facilitate the rising Interests of Community. These together with the general system of Domestic Distillery I have arranged in the form of an 8o. volume of about 400 pages entitled *The American Distiller*, of the first part of which the enclosed are proof sheets (as a sample) and although it Cannot boast of elegance of Language, Yet I trust it will be found Replete with Usefull matter."



Scarce: the last copy at auction was in 1998 (the Crahan copy) which was also sold at Sotheby's in 1986 and 1984. Another copy sold in 1998 was defective. Auction records list eleven others stretching back to 1903. Provenance: given to Eastport Public Library in August 1894 by S.D. Leavitt, it was de-accessioned along with much of their older material several decades ago; German private collection; thence to the American trade.

Amerine & Borg, 2033; *Bitting* p265; *Crahan* 72; *Gabler* 26730; *Sabin*, 38294; *Tucher*, 1434; Krafft, M., *ALS to Thomas Jefferson*, Bristol, 24, April 1804: <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-43-02-0252> accessed 26 November, 2021.



A Rare Presentation Copy

15 [MURRAY (John junior) or EDDY (Thomas).] **A Brief Account of the New York Hospital.**

First edition. 8vo. Contemporary half-vellum over marbled boards, remnants of old bookplate to front pastedown, inscription to half-title. [iv], 72pp. New York, Isaac Collins and Son, 1804. **£2,500**

A very good copy of this early account of the New York Hospital. The inscription reads: "R ... Dunbar's presented by Dr Hylan the resident physician of the Hospital of New York April 1804."

The work includes a Historical Sketch of the Institution, Charter for Establishing the Hospital, Rules and Orders for the Government of the Hospital, Rules and Orders Concerning the Library, Catalogue of the Books, A General Summary of the Number of Patients Admitted into and Discharged from the New York Hospital, List of Officers, and List of Members of the Corporation. The last recorded copy for sale was at Lathrop Harper in 1933. *Sabin*, 54481.

*Early Medical Care in New York:
with Folding Plates & Library Catalogue*

16 SOCIETY OF THE NEW YORK HOSPITAL. An Account of the New-York Hospital ... Catalogue of Books Belonging to New-York Hospital Library.

First edition. 2 engraved folding frontispiece plates. 8vo. Contemporary marbled paper wrappers, a little loss to backstrip but sound. Slight browning to plates, contemporary ink ownership inscription to fep "Nathan J. Bennets November 10th N. York Hospital". A very good copy. Housed in a protective chemise. 65, [1], 74pp. New York, Collins & Co., 1811. £2,500

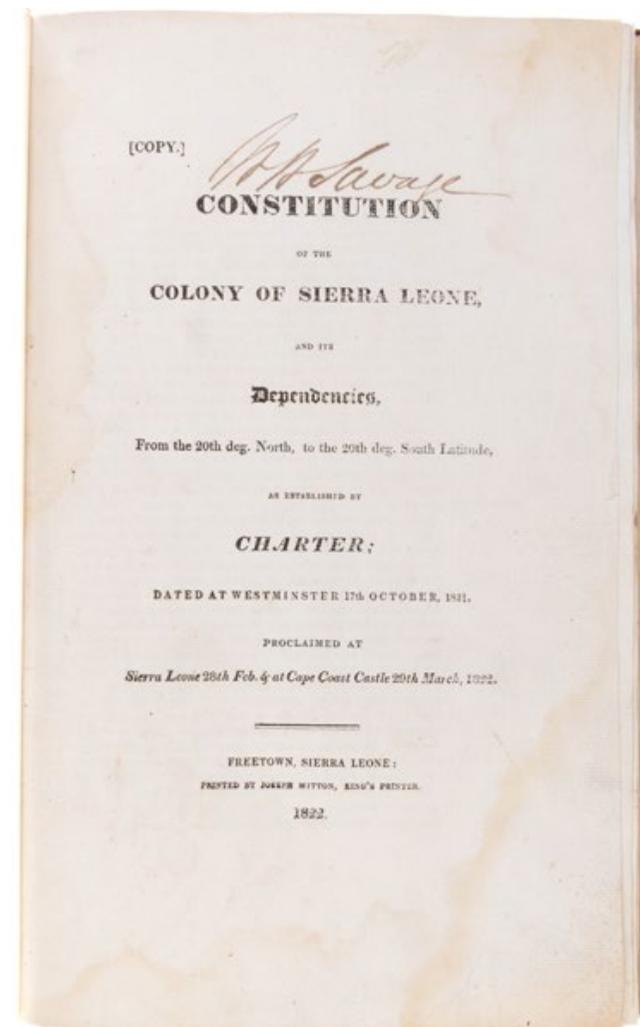
A desirable copy in contemporary marbled wrappers. The plates show a view and a floor plan of the hospital after John Murray Jr and Thomas Eddy.

What is now part of New York-Presbyterian hospital was first inspired by Samuel Bard's *Discourse Upon the Duties of a Physician* (1769) – he is quoted on the first page – though did not open until 1791. It was the second hospital in New York after Bellevue.

This history is augmented by the 1771 charter, as well as state legislation from 1806 and 1810 and the hospital's bylaws. While the catalogue of the library has separate pagination, the two works were issued together and the catalogue is called for as section viii in the contents list.

This is not to be confused as a second edition of the *Brief Account of the New York Hospital* (New York, 1804) [see item above]. The text is entirely different. Scarce in the trade, the last copy at auction was at Swann in 1986.

Norman 1584; Shaw & Shoemaker 23958 & 23555; Sabin 55480 & 54482.



Rare Freetown Imprint with Contemporary Annotations

17 [SAVAGE (William Henry).] BATHURST (Henry), 3rd Earl. Constitution of the Colony of Sierra Leone, and its Dependencies, From the 20th deg. North, to the 20th deg. South Latitude, as established by charter; dated at Westminster 17th October, 1821. Proclaimed at Sierra Leone 28th Feb. & at Cape Coast Castle 29th March, 1822.

First edition thus. 4to. Quarter calf over marbled paper covered boards, red morocco label with gilt title to upper board. Interleaved with blanks. Marginal annotations in ink throughout, some pale dampstaining, repaired closed tear to margin of page 5. 46pp. Freetown, Sierra Leone, Joseph Mitton, King's Printer, 1822. £4,000

An excellent copy of this rare work, distinguished by being owned and annotated by William Henry Savage, only the second lawyer in Freetown in the 1820s and the first of mixed race.

Coinciding with the first organized period of the British abolitionist movement, the first formerly enslaved people arrived in Sierra Leone in April 1787. The four hundred men, women and children came from Britain. They were followed in 1792 by 1190 people from Nova Scotia – when Freetown was formally established – and joined by another 550 in 1800. The first people from America didn't arrive until 1820. "The Sierra Leonean ... repatriates emigrated primarily from a desire for unfettered freedom from White oppression and an opportunity to develop in all spheres of human endeavor ..." (Abasiattai, 108) Moreover, "[i]n the history of British abolition, Sierra Leone was where humanitarian campaign became human experience" (Andersen, 25).

Granville Sharp produced a constitution for the fledgling colony in 1786 – *Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations (until better shall be proposed) for the Intended Settlement on the Grain Coast of Africa near Sierra Leone* (London, 1786). The colony was initially run by the Sierra Leone Company, which was established by a group of British philanthropists. In 1808 when control reverted to the Crown, a new constitution was written, setting out provisions for the return of powers from the Sierra Leone Company. First published in 1811 as a small 4to of 60pp, this 1822 edition appears to have been published as a result of George IV's ascension to the throne. It is an altogether more lavish production in small folio with wide margins. The text has been lightly revised throughout, though all of the main provisions, including those regarding the transfer of power to the Crown from the Sierra Leone Company are extant.

The constitution confirms that basic structure of the government of the colony would remain intact. Among the many articles included here is the right to negotiate and purchase land from "native chiefs" as well as establishing the boundaries of the colony and indeed the name – "Colony of Sierra Leone." **The document outlines the whole structure of government and its legal framework.** There is also a full description of criminal procedures at the courts, including trials, witnesses and bail provisions are also outlined. **Among the first instructions in the colony's new form is that "it should not be lawful for any person ... at any time ... to deal of traffic in, buy or sell, or to be aiding of assisting in the dealing or trafficking in, the buying or selling of Slaves ..."** The only other country to have included a specific abolition clause in its constitution prior to this was, naturally enough, Haiti in 1805. Liberia's constitution didn't appear until 1847.

There are further provisions stating that the Governor of the colony was able to enforce conscription, though it was unable to raise taxation. Also, "any territories, islands or possessions on the West Coast of Africa between the twentieth degree of North Latitude and the twentieth degree of South Latitude ... should be annexed to or made dependencies of the Colony of Sierra Leone." The document is

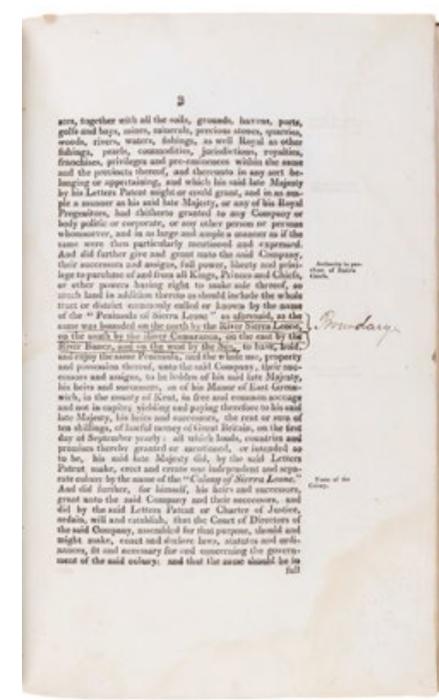
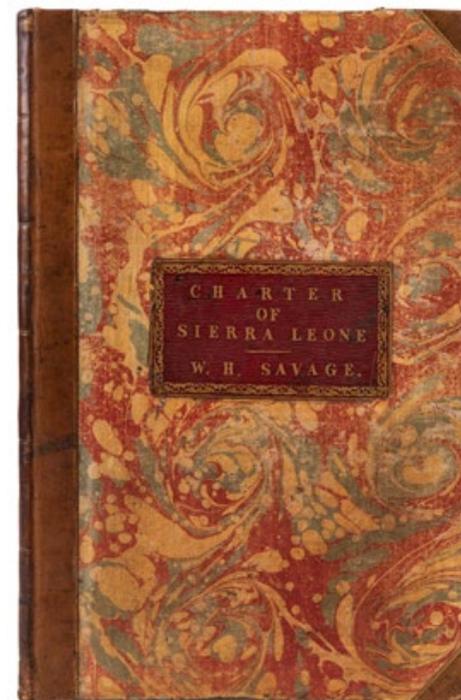
signed in print by Lord Bathurst, who was Secretary for War and Colonies in Lord Liverpool's government in 1822.

Savage was born in London to an African father and English mother. His early career was that of a slave trader, however when he arrived in Freetown in 1810 it was in the role of schoolmaster. He returned briefly to England in 1820 to become a public notary. "On his return to Sierra Leone he was admitted to the bar on the basis of his notary papers. He became only the second lawyer in 1820s Freetown, the other being a white Englishman" (Andersen, 245). **It's entirely appropriate that he would have had a copy of this document.** His annotations feature on twenty-one pages (plus two of the interleaved blanks) and largely clarify the text, clearly for his own use.

It's also worth noting that this is an early Freetown imprint. While the first press arrived in Sierra Leone in 1794, it was destroyed before it could be used. Six years passed before another arrived and the first newspapers *Royal Gazette* and the *Sierra Leone Advertiser* appeared the same year. To put this in context, the *Capetown Gazette* first appeared in the same year and Napoleon's printing press in Cairo commenced in 1799.

OCLC locates a single copy at LOC.

Abasiattai, M.B., "The Search for Independence: New World Blacks in Sierra Leone and Liberia, 1787-1847" in *Journal of Black Studies* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Sep., 1992), pp.107-116; Andersen, Richard, *Abolition in Sierra Leone ...* (Cambridge, 2020).





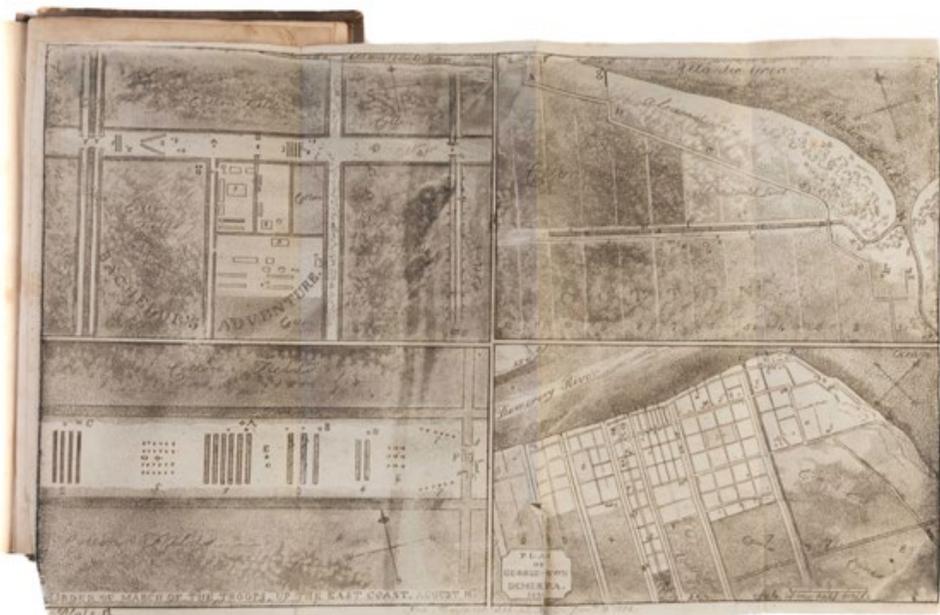
An Extraordinary Work with Excellent Provenance

18 BRYANT (Joshua). *Account of an Insurrection of the Negro Slaves in the Colony of Demerara, which broke out On the 18th August, 1823.*

First edition. 11 folding plates and two folding maps (the first map lacking a small section in the lower left corner). 8vo. Half calf over blindstamped cloth, black morocco label to spine, gilt, extremities a little worn, text toned & spotted in places, several plates with repaired splits along the folds, Barbados

binder's ticket to front pastedown, annotations in ink to title-page, dedication, & final blanks. vii, [1], 125, [1]pp. Demerara, Guinana Chronicle Office, Georgetown, A. Stevenson, 1824. £15,000

An extraordinary survival: the first account of the 1823 rebellion in Demerara and one of the first illustrated books printed in Demerara. This copy was owned and annotated by Captain J. Croftor Peddie of the 21st Fusiliers, which was deployed in Demerara, and fought to suppress the rebellion. He later became a member of the



court that tried the Methodist missionary, John Smith. Peddie had the book bound in Barbados, and both his name and regiment are gilt on the spine. His notes, transcriptions of garrison orders, are on the rear blanks.

Although the slave trade was abolished in 1807, at which time there were approximately 100,000 men, women and children in bonded labour, full emancipation was not achieved until 1838. In 1823, the British government embarked on a course of amelioration, supposedly to prepare the enslaved population for their eventual freedom. This preparation was almost entirely centred on religious education. In August of that year a rumour that Demerara planters were withholding supposed newly won rights from their enslaved workers caused approximately 10,000 of the latter, on fifty or more plantations, to rise up and take over the colony. Their calls for emancipation were met with extreme violence and a massacre ensued, and by October the uprising had been quelled. A Methodist missionary by the name of John Smith was charged with inciting the rebellion, tried and found guilty, but died whilst waiting for his appeal to be heard.

Peddie was heavily involved in the action, commanding the garrison troops. He was ordered to secure Le Resouvenir (where Smith's chapel was), and later at Bachelor's Adventure plantation where he participated in the largest, bloodiest battle of the three-day insurrection, where colonial forces, numbering around four hundred fifty men, opened fire upon some three thousand slaves, killing about two hundred. **In addition to the account of the rebellion, there are transcriptions of the trial, extracts of minutes of the court, a "list of the insurgent negroes" who were tried, an "explanation of local terms occurring in the work", and a six-page description of the plates.**

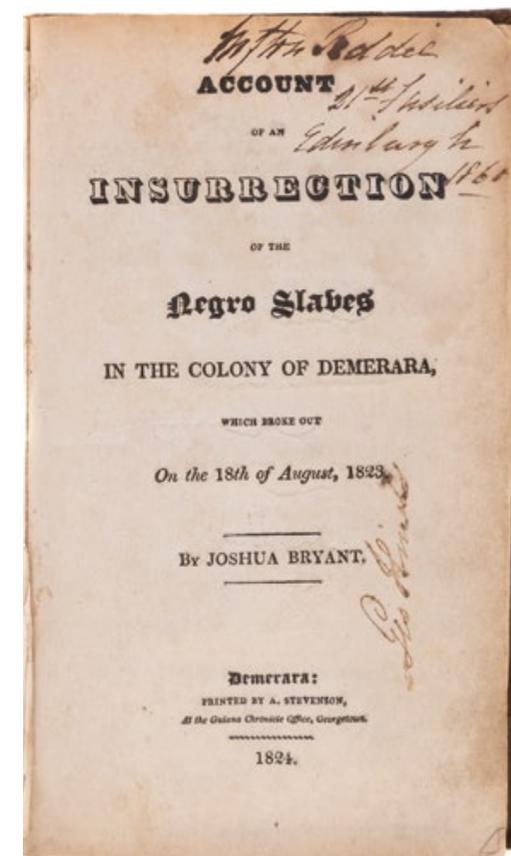
While the first press in Demerara was established in 1793 by the Dutchman, J.C. de la Coste, printing was restricted to newspapers and government orders until 1802 when the first almanacs appeared. The first book, a translation of a Dutch legal guide, was printed in 1814. A. Stevenson's first recorded publication was an almanac for 1821, presumably printed in 1820. **With its folding maps and plates, this was altogether the most sophisticated publication in Demerara to that date. The maps are possibly the first to be printed in Guyana.** The plates include a panoramic depiction of the battle at Bachelor's Adventure, and the gruesome "execution of the Rebels on the Parade Ground in Cumingsburgh."

Joshua Bryant's dates are unknown, but he "gave his age as forty-seven when he joined the masonic Mount Olive Lodge in Demerara 14 Sep 1829. He was therefore born in about 1782" (Bayntun-Williams). He made his name as a landscape artist, exhibiting at the Royal Academy from 1798 until he departed for Guyana in 1809. A note in this book confirms this, stating that Bryant had been a resident in Demerara for fifteen years. In addition we learn that "The present Writer, who has constantly resided in the colony for the last fifteen years, has, in his profession as an Artist, accumulated a variety of Graphic Studies from Nature, – and intends, if suitable encouragement offers, to publish in England a selection of the best, with editions from a new port-folio, which he proposes to form as soon as circumstances shall permit." While these were never published, six of his oil paintings, Views of British Guiana appeared at Christie's in December 2016 (Topographical Pictures, lot 128), which may have formed part of the proposed work.

Auction records show just 5 copies: Christie's in 1983; Harmsworth in 1949; Goodspeed in 1908, 1916 and 1925 (last two lacking plates).

OCLC locates 6 copies at Boston Athenaeum, Williams College, BL, London University, Oxford, and Leiden. (JCB has a copy of the frontispiece map but apparently neither the second map, nor the book.)

Bayntun-William, A & Worms, L., "Joshua Bryant" in *British Map Engravers – A Supplement*: <https://britishmapengravers.net/entries/b-entries/joshua-bryant/> – accessed online 28 Jan 2022; Rodway, J., "The Press in British Guiana" in *American Antiquarian Society* (Oct, 1918), pp.274-290; *Sabin*, 8809.





Fur Trade Portraits

19 [INDIGENOUS AMERICANA] [Two watercolours depicting a Native hunter in traditional dress, and a trapper or voyageur in elaborate buckskins with a European hat.]

Watercolours on matching leaves removed from a sketchbook. Each 240 by 195mm. Watermarks "G. Yeeles 1823". Minor foxing to the margins, slight browning at edges, with a small waterstain and paper flaw to lower margin of one leaf. Else very good. [North America, c.1824-1850]. £12,500

Two fine frontier watercolours showing characters almost certainly associated with the fur trade.

Both full length profile studies, the first depicts an Indigenous man holding a gunstock war club and spear, the latter ornamented with feathers and hair. He wears a heavy buffalo cloak with fur turned out at the collar, painted with a distinctive pattern. His buckskin breeches have a beaded trim and red ribbon at the ankle. Beside him runs a small black hunting dog, and in the background are two coniferous trees. In his hair are two large feathers, a band, and beaded ornaments. His complexion is tan, and on his face he wears red and black paint.

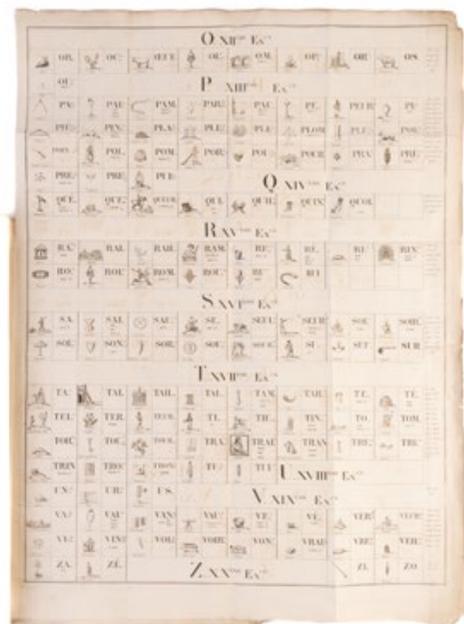
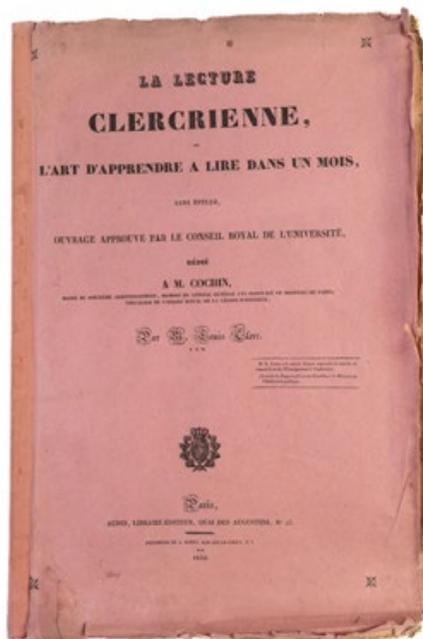
The second watercolour depicts a man in a similar stance, clasping a flintlock rifle by the barrel. He is dressed in elaborate buckskins with fur collar, fringe, and beading, worn with a powder horn and beaded bag across his body. Tucked into a sash about his waist is a knife with beadwork sheaf. In his long straight black hair are two feathers, worn beneath a European-style peaked flat cap with tassel. His complexion is fair.

The weight of clothing plus coniferous trees would place these images in the northern latitudes of the American continent. Though these appear to be original compositions, there are significant similarities in the pattern of the Indigenous man's cloak to the engraving of Carl Bodmer's titled 'Dakota Woman and Assiniboine Child', as well as the similarities with his hair, both in cut and ornament, to George Catlin's 1831 portrait of Wi-jún-jon, to narrow their origin to the northern portion of the Great Plains.

The man in buckskins is almost certainly a bi-racial agent of one of the European fur trading companies, or some other iteration of the trapper-for-hire. He bears a marked resemblance to Alfred Jacob Miller's depictions of Antoine Clement, French-Cree guide, companion, and perhaps lover of Scottish nobleman William Drummond Stewart. Though the likeness is not exact enough to posit an actual identification, the combination of fair skin, mixed dress and long straight black hair amount to an evocative representation of this cross-cultural frontier archetype. For Drummond Stewart, Antoine not only acted as a linguistic interpreter, but also gave him access to the American wilderness, brokering interactions between the European and Indigenous players. Such figures were a pervasive necessity of the colonial machine.



The English watermarks "G Yeeles 1823" place these watercolours early in the canon of American Western artworks. Though stylistically we have not been able to attribute them to a specific artist, they show a technical proficiency and charm which makes them highly desirable examples of the genre.



With Eleven Extra Folding Tables

20 CLERC (Louis). *La Lecture Clercienne, ou l'art d'apprendre à lire dans un mois, sans epeler, ouvrage approuvé par le Conseil Royal de L'Université.*

First edition. 4 large folding engraved tables. A further 11 loosely inserted folio sheets, 6 of which numbered 6-11, the other 5 unnumbered leaves with engraved. Folio (455 by 305mm.) Untrimmed in original pink paper typographic wrappers, backstrip restored with a few stains within. Very good. [8], [34]pp. Paris, Audin, Librairie-Éditeur, Quai des Augustins, No. 25. Imprimerie de A. Henry, Rue Git-le-Coeur. No. 8, 1830. £4,250

A grand scale and innovative publication, expounding Louis Clerc's system of education, which promised to teach disadvantaged children to read in just a month.

The system is divided into five tabular 'leçons': 'connaissance des lettres', 'connaissance des syllabes', 'lectures des mots de la langue français', 'lectur des différents phrases qui entrent dans la composition d'un discours' and 'connaissance des caractères typographiques'.

A chief attraction of the publication are the four large folding tables, illustrating syllabic pronunciation through emblem-like engravings. Further to this are the eleven loosely inserted folio broadsides, all of which comprise large scale illustrations of individual alphabetic characters and basic letter combinations. **These seem to be an additional supplement, and have not been identified with any other known copies.** These are cleverly, and beautifully, animated with visual hints to their pronunciation. For example, the graphic for "PH" has an F-shaped plume of flame

emerging from it in. These broadsides were likely designed for classroom display, explaining why they were not bound in.

A rare title. OCLC finds copies at Harvard, Columbia and Waseda Japan only.

Bibliographie de la France, 6238.

The Enterprising Elleanor Eldridge

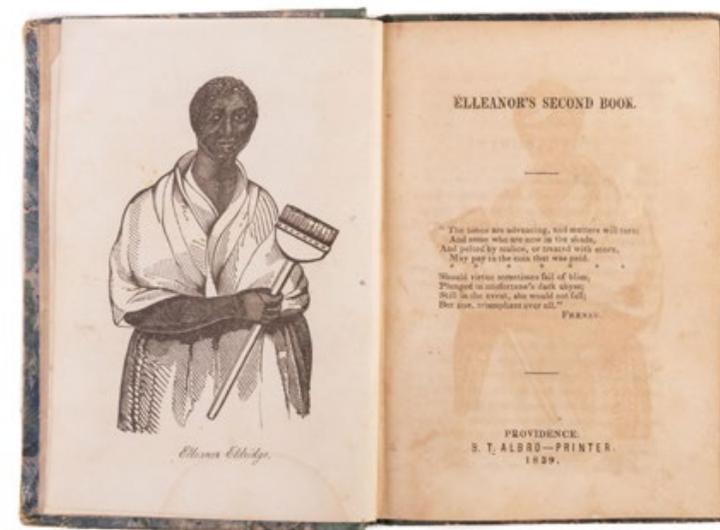
21 ELDRIDGE (Elleanor). [WHIPPLE (Francis Harriet).] *Elleanor's Second Book.*

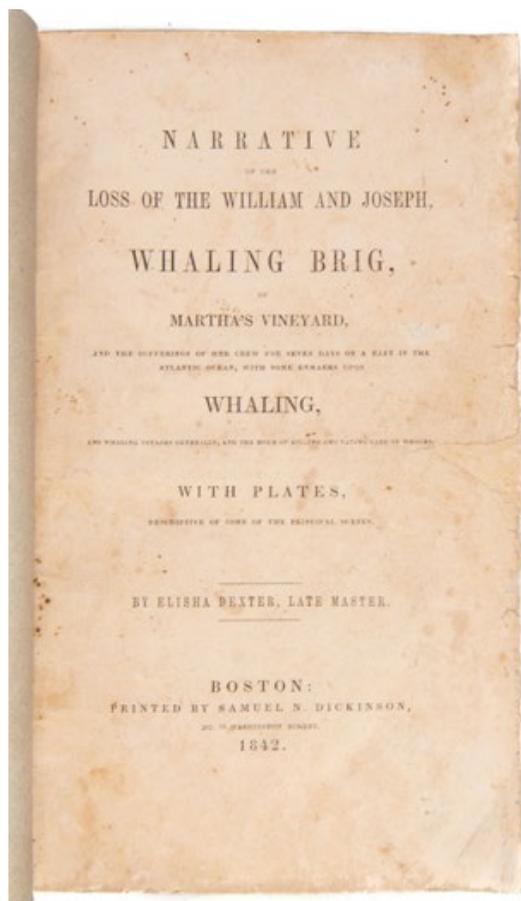
First edition. Woodcut frontispiece. Square 12mo. An unsophisticated copy in cloth backed, marbled boards, paper label to spine, extremities slightly rubbed, some light foxing. 128pp. Providence, B.T. Albro, 1839. £2,000

A very good copy of the second work by Elleanor Eldridge (c.1784-1845) who is a rare, recorded example of a free Black woman enjoying success as a business-woman in early-nineteenth-century America.

Eldridge's father, Robin, won his freedom by fighting the Revolutionary War and her mother, Hannah Prophet, was Native American. After her mother's death, Eldridge worked as a servant and became a skilled weaver. Her father died when she was sixteen. Eventually she started her own cleaning business and, using the proceeds from that, bought property and eventually became the largest Black property owner in Rhode Island.

This *Second Book* was written with the assistance of abolitionist poet and fellow-Rhode Islander, Francis Whipple. As per her previous *Memoirs* (1838), the proceeds were to cover legal expenses in a dispute over property. Eldridge represented herself in court and she was essentially forced to purchase the property for a second time. Despite this, her estate was valued at \$4800 at the time of her death. *cf. Blockson 2761; Sabin, 103302; Work, 311.*





The Rare First Edition with Dramatic Illustrations

22 DEXTER (Elisha). Narrative of the loss of the whaling brig *William and Joseph*, of Martha's Vineyard and the Sufferings of her Crew for Seven Days on a Raft in the Atlantic Ocean.

First edition. Illustrations to text. 8vo. Modern wrappers in a custom slipcase, a little dusty, small tears repaired not affecting text. 54pp. Boston, Samuel N. Dickinson, 1842. £4,000

Exceedingly rare. Dexter himself notes the small number of the first edition, which is borne out by the two recorded copies at Brown and AAS. Two others are recorded at auction.

The *William and Joseph* departed Holmes' Hole on August 2, 1840 in search of sperm whales. After some early success, they stopped briefly at the Azores and Cape Verde islands, both of which Dexter describes in some detail – the geography, soil, climate and inhabitants. The crew then made for the West Indies where they reprovisioned and spent time recuperating. In September 1841, they returned home

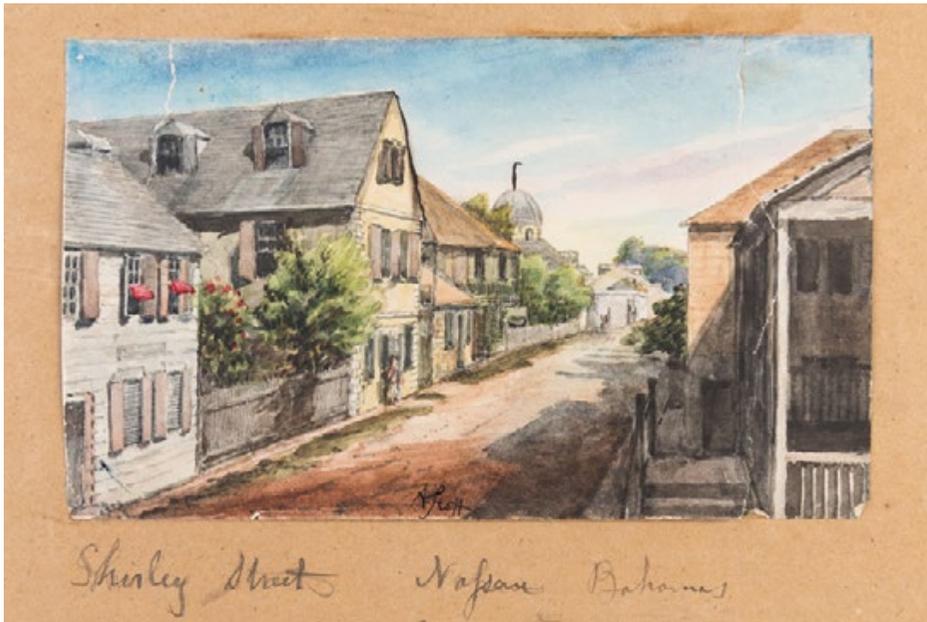


with just 200 barrels of oil. They encountered poor weather on October 20, which continued to press into the following morning, stripping the sails and keeping the ship “about one third over” before it finally capsized and, ten minutes later, righted itself with the loss of both masts. Just two men were lost.

The author had a financial interest in the *William and Joseph* and, on returning home, discovered that it was uninsured. In a bid to recoup some of his losses, he produced this narrative. Dexter's account is interspersed with informative, not to mention amusing, asides: “I will here observe that nine-tenths of the time this ‘hard luck’ is nothing more than bad management. The excuses are endless...[b]ut a good whaleman is known by his having few excuses.” A second edition was published in 1848.

Just two copies are recorded at auction in 1993 and 2010 (the same copy twice). *Huntress*, 357C; *Jenkins*, p94; not in *Sabin*.





Gorgeous Watercolours of the Bahamas

23 [BAHAMAS] SCOTT (Capt. Andrew). A volume of watercolours depicting topographical scenes in and around the Nassau and the Bahamas, with a further 13 drawings of botanical specimens, plus a fine study of a tarantula.

27 watercolours on wove paper tipped onto brown paper album leaves with ms. captions in ink and pencil. 8 signed "A Scott" or "AS", 1 signed "K P Scott". Oblong 4to. Recently bound in fine full blue morocco by Trevor Lloyd. Tooled in gilt, with titles to upper board. A few leaves mounted on matching brown paper to resize, whilst preserving captions. One watercolour (Shirley Street) with old closed tears, glued down with no loss. Occasional glue marks beside botanical pieces where perhaps tissue guards have been removed, else very good. 27 leaves. Bahamas, c.1850-1860. £17,500

A lively and beautiful album. Watercolours of the Bahamas are uncommon from this period.

Captain Andrew Scott Jr. (1798-1888) was a native of Portland, Maine. A sea-farer and trader he moved in mid-century to Flushing New York, where he is listed in the 1850 census as a ship's captain with real estate value of \$1500. He travelled widely and made small watercolour sketches whenever he could, a trait continued by his daughter Catherine "Kate" Parker Scott Boyd (1836-1922). In his early years, Scott served on the Enterprise during the War of 1812, and was aboard when she came into port with her captured prize HMS Boxer.



One of the watercolours in this album is signed by Kate, a delicate greyscale study of Nassau women "picking over wrecked cotton". This unusual image brings to life what is almost certainly the practice of cargo salvage after a shipwreck, a Bahamian tradition dating back to the earliest days of colonisation, and a mainstay of the economy into the nineteenth century. For context, in the year 1856, three years before this painting was made, the total salvaged cargo brought into Nassau was valued at £96,304, and constituted more than two thirds of the goods exported from the islands.





Napau Light House
Storm of Oct 26, 1858

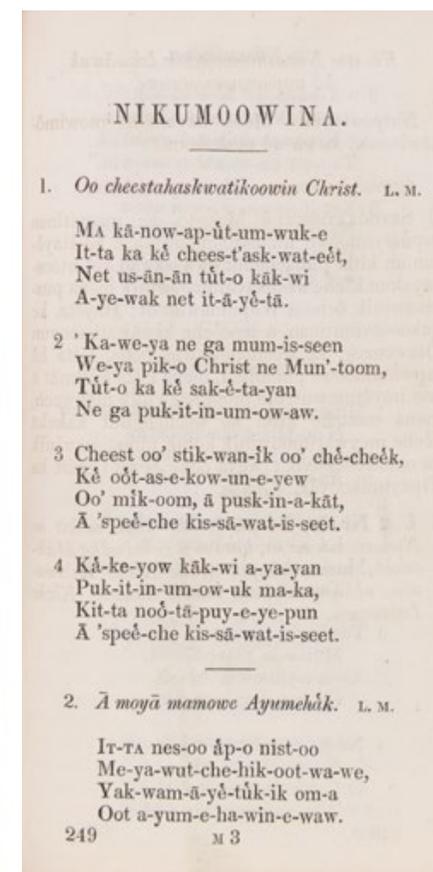
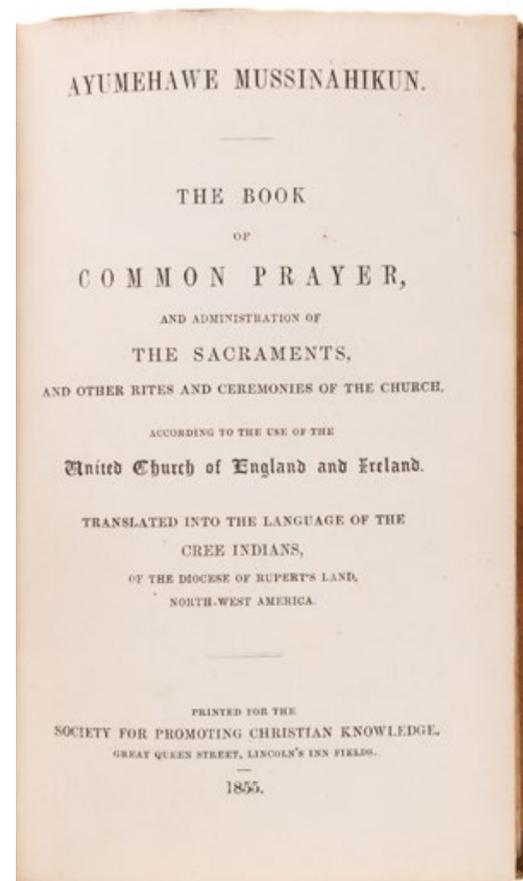
light 70 feet above water

Amongst the other topographical watercolours there are several colourful views which give a fine impression of this bustling Caribbean port. In particular, a waterfront scene shows throngs of people gathered in the street, and another ocean view presents a horizon busy with sails. Architectural landmarks like Government House, Fort Fincastle and Fort Charlotte are featured, along with a lovely image of the Nassau Light House, shown in the “Storm of Oct 26 1858”. There are several street views, as well as beach and landscapes, and a particularly handsome composition of Shirley Street showing large established residences with shuttered windows.

The latter portion of this album concerns the natural history of the Bahamas, with many fine and detailed studies of indigenous flowers, often with notes concerning size, colour and classification. The painting of the “night belle” for example, has a pencil observation to one side commenting “petals more like thin muslin or lace”. The final two images of this series show the more lively side of Caribbean nature, with a hairy and life-like tarantula, as well as a study of a “snake nut”. The latter is a probably *brosimum alicastrum*, also known as the Maya nut. A full list of images is available on request.



NEW YORK HIGHLIGHTS



In the Cree Language

24 [HUNTER (Rev. James)], [HUNTER (Jean/Jane) née Ross, translators.] *Ayumehawe Mussinahikun. The Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rights and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland. Translated into the language of the Cree Indians, of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, North-West America.*

First edition. 12mo. Full contemporary plain calf binding by Remnant & Sons, their stamp to front pastedown, slightly rubbed, corners bumped, else a very good copy. [4], 274pp. London, Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1855. £1,750

A scarce early translation of *The Book of Common Prayer* into the Cree language, using romanised rather than syllabic type. A collaborative effort of translation between a Church of England missionary, and his Manitoba-born wife.

MAGGS BROS LTD

Rev. James Hunter (1817-1882) embarked for Canada shortly after his ordination in 1844, with his first wife Ann. They travelled from York Factory, Manitoba, to the Cumberland Station mission at The Pas on Saskatchewan River. Here they established a smallholding, and began proselytising to the Indigenous Cree community, both in the ways of Christianity and alphabetic literacy, and in European methods of farming, husbandry and land management.

Their remote outpost proved a useful stop off for the Rae-Richardson Arctic Expedition in the search of Sir John Franklin. This overland party wintered at Cumberland House in 1848, and during their stay the expedition carpenters assisted in the construction of Hunter's mission presbytery.

Hunter recognised the need for religious texts printed in the Cree language, however he did not adhere to the recently developed system of syllabic orthography, which was successfully adopted at other Cree-speaking missions like that at Moose Factory. Developed by Rev. James Evans in 1840, the Cree syllabics were an easier writing system to adopt for those native speakers raised without alphabetic literacy. Reflecting perhaps his more assimilationist approach to missionary work, "Hunter's scholarly mind could not accept the imprecision of the syllabic system which he regarded as merely a kind of shorthand" (CNB).

In 1847 Hunter's first wife died, and he remarried the following year to Jean (Jane) Ross, the daughter of the Hudson Bay Company factor Donald Ross, and a Scottish mother from a family of settlers. **Raised as a native Cree speaker at Norway House Manitoba, Jean's proficiency in the language would have been invaluable to her new husband's efforts in translation. She is credited by Peel and others as the translator of the hymnal portion of this work, pp.249-274, titled Niknmoowina, however given the output of translations which followed in the wake of their union, it's possible that her contribution was more substantial.**

In the autumn of 1854 the Hunters travelled back to England, where at the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London, they supervised the printing of several Cree texts, the present work included. They then returned to Manitoba, where in the same year John Hunter was made Archdeacon of Cumberland, a position he held until 1865 when they both returned to England permanently.

After retiring to a prestigious post in Bayswater, the Hunters continued their translation efforts with another extended edition of the present work published in 1877. In 1875 the SPCK also published Hunter's *A Lecture on the Grammatical Construction of the Cree Language*, an important text in the field. Though the 1877 edition follows Hunter's romanised system, in 1905 the present work was again reprinted, this time in syllabics.

Very rare. 3 copies only in Rare Book Hub: Swann, 1983; Maggs catalogue 891, "Dictionaries and Grammars", 1964; and Brinley, 1881. OCLC finds 14 copies. Peel, 310; Pilling, 1908. Edwards, Adrian. *British Library Untold Lives: Mrs Hunter, Cree Translator* (<https://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2012/09/mrs-hunter-cree-translator.html>).

Exceedingly Rare

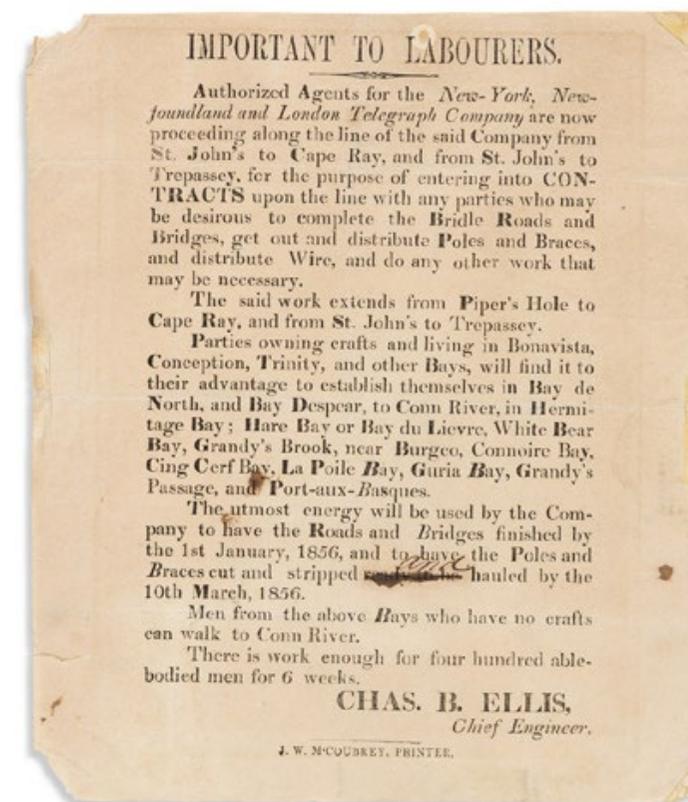
25 [TRANSATLANTIC TELEGRAPH] ELLIS (Charles B.) **Important to Labourers.**

Printed broadside measuring 220 by 190mm. Old folds, chip to lower left corner, corrected in ms., a couple of spots. [St. John's, Newfoundland], J.W. McCoubrey, [1855]. **£2,500**

A very rare survival: this handbill recruiting workers for the Transatlantic Telegraph cable. The New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company launched the project in 1854. It took four years before the first messages were transmitted, although it was only in operation for three weeks before it failed.

This informative advertisement seeks to recruit labourers "to complete the Bridle Roads and Bridges, get out and distribute Poles and Braces, and distribute Wire." This was specifically from Cape Ray to Trepassey. For those with boats, "parties owning crafts and living in Bonavista, Conception, Trinity, and other Bays, will find it to their advantage to establish themselves in Bay de North, Bay Despear" etc. If there were any doubt about the scale of the project, the text states that they'll make every effort to have the relevant roads and bridges (no less) completed by the first of January 1856 and that there "is work enough for four hundred able-bodied men for 6 weeks."

The Transatlantic telegraph was finally completed in 1866 on the refitted SS *Great Eastern*. Stretching from Valentia Island, Ireland to Heart's Content, Newfoundland, the trans-Atlantic telegraph marked a significant advance in communications between Europe and North America, providing a genuine alternative to the ten day journey by sea.



A Rare History Printed in Basse-Terre

26 LACOUR (A[uguste].) *Histoire de la Guadeloupe.*

First edition. 4 vols. 8vo. Contemporary quarter sheep over marbled boards, spines gilt, ownership stamps to front free endpapers and half-titles, pp 81-2 in vol. 4, bottom torn away, completed in mss. 410; 496; viii, 464; iv, 457, [1] pp. Basse-Terre (Guadeloupe), Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1855 - 1860.

£6,500

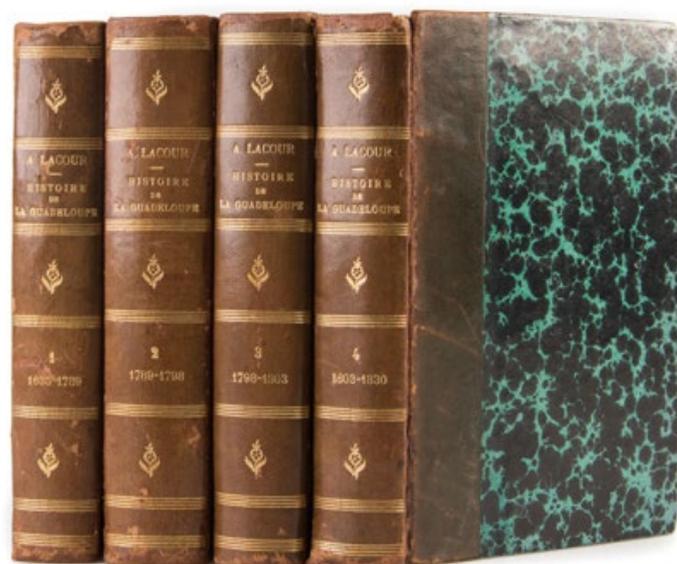
Rare and important: this is the first history of Guadeloupe printed on the island and covers the period 1635-1830.

A magistrate by profession, Lacour (1805?-1869) “blended the art of narration with an oratorical grandiloquence characteristic of [the] age. Lacour cleverly introduced into his work quotations from documents, anecdotal digressions and moral judgements” (Damas, 639). More importantly, “Lacour, like many French historians of the Romantic period believed that writing history was one way of affirming the identity of a community or people sharing a land and a language with a common past” (*ibid*, 641).

“Lacour’s classic *Histoire de la Guadeloupe* drew on the accounts of white planter families who suffered during Hugue’s regime to depict him as a tyrannical and brutal Jacobin. Lacour’s work, served as the basis for the only existing biography of Hugues ...” (Dubois). A fifth volume (1830-1843) was published a century later drawing from Lacour’s papers.

OCLC locates copies at BNF, Sachsische Landesbibliothek, Newberry (but lacking vol. 4), and Ottawa. No copies listed on auction records.

Damas, G.C. et al, *General History of the Caribbean: Methodology and historiography of the Caribbean.* (Unesco, 1999) pp.639-641; Dubois, L., *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (UNC press, 2004), p.190; *Leclerc, Bibliotheca Americana*, 3291; *Not in Sabin.*



A Preparatory Study for “Midnight Sun, The Arctic.”

27 BRADFORD (William). *Last Glean of the Midnight Sun.*

Watercolour on card measuring 182 by 120mm. Signed and captioned by the artist. Framed and glazed. Np, nd, c.1869-1878. £12,500

A wonderful survival with excellent provenance. This watercolour is a preparatory study for Bradford’s famous oil painting, “Midnight Sun, The Arctic.”

Born in Fairhaven, Mass., at the peak of the American whaling industry, William Bradford (1823-1892) began, and enjoyed considerable success, as a maritime painter. In 1861, “inspired by the exploits of Arctic explorers such as Sir John Franklin and Elisha Kent Kane and, most likely, by the phenomenal success of Frederic Church’s painting *The Icebergs* (1861), which had been unveiled to the New York public that spring, Bradford chartered a ship to chase icebergs off the coast of Labrador. This was the first of the artist’s six or seven arctic voyages, and from that time on he made arctic scenes his specialty. He painted silver icebergs riding on glassy water, ice flows lit by lurid sunset skies, and sailing ships breaking their way through frozen seas under the eyes of inquisitive polar bears. His Arctic is a stunningly beautiful yet treacherous place, where the human presence is always marginal and often threatened. Bradford’s arctic paintings include *Ice Dwellers Watching the Invaders* (c. 1870; New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, Mass.), *Arctic Scene* (1870; Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington), *Arctic Scene* (1876; University of La Verne, La Verne, Calif.), and *Caught in the Ice Flows* (Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Mass.)” (ANB).

In 1869, he made his final voyage to the arctic in the company of Isaac Hayes and the Boston-based photographers, John Dunmore and George Critcherson. They sailed to Baffin Bay, lived with the Inuit, and explored the geography of northern Greenland. The result was the landmark work, *The Arctic Regions* (London, 1873). “The photographs, sketches, and memories from this and the earlier polar expeditions became the bases of Bradford’s work for the rest of his career. He also drew on these sources for his many illustrated lectures on the Arctic, which he delivered to appreciative audiences in both the United States and England” (*ibid*). Bradford exhibited frequently at the National Academy of Design in New York, the Boston Athenaeum, and in 1875 the Royal Academy of Arts in London.

Isaac Israel Hayes, who accompanied Bradford on his final voyage and published an account, described them seeing the midnight sun: “We might have been in a state of constant terror had we not been in a state of constant admiration ... The hour was approaching midnight, and the sun, nearing the north, gradually dipped until it had touched and finally passed close to the horizon, with its upper limb just about the line of waters. For some time previous the sky had been particularly brilliant; but when the sun went fairly down, the little clouds, which had before been tipped with crimson, melted away, and the whole sky became uniformly golden;



gleam
last ~~of~~ the midnight sun
gleam. Mountain to be left out

M. B. 1/10

while the sea, quite motionless, unruffled by even the slightest breath of air, reflected the gorgeous color like a mirror.”

The bones of the finished image, “Midnight Sun, The Arctic”, are clearly evident in this study. The major difference between the two is the mountain in the centre background. However, Bradford has added a note beside the title, stating “Mountain to be left out” and thus we see the artist at work, and his method of composition. The midnight sun in the arctic was a recurring image in his polar works, for example, “Summer in the Land of the Midnight Sun” (nd); “The Panther off the coast of Greenland under the Midnight Sun” (1873); and the untitled “Arctic Scene” held at Laverne University all feature it.

In 1879, Bradford was living in San Francisco, where he met George Washington De Long and his wife, Emma. Bradford introduced De Long to local whaling captains and he drew on their experiences in the planning of his own voyage. Emma De Long remained in close touch with the Bradfords after her husband set sail, and for the rest of her life. This study might have been given to them, or her, at any time.

George De Long (1844-81) graduated from the US Navy Naval Academy in 1865. His first voyage to the arctic was on Capt. D.L. Braine’s relief ship, *Juniata*, to rescue survivors on Charles F. Hall’s *Polaris* expedition in 1873. Having developed a taste for arctic waters, by 1877 he had successfully lobbied the newspaper proprietor James Gordon Bennett (of Henry Stanley fame) to sponsor an expedition to the North Pole. Bennett purchased the *Pandora* from Allen Young, which they rechristened *Jeannette*. The expedition departed San Francisco on 8 July 1879 and sailed north into the Bering Strait. Concerns about the seaworthiness of the *Jeannette* proved well-founded and the leak she sprang in January 1880 was a portent of things to come, she was crushed in the ice in June of the next year. De Long and most of his party perished on an island in the Lena Delta in October 1881.

“Midnight Sun, The Arctic” sold at Christie’s in May 2015 and achieved the record price for a Bradford of USD\$1,445,000.

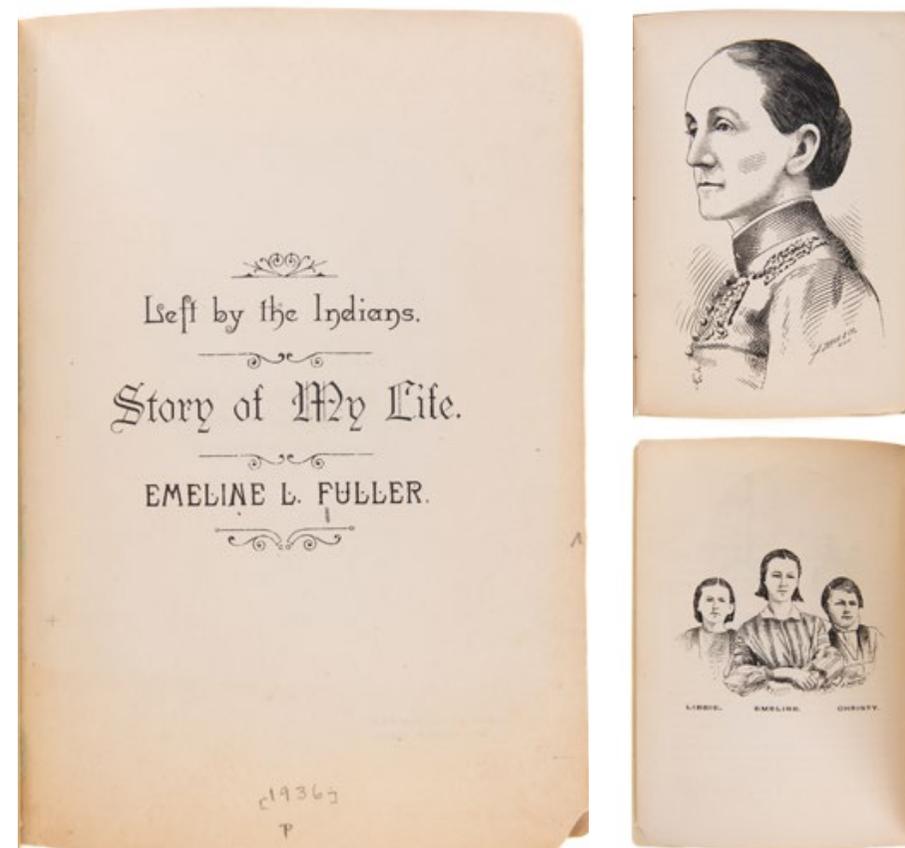
Hayes, I.I., *The Land of Desolation ...* (New York, 1872) pp.218-219; *Howgego, D4, H18*.

An Emblem of the Female Frontier Experience

28 FULLER (Emeline L.) *Left by the Indians. Story of My Life.*

First edition. Illustrations to text. 12mo. Facsimile wrappers, ex-NYPL with perforated stamp to margin of p.5 and ink stamp to last leaf. [ii], 40pp. Mt Vernon, Hawk-Eye Print, 1892. £2,250

A good copy of this rare captivity narrative. Just two copies are recorded at auction since 1999.



The “only account by a survivor of the sufferings of the 1860 Utter-Myers emigrating party of fifty-four members, all but fifteen of whom perished from hunger or were killed by Indians on the Snake river in Idaho. Among overland disasters, equaled in horror only by that of the Donner Party; cannibalism was resorted to in both cases” (Howes). Fuller was just thirteen years old when this happened.

In her book, *Women’s Indian Captivity Narratives*, Katherine Derounian-Stodolda considers Fuller’s story “an emblem of the American nineteenth-century female frontier experience. From the Midwest, to the West and Northwest, then the South, Fuller followed her menfolk (stepfather and husbands) and sometimes her own inclination ... For Fuller, survival carried permanent psychological and physical scars. The narrative is pervaded by Fuller’s sense of loss, depression, and bitterness heightened by residual problems in her legs from her traumatic experiences in the wild.”

The narrative was ghost-written by the Methodist minister James Hughes and proceeds from the sale of the pamphlet went directly to Fuller. *Graff, 1460; Howes, H407; Derounian-Stodolda, K.Z., Women’s Indian Captivity Narratives* (New York, 1998), p.318.

Promoting Women's Education at Sea

29 SEDOV (Georgy). [The Rights of Women at Sea.] *Pravo Zhenshchin na More.*

First and only edition. 8vo. Original printed wrappers, slightly browned, tears and small losses on the covers, losses on the spine, water-stained to the pages margin, tears on some pages, owner's mark on p.13. 19, [1]pp. Saint Petersburg, Tip. "Gramotnost", 1908. £1,750

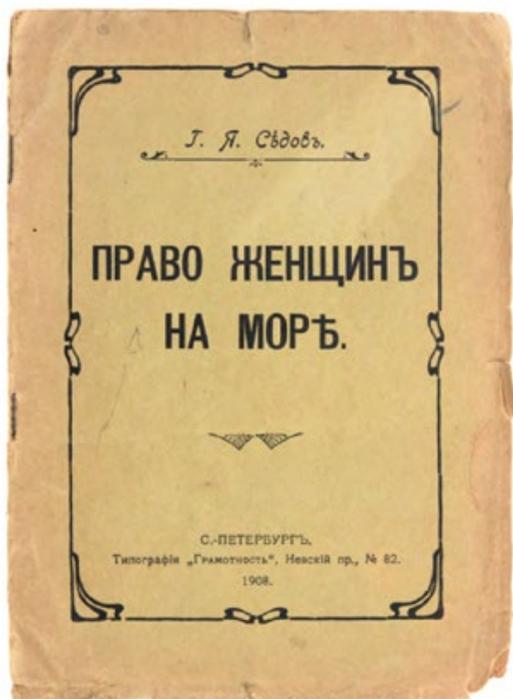
This was the Russian Polar explorer Georgy Sedov's (1877-1914) first published work, originally submitted as a paper for the XI Congrès International de Navigation in St Petersburg, 1908. Having had the paper rejected, he published it at his own expense.

The paper not only advocates for an equality between men and women at sea, but for a separate branch of the navy where women would receive a maritime education; the freedom to stay on merchant ships; and the right to captain and navigate merchant vessels. (The world's first woman to serve as a captain of an ocean-going vessel was Anna Shchetinina (1908-1999), a Soviet merchant marine sailor, who was 27.)

Sedov, a thirty-seven-year-old officer in the Imperial Navy is widely considered one of the greatest of the Russian arctic explorers. He led a Russian expedition to the North Pole in 1912. Departing Arkhangel'sk in late September, this under-

provisioned expedition immediately ran into trouble. Bad weather forced them to land at Nova Zembla rather than Franz Josef Land and was forced to winter there. In September 1913 the party left for Franz Josef Land, stopping at Northbrook and then Hooker Island. From there, despite suffering scurvy, Sedov attempted to reach the pole on foot with two volunteers (Grygori Linnik and Aleksandr Pustoshniy). However his health deteriorated quickly, he lost use of his legs, and was carried by sledge. He died on 3 March 1914 about two kilometres south of Prince Rudolph Island. Rare, there are no copies in OCLC.

Barr, W., "Sedov's Expedition to the North Pole 1912-1914" in *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol.15, No.4, pp.499-524; *Howgego III*, S15.



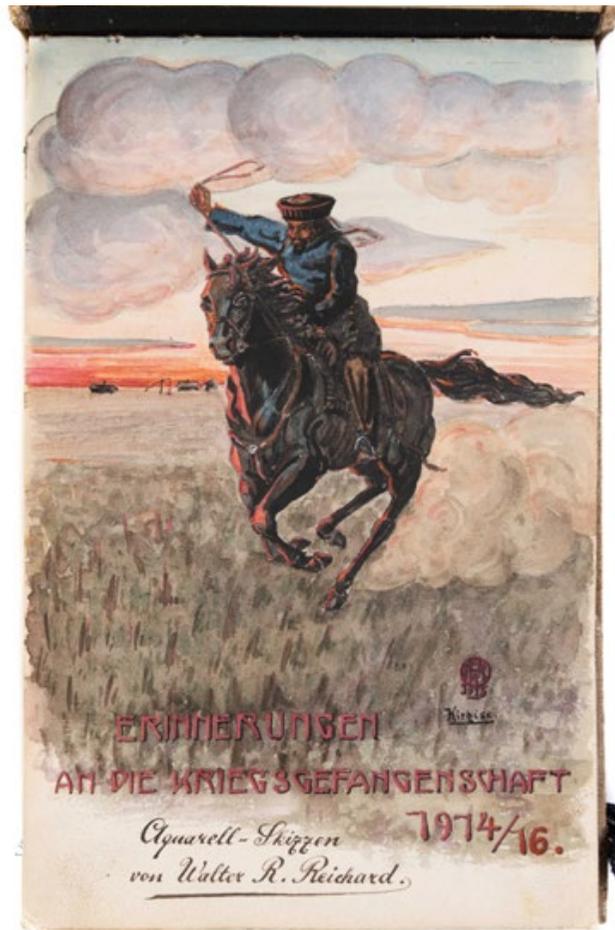
A Wonderful Watercolour Album by a German Internee

30 REICHARD (Walter Reinhold). *Erinnerungen an die Kriegsgefangenschaft in der Kirgisen- und Kalmückensteppe 1914-1918.*

48 original watercolours (including title-page) each with author's monogram, captioned in German and dated. Oblong 8vo. A little shaken in the original grey cloth album but otherwise fine, inscription "Walter Reichard Berlin Hufelandstrasse No. 39" to rear pastedown. 48ll. Astrakhan 1914-1918. [With:] Two large hand-coloured drawings by Reichard measuring 200 by 250mm. 1917 & 1918. £12,500

A wonderful watercolour album by a German internee, one of the most accomplished we have handled. These 48 beautifully realised images provide a deep insight into life in Astrakhan province on the north shore of the Caspian Sea. They were painted primarily between 1914-16, a particularly interesting time in the Russian Empire with Revolution and subsequent withdrawal from the First World War.

Encompassing the Kalmyk steppe, the Volga and Akhtuba Rivers, Reichard's vivid, intimate pictures combine a strong use of colour with a delicate touch. The album opens with a classic image of a Kirghiz rider on horseback at dusk, which also serves as a title leaf. There are images of Yenotayevsk and Bolkhuny, which are followed by a suite of fifteen images depicting life among the Kalmyks and then another fifteen of the Kirghiz. These images are of enormous ethnographic interest



including ten individual portraits, two family portraits, as well as group portraits of clergy, fishermen and travellers. There is a depiction of a local ceremony “mä-dchentag”, another of female dancers, and water carriers. In addition, there are some spectacular landscapes of Bolkhuny, the steppe, the Volga at sunset as well as frozen over in winter. The album rounds out with portraits of Russians, Ruthenien and Galitzian refugees, a Tartar veterinarian, and even a Persian longshoreman.

Founded in 1742, Yenotayevsk is the oldest settlement in the Astrakhan province. At around 1880, it was turned into a camp for political exiles and so was a natural home for internees in the First World War. Bolkhuny is a village in Akhtubinsky district, Astrakhan. It's on the Akhtuba River, a tributary of the Volga.