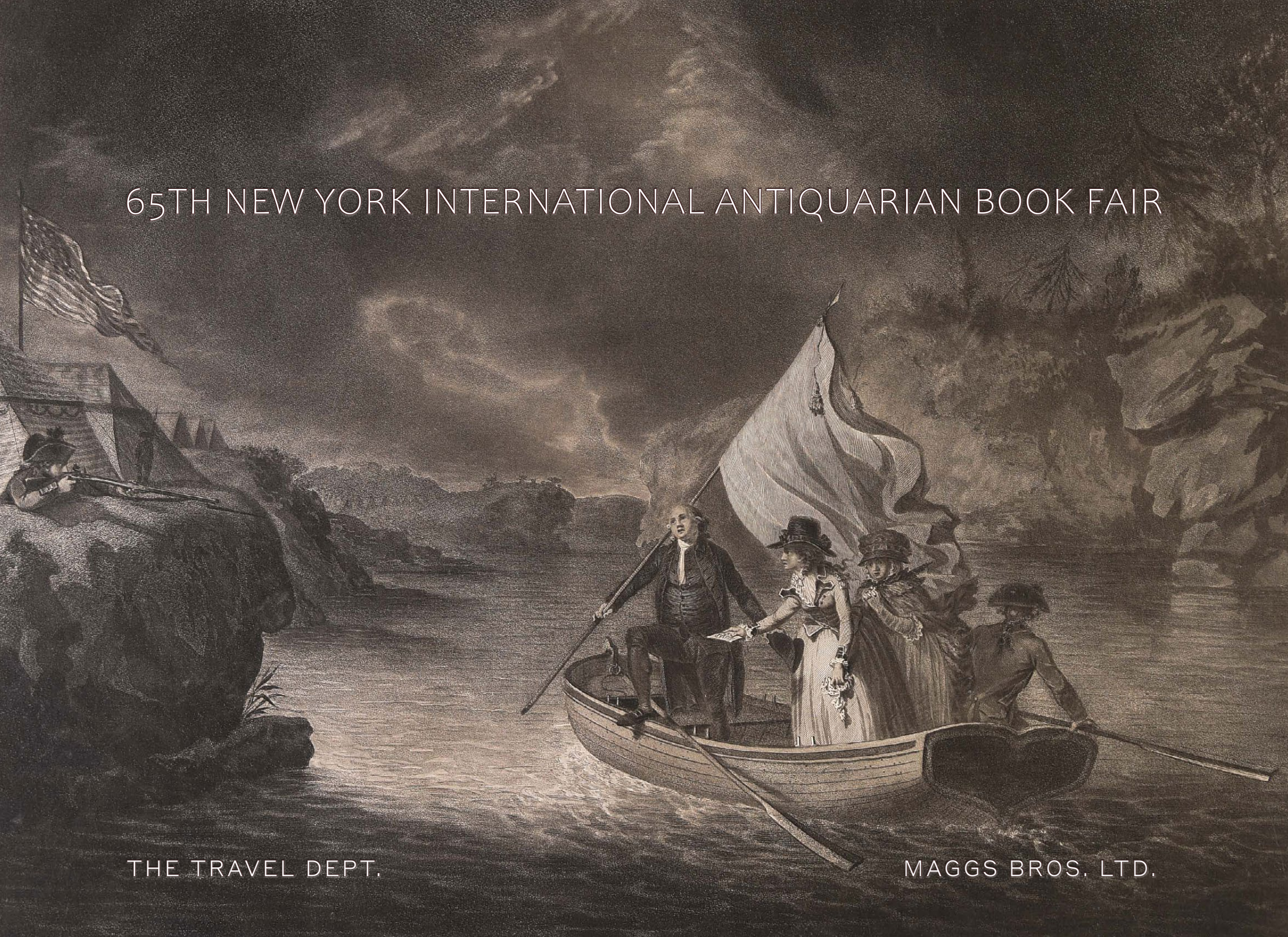
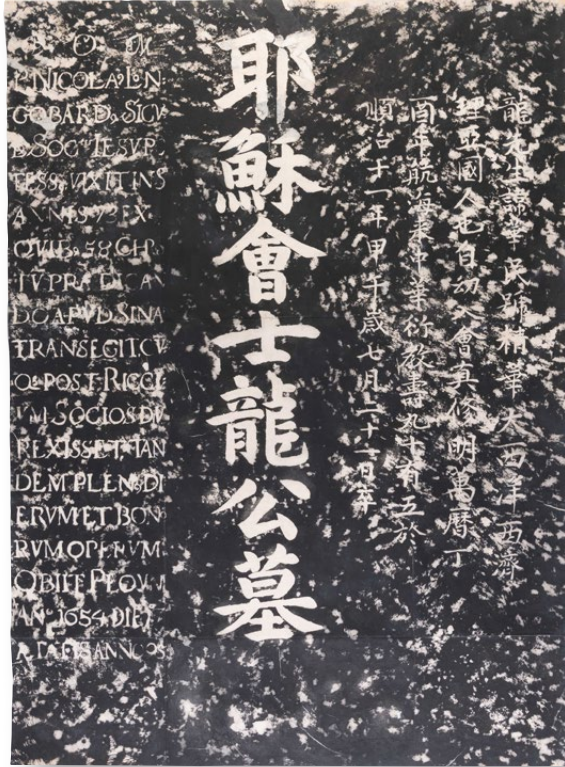


65TH NEW YORK INTERNATIONAL ANTIQUARIAN BOOK FAIR



THE TRAVEL DEPT.

MAGGS BROS. LTD.



Above: item 24, JESUIT GRAVE-STONE RUBBING; Twenty rubbings of Jesuit Graves  
Cover: item 10, [REVOLUTIONARY WAR] POLLARD (Robert); Lady Harriet Ackland

**MAGGS BROS. LTD.**

48 Bedford Square London WC1B 3DR  
46 Curzon Street London W1J 7UH

Telephone: ++ 44 (0)20 7493 7160

Email: [travel@maggs.com](mailto:travel@maggs.com)

Prices marked with an asterisk\* are liable for VAT for customers in the UK.

Access/Mastercard and Visa: Please quote card number, expiry date, name and invoice number by mail, email or telephone.

The goods shall legally remain the property of the seller until the price has been discharged in full.

© Maggs Bros. Ltd. 2025

Design by Radius Graphics

# 65TH **NEW YORK** INTERNATIONAL ANTIQUARIAN BOOK FAIR

Park Avenue Armory  
April 3-6, 2025

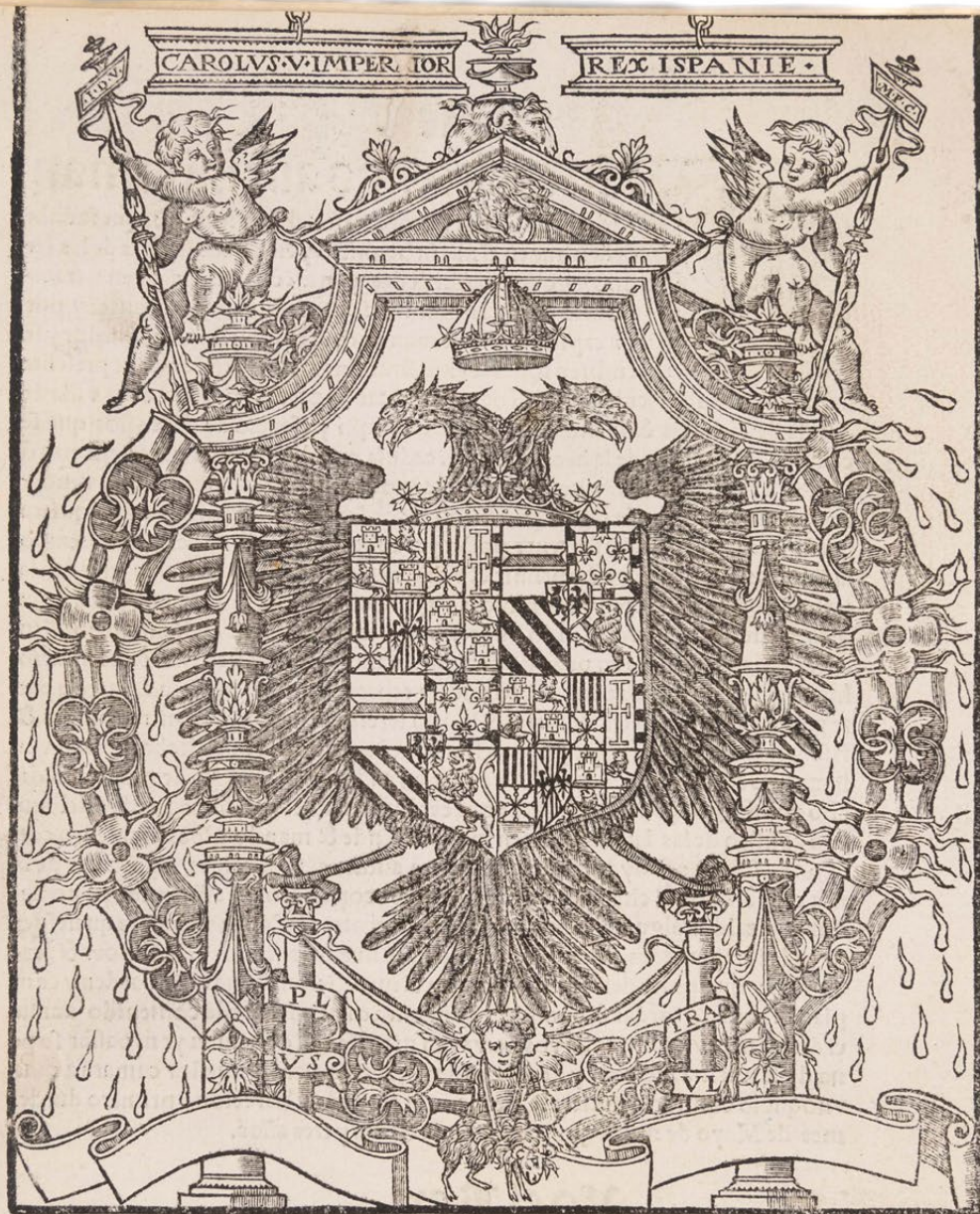
THE TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

EMAIL: [TRAVEL@MAGGS.COM](mailto:TRAVEL@MAGGS.COM)



BY APPOINTMENT TO  
HIS MAJESTY THE KING  
PURVEYORS OF RARE BOOKS  
& MANUSCRIPTS  
MAGGS BROS. LTD., LONDON

**MAGGS BROS. LTD.**



Leyes y ordenanças nueuamēte hechas  
 por su Magestad pa la gouernacion de las Indias y buen trata  
 miento y conseruacion de los Indios: que se han de guardar en el  
 conseio y audieçias reales q̄ en ellas residen: y por todos los otros  
 gouernadores/ iuezes y personas particulares dellas.

Con priuilegio imperial.

## 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 conseio y audiecias reales q en ellas residen ...

First edition. Small folio (271 by 198mm). Removed from a volume, expert resto-  
 ration 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. **£130,000**

**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, set 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 gov-  
 ernor 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 precepts. 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

## El Rey.



### Orquáto nos auemos man

dado dar vna nuestra prouision de capitulos 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 aqui adelante: y por vn capitulo della se manda que sea imprimida en molde y se embie a todas las nuestras Indias: porende 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 q̄ touieren vuestro poder/ y no otras algunas podays y puedan imprimir y vender impriman y vendan la dicha prouision de ordenanças so pena que qualquiesra 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 volu menes que imprimieren siendo impresos y hechos durante el dicho tẽpo/ & in curra cada vno dellos en pena de diez mil marauedis cada vez que lo contrario hizieren: la qual dicha pena mãdo que sea repartida en esta manera. La terciã parte para el juez que lo sentenciare, & la otra terciã parte para la nuestra camara & fisco: & la otra terciã parte pa 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 marauedis 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 iusticias/ & juezes qualesq̄er de todas las ciudades/ villas/ y lugares destos nuestros reynos & señorios: & a cada vno y qualquiesra dellos en sus lugares & iurisdicciones que vos guarden y cumplan & hagan guardar & cumplir esta nuestra carta y lo en ella contenido durãte el dicho tẽpo/ y contra ella vos no vayan ni passen ni cõsientan yr ni passar so pena de la nuestra merced/ y de diez mil marauedis 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.

## Yo el Rey.

Por mandado de su Magestad

Joan vazquez.

## Leyes y ordenanças para las Indias. Fo. ij.



### Don Carlos por

la diuina clemencia Emperador semp augusto Rey d̄ Alemania. Doña Joanna 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 Salizia/ de Mallorca/ de Seuilla/ de Cerdeña/ de Cordona/ de Corcega/ de Alburcia/ de Baẽ 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 Athenas/ y de Neopatria/ condes de Ruyssellon/ y de Cerdania/ marqueses de Oristan/ y de Sociano/ Archiduques de Austria/ duques de Borgoña y de Brabant/ 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 habitãres y estantes y naturales dellas: de qualquier estado/ calidad/ condicion y prebeminencia que sean: ansí a los q̄ agora soys como a los q̄ fuerdes de aqui 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-

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 thereupon.” 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 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 addressed. 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*,

**Las presentes leyes/ y nuevas ordenanças/ y declaracion dellas para la gouernacion de las Indias/ y buen tratamiento de los naturales dellas. Fueron impressas por mandado de los señores: presidéte/ y del consejo de las Indias: en la villa de Alcala de Henares: en casa de Joan de Brocar a ocho dias del mes de Julio del año de nro saluadoz Jesu chri sto.**

M. D. X L I I I.

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**

## Leyes y ordenanças

diçias q̄ residē en la ciudad d̄ Granada 7 villa de Vallado-  
lid: y los capítulos d̄ corregidores y juezes de residēcia: y las  
leyes destos n̄ros reynos: y p̄maticas y ordenanças dellas.

Que los preside-  
tes / & oydores  
puedā embiar a  
tomar residēcia  
a los gobernado-  
res.

**Item. Ordenamos y mādamos.**  
que los dichos nuestros preside-  
tes 7 oydores puedā embiar  
y embien a tomar residēcia a los nuestros gobernadores a  
las dichas nuestras audiencias subjectos / y a sus oficiales y  
a las otras nuestras justicias ordinarias dellas cada y quā-  
do que les pareciere q̄ conuiene segun los casos se offresciere  
re: y que para ello embien personas de fidelidad y pruden-  
cia que las sepa tomar y hazer justicia a los que dellos ouie-  
re querellosos conforme a las leyes de nuestros Reynos / y  
capitulos de corregidores dellos: y q̄ las dichas residēcias  
q̄ se tomarē a los dichos nuestros gobernadores de yslas  
y prouincias las embiē con toda breuedad al dicho nuestro  
consejo de las Indias para que en el se vean y determinen.

Que se embien  
al cōsejo las resi-  
dēcias q̄ se toma-  
rē a los goberna-  
dores y las otras  
de las justicias  
ordinarias deter-  
minen las audi-  
encias.

¶ Pero todas las otras residēcias que se tomarē a las otras  
nuestras justicias ordinarias. Queremos y mandamos que  
se vean y prouean / sentencien y determinen por los dichos  
nuestros presidentes / y oydores de la dichas nuestras au-  
diencias: y que no se traygan / ni embien al dicho nuestro cō-  
sejo. y por esto no se entienda que los del nuestro consejo no  
puedan embiar a tomar residēcia a los dichos gobernado-  
res quando pareciere que conuiene.

Que las audien-  
cias se informen  
de los malos tra-  
tamientos he-  
chos, a Indios &  
los castiguen.

**Por q̄ vna de las cosas mas prin-  
cipales en que las audiencias han de servir nos es en ten-  
er muy especial cuydado del buen tratamiēto de los Indios / y  
cōseruacion dellos. Mandamos q̄ se informen siempre de los  
excessos y malos tratamiētos q̄ les son o fueren fechos por  
los gobernadores o p̄sonas particulares: y como hā guarda-  
do las ordenanças 7 instruccōes q̄ les han sido dadas: y para  
el buen tratamiento dellos estā hechas: y en lo que se ouiere  
excedido / o excediere de aqui adelante, tengan cuydado de lo  
remediar castigādo los culpados por todo rigor conforme  
a justicia. y que no den lugar a que en los pleytos de entre  
Indios / o con ellos se bagā procesos ordinarios: ni aya lar-  
gas como suele acontecer por la malicia de algunos aboga-**

Que en pleytos  
de entro Indios  
no se hagā p̄ces-  
sos ordinarios.

## para la gouernaciō de las Indias. Fo. vij.

dos y procuradores, sino que sumariamente sean determina-  
dos guardando sus vsos y costumbres: no siendo claramen-  
te injustos. y q̄ tengan las dichas audiencias cuydado que  
assi se guarde por los otros juezes inferiores.

**Item. Ordenamos y mādamos**  
que de aqui adelante por ninguna causa de guerra / ni otra  
alguna a vn que sea so titulo de rebelion / ni por rescate / ni de  
otra manera no se pueda hazer esclauo Indio alguno: y que  
remos que sean tratados como vassallos nuestros de la co-  
rona de castilla pues lo son.

Que por ningun  
causa se pue-  
dan hazer esclauos  
los Indios.

**Ninguna p̄sona se pueda seruir**  
de los Indios por via de Maboria / ni tapia / ni otro modo  
alguno contra su voluntad.

**Como auemos mādado pueer**  
que de aqui adelante por ninguna via se hagan los Indios  
esclauos / ansī en los que hasta aqui se han hecho contra ra-  
zon y derecho / y contra las prouisiones 7 instruccōes da-  
das. Ordenamos y mandamos que las audiencias, llama-  
das las partes sin tela de juyzio sumaria / y breuemēte sola  
la verdad sabida los pōgan en libertad si las personas q̄ los  
tuuieren por esclauos no mostraren titulo como los tienē y  
posseē legitimamēte. y porque a falta de personas que solū  
citen lo suso dicho los Indios no queden por esclauos injus-  
tamente. Mandamos que las audiencias pongan personas  
que siguan por los Indios esta causa. y se paguen de penas  
de camara y sean hombres de confiança y diligēcia.

Que los Indios  
esclauos se pōgā  
en libertad si los  
posseedores no  
mostrarē titulo.

**Item. Mandamos que sobre el**  
cargar de los dichos Indios las audiencias tengan especial  
cuydado q̄ no se carguē / o en caso q̄ esto en algunas partes  
no se pueda escusar sea de tal manera que de la carga immo-  
derada no se sigua peligro en la vida salud y conseruaciō de  
los dichos Indios: y que cōtra su voluntad dello / y sin gelo  
pagar en ningū caso se permita q̄ se puedā cargar castigādo  
muy grauemēte al que lo contrario hiziere: y en esto no ha  
de auer remission por respecto de persona alguna.

En las partes q̄  
no se puede escu-  
sar de cargar los  
Indios se guar-  
de la forma aqui  
declarada.

**colonies.** And in what became a truism for colonies in the Americas for the next four hundred years, the implementation of these laws was hindered by lobbying by colonists.

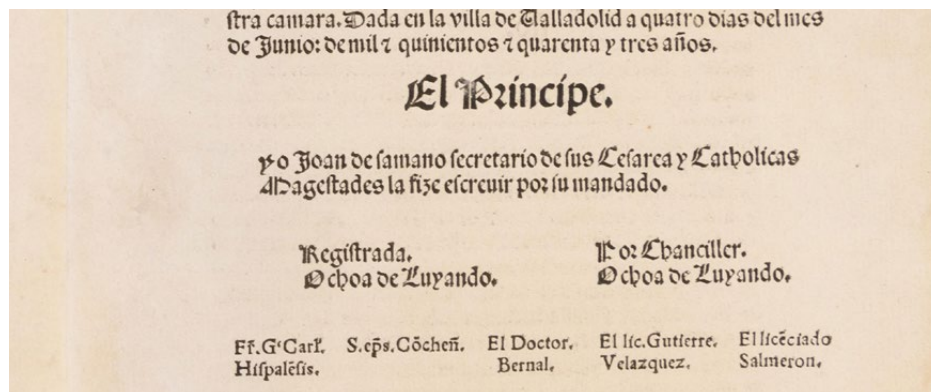
Harrisse confirms this: "They were issued especially for the better treatment of the Indians, and, we believe, for limiting the partitions of lands among the conquerors. Leon Pinelo states, on the authority of Juan de Grivalja, that these laws 'tan odiosas,' were prompted by the publication of the manuscript 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, both its riches and 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\$2,950). 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.

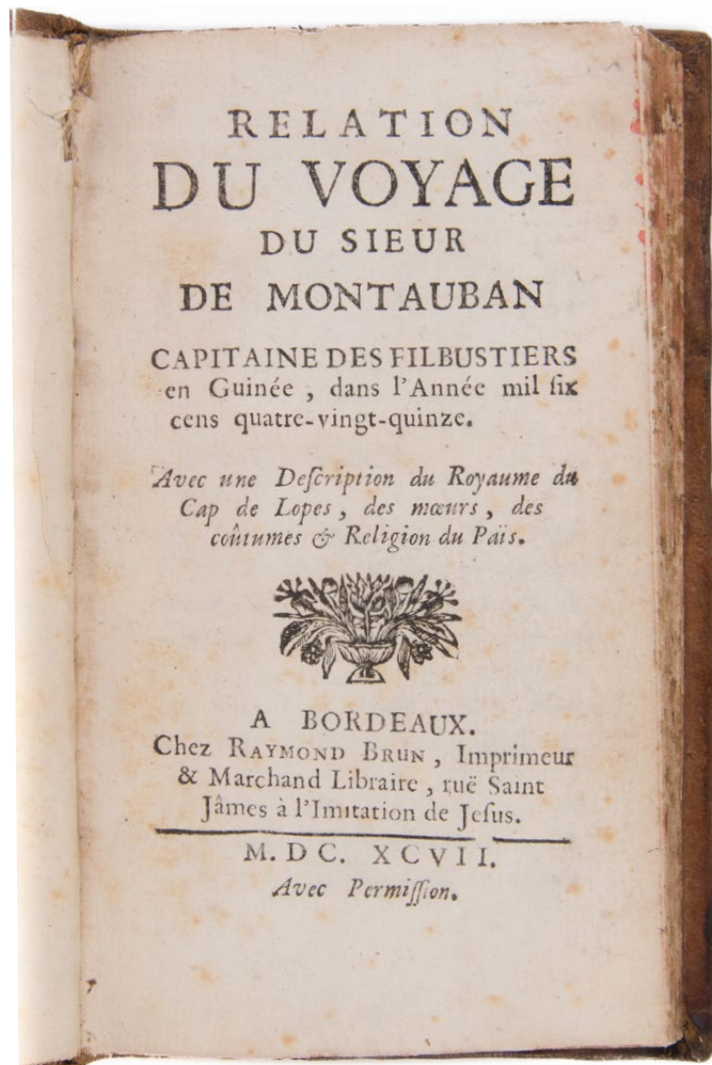
Brunet "Manuel du Libraire," III., col. 1042; Church, 80; Harrisse, "Bib. Am. Vet.," No. 247; Sabin, 40902; Batchelder, R.W. & Sanchez, N., "The *encomienda* and the optimizing imperialist: an interpretation of Spanish imperialism in the Americas" in *Public Choice*, Vol. 156, No. 1/2 (July, 2013) pp.45–60; 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.



## Leyes y ordenanças

so:reyes y audiencias y otras personas q̄ para ello por nos o por los dichos viõ:reyes y audiencias fueren diputados lo q̄ ouiere de llevar y becha la tassacion no sea osado ningũ Español:directe ni indirecte por ti ni por otra p̄sona por causa ni color alguna aun q̄ diga q̄ los Indios ge los dieron de su voluntad / ni por rescate o en recompensa de alguna cosa que se les dio de llevar cosa alguna mas de lo que fuere tassa do so pena que por qualquiera caso de los suso dichos por el m̄imo hecho sea privado de los dichos Indios y se pongan en nuestra corona real: y en el p̄cesso y execucion de lo suso dicho se p̄ceda solam̄te la verdad sabida remota toda apelacion. Pero bien permitimos q̄ cosas de comer y beuer y otros m̄atenim̄tos necessarios lo puedã comprar de los dichos Indios: pagãdo les su justo precio como ge lo pagaria otro español estraño y q̄ lo mismo guarden los n̄ros officiales en los tributos q̄ hã de cobrar de los Indios q̄ estan en nuestra corona real so pena de perdim̄to de sus officios: y mas q̄ lo bueluan con el quatro tanto para nuestra camara.

**E**y porq̄ nos tengamos entera noticia de n̄ra hazieda m̄adamos q̄ los n̄ros officiales de todas las n̄ras Indias / Islas y tierra firme del mar Oceano nos embiẽ en fin de cada vn año vn tiẽto de cuẽta de su cargo de todo lo q̄ ouieren rescibido y cobrado aq̄l año: ansi de n̄ros quintos y r̄etas de alimoxarifadgo/ como de los tributos q̄ rescibieren de los Indios q̄ estoverẽ en n̄ra cabeza: y de las penas de camara y otras qualesq̄er r̄etas e derechos n̄ros/ poniẽdo muy clara y especificadam̄te: lo q̄ de cada cosa ay y q̄da en n̄ra arca d̄ las tres llaues: y q̄ tengã especial cuydado q̄ todo lo q̄ ansi rescibierẽ y cobrarẽ lo pongã y tengã en la dicha arca d̄ las tres llaues: y q̄ ninguna cosa d̄llo este fuera de la dicha arca: y q̄ de tres en tres años embiẽ a la casa de la cõtrataciõ de Sevilla la cuẽta por entero y particular d̄ todo lo q̄ fuere a su cargo de aq̄llos tres años poniẽdo en ellos el cargo y data y resoluciõ della: porq̄ de lo cõtrario nos tenemos por deservidos: y lo m̄adaremos castigar cõ todo rigor: y encargamos y m̄adamos a los nuestros presidẽtes/ e oydores de las dichas n̄ras audiẽcias q̄ tengã muy parti



**An Exceedingly Rare Account of Piracy in the Americas**

**2 MONTAUBAN (Etienne de).**

**Relation du voyage du Sieur de Montauban ...**

First edition. Woodcut title device headpieces. 12mo. Contemporary mottled calf, rebacked with original spine laid down, some minor spotting to text. Bordeaux, Raymond Brun, 1697. **£17,500**

**A rare copy of the first edition.**

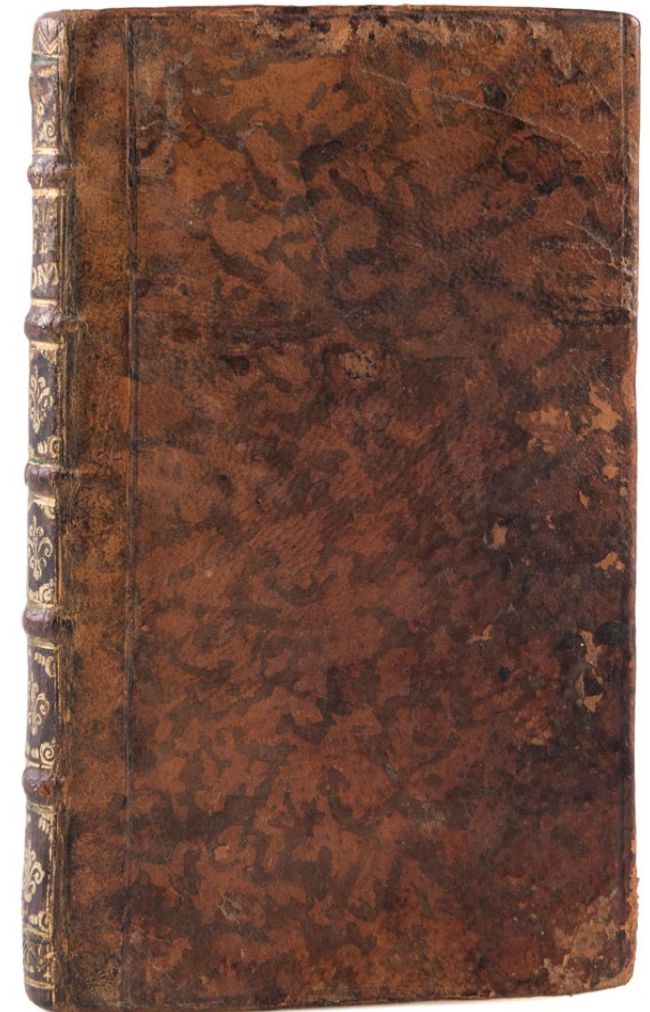
The celebrated French pirate, Etienne de Montauban (1660–1700), tells how for twenty years he had sailed the coasts of Mexico, Florida, and the coast

of North America up to Newfoundland. In 1691 he sailed for the Guinea coast, and captured the fort of Sierra Leone, which he had destroyed to prevent the English establishing themselves there. Afterwards he sailed to Bordeaux with various prizes. While at Bordeaux his crew committed so many extravagances with the money gained from their piracies, that in 1695 Montauban decided to leave that city and return to the high-seas.

He returned to the Guinea coast, where he took various Dutch and English prizes, but while boarding an English vessel both ships were blown up. He and sixteen of his crew miraculously escaped to a small vessel and reached the African Coast at Cape Lopez, where he was well treated by the local population, and conducted to the interior. Later, he was taken in a Portuguese vessel to the Island of St. Thomas, and then in an English one to the West Indies, whence he returned to Bordeaux, where he died in the year 1700. This work is a lengthy account of the expedition.

In the preface to the 1699 edition of *Exquemeling*, the following is remarked of Montauban: “the character of privateer doth more properly belong to that of buccaneer or freebooter, yet his actions, fight with the English guard ship, blowing up, strange escape, subsequent wanderings and hazards, are of so surprising a nature, and have so much likeness and affinity to the foregoing relations, that they could not without injustice to our design be omitted.”

Not in OCLC, not in COPAC, not in KVK—we locate a single copy at the Bibliothèque de Bordeaux. Not in Sabin, not in Polak.





## Quaker Pacifism in a Time of War

### 3 [FRANKLIN IMPRINT], SMITH (John). The doctrine of Christianity, as held by the people called Quakers, vindicated: in answer to Gilbert Tennent's sermon on the lawfulness of war.

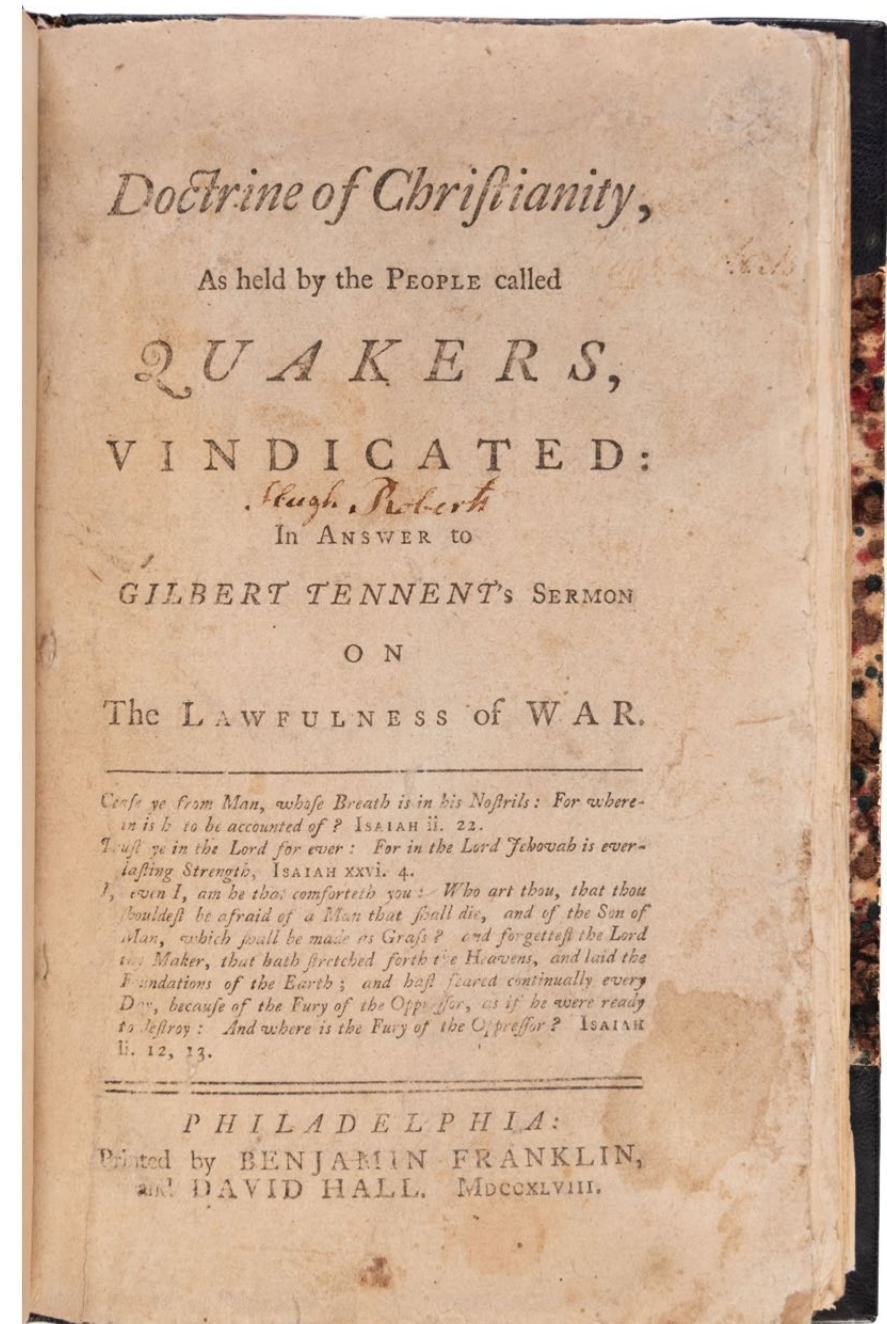
First edition. 8vo. Nineteenth-century black morocco and marbled boards, some upper marginal loss to title-page (not affecting text) restored, some other corners and margins with expert restorations not affecting text; general toning. 56pp. Philadelphia, Printed by Benjamin Franklin, and David Hall, 1748. £12,500

**The very rare first edition of an influential text in the Pennsylvania Quaker debates surrounding the proposed formation of the colony's first armed militia.**

This pamphlet's publisher, Benjamin Franklin, was the founder of the militia (known as the Association) and had a vested interest in the debate surrounding it. John Smith here provides a refutation of Gilbert Tennent's theological argument for a defensive war. One thousand copies of this first edition were printed in January of 1748. It is significantly rarer than the second edition which came out the following month. **Furthermore this copy comes with excellent contemporary provenance—the 1769 ownership inscription of Hugh Roberts, Franklin's Philadelphia contemporary and close friend.**

Prior to the 1740s Pennsylvania had been uniquely sheltered from invasion and harassment by its location inland, and its historically peaceful relations with the surrounding indigenous people of the Lenape Nation. As King George's War raged on coastal colonies and at the frontiers between British and French territories, the conflict finally reached Pennsylvania in 1747, as privateers made their way up the Delaware River and attacked ships and settlements along the way.

Preceding these attacks, the Quaker legislature had already debated and dismissed the idea of a military force to defend the colony. "A political entity whose legislative body was dominated by pacifists, Pennsylvania's situation was unparalleled in the mainland American colonies and the world to date ... With the government paralyzed by pacifism and lack of executive leadership, an unofficial response to Philadelphia's defencelessness was needed. Into the



breach stepped Benjamin Franklin with a Solution to what seemed an insoluble problem" (Gannon).

Franklin had, in 1747, outlined his own argument in his book *Plain Truth*, which not only explored the theological ramifications of taking up arms, but

also dramatised the various threats which were making the formation of a militia like the Association a necessity.

As with any major theological discussion amongst Quakers, the issue exploded into print. “This controversy is encompassed in eleven separate English language publications listed in Evans’ American Imprints. Since these works often consciously respond to each other, they collectively represent one community’s discussion of a vital issue, the legitimacy, or lack thereof, for war and military preparedness” (Gannon).

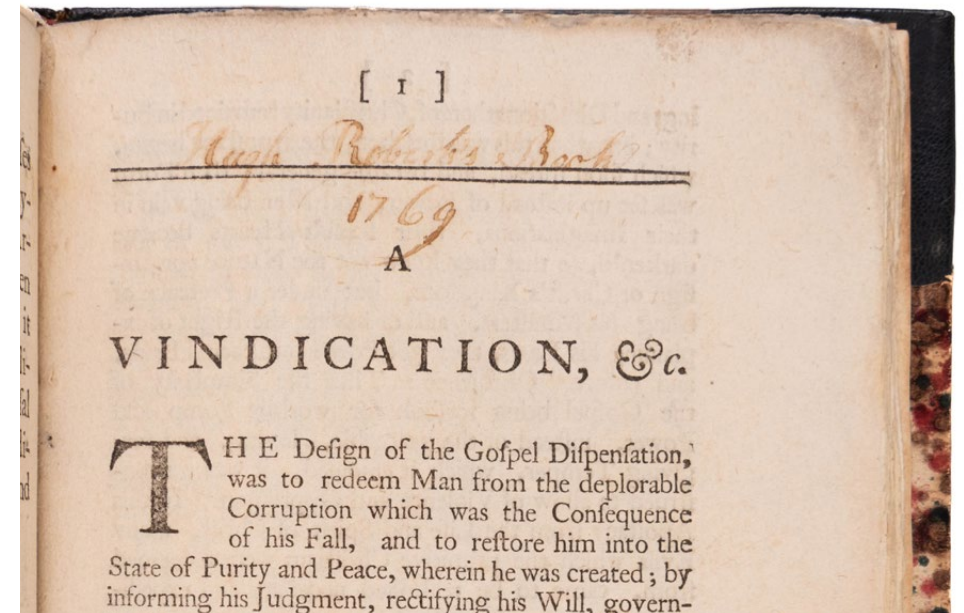
John Smith (1722–1771) was a wealthy Quaker merchant and prominent figure in Philadelphia. He served on many civic committees, was elected to the Assembly, was a founding member of the Philadelphia fire company, and the first manager of the hospital. Rather than a straightforward endorsement of the Association, as one might expect from the press of its founder at this pivotal time, the present pamphlet is a refutation of a previous affirmation, deeply explored in scriptural terms. Reverend Gilbert Tennent, a leading spokesman of the Great Awakening, had “leant the weight of his authority in 1748 to the newly formed Association for the defence of the province with a sermon on ‘The Lawfulness of Defensive War.’ John Smith was ‘so moved at the deceit and Quirks in it’ that he forthwith composed an answer” (Tolles).

Smith’s vindication was to reassert the Quaker doctrines of pacifism, addressing what he saw as Tennent’s manipulation of scripture to lead Quakers morally astray through his justification of defensive war. He “contends that ‘God created Man good, upright and holy; and had he continued in this state, there never would be any War, and consequently no need of Self Defence; but Man falling, thro’ Disobedience, his nature became corrupted, his faculties depraved, and the whole intellectual System disordered.’ It was thus the fall of man in Genesis that ‘began shedding of Blood, and the Earth was early filled with Violence. This was the unhappy Consequence of Sin.’ Smith hopes that Tennent does not believe that ‘God was the Author of Nature thus corrupted’” (Gannon).

**That so much of this debate was printed within the first six months of 1748, is a testament to its ferocity and urgency.** Smith records “his gratification that on the day of publication ‘the printer’s house & indeed my own was like a fair--people came so thick to get them. D. Hall told me that he never saw a pamphlet so much Request at first coming out in London’” (Tolles). Tennent’s response was published in April, refuting Smith’s argument point by point.

In spite of counterarguments like the present, Franklin’s Pennsylvania militia was a successful venture, proving invaluable to the state during the French and Indian War in the decade to come. The debates around pacifism,

however, “foreshadowed the ultimate demise of ‘Friends’ rule in colonial Pennsylvania, for here were the magistrates which failed in their duty: they were forced out of office eight years later because of their unwillingness to defend the colony” (Gannon).



**Provenance:** boldly signed on [1] Hugh Roberts 1769. Roberts (c.1706–1786) was a prominent Philadelphia Quaker merchant and one of Benjamin Franklin’s closest friends. They served together on the Assembly, and they were actively involved together with such civic projects as the Junto, the formation of the Library Company, the Union Fire Company and the Pennsylvania Hospital. His father was the mayor of Philadelphia, and he almost certainly would also have been acquainted with John Smith. A pencil notation to the nineteenth century front free endpaper further attests that this copy was sold as lot 1049 in the 1864 ‘A Catalogue of the Entire Library of Andrew Wight.’

This book is rare. OCLC finds copies at: NY Historical Soc, Library of Congress, Boston Public, Clements, Case Western, American Philosophical Society, Library Company of Philadelphia, U. Penn, Yale & JCB.

Evans, 6239; Miller, 456. Gannon, Barbara A. “The Lord is a Man of War, The God of Love and Peace: The Association Debate, Philadelphia 1747–1748” in *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 65. No. 1, Benjamin Franklin and His Enemies. Winter 1998, pp.46–61; Tolles, Frederick B. “A Literary Quaker: John Smith of Burlington and Philadelphia” in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. 1941. pp.300–333.

1764

Colonia

Carte m. p. n. 877



# EXTRAIT

Des Minutes du Greffe de l'Amirauté du Bourg Saint Pierre de l'Isle Martinique.

**F**RANÇOIS LOUIS DE SALAGNAC, MARQUIS DE LA MOTHE FENELON, *Baron de Loubert & autres lieux, Lieutenant Général des Armées du Roi, Gouverneur & son Lieutenant Général à l'Isle de la Martinique.*

**P**AUL PIERRE LE MERCIER DE LA RIVIERE, *Chevalier, Conseiller du Roi en ses Conseils, & Honoraire en sa Cour de Parlement de Paris, Intendant de Justice, Police, Guerre, Finance & Marine de ladite Isle.*

**S**UR les plaintes qui viennent d'être dans ce moment portées à l'Intendance, par les sieurs Famin, Bouvier, Delaunay & Hennequin, Capitaines de Navires, accompagnés de plusieurs autres Capitaines & maîtres de Navires & Bâtimens actuellement mouillés en cette Rade du Fort Saint Pierre, venus en ladite Intendance en corps, pour y rendre leurs devoirs à Monsieur le Comte d'ESTAING, en sa qualité de Lieutenant Général des Armées Navales de *Sa Majesté*; lesdites plaintes fondées sur ce que lesdits Capitaines sus dénommés alleguent, que dans ledit Bourg Saint Pierre, il a été introduit quantité de barrils de bœuf & de farine provenants de l'étranger, ce qui empêche leur vente & détruit totalement le Commerce de France; Nous Ordonnons que par le Sieur Juge Royal & de l'Amirauté, assisté du Procureur du Roi dudit Siege, du Sieur Dupradel

## Combating American Smugglers: A very Early Martinique Imprint

### 4 ADMIRALTY OF BOURG SAINT PIERRE, MARTINIQUE.

#### Extrait Des Minutes du Greffe de l'Amirauté du Bourg Saint Pierre de l'Isle Martinique.

First edition. Woodcut head and tail pieces. Small folio. String-bound, some soiling to margins, old folds, contemporary marginal annotation to first page. 23, [1]pp. Martinique, Pierre Richard Imprimeur du Roi, 1764. **£9,500**

**An exceedingly rare and substantial document concerning forbidden foreign trade—specifically from New England—to Martinique immediately after France resumed control. A number of the named participants would go on to serve in the Revolutionary War.**

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. Although then governor of the Leeward Islands, Comte d'Estaing, was based in Saint-Domingue, the centre of government for said colonies was in Martinique. (D'Estaing, later served with distinction in the Revolutionary War and is named in this piece.)

In the mid-eighteenth century, trade with foreign powers was largely forbidden. "The national monopoly was further buttressed by drastic penalties on illicit trade codified in the *Lettres Patentes* of October 1727. **Framed to check the growing New England trade, this edict closed the waters for one league along the coasts of the islands.** Intruders were subject to seizure, vessel and cargo to be confiscated, captain and crew to be fined. Severer penalties, sentence to the galleys, were to be imposed on French subjects convicted of trading from the islands with foreigners" (Goebel, 332).

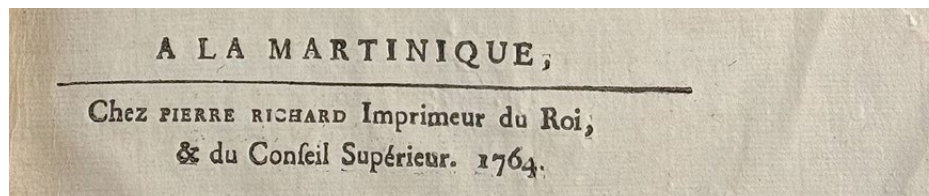
Of course, Martinique had been briefly held by the British in 1762-3 and had quickly become used to these imports. As such, a *royal mémoire* was issued which "opened the admiralty ports of [Martinique] to foreign vessels as of January 1, 1764, under carefully specified restrictions. Imports in foreign ships were to be limited to items the merchants of Old France admittedly could not supply ... Not included were the essential plantation staples—salt beef, salt fish, and flour—each of which represented a long-vested national interest and was jealously reserved to the commerce of France" (*ibid*, 336).

This document concerns the detention of several ships then in the harbour of Fort Saint Pierre whose captains were accused of contravening the *mémoire* by carrying illegal cargo of foreign flour and beef. The connections to the New England trade borne out by the list of seized ships, which included the Boston ship *Catherine*, commanded by Captain Caleb Symmes (1732–1771); the *Britannia* from South Carolina under Captain Dudley Saltonsall (1738–1796), who fought in the Revolutionary War in the Continental Navy; William Ledyard's *Unicorn* from New London; and from Halifax, the *Spray* captained by William Menay. The ships were searched and their cargos noted, with at least one ship trafficking in banned goods.

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), which was the first proper book printed on the island. **This extrait precedes the *Gazette* by two years and is one of the earliest Martinique imprints we have handled. It would've been one of the largest titles to be published at that date. Indeed, the only larger work we've seen from this period is the 1772 *Code de la Martinique*.**

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. We locate a single copy at the Archives départementales de Charente-Maritime in France.**

Cave, R., *Printing and the Book Trade in the West Indies* (London, 1987), pp.5–6; Goebel, D.B., “The ‘New England Trade’ and the French West Indies, 1763–1774: A Study in Trade Policies” in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (July, 1963), pp.331–372.



## The Mohegan Minister in London

- 5 [OCCOM (Samson)] CHAMBERLIN (Mason), after.**  
**The Reverend Samson Occom, The First Indian Minister that ever was in Europe, & who accompanied the Revs Nathaniel Whitaker D.D. in an application to Great Britain for charities to support ye Revd Dr Wheelock's Indian Academy, & Missionaries among ye Native Savages of N. America.**

Mezzotint measuring 365 by 260mm. A very good copy, trimmed close to the plate, a little toned with some minor creases. London, Published according to the Act of Parliament, Henry Parker, at No. 82 in Cornhill, 20 September, 1768.

**£25,000\***

**A rare and important mezzotint of Mohegan writer, minister, and teacher Samson Occom (1723–92).** This print is after Mason Chamberlin's (1727–1787) portrait of Occom, which was painted during his visit to the British Isles in 1766 as part of a fund-raising tour at the behest of his mentor Eleazar Wheelock.

Occom (also Occum) had studied under Wheelock for four years before being ordained into the Presbyterian church, and besides his understanding of scripture and theology, he had significant knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He was accompanied on his trip to Britain by the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, a white American minister who served as both companion and chaperrone. **Occom believed that his efforts abroad were to benefit the Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut, and this makes him the earliest recorded Indigenous missionary to travel from America to Great Britain.**

Chamberlin was a founding member of the Royal Academy, most famous for his 1762 depiction of Benjamin Franklin, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. **The original painting of Samson Occom is lost.** The mezzotint by John Spillsbury was produced a few months after Occom's return to America in 1768.

Occom fits into a long lineage of Indigenous people, particularly Americans, who travelled against the tide of colonisation in the years before the American Revolution. Often diplomatic emissaries sent to seek audience with the regent, or captives exhibited as curiosities, Occom's status as a minister and preacher set him apart as a new type of visitor. “Unlike so many of his



*M. Chamberlain pinxt.*

**The Reverend M<sup>r</sup>. SAMSON OCCOM,**

*J. Spilbury fecit.*

*The first Indian Minister that ever was in Europe, & who accompanied the Rev.<sup>d</sup> Nathan<sup>s</sup> Whitaker D.D. in an application to Great Britain for Charities to support of Rev.<sup>d</sup> D.<sup>s</sup> Wheelock's Indian Academy, & Missionaries among of Native Savages of N. America.*

Printed according to Act of Parliament, Sept: 20. 1768. by Henry Parker, at N<sup>o</sup> 82. in Cornhill, LONDON.

predecessors who crossed the Atlantic to see Great Britain's famous places and mingle with its eminent officials, Occom was of humble background—not from a prominent family in a major tribe, not a noted warrior or noted spokesman for his people. This impoverished schoolmaster and itinerant preacher had served equally impoverished northeastern American natives. Yet despite modest beginnings, chronic poor health, and recurrent penury, Occom's visit to England, Scotland, and Ireland was remarkable for its duration—about six times the length of most eighteenth-century Indian sojourns—and its financial success. Between February 1766 and April 1768, Occom's efforts, combined with those of his Anglo-American companions, brought Wheelock's school nearly £12,000. Wheelock would spend much of that windfall on the education of young Indians, but to Occom's profound dismay, he spent more of it to establish Dartmouth College, which almost exclusively enrolled students of English descent" (Vaughan, 191).

The image shows Occom bridging two cultures, dressed in the clothes of a colonial American minister, gesturing to the word of God in the open Bible on a lectern before him. Mounted on the wall above are the bow and arrow, a symbol of his Native identity, notably positioned behind Occom, as if to nod to a past that his salvation (and education) has enabled him to move beyond. This idea of civilisation and redemption through scripture ties into the Great Awakening teachings of figures like George Whitefield, with whom Occom lodged during his stay in London. Benjamin Franklin also stayed with Whitefield and the two may have overlapped.

**Occom's representation differs significantly from other contemporary portraiture of Indigenous subjects.** Perhaps the two most famous examples are George Romney's painting of Mohawk diplomat Joseph Brant, and Joshua Reynolds's portrait of Mai, the Ra'itean voyager who travelled to England from Tahiti with Captain Cook. Both painted c. 1776, the portrait of Brant shows him in striking "Indian Dress", a combination of Native and European garb including a long white shirt and feathered headdress, which emphasised his intercultural position, whilst simultaneously exoticising his difference. Indeed, contemporary reports suggest that whilst in Britain, Brant mostly wore European attire, and as such it was an active choice for him to be depicted in this way. Mai on the other hand (known as Omai in contemporary sources) was situated by Reynolds in an idealized exotic landscape, his flowing robes, bare feet and classic gesture all suggesting strong links with antiquity: "a thoroughly neo-classical version of the noble savage" (Smith).

In contrast, the portrait of Occom "reveals the visual manifestation of his politesse. This transformation from savagery to civilization is reinforced

by the ease with which Occom's appearance conforms to the conventions of ministerial portraiture of the colonies, as can be seen through a comparison with a printed portrait of the Reverend Cotton Mather by Peter Pelham from a generation earlier ... The Occom print reminds us of an important aspect of colonial relations that has been analyzed at length by Frantz Fanon: the ideology of racial difference upon which colonial domination is based is essentially visual, based on recognizable stereotypes. This fact helps explain the proliferation of images of Native people in the eighteenth and especially nineteenth centuries that work to document their essential otherness" (Hutchinson, 217–218).

Occom was inoculated against smallpox shortly after his arrival, which allowed for so long a visit in spite of ongoing health issues. This acquired immunity allowed him to travel widely, delivering over 300 sermons in every corner of the British Isles, without succumbing to the infectious disease that killed so many of his predecessors.

London was overwhelming in its excess to Occom, who recorded the following impression of his first Sunday there: "Such confusion as I never Dreamt of—there was Some at Churches, Singing & Preaching, in the Streets some Cursing Swearing & Damning one another, others was hollowing, Whestling, talking giggling, & Laughing, & Coaches and footmen passing and repassing, Crossing and Cross-Crossing, and the poor Begars Praying Crying, and Beging upon their knees" (Vaughan, 196).

In spite of the great success of Occom's mission, after his return to Boston relations between himself and Wheelock soon soured. Alongside Wheelock's controversial decision to attribute funds raised to the education of non-Native students, he also broke the promise he made to take proper care of Occom's family during his absence, allowing his wife and children to fall into poverty. Despite the break from Wheelock, Occom remained active as a clergyman, and went on to co-found the Brothertown Indian tribe in New York. Formed in the wake of the American Revolutionary War, the Brothertown Indian Nation brought together like-minded members of multiple Algonquian-speaking communities. When the Indian Removals escalated in the nineteenth century, they were the first to accept the United States government's offer of citizenship and allotment of communally owned land. As a result of this, the tribe is still struggling for Federal recognition.

**Occom is perhaps best known for his *A Sermon Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, An Indian, first published in 1772, and going through at least nineteen subsequent editions. He would go on to write the first extant autobiography by a Native American author, as well as a pamphlet of songs and***

**hymns.** Occom's autobiographical sketch survived in manuscript and was not published in his lifetime. Until recently it was held in the archives of Dartmouth College, but in 2022 Occom's papers were repatriated to the Mohegan Tribe.

**This print is rare.** We have located copies at Dartmouth, the Hood Museum, two copies at the British Museum (one before letters), Yale University Art Gallery, and Princeton (before letters). Rare Book Hub records 5 instances of sale: O'Shaughnessy 1916, Maggs 1935 (Catalogue 615, item 27), Bloomsbury 2007 (before letters) & 2009 (trimmed to image with later additions stuck on), and finally Christie's 2022 (before letters) in the William S. Reese sale, which made \$23,940.

Dartmouth also have what they describe as an "early American lithograph ... evidently a copy from the mezzotint engraving" with the slightly different title "The Reverend Sampson Occom". The American Antiquarian Society also only hold a later lithographed copy with the same title, dated by them c.183-? Vaughan, A.T. *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776*. (Cambridge, 2006); Smith, B, & Joppien, R., *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages ...* (Yale, 1988); Hutchinson, "The Dress of his Nation': Romney's Portrait of Joseph Brant" in *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 45 No. 2/3. (Chicago, 2011).

### **With an Enslaved Workforce of 206**

#### **6 [JAMAICA], LYON (John). Mortgage of a Plantation or Sugarworks &c. in the Island of Jamaica for a term of 500 years.**

Manuscript in ink. Large vellum sheet measuring 865 by 710mm, plus a smaller sheet 780 by 620mm. A very good copy with old folds and some toning, original red wax seal intact, signed by both John Lyon and William Hall. 11 September, 1776. **£5,000\***

A large and handsome mortgage against the Worcester Estate for £12,000 at an interest rate of £6 per annum.

After a somewhat dissolute career at Eton, William Hall purchased the land that became Worcester estate to demonstrate a new seriousness to his father. Worcester was in the Parish of St James, roughly between Falmouth and Montego Bay. The Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery state that the plantation was purchased in 1774 and remained in Hall's name until roughly 1820.



The document sets out not only the terms under which the mortgage was made but includes a full schedule of the property which includes a workforce of 206 enslaved labourers, each of whom are divided by gender, age and occupation. For example, we have a list of field men, house servants, cooks, carpenters, stablemen, coopers, cattle and hog boys, as well as invalids. A note running down the side of one column states that eleven of the boys were bought from Mr Young in September 1774. As part of the property, livestock is listed on the same sheet: mules, steers, bulls, cows and calves.

It was an important time in the region, not just due to the Declaration of Independence issued that July, but 1776 also represents roughly the peak of the slave trade in the Americas.

# The Schedule

to witte the within written Indenture referd

*Field Men*

1	August Driver
2	Abraham
3	Anthony
4	Agned
5	Samuel
6	Billy
7	Wm
8	Robert
9	Wanda
10	Edo
11	John
12	Edward
13	Dunde
14	Derby
15	Frank
16	February
17	Samuel
18	Robert
19	Wanda
20	Samuel
21	John
22	Joe
23	Samuel
24	John
25	John
26	Edward
27	Alfred
28	Alfred
29	Alfred
30	Alfred
31	Alfred
32	Alfred
33	Alfred
34	Alfred
35	Alfred
36	Alfred
37	Alfred
38	Alfred
39	Alfred
40	Alfred
41	Alfred
42	Alfred
43	Alfred
44	Alfred
45	Alfred

*Field Women*

45	John Cooper at Almondhill
46	Patric
47	Sam
48	Tom Sawyer
49	Will
50	Ann
51	Agned
52	Billy
53	Elizabeth
54	Beatrice
55	Christina
56	Celia
57	Ciric
58	Eliza
59	Charity
60	Charlotte
61	John
62	Diana
63	William
64	John
65	John
66	John
67	John
68	John
69	John
70	John
71	John
72	John
73	John
74	John
75	John
76	John
77	John
78	John
79	John
80	John
81	John
82	John
83	John
84	John
85	John
86	John
87	John
88	John
89	John
90	John

90	Phillip
91	Patty
92	Prince
93	Phibba
94	Rose
95	Sabina
96	Silvia
97	Stella
98	Sibby
99	Timber
100	Tanna
101	Thomas
102	John
103	Patty
104	James
105	Sarah
106	Silvia
107	Queen
108	Queen
109	Queen
110	Cirilia
111	Wm
112	Julia
113	Misses - Stable
114	Adam - Cook
115	Dido
116	Marina
117	Longie
118	Princed
119	Sam
120	Carat
121	Charles
122	Eugene
123	London
124	Tom
125	Bibbet
126	Gay
127	John
128	John
129	John
130	John

130	Kingwood
131	Quashay
132	Thomas
133	James
134	Barry
135	Alfred
136	Alfred
137	Alfred
138	Alfred
139	Alfred
140	Alfred
141	Alfred
142	Alfred
143	Alfred
144	Alfred
145	Alfred
146	Alfred
147	Alfred
148	Alfred
149	Alfred
150	Alfred
151	Alfred
152	Alfred
153	Alfred
154	Alfred
155	Alfred
156	Alfred
157	Alfred
158	Alfred
159	Alfred
160	Alfred

170	Sam
171	John
172	John
173	John
174	John
175	John
176	John
177	John
178	John
179	John
180	John
181	John
182	John
183	John
184	John
185	John
186	John
187	John
188	John
189	John
190	John
191	John
192	John
193	John
194	John
195	John
196	John
197	John
198	John
199	John
200	John

These seven were bought from  
at home in September 1771

## Children Boys

## Girls

## House

K-2



## Managing a Sugar Plantation in Grenada

**7 [TURNBULL (Gordon).]**  
**Letters to a Young Planter; or, Observations on the Management of a Sugar-Plantation ... written on the Island of Grenada.** To which is added, The Planter's Kalendar. Written on the Island of Grenada, by an Old Planter.

First edition. 8vo. Later half-calf over marbled boards, spine gilt, corners bumped, half-title laid down, text lightly toned. [iv], 58pp. London, Stuart and Stevenson, for J.Strachan, 1785. **£7,500**

**A very good copy of this rare manual for managing a Caribbean sugar plantation at the height of the slave trade.**

Turnbull states in the advertisement that opens the work: "The author's design is, to convey some observations which, he flatters himself, may be useful to the young planters; to inculcate in their minds, a mild and humane treatment of the slaves; and, as far as lies in his power, to supply the want of a more complete practical treatise of West-Indian husbandry."

Written in a series of eight letters, in the first two Turnbull tackles everything from describing different soils found on different Caribbean islands to the various techniques required for each, including whether to plant early or late in the season. The third letter is devoted to managing diseases, the fourth to controlling insect damage.

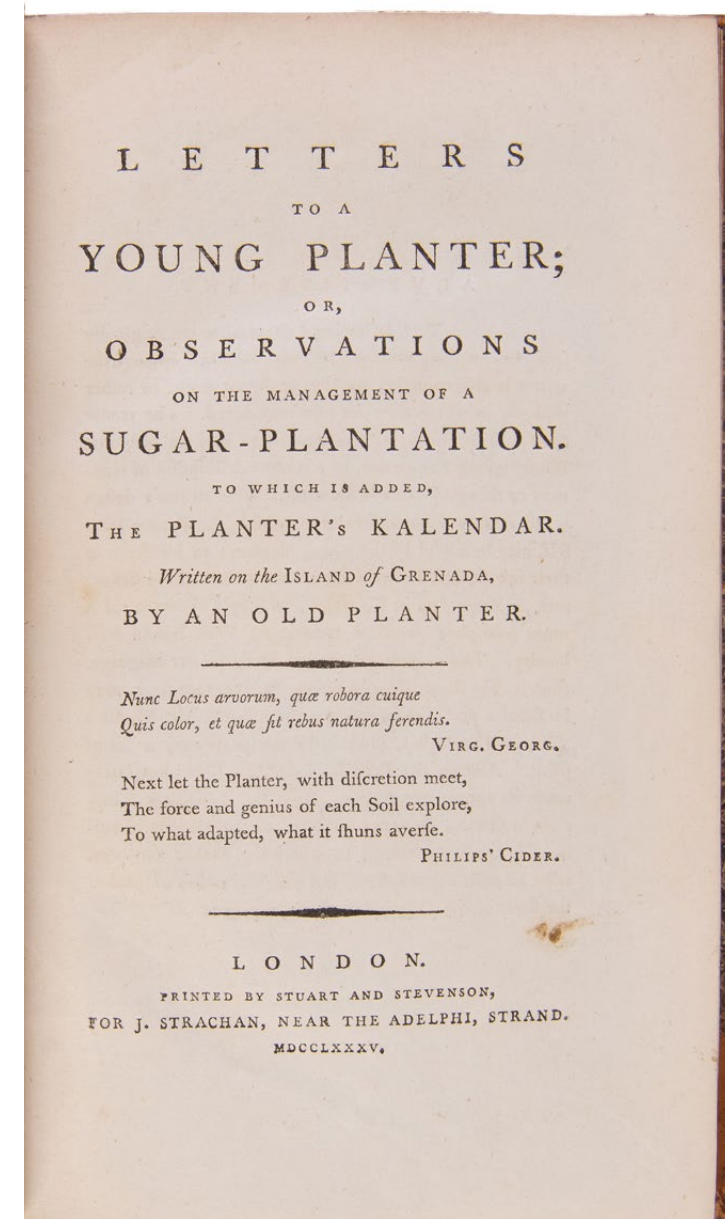
**The letters are supplemented by the calendar which provides valuable month-by-month instructions for planters.** These instructions not only give a breakdown of cultivating sugar cane but also include notes on how best to manage cattle and the enslaved workforce. For example, the notes for February advise planters to "trash the cattle-pens, and repair the negro-houses, watch-huts etc." Furthermore the exhortation "neither the slaves nor the stock, should be overworked" is qualified in practical rather than humane terms: "for this would infallibly be attended with considerable loss and inconvenience ..."

**Turnbull's advice to ameliorate conditions for the enslaved workers—**"should not expose the slaves to be often wet, nor oblige them to remain long in the field under heavy rains" – is contradicted somewhat by his instructions to use the deep holing technique of planting whereby jobbing gangs marked out

a grid of squares "each measuring approximately three feet by three feet, using twine and wooden pegs before digging a series of six-inch-deep holes with banks around them. Larger quantities of manure could be placed in the holes to combat the depletion of the soil's fertility, and the banks prevented water and soil from running into the sea" (Radburn & Roberts, 228). Furthermore, Turnbull suggests this "should be done in rainy weather, that the salts in the dung may sooner be carried down into the soil"

OCLC locates copies at New York Historical Society, Harvard, William Clements, Western Reserve Historical Society, Louisiana State, London, BL, Birmingham Aberdeen, and BnF.

Sabin, 97462; Radburn, N. & Roberts, J., "Gold versus Life: Jobbing Gangs and British Caribbean Slavery" in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (April 2019), pp.223–256; Roberts, J., *Slavery and the Enlightenment in the British Atlantic, 1750–1807* (Cambridge, 2013), p.194.



T H E  
*PLANTER'S KALENDAR.*

---

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

**A**LTHOUGH the *timing* the work, that is, performing every part thereof in its proper season, must depend greatly on the weather, and other circumstances, yet a few general directions for every month in the year, by way of Supplement to the foregoing Letters, may not be altogether unnecessary, nor unacceptable to the young Planter.

In giving the following very brief and general directions, the crop is supposed to begin with the new-year; but in those situations where it happens at a later period, it must be left to the skill and judgment of the planter to vary them as he sees proper.

JANUARY.

KALENDAR.

47

J A N U A R Y .

**E**VERY thing having now been prepared for putting about the mill, the canes which had been left standing over from the last crop, (if any), ought to be first cut down; and if the quality of their sugar is very indifferent, it may be improved by mixing them with good old *rattoons*.

**T**HE land which could not be planted last month should now be put in, upon those days when the weather is showery. There is no necessity to press or fatigue the cattle and mules in this month, when the canes have not attained a perfect state of maturity; and it will be very proper to cut a piece of cane near the works, where these animals can be conveniently driven to feed in the cool time of the day; and if this piece is to be replanted, they may be penned upon it during the night, in order to make dung.

FEBRUARY.

*A Crisp Copy in Original Wrappers*

- 8 FALKNER (Thomas) & PENNANT (Thomas).**  
**Of the Patagonians** formed from the relation of  
Father Falkener a Jesuit who had resided among  
them for thirty-eight years; and from the Different  
Voyagers who had met with this tall race.

Privately printed. 4to. Sewn as issued, a fine copy in the original printed self-wrappers. [iv], 16pp. Darlington, George Allen, 1788. **£9,500**

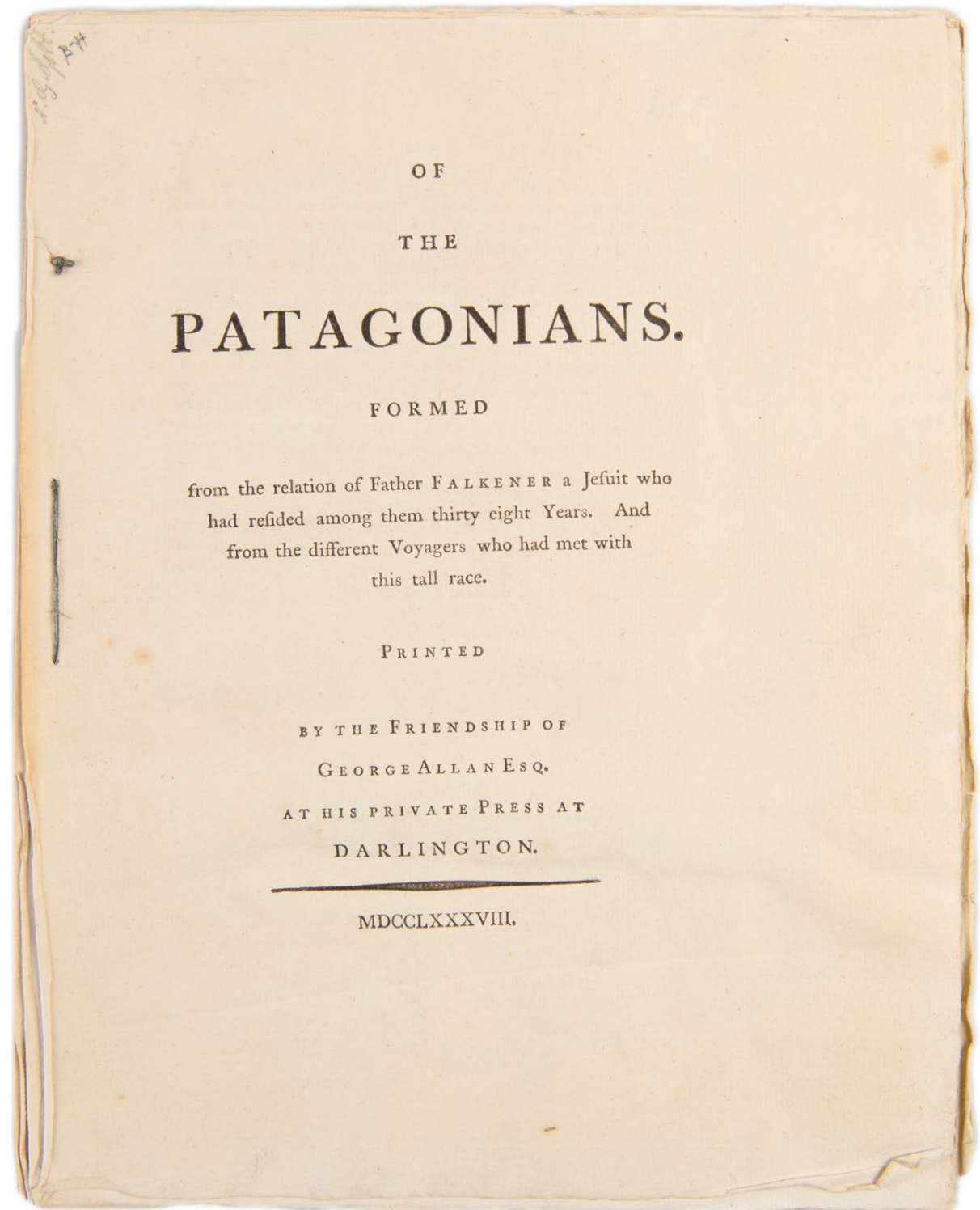
**Very rare. Just forty copies were printed of this letter from Pennant to Daines Barrington, drawing on material supplied by Thomas Falkner.**

“This was printed at the private press of George Allen esq., for his friend Thomas Pennant. Falkner assisted materially in asserting the tall stature of the Patagonians. He asserts that such was their height, that, when in a sitting posture, they were almost as tall as the commodore of the ship. Navigators who preceded Falkner had made similar statements; but recent visitors, who have seen many of the natives, state that they are no taller than Europeans ..., Father Falkner lived in the regions south and west of La Plata for nearly forty years and often made the journey from Buenos Aires up the Parana to Cordova and Santa Fe, and to the Southern interior and the lakes ...” (Cox II, p.283).

Having spent 38 years as a missionary in South America, twelve of which in the southern Pampa where he assisted Father Matias Strobel at his mission to the Patagonians, Thomas Falkner was one of the most reliable witnesses among the ongoing reports of Patagonian giants. Falkner’s talents were broad, in 1750 he was commissioned by the Spanish government to map the coast of South America as far as Tierra del Fuego. It was subsequently printed at Quito and noted for its accuracy.

This copy is distinguished having been part of the libraries of Franklin Brooke-Hitching and Ted Benttinen.

*Howgego, F7; Sabin, 23735.*





*J. Webber R.A. fecit*

*The Resolution beating through the Ice, with the Discovery in the most eminent danger in the distance*

*London Published Aug<sup>r</sup>. 1792 by J. Webber, N<sup>o</sup>. 312. Covent Street.*

*Vide Capt. Cook's last Voyage Vol. III page 237*



## *The Rare First Edition*

---

### **9 WEBBER (John) & LAURIE (Robert).** **[Views in the South Seas.]**

Sixteen soft-ground etched plates with grey and sepia wash measuring 325 by 445mm on sheets 390 by 569mm. Wove paper, watermarked J. Whatman. Each signed "J. Webber" in the plate, most with tissue-guards. Folio. Contemporary red half morocco, spine lettered in gilt ("Prints to Cook & King's Voyage") over marbled boards, extremities worn, "Glasgow Philosophical society" ink stamp to verso of folding chart. Housed in a custom quarter black morocco clam-shell box, spine gilt. London, J. Webber, No. 312 Oxford Street, 1788-1792. **£95,000**

[Bound with:] **LAURIE (Robert). The Poa: From the Bird which was brought from New Zeeland by Capt Cook**, in his late Voyage round the World and which Obtained of the Society of Arts, a Premium of 30 Guineas ... First edition. Coloured mezzotint with wide margins measuring 485 by 335mm, plate mark 360 by 255mm. Some spotting and toning. London, No.1 Johnsons Court, Fleet Street & No. 37 Maiden Lane, [1776].

[And:] **WEBBER (John), BARTOLOZZI (F.) The Death of Captain Cook.** Engraving measuring 480 by 610mm. Here with good margins, some spotting and toning. London, Published as the Act Directs, 1. Jan., 1784.

[Plus:] **WEBBER (John). [Plates to Cook's Third Voyage.]** Folding general map, one other folding chart, and 61 plates. Occasional spotting to margins, heavier and more widespread spotting to chart, many tissue-guards adhering at points to verso of facing plate. London, 1784.

**An excellent example of the kind of volume put together by a late eighteenth-century collector of both taste and means. In handsome red half-morocco, it collects two of the great rarities from Cook's voyages.**

**First we have the true first edition of John Webber's own selection of engravings from Cook's third voyage. They were engraved by Webber himself and produced in very limited numbers and the set is complete with all sixteen images.** The images include scenes in New Zealand, Macao, Krakatoa, Kamchatka, Tahiti, Moorea, and Pulo Condore (Vietnam). **None of these were included in the official account and thus make an important addition to the visual record.**

**And secondly, a very good copy of the separately issued colour mezzotint of *The Poa* by Robert Laurie.**

Webber (1751–1793) was born in London though was raised by an aunt in Bern, Switzerland where he also received his education. He was an apprentice to the topographical artist Johann Ludwig Aberli (1723–1786) and then continued his education at the Académie Royal in Paris and the Royal Academy back in London. The naturalist Daniel Solander was impressed by his work and recommended him to the Admiralty.

He was subsequently appointed to James Cook's third voyage with the instructions that he should "make Drawings and Paintings of such places in the Countries you may touch at in the course of the said Voyage as may be proper to give a more perfect Idea thereof than can be formed by written descriptions only." Cook recognised the value in the relationship between artist and author, as he "clearly had it in mind on this voyage to publish his own account on his return and it is also clear that he regarded Webber as his visual collaborator in that undertaking from the beginning" (Joppien & Smith). Furthermore, "Webber is both in his own nature and under Cook's guidance more factual, less fanciful and imaginative than Hodges, indulging little in the very free studies and colouristic experiments that frequently graced the work of Hodges. **In consequence his total oeuvre became a much greater achievement in visual documentation**" (*ibid*).

ODNB provides a neat digest of Webber's work and its publication history. **"His fame largely rests on his fine topographical and ethnographic work from the voyage, planned with Cook and with publication in view.** Guided by the surgeon, William Anderson, he also drew natural history subjects (as did William Ellis, surgeon's mate and the other active draughtsman). He returned in October 1780, after Cook's and Anderson's deaths, with over 200 drawings and some twenty portraits in oils, showed a large selection to George III, and was reappointed by the Admiralty at £250 a year to redraw and direct the engraving of sixty-one plates, plus unsigned coastal views, in the official account. It appeared in June 1784 as *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean ...* (3 vols, ed. J. Douglas). Webber also painted other views for the Admiralty, his last payment being in July 1785. He also published two sets of voyage prints; four aquatints made by Marie Catherina Prestel (1787–88: one repeating his own etching of 1786), **and sixteen soft-ground etchings by himself (1788–92) of which more were probably intended. The latter were pioneering, both in the medium used and as an artist's rather than publisher's selection.** Reissued in aquatint from about 1808 as *Views in the South Seas*, they continued to sell into the 1820s."

Webber produced these prints not long before his death. Given that they were published over four years, and that no title-page, or cover, was ever issued for them, complete sets are exceedingly rare.





J. Walther fecit.

View of the Harbour of Tuloo, in the Island of Eimeo.

London, Print<sup>d</sup> July 1780 by J. Walther, N. 30 Oxford Street.

Vide Cooks last Voyage Vol. II Chap. V.

He was the first artist to produce prints from his own drawings and can be regarded in the same class as the Daniells, who were also involved in every stage of the process: they “saw the sights, drew the pictures and worked them up, then back in Europe carried out the processes of plate preparation, and supervised the printing and colouring. **This elimination of all intermediaries gave these works immediacy and vastly improved accuracy**” (Gerstle & Milner).

The views are as follows:

1. The Narta, or Sledge for Burdens in Kamtchatka; 2. A Sailing Canoe of Otahaite; 3. View in Queen Charlottes Sound, New Zealand; 4. Waheiaodoo, Chief of Oheitepeha, lying in State; 5. A View in Oheitepeha Bay, in the Island of Otaheite; 6. Boats of the Friendly Islands; 7. View of the Harbour of Taloo, in the Island of Eimeo; 8. A Toopapao of a Chief, with a Priest making his offering to the Morai, in Huoheine; 9. The *Resolution* beating through the Ice, with the *Discovery* in the most eminent danger in the distance; 10. Balagans or Summer Habitations, with the method of Drying Fish at St Peter & St Paul, Kamtschatka; 11. A View in the Island of Pulo Condore; 12. A View in the Island of Cracatoa; 13. View in Macao; 14. View in Macao, including the Residence of Camoens; 15. The Plantain Tree, in the Island of Cracatoa; 16. The Fan Palm, in the Island of Cracatoa.

These are preceded by the rare and beautiful mezzotint *The Poa*, printed after Robert Laurie's (1755?–1836) image. Laurie was apprenticed initially to Robert Sayer in Fleet Street from 1770 and 1777. During those years, and previous to this image, he won awards from the Society of Arts in 1700, 1775, and 1776.

The Poa, better-known as the tui, is depicted here on a branch poised with a mosquito not far from its beak. It was drawn from a specimen brought back on Cook's second voyage, which included time in New Zealand. This image also featured in Peter Brown's *Illustrations of Zoology* (1776) and the London printer, J. Sharpe, published another issue in 1786—with a plate size of only 245 by 230mm.

**This separately published example is a significant rarity and is the earliest English print in oil colour: Laurie wanted to capitalise on the excitement surrounding Cook's voyages to demonstrate his new process called “Coloured MezzoTinto.”** In a letter to the Society of Arts, he explained that “after etching or engraving the outline on a copper plate, the plate was warmed and the appropriate oil colours applied on camel-hair stump brushes. The plate was



Rob<sup>t</sup>. Laurie. Del. et. fec.

THE POA.

From the Bird which was brought from New Zealand by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Cook, in his late Voyage round the World, and which Obtained of the Society of Arts a Premium of 30<sup>s</sup> Guineas. — Sold at N<sup>o</sup>. 21, Johnsons Court, Fleet Street, & N<sup>o</sup>. 87, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden.





J. Webber fecit R. A.

View in Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand.

London. Pub. Oct. 1790 by J. Webber, N<sup>o</sup> 52 Oxford Street.

Voyage Cook's last Voyage Vol. 1 Chap. 7.



afterwards wiped with a coarse gauze cloth, then with the hand, as in common practice, and again warmed before being passed through the press” (ODNB). They were duly impressed and awarded him 30 guineas.

**The volume is further augmented by Webber’s separately issued *The Death of Captain Cook* and the atlas of Cook’s third voyage, making for a satisfying and desirable record of not just Cook’s voyages, and third voyage in particular, but the kinds of advances in printmaking that they inspired.**

The Glasgow Philosophical Society was founded in 1802. Their library was dispersed in 1968, partly through Sotheby’s and also to Edinburgh bookseller, James Thin Ltd. This volume was likely purchased from Thin around this time. Not in Maggs catalogue 491 Australia and Oceania, 1927; Beddie 1871; cf. Abbey Travel 595 & Beddie 1869–70 & 1872; Forbes, 140; Tooley 501; Gerstle & Milner, eds., *Recovering the Orient: Artists, Scholars Appropriations* (London, 1998), pp. 118–19; Joppien R., & Smith, B., *The Art of Captain Cook’s Voyages*, Vol. 3 text (Yale, 1988), p.2.



*Lady Harriet Ackland*

*This amiable Lady accompanied her Husband to Canada in the Year 1776, & during two Campaigns, under went such fatigue & distress as female fortitude was thought incapable of supporting; and once she narrowly escaped with life from her Tent, which was set on fire in the Night. The Event here commemorated deserves to be recorded in History. In the unfortunate Action between G. Burgoyne & G. Gates Oct. 7, 1777, Major Ackland was wounded & made Prisoner, when his Lady received the news She formed the heroic Resolution of delivering herself into the hands of the Enemy that she might attend him during the Captivity For this purpose, with a Letter from G. Burgoyne to G. Gates, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Brudinell who carried a Flag of Truce, one female servant, & her husband's Valet, she rowed down Hudsons River in an open boat towards the American Camp, but Night coming on before she reached their outposts the Guards on duty refused to receive her & threatened to fire upon her if she moved till morning. In this dreadful situation for 7 or 8 dark & cold hours, she was compelled to wait on the Water half dead with anxiety & terror. The morning put an end to her distress, she was receiv'd by Gen. Gates & restored to her husband with that politeness & humanity her sex, quality, & Virtue so justly merited.*

### A Heroine of the Revolutionary War

**10 [REVOLUTIONARY WAR] POLLARD (Robert).**  
**Lady Harriet Ackland [sic] ...**

Aquatint and line engraving measuring 447 by 560mm on a sheet measuring 482 by 610mm. A very good copy with a couple of expertly repaired tears. London, R. Pollard, November 15th, 1794. **£5,500\***

The long caption to this dramatic print tells the story: "This amiable Lady accompanied her Husband to Canada in the Year 1776, & during two Campaigns, under went such fatigue & distress as female fortitude was thought incapable of supporting; and once She narrowly escaped with life from her Tent which was set on fire in the Night. The Event here commemorated deserves to be recorded in History. **In the unfortunate Action between G. Burgoyne & G. Gates Oct, 7, 1777, Major Ackland was wounded & made Prisoner, when his Lady received the news She formed the heroic Resolution of delivering herself into the hands of the Enemy that she might attend him during the Captivity** For this purpose, with a Letter from G. Burgoyne to G. Gates, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Brudinell who carried a Flag of Truce, one female servant, & her husband's Valet, she rowed down Hudsons River in an open boat towards the America Camp, but Night coming on before she reached their outposts the Guards on duty refused to receive her & threatened to fire upon her if she moved till morning. In this dreadful situation for 7 or 8 dark & cold hours, she was compelled to wait on the Water half dead with anxiety & terror. The morning put an end to her distress, she was receiv'd by Gen. Gates & restored to her husband with that politeness & humanity her sex, quality, & Virtue so justly merited."

Lady Harriet Caroline Fox-Strangways Acland (1749–1815) was the wife of John Dyke Acland, 7th Baronet (1746–1778), then major in the 20th Regiment of Foot. Unwilling to stay at home, she accompanied

her husband to Canada and down the Hudson River corridor during the campaigns of 1776 and 1777. During the latter, Major Acland was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Bemis Heights, 7 October 1777. The now-pregnant Lady Harriet, accompanied by a chaplain, her maid and the major's servant, bravely crossed the Hudson and made her way to the camp of the American army. The following morning, she entered the camp and so impressed General Horatio Gates that she was allowed to care for him and after his health returned, he was paroled and they were allowed to return to England.

OCLC locates copies at LOC and the Clements only. Cresswell, 276.

26 Feb 1795

C'est alors que l'ennemi ne se sentant pas assez fort pour résister, évacua le camp Moler, & dirigea sa marche sur le camp Comeau, pour se grossir et délivrer les autres camps successivement. L'ennemi en même temps eut la précaution de porter sur le Gros morne une forte embuscade, pour protéger la rentrée de ses camps dans la ville.

Je me portai sur le champ au camp Moreau, vis-à-vis le camp Comeau, à la portée d'un fusil, à l'effet d'écraser le renfort de St Marc, grossi par l'évacuation du camp Moler, en entrant au camp Comeau. Je l'ai en effet canoné à mitraille pendant deux heures. une partie du renfort entra au camp Comeau, l'autre partie se mit en marche pour aller délivrer le camp Belanger (ce qu'il ne put effectuer qu'après avoir essuyé durant la route une continuelle fusillade de nos embuscades.

Le 5. au matin, l'ennemi évacua le camp Belanger, après avoir écrasé, abîmé toutes les provisions qu'il ne pouvoit emporter, & abandonné deux pièces de canon pour retourner au camp Comeau. j'ai alors fait porter une pièce de quatre que j'avois au camp Graspe, au camp Moreau, où j'avois une autre de douze, en face du camp Comeau, pour les faire jouer toutes les deux à la fois à mitraille, à la jonction de l'ennemi au d. camp (ce qui a été exécuté avec avantage, pendant l'espace de trois heures. l'ennemi fut avancer une pièce de canon, à la faveur d'une barricade, pour nous faire reculer, mais il fut forcé d'abandonner cette pièce. enfin, à 5 heures & demie, l'ennemi se détermina à évacuer le camp Comeau, pour rentrer en ville en marche avec plusieurs pièces de canon en ordre battants devant & derrière, en ayant abandonné deux de quatre au camp Comeau. préalablement il fit partir son bagage avec des femmes (ce qui m'empêcha de faire canonner le bagage par humanité pour les femmes) je me portai au camp Graspe, afin de gagner du terrain pour l'attendre au passage, je fis passer en même temps de l'infanterie qui donna sur la queue à grands coups de fusil, s'empara d'un cabriolet de Rutin. je conduisis l'ennemi jusqu'au gros morne, sans lui donner du relâche, & je revins au camp Graspe à une heure après minuit, ne trouvant plus d'ennemis à combattre. La paroisse des verettes fut donc reconquise.

Le 6. à 6 heures du matin, je donnai ordre à Antoine Dupiton de faire passer toute l'armée de l'autre bord de la Rivière, afin d'avancer & former le cordon au gros morne. pendant ce temps, je fus parcourir toute la vallée et la rivière salée jusqu'au gros morne, afin de remarquer les endroits où l'ennemi pourroit tenter quelque surprise, & ceux les plus avantageux pour asseoir nos camps. je me suis déterminé, après cet examen, à placer un camp au Roucan fôtes sous le commandement de ~~partie~~ Claude, un autre sous le commandement de St Louis Rospignol, sur le morne à Diamant, un autre vis-à-vis le Gros morne sous le commandement de Graspe, & un autre sur le Gros morne, sous le commandement d'Antoine Dupiton, lequel dirigera & inspectera les trois autres camps.

J'ai donné à Guy & à Christophe Mornet l'ordre de placer un camp au Grand fond, un autre au Tapiou, & d'envoyer des patrouilles jusques dans les hauts de St Marc.

Le 7, j'ai donné ordre à Vallercé de passer toute

Louverture (Louvain)

## “Finding no Enemies, we Knew we had Won”

### 11 LOUVERTURE (Toussaint). [Battle Report Signed.]

Manuscript in ink on laid paper, signed by Louverture on the verso. Both sides of a single sheet measuring 385 by 236mm. An old fold but very good. Saint-Domingue, 26th February, 1795. **£22,500\***

**An extraordinary survival: Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803) reports from the battlefield at the height of the Haitian Revolution. Louverture writes in detail—describing the action, noting his thoughts, and revealing his strategy—after an attack on French rebels.**

**One can hardly over-estimate the influence and importance of Toussaint Louverture, “the emancipated black slave who became the emblematic figure of the Haitian Revolution” (Hazareesingh, 1), which remains the only successful revolt by an enslaved population and led to the establishment of the first free Black republic: Haiti.** None other than Frederick Douglass himself said of him: “other liberators and saviors of men came from heaven, this man came from the hell of slavery.”

Apparently descended from a West African king from the Allada tribe, Louverture was born into slavery on a plantation owned by the Count de Bréda near Cap Français. He gained some knowledge of Fon, French, Latin, and geometry as well as the use of medicinal herbs from his father, and became a *docteur feuilles*. He could read though didn't learn to write until later in life, his spelling is largely phonetic and closer to Creole than the French in this document. Furthermore, he was granted his freedom in his thirties but remained on the plantation to be with his family who remained enslaved.

Revolutionary fervour developed quickly in the wake of the French Revolution with its slogan of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* ringing through the French colonies. Louverture's role in the insurrection of August 1791 remains largely unknown but on 29 August, 1793 he announced himself as a revolutionary leader.

Importantly, the upheaval wasn't limited to Saint-Domingue. Indeed, less than a year after the French government formally abolished slavery in her colonies, it seemed like the whole Caribbean was on fire. “In the eyes of

British leaders, Jacobin and abolitionist principles threatened by 1795 to subvert the entire West Indian world. In Saint-Domingue, Toussaint's ex-slaves had won brilliant victories and were closing in on Britain's disease-ridden troops; armies of former slaves and free coloureds had expelled the British from Guadeloupe and Saint Lucia; racial warfare raged in Grenada and Saint Vincent; French free coloured agents were blamed for inciting a Maroon War in Jamaica” (Davis).

The complexity of the situation meant that Louverture was left combatting British, French, Spanish and even formerly enslaved troops. “From his base in the western Artibonite sector, a ninety-mile area in which he installed some thirty military camps, Toussaint then subjected the British and their French royalist auxiliaries to a fierce onslaught, with more than 200 encounters in the opening months [of 1795]” (Hazareesingh, 69).

All the way back in 1863, J.R. Beard lauded Louverture's efforts: “[in this] vast space of country Toussaint L'Ouverture defended for a long time against the English, the Spanish, and against French emigrants, with troops badly armed, badly disciplined, and little accustomed to military manoeuvres. This single fact is evidence of his prodigious activity and surpassing talent” (Beard).

**This report concerns one of these encounters and reads in part:**

“The enemy, not feeling strong enough to resist, evacuated the camp Moler and took direction of the camp Comeau. With the aim to free the camps successfully, the enemy took the precaution to position two ambushes in order to protect the entrance of two camps in town. **I left straightaway for the camp Moreau opposite the camp Comeau. I hit cannonballs on it for two hours.** Then one half of the reinforcement went back to the camp Comeau. The other part went to deliver the camp Belanger. On the 5th, the enemy evacuated the camp Belanger after spoiling all the provisions they could not take with them and leaving behind 2 cannons to go back to the camp Comeau. Two women took all the luggage **(I made the decision not to hit cannonballs at the two women, out of consideration for their lives.) I went back to the camp Granfer one hour after midnight, finding no enemies, we therefore knew we had won. [...] Meanwhile, I endeavoured to locate all the places where the enemy could take us by surprise and I took the necessary measures to protect the camps ...”**

The report goes on to add further logistical details.

Just weeks before it was written, Louverture summarised his thoughts on what a soldier should be: “a good soldier should appear cold from the outside, and be methodical, loyal and fiery on the inside.” This might well have summed up “his own character but it also highlighted the challenges he faced

now that he had embraced the republican cause, which focused on the campaign to expel the Spanish and the British, and their treasonous French settler allies, from the colony” (Hazareesingh, 68).

Despite his capture and death in 1803, Louverture was the galvanising force whose energy and brilliance allowed for his successor, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, to proclaim the Republic of Haiti on 1 January, 1804.

Field reports written on the ground are exceedingly rare.

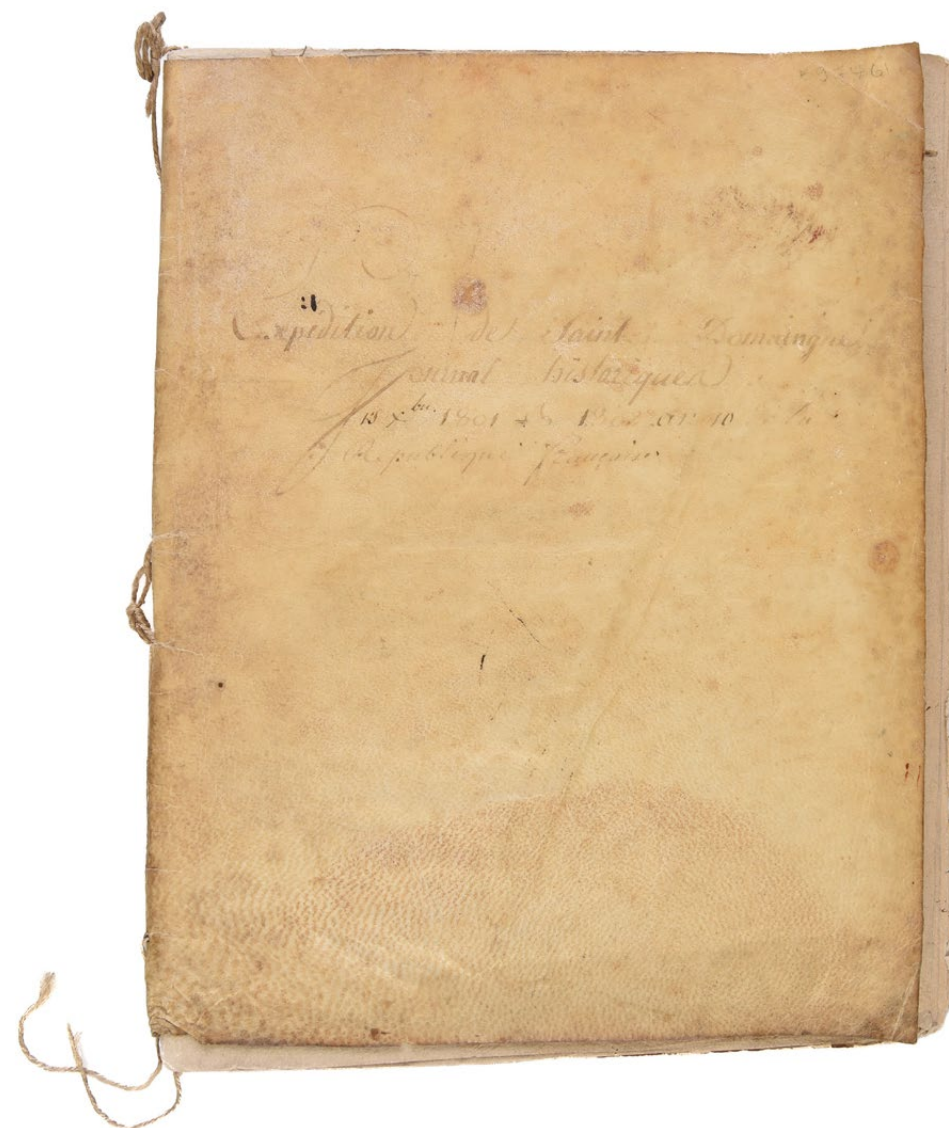
**Provenance:** private English collection, thence the British trade.

Beard, J.R., *Toussaint L'Ouverture ...* (Boston, 1863) p.82; Davis, D.B., *Inhumane Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford, 2006), p.166; Douglass, F., “Toussaint Louverture” in an undated ms. Frederick Douglass Papers, Library of Congress; Hazareesingh, S., *Black Spartacus: the Epic Life of Toussaint Louverture*. (New York, 2020) p.68; Louverture, T., “Letter to military chiefs of Petite-Riviere” (18 January, 1795) BNF NAF, 12103.

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/toussaint-louverture/1795/warning.htm>

l'armée qu'il commande sur le territoire des verrettes de prendre possession de  
cette paroisse, au nom de la République, & d'y rappeler tous les citoyens; de  
diviser des camps dans la partie haute, & de former une ligne jusqu'aux  
liannes, liesses du Miribatais; & j'ai rédigé le présent procès verbal  
que j'ai signé, à l'artibonite ce huit ventose, l'an Troisième de la République  
française, une & indivisible.

Toussaint Louverture



### **An Outstanding Eyewitness Account of the Haitian Revolution**

## **12 [HAITIAN REVOLUTION] AUGUSTE.**

### **Expedition de Saint Domingue Journal historique 13 Xbre 1801–1802 an 10 Republique française.**

French manuscript in ink on early-nineteenth-century laid paper with heraldic watermark. 8vo. Original limp vellum, slightly smaller than paper block. Minor soiling to covers. Small wormhole to first few leaves, not affecting text. A few internal stains and chips, but overall very good. 31 pages on 16 leaves. Saint-Domingue, 1802.

**£27,500**

# Expedition de St. Domingue. Journal historique.

an. 10.

La Campagne navale de l'an huit dans la mer Méditerranée, déjà imposante par la force, la réunion de quinze à vingt vaisseaux et presque autant de frégates espagnoles réunis sur les rades de Cartagine et de Cadix, ajoutés à cette armée, avait paralysé l'action des anglais et leur en avait tellement imposé qu'ils n'osèrent, avec des forces au moins égales, se présenter à nous et laisserent rentrer à Brest <sup>sans</sup> inquiétude la plus belle flotte combinée française et espagnole qui sillonna les mers depuis celle de l'an deux qui fut maladroïtement et malheureusement écartée par le célèbre combat du 1<sup>er</sup> prairial.

Cette espèce d'inertie dénotait chez nos ennemis les plus acharnés, un signe de découragement et de lassitude de la guerre, aussi nous ne tardâmes pas à entendre parler de préliminaires de paix; évidemment nous étions bien fatigués de huit années d'une guerre qui n'avait pas été sans gloire, quoi que souvent malheureuse, mais les anglais s'étaient encore davantage et ne voyaient pas sans fumier, la réunion dans la rade de Brest, de forces suffisantes pour détruire leur marine et prendre notre revanche en combat d'Aboukir, aussi se pressèrent-ils de terminer, et quelque mois après notre retour par un beau jour d'être le télégraphe, instrument admirable de nouvelle invention venait nous apprendre qu'un traité de paix avec l'Angleterre avait été signé à Amiens le 10 prairial <sup>ang.</sup> Les nombreux vaisseaux stationnant sur la rade de

Rare and important: a substantial first-hand account by a seventeen-year-old French soldier fighting in the Haitian Revolution. The manuscript includes lengthy descriptions of the destruction of Cap Français, the ruthless counterinsurgency, and the outbreak of yellow fever.

The Haitian Revolution was one of a series of revolutions in the late eighteenth century—American, French, and Spanish-American—that had wide, and deeply damaging, ramifications for traditional colonial powers. Led by Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803), it remains the sole successful rebellion by an enslaved nation.

Our author, sailor, and soldier, Auguste, provides an overview of the political situation in the wake of the Peace of Amiens [all quotes from the journal are in translation:] “The peace was meant to bring back commerce, which was the principal branch of prosperity of the state, and the first thought of the First Consul was of regaining the possessions of its colonies that England had returned to us and to force the holders of others to put themselves back under the laws of the Metropole, **including those held by foreign powers or by the indigenous that the time and the unhappiness of war had habituated to independence. In the latter category was first and foremost the island of Saint-Domingue.** The treaty had granted to us not only the French part of this island but also the part that belonged to the Spanish. It was thus resolved in counsel that France would arm in the three Oceanic ports, Brest, Rochefort, and Lorient, a fleet considerable enough to allow thirty-five to forty thousand men to embark to reconquer this colony.”

The mood was buoyant on the Mont Blanc, which was part of the fleet commanded by Admiral Louis-Thomas Villaret (1747–1812) on the Saint-Domingue expedition. After eight years of victories on land and at sea, Auguste hoped for more of the same when they landed on the island. Indeed, despite numerous military victories on this expedition, this was a vicious war—replete with summary executions and massacres—and the actions of both sides were made worse by the yellow fever epidemic. These are described in great detail. As ever, there are quiet moments too. In these he relates the banal lives of soldiers and gives us descriptions of local inhabitants.

Of real interest is Auguste's account of the second burning of Cap Français. Being the main commercial center of Haiti under colonial rule, important for its cultural legacy and large, fertile plains, Cap Français (later Cap-Haïtien) was an important symbol of both the French colonial power and the potential for Black self-rule. The city was first burned in 1791 as part of the initial uprising that marked the commencement of the Haitian

Avant furent spontanément paroisés, des salves d'artillerie  
de chaque bâtiment de guerre, répondaient à celles des forts,  
les équipages grimés sur les sautoirs et dans les sautoirs  
manifestaient par des cris de joie le bonheur d'une aussi bonne  
nouvelle; de nombreux canots couverts de pavillons blancs et  
tricolores sillonnaient les eaux de la rade entourés sous aux  
cris mille fois répétés de vivre la république, vivre la paix!  
les Espagnols n'étaient pas les moins enthousiasmés, tous  
fraternisaient avec nous et semblaient ne former qu'une  
même famille, tout le monde était content, en effet, la  
France était puissante et radieuse par la réalisation des  
résultats que huit années de guerre soutenue contre  
toutes les puissances de l'Europe, lui avaient obtenus, en  
l'affranchissant du joug du despotisme, but de la révolution  
de 1793; l'île de Malte était remise à ses chevaliers; la  
France conservait toutes ses conquêtes en deçà du Rhin, les  
républiques cisalpine et helvétique étaient maintenues sous son  
patronage, une partie de ses colonies lui étaient rendues;  
l'Autriche, constamment malheureuse dans ses engagements,  
avait vu après deux coalitions successives, les troupes  
républicaines aux portes de sa capitale et avait perdu  
toute son influence politique en Allemagne et en Italie.  
A la tête de son gouvernement, la France possédait un jeune  
homme célèbre par vingt victoires sur les coalisés tant  
en France qu'en Italie et en Egypte, et par plusieurs traités  
de paix tous honorables à la république.

La paix devant ramener le Commerce qui est la principale  
branche de prospérité de l'Etat, la première pensée du  
premier Consul fut de reprendre possession de celles des  
Colonies que l'Angleterre venait de nous rendre à D'obligés  
les détenteurs des autres à remettre sous les lois de la  
métropole celles d'Espagne par des puissances étrangères  
ou par des indigènes que les temps et les malheurs de la

2  
guerre avaient habitués à l'indépendance; dans cette dernière  
catégorie de peuples en première ligne l'île de St. Domingue  
dont le traité nous garantissait non seulement la partie française  
de cette île, mais encore celle qui appartenait aux Espagnols;  
il fut donc résolu en conseil que la France armerait dans  
les trois ports de l'Océan, Nord, Sud-Est et l'Orient, une  
flotte assez considérable pour porter trente cinq à quarante  
mille hommes de débarquement pour reconquérir cette  
Colonie, cette armée est confiée au général de Division Roch  
beau frère du premier Consul.

Les approches de cette expédition commencent à Brét  
au mois de vendémiaire an 10, tous les vaisseaux susceptibles  
de prendre la mer furent disposés, on en arma plusieurs,  
on fluta afin qu'ils puissent contenir plus de passagers,  
quelques uns des vaisseaux de la division espagnole sous  
la conduite de l'amiral Gravina et qui avaient fait le voyage  
de San 3 dans la Méditerranée furent appelés à en faire  
partie, les troupes de débarquement ne se firent pas  
attendre, au fur et à mesure de leur arrivée elles étaient  
chassées sur les bâtiments et les magasins, les  
arsenaux du port furent vidés, on apporta tant d'activité  
dans l'armement de cette flotte qu'en moins de deux mois  
tout fut disposé pour le départ.

Financière an 10.

Nous sommes arrivés au 21 financière les vents sont  
bons, les marins à terre ont reçu l'injonction de rejoindre  
chaque leur bâtiment, nous venons de voir monter à  
bord notre capitaine accompagné du Général de Division  
Rochambeau, son adjoint Général Parolotte, son aide  
de camp, plusieurs officiers supérieurs et son état major  
ainsi que plusieurs passagers appartenant à l'administration,  
le pavillon de partance est hissé au grand mât, on a  
à sa gauche, la colonne vient de quitter le vaisseau qui  
est chargé à couler bas, l'amiral a donné le signal



Revolution. This was one of the important events that precipitated the proclamation by the French National Assembly that initially ended slavery on the island. A decade later, the semi-autonomous rule led by Toussaint Louverture had consolidated control on the island. Faced with an impending French invasion, his troops, led by his lieutenant and the future King of Haiti, Henri Christophe, made the decision to burn the coastal cities, and their inhabitants, rather than let the French establish a foothold.

Auguste and his detachment saw the flames of the city from afar, and the tale of the burning was reported as follows:

“In the night, we learned that the fire that we had seen the previous day was, correctly, the burning of the Cap Français in front of which the naval army had presented itself the morning of the 15th in battle formation. The first two vessels that crossed over the bar in the reef were the Scorpion and the Patriot, which approached Fort Picolet and proceeded to bombard it. During this time, the other vessels from the army had entered into the bay and started to disembark. When Christophe learned that his hand was forced, he, without even telling the people of the town, set fire and in a moment the city erupted in flames that provided no possibility of escape. This was the second time that this city, so rich and so commercial, found itself destroyed since the start of the revolution. This time, one has to regret many people, goods of all types, provisions of all varieties, and even treasures buried in the ashes.”

Auguste is later sent to Cap Haitien, where yellow fever was already prevalent. His account reads as follows:

“On the 30th, I disembarked to visit the city of the Cap, which I did not know. Or rather, I visited the city’s emplacement, as there hardly remained a dozen houses that had survived the conflagration. I thus saw only the public places, as well as the quays and the buildings associated with the port. Everything else was rubble from which there emanated a strong odour that had been fed by the first rains of winter, that horrid season into which we were entering. Several hundred men, both white and Black, were occupied with cleaning the rubble, but the debris was too considerable for the few people that were employed. This contributed in no small part to the development of miasmas which infected the air and transmitted the malady known as the yellow fever, which began to make itself known in the troops that had disembarked.”

**Yellow fever has often been called Toussaint Louverture’s greatest ally in the fight against the French. Here Auguste describes both the death toll and the effects on the troops’ morale:** “On the 24th and the following days, the yellow fever continued to cause us great difficulties. In less than a month we had lost more than forty men from our crew, and the leaders were not spared.

We had just lost the excellent officer named Rabasse who had received his promotion to frigate captain, and we put, daily, two hundred whites in the Fosette [the cemetery at Cap Français]. We made our prayers for departure.” Eventually, at least three of his closest friends in the crew die of the epidemic. Auguste credits his survival to advice given to him by a retired officer prior to his departure to eat bitter oranges twice daily, which he purchases from local merchants upon his arrival.

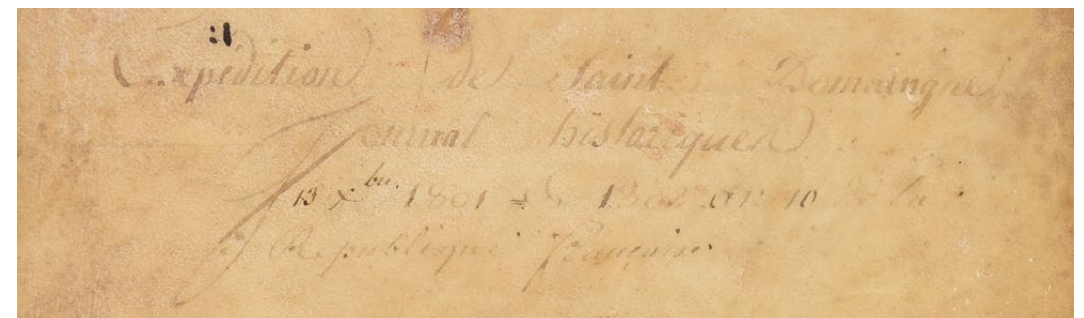
A further notable anecdote is the story of a week-long expedition into the hills above Cap Haitien which one of his friends took part in, and describes the complicated tactics ordered by generals including Rochambeau, Leclerc, Magon, and Latouche Trévillé. As a sailor, the author is particularly focused on the comings and goings of ships in the Cap. **While most of the vessels are French military ships, of particular interest are the recurring mentions of American ships, including one from Philadelphia, that traded with the French and supplied their efforts. Despite official American neutrality, this tacit support was helpful for the French and allowed them to prolong their campaign.**

After a few months, Auguste has nearly lost all hope as yellow fever decimates his friends and fellow soldiers. Relieved to be sent home, his squadron arrives back in Brest Harbor alongside the ship carrying Toussaint Louverture to his untimely death.

**The importance of the journal, written aboard the Mont Blanc, is only emphasised as we remember that 1802 was the year that Napoleon re-introduced slavery, specifically so as to help finance the fight against Louverture’s forces in Saint-Domingue.** Just two years later the Republic of Haiti would be proclaimed.

**Where letters describing individual moments of this Revolution appear on the market, journals such as this one rarely do.** The manuscript comes with a full English translation.

Blackburn, R., “Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of the Democratic Revolution” in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 4 (Oct., 2006), pp.643–674.





**KLYN LORETTE IN NOORD - AMERICA . . . PETIT LORETTE ETATS UNIS DE L'AMERIQUE . . . LITTLE LORETTO KENTUCKY UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**  
 Het klooster van Noorden . . . Le petit couvent aux Etats . . . The monastery of Chapel.  
 De zusters van Noorden . . . Unies de l'Amérique . . . School of grammar . . .  
 De Kerk van Noorden . . . Unies de l'Amérique . . . Kitchen & refectory of the monastery.  
 Het school van Noorden . . . Unies de l'Amérique . . . Garden.  
 Het huis van Noorden . . . Unies de l'Amérique . . . House of prayer & rest.  
 Het keuken van Noorden . . . Unies de l'Amérique . . . Room for guests & sick.  
 Het refectory van Noorden . . . Unies de l'Amérique . . . Description of the neighbourhood.  
 Het klooster van Noorden . . . Unies de l'Amérique . . . Kitchen of same.  
 Het school van Noorden . . . Unies de l'Amérique . . . School.  
 Het huis van Noorden . . . Unies de l'Amérique . . . Gate to the road.

**Women in Kentucky, 1816**

**13 [SISTERS OF LORETTO] COURTOIS, engraver.**  
**Klyn Lotten in Noord-America / Petit Lorette**  
**Etats Unis de l'Amerique / Little Loretto**  
**Kentucky United State of America.**

First edition, first state engraving. Captioned in Dutch, French, and English. Measuring 260 by 325mm. Trimmed close, old folds, slightly toned.[Mechelen?]  
 Dessiné et Gravé par Courtois à Malines, c. 1816. **£4,500\***

A sweeping view of the fledgling Sisters of Loretto community at Nerinckx, Kentucky.

It was one of the first religious communities for women in the United States and was founded in 1812 by the exiled Belgian missionary priest, Charles

Nerinckx (1761–1824), who emigrated to the United States in 1804. There were five further branches in Kentucky and another three in Missouri. Three women, Mary Rhodes, Ann Havern, and Christina Stuart, headed the mission. They devoted themselves primarily to the education of poor children and collaborated with the Jesuits in their missionary activities among the Native Americans.

**“The view was apparently produced for distribution to potential donors, whom Nerinckx sought out by traveling the Low Countries of Europe.”** (Schmidt). The need for funds would’ve been critical with the monies going towards the reconstruction of the seventy-foot long school house which had burned down in 1812. The mountains, waterfall, and palm trees may be the engraver’s invention but the tri-lingual key sets out the structure of the congregation. We see the monastery and chapel, the orphan school, kitchen and refectory, the garden, guest house, servants quarters, and stables.

The Belgian printmaker Courtois, was active in Mechelen at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two states of this print are known: the second state omits the French text “Dessiné et Gravé par Courtois à malines” engraved in the lower left-hand corner of this example.

Edgar Breitenbach, “Little Loretto, Kentucky” in *American Printmaking before 1876 ...* (1975), p. 51; Schmidt, Martin F., *Kentucky illustrated. The first hundred years* (1992), p. 101.

**Contributing to the Lost Cause of Champ D’asile**

**14 [CHAMP D’ASILE COLONY.]**  
**Grandes Marionettes politiques ou**  
**la Minerve en Goguettes.**

Handcoloured lithograph measuring 370 by 475mm. Old fold, slightly creased, minor stitch holes from having been previously bound. Paris, c. 1819. **£3,000\***

**A rare and amusing satire of the Champ d’Asile colony, a short-lived venture formed by some of Napoleon’s former soldiers.** The settlement along the Trinity River, about a hundred kilometres north of Houston, survived less than a year as Spanish aggression caused the settlers to remove to New Orleans.

A prominent supporter of the colony was the Parisian, Benjamin Constant, publisher of *La Minerve*. “In Paris *La Minerve française*, a Bonapartist journal dedicated to keeping alive and promoting sentiment in favor of Napoleon’s dynasty and policies, raised a subscription of money to be given to Champ



Grandes Marionettes politiques ou la Minerve en goquette.

d'Asile itself, and on its failure to its survivors. In the autumn of 1819 *La Minerve* was ready to disburse fifteen thousand dollars which it had collected. The distance between Paris and New Orleans and the slowness in communications were problems overcome in part by the presence in Paris of J. Noil Destrehan, a wealthy Louisiana planter. He served as liaison and provided information that the publishers of *La Minerve* needed in order to disburse the funds effectively. A committee was formed in Louisiana, appointed by the governor of the state and presided over by Destrehan. Its purpose was to supervise the disbursement. To assure public confidence well-known men of good reputation were appointed to the committee, which in turn sought out Charles Lallemand to help it find the refugees for whom the funds were destined. Lallemand was not quick to act. He had become bogged down in American life and economic pursuits. Within weeks after the abandonment of Galveston he made his choice and became an American citizen, a decision for which General Rigau was subsequently to reproach him" (Gardien).

Here the artist takes aim at the wealthy subscribers who contributed to the fund. Drunken revellers, including Benjamin Constant, on the left watch on and sing as other hand over subscriptions, asking variously: "Pekin laurois je une Baronie au Texas?" and "Bobo pour le polits garcois du Texas?" The "Goguettes" of the title is a reference to a contemporary singing society in France and Belgium.

**We find a single copy at LoC. But the image is not on OCLC, nor is it held at Yale, JCB, or AAS.**

Gardien, K., "Take Pity on Our Glory: Men of Champ d'Aisle" in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (Jan, 1984), p.258.

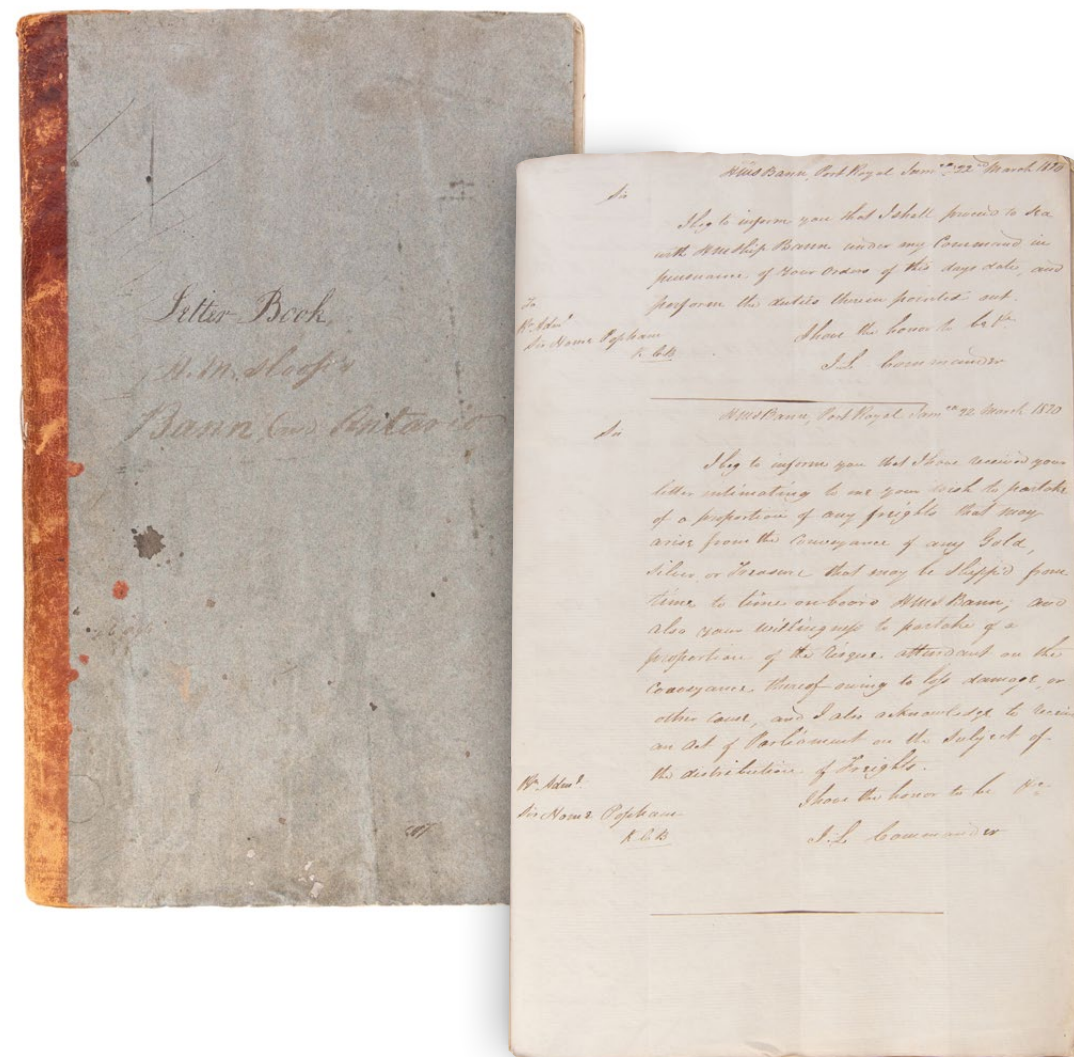
### **With News of Haiti**

#### **15 [WEST INDIA STATION], LEIGH (Commander Jodrell). Letter Book H.M. Sloop *Bann* and *Ontario*.**

Manuscript in ink on paper watermarked "Joseph Coles Superfine 1818." Folio. Sheep-backed card wrappers, ms. title to upper cover, some spotting and soiling but entirely legible. 68ff. Jamaica, Mexico, Virginia, March, 1820–October, 1821.

**£3,250**

**A rich and satisfying letter book documenting activities in the Caribbean in the aftermath of the War of 1812. Far from celebrating the new peace, the West**



**Indies became a hotbed of piracy and residual slave trading. British ships patrolled the Caribbean Sea in an effort to suppress both.**

These 110 copy letters document the services of the 6th rate 20 gun HMS *Bann* and the 18 gun HMS *Ontario*. The majority of the correspondence was written by Commander Jodrell Leigh (1790–1863), with some additional entries signed by the purser Walter Burke.

**The correspondence details both ships' involvement in transporting treasure (\$230,000—about \$6.2m today), an American schooner for trade violations, his assisting in the impounding of a British trade vessel in the Bahamas, investigating "piratical activity" in Antigua, and even recovering escaped labourers in Haiti.**

Sir

Ontario Sucks Island 25 Feb. 1824

In obedience to Your Order of the 17<sup>th</sup> Feb. I arrived  
 on board a detachment of Troops for the New Providence  
 Station, sailed from Port Royal on the morning of the  
 19<sup>th</sup> and arrived at Sucks Island on the morning of the  
 21<sup>st</sup>; I then found two American Schooners partly  
 laden with coffee from S. Domingo and had  
 called here to complete their barge with salt, this  
 evening I observed an American Schooner coming  
 down from the N.E. she came close in with the shore  
 landed in shore, and evidently intended to have anchored,  
 our boat went on board and found her laden with  
 American produce. On the Master being brought  
 on board with his papers I found he had not  
 any clearance from America, nor any Manifest  
 of his cargo, the reason he gave of coming to this  
 Island was to change some Double Bona which he  
 had obtained at Porto Rico for Dollars, as he should  
 here upon the Gold by taking it to America; this  
 I conceive to be an intention<sup>d</sup> trading to this Island  
 independant to the return probability of his object  
 being to dispose of his cargo at this place as he  
 intended to return to America direct, and it is not  
 likely that he would take back Fish, Lumber  
 Stave & shingles, the article, the article which compose

his cargo) to America, I have therefore deemed  
 it right to send him to Jamaica for adjustment.  
 I have taken the crew out with the exception of  
 the Master and another person, which I  
 intend sending on to Jamaica by the Hudson,  
 so that there may be as little delay as possible  
 in the event of her being cleared.

The inhabitants here inform me that they obtain  
 their supplies of Lumber, Fish, Staves & shingles  
 from Bermuda, this may be so, but I think  
 otherwise, I have endeavored to obtain from  
 the Collector of the Customs information with  
 respect to the arrival of Foreign Vessels, by  
 his account the number varies very much, some  
 times fifty Vessels in a year, sometimes not more  
 than a dozen, I intend to go on shore to morrow, and  
 hope to get more information about the trade  
 of this Island; I shall sail from here for  
 Crooked Island on the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup> I  
 hasten the departure of the Vessel I have detained,  
 so as to enable me to receive Your opinion  
 upon my proceedings by the Packet, I have  
 great pleasure in saying that the crew, and  
 all the troops are perfectly healthy.

I have the honor to be  
 Sir  
 I Leigh

Wm. Stewart  
 Wm. Rawley  
 Wm. J. J.

Many letters are addressed to the commander of the Jamaica station, Sir Home Popham (1762–1820), as well as the Governor of Veracruz, Don Jose Davila, and Commodore Thomas Huskisson. They give great insight into the minutiae and daily travails of life at sea. Leigh reports the insubordination of second master Mr Thomas Young, plus the desertion of William Clark. He similarly writes to Commodore Joly of the brig *Admiral Brion*, stationed at Cale Henry, Virginia, seeking assurance that British sailors were properly remunerated for their services and subsequently released. On 31 May, 1820, he writes to the Commander in Chief of the Cuban navy, hoping to secure the release of British sailors imprisoned at Havana.

A letter from Lieutenant James Edgecombe to Leigh is copied in which he complains of receiving “treatment so widely different from that which I ever experienced from those officers with whom I have served and so contrary to the conduct which as an officer and a gentlemen I have an undoubted right to expect ... And I have to request, if my conduct is such as to deserve such a repeated public admonition that you will give me an opportunity of exonerating myself by trying me by a court martial.”

On 6 November 1820, Leigh moved to HMS *Ontario*. There is a detailed description concerning the detention of the American schooner *Bolivia*, at Turks for trading violations on 21 February, 1821. This case drew immense attention from the press as an example of widespread allegations of American trade violations and alleged smuggling. The affair is detailed over a series of letters in this book.

**Of real interest is his letter to Rear Admiral Sir Charles Rowley**, who had assumed command of the West India Station after Sir Home Popham’s death, on 17 August, 1821. Leigh writes that on the evening of the 28th of April at Turks, he was informed of “another desertion of slaves had taken place from that Colony. I proceeded on the morning of the 11th May to Cape Haytian with letters from the Governor demanding the runaways (His Excellency on board incognito) after receiving answers to these dispatches.” Leigh was shown the reply to this letter and writes that **“the Haytian Chief Boyer says, these fugitives were not there, but if they had been there and people sprung from African blood could not just give them up, but that the tribunals of Hayti were open to the parties complaining of injury;** by which I conclude he alludes to any vessel; that may have been taken off by the parties deserting.”

**While the Haitian Revolution saw the ousting of French rule, the creation of an independent Black Republic, and the abolition of slavery, forced labour continued to be practiced. This letterbook provides a rare insight into this.** Jodrell Leigh served variously on the *Dryad*, the *Bonne Citoyenne*, the *Falmouth*, and the *Sybill*, before being promoted to command the *Bann* and later *Ontario*.



### *Apparently Unrecorded*

## **16 LANDIS (John), proprietor. Travelling Museum ... Curiosities and Works of Nature and Art: A Mummy of an Indian Woman ... The Hedge Hog Fish ...**

Letterpress broadside with 10 wood-engravings. Measuring 650 by 500mm. A clean copy with small loss to horses’ legs at top left (hole filled from behind), old folds and creases flattened, repairs to a few small breaks, mainly along folds. Lancaster, Pa., Maxwell, c. 1832. **£12,500**

**Rare and spectacular: this handsomely illustrated broadside provides both a wonderful record of John Landis’s Travelling Museum and a valuable snapshot of American historical and contemporary interests in the mid-nineteenth century.**

An innkeeper in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, John A. Landis announced to the public in October of 1819 that he had collected “a large number of natural and artificial curiosities” for a museum and formally opened his doors in December, occupying a building on “West Street, opposite the theatre.” It was the first of four Lancaster locations. The museum was open six days a week and admission was twenty-five cents (half price for children under the age of twelve). Landis operated the museum until 1839, when he sold it to J. M. Westhaeffer who sold a half interest to Charles S. Getz. The firm of Westhaeffer & Getz ran the museum for three years, when Westhaeffer sold his interest to Getz, who in turn sold the entire affair to Noah Smith at the end of 1842. Smith kept it going until 1849, when he sold it to Wood & Peale of Cincinnati, who moved the collection to their city, where it was destroyed by fire a year later.



# TRAVELLING MUSEUM.

THE inhabitants of \_\_\_\_\_ are respectfully informed that the AMERICAN TRAVELLING MUSEUM will arrive on \_\_\_\_\_ and may be seen for \_\_\_\_\_ and evening only, at Each admittance, \_\_\_\_\_ Cents—Children under 12 years of age, half price.

The novelty and eccentricity, combined with the mechanical ingenuity displayed in the erection, are such as are calculated to attract and merit the attention of every class of society. The artist need not blush nor need the mechanic who reared the work be ashamed of the production. The singularity of the work—the construction of the vehicles, and the elegant and splendid display which they make, are such as must and will attract general attention. To be brief, the TRAVELLING MUSEUM consists of two houses, so constructed that they may be placed contiguous to each other, and formed into a splendid and elegant room, which contains the following

*Curiosities and Works of Nature and Art:*

## A Mummy of an Indian Woman.

This great natural curiosity was discovered and taken from the interior of a cave in Warren county, Kentucky, where it probably was secreted in its present state of preservation for 1000 years. The HEDGE-HOG FISH, an animal not known to one-tenth of the community. The ALLIGATOR, too terrible to describe, but well enough to be seen. The LOON and other aquatic Birds are attached to the exhibition—The TIGER CAT, one of the rarest animals in the creation—the MONKEY, the sprightly four legged creature of diversion; and last, though not least, the EAGLE, the bird that flourishes on our country's standard, marks its insignia, and rides triumphant over a host of enemies. Also, a BULB, or spongy substance, which grew on one of our forest trees, remarkably large, and bearing an exact likeness to a turtle.

## 120 BIRDS, QUADRUPEDS, INSECTS, &c.

MUMMY.

LOON.

WONDERFUL SEA-LEOPARD.

EAGLE.



THIS VERY SINGULAR CURIOSITY WAS CAUGHT OFF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND BROUGHT TO THE UNITED STATES.



## A PANORAMA,

Which exhibits a splendid view of MOUNT VESUVIUS in eruption, by moonlight.

A variety of OPTICAL GLASSES will be exhibited, which never fail to amuse the visitor.

## 28 WAX-FIGURES,

Being Striking Likenesses.

Among them are the following eminent characters, viz: Gen. WASHINGTON, the saviour of his country; the founder of a great, and the only rising republic. Gen. LAFAYETTE, the "Nation's Guest," and Gen. ANDREW JACKSON, President of the United States, who taught the "Invincible" of Europe, what freemen could do, by his splendid victory at New Orleans. An exact portrait of Capt. JAMES RILEY who was wrecked on the coast of Barbary. Also likenesses in wax, of SHAWIS CANAN, an Indian Chief. Mrs. NEWLIN, with her six children at one birth. MARAT, in the agonies of death, who was stabbed by Miss Charlotte Corday. PRINCESS CHARLOTTE, daughter of George IV. WILLIAM PITT, prime minister of England. ALEXANDER, Emperor of Russia. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT. NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, the victim of the Holy Alliance. The EMPRESS JOSEPHINE, and MARIA LOUISA, ex-empress of France, and her son the ex-king of Rome. Also, some figures in wax, representing persons whose imprudent deportment have excited the attention and curiosity of the world; such as HORRENSA HOWARD, who married seventeen husbands, and destroyed sixteen by pouring melted lead in their ears, whilst asleep. MARY ANN HAMLET, the famous fortune-teller, who foretold the French Revolution 25 years before it came to pass. \* Good Music during the hours of exhibition.

TIGER CAT. Hedge-Hog Fish.

ALLIGATOR.

MONKEY.



MAXWELL, PRINTER, LANCASTER.

The woodcuts illustrate the museum itself as well as its objects. The two large horse-drawn carriages at the top of the piece show that “the Travelling Museum, consists of two houses, fixed on wheels, and so constructed that they may be placed contiguous to each other, and formed into a splendid and elegant room.” How they managed to include everything listed here in that space is perhaps one of the Museum’s unadvertised wonders. In the centre are woodcuts of a mummy (complete with bow and arrows), a loon, a “wonderful sea leopard caught off the Cape of Good Hope and brought to the United States,” a tiger, an alligator, and an eagle.

Evidently the main attraction, the mummy is described as being “of an Indian woman ... taken from a cave in Warren county, Kentucky, where it probably was secreted in its present state of preservation for 1000 years.” She was likely one of a number of Native American pre-Columbian mummies discovered in Mammoth Cave and nearby Short Cave in the early nineteenth century. The most famous of these, the so-called Fawn Hoof mummy, appeared in Scudder’s Museum in New York as well as other exhibitions and suffered much damage before it was deposited at the American Antiquarian Society, and later transferred to the Smithsonian. This broadside and the later history of Landis’s museum give some record of the fate of another mummy removed from the Mammoth Cave region.

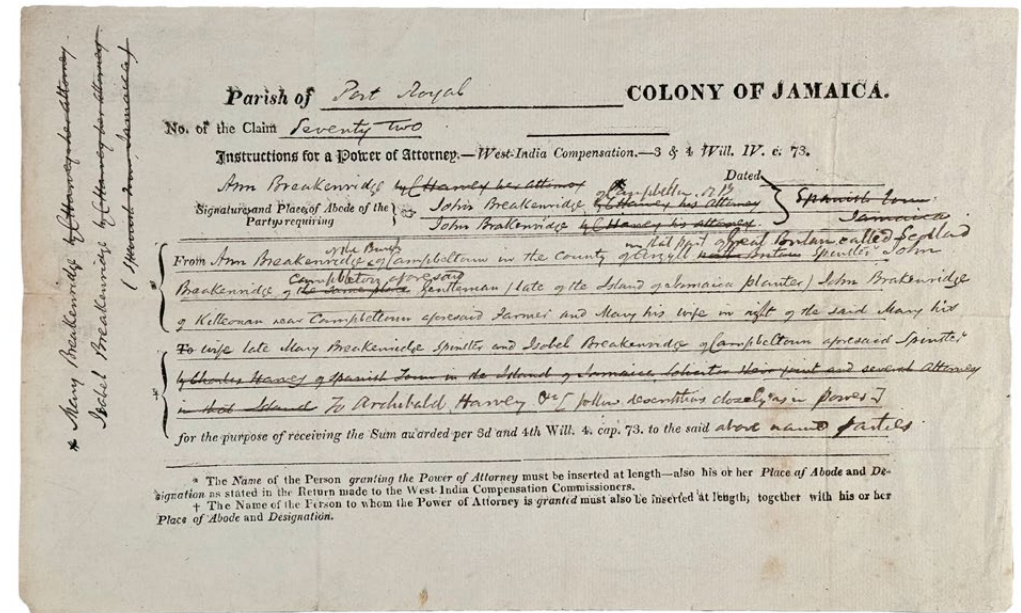
Of more contemporary relevance, **the exhibits also included twenty-eight wax figures of Revolutionary War heroes such as George Washington, and Gen. Lafayette, President Andrew Jackson, plus Marat “in the agonies of death, who was stabbed by Miss Charlotte Corday,” and fellow murderess, Hortentia Howard, “who married seventeen husbands, and destroyed sixteen, by pouring melted lead in their ears whilst asleep.” Furthermore, there was Shawis Canan, “an Indian Chief”, Princess Charlotte, William Pitt and Napoleon Bonaparte.**

In addition to these were a “hedge hog fish”; “120 birds, quadrupeds, insects”; a panoramic painting of Mount Vesuvius and “erupting by moonlight.” Added atmosphere was provided by fortune teller Mary Ann Hamley, plus the promise of “good music during the hours of exhibition.”

Both brave and entrepreneurial, as the name suggests, Landis’s show wasn’t restricted to its brick and mortar locations. This is confirmed by the broadside’s blanks to be filled in at the top, allowing for changes in location and dates as the Museum’s schedule dictated. But it’s unlikely that the Museum travelled outside of Pennsylvania.

Unrecorded in OCLC.

Ellis, F. & Evans, S., *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 436; Baker, D., “Nahum Ward and the Fawn Hoof Mummy” at [earlymarrietta.blogspot.com](http://earlymarrietta.blogspot.com).



### Compensation for Plantation Owners

#### 17 [WEST INDIA COMPENSATION.]

##### Parish of Port Royal Colony of Jamaica ... Instructions for a Power of Attorney.

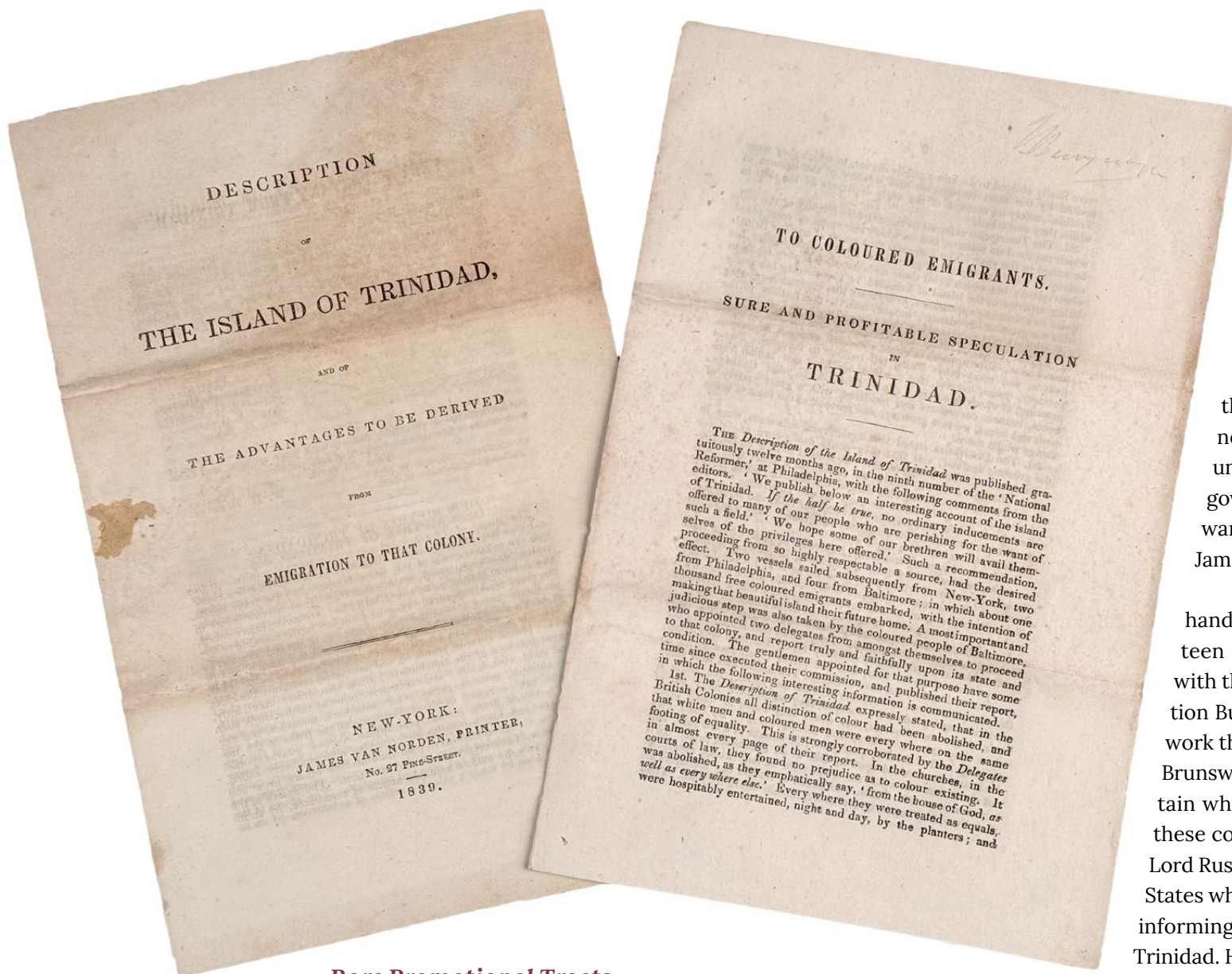
Printed document completed in ms. Measuring 180 by 295mm. Old folds, a couple of spots, but very good. [Jamaica, 1840.] **£1,250**

**Very rare: instructions for power of attorney for Ann Breakenridge to Archibald Harvey. In the wake of the passing of the 1833 Emancipation Act, the British government borrowed the better part of twenty million pounds for the West India Compensation scheme, 1835–43. It was through this scheme that British government essentially bought plantation owners out of the slave trade.**

Ann Breakenridge (1779–1838) is listed as living in Campbletown, Argyll (Scotland). The power of attorney was also for John Breakenridge (“late of the Island of Jamaica planter”), the farmer, also John Breakenridge, of Killerman. His late wife Mary, as well as the spinsters Mary and Isobel Breakenridge. The Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery notes that claim is listed as T71/864 Port Royal claim nos. 71 (£571) and 72 (£261)—Philip’s Valley. The claims were lodged on 20 July, 1840.

Such was the sum in 1835 that the government only finished repaying it in 2015. By way of contrast, the \$3.75bn borrowed under the Marshall Plan was repaid in a comparatively swift fifty years.





**Rare Promotional Tracts  
Soliciting Free Black Emigration to Trinidad**

**18 BURNLEY (William Hardin).  
Description of the Island of Trinidad,  
and of the Advantages to be Derived  
from Emigration to that Colony ...**

First edition. 8vo. Unbound as issued. Old folds, title-page a little soiled and toned.  
8pp. New York, James Van Norden, 1839. **£8,500**

[With:] **BURNLEY (William Hardin). To Coloured Emigrants. Sure and Profitable Speculations in Trinidad.** Unbound as issued. Old folds, ms. pencil ownership inscription, but very good. 8pp. New York, James Van Norden, 1840.

**Two rare and extraordinary documents illustrating the lengths to which plantation owners solicited labour in the immediate aftermath of the abolition of slavery and the end of the apprentice system.**

There had been a shortage of labourers in Trinidad from the moment the 1833 Emancipation Act passed. Hugh Thomas notes that the 1835 Anglo-Spanish Treaty “provided that the unfortunate *emancipados* should henceforth be assigned to the government by whose cruiser they had been freed. The British wanted to use this clause to permit the transfer to Trinidad or Jamaica of all these freed Africans.”

William Hardin Burnley (1780–1850) took matters into his own hands. Having moved to Trinidad in 1802, he came to own fourteen sugar plantations and was the wealthiest plantation owner with the largest enslaved workforce on the island. “After emancipation Burnley was active in promoting the immigration of labour to work the plantations. In August 1839 he set off for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the eastern seaboard of the United States ‘to ascertain whether any portion of the free-Negro population inhabiting these countries could be induced to remove to Trinidad’ (Burnley to Lord Russell, CO 295/127, 1839). He was more successful in the United States where he spent three months, travelling from Maine to Virginia, informing free blacks of glorious opportunities that awaited them in Trinidad. He published *Description of Trinidad and of the Advantages to be Derived from Emigration to that Colony*” (ODNB).

**These two pamphlets directly solicit Free Blacks in New York to emigrate to Trinidad.** Commencing with an idyllic description of Trinidad, both temperate in climate and with soil so fertile crops might be harvested twice a year, the writer states that the island was poised to become the “New York” of the Caribbean. To further entice emigrants, the recent abolition of slavery and end of the apprenticeship system is raised: “The great inducement, however, to an emigrant who wishes to raise himself in the scale of society, is **the political and social advantages which the coloured inhabitants of Trinidad over that of any other part of the world.** Slavery has been utterly and entirely extinguished

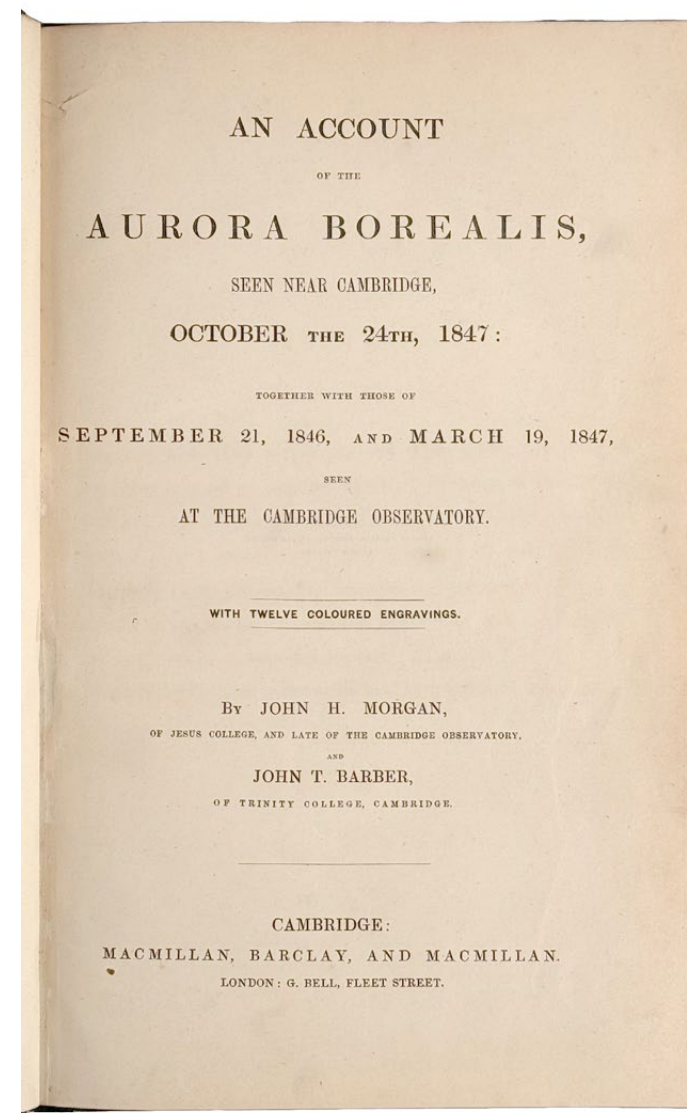
therein by the British government, and no exclusive privileges now elevate a white man above his coloured brethren.”

To call it chutzpah would be an understatement, but applicants were advised “**to carry with him a testimonial from his clergyman, or his neighbours, as to his industry and sobriety.**” While carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths and other trades were in some demand, agricultural workers “will find immediate and constant employment the moment they land, and a steady labourer can easily earn one dollar from sun-rise to sun-set. The planters furnish lodgings gratis to all persons working steadily on their estates.” **Despite the six-day work week and the promise of a dollar a day, the pamphlet states elsewhere that workers in the employ of a sugar or cocoa planter “will readily pay ... eight, ten, twelve and even as high as sixteen dollars per month.”** Emigrants were warmly encouraged to contract for a twelve-month period.

After initially publishing Burnley’s promotional tracts in their pages, the African American editors of *The Colored American* would soon turn their editorials against the scheme, cautioning their readers of the white planters’ true motives and the reality of life on the island. Some of these discrepancies are addressed in the second pamphlet *To Coloured Emigrants. Sure and Profitable speculation in Trinidad* which gives further details, and discusses some of the concerns by would-be emigrants, noting the experiences of those who have already reached the island. These people are chastised for essentially being weak, irresponsible, stupid, and hardly worthy of the opportunity presented to them. As such, Burnley instructs prospective emigrants to come together as a company, much in the same way gold diggers would in the early 1850s California. Groups of ten or twelve people “convinced that they can live in harmony together [rent] from 50 to 100 acres of cane land to cultivate on joint account.” He effectively advocates for an economy of scale, a real commitment made by many more “Industrious, enterprising” emigrants.

By 1841, Burnley and the Society had convinced some 1,300 Black Americans to emigrate to Trinidad. Finding the wages and conditions unlike those described by Burnley, the majority returned to the United States shortly thereafter. Of course, this was a mere prelude to the wave of immigrants from India who would arrive from 1845 onward.

In 1964, Eberstadt memorably describes the pamphlets thus: “Addressed to the Colored American. Pork chops, watermelon and Utopia served on a silver platter down where the living’s easy all year round.” OCLC locates copies of the first pamphlet at Duke, Cornell, plus a Philadelphia imprint at Hamilton College. It finds just a single copy of the second at Duke. *Not in Sabin*; Thomas, H., *The Slave Trade* (London, 2006), pp.654–55.



*With 12 Beautiful Colour Plates*

**19 MORGAN (John H.) & BARBER (John T.)  
An Account of the Aurora Borealis, seen near  
Cambridge, October the 24th, 1847 ...**

First edition. 12 hand-coloured zincographs. 8vo. Contemporary half-calf over pebblegrain cloth, spine gilt, extremities rubbed. 15, [1], 19[appendix], [1], [2 subscribers]pp. Cambridge & London, Macmillan, Barclay, and Macmillan, [1848].

**£5,000**

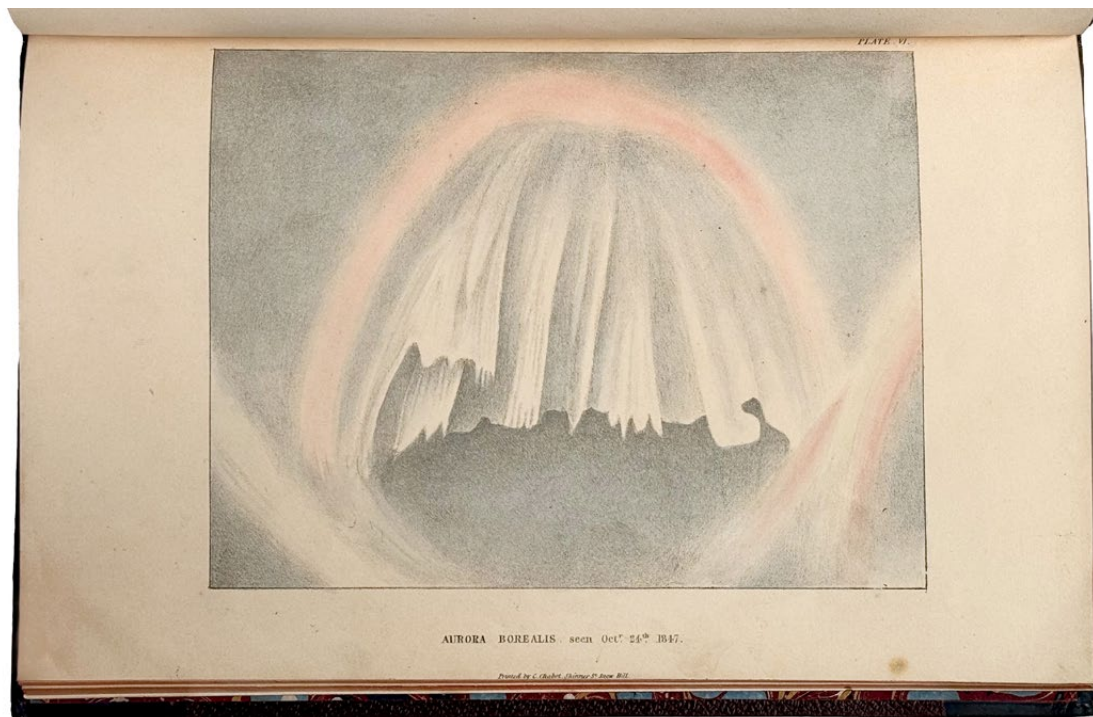


A lovely copy of a work that rarely appears in the trade. Ostensibly a work of meteorology, Morgan and Barber track weather conditions for the two days leading up to the event as well as the day afterwards. The work is considerably augmented by J. Andrews' twelve delicately coloured zincograph plates that track the Aurora Borealis in all its splendour.

The text describes the viewing thus: "The accompanying engravings have been selected from numerous sketches, as presenting the best idea of the several phases of the phenomenon; many more might have been given, but this is the extent of the work forbade. The descriptions are not confined to the mere representations to which they at first refer, but take in every particular which our eyes could encompass. We were stationed during the greater portion of the time upon a range of hills, generally known in Cambridgeshire as the 'Gog-magog;' from the summit of these, we had a boundless view of the whole heavens, at a distance of four or five miles from the light of smoke of the town of Cambridge ..."

Scarce: OCLC locates copies at the Smithsonian, Yale, Chicago, MIT, NOAA Center, Geophysical Institute, and Cambridge, BL and Berlin.

### *A Rare Fort-De-France Imprint*



## 20 [MARTINIQUE.]

### **Almanach de la Martinique pour l'année commune 1850.**

First edition thus. 16mo. Publisher's yellow printed wrappers, a little dusty with some minor soiling and edgewear. 141, [1]pp. Fort-de-France, E. Ruelle & Ch. Arnaud, Mars 1850. **£3,500**

**An important Caribbean imprint, dating from the first years of the Second Republic. The 1848 constitution is printed on pp.24-41. Item 6 confirms the abolition of slavery: "l'esclavage ne peut exister sur aucune terre française."**

It was an interesting time on the island. "Despite the planters' fears that slaves would abandon the plantations after emancipation, about two-thirds (27,006) of the 40,429 slaves employed in the production of sugar in 1847 remained resident on the estates and engaged in sugar production as free workers in 1848" (Tomich). As such, the island's civil service were obliged to assist with the revision of labour relations so as to maintain the vital revenue from sugar crops.

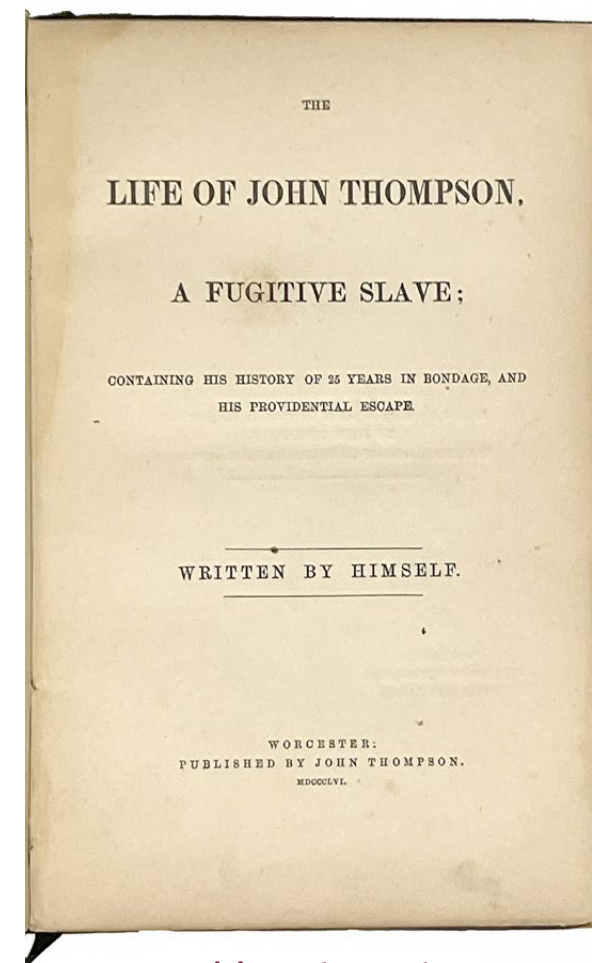
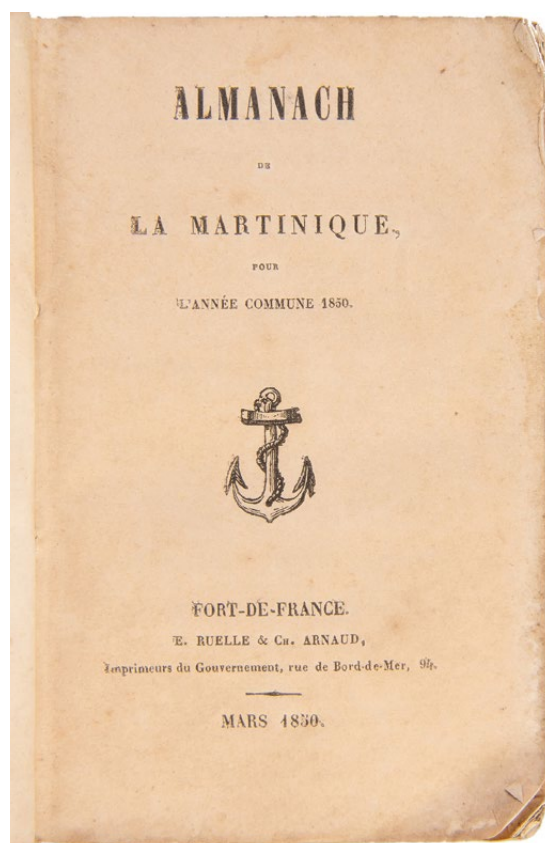
Included here is a list of the names of the main civil servants and public officials in Martinique: governors-general, intendants, grand-judges, military commanders, ordinance officers, directors of the interior, public prosecutors, people's representatives, troops, naval administration, health service, road and bridge management, port service, treasury, tax inspectors, municipal councillors (for each commune), welfare offices, public education, religious institutions, police, customs, courts, etc.

Furthermore, it contains patron saint's days and fairs, ephemerides, plus the departure and arrival times of the mail, as well as the itinerary of the English steamers.

**The constitution is dated November, 1848. This almanac was printed in March 1850, which makes it one of the earliest printings of the final abolition of slavery in the French Caribbean.**

Unlocated on OCLC, and apparently not in the Archives territoriales de la Martinique, which holds the 1819, 1840, 1845 and 1846 editions.

Not in Sabin; Tomich, D., "Visions of Liberty: Martinique in 1848" in *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, Vol. 19, (1994), p.165.



*A Fugitive Takes to the Sea*

## 21 THOMPSON (John).

**Life of John Thompson, a Fugitive Slave. Containing His History of 25 Years in Bondage, and His Providential Escape. Written By Himself.**

First edition. 12mo. Publisher's blindstamped cloth, rebacked, some spotting and soiling, extremities worn, some pale dampstaining to endpapers, ms. pencil ownership inscription "Henry C. Smith 1867" to ffep. [i]-vi, [13]-143, [1]pp. Worcester, John Thompson, 1856. **£4,000**

**In a genre that doesn't lack for adventure, John Thompson's self-published account of his escape from slavery, and efforts to avoid capture, is extraordinary. His *Life* ... includes the furtive teaching of literacy, the sale of his sister, escape, a conversion to Methodism, marriage, and then a two-year Pacific whaling voyage.**

Thompson was born into slavery in 1812 on a plantation owned by the Wager family in Maryland. He notes that his earliest memory of the institution of slavery was in the sale of his older sister. He was allowed briefly to see his sister before she was removed further south—“Here, the first thing that saluted my ears, was the rattling of the chains upon the limbs of the poor victims. It seemed to me to be a hell upon earth ... As soon as my sister saw our mother, she ran to her and fell upon her neck, but was unable to speak a word.”

His own experiences are recounted in detail, as well as some of the logistics and provisions of chattel slavery: such as work schedules, food allowances, clothing provisions, and—to this cataloguer’s surprise—maternity leave. Thompson also documents some of the awful, and frankly sadistic, cruelties—both physical and emotional—endured on the plantation. His remaining family was sold in 1822 to another planter under whom they lived for many years. Thompson was hired out to other plantations, which meant he was constantly on the move. During this time, he was accused of forging passes for escaped labourers more than once and resolved to escape himself.

A \$300 reward was offered for Thompson, but he (and a friend) avoided capture and made their way to Philadelphia. He found both work and love in that city. However, after a number of fellow fugitives were arrested, he and his wife moved to New York and then New Bedford. At this point, he joined the whaler *Milwood* as a steward. It took only a few days for the captain to learn of Thompson’s inexperience, but agreed to keep him on regardless.

What follows is a thorough and detailed description of a whaling voyage. From life below decks to the whale hunt itself—the equipment (harpoon and two lines), the hunt, towing the carcass to the ship and breaking it down—Thompson summarises the dangers of a whaling voyage thus: “The whale is a monster, terrible in his fury, but harmless when left alone; able to shiver the boat in atoms by one stroke of his tail, and when in agony roaring like a lion in the forest. Hence the office in the boat should have as much skill in the art of whaling, as a military commander in the art of warfare, since the safety of the crew rests with him.”

The voyage took him “along the Outer Banks of Newfoundland, south along the coast of Africa, around the Cape of Good Hope to Madagascar, into the Indian Ocean, and as far as New Zealand.” They spent three weeks on the island making repairs to the *Milwood*. Thompson includes some detailed observations on Madagascar, its Indigenous population, and some of their ceremonies (including sacrificing a bull). They continued their pursuit of whales, crossing the Indian Ocean and entering the Pacific. “After cruising in these seas for about two months, we put into a harbor on New Zealand, where we stayed one

week, and then went to New Holland for the cure of the scurvy, with which the sailors were badly afflicted ...”

The ship then made sail for home where he was reunited with his family. They moved to Worcester, Ma. not long afterwards where he wrote this memoir. The publication was announced in *The Liberator* in August, 1856: “The unusual opportunities which John Thompson enjoyed of acquiring an education by stealth have enabled him to tell his story in a clear, connected, and interesting manner ... We trust the Worcester people have the power as well as the will to protect him from further dangers.”

Not in Hill; not in Library Company, *Black Soldiers, Black Sailors, Black Ink*; Blockson, 9660; *Afro-Americana*, 10230; Malburne, M., “John Thompson, b. 1812” at Documenting the American South, sponsored by UNC Chapel Hill online; *The Liberator*, August 22, 1856, p.2.

### *The First Land Battle of the Civil War*

---

## **22 [BATTLE OF PHILIPPI.]** **Telegraph Bulletin! Latest News!** **Fight at Phillippa [sic] confirmed.**

Letterpress broadside printed in two columns. Measuring 315 by 165mm. A little toned but very good. Concord, Ma., Telegraph Office, 4 June, 1861. **£1,250**

### **An early report from the first months of the Civil War.**

“The first land engagement of the Civil War took place on June 3, 1861 at Philippi (West) Virginia. Little remembered in light of later events, the action was hailed at the time as a great Union victory. For George B. McClellan it marked the beginning of a successful western Virginia campaign which would result in his promotion to the command of the what would later become the Army of the Potomac” (Snell).

The report reads as follows: “The route of the evening was complete. The rebels who were two thousand strong and fully able in regard to numbers to cope with the attacking force were completely surprised and fled after a faint struggle. Their whole camp equipage with most of their ammunition and guns were left behind in consequence of their hurried departure.”

There’s additional news anticipating the arrival Senator Stephen A. Douglas’s remains for interment in the Congressional burying ground plus reports of the evacuation of Harper’s Ferry.

Very rare: we find a single copy at LoC only.

Snell, M.A. ed., *Civil War: The Early Battles ... Civil War Regiments*, Vol. V, No. 4 (Savas Publishing, 2022), p.1

# TELEGRAPH BULLETIN!

---

## LATEST NEWS!

---

Telegraph Office, Concord, 5 o'clock, P. M., June 4, 1861.

J. W. ROBINSON, Publisher. - - PRICE ONE CENT.

---

### Fight at Phillipa confirmed.

An attack on Manassas Junction is expected to-night.

### Reported Evacuation of Harper's Ferry.

#### ORDERS ISSUED FOR THE ARREST OF SUSPICIOUS PERSONS AT BALTIMORE.

WASHINGTON, June 4. An advance movement from Alexandria is ordered to-day.

A special Cabinet meeting is now in session. The first Maine regiment arrived here yesterday and went into quarters.

Senator Douglas' remains are expected here on Thursday for interment in the Congressional burying ground.

Accounts have been received here confirming previous statements of the fight at Phillipa, twenty miles from Grafton in Western Virginia.

The route of the evening was complete. The rebels who were two thousand strong and fully able in regard to numbers to cope with the attacking force were completely surprised and fled after a faint struggle. Their whole camp equipage with most of their ammunition and guns were left behind in consequence of their hurried departure.

The Department buildings are draped in mourning to-day in consequence of the death of Senator Douglas.

WASHINGTON, June 4th. Several of the regiments here have for some nights past been ordered to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning. There is much anxiety on their part for forward movements.

CHAMBERSBURG, PA. June 4th. The general belief here is that Harper's Ferry has been evacuated by the rebel troops. The small pox and diarrhea are making great havoc among the rebel troops in Virginia.

NEW YORK, June 4. A dispatch to *Tribune* from Washington states that

the officer at Hampton has been here, and says that the federal forces are perfectly secure in their present positions and have complete information concerning the enemy from the negroes.

To-morrow there will be a reconnoissance towards Yorktown, where it is believed the enemy are not in great force.

At the skirmish at the Falls Church, 7 miles from Washington, between the federal troops and rebel pickets, two of our soldiers were slightly wounded; none killed. Several of the secessionist were badly wounded.

Martial Bonnafort has returned to Baltimore with power from the War Department to arrest all suspicious persons, seize all arms in their possession, and appoint a sufficient force of deputies to guard all the highways to the city.

Gen. McClellan is instructed to furnish arms and accoutrements to the Kentucky brigade which has been ordered to report to Col. Anderson's head quarters.

Gen. Scott said, "you shall be sustained, Sir. We can send you 20,000 men in three days."

Col. Anderson was quite ill when Capt. Cahill left Kentucky.

The State Department will be draped in mourning in memory of Senator Douglas.

A dispatch to the *World* says there can be little doubt but that a movement will be made on Manassas Junction soon after midnight. Several regiments are under marching orders. There is no doubt but that there are 3000 troops there who have entrenchments and a battery of railway iron. A short distance this side there are 2500 South Carolinians.

Reports from Fairfax Court House say the rebel troops now there number 3000 to 4000.

There are reports that Harper's Ferry has been evacuated and the forces have gone to Leesburg. Nothing authoritative is known.

Gen. James' proposal to silence all the batteries on the Chesapeake and Potomac with his 100-pound shot and shell rifled cannon has been accepted by the Secretary of the Navy.



### Beautifully Illustrated Folk Tales

#### 23 [PU (Songling)] after.

#### Liao zhai quan tu [Complete Pictures of the Liao Studio].

Vol. 22 & vol. 56. 2 volumes, each measuring 200 by 255mm. Containing 12 & 12 full-page watercolour paintings on the right heightened in gilt and silver, with facing text in *kaishu* script on yellow gold-flecked paper, all mounted with embroidered pale blue silk, endpapers of gold-flecked pink paper, each volume with table of contents on an additional double-leaf of gold-flecked pink paper. Vol. 22 with minor marginal worming to the prelims, minor restoration, overall a very good set. Bound in brocade textile-covered hardwood boards, title in seal-script on gold-leaf paper on top board. N. p., n. d. [but ca 1870]. **£45,000**

**Liaozhai Zhiyi (aka. Strange Stories of a Chinese Studio)** is a collection of nearly five hundred tales written by Pu Songling (1640-1715) in the early Qing dynasty. Liaozhai (Temporary Studio) was the name of the library/office at the author's home in Shandong province, where he was working. Many of them appear to be based on folk-tales where the boundary between reality and the fantastic is blurred and where humans and the supernatural beings coexist. Pu Songling compiled these short stories which usually have a moral dimension. He hints at injustice in Chinese society where corrupt officials collude with the powerful gentry to further their own interests. Some of the tales display sympathy with the common people.









The *Liaozhai Zhiyi* stories hold a unique place in Chinese literature. For the first fifty years after the death of the author the stories circulated in manuscript form, but in 1766 a first edition was published in 16 vols. by Zhao Qigao, the prefect of Yanzhou. It is called the Qingketing edition, named after a pavilion in Zhao's government office. Our manuscript text follows the Qingketing edition. The first illustrated edition was published in 1886 by the Tongwen Shuju in Shanghai.



The present two volumes were part of a set of 90 volumes which was brought to Europe by a Russian officer who was stationed in China during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Seventeen of the volumes are preserved in the National Library of Austria (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) others are dispersed in archives or private collections (incl. the Martin Bodmer Foundation) throughout the world, some were broken up to be used for interior decoration, but many of them are lost.

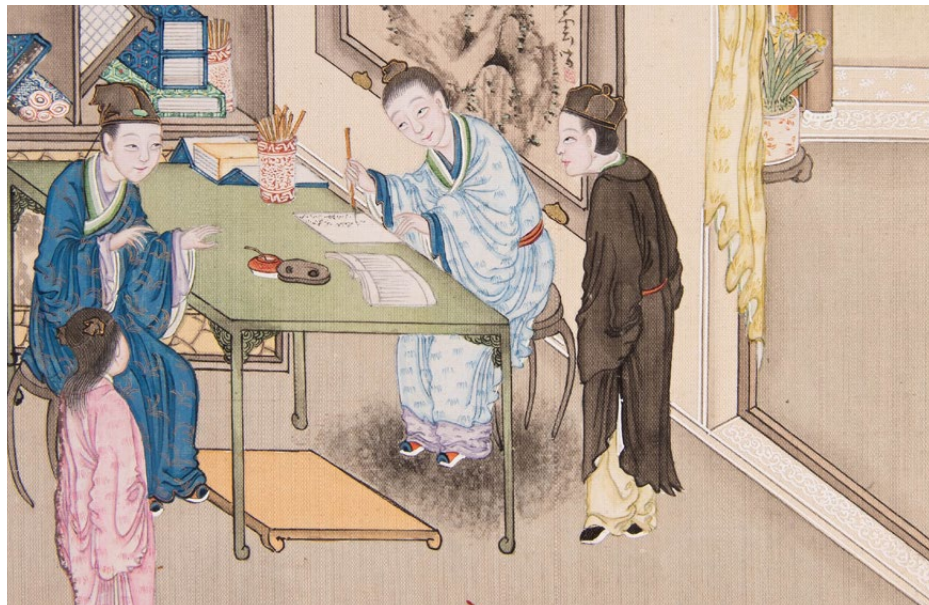
## 16th-18th Century Jesuits at the Kangxi Court

Vol. 22 contains three stories: The second part of Da Nan (The Great Man, the story of an intelligent and pious boy who grows up with his mother and sets out to find his father), Shi qing xu (A Stone pure and luminous, is the story of a man who finds a beautiful stone while fishing and treasures it. It is subsequently stolen and retrieved), and the first part of Zeng Youyu (about six brothers and their quarrels). The first story is marked as “continued from previous volume” while the last story is “to be continued”.

Volume 56 contains eight stories: San chao yuan lao (Venerables of the Three Dynasties) is the story about a mysterious plaque that adorned an old hall together with a couplet on either side. Ye ming (Brightness at Night) is the story of a luminous fish monster that appeared out of the sea at night. Niao yu (Bird’s language) describes a Daoist who understood birds, Ling jiao (water chestnut, the story of Hu Dacheng hoping to get married), Xing ziyi is another story of a man who falls in love with a Daoist woman. Lu ya guan (Officer Lu, who gets invited to a banquet). Chen Xijiu (a name), and Yu qu e (Yu eliminates evil).

“The production of ‘Liaozhai Quantu’ spanned at least 31 years. If we further combine the taboo of the word ‘ning,’ we can know that the creation of the albums (including copying the original text) began at the latest during the Daoguang period and was still in progress until the Guangxu period.” Webpage article by Xu Junjie.

<<https://m.fx361.com/news/2021/0122/9487572.html>>.



### 24 JESUIT GRAVE-STONE RUBBING.

#### Twenty rubbings of Jesuit graves.

Measuring between 870 by 680mm and 1375 by 750mm. Backed on Chinese paper. Many with small red manuscript labels pasted on verso, some in English, some in Japanese, identifying the Jesuit names. Folding marks to each sheet, overall in very good condition. Text in Latin and Chinese. Peking, n.d. [but second half of the 19th century]. **£65,000\***

**A remarkable collection of twenty grave-stone rubbings that chart the successes and eventual decline of the Jesuits at the court in Peking.**

This group provides a fascinating overview of the range of characters, nationalities, and occupations that the Jesuits represented. Far from simply living the good life at the Imperial Court some of them dealt with immense challenges, threats, hardships and obviously none of them ever returned to their home countries. Notably, our rubbings include the tombs of four Chinese converts.

Unfortunately, we know far too little about the Chinese Jesuits’ personal backgrounds or how they were introduced to the Jesuit cause. There are a number of reasons why Western scholars have not paid enough attention to Chinese Jesuits. Much of their focus has tended to focus on the Western side, possibly due to the language constraints. Converts and their families may have been in danger after the Edict of Toleration was withdrawn in 1774, and some of their graves were destroyed during the Boxer Rebellion, adding to the difficulties.

The Field Museum in Chicago has a collection of over 4000 Chinese stone rubbings which had been collected by the German Sinologist Berthold Laufer (1874–1934). It is the largest collection of stone rubbings in a public institution outside of China. Amongst them is a group of 89 rubbings of Jesuit gravestones (see: Walravens (ed.): ‘Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings from Field Museum’ 1981). Within our collection of 20 rubbings, 12 of the gravestones are not represented in the Field Museum’s collection.

Between the opening of Peking in the 1860s (after the Second Opium War) to 1900 (Boxer Rebellion) there was a relatively brief window of opportunity when the present rubbings could have made. The Field Museum’s holdings

D.O.M.

P. KILIANUS  
STUMPFHER  
BIPOLITES GER-  
MANUS, SOCIET.  
IESU IV. VOTA  
PROEESS, VIXIT  
IN SINENSI MISSI-  
ONE XXVI. ANNIS.  
OBIIT PEKINI IN  
DÑO DIE XXIV. JUL.  
A. C. MDCCXX.  
SOCIETATIS INITÆ  
XLVIII.  
ÆTATIS SUÆ  
LXV.

耶穌會士紀公之墓

紀先生諱理安號雲風係大西洋熱爾瑪尼亞  
國人自幼貞修於康熙三十三年歲次甲戌  
入中國欽命治理曆法九載於五十九年  
六月二十日卒在會四十七年享壽六十五歲

were made after the Boxer Rebellion when the stones were already in visibly worse condition. **The present collection therefore records a moment in their history before some of the graves were damaged or destroyed.** It is worth noting the graphic nature of the gravestone rubbings. The graves themselves were carved into white stone, which makes them difficult to read. One would be justified to compare them to a photographic negative, while the high-contrast nature of the print is the positive.

### THE JESUITS IN CHINA

Founded by Ignatius of Loyola in 1540 the Jesuits focused on two main tasks, namely worldwide missionary work and education. They were part of the scientific revolution that swept Europe in the 16th century and were eager to embrace developments in mathematics, astronomy, physics and biology which established modern science. They rejected the monastic tradition of previous orders, organised themselves in seminaries, which were supervised from headquarters in Rome, and founded schools and colleges throughout Europe. Jesuits undertook a vow to go anywhere in the world in order to preach the conversion. In the 16th century, they founded missions in India, China, Japan, Ethiopia, as well as South America. They saw themselves as an international organisation with a global reach.

St. Francis Xavier was the first Jesuit to enter China and he died in Shangchuan island in 1552. The Italian Alessandro Valignano asked for competent missionaries to be sent from Goa: Michele Ruggieri arrived in Macau in 1579, followed by Matteo Ricci in 1582. Understanding that it was essential to learn Chinese and familiarize oneself with Chinese culture, Valignano founded St. Paul's College, the first Jesuit University in Macau in 1594. After several failed attempts Ruggieri and Ricci were the first to be given permission to found a permanent mission in Zhaoqing, the seat of the Viceroy for Guangxi and Guangdong. There they published the first Chinese catechism and wrote the first Chinese-Portuguese dictionary. His knowledge in the field of science, in particular geography and astronomy, was reported to the Wanli Emperor (Ming) who finally asked him to enter the court at Peking in 1601.

**Jesuit grave-stones in Peking follow a particular pattern established in the Ming dynasty by that of Matteo Ricci.** Their design is unique and exclusively used for Jesuit graves. On the left is the Latin text giving the name, nationality, summary biographical information (incl. the number of years at the China mission and the exact date of death, occupation etc.), on the right is the same text in Chinese and in the centre the large characters give their Chinese



D. O. M.

PAVLVS DE  
MESQVITA  
LVSITAN. SOC.  
IESV IV VOTA  
PROFES. VIXIT  
IN EA ANN. XX  
IN SINENSI MIS  
SIONE IV. OBIT  
V. MARTII AN.  
DNI MDCCXXIX  
ÆTATIS VERO  
XXXVI

耶穌會士麥公之墓

麥先生諱有年號積德泰西博爾都噶爾  
國人也自幼入會真修於雍正四年歲次  
丙午八中國傳教在會二十年於己酉年  
二月初六日卒於京都年三十六歲

name and rank. Many of them carry the heading 'D. O. M.', three letters that stand for Domino, Optimo, Maximo (the Lord, the Best, the Greatest) a hidden motto not to be confused with a title of a church dignitary, or the designation for Benedictine and Carthusian monks.

"Chinese ink rubbings are impressions on paper from low-relief or intaglio inscriptions and/or designs on stone (stele, pillars, cliffs, etc.), metal (bells, vessels, etc.), clay (pottery, brick, tile, clay sealing), bone, tortoise shells, and other hard materials. The production, use, and collection of rubbings have played a very significant part in the cultural pattern of China and some of her neighbours, especially Korea and Japan. In China particularly, with its strong historical tradition, rubbings have assumed an important role in the intellectual use of the country... In China the technique of making rubbings is considered quite special and is purely Chinese in origin. It has served as a type of camera for many centuries and is an ingenious and admirable one for it reproduces quite simply in full size every detail of the original surface. The technique is extremely useful and in no way damages the object being copied." -- Hoshien Tchen: Preface to Walravens (editor): 'Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings from the Field Museum' 1981, p. xv.

"Ink-imprints are commonly called rubbings or ink-squeezes. Because this is a duplicating technique on stone, it may be considered a prototype of lithography. In China, it is referred to as mo-ta. Instead of the stone being pressed on paper, however, the reverse is done—the paper is pressed on the stone. The traditional Chinese method is to moisten lightly a sheet of paper made from the cortex of the mulberry tree, or from bamboo pulp. This is a tissue-thin paper that is strong and highly absorbent. The moistened paper is then spread over the surface of the engraved object and gently forced into all the incised areas with a broad brush. A flat pad, generally made of loosely woven cloth with a piece of cotton tied inside, is then soaked with just the right amount of black ink and evenly tapped all over the paper. The higher surface which the pad has touched turns black while the incised part remains white. When the ink is dry, the paper is peeled off, giving a positive impression. -- Tseng Yu-ho Ecke: 'The Importance of Ink-Imprints' in: Walravens (editor): 'Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings from Field Museum' 1981, p. xxv.

### THE ZHALAN CEMETERY & THE PRESENT COLLECTION

The history of the Zhalan cemetery in Peking is fascinating: The land was originally presented to the Jesuits by the Wanli Emperor as a burial place for Matteo Ricci alone. It was located to the west of the walled city outside

Fucheng-men Gate and it also became known as the Portuguese cemetery (see Cordier). Gradually it was filled with other Jesuit graves and enlarged. During the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 the graves were desecrated and many of the gravestones were severely damaged. In the mid-1950s most of the tombstones were moved to the Xibeiwang area and only the graves of Ricci, Schall von Bell, and Ferdinand Verbiest were kept in the original location. A Communist Party school for cadres replaced Maweigou church (which had been built in 1903) and an adjacent seminary, and the building now houses the Beijing Administration Institute. Deng Xiaoping approved the restoration of Ricci's grave in the late 1970s and 60 gravestones were moved back to their original location.

Judging from the condition of the stone surfaces, the paper and the small manuscript tickets we can assume that the present copies were made before the Boxer Rebellion in the second half of the 19th century.

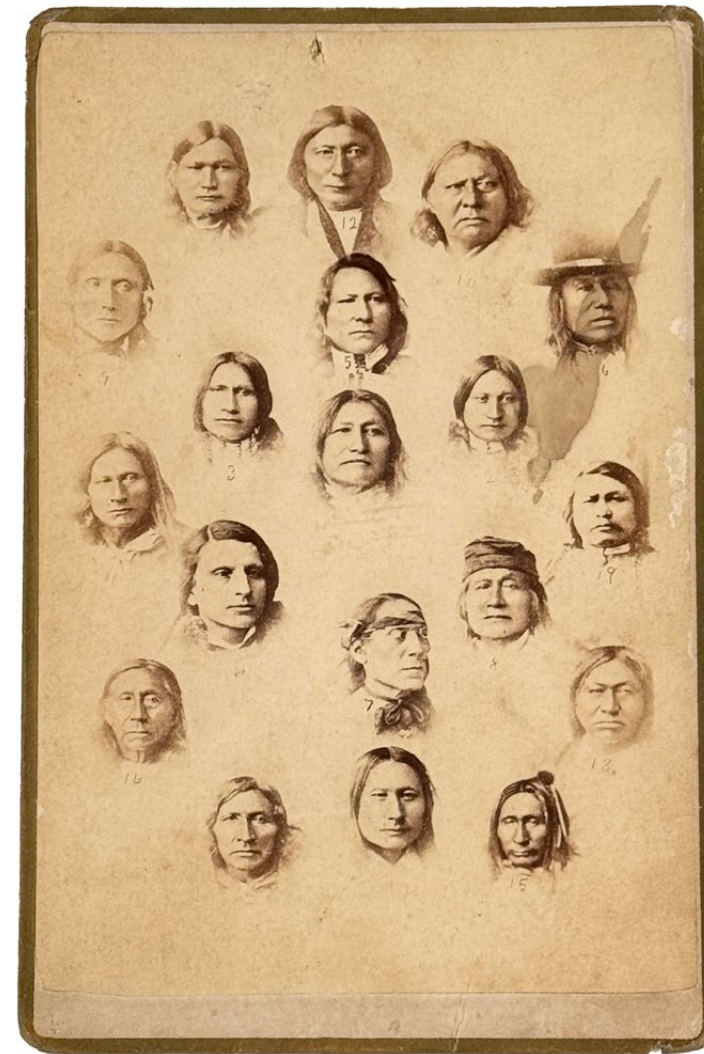
19 of the 20 rubbings can be located on Cordier's map of the Zhalan Cemetery which shows the state of the graveyard before 1900 as well as the adjacent French cemetery.



The only one missing is the grave of Mattaeus Lo. There are a number of un-attributed graves simply called 'Sina' in the French cemetery. Since Lo was affiliated with the French it is possible that he was not identified in Cordier's map.

See: Cordier: Bibliotheca Sinica. Vol. II, 1028-1036.

*A fully illustrated PDF of this item is available on request.*



*Available to Order through the Carlisle Newspaper*

**25 CHOATE (John N.) photographer.**  
**Noted Indian Chiefs who have visited the**  
**Indian Training School, Carlisle, Pa.**

Albumen print laid down on backing card. 165 by 110mm. Printed titles and captions to the verso. Manuscript numbering in ink to photograph correlating with printed index. Slightly faded with a small stain to image, pin hole just below top edge, verso and corners rubbed with no loss of text. Carlisle, PA, J. Choate, 1881.

**£1,250\***

**A composite image of Indigenous American leaders who visited the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, in its early years.** Produced by the school's official photographer, these cabinet cards were advertised through the school's student publications and were sold to raise funds for the endeavour.

Founded in 1879 by Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt (1840–1924), the idea for Carlisle was developed whilst he was guarding a group of Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Arapahoe and Caddo prisoners of war at Fort Marion in St. Augustine. **Under the guise of reform, Pratt recognised that re-education camps offered a powerful tool with which to suppress further Native uprising, whilst also tapping into the missionizing evangelism of American Christian society.** The schools were essentially boot camps, run under Pratt's infamous governing principle to "kill the Indian and save the man". Recruitment was targeted at Nations who were still in conflict with the United States, and as such the assimilationist programme of removing their children from their communities, languages and culture was in many ways another battleground of the Indian Wars.

The present example is one of several variants of this composite photograph produced by Choate over the years he worked for the school, described in the Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource as "version 2". Version 1, in some instances bearing the title "Red Skins" beneath, has been heavily retouched to fill in the space around the vignette portraits with painted in clothing and feathered hair ornaments.

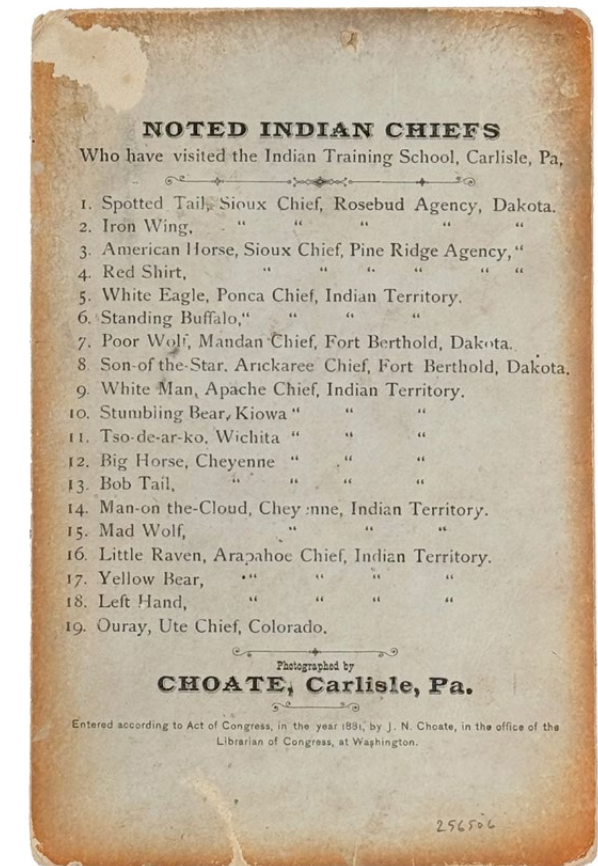
Here is how the picture was described in the August 1881 edition of the school paper, *Eadle Keatah Toh*: "Mr. Choate continues to add to his collection of Indian photographs, which now number nearly a hundred different ones. In 'Noted Indian Chiefs' on a card of cabinet size are grouped the heads of nineteen well known chiefs who have visited the training school since its organization. The centre of this group is Spotted Tail who recently met so tragic a fate, the expression of his face, the haughty pose of his head telling of an unsubdued, imperious nature. On either side of him are American Horse and Iron Wing both Sioux, whose necklaces of wampum and long hair parted in the middle give them an almost feminine look. In marked contrast is the hereditary enemy of their tribe the Ponca chief White Eagle, a face showing more character than any perhaps but that of Ouray whose death was so irreparable a loss to the cause of civilization among the Utes. Then there is the placid face of the Arickaree chief, Son-of-the-Star, the thin visage of Poor Wolf the Mandan chief, made ludicrous by an immense pair of spectacles, of Little Raven, too, the Arapahoe chief and long time friend of the whites, an old man now."

The key on the verso reads:

1. Spotted Tail, Sioux Chief, Rosebud Agency, Dakota. 2. Iron Wing, " " " " "
3. American Horse, Sioux Chief, Pine Ridge Agency, " 4. Red Shirt, " " " " "
5. White Eagle, Ponca Chief, Indian Territory. 6. Standing Buffalo, " " " "
7. Poor Wolf, Mandan Chief, Fort Berthold, Dakota. 8. Son-of-the-Star, Arickaree Chief, Fort Berthold, Dakota. 9. White Man, Apache Chief, Indian Territory.
10. Stumbling Bear, Kiowa. " " " 11. Tso-de-ar-ko, Wichita " " " 12. Big Horse, Cheyenne " " " 13. Bob Tail, " " " " 14. Man-on-the-Cloud, Cheyenne, Indian Territory. 15. Mad Wolf, " " " 16. Little Raven, Arapahoe Chief, Indian Territory. 17. Yellow Bear, " " " " 18. Left Hand, " " " " 19. Ouray, Ute Chief, Colorado.

The attributions are not universally correct, and in some cases are slightly misleading. According to the cataloguing at U. Michigan: "Left Hand shown in this photograph is not the Southern Arapaho Chief Niwot/Left Hand (approximately 1825–1864?) that likely perished in the Sand Creek Massacre. Poor Wolf (Hidasta) erroneously identified as Mandan ... Stumbling Bear (Kiowa) erroneously identified as Apache".

OCLC finds a copy of Version 1 at U Michigan, there is an unknown version at Library of Congress, both are held by the Cumberland County Historical Society.



## A Rare Account of the Klondike

### 26 LONG (F. Stanley).

#### The Placer Miner—A Klondyke Reminiscence.

First edition. 16mo. Original string-bound printed wrappers, slightly dust-soiled. Former owner's signature to front wrapper. 16pp. Keswick, G.W. McKane & Son, Reliance Printing Works, c. 1899. **£850**

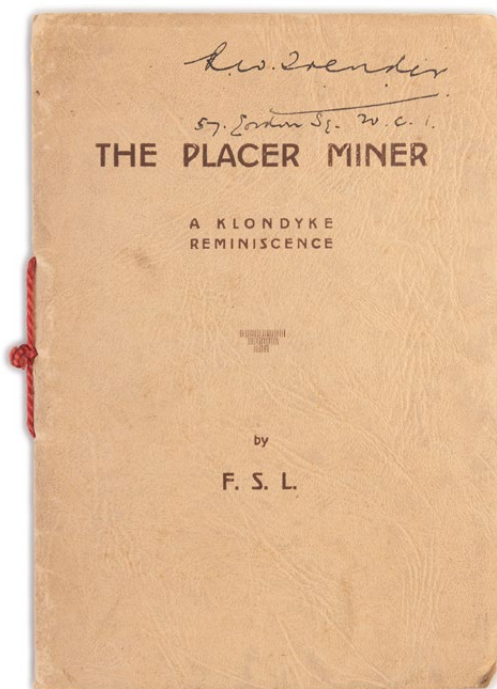
"My awkward enthusiasm still savoured the romance of it all, still saw placer mining as a calling, almost a profession—for was it not elemental engineering and geology?—that extracted no articles, no degrees, no qualifications beyond a stout heart, a strong body, a fund of optimism tempered with horse sense, and a sense of humour."

A detailed personal account of the Klondike Gold Rush in the Yukon. Although, the item is catalogued in OCLC as fiction, it's a legitimate first-hand account as attested by the family of the focal character, "Bill," who was William Heath (1872–1912).

F.S. Long was advised to go and see Bill at his claim on "one of the lesser tributaries of Hunker Creek." The Hunter runs almost parallel with Bonanza Creek and drains into the Klondike. He provides a detailed description of the

placer mining process, which differs from alluvial, the landscape, as well as the more domestic side of things. Bill was accompanied by a stocky Canadian, Bert, and a bearded Australian called Mac. They'd dine on fried ham and desiccated potatoes. And quip in the following manner: "I see they are describing the Klondyke Gold Rush as the most romantic episode in mining history. Actually, to my way of thinking, as one of the damned fools who was in it, there was plenty of stark tragedy and blaméd little romance." Rare: OCLC locates three copies at Tulsa, Alaska & UBC.

For notes on William Heath, see: <[https://www.thepotteries.org/people/heath\\_william1.htm](https://www.thepotteries.org/people/heath_william1.htm)>



## Beautiful Photographs of a Lost New York Island Resort

### 27 [MUNCIE ISLAND.]

#### [Photographs of Muncie Island, New York, USA.]

Two albums of photographs. The first album contains 48 hand-coloured silver gelatin photographs of Muncie Island by Islip Photo Studios (their ticket on lower pastedown), in particular of the Muncie Island Hotel, its bungalows and activities (fishing, sailing, canoeing, etc.). Photographs all 195mm by 240mm. The second album contains approximately 250 silver gelatin photographs, various sizes, also of Muncie Island, but is more of a family vacation photo album. Both albums' photographs mounted on album pages, with a few photographs, uncirculated postcards and brochures for Muncie Island hotels loosely inserted. Oblong folio. Similarly bound in leather, very worn. The second album with one page torn, thus lacking two photographs, and one photograph removed. New York, c. 1897–1914.

**£3,750**





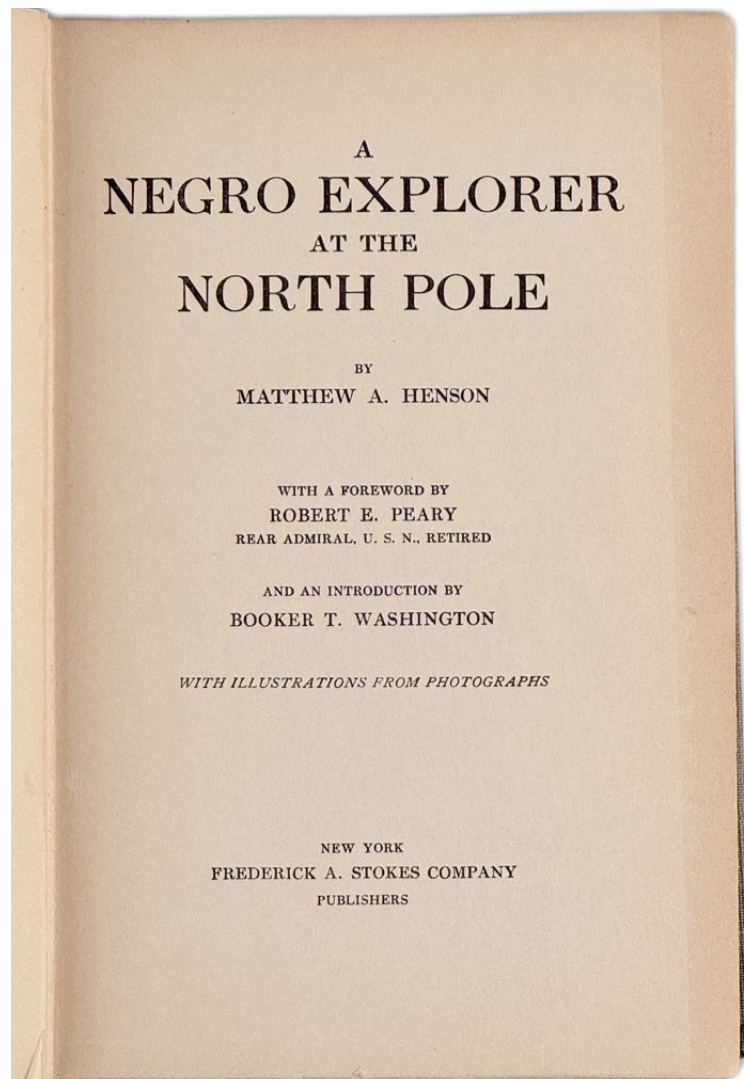
**Muncie Island was once one of the most sought-after seaside summer vacation getaways for wealthy New York individuals and families.** The Muncie Island Hotel, which features prominently in both photo albums, operated from 1897 to 1914. **As part of an expansion project for the Ocean Highway in 1930, Muncie Island was depleted and ceased to exist.**

The albums offer a particularly strong record of the architecture of this resort town, with many black and white and colourised photographs of the distinctive turn of the century beachside residences. Amongst the more personal photographs are several of costume dances, fishing and sailing, and other scenes of family leisure. There are five posed photographs of different groups of staff in white uniforms, all of whom are Black. The nearby Fire Island lighthouse also features.

From a contemporary guide: "Opposite Babylon, on Muncie Island, is the Muncie Sanatorium. Oak Island and Muncie Island are reached by boat from Babylon. Nearby are the headquarters of the jovial Wawayanda and Short Beach Clubs, each having a large membership among New York and Brooklyn business men. Accommodations are to be found on these islands for summer residents."

The Long Island Railroad Company, *Long Island 1905*, (NY, 1905).





*Inscribed by Henson*

**28 HENSON (Mathew A.)**  
**A Negro Explorer at the North Pole.**

First edition. Portrait frontispiece & 6 photographic images on 3 plates. Small 8vo. Original blue cloth, with photographic portrait of Henson to upper board, cloth sunned and little brown, text block cracked but holding fine, extremities slightly rubbed, inscribed in ink to ffep. xx, 200pp. New York, Frederick A. Stokes, 1912.

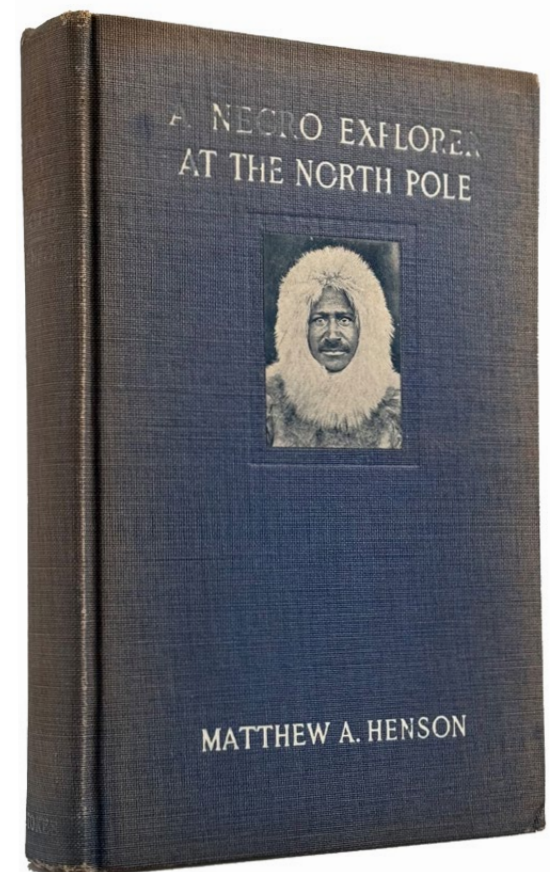
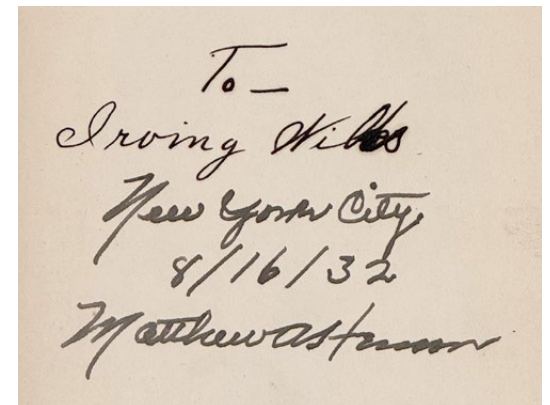
**£8,750**

A rare signed copy, the inscription reads "To—Irving Wilks New York City 8/16/32 Matthew A Henson."

The son of free Black sharecroppers, Matthew Henson was born in Maryland and orphaned at the age of eight. He was educated at N Street School in Washington, DC, and first went to sea at about the age of twelve. He spent six

years on the *Katie Hines* under Captain Childs. After Child's death, he worked onshore until his employer recommended him to Robert Peary in 1887. Henson accompanied Peary first as valet, to Nicaragua, though he was quickly promoted to Technical Assistant and his duties later encompassed those of sledge builder, driver, hunter, carpenter, blacksmith, cook and, having taught himself to speak Inuit, translator. They spent twenty-two years together over seven Arctic expeditions.

Having returned from the Pole in 1909, Henson accompanied Peary on the lecture circuit and published his own account *Negro Explorer at the North Pole* in 1912 which included an introduction by Booker T. Washington. Along with the likes of Olaudah Equiano (1745–97) and James Beckwourth (1799–1866), Henson was one of the few explorers of African descent to publish an account of their travels.





*A Restricted Map for Pilots In Alaska*

**29 UNITED STATES ARMY AIR CORPS,  
[US AIR FORCE].  
[“Restricted” WWII Era U.S. Military  
Pilots Aerial Approach Map for  
Elmendorf Field, Anchorage, Alaska.]**

Original photograph on thick glossy paper, measuring 345 by 280mm. Mounted on original grey linen bearing handstamps to verso, reading: “RESTRICTED” and “Official Photograph / U.S. Army Air Corps / Reproduction Prohibited Without Special Permission of the Chief of Air Corps.” Good, some noticeable wear along two old vertical folds. [Anchorage, August, 1940–June, 1941.] **£2,500**

**Apparently unrecorded, this remarkable survival from the Alaskan theatre of World War II was produced at a military studio in Anchorage between August 1940 and June 1941.**

Classified “Restricted,” it was created for the use of U.S. military pilots based at Elmendorf Field (today’s Elmendorf Air Force Base, part of Joint Base Elmendorf-Richardson), in Anchorage, Alaska. This was the main logistics and staging centre of U.S.-Allied forces during the war, and notably, for their ultimately successful efforts to counteract the Aleutian Campaign (June 3, 1942 – August 15, 1943). It was during this campaign that the Japanese briefly occupied Alaska’s westernmost islands, the first time any part of the US was occupied since the War of 1812.

Of course, the United States didn’t enter the war until the attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941. Nonetheless Japanese aggression prompted America to improve their defensive capabilities in both Hawaii and Alaska. Construction of Elmendorf Field commenced on June 8, 1940, with the base becoming operational in August of that year. The base was named in honour of Captain Hugh M. Elmendorf, a famed U.S. military test pilot who was killed in a flight accident, in Ohio, in 1933. In November 1940, the base was technically renamed Fort Richardson, after the adjacent army post. In early 1942, thousands of airmen and troops flooded into Elmendorf, leading to the formation of the Eleventh Air Force.

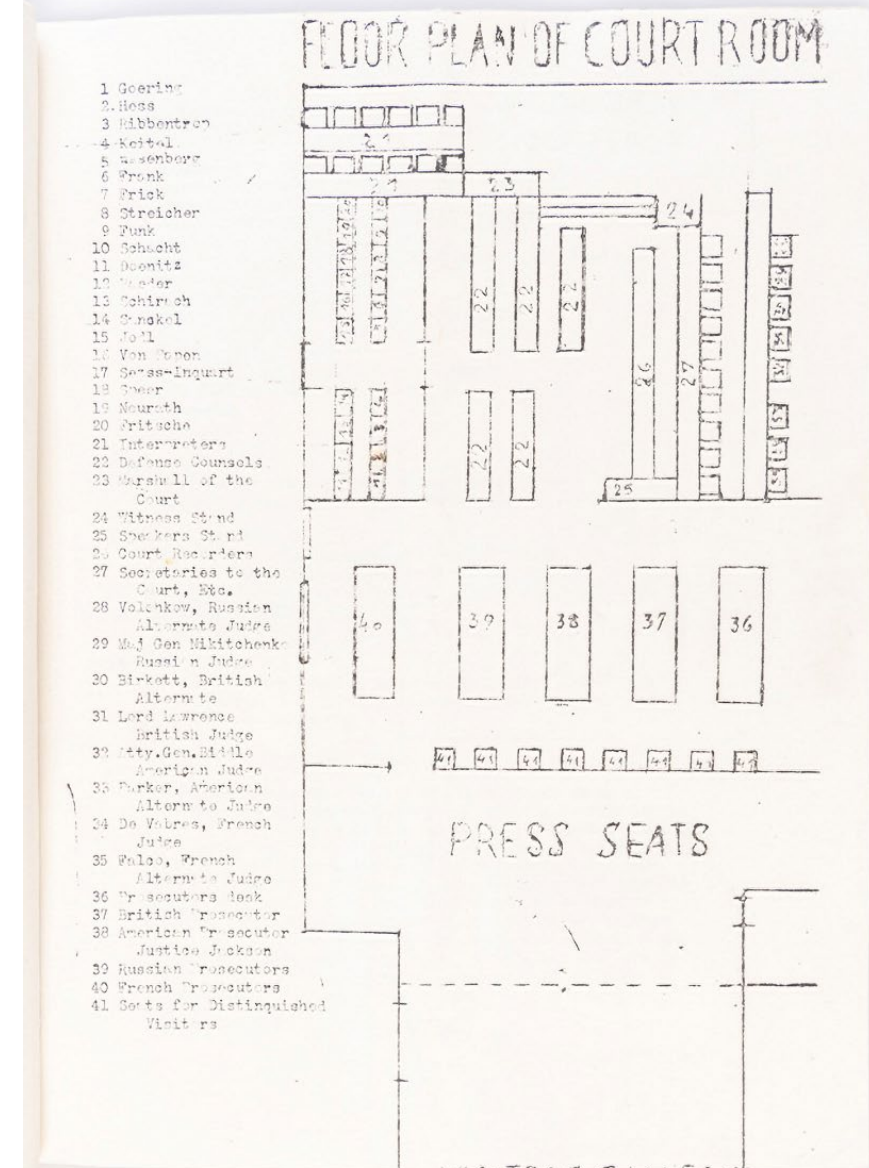
The map depicts the greater Anchorage area covering a region about 60 miles north and south of the city and around 30 miles to the east and west. The waters of Cook Inlet are prominently featured, with its branches of Turnagain Arm and Knik Arm. The map is tint-coded for easy comprehension by pilots in the cockpit, with lowlands show in dark tones, while highlands are white, featuring contours of elevation and the names and spot heights of major peaks in feet (as some mountains exceeded 6,600 feet, they posed a serious hazard for aviation). Major towns and landmarks are also labelled.

A spider-web grid, centred on Elmendorf Field, divides the map into 35 numbered sections. Each concentric circle in the web is code-named (working outwards to inwards): GEORGE, FOX, EASY, DOG, CAST, BAKER, AFIRM. By cross-referencing the code names with the numbers along the margins, one can define locational sectors in the airspace around Elmendorf. As such, pilots could, for example, radio Elmendorf Tower that they were in sector DOG-14 or FOX-22. This allowed pilots to quickly communicate their positions to control, a critical factor in a wartime environment, in a place with notoriously bad weather. The radio frequencies of "Elmendorf Tower 346" (which was Control) and "Anchorage Radio 338 HQ" (used largely to receive weather reports) are labelled on the map.

While the map is undated, its time of production clearly falls sometime between August 1940 (when Elmendorf Field became operational) and June 1941, as the map is stamped as being made for the 'U.S. Army Air Corps' (the name of the force was changed to the United States Army Air Forces on June 20, 1941). It was likely made in Anchorage, at or near Elmendorf, at a secure military photographic studio, and is predicated upon a hand-composed hard-copy template. Photography was commonly used by the U.S. Military during the World War II era to duplicate Restricted/Secret documents and maps. This was particularly the case in frontier theatres, such as Alaska and small Pacific islands, where there was scant access to sophisticated military printing studios. The benefit of duplicating classified material by photography in frontier zones, was that it could be executed using mobile equipment in a small space that was easy to secure. At that time, photography could yield only a small number of prints, and so distribution could be easily controlled.

The map would have been issued in only a limited number of examples, and only to pilots who required their use.

During the Cold War, Elmendorf Air Force Base, not least due to its proximity to the Soviet Union and the Arctic, became one of the most important centres of NATO operations.



*The Greatest Trial in History*

### 30 INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL.

War Crime Trials. Nurnberg Germany. Nov 20, 1945-

Mimeograph text. Full page plan. 4to. Original staplebound wrappers, an old fold, a washed copy. 7 leaves including title-page. Np [but Germany], 1945. £5,000

A rare survival. This is a program for what Judge Norman Birkett, who presided throughout, called the “greatest trial in history.” It was probably handed out to those in attendance: distinguished visitors and members of the press.

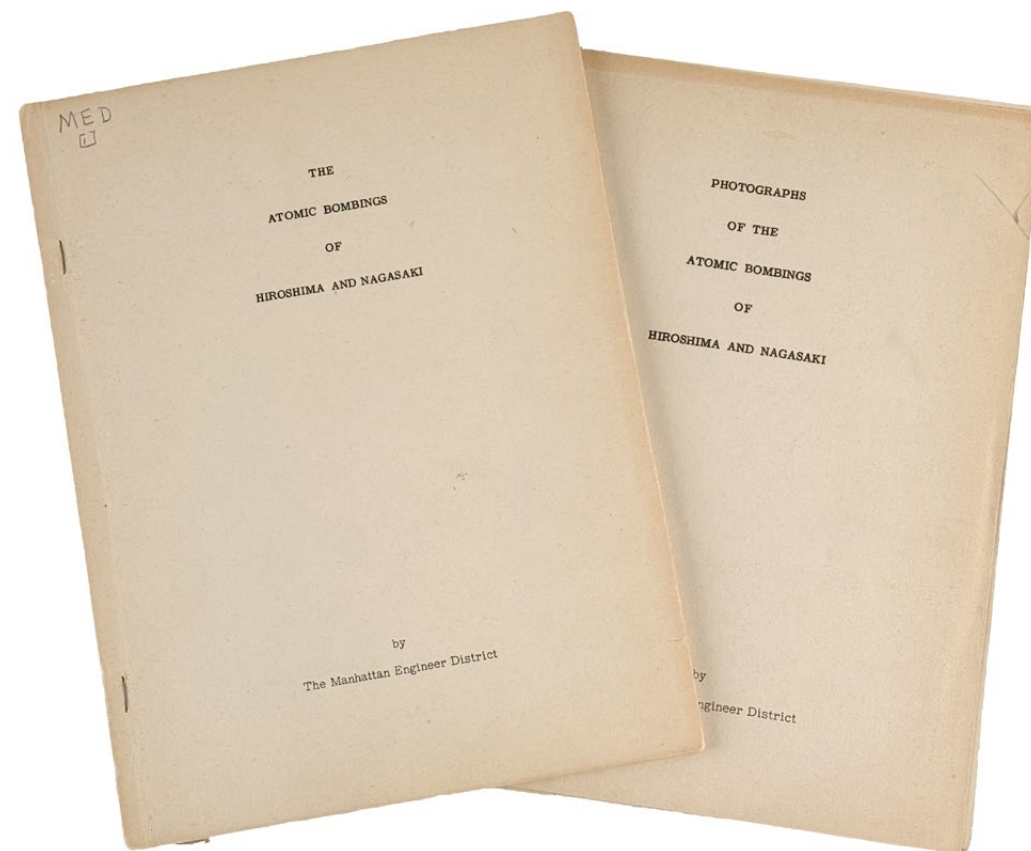
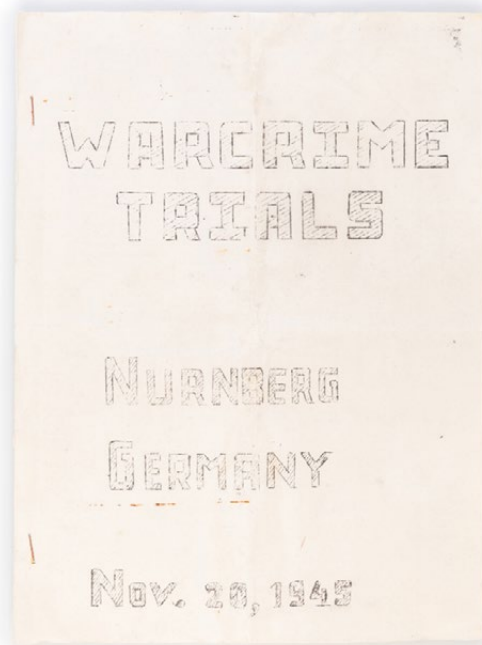
**The trial ran from 20 November 1945 to 1 October 1946. This first trial saw the twenty-one most prominent members of the Nazi party prosecuted,** which included Hermann Goering (successor designate to Hitler), Rudolf Hess (Deputy Fuhrer for all Party Affairs), Joachim von Ribbentrop (Party delegate for Questions on Foreign Policy) and, among others, Albert Speer. A brief note listing their roles in the Nazi Party is given for each man. Of course, Hitler, Goebbels and Himmler had all committed suicide before the trial.

They were charged with the following: conspiring against peace; planning, initiating and waging wars of aggression; participating in war crimes; and committing crimes against humanity.

The first page of the document is a floor plan of the court room, naming each of the eight judges: Lawrence, Volchkow, Nikitchenko, Birkett, Biddle, Parker, De Vabres and Falco. Defendants were also given specific seating in order of seniority. The British, American, French, and Russian prosecutors were allotted tables as were defense counsels, and distinguished visitors. A note at the end of the document states that all “information and conversation in the court Room is transmitted by means of earphones” and was available in the language of the speaker as well as English, Russian, French and German.

**These trials were of real importance, not only for prosecuting the most**

**notorious war-criminals of the twentieth century (more than 200 people were eventually tried), but also for establishing a format which would be adopted by the United Nations,** used elsewhere for the Eichmann trial, and its conclusions contributed to the formulation of the Genocide Convention, the Geneva Convention, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. OCLC locates five copies at: US Holocaust museum, University of South Florida, Michigan Law Library, Oberlin College, BL. COPAC adds LSE. (OCLC 19827329 gives a collation of 8 leaves, but states that the floor plan is duplicated. Indeed, the University of Michigan Law library confirms our collation of 7 leaves.)



**Early Reports on the First Atomic Bombs**

**31 MANHATTAN ENGINEER DISTRICT, GROVES (Major Leslie R.)  
The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.**

First edition. Two folding maps & 3 figures to text. Folio. Publisher’s staplebound printed wrappers, notation to upper wrapper, ii, 42pp (with pp35–41 in two columns). [Washington DC], Manhattan Engineer District, 29 June, 1946.

[And:] **MANHATTAN ENGINEER DISTRICT. Photographs of the Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.** First edition. 101 numbered and captioned figures. Folio. Publisher’s printed staplebound wrappers, paper repairs at staples, stamp inside front cover, some wear, soiling and discoloration. [Washington DC], Manhattan Engineer District, 29 June, 1946. **£5,000**

**Rare and important: “This report describes the effects of the atomic bombs which were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, respectively. It summarizes all the authentic information**

HIROSHIMA  
HIROSHIMA PREFECTURE, HONSHU, JAPAN

GRAPHIC SYMBOLS IN METERS

Scale: 1:50,000

Vertical scale: 1 cm = 100 meters

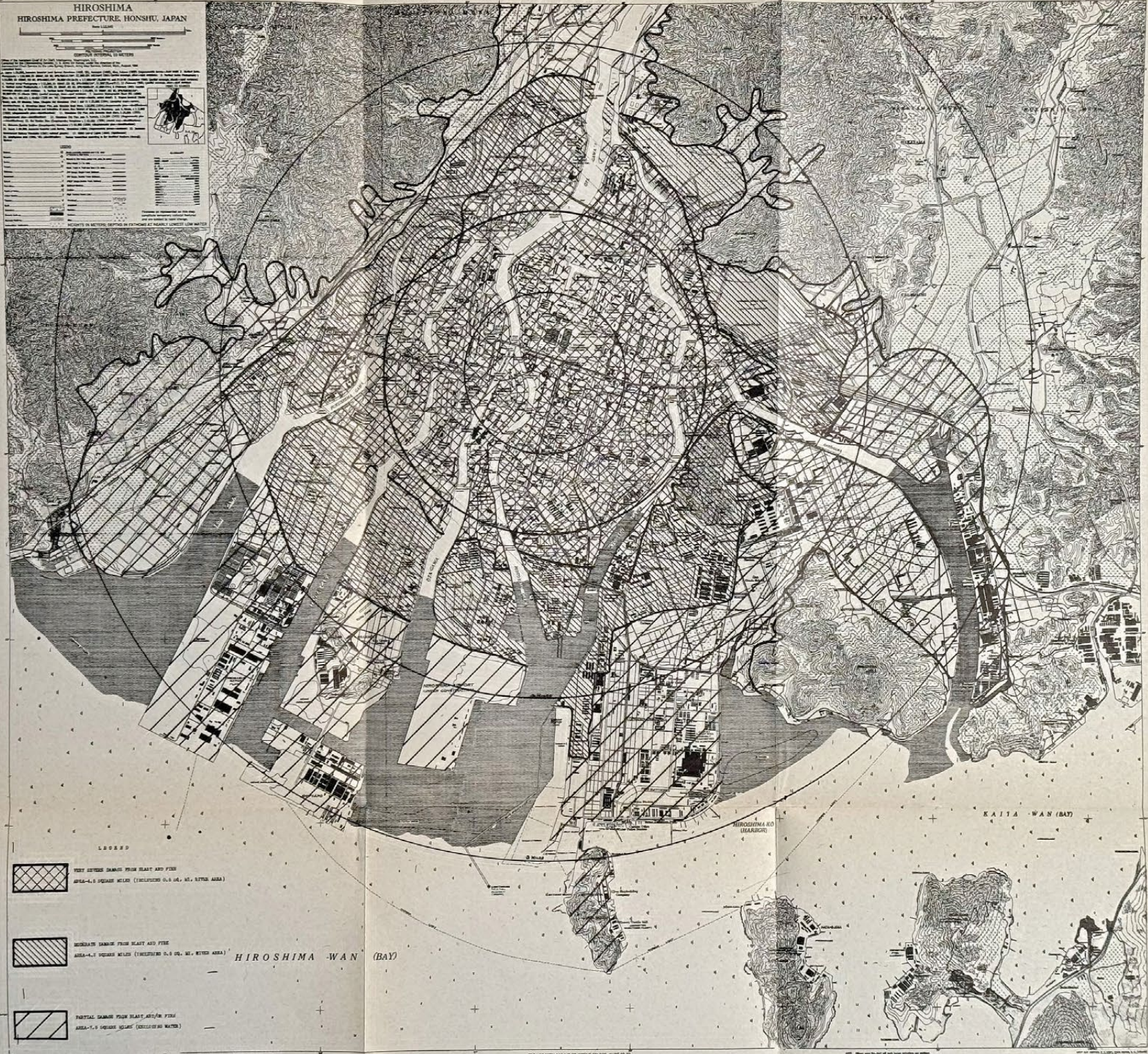
Horizontal scale: 1 cm = 100 meters

Legend for symbols and colors:

- Blue: Water
- Green: Forest
- Yellow: Cultivated land
- White: Urban areas
- Black: Buildings
- Red: Roads
- Grey: Railroads
- Black with dots: Elevation contours

Scale bar: 0 to 1000 meters

EMERGENCY PROVISIONAL EDITION RESTRICTED



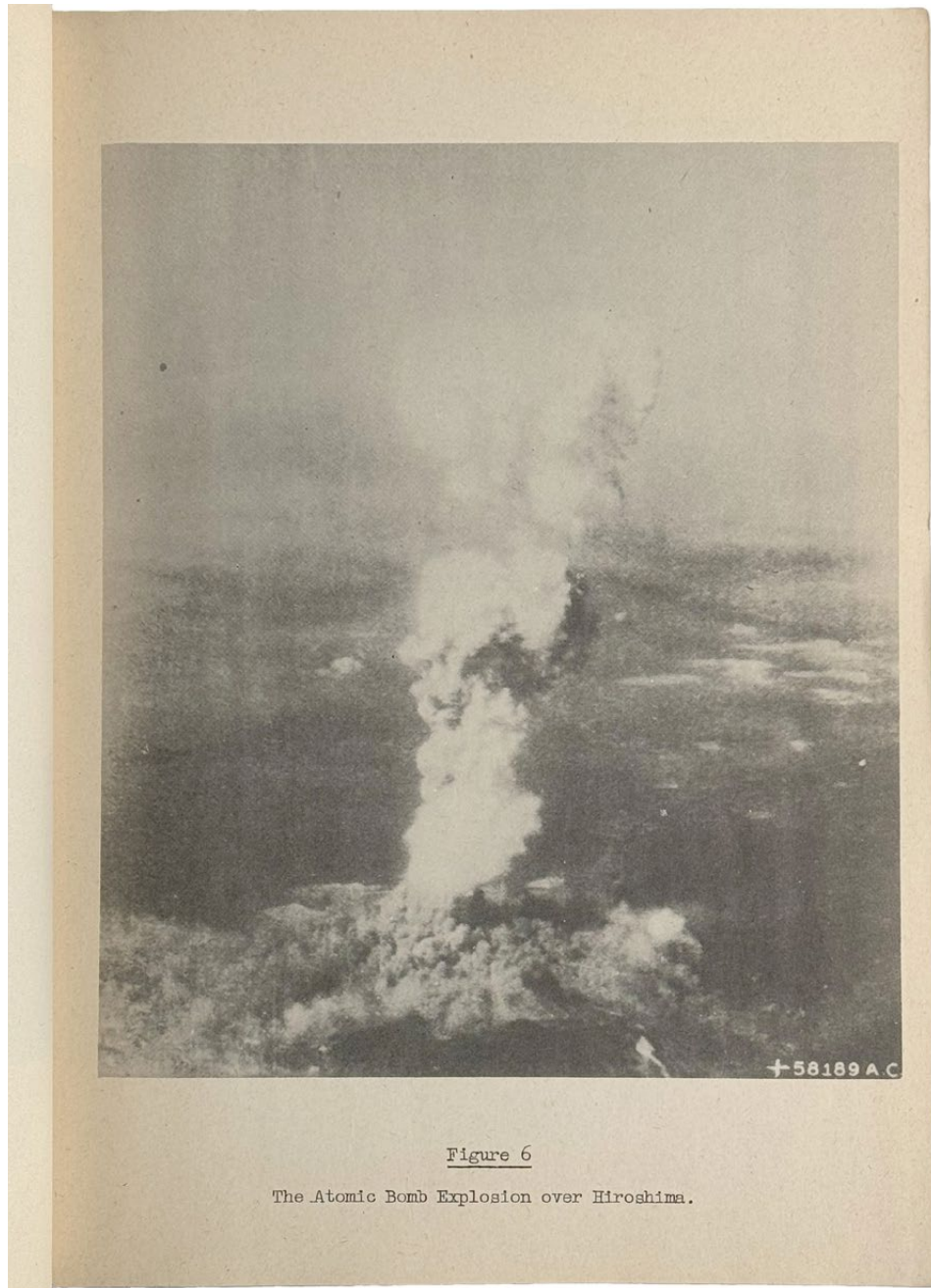
- LEGEND
- Red cross-hatch pattern: HEAVY DAMAGE FROM BLAST AND FIRE  
AREA-4.5 SQUARE KILOMETERS (INCLUDING 0.5 SQ. KI. BUFFER AREA)
  - Blue diagonal lines: MODERATE DAMAGE FROM BLAST AND FIRE  
AREA-4.5 SQUARE KILOMETERS (INCLUDING 0.5 SQ. KI. BUFFER AREA)
  - White diagonal lines: PARTIAL DAMAGE FROM BLAST AND FIRE  
AREA-4.5 SQUARE KILOMETERS (INCLUDING 0.5 SQ. KI. BUFFER AREA)

RESTRICTED EMERGENCY PROVISIONAL EDITION

FOR USE WITH AN AIR COLLECTIVE FOLDER, GUMMED

that is available on damage to structures, injuries to personnel, morale effect, etc., which can be released at this time without prejudicing the security of the United States” (foreword).

A collaboration between The Special Manhattan Engineer District Investigating Group, The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, and The British Mission to Japan, this work not only details the extent and effects of the



bombings but also the propaganda campaign that followed. That included a leaflet and newspaper dropping across 47 Japanese cities with populations over 100,000 (some 6,000,000 leaflets were dropped by the time surrender negotiations commenced). The leaflets and newspapers were augmented by radio broadcasts in Japanese at fifteen-minute intervals.

Father John A. Siemes' six-page account "Eyewitness Account Hiroshima -- August 6" is reprinted here. A professor at Tokyo's Catholic University, Father John A. Siemes, was a Jesuit priest who was born in 1906 and was living at the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Nagatsuka. He first sent his impressions to the magazine Jesuit Missions, but the narrative here appears fuller than what has been found online from the Jesuit Missions submission. Furthermore, this report was an important influence on John Hershey's classic account of the event, "Hiroshima," which first appeared in the *New Yorker*.

In addition to this, there are comparisons of the explosions in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, as well as data on blast and radiation injuries.

The photographs include a pre-strike aerial view of Hiroshima covering an area of 3.3 miles by 2.6 miles. There is an image of atomic bomb explosion over Nagasaki, taken from about 8 miles distance. The height of the top of the cloud was about 40,000 feet. This is followed by another of the atomic bomb explosion over Hiroshima. Figure 7 is a panoramic view of Hiroshima after the bomb. Figure 8 is an aerial view of Hiroshima after the bomb. Figure 9 is a panoramic view of Nagasaki after the bomb, and figure 10 is an aerial view of Nagasaki after the bomb. Remaining photographs provide more granular images and information. On 11 August, Groves ordered a survey team to report on the damage and radioactivity at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A party equipped with portable Geiger counters arrived in Hiroshima on 8 September. They remained in Hiroshima until 14 September and then surveyed Nagasaki from 19 September to 8 October.

The Hiroshima fold out map is labelled "Restricted and Emergency Provision Edition."

On 17 June, 1942, the Manhattan Engineer District was one of several created to oversee the development of the atomic bomb. Unlike other districts, the Manhattan District had no geographic boundaries and its area spread from Berkeley to Boston.

**This was essentially a wartime production produced in limited numbers for private circulation only. It's very unusual to find both the report and the photographs for sale together.**

Rare in the trade. Auction records locate a single copy at PBA in 2022.

McDonnell, J.A., "The Manhattan Project" in *The Military Engineer*, Vol. 85, No. 557 (July, 1993), p.76.



*Zionist Radicals Exiled from Mandatory Palestine*

**32** [JEWISH INTERNMENT IN AFRICA.]

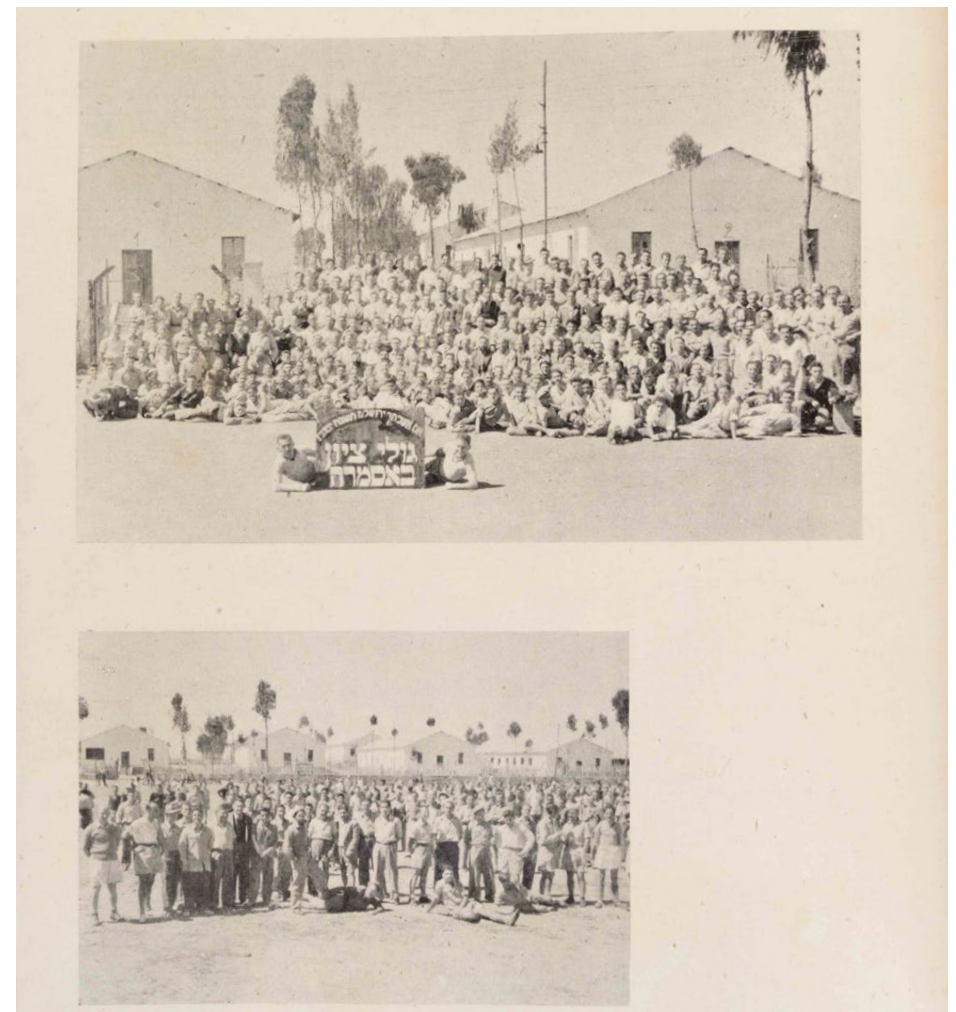
**Sefer ha-ma'atsar veva-galut:  
shalosh shanim le-galutenu. [The Book of  
Detention and Exile: Three Years in Exile.]**

First edition. 4to. (330 by 205mm.) Map to front pastedown, 3 leaves of half-tone photographs printed on different paperstock, numerous illustrations in text, mimeographed Hebrew typescript throughout, rectos only. Quarter buckram over original wrappers, screen printed titles, scattered foxing throughout, heavier at extremities. A good but sound copy. 321, [4] ll. [plus] 12ll. loose separately issued appendix. Gilgil, Kenya, 1947. **£3,750**

A comprehensive publication documenting the experience of Zionist Jewish radicals in detention camps in Africa. Remarkably, this book was produced by the internees at the Gilgil camp.

Including testimonials, photographs, maps, illustrations, diagrams and songs, this book offers an insight into the lives of Irgun and Lehi prisoners in British East African camps. The map shows the locations of these sites at Latrun, Asmara, Mombasa and Gilgil.

During the years of Mandatory Palestine, several Zionist paramilitary groups were in conflict with the British authorities and Arab residents, attempting to evict them from the region and establish a Jewish governed state with unrestricted immigration. The most active of these were the Lehi or "Stern Gang", and the Irgun or Etzel. Both engaged in terrorist action against British





and Arab occupants of Palestine, and following the establishment of the State of Israel, were largely absorbed into the newly founded Israeli Defence Force.

Following several high-profile escapes of Irgun and Lehi captives from the Latroun prison within Mandatory Palestine, the British decided to deport them to British governed locations in East Africa. This was both to minimise the risk of future escape, and to act as a further deterrent. After three years of internment without trial, the prisoners were released in July 1948, and returned to the newborn State of Israel.

This copy comes with a separately issued appendix of loose leaves which adds accounts of this release. The final paragraph translates as follows: "After three years and nine months, the end of our exile is arising. We are yet enveloped by the foreign skies of Kenya; the spikes of barbed wire still encompass the compound; but an air of freedom is already penetrating our hearts, and 254 exiles from Zion are making their way back to the motherland, to Israel, to join the ranks of the fighters, to do battle and triumph."

OCLC finds copies at: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Princeton, & Ben Gurion University in Israel.



*Jewish Songs Printed in a Kenyan Internment Camp*

**33 BOROKHOV (Yehudah).  
Anahnu Shirim Lekha [We Sing For You].**

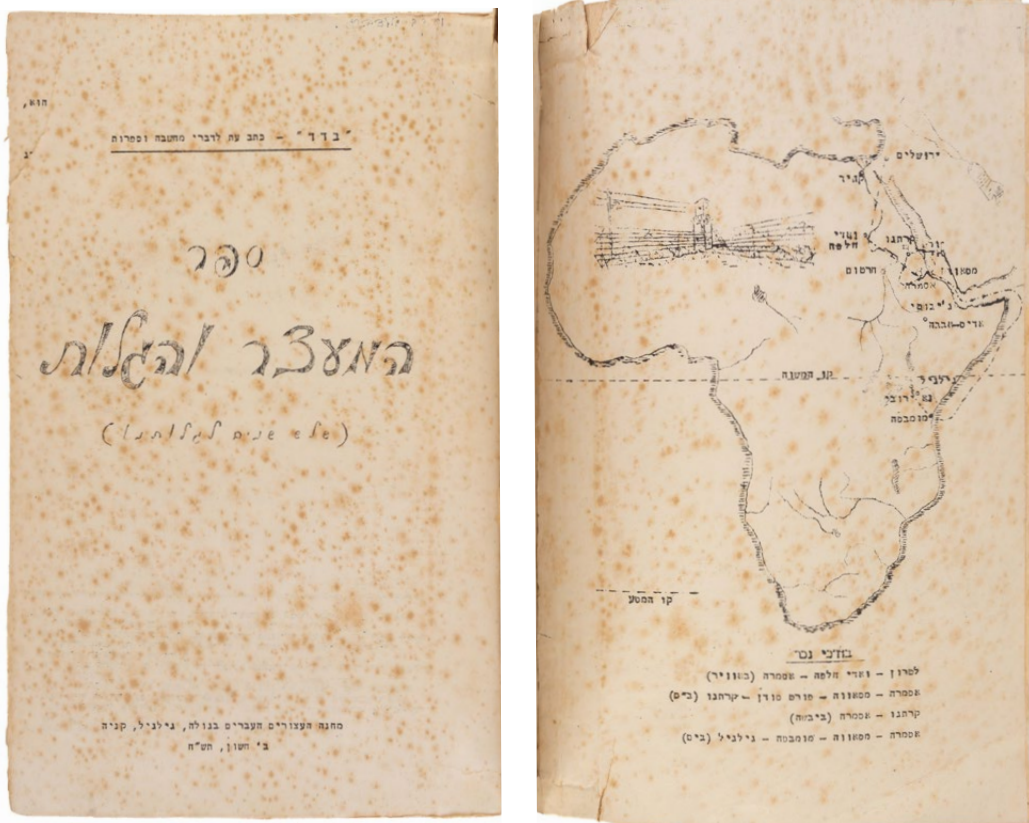
First edition. Oblong 8vo (165 by 205mm). Mimeographed throughout, rectos only. Blue paper wrappers, pictorial design of musical notations with a caged bird beneath, rear wrapper lacking. Spotting throughout, but more apparent at extremities and fore-edges, final leaf ragged at margin with no loss of text. 110, [2] ll. Kenya, Gilgil Internment Camp, Mekhon Z'abotinski, [1948]. **£750**

A rare collection of songs in Hebrew, typewritten and mimeographed by Irgun and Lehi prisoners in the Gilgil internment camp in Kenya, where suspected terrorists were detained in exile from the British Mandate of Palestine.

The book opens with the "Song of Acre Prisoners" by Ze'ev Jabotinsky (composed while Jabotinsky was imprisoned in Acre) and it includes songs about life in Cyprus internment camps. The collection is dedicated to the memory of Zionist fighters who died whilst incarcerated in Africa or in Palestine.

The African camps were established by the British forces, after failed attempts to intern Zionist paramilitary insurgents within Mandatory Palestine. The idea of deportation to another British colonial protectorate was supposed to act as a deterrent, prioritising ideologically radical prisoners considered to be the highest risk of escape. In this respect the demographic of internees differed from those held at the Cyprus camps, who were largely civilian Jews who had attempted to immigrate to Palestine in violation of British policy.

OCLC lists two copies only: UCLA & UC Southern Regional Library Facility.



## A Critical Bill in the Passage of the Civil Rights Act

### 34 [CIVIL RIGHTS ACT.]

88th Congress. 1st Session. S.1732 ...

**A Bill to eliminate discrimination in public accommodations affecting interstate commerce.**

Slip bill. Small folio. Printed self-wrappers, stapled as issued. A crisp copy, very good. 9, [3]pp. Washington, D.C., 19 June, 1963. £5,500

**A rare survival critical to the passing of the Civil Rights Act through Congress. Slip bills were printed in limited numbers for use within Congress and are rarely seen in commerce. This bill in particular proved important for the Kennedy government's legal strategy and the passing of the Act.**

Martin Luther King Jr.'s Birmingham campaign in the spring of 1963 proved a watershed moment in the civil rights movement, leading directly to President John F. Kennedy changing position on the issue. In a televised address on June 11, 1963, the President announced the urgent need for legislation.

A week later, Kennedy sent his civil rights bill to Congress, calling for the enforcement of voting rights, equal accommodations in public facilities, provisions for the Attorney General to initiate school desegregation suits, new programs to ensure fair employment practices such as support of a Fair Employment Practice Committee, the establishment of a Community Relations Service, and the granting of authority to the federal government to withhold funds from programs and activities in which discrimination had occurred.

Senate Majority leader Mike Mansfield (D, Montana) immediately took on Kennedy's proposal and on June 19 introduced it as three bills within the Senate. The first, S. 1731, comprising the exact text of the administration's proposal, was read twice and referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee. **The second, S. 1732 [i.e. the present printing], included only the second article of the administration's proposal, i.e. the section regarding discrimination in public accommodations, which was read twice and referred to the Senate Commerce Committee.** The final bill, S. 1750, containing the text of S. 1731 but without the text of S. 1732, was likewise read and referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

**Importantly, bill S.1732 was to be cited as the "Interstate Public Accommodations Act of 1963" rather than the Civil Rights Act.** One might assume the civil rights of non-white citizens might have been protected by the Thirteenth amendment, but its scope was, in fact, quite narrow. "What the newly freed

88TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

S. 1732

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 19, 1963

Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. KEATING, Mr. MORSE, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. BEALL, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. FONG, Mr. CLARK, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. HART, Mr. CASE, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DODD, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. ENGLE, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. INOUE, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. McNAMARA, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. NELSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. PELL, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. MOSS, and Mr. MCGEE) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Commerce

## A BILL

To eliminate discrimination in public accommodations affecting interstate commerce.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Interstate Public Accom-  
4 modations Act of 1963."

### FINDINGS

5  
6 SEC. 2. (a) The American people have become increas-  
7 ingly mobile during the last generation, and millions of  
8 American citizens travel each year from State to State by  
9 rail, air, bus, automobile, and other means. A substantial  
10 number of such travelers are members of minority racial

VII—O

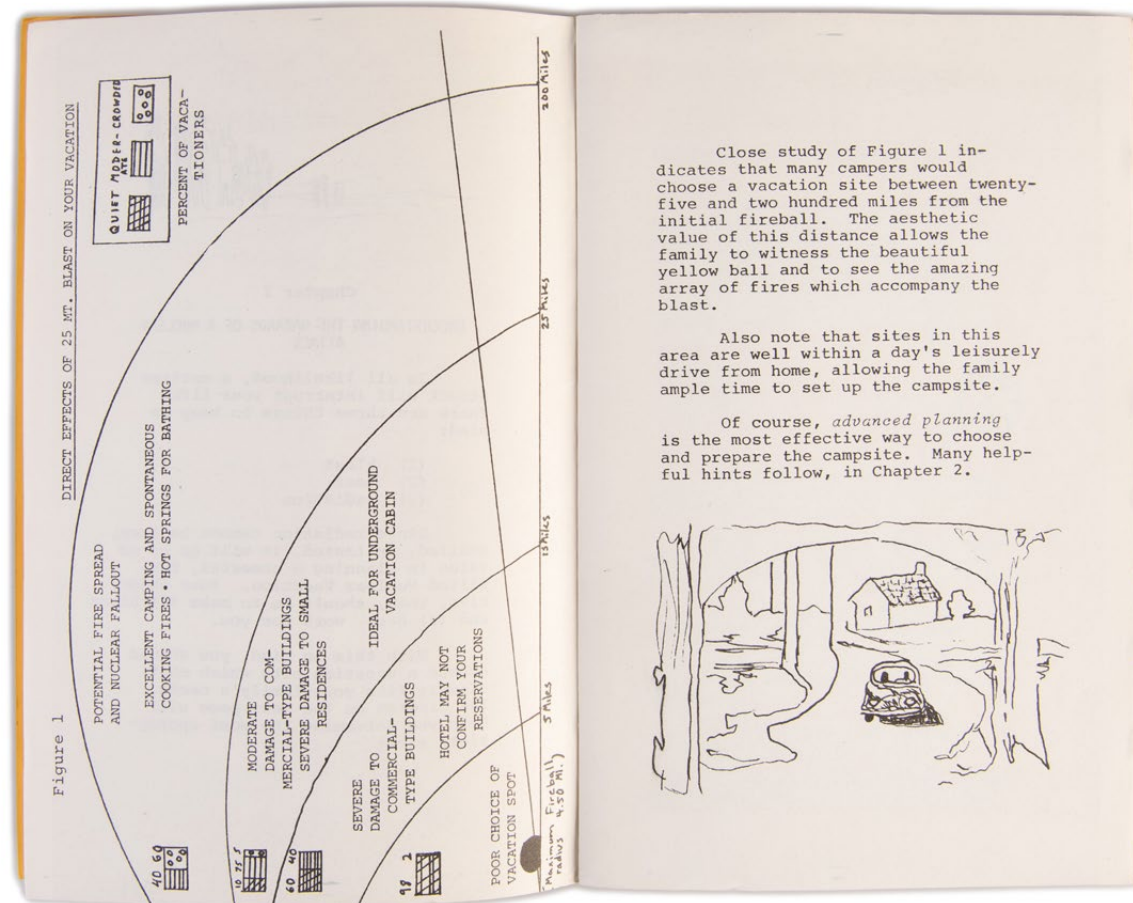
slaves gained by way of the positive right to make and enforce contracts, they lost by way of the negative implication that others could refuse to enter into contracts with them. Civil rights were a two-edged sword that did not guarantee social equality” (Rutherglen, 1557). Indeed, decisions from the Warren Court proved that “Congress could accomplish under the Commerce Clause what it could not under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments” (*ibid*, 1553) As such, the Attorney General sought to minimize the role of the Thirteenth Amendment, instead favouring the Commerce Clause which “was far superior to the former because of the freedom it gave Congress to legislate pragmatically and incrementally, without the risk of contravening established judicial precedent” (*ibid*, 1562).

Indeed, it was this bill (S.1732) which became the “key document making the case for this strategy ... and served as the basis for testimony by the Attorney General in Senate hearings on a predecessor to the 1964 Act” (*ibid*). It focuses specifically on allowing universal access to goods and services: Section 2 states: “The American people have become increasingly mobile during the last generation and millions of American citizens travel each year from State to State by rail, air, bus, automobile, and other means. A substantial number of such travelers are members of minority racial and religious groups. These citizens, particularly Negroes, are subjected in many places to discrimination and segregation, and they are frequently unable to obtain the goods and services available to other interstate travelers.”

This allowed for a shift in the debate where both civil rights and economic rights were seen as integral to freedom of contract and thus the basis of equal opportunity.

The Judiciary Committee held hearings on S. 1731 from July to September 1963, and made some amendments, but neither S.1731 nor S.1750 were ever reported out of committee. The Senate Commerce Committee held their hearings on S. 1732 from July to August 1963, and reported the bill out of committee with various amendments on February 10, 1964. But with the House version of the Civil Rights Act (H.R. 7152) proceeding through its process, the Senate chose to wait for its passage to consider amending that bill before taking up its own.

The present June 19, 1963, slip bill printing of the Senate bill respecting discrimination in public accommodations was among the earliest Congressional drafts of what would become the monumental Civil Rights Act of 1964. Rutherglen, G., “The Thirteenth Amendment, the Power of Congress, and the Shifting Sources of Civil Rights Law” in *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 112, No. 7 (November, 2012), pp.1551-1584.



### A Satirical Guide to the Apocalypse

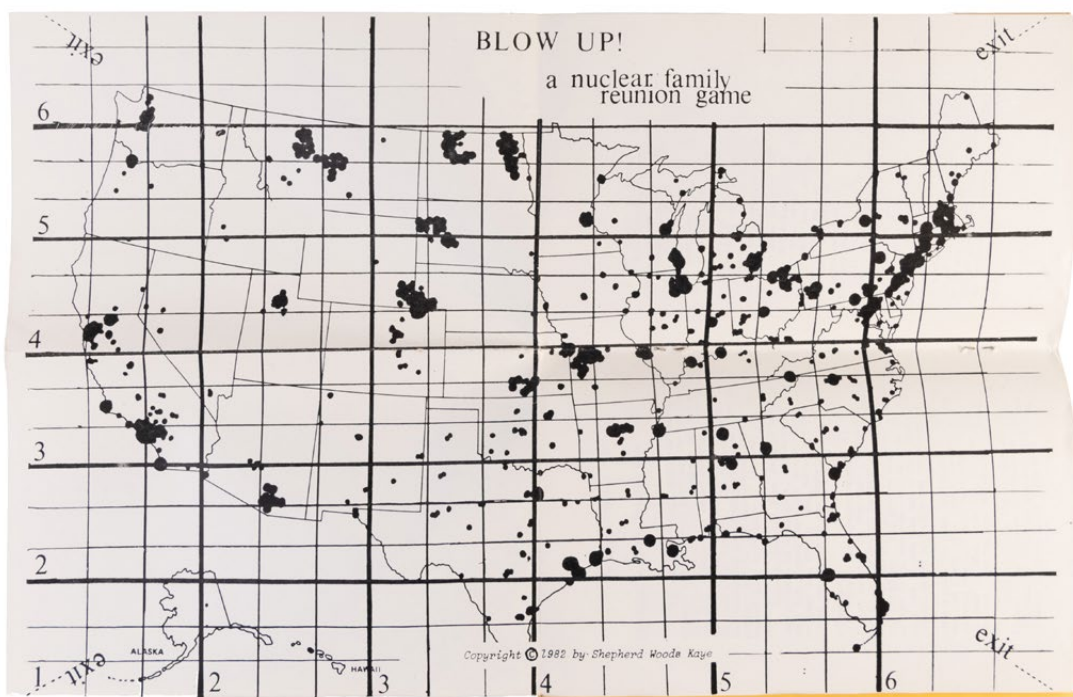
## 35 [NUCLEAR WAR] SHEPHERD, WOODS, KAYE.

**The Nuclear Family Vacation Guide.** Fun in the Nuclear Age, making the most of a nuclear attack in your city.

Sole edition. Folding map & illustrations to text. 8vo. A crisp copy in the publisher's yellow printed wrappers. [34]pp. Belmont, Ma, Shepherd / Woods / Kaye, 1982. **£250**

An excellent, not to mention pragmatic, guide for families in the event of a nuclear attack.

It opens with a breakdown of the three key features of a nuclear detonation: blast, heat, and radiation. As the latter is invisible, readers are encouraged to make both the blast and the heat “work for you.” Families are thus directed to



find a place between 25 and 200 miles from the initial fireball, which will make for “excellent camping and spontaneous fires,” not to mention “hot springs for bathing.” Furthermore, the “aesthetic value of this distance allows the family to witness the beautiful yellow ball ...”

Chapter two is “The Early Warning Package Plan” and provides several useful pointers for an impending attack, such as: “A letter sent to your Senator is returned with the following notice: ‘Moved, No Forwarding Address.’” The chapter also contains a list of things to bring, including bikinis, alcohol and fruit juices, plus instant cameras to document the changes in everyone’s appearance. The pamphlet includes a handy grid to paste in before and after shots.

Finally, it includes a game—Blow Up!—to occupy children during the event. “The object of the game is to get all six of your family members across the U.S. border for their reunion, while the other players are trying to blow up you and your family.”

What more could anyone ask for?

Very rare: OCLC locates just two copies at Syracuse and Oregon State.

