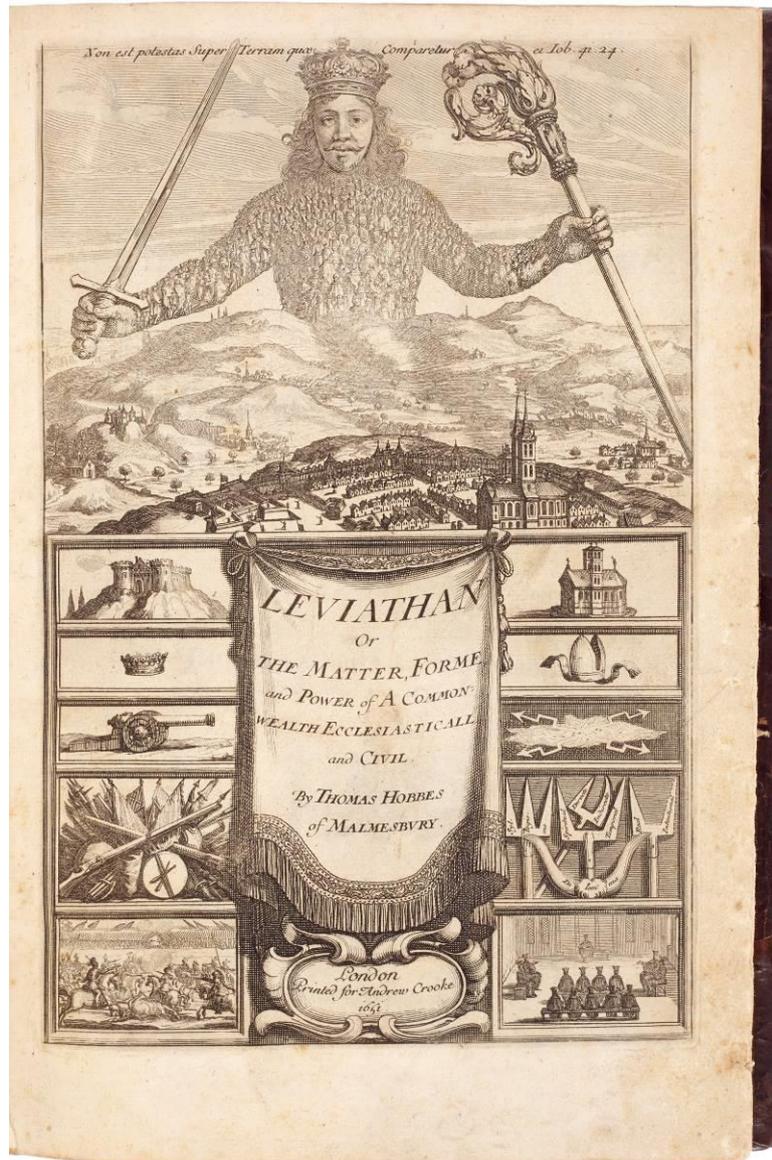


BERNARD QUARITCH

# POLITICS



List 2017/1

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## **List 2017/1**

## POLITICS

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### POST-TRUTH ANTE LITTERAM

#### A 'PROTO- PRINCE': INSPIRATION TO MACHIAVELLI AND ERASMUS

1. **ALBERTI, Leon Battista.** *Momus [or De principe]. Rome, Jacopo Mazochi, 1520.*

4to, 104 leaves, including a leaf of errata at end; printed in roman letter, several large white-on-black initial letters; some light spotting but a very good large copy in marbled paper boards with paper spine label. £4600

**First edition** of this satirical 'Prince' by the great Renaissance architect, theorist, scholar and man of letters, Leon Battista Alberti. There were two editions published in Rome in 1520, one (the present) by Jacopo Mazochi, the other by Étienne Guillery. Both carry papal privileges, but inasmuch as the present is an *uncorrected* text with a leaf of errata at the end and the other is a *corrected* text with no errata, this is probably the original. (Further, our edition carries no indication of month in the colophon, but the Guillery edition is dated to November, which puts it very late in the year). This edition carries a dedicatory preface addressed by the printer Mazochi to Pietro Accolti, Cardinal of Ancona.

An indispensable source for Alberti's political thought, an inspiration to Machiavelli and Erasmus and a 'supremely interesting example of how the comic spirit of the early Renaissance expressed itself in literature' (Martini, below), the *Momus* is a political and social satire set in the form of a fable, confronting most notably the issue of what makes a good ruler.

Machiavelli apparently derived the title of his *Il Principe* from Alberti, and Erasmus too seems to have read it. "It could be that Erasmus when he talks of Momus lately hurled to earth by the indignant gods was echoing Alberti... *Momus* was written in the 1440s, twice printed in 1520, had no real breakthrough at either time. Yet it is demonstrably the most sustained, the most inventive offshoot from Lucian before *Gulliver's Travels*...while as its subtitle, *Momus, seu de Principe*, shows, it is also the halfway house between the *Monarchy* of Dante and that other *Prince*, of Machiavelli" (J.H. Whitfield, " 'Momus' and the nature of humanism", in *Classical Influences in European Culture*, ed. R. R. Bolgar, CUP 1971).

Momus, son of Night in Hesiod's *Theogony*, is the god of disorder, malevolence, ill-will and sarcasm. The most outspoken of all the gods, he is compelled to learn to hide his character through suffering certain injustices (according to the story told by Alberti in Book I) and, ironically, becomes the spirit of dissimulation, or of 'mummery' in effect. Alberti gives his Momus a subtlety and 'genius in evil-doing' (see P. Laurens, below) that far exceeds anything in his antique sources. But where Lucian's satire has a bitter edge, that of Alberti is more genial and more fanciful. The story centers on Jupiter's dealings with Momus, amidst a royal court of other gods and goddesses, each representing some human failing, excess or attribute. Jupiter himself, preoccupied solely with his own amusements, is a weak and vacillating ruler; unable to make firm decisions, he surrounds himself with advisors who are always badly chosen. His rule and its consequences may be referred, in comparison, to the allegory of *Mal Governo*, or Bad Government painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. Book IV of the *Momus* centres on Alberti's two most vividly drawn and original characters: Charon, representing wisdom and good sense, and Gelastro, a philosopher, as caricature of the absurdity of intellectual pretension.

IACOBVS . MAZUCHI VS  
PETRO . ACCOLTO  
CARD . ANCONITANO  
S . P . D



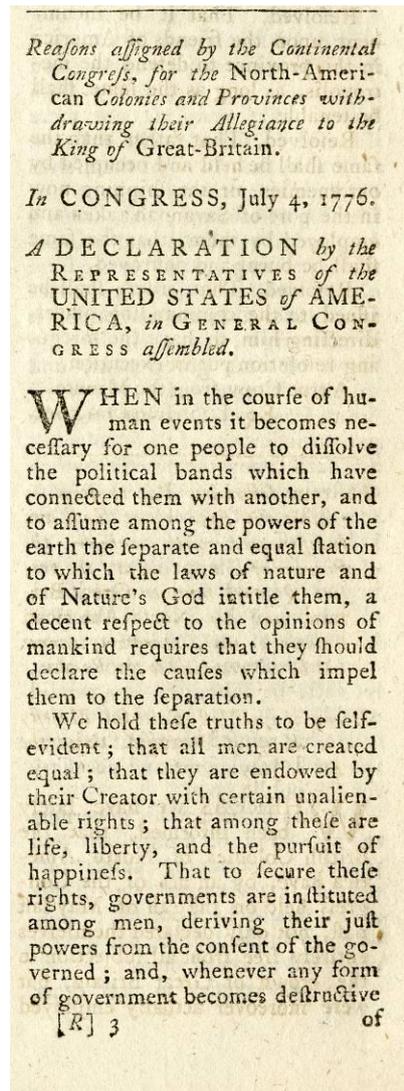
IV mecum cogitavi, quod nã tibi argu-  
mentũ meã in te obseruatiã possem exhi-  
bere/nam quũ iam multos ab hinc annos  
tete mihi tam familiariter utendum pra sti-  
teris/q̃ cui familiarissime/admiratiõẽ qua-  
dam tuarũ uirtutũ ductus semp percupi-  
ui apud oẽs testatũ relinquere te aut nemi-  
nem/aut per paucos habere/qui tui nois  
me eẽnt aut studiosiores/aut amantiores. Profecto quum pro-  
tua singulari humãitate me unũ ex intimis tuis esse uolueris/  
perspexerimq; tuã in bonos mansuetudinẽ/ in malos seuerita-  
tem/ incorruptũ ab omni auaritia/atq; uoluptate ingeniu/ quo-  
tidianũ in re sãaria laborem/disciplinarũ oium cognitionẽ/ in  
prouidendo cõsiliũ/in decernẽdo iudiciũ/ quibus rebus fie-  
bat ut te nõ solũ iis: quos uidemus/ sed iis etiã qui superioribus  
saeculis uixerũt: proculdubio cõpararemus. aut malignus/ aut  
rudis tuarum laudũ æstimator uideri potuissem nisi ex mea  
officina uolumen aliquod tibi dicatũ in publicũ prodiret. qd̃  
iudiciũ apud oẽs futurũ esset/ quãti ego te/ singularesq; uirtutes  
tuas faciã. Scio tamen te tam remotũ esse tum natura/ tum etiã  
multo magis ratiõẽ/ et doctrina ab inani laude/ & sermonibus  
uulgis: q̃ qui remotissimus inueniret. Proinde has librorũ dica-  
tiões/ quas nõnulli magnificiũt/ tanti facere/ q̃ sus amaracũ. Et  
enim te frequẽbus sermonibus usurpare audiui eam uerã/ ac  
solidam haberi gloriã. quã ex cõtinentia/ animi magnitudine:  
uirtutũ præstantia: uitã sanctitate proficiscit qd̃ haec nõ summo  
solo adhaerens/ sed altis radicibus inixa cõtra omnẽ & tempo-  
rum/ & hominũ iniuriã in ipsam æternitatẽ deueniat. licet aut

## THE FIRST UK PRINTING IN BOOK FORM OF THE U.S.

### DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

2. [AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE]. [BURKE, Edmund, editor]. The annual register, or a view of the history, politics and literature for the year 1776. London, Dodsley, 1777.

8vo; a little occasional minor foxing, but a very good copy, bound in contemporary calf, panelled spine filleted in gilt, gilt morocco lettering piece (chipped); joints cracked but holding, spine scratched, edges a little worn; preserved in a cloth box. £1750



**First edition** of a remarkably influential issue of the *Annual register*, the 1776 issue including **the first British printing in book form of the US Declaration of Independence**.

Edmund Burke founded the journal with the Dodsley brothers in 1758 and remained its main editor until at least 1789. 'Recent investigations have tended to limit [Burke's] active engagement, as principal editor, to the first eight years (Todd, p. 44; Todd consequently limits his own bibliographical survey to those issues and provides no reference for the following years). 'No one is quite sure how much of the *Annual Register* Burke wrote or for how long he contributed to it, but until he was sixty he appears to have maintained general supervision and provided at least some of the articles; many of them probably for about the first eight years; fewer after 1766, though for a further twenty years or so he is thought to have written the book reviews and prefaces' (Ayling, *Edmund Burke*, 1988, p. 141).

The template of the Register included an initial long historical essay on contemporary affairs, a chronology, which offered an account of yearly salient public events in Britain, and a transcription of primary sources entitled 'State Papers', comprising official documents, letters, speeches.

Beside the text of the Declaration, the 1776 volume naturally contains an account of the American events as perceived in Britain and Europe, the charter of the first government of the United States, the Articles of Confederation, a detailed description of the events of the war, and much information on the rebellion in other colonies, with extensive room given to transcriptions of the Parliamentary debates on the American question. Burke's efforts towards the negotiating of peace and reconciliation (including a

public speech 'for upwards of three hours with great ability') are naturally well covered. Among the books reviewed in the 1776 issue, Adam Smith's newly-published *Wealth of Nations* and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* feature prominently, their authors both correspondents and friends of Burke.

Todd, p. 44; Ayling, *passim*.

## GOVERNMENT IS ABOUT DEFENDING LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

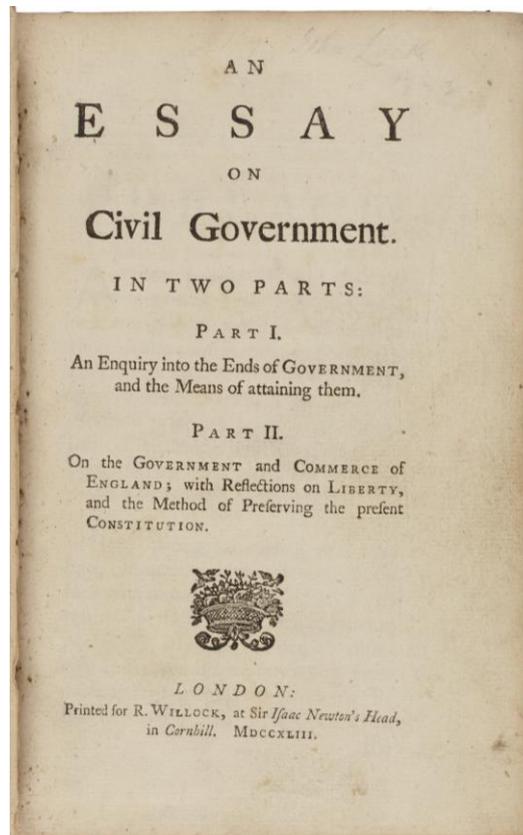
3. [ANON. LIBERTY AND GOVERNMENT]. An essay on civil government. In two parts. Part I. An Enquiry into the Ends of Government, and the Means of attaining them. Part II. On the Government and Commerce of England; with Reflections on Liberty, and the Method of Preserving the present Constitution. *London, R. Willock, 1743.*

8vo, pp. [4], ix, [15], 363, [1]; woodcut device to title page and tailpiece at end; occasional light foxing, half title partly detached, but internally in very good condition; in contemporary calf; front cover cracked and held by threads, corners worn, abrasions to the sides. £750

**Uncommon: the first and only edition of an anonymously published essay on liberty and the role of government**, the title and content of which point to the political philosophy of John Locke. Concerned primarily with the role of the state as a protector of property and therefore defender of liberty, the author also addresses issues concerning the East India Company, the South Sea Company, the value of money, and interest. 'The Essay argued that the end of civil government was the protection of property, and took a whiggish turn in allying property with liberty. More novel, but characteristic of the period, was the expansive conception of property, both national and personal, that the author expounded' (D. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 187–8).

A previous owner inscribed (unsurprisingly) 'John Locke' in pencil on the title-page of this copy: which inscription was erased at a later stage.

ESTC T55970. Though represented in 12 US and 9 UK institutions, this title is scarce on the market.



## BENEATH THE VEIL: POLITICS CAMOUFLAGED AS MEDICINE

### 4. [ANON]. *Le mie vedute su la sanità e la longevità. Naples, Vincenzo Orsino, 1804.*

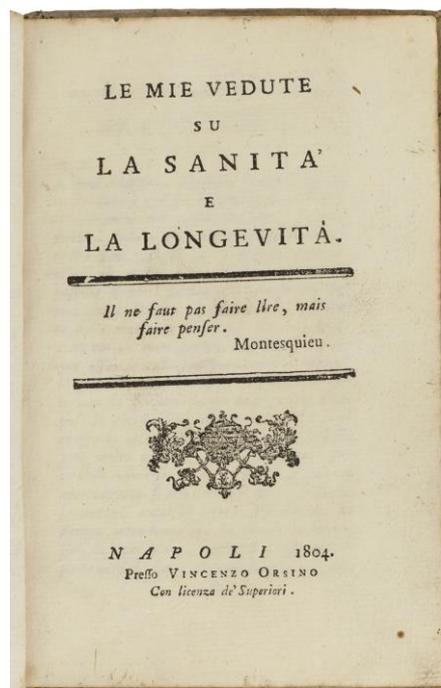
8vo, pp. 91, [1] blank, [1] errata, [1] blank, [4]; a very good, crisp copy in contemporary vellum, flat spine with remains of a lettering-piece. £950

**Rare first edition, purportedly a reply to Sir John Sinclair's 1802 pamphlet *An essay on longevity*.**

The discourse, on the surface merely concerned with physical health and medicine, is in fact an enticing, ironic, sustained metaphor disguising a radically materialistic and liberal tract concerned with a political, social and economic sort of welfare. Among the recommended cures, the anonymous author (no doubt a Southern-Italian Bourbon subject living in one of the most reactionary contexts in Europe) **suggests the unification of Europe, to be governed by a Supreme Council.**

The camouflage worked: after the errata leaves at the end, there are two leaves of letters of approval to the censor, dated 1805: one of them is by a theology professor, stating that nothing in this book is opposed to the Christian religion, despite a sentence smuggled in in the early paragraphs, referring to the world as a mass of matter and nothing else, and other similarly unchristian statements. This anonymous work was re-published in 1826 with an appendix of three essays by one Nicola Pilla.

Not in OCLC or COPAC. ICCU locates one copy only, in Avellino (without errata and letters of recommendation at the end).



## LIBERTY IN 1849 GREECE

5. **AVGERINOS, Hypatios.** Πονήματα δραματικά. [Ponemata dramatika.] *Trieste, Loyd, 1849.*

8vo, pp. [ii], 159, 1 (blank); some light spotting, but a very good copy in early twentieth-century blue cloth, spine lightly sunned and lightly rubbed at foot, one or two small stains to sides. £1500

**Very rare first edition of Avgerinos' dramas of Greek Romanticism**, three pieces uniting sentiments of nationalism, liberty and philhellenism with aesthetic and literary reflections on the style and scope of dramatic poetry.

The work includes three dramatic works, the second of which is preceded by a theoretical introduction to dramatic poetry. The last piece, composed in 1832, is set in Nauplio at the Government palace. It is preceded by a long introduction featuring in particular the long letter of the Philhellenic Swiss Jean Gabriel Eynard addressed to the *Moniteur* on 26 October 1831 beginning 'The Count of Capo d'Istria has just been assassinated' (the letter is in French).

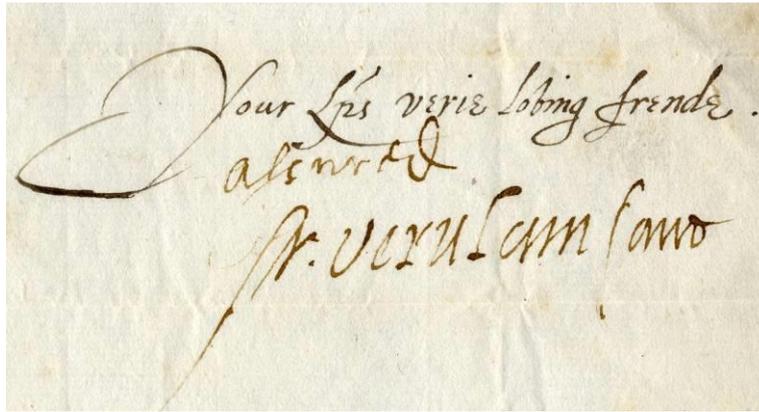
This work is of great rarity. Three copies have been located worldwide (Harvard, Cincinnati, Paris).

### 'THE BUSINESS AGAINST THE DUTCHMEN IN STAR CHAMBER'

6. **BACON, Francis, as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.** Letter, subscribed and signed ('assured / fr. verulam can[ellarius]') to Edward, Lord Zouch, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, informing him that the Attorney General, Sir Henry Yelverton, was issuing a process [of subpoena as a witness] 'against Hugh Hugginson & Josias Ente concerning the busines against the Dutchmen in Starchamber', and not wishing 'to serve such processe within your jurisdiction without your leave', Bacon asks him to send up the two men 'to answeere Mr Attorneyes Bill' voluntarily. *Gorhamburie [Hertfordshire], 3 August 1619.*

1 page, folio, with integral address leaf (seal tear repaired, trace of seal, endorsement 'R[ecieved] 6 August'), old foliation at head, trace of former hinge; the main text written by a clerk in a clear secretary hand with names and valediction in italic; in fine, fresh condition. £15,000

As Lord Chancellor Bacon presided over the Star Chamber, while as Attorney General Yelverton was responsible for prosecuting cases *pro Rege* before the Court. The 'busines against the Dutchmen' was a celebrated case with more than forty defendants, London merchants and foreigners, who had been charged with subversion of the realm by exporting gold and silver coins, bullion, plate, and other treasure in violation of statutes that went back to the fourteenth century and of the King's proclamation of 23 November 1611. This was a serious matter in the troubled economic climate of 1619, and probably explains why the Attorney General was prepared to ride roughshod over 'the auncient priviledges & customes' of the Cinque Ports where he did not have the jurisdiction to issue subpoenas.



As usual the records of Star Chamber do not show the outcome, the Decree and Order Books having been lost. Working from Exchequer records, however, Thomas G. Barnes was able to determine that 'twenty alien merchants (though no Englishmen) were fined in sums from £1500 to £20,000 for a total of £151,500 – the largest amount of fines ever imposed in a single case' (Barnes, p. 302).

The National Archives, STAC 8/25/19 (and later related cases STAC 8/25/20-23); William Hudson, 'A Treatise of Star Chamber', *Collectanea juridica*, II (1792), 1-240; Thomas G. Barnes, 'Mr Hudson's Star Chamber', *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G. R. Elton from his American Friends* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 285-308, especially pp. 302-3.

## PRINCE OF HOPE IN POST-NAPOLEONIC FRANCE

### 7. **BARGINET, Alexandre-Pierre.** De l'amnistie et du mariage de S. A. R. le duc d'Orléans. *Paris, Laisné, [1837].*

12mo, pp. xiv, 132; some leaves partially unopened; only light occasional foxing; contemporary purple cloth with patterned paper boards, gilt panels and lettering to spine, sprinkled edges; spine faded, a little rubbed; indistinct library stamp to title-page with minor offset to verso of half-title, exlibris on front pastedown, Bibliothèque du château de Villardonnell. £250

First edition, rare. A work commending the Prince Royal, Ferdinand Philippe of Orléans, whose talent at exercising influence and popular support gave a hopeful outlook for the constitutional monarchy in France – a position strengthened by his marriage to Hélène of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in May 1837. The Prince's ability and bright future was poignantly attested by the political struggles which Ferdinand's father Louis Philippe I suffered after his son's untimely death in 1842 and his own subsequent abdication in 1848.

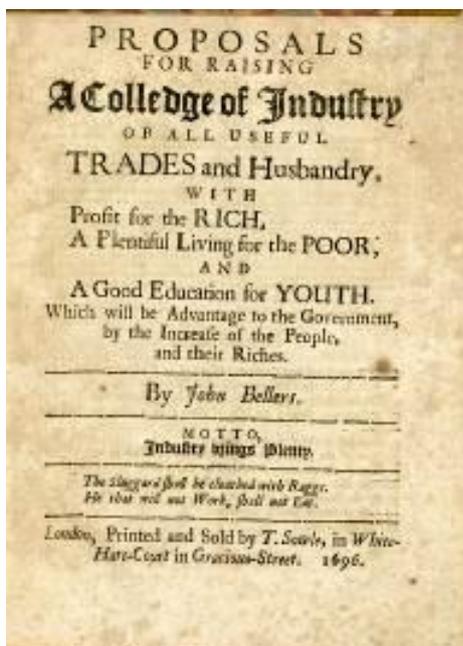
The author and publisher from Grenoble showed great zeal for the imperial cause and was decorated by Louis-Philippe for his actions during the July days. His pamphlet of 1822 aimed at the minister Decazes cost him fifteen months in prison plus a three-thousand-franc fine and the status he earned as minister of public health in Paris was lost after an article he published criticized Gisquet's administration. He died in poverty in 1843.

Not in COPAC. WorldCat lists two copies: Bibliothèque nationale de France and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

## A PROFOUND IMPACT ON OWEN AND MARX

8. **BELLERS, John.** Proposals for raising a Colledge of Industry of all useful trades and husbandry, with profit for the rich, a plentiful living for the poor, and a good education for youth. Which will be advantage to the government, by the increase of the people, and their riches. *London, T. Sowle, 1696.*

Small 4to, pp. [iv], 28; some light uniform foxing, one or two spots, the upper margin trimmed closely touching a couple of page numbers (not the text), small repair in the gutter of the last leaf; a very good copy in modern half calf, marbled boards, red morocco lettering piece on the spine; Macclesfield armorial book plate to the front paste-down. £3000



**Second, enlarged edition with significant changes to the text;** the first edition had appeared the year before. ‘It is for this [...] that Bellers is best remembered. In it, he advocates the establishment of free-standing, co-operative communities in which no money would be needed and all middlemen eliminated. The pamphlet describes the college as a mixed agricultural and manufacturing settlement wherein 300 people, 200 of them labourers and craftspeople, would live and work. It would be, in Bellers’s words, an “Epitome of the World”, with the addition that children would be educated and the elderly and ill looked after. [...] **Contained within the description of the colleges is a substantial critique of the nature of value, which had a profound impact on both Robert Owen (who had 1000 copies of the pamphlet reprinted in 1817, ensuring its continued importance for nineteenth-century writers) and Karl Marx, who refers to Bellers at least four times in Das Kapital, and describes him as “a veritable phenomenon in the history of political economy”.** What Bellers advocated and what Marx adopted was a pure form of a labour theory of value’ (ODNB).

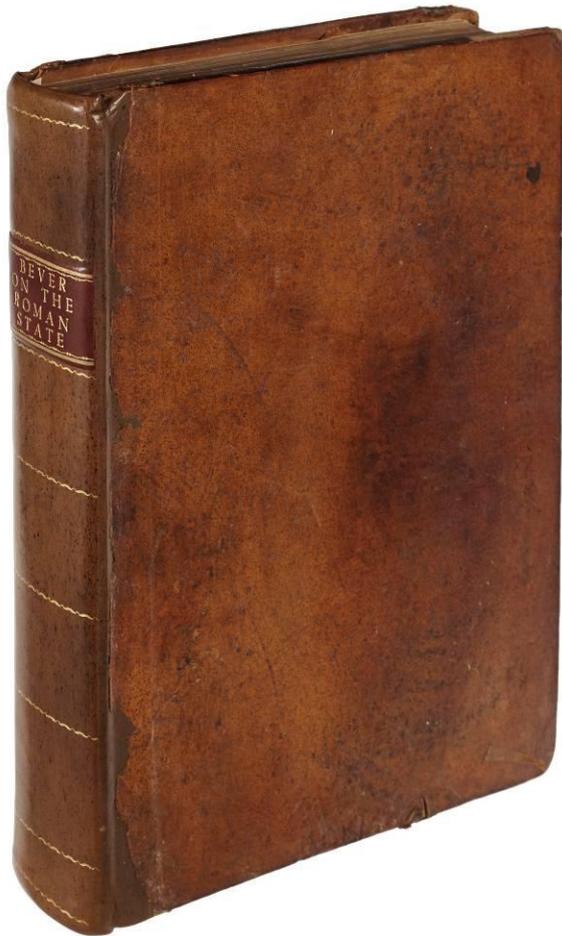
In this second edition Bellers made some substantial alterations to the text, notably a revision of the estimates of college budgets, specifications on the nature of punishment (‘rather abatements of Food, &c. then Stripes’), suggestions for fishing colleges to be set up on the coast, encouragement towards training for the blind and lame. He added the following sections: a half-page discourse ‘for Employing the poor’ from Lord Chief Justice Hale; an address to the ‘Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament’ (replacing the address to the Quakers), urging Parliament to ‘ripen these Proposals to the Nations advantage’, outlining the advantages to the manufactures, fisheries, hospitals and all parishes of England to be derived from of high rates of employment and from ‘embodying the poor so together, that thereby they may be made of equal value to money; and an address ‘To the Thinking and Publick-Spirited’ followed by a request for subscriptions.

Goldsmiths’ 3369; Kress 1932; Wing B1830.

## BRITAIN, THE NEW ROME

9. **BEVER, Thomas.** *The History of the legal polity of the Roman State; and of the rise, progress, and extent of the Roman laws.* London, *Strahan and Cadell, 1781.*

4to, pp. [xii], xii, 515, [1 blank]; endleaves a little foxed, but a very good copy in contemporary sprinkled calf, rebacked, a few minor abrasions to the sides; nineteenth century inscription to the front free end-paper placing the book in the possession of the Hely- Hutchinson family, earls of Donoughmore, with estates at Palmerstown (co. Dublin) and Knocklofty (co. Tipperary). £1500



**Sole edition of a history of the laws conceived along the lines of Gibbon's history**, an account that was meant to furnish leaders of the emerging British Empire with a helpful knowledge of the past from the perspective of the evolution of legal systems.

'In 1762 the success of Blackstone's lectures on English law induced Bever to obtain the permission of the vice-chancellor and the consent of the Regius professor of civil law (whose health was alleged to prevent him from lecturing) to deliver a course upon civil law which was intended to provide his auditors with that knowledge of the nature and general principles of law which should form part of a general education, rather than to prepare them for practice as advocates. He continued for some years, though his auditory was sometimes small enough to be accommodated in his rooms at All Souls, and published his introductory lecture in 1766 as *A discourse on the study of jurisprudence and the civil law, being an introduction to a course of lectures*. He left his manuscript of the course to his friend Dr John Loveday, upon condition that he would promise

not to permit any part of it to be printed. It is now All Souls MS 109' (J. L. Barton in ODNB).

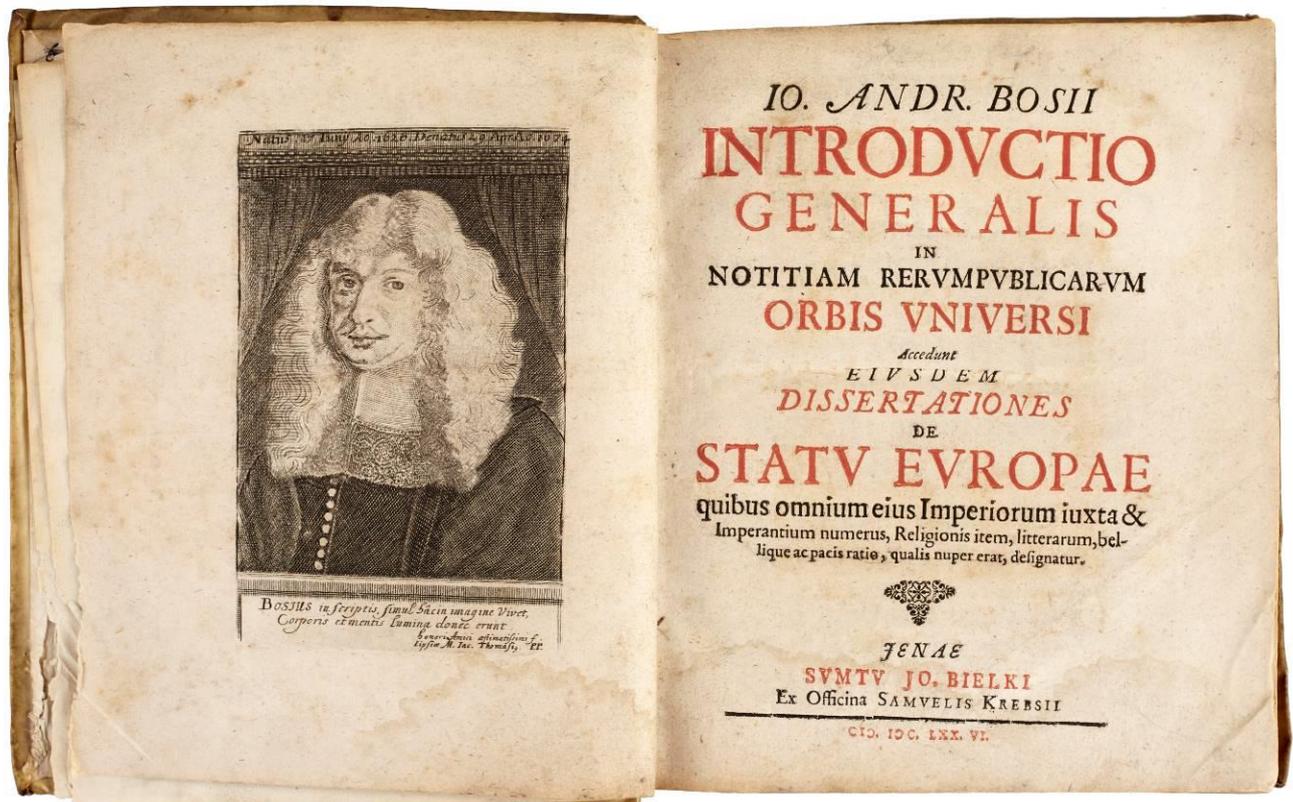
Sweet & Maxwell V, 139.

**A RARE AMERICANUM  
PIONEERING THEORY OF STATECRAFT**

10. **BOSE, Johann Andreas.** *Introductio generalis in Notitiam Rerum publicarum Orbis Universi. Accedunt eiusdem Dissertationes de Statu Europae quibus omnium eius Imperiorum iuxta et Imperantium numerus, Religionis item, litterarum, bellicae ac pacis ratio, qualis nuper erat, designatur. Jenae, J. Bielki, 1676.*

4to, pp. [xvi], 370, [22]; with including an engraved portrait of the author; some browning due to paper stock, a few light water stains, but a very good copy in contemporary vellum. £3000

First edition of a pioneering work of statecraft and rare Americanum, by the philosopher and historian Johann Andreas Bose (1624-1674). Bose's crucial intuition as a student of human societies lies in his advocacy of interdisciplinary investigations. His work 'on all the states in the world' marshals data and outlooks ranging from geography to economics and trade, politics, history, sciences, religion, and includes several remarks about the age of discoveries, particularly noting the impact of the Europeans' encounter with America.



The book is of considerable theoretical importance, as it **sets out a specific status for the discipline of statecraft within the realm of the human sciences**. Bose 'analyzes the differences between the universality of politics (constitutional doctrine) and the singularities of history. Statistics, Bose reasons, is therefore not part of political philosophy, since it does not manifest itself in the discussion of constitutional law as applied to a given state. Nor can statistics be classed as a genus of history writing, which "represents individual state actions with the details of time, space, social condition, character and other circumstances" [...] Instead, statistics bestows a "more general treatment" [...] on the details of history. [It] represents the concerns of individual states "principally from a universal point of view and not tied to this or that point in time or these or those specific persons". In accordance with the famous formula from Aristotle's Poetics, which claims that poetry, in the

medium of probability, brings the singularities of history closer to the universality of philosophy, statistics is poetical. Statistics is the poetry of the state' (R. Campe, *The Game of probability. Literature and calculation from Pascal to Kleist*, Stanford University Press, 2013, p. 244).

Not all of Bose's works passed muster with censorship. Yet his career at Jena was a success: after holding of the chair of history for seven years, counting Leibniz and Pufendorf among his most illustrious pupils, he became rector in the same University.

Not in Sabin, not in Brunet. See Robert Horvath, *La France en 1618 vue par un statisticien hongrois, Márton Szepesi Csombor*, in: 'Population', 40e année, n°2, (1985) pp. 335-346.

## MALTHUSIAN PRINCIPLES FIRST FORMULATED IN THE RENAISSANCE

11. **BOTERO, Giovanni.** Della ragione di stato, libri dieci. Con tre libri delle cause della grandezza della città ... Di nuouo in questa impressione, mutati alcuni luoghi dall'istesso autore, & accresciuti di diuersi discorsi. Con due tauole ... *Venice, Gioliti, 1598.*

[bound with:]

---- Aggiunte di Gio. Botero benese. Alla sua ragion di stato, nelle quali si tratta dell'eccellenze de gli antichi capitani, della neutralità, della riputatione, dell'agilità delle forze, della fortificatione. Con vna relatione del mare. *Venice, Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1598.*

Two works in one vol, 8vo, pp. [xl], 375, [1]; ff. [viii], 95, [1] including blank K7, K8 and M8; devices to title-pages, 'Relationi del mare' in second work has separate title-page, woodcut head- and tailpieces and initials; small hole to first five leaves of first work, some foxing and damp staining throughout; in 17th-century limp vellum, ink lettering to spine, new endpapers; a few wormholes to spine, some staining; armorial bookplate of Franz Graf Lamberg to front free endpaper, old ownership inscription on title-page; preserved in a cloth box with a printed spine label. £2200

The second Gioliti edition of Botero's masterpiece in the history of economics, first published in 1589, bound with the first Venice edition of the *Aggiunte*. Of the first work, Schumpeter writes: 'Divested of nonessentials, **the "Malthusian" Principle of Population sprang fully developed from the brain of Botero** in 1589: populations tend to increase, beyond any assignable limit, to the full extent made possible by human fecundity (the *virtus generativa* of the Latin translation); the means of subsistence, on the contrary, and the possibilities of increasing them (the *virtus nutritiva*) are definitely limited and therefore impose a limit on that increase, the only one there is; this limit asserts itself through want, which will induce people to refrain from marrying (Malthus' negative check, prudential check, "moral restraint") unless numbers are periodically reduced by wars, pestilence, and so on (Malthus' positive check). This path-breaking performance – the only performance in the whole history of the theory of population to deserve any credit at all – came much before the time in which its message could have spread: it was practically lost in the populationist wave of the seventeenth century. But about two hundred years after Botero [1540–1617], Malthus really did no more than repeat it, except that he adopted particular mathematical laws for the operation of the *virtus generativa* and the *virtus nutritiva*: population was to increase "in geometric ratio or progression"' (Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*, pp. 254–5).

The *Aggiunte* adds six essays, and was published in the same year at Venice, Rome and Pavia.

Bongi, II, 462. II. Mattioli 394. COPAC records only one copy of the first work (York Minster) and one of the second (Senate House Library).



## GOVERNMENT IS ABOUT ENSHRINING AND ENACTING NATURAL RIGHTS

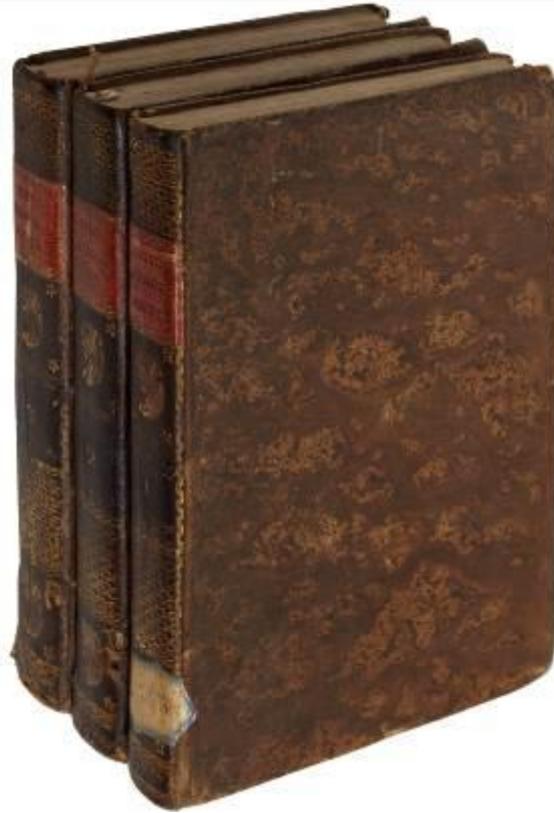
12. **BRITO, Joaquim José Rodrigues de.** *Memorias politicas sobre as verdadeiras bases da grandeza das nações, e principalmente de Portugal. Lisbon, Impressao regia, 1803-1805.*

3 vols, 4to; leaf h in vol. 1 misbound at the end before the errata, slight cockling, some water staining to a few quires, occasional soiling and the odd marginal hole, otherwise a good clean copy in a contemporary Portuguese binding of tree calf with gold-tooled board edges, gilt decoration to the spines, and gilt lettered red morocco spine labels, all edges sprinkled red; some worm holes to spine ends, some rubbing to corners and boards; paper label at bottom of spine to vol. 1 bearing the printed number '2545'; inscription crossed through on front endpaper in all three volumes, contemporary inscription possibly reading J. S. Guim[ara]es on endpapers, ex libris oval ink stamp of Vieira Pinto on second leaf of each volume. £3000

**First edition of this landmark in Portuguese political and economic thought.** Brito was a professor of law at the University of Coimbra and the *Memorias* is his only published work, written in response to what the author saw as the relative immaturity of the moral and political sciences and the instability of the organisation of society, and intended to provide a standard framework to guarantee order and the regeneration of social institutions. Influenced by the French physiocrats, the author maintains that economic phenomena and mechanisms are subject to specific natural laws and that the role of the political corpus is to reveal the evidence of such laws and transform them into universally respected positive rules. Political economy is, for Brito, the cornerstone of legislative and governmental actions, the 'shining beacon ... that should lead legislators to their lofty destinies', and the best means of contemplating natural law.

For a discussion of Brito, see Antonio Almodovar and Jose Luis Cardoso, *A history of Portuguese economic thought* (Routledge, 1998) p. 44 and following.

Inocência IV, 111 and XII, 94. Copac records copies at the British Library and in the Goldsmiths' Library, and Worldcat adds 3 others at Columbia, Cambridge University Library, and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.



### THE INSIDIOUS ALLURE OF REVOLUTIONS

13. **BURKE, Edmund.** *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings in certain Societies in London relative to that Event. In a Letter intended to have been sent to a Gentleman in Paris ... London, J. Dodsley ... 1790.*

8vo, pp. iv, 356; title-page a little stained; a good copy in modern quarter red sheep, boards soiled.£850

**First edition** of Burke's famous polemic against the principles of the French Revolution. This is the genuine earliest issue, published on 1 November 1790, as distinguished by Todd's register of press figures. Six impressions of three editions were published between November 1 and 17, following a tremendous contemporary demand for copies.

'To the view that the old regime was so rotten that wholesale revolution was necessary, Burke replied that any revolution that did not bring real liberty, which he held to come from the administration of justice under a settled constitution without bias from the mob, was tyranny renewed...' (*PMM*). His work lost Burke many of his Whig friends and gained him admirers he would not have wished. It prompted Thomas Paine to respond with the equally famous *Rights of Man*.

Todd, 53a; *PMM* 239.

## THE ARCHETYPAL FIRST-HAND WAR ACCOUNTS BY A GENERAL

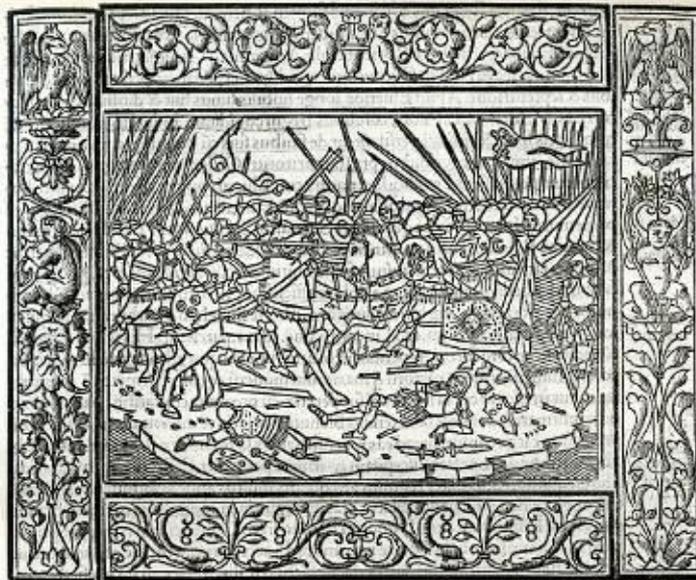
### FIRST ILLUSTRATED CAESAR PUBLISHED IN ITALY

14. **CAESAR.** Caii Julii Caesaris invictissimi i[m]peratoris co[m]mentaria seculor[um] iniuria antea difficilia et valde mendosa. Nunc primum a viro docto expolita et optime recognita. Additus de novo apostillis. Una cu[m] figuris suis locis apte dispositis. Nec non regulata tabula ... (*Colophon*) Venice, Agostino Zani, 17 August 1511.

Folio, ff. [iv], 110, [8, index]; title in red, title-page with large woodcut battle scene in black surrounded by ornamental borders in red, the same woodcut on f. 1r, large woodcut of 'Lentulus' surrounded by a crowd to f. 51r (opening of *De bello civili*), woodcuts at the opening of each book, woodcut initials; occasional light offsetting, light toning to upper margins, a few small marks, discreet repairs to inner margins of first quire (slightly touching woodcut border to title and a few letters to title verso) and also to small wormholes in blank lower margins of ff. 9-20, but a very good, crisp and clean copy; rebound in 18th-century vellum, title and imprint lettered to spine in modern hand; some very faint marginal notes to first few quires, a few other early ink notes. £4000

**A handsome copy of the first illustrated edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* published in Italy**, adorned with charming half-page woodcuts at the opening of the *De bello Gallico* and *De bello civili* and with smaller vignette cuts at the beginning of each book. Describing Caesar's campaigns in Gaul from 58 to 52 BC, the *Gallic War*, written in lucid, unrheterical Latin, is unique as a contemporary account of a foreign war by a Roman general. While more overtly political, the *Civil War*, Caesar's account of his clashes with Pompey culminating in the battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC, is enlivened with touches of sardonic humour. This edition was edited by Lucas Panaetius 'Olchinensis', a scholar from Ulcinj, a town on the southern coast of Montenegro with close ties to Venice. The publisher of Panaetius's Caesar, Agostino Zani, illustrated the narrative with lively woodcuts reproduced from the landmark 1493 edition of Livy printed in Venice by Johannes Rubeus for Lucantonio Giunta – an interesting example of the recycling of illustrations among Venetian publishers of classical works at this time. The style of the woodcuts is what scholars now term the popular style of the 1490 Malermi Bible, characterised by lively, action-filled narrative scenes. Zani published another edition of Caesar, following the success of this one, in 1517.

BL STC Italian p. 135; EDIT16 8146; Essling 1727; Sander 1503; USTC 817475. Not in Adams. Rare: COPAC records copies at the British Library and Bodleian only; Worldcat notes copies in only four US institutions (Brown University, University of Illinois, University of Texas, and UCLA).

C. C. IVLII CAESARIS COMMENTARIORVM  
DE BELLO GALLICO LIBER PRIMVS.

ALLIA EST OMNIS DIVISA IN PARTES  
 tris: quarum unam incolunt Belgae: aliam Aquitani: ter-  
 tiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae: nostra Galli appellantur.  
 Hi omnes lingua: stiracibus: legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab  
 Aquitanis Garuna flumen: a Belgis Matrona & Sequa-  
 na dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae: pro-  
 pterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provincie longissime ab-  
 sunt: minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe conant: atque ea-  
 rumque ad effeminandos animos pertinere important: proxi-  
 mi sunt Germanis: qui trans Rhenum incolunt: quibus cum continenter bellum ge-  
 runt. Qua de causa Eluerii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt: quod fere quoti-  
 dianis praeliis cum Germanis contendunt: cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent: aut ipsi in  
 eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum una pars: quam Gallos obtinere dictum est: a minio  
 caput a flumine Rhodano: continetur: Garuna flumine: Oceanum finibus Belgarum

Gallie  
pites quotBelgae om-  
nia Gale-  
lorum for-  
tissimi un-  
de orunt  
habent

## THE SEARCH FOR A DEMOCRACY THAT TRULY GIVES VOICE TO THE PEOPLE

15. **CARTWRIGHT, John.** The state of the nation; in a series of letters, to His Grace the Duke of Bedford. *Harlow, B. Flower, 1805.*

8vo, pp. [ii], 173, [5, appendices and errata]; a few faint spots, some light creasing and a few small marginal holes; a very good copy, bound in contemporary paper-covered boards; spine rubbed, worn at head and foot, joints a little cracked but holding, boards rubbed and showing wear at edges, upper board water stained; **ink inscription 'from the author'** to front free endpaper. £850

**First edition, presentation copy.** A strong critique of the British government and its conduct regarding the American War of Independence and the French wars, written by an outspoken advocate of political reform. Active participation of the people in politics is what Cartwright wants for the country. He denounces the corruption and abuses of government, singling out Pitt, Burke, Lord North, and Lord Melville, and calls for the current administration to be removed, and a programme of parliamentary reform instituted. Cartwright calls on the Duke to take a stand in parliament against the

abuses of the Pitt administration. He also exhorts the Duke to encourage public meetings as a method of involving the people in political reform and ensuring that parliament be genuinely representative of the nation. Written during a period when the fear of French invasion was strong, this work clearly exhibits Cartwright's belief that the only hope for English victory was to mobilise the support of the entire nation, a subject which he further examined in his contemporary work *England's aegis*.

Goldsmiths' 19145.

### RARE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MIRROR OF PRINCES

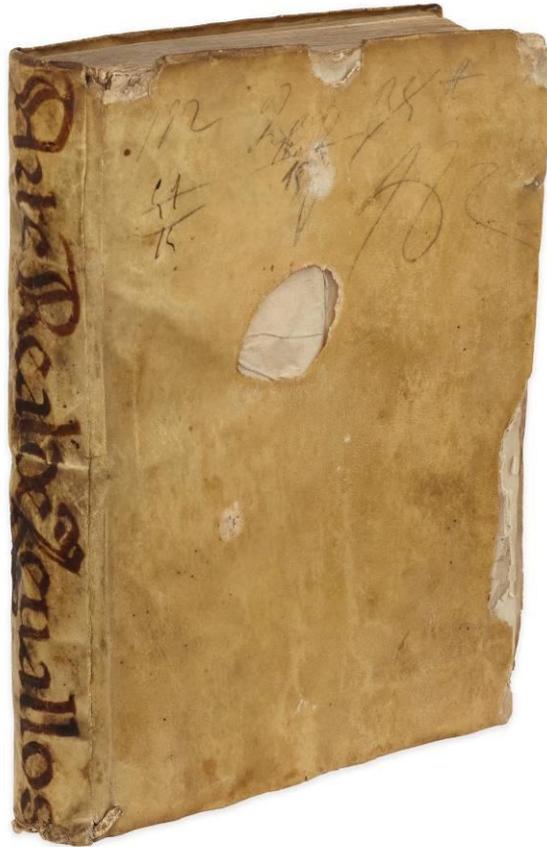
16. **CEBALLOS [or ZEBALLOS], Geronimo de.** *Arte Real para el buen gobierno de los Reyes, y Príncipes, y de sus Vassallos. En el qual se refieren las obligaciones de cada uno, con los principales documentos para el buen gobierno. Con una tabla de las materias, reduzida a trescientos Aforismos de Latín y Romance. Toledo, [Diego Rodríguez, 1623].*

8vo, ff. [viii], 190, [16]; with woodcut Royal arms to the title, woodcut initials; a few creases, but a very good, genuine copy in contemporary vellum, ink titling on the spine; edges of the upper cover chipped, a stretch hole in the centre; exlibris of Franz von Pollack-Parnau on the front paste-down, another modern exlibris –partly perished- on the rear paste-down. £3000

**First edition, rare, of this important Mirror of Princes, a very substantial and comprehensive treatise on statecraft which originally outlines precepts of economics as well as politics.**

Alongside advice on royal office, prerogatives and boundaries, alongside theories on the bodies that are necessary for the government of a State, alongside the moral and intellectual 'portrait' of a Prince which emerges from the 34 chapters and which is expected of a work belonging to the fairly codified genre of the *speculum principis*, in contrast with other works of this kind here many passages are devoted to exposing injustices and abuses in taxation leading to the hampering of industry and trade; to denouncing the excesses of riches in the hands of the Church, and indeed the over-swollen gilded ecclesiastical ranks; to reviling untaxed inheritance and privileges; to reproaching corruption in the exercise of law and order. Colmeiro notes all these observations as marks of originality and as an important contribution to the reflection on political economy in seventeenth-century Spain, when most treatises concerned with economics concentrated almost exclusively on the diatribe (here also treated) over the effect of the flux of gold and silver from America.

Colmeiro 405; Palau 380042; not in Goldsmiths'. OCLC finds copies at Harvard, Illinois, Berkeley and Texas only, in the US, plus a handful other worldwide.



### THE FIRST BLACK WOMAN TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT

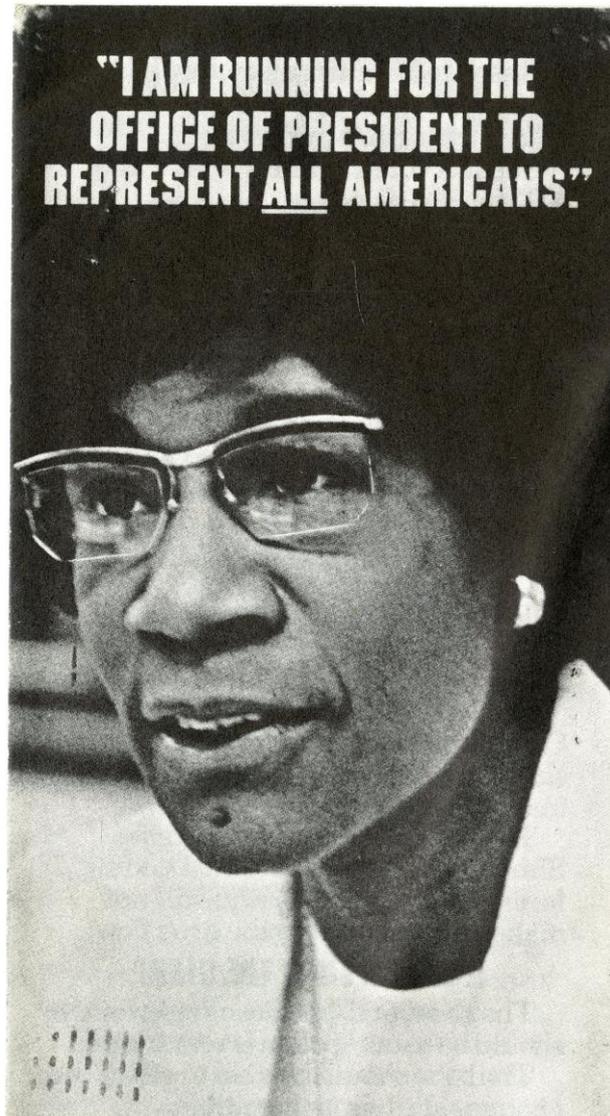
17. **CHISHOLM, Shirley.** *Unbossed and Unbought. Los Angeles, Shirley Chisholm for President, nd, [ca. 1972].*

Original fold-out pamphlet, one sheet printed on both sides; in very good condition.

£180

Only issue of a pamphlet announcing Shirley Chisholm's Democratic candidacy for President. Chisholm announced: 'I am running for the office of President to represent all Americans'. Shirley Chisholm had become the first black congresswoman (1968), representing New York State for seven terms. After running for Presidency in 1972 (the first black woman to do so) she carried on in politics fighting for education opportunities and social justice, until 1983 when she retired from politics in order to teach.

'The real difference that makes her stand out is not that she is a woman, and a Black Woman at that, but that this dynamic woman is a catalyst that can bring together the responsive women, the struggling minorities, the poor and the young...'



### MINIATURE ON DUTIES

18. **CICERO.** *De officiis libri III.* Amsterdam, *Guilielmus I. Caesius* [i.e. *Willem Jansz Blaeu*], 1625.

32mo (78 x 50 mm), pp. 428, [18, index]; engraved title-page, text within double ruled border, tail-pieces; small loss to upper outer corners of first seven leaves (just touching a few page numbers), small closed tear at head of second leaf, pinhole wormhole from title-page to p. 46 (touching a few letters), very light damp staining to lower outer blank corners of some leaves, the very occasional mark, otherwise a very good copy in contemporary vellum, central and corner fleurons in blind to covers, holes from clasps (wanting), title and date inked to spine, small mark to upper cover. £1250

**A lovely, and scarce, miniature edition of Cicero's work on moral philosophy** addressed to his son Marcus, then studying at Athens, followed by his *De senectute*, *De amicitia*, *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, and *Somnium Scipionis*, and ending with an anonymous *Appendix de re militari*. Notable for the practical nature of its precepts, its condemnation of abstention from public activities and insistence on man's social character and duty to his fellows, the *De officiis* was **highly influential in its exposition**

**of the virtuous political life, from the Renaissance through to the birth of independent America – infusing the writings of the Founding Fathers.** *De amicitia* is one of Cicero's most admired dialogues, for its dignity and polished prose, and one in which Dante found consolation for the death of Beatrice.

Nauroy, *Impressions microscopiques*, p. 34; Welsh 1888. COPAC shows copies at the British Library, Bodleian, and Cambridge only; Worldcat finds four copies in the US (SMU, Illinois, Virginia, and Colonial Williamsburg Rockefeller Library); rare at auction.



#### **RARE RIPOSTE TO GOETHE AND SCHILLER'S *DIE XENIEN***

19. **CLAUDIUS, Matthias.** *Urians Nachricht von der neuen Aufklärung, nebst einigen andern Kleinigkeiten, von dem Wandsbecker Bothen.* Hamburg, *Friedrich Perthes, 1797.*

8vo, pp. 24; central vertical fold, some very light foxing, some discolouration to the first and last pages, a clean, crisp copy in a modern binding with blue cloth spine and patterned, coloured paper boards, very slightly rubbed at corners and spine ends; 20th-century monogram bookplate on front pastedown. £450

**A rare first edition** of this anti-Enlightenment verse satire by the German poet and journalist Matthias Claudius (1740-1815), written under his penname Asmus and published by his son-in-law Friedrich Perthes, at a time when events in France had shaken the Enlightenment faith in progress and freedom through reason.

Claudius, who established his literary reputation in the 1770s editing a newspaper called *Der Wandsbecker Bothe* (The Wandsbeck Messenger), was part of a group, including the philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, which fought against the prevailing rationalist and classical spirit in the literature of their day. ***Urians Nachricht* was written in reply to Goethe and Schiller's *Die Xenien*, a collection of distichs published in the *Musen Almanach* for 1797**, in which they mocked Claudius, among other critics. The work takes the form of a dialogue between Urian and the Danes about the French Revolution: whereas until now there were masters and servants, Urian remarks, there are now only masters. Referring to Reason, Urian states 'Now it sits on its rump as large as life, And now also knows what it doesn't know'. Religion was a sacred gift from God, but 'Now it comes from who knows where? Now people pull it out of the air'. The *Kleinigkeiten* (trifles) that form the second part

of the work were intended to show the reader that the Enlightenment, in addition to a revolution, had given society atheist writers. One entitled 'Der Schriftsteller und der Mensch', with its wordplay on Götzen and Götter, was a clever riposte by Claudius to Goethe's attack on him in *Die Xenien*.

COPAC notes only one copy at the British Library, and Worldcat records copies in only 4 US libraries.

### ONE OF THE FIRST 'LIBERALS'

20. **CONSTANT, Benjamin.** *Des Motifs qui ont dicté le nouveau projet de loi sur les élections.*  
*Paris, Béchét aîné, 1820.*

8vo, pp. iv, 76; a very good copy, in modern wrappers.

£160

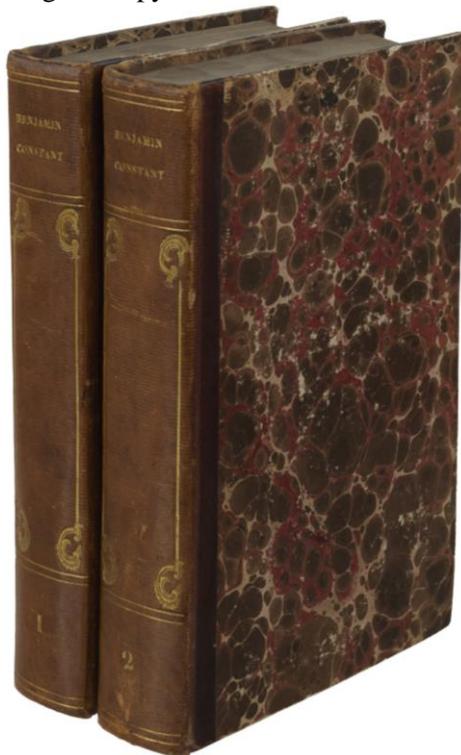
**First edition.** Benjamin Constant reflects on the reasons which led to the reform of the electoral law in 1819, and, in his well-honed libertarian tones, on the 'projects against individual freedoms' which were entailed in obtaining agreement or silence from the electorate.

Courtney 44a.

21. **CONSTANT, Benjamin.** *Discours de M. Benjamin Constant à la Chambre des Députés.*  
*Paris, Ambroise Dupont, 1827-8.*

Two vols, 8vo, pp. vi, 580; vi, 644, frontispiece portrait of Constant, folded facsimile; foxing, a few ink stains not affecting text; bound in contemporary quarter morocco over marbled boards, gilt spines; boards and spines slightly worn; a good copy.

£350



**First edition** of a collection of speeches delivered to the Chamber of Deputies by Benjamin Constant whose eloquence and oratorical skill led him to become a leader of the parliamentary block known first as the *indépendants* and later as *libéraux*. One of the first liberals to go by the name, he was the outstanding champion of freedom of speech and liberty of the press in the face of the right wing radicalism of the royalist Ultras. These volumes include speeches delivered by Constant in opposition to the Ultras' attempts to instate *droit d'ainesse* and *lois sur les sacrileges*.

Courtney E2/1.

### THE MYTH OF VENICE A SOURCE FOR OTHELLO AND VOLPONE

22. **CONTARINI, Gasparo.** The Common-Wealth and Government of Venice. Written by the Cardinall Gasper Contareno, and translated out of Italian, by Lewis Lewkenor Esquire ... With sundry other Collections annexed by the Translator for the more cleere and exact Satisfaction of the Reader. With a short Chronicle in the End, of the Lives and Raignes of the Venetian Dukes, from the very Beginnings of their Citie. *London, Imprinted by John Windet for Edmund Mattes, and are to be sold at his Shop ... 1599.*

4to, pp. [16], 201, '208'-'209', '201'-'203', '212'-'213', 206-230; woodcut head- and tail-pieces and initials; foot of Gg3 partly torn away, touching one letter, but **a fine, crisp copy, in contemporary limp vellum**, ties partly intact, spine and fore-edge lettered in manuscript, front hinge detached; early 18<sup>th</sup>-century engraved bookplate of Charles, Viscount Bruce of Ampthill to title-page verso; the Houghton copy; slipcase. £4250

**First edition in English** of *De Magistratibus et Republica Venetorum* (1543), translated by Lewis Lewkenor and with prefatory verses by Edmund Spenser and John Harington.

Lewkenor's *Common-Wealth and Government of Venice* was 'one of the central documents through which the myth [of Venice] was transmitted to England' (Macpherson), and was drawn on by Shakespeare for *Othello* (both for information about Venice and for Othello's defence against the charge of witchcraft) and by Jonson for *Volpone*, where Sir Politic Would-be reads 'Contarene' to prepare for Venetian life. Shakespeare may even have made use of a manuscript version for *The Merchant of Venice*, a possibility made the more plausible by Lewkenor's strong connections to the theatre (see below).

As well as translating Contarini, who dealt with the politics and government of Venice, Lewkenor provided summaries (pp. 150-230) of five other works on the city, by Gianotti (with his note that the captain general, like Othello, is 'always a stranger borne'); Giustiniani; Sebastian Muenster; an anonymous guide book *Delle cosi notabili della città di Venetia*; and Sansovino (see David Macpherson, 'Lewkenor's Venice and its Sources', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41:3, 1988).

Lewkenor, from a prominent recusant family, had travelled and soldiered on the Continent (though he never visited Venice), operating as one of Burghley spies on English Catholics abroad in the 1580s, perhaps to assert his loyalty and aid his return. The present work assured his place at court – he was knighted by James I in 1603 and appointed the first Master of Ceremonies for ambassadorial visits in 1605, a post he held until 1626. As early as 1599 he was serving in this capacity unofficially when he escorted the ambassador of the Spanish Netherlands to a feast put on by the Lord Chamberlain, with a performance of *Henry IV* (or *Sir John Oldcastle*) by the Chamberlain's Men; and in the following year when he attended the first performance of *Twelfth Night* with Duke Virgino Orsino. On both

occasions Shakespeare would have been among the performers. On one occasion in 1609, Lewkenor arranged for a private theatrical in the garden-house of the Goldsmith's company; and among his later diplomat charges was Count Gondomar, the only foreign subscriber to Shakespeare's First Folio.

For the use of Lewkenor by Shakespeare and Jonson, see Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books*; Muir, 'Shakespeare and Lewkenor', *Review of English Studies*; and a series of articles in *Notes & Queries*.

STC 5642.

**'THE DARK BLACK CLOUD OF NIGHT  
SHALL FLEE BEFORE THE BRIGHT MORNING STAR'**

**CROMWELL ON THE EVE OF THE PROTECTORATE**

23. **[CROMWELL AND BAREBONES'S PARLIAMENT.]** A collection of 33 Parliamentary Acts and Declarations. *London, various printers, April–December 1653.*

6 broadsides and 27 pamphlets (one 4to, the rest folio), plus two more imperfect; mostly printed in black letter, some with drop-head titles, most with with the woodcut arms of the Commonwealth; the first six items are separately paginated, the following 22, though printed individually, are part of a through-paginated set, near-complete up to p. 284; five of the broadsides now loose, the bound acts thumbled at the edges, some dampstains; bound in contemporary calf, very worn, spine defective; foliated in a contemporary hand. £6500

A fine contemporary assembly of Parliamentary acts and declarations, many rare, issued by Cromwell's interim Council of State and its successor, 'Barebone's Parliament', which governed between the dissolution of the Rump Parliament in April 1653 and the declaration of Cromwell as Lord Protector in December the same year. The topics covered are diverse, including tobacco, highwaymen, the High Court and the Admiralty, public debt, recusants, and the remuneration of Cromwell's Irish army. There is also **an unrecorded act appointing new naval commissioners**.

The collection opens with *A Declaration ... shewing the Grounds and Reasons of the Dissolution of the late Parliament* which bears the imprimatur date 22 April, only two days after the Rump Parliament was formally dissolved. It describes the Rump's members as guilty of 'corruption ... jealousie ... non-attendance and negligence', and announces the appointment of a new group of 'men fearing God, and of approved integrity'. The next *Declaration*, a broadside of 31 April, announced the appointment of an interim Council of State: over the next weeks a body of 140 representatives was nominated and chosen, and the new Parliament (soon satirically christened 'Barebone's Parliament' after a fanatic member, Praisegod Barbon) sat for the first time on 4 July. In the meantime the Council of State issued a number of official documents, of which three are included here, mostly to do with lands seized by Parliamentary forces in Ireland.

The first declaration of the new Parliament, dated 12 July, is an idealistic and poetic proclamation of its aims, announcing the 'Birth of Peace' after 'bitter pangs and throws'. 'And although we do not see it fully brought forth, yet we do not despair but in Gods due time it shall be so; and that the dark black Clouds of the Night shall flie before the bright morning Star, and the Shakings of Heaven and Earth make way for the desire of all Nations ... we see the Clouds begin to scatter, and the dark shadows flie away; streams of light and appear, and the Day is surely dawned'.

The following declarations and acts are a near-complete record of Parliament's work until its dissolution on 12 December. Its ambitious aims are evident in a number of pieces of legislation here

– *At the Council of State at White-Hall* (12 November, 1653) ensures freedom of religious assembly for all Christians, as long as they are neither ‘Popish or Idolatrous’; and there are acts *for the Relief of Creditors and Poor Prisoners* and for the sale (or return to common land) of royal forests.

Among the other acts is one imposing a tax of three pence on every pound of tobacco; another offers a reward of ten pounds for the apprehension of thieves, highwaymen, and especially ‘Moss-Troopers’ (brigands who operated on the Scottish border). Among the acts appended to *An Act for the Establishing an High Court of Justice* is the 1648/9 Act ‘prohibiting the proclaiming of any person to be King of England or Ireland, or the Dominions thereof’, especially ‘Charls, commonly called, The Prince of Wales’, originally promulgated on the same day as the execution of Charles I. In general the Parliament was beset with infighting and failed to achieve any radical reform, a situation that made Cromwell increasingly frustrated.

*An Act for constituting Commissioners for ordering and managing the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy* (dated the 3 December, only twelve days before Cromwell was officially appointed Lord Protector) is an unrecorded addendum to a previous act of 28 July (also collected here) appointing new naval commissioners. Several commissions are renewed, including those of including those of John Desborough, who was instrumental in the dissolution of Barebone’s Parliament, and Richard Monck, who had distinguished himself in the wars against the Dutch that year. Richard Salway’s commission is not renewed (earlier that year he had withdrawn from all dealings with Cromwell’s interim state council); neither is that of the regicide John Carew – he would later be imprisoned for his opposition to Cromwell’s protectorate. Among the other documents relating to the Commonwealth navy is a declaration of a ‘time of Publique Thanksgiving ... for the great Victory’ achieved over the Dutch fleet at the Battle of Scheveningen, which was the final, conclusive battle of the Anglo-Dutch War and resulted in the Dutch capitulating to several of the Commonwealth’s demands. *An Additional Article to the Laws of War and Ordinances of the Sea*, issued two months later, in October, warns recently discharged sailors that any attempts at mutiny or sedition will be met with death.

A full list of the contents is available on request.

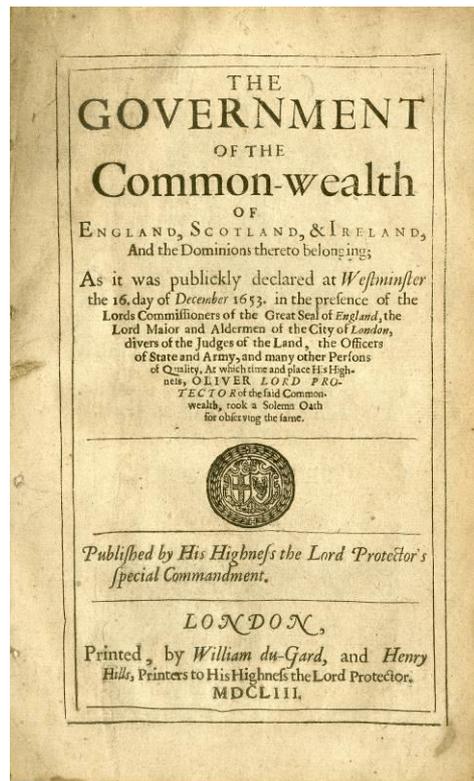
## CROMWELL INSTITUTES THE PROTECTORATE

### THE FIRST SOVEREIGN CODIFIED AND WRITTEN CONSTITUTION IN ENGLAND CROMWELL’S BLACK LETTER ACT

24. **CROMWELL, Oliver, Lord Protector.** The government of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, & Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging; as it was publicly declared at Westminster the 16. day of December 1653. in the presence of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, the Lord Maior and aldermen of the City of London, divers of the judges of the land, the officers of state and army, and many other persons of quality, at which time and place His Highness, Oliver Lord Protector of the said Commonwealth, took a solemn oath for observing the same. Published by His Highness the Lord Protector’s special commandment. *London, printed by William du-Gard and Henry Hills, printers to His Highness the Lord Protector, 1653.*

Small folio, pp. [ii], 21-46; printed mostly in black letter; some browning to the verso of the last leaf, but a very good copy, sometime extracted from a miscellany, now in wrappers. £4500

**First edition of one of the most important Acts in British history:** the ‘instrument of government’, the document which – to this day - stands at the basis of our Parliamentary system. It establishes Oliver Cromwell as ‘Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, & Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging’. It institutes the office of Lord Protector, and confirms that in front of a large gathering of people he, Cromwell, took a solemn oath for observing all the duties contained in the Act. The Act itself provides him with total power, and goes on to set out the Constitution for the next Parliament, listing the number of MPs to be had in each town and County. The Parliamentary system thus instituted has, in the main, remained in force through the centuries, notwithstanding alterations in the prerogatives and descent of the monarchy.



Of the 42 articles outlining the Constitution, perhaps the most poignant is the VI: ‘That the laws shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent in Parliament’. The last leaf bears the text of the oath taken by Oliver Cromwell.

The pamphlet was ‘issued separately and possibly also as part of a through-paged set’ (ESTC). An annotation on the final leaf of the Thomason copy reads ‘Printed the 23 Decemb. 1653’.

R209532; see Thomason Tracts: 158: E.1063 [5].

### DANTE’S DARING PROPOSITION: SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL POWERS SHOULD BE APART

25. DANTE ALIGHIERI. *Dantis Aligherii Florentini Monarchia.* ‘Geneva, Henr. Albert Gosse’ [Venice, Giambatista Pasquali], 1740.

8vo, pp. iv, 95, [1]; woodcut vignette to title, initials and headpieces; lightly toned, small hole to title touching one letter; a very good copy in nineteenth-century calf, blind decorative border to covers, gilt

and blind decoration to spine with gilt lettering; somewhat rubbed, wanting the rear free endpaper; bookplate of Samuel R. Block to front pastedown, some pencil notes to first few leaves. £1500

**First separate edition of Dante's *Monarchia*, a major work on political theory and a key to the understanding of the *Divina Commedia*.** The book was first printed in Alciati's *De formula Romani imperii* in 1559, and placed on the Index of forbidden books. It was reprinted by Simon Schardius in his collection *De iurisdictione* (1566 and 1609), but then lay fallow for over a hundred years. This is its third and first separate appearance. Giambatista Pasquali published Dante's works in Venice in 1739-41 but felt it prudent to print the *Monarchia* separately, with a false imprint.

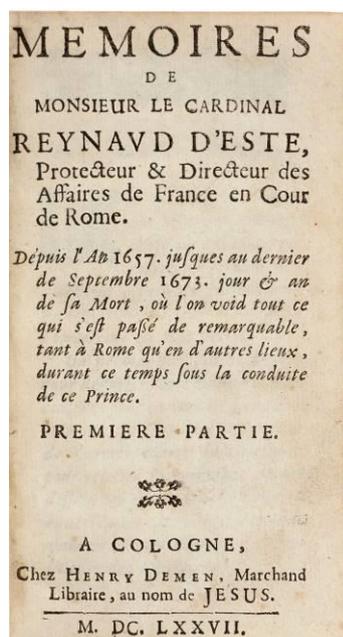
'The third book of the *Monarchia* ... seeks to establish the separation of the temporal power from the spiritual power, and to prove that the authority of the Roman monarch, who is by right the monarch of the world, derives immediately from God, and not from the Vicar of God (*Mon.* III, i, 5): a secular, or anti-hierocratical solution to the problem of the happiness of men on earth, and therefore a proposition which undermines the very basis of the claims to supremacy which had been repeatedly put forward by the popes, which Boniface VIII had forcefully asserted in the bull *Unam Sanctam*, and of which Clement V had often taken care to remind Henry VII' (U. Limentani, 'Dante's Political Thought', in *The Mind of Dante*, Cambridge 1965.*ibid*).

Mambelli 851.

#### MEMOIRS OF A 'PRINCE PLEIN D'HONNEUR'

26. [ESTE, Rinaldo d']. *Memoires de monsieur le cardinal Reynard d'Este, protecteur & directeur des affaires de France en cour de Rome. Depuis l'an 1657 jusques au dernier de Septembre 1673 ... où on void tout ce qui s'est passé de remarquable, tant à Rome qu'en d'autres lieux ... Premiere [- seconde] partie. Cologne, Henry Demen, 1677.*

Two parts in one vol., 12mo, pp. [x], 413, [1]; [ii], 318, [6, contents]; woodcut initials, head- and tailpieces; quite tightly bound, light toning, small mark to half title of part I; a very good, attractive copy in contemporary calf, gilt fillet border with corner fleurons to covers, spine gilt in compartments with gilt-lettered red morocco labels, edges red, marbled endpapers, paper label at foot of spine; corners a little worn; book label of Mde De Lailly to front pastedown. £500



**Rare first edition** of this memoir of the career of the influential Italian cardinal Rinaldo d'Este (1618-1673), compiled by one of his entourage who served with him for 16 years. Born in Modena, son of duke Alfonso III, Este was brought up in France, entered the church, and rose quickly. Elected cardinal in 1641, he became the leader of the French faction at Rome, the 'protecteur de la France' at the papal court. Over the coming decades, Este played a tricky role in balancing the interests of Modena, the pope, and Louis XIV, especially under the papacy of the Spanish-backed Alexander VII. While his timidity prevented him from scaling greater heights, there is no doubt that he played a significant role in the European politico-religious affairs of his day. Louis XIV described him as a 'prince plein d'honneur', and a man 'de grande suffisance et dextérité dans le maniemment des affaires', making him abbot of Cluny in succession to Mazarin. The *Memoires* contains transcriptions of some of Este's considerable correspondence, including letters to Henri-Auguste de

Loménie, comte de Brienne, secretary of state for foreign affairs under Mazarin.

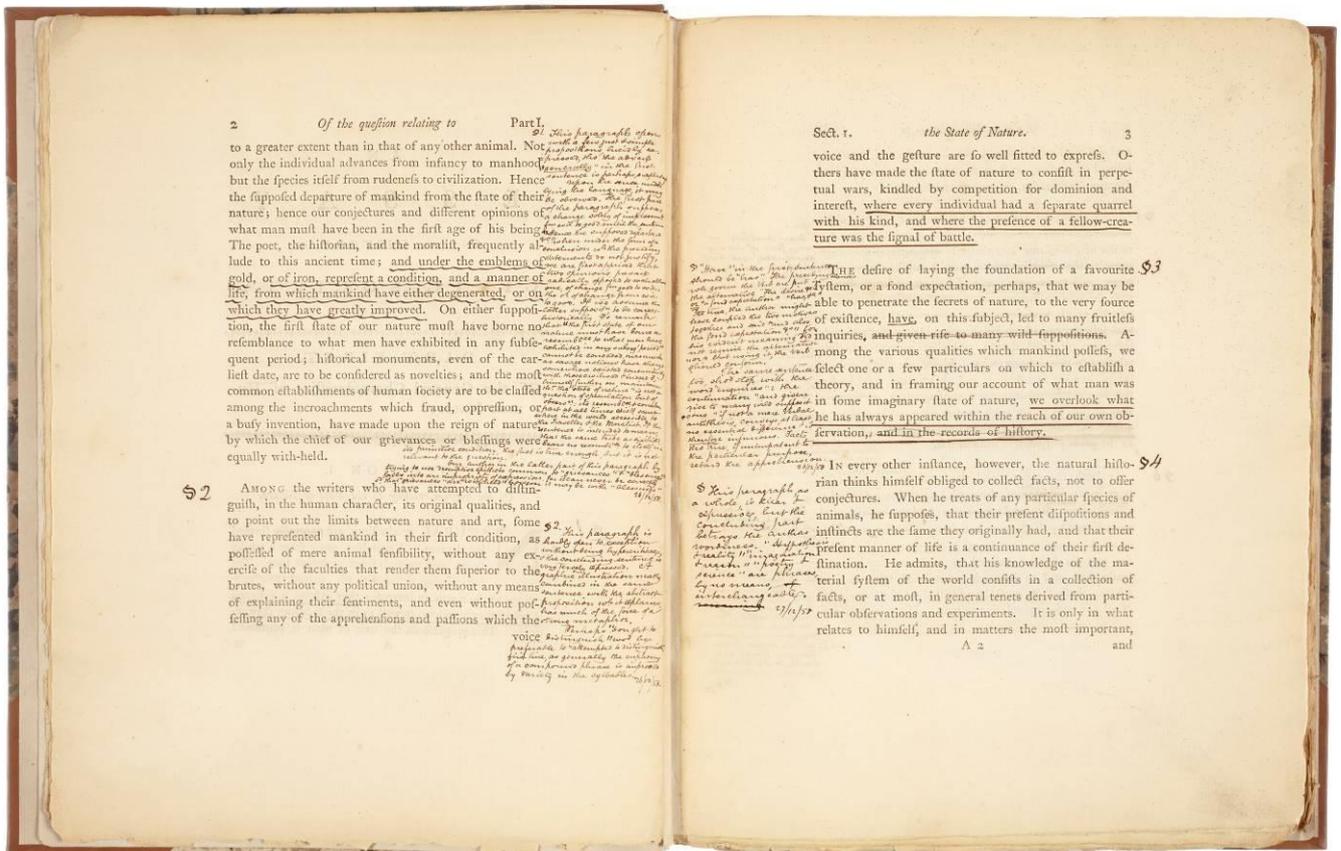
No copies are recorded on COPAC; OCLC notes only one copy in the US, at Yale.

THE NATURE OF CIVIL SOCIETY - ANNOTATED

27. FERGUSON, Adam. An Essay on the History of Civil Society ... Edinburgh: Printed for A. Millar & T. Cadell ... London, and A. Kincaid & J. Bell, Edinburgh. 1767.

4to, pp. vii, [1], 430, [2, blank]; some leaves skilfully repaired at gutter, one loose, else a good, wide-margined copy, bound in modern half morocco, red morocco lettering-piece; ownership inscription of B. ?W. Kirkham (1858) with annotations and some underlining in his hand. £3750

First edition, a copy bearing the annotations, corrections and underlining of a keen nineteenth-century reader, of the principal work of the philosopher Adam Ferguson, professor of moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh and a leading figure of the Scottish Enlightenment. A friend and colleague of Dugald Stewart, David Hume, and Adam Smith, 'Ferguson is today remembered for his Essay', an early classic of sociological thought, 'rather than for his contributions to moral philosophy or Roman history: he was what we would now call an intellectual historian, tracing the gradual rise of the human mind from barbarism to political and social refinement .... His discussions of politics, economics, history, aesthetics, literature and ethnology were the synthesis of the thought of his time' (Encyclopedia of Philosophy III, 187).



Beginning with the general characteristics of human nature and the history of rude (*i.e.*, primitive) nations, the *Essay* traces the history of social evolution through the rise of policy and arts ('Of National Objects', 'Of Population and Wealth', 'Of Civil Liberty', 'Of the History of Literature'), the advancement of civil and commercial arts, and their consequences. The final chapters discuss how nations can decline as the result of waste, luxury, corruption, and political slavery. Ferguson's influence extended to such nineteenth-century political thinkers as Comte, Mill, and Marx, who made use of his notion of the division of labour.

Kress 6432; Goldsmiths' 10264; Higgs 3973; Jessop p. 122.

### HENRY GEORGE AND TOLSTOY

28. **GEORGE, Henry.** *Izbrannyya rechi i stat'i ... Perevod s Angliiskago S. D. Nikolaeva.* [Collected lectures and essays ... Translated from English by S. D. Nikolaev]. *Moscow, 'Posrednik', 1905.*

8vo, pp. [4], 391, [1], with a portrait of the author; slightly browned, old stamp and inscription (excised) to title; a good copy in contemporary (original?) green buckram, worn, hinges cracked. £1500

**First edition, very rare:** Russian translations of 11 lectures and essays, published by the 'Posrednik' publishing house founded by Tolstoy, who was a vocal supporter of George and saw Russia as the natural home for his philosophy on the land question.



Tolstoy had first encountered George through *Progress and Poverty* in the 1890s and the powerful influence is visible in his diaries, correspondence, the testimony of his daughter, and the incorporation of George's philosophy into the novel *Resurrection*. The translator Sergei Nikolaev (1861-1920) was a friend of Tolstoy and an equally committed Georgist, having translated *Progress and Poverty* in 1896; he made his library on the subject of land reform available to Tolstoy and his daughter.

The publication of the present collection, in a year of much social unrest in Russia, reignited Tolstoy's interest – in April he recorded: 'I very much want to write an exposition of my belief and also something about Henry George, whom I read in [Sergei D.] Nikolaev's edition and was delighted by once again.' In the event he was to write an introduction to Nikolaev's translation of *Social Problems* (1906).

The lectures and essays translated here comprise: 'The study of political economy', 'Moses', 'The crime of poverty', "'Thou shalt not steal'", "'Thy kingdom come'", 'Land for the people', 'Justice the object, taxation the means', 'The single tax – what is it and why we urge it', 'Causes of the business depression' and 'The condition of labour'. Also included is a long biographical essay mostly extracted from *The Life of Henry George* (1900), and a bibliography of works in Russian by or about George.

Not in OCLC, COPAC or KvK. There is a copy at the National Library of Russia.

### THE POWER OF PERSUASION AND IDEOLOGY

29. **GIOJA, Melchiorre.** *Ideologia*, esposta da M.G. Milan, G.Pirotta, 1822-1823.

2 vols, 8vo, pp. x, 227, [1 errata]; 271, [1 errata] + 14 (Avviso agli associati); one or two marginal spots, the upper outer corners of a few initial leaves of vol. 2 reinforced, but a very good, fresh copy, uncut in the original printed wrappers with contemporary marbled paper spines, paper labels on spines; edges and corners of the wrappers skilfully repaired. £400

**First edition, a very good copy**, of the work in which the Italian economist and philosopher expounds his theory of sensations, passions, the mind and their role in public life. It was immediately placed on the Index.

Published a few years after his more strictly economical works, this study of sensations, passions, pain and pleasure aimed at getting to the roots of the dynamics of human exchange. It also included a section on the diseases of the 'faculties of the mind', such as mental disorders, manias, demented states and psychiatric conditions.

Clio III, 2167; Einaudi 2572.

### POLITICS, REASON AND MORALS

30. **GIUDICI, Gaetano.** *La ragione e la religione considerate nel loro rapporto alla morale dell'uomo.* Milan, Andrea Mainardi, anno VII [1798-1799].

8vo, pp. [20], 300; edges untrimmed; intermittent foxing; generally a good copy in contemporary blue paper wrappers. £150

**First edition** of this work by the Milanese Jansenist abbot. It discusses the formation of a moral code and the relationship between civil authority and sovereign powers, asserting the importance of a code of morality to both religion and civil society. It is one of several works by Giudici on human morals, advocating the compatibility of religious faith with reason and the institutions of government. It was written after the creation of the *Corpo legislativo* saw Giudici appointed to the *Consiglio degli iunori* in 1797. Giudici played a prominent role in public life, in the Cisalpine Republic, in the Italian Republic's Ministry of Worship, and then under the Austrian government. He was a close friend of

Alessandro Manzoni, persuading the novelist to retain a passage in *The Betrothed* which he had wanted to suppress.

Melzi, II, 408.



#### NO LIBERTY MEANS NO HAPPINESS OR VIRTUE

31. **GODWIN, William.** *History of the commonwealth of England. From its commencement, to the restoration of Charles the Second ... London, Henry Colburn, 1824.*

Four vols, 8vo, pp. xvi, 496; xvi, 696; xvi, 599; xvi, 608; complete with the half-titles, uncut and unopened throughout; an attractive set in the original publisher's ribbed cloth with blind decoration on covers and original printed paper label on each spine (discoloured), headcaps bumped; bookplate of the Treliissick Library. £1100

**First edition of this seminal Whig reading of the Civil War as a struggle for and progress towards liberty.** Godwin was 'the first writer to make a thorough use of the pamphlets in the [British] Museum and other original documents. His thoroughness and accuracy made his book superior to its predecessors' (*DNB*). Isaac D'Israeli and Walter Scott aided him in his research (Woodcock).

Unsurprisingly, the author of *Political Justice* defends the regicide on the grounds 'that the opponents of Charles the First fought for liberty, and that they had no alternative' (i, p. ix). Of the convicted Charles: it 'is not easy to imagine a greater criminal' (ii, p. 688) because 'to a degree which can scarcely be exceeded, [he] conspired against the liberty of his country' (ii, p. 689) and 'without it [liberty] we cannot possess any high degree of happiness, or exercise any considerable virtue' (ii, pp. 688-689). But Cromwell is not above censure being accused of 'deserting the principles on which he began' (iii, p. 599). Godwin concludes that the restoration of Charles II was 'inevitable' but declines to discuss the matter.

NCBEL, II, p. 1250; Woodcock, *William Godwin: A Biographical Study*, pp. 228-229.

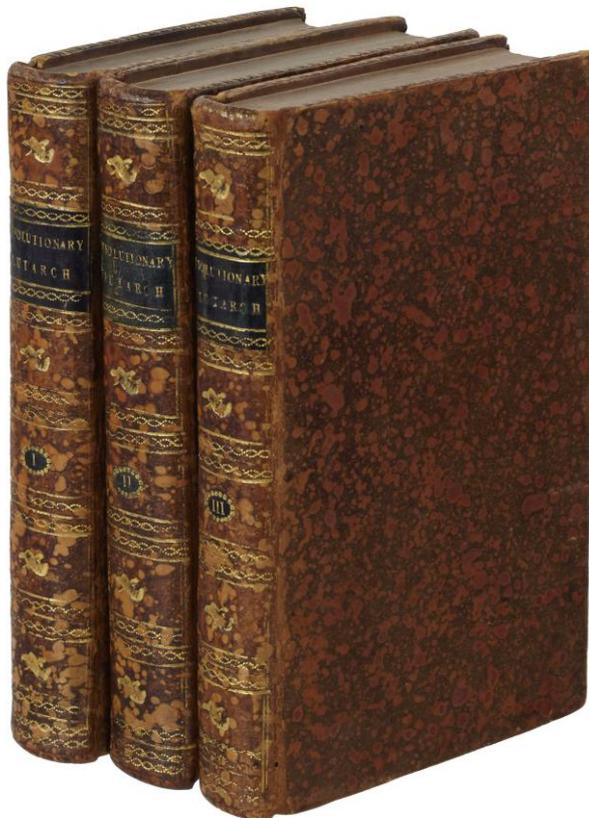
### PLUTARCHIAN HEROIC GRANDEUR? HE THINKS NOT

32. [GOLDSMITH, Lewis?]. *The Revolutionary Plutarch, exhibiting the most distinguished characters, literary, military, and political, in the recent annals of the French Republic; the greater part from the original information of a Gentleman Resident at Paris ... to which, as an appendix, is reprinted entire, the celebrated pamphlet of "Killing No Murder."* London, John Murray, 1804.

3 vols, 12mo, pp. [2], viii, 385, [1]; pp. [2], 387, 61, [1]; pp. vi, 322, 2; frontispiece and 1 plate in vol. 1, frontispiece and 1 folded plate in vol. 3, as called for; half-title to vol. 3; some minor staining to pastedowns and endpapers, but a very good copy in attractive contemporary mottled calf, gilt edges and spines, titles and numbers gilt on spine in black; quill and parchment device gilt on spine; joints rubbed, small cut on lower cover of vol. 3; contemporary ownership inscription (John Taylor) to titles in vols 1 and 3. £350

**First edition.** John Murray printed five books by 'Mr. Stewarton' between the years 1804 and 1806, when *The Revolutionary Plutarch* was succeeded by *The Female Revolutionary Plutarch*, dedicated to Marie Antoinette.

The author is sometimes referred to as 'Stewarton ... who had been a friend of the Empress Josephine in her happier, if less brilliant days' (*Secret History*, 1895). Halkett and Laing (1885) suggest that the author was Lewis Goldsmith, a British radical who published pro-French newspapers, one in London (*Albion*) and one after he moved to Paris in 1801 (*Argus*). After failing as a pro-Buonaparte spy, he fled France for America in 1809 only to be arrested en route in England, after which he 'turned coat' and published a series of books attacking Buonaparte and the French (ONDB).



The book consists of biographies of famous Revolutionary figures and the nobles whom they persecuted. While the aristocrats are lauded, the commoners who rose to greatness through the Revolution and under Buonaparte receive scathing write-ups. The author's enthusiastic royalism is exemplified by the inclusion of "Killing No Murder", an English pamphlet of 1657 urging Oliver Cromwell, then Lord Protector, to commit suicide for the greater good of the Commonwealth. In his rabid distrust of all things Revolutionary, the author resorts to the kind of sensationalism Goldsmith would use in his later books: while at military school Napoleon is supposed to have killed with arsenic a servant-girl whom he had impregnated. Marshal Soult apparently boasted of filling his coffers with English guineas, and his seraglio with English women: 'In a word, he is a terrorist!'

This is a prime piece of British propaganda, displaying the usual rabid slander as well as more calculated attacks: one very interesting section lists every ridiculous expense of the Napoleonic court; not only showing that the state was nearly bankrupt, but that Napoleon was no more egalitarian than the noble Bourbons.

### THE CITIZEN IS AN ACTIVE SELF-REALIZING BEING

33. **GREEN, Thomas Hill.** Lectures on the principles of political obligation ... with preface by Bernard Bosanquet. *London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895.*

8vo, pp. xxiv, 252, 24 (publishers' catalogue of April 1895); with the half-title; some foxing to first quire and in a few places thereafter; original maroon cloth, gilt-lettered spine, neat repairs to head and tail; book label to front pastedown recording the ownership of John Atkinson Hobson, circular ink stamp of King's College Newcastle Library to head of title and a few other pages, Hobson's pencilled notes to back free endpaper, other pencilled marginalia, pencil sketches of two heads in profile to back pastedown. £550

**First edition in this form of Green's lectures, from the library of the social theorist and economist John Atkinson Hobson.** Based on lectures given by Green at Oxford in 1879, the text is here reprinted from his *Philosophical Works*, with the addition of a preface and brief supplement by his student and fellow idealist philosopher Bosanquet. **The Lectures contain chapters on freedom, Spinoza, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, will, the rights of citizens and the state, and virtues.** The continued interest in this text is shown by the publication of a revised edition as recently as 2002.

'Every important philosopher in Britain between 1880 and 1914 responded in some way to [Green's] work ... [and] his work was considered seriously in the USA, Italy, and more particularly in Japan ... In addition, he made a pivotal contribution to the professionalization of philosophy in Oxford, encouraging a much more rigorous research-orientated approach to the discipline and widening its sphere of operation to include continental philosophy ... The central category of Green's political philosophy was citizenship ... The citizen, for Green, was not simply the passive recipient of rights, but rather an active self-realizing being. He viewed all political concepts from this standpoint. Rights, obligations, property, or freedom were devices to allow individuals to realize their powers and abilities. These, and other themes, are explored in his *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*. The nub of his vision of politics was the provision of an ethical "enabling and educative state".' (Andrew Vincent, *ODNB*).

This **important association copy** of Green's work bears a book label recording its ownership by John Atkinson Hobson (1858-1940) and its presentation to King's College Newcastle by his widow. Hobson is best known as an underconsumptionist who dissented from neoclassical analysis. J.M. Keynes paid him a handsome if belated tribute in his *General Theory*, acknowledging how far his concept of effective demand had been foreshadowed in Hobson's work. Hobson did not know Green

personally at Oxford (see his *Confessions of an economic heretic*, 1938, p. 26) and Jules Townsend remarks that it is difficult to gauge Green's influence on him. But Green, together with Mill, certainly created the intellectual environment into which Hobson entered (Townsend, *J.A. Hobson*, 1990, p. 21).

**Marginal pencil notes by Hobson appear in this copy on several pages**, and there is frequent pencil underlining and marking, including occasional question marks. An annotation to Green's discussion on determination of will reads, 'A particular determination of the Will has reference to an event in time and as such is like the determination of any natural phenomenon' (p. 13). On Green's comment on wrong-doing, Hobson remarks that 'Here G departs from his Utilit[aria]n standard' (p. 167). Other annotations relate to Green's discussion of state punishment, moral depravity, and voluntary taxation. On the final free endpaper, Hobson has written in pencil his own index to particular passages in Green's text.

### GROTIUS ON CAMPANELLA, THE ONLY TRANSLATION

34. **GROTIUS, Hugo.** *Politick Maxims and Observations ... Translated for the Ease and Benefit of the English States-men by H. C. S.T.B. London, Printed for Humphrey Moseley ... 1654.*

12mo in sixes, pp. [12], '142' (i.e. 143), [1], with the initial blank A1; a very good copy in contemporary sheep; ownership inscription and characteristic shelfmarks of the antiquary Daniel Fleming (1633-1701), with some pencil marks in the margin and his note 'Exa[minated]' at the end.

£2750

**First edition, first issue**, scarce, of the first English translation of Grotius's 'Observata' on Campanella's *Aforismi politici*. The original Latin text, a gloss of Campanella with interspersed commentary, was among the works left unpublished by Grotius on his death 1645, and first appeared in the posthumous *Argumenti theologici, juridici, politici* (1652). This English translation, which has passed largely unnoticed (ESTC says 'Original title not traced'), is **the only recorded translation of this important text into any language**.

Campanella's *Aforismi*, probably written in prison in 1601, and later extended, reorganised, and translated into Latin as 'De Politica', the third part of his *Realis philosophae epilogisticae* (1623), was one of his most successful political tracts. In a text that was seen as his only treatment of political science ... [Campanella] analyzed questions concerning the constitution and organization of every sort of political community ... It would have an exceptional reader in Hugo Grotius, who glossed the text with acute, even if often critical and prickly, observations' (Germana Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella: the Book and the Body of Nature*, 2010).

As in the original, Grotius's commentary is differentiated from his digest by the use of italics. But on occasion the English translator also steps in as a mediator or commentator, with 'Animadversions' particularly informed by the context of the English Civil War: 'What the Fryer [*i.e.* Campanella], or Grotius affirme of Aristotle is onely true, accidentally ... and so all the sect of Philosophers ... are Patriarchs of Heretiques: but I am clearly of opinion, that Plato's Idea in the head of an Enthusiast, or National Theologue, have done much more hurt to Christianity, then Aristotles subtleties ever did.'

The translator, 'H. C.', who has not been identified, provides an address 'To the Reader' at the front ('if you look for the sense faithfully render'd (and reasonably you can expect no more) I assure you 'tis done'), followed by an epistolary poem 'To Grotius' by Lucius Cary, 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Falkland (1609/10-1643), to whose circle at Great Tew (including Hobbes, Suckling, and others) Grotius was

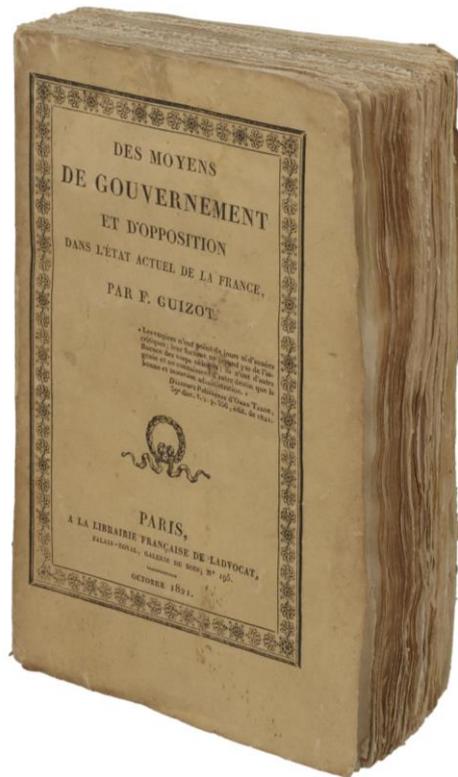
of significant interest; it was first printed as a prefatory piece to *Christ's Passion* (1640), a translation by George Sandys of Grotius's *Christus patiens* (1608). Wing G 2123.

**TOCQUEVILLE'S TEACHER  
CAST BY MARX AS THE EXORCIST OF THE COMMUNIST SPECTRE**

35. **GUIZOT, François Pierre Guillaume.** *Des moyens de gouvernement et d'opposition dans l'état actuel de la France.* Paris, *Librairie française de Ladvocat*, 1821.

8vo, pp.[xii], 398; light foxing to pp. 200-201, p. 213 a little creased, one or two minor spots, a fine copy, uncut with last quire partly unopened, in the original printed wrappers (very lightly soiled); preserved in a modern of green half morocco box lettered in gilt. £1250

**First edition, a fresh, unsophisticated copy in the original wrappers, of Guizot's second great treatise on government.** Guizot, the leading liberal anti-Bourbon doctrinaire whose lectures Tocqueville found 'truly extraordinary' (letter to Beaumont 30 August 1829), introduced his pupils and readers to the notion of democracy as a rising social state, was the first to show the impact of democracy and centralization to be superior to that of particular events in the shaping of the French (and any) civilization, and adopted an analytical, rather than narrative, outlook in the account of history and cultures which was to form the character of Tocqueville's own writing. Although Tocqueville progressively matured an irreconcilable opposition to the doctrinaires' propositions, culminating in an open rejection around 1840, and although Guizot's understanding political democracy never chimed with Tocqueville's, it has been remarked that 'Tocqueville's political vision had crystallized before he embarked on his famous voyage to America' (Craiutu), and that Guizot's lectures and published works provided him with a lasting outlook. Guizot's moderatism was perceived by Marx and Engels as the arch-enemy of their revolutionary program: they mention Guizot at the beginning of the Manifesto of the Communist Party as a member of the reactionary alliance together with Metternich, the Pope and the Czar. See A. Craiutu, *Liberalism under siege: the political thought of the French doctrinaires*, Lanham, MD, 2003, and Tocqueville's *Correspondance*, *passim*.



### AT THE ROOTS OF AMERICA'S CONSTITUTION AND SET-UP

36. [HARRINGTON, James.] *The commonwealth of Oceana.* London, printed for J. Streater, 1656.

Small folio, pp. [xii], 1–239, [1, blank], 255–286, 189–210, [1], [1, blank]; title printed in red and black; light browning, faint damp-stain in the upper margin, but a good, honest copy in full calf, worn, joints split but holding; armorial bookplate of Matthew Bell; from the library of the bibliographer Graham Pollard, with his printed exlibris to the verso of the front board. £3750

**First edition, first issue.** ‘Oceana presents Harrington’s vision of the ideal state: an aristocracy of limited, balanced powers. Harrington believed that democracy is most stable where a strong middle class exists and that revolution is a consequence of the separation of economic and political power. **These beliefs particularly influenced U.S. Pres. Thomas Jefferson’s democratic agrarianism ... His ideas are said to have been partly responsible for such U.S. political developments as written constitutions, bicameral legislatures, and the indirect election of the president’** (Encyclopedia Britannica).

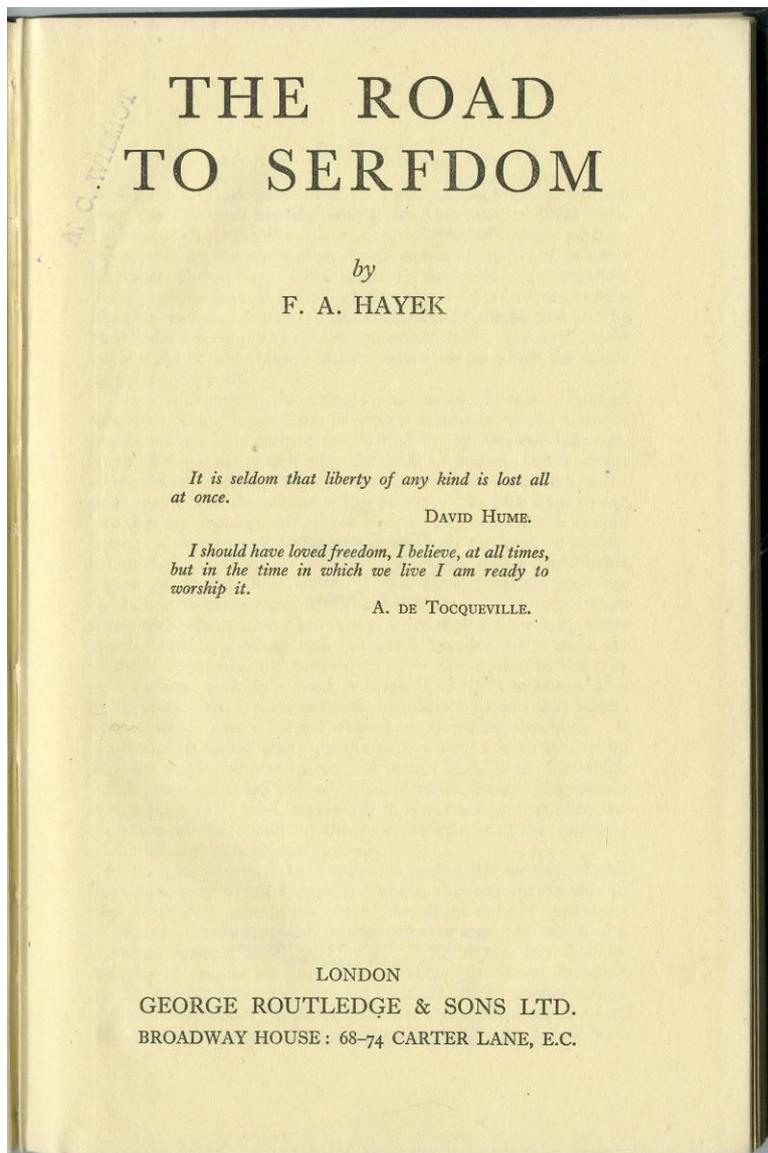
There are two variants, of which ours (‘printed by J. Streater’) is the first, the second being ‘printed for D. Pakeman’. The different issues were the result of political interference during the printing of the book. The ‘Epistle to the reader’ says that the copy was ‘dispersed into three presses’ and the errata list notes that a ‘spanell questing hath sprung my book of one presse into two other’ (this is readily apparent from the three distinct typographical sequences that characterise the book: one printer produced quires [-]–li, the second quires Kk–Nn, the third Pp–Rr). As Streater and Chapman were radicals opposed to the Cromwellian protectorate, it is likely that it was *Oceana*’s printer and publisher, rather than its author, that prompted the government’s attentions, and that this is why distribution was at some point entrusted to Daniel Pakeman, a non-controversial publisher mainly of law books. ‘But *Oceana* is one of those works that transcend their immediate context. The book’s

historical significance is that it marks **a moment of paradigmatic breakthrough, a major revision of English political theory and history** in the light of concepts drawn from civic humanism and Machiavellian republicanism' (Pocock, *Machiavellian moment* p. 384).

*Oceana* 'is of the greatest importance: in general terms as showing how it was possible to rethink the entire institutions of an extensive nation-state along republican lines, and to write a detailed constitution for it; and in relation to the Roman Republic as being by far the most detailed – if sometimes erratic – use of its institutions (far more detailed than by Machiavelli) to construct a feasible model for the present' (Millar, *Roman republic in political thought* pp. 95–6). 'A thinly disguised account of England and gives an imaginary account of how its dictator set up a utopian commonwealth. It is no chimerical state which Harrington described, however, but a social and political organization intended to be immediately applicable to the England of his day ... The chief importance of Harrington's utopias is their clear enunciation of the principle that the economic factor in a state determines its government. ... Oceana and Harrington's other accounts are not utopias in the literary sense of the term. They are magnified constitutions intended as solutions for actual problems' (Negley, *The Quest for Utopia*, pp. 380-383).

Gibson 704; Wing H809; Pforzheimer 449; ESTC R18610; Goldsmiths' 3735. Kress 2225.

#### HAYEK'S *SERFDOM* OWNED BY A TOCQUEVILLE SCHOLAR



37. HAYEK, F. A. The road to serfdom. London, George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1944.

8vo, pp. viii, 184; a very good, clean copy in the original publisher's blue cloth, flat spine lettered in red; corners slightly bumped, extremities a little rubbed; from the library of Jacob Peter Mayer, his blind stamp to the front free end-paper and a few light pencil strokes in the margins near salient passages, earlier fading stamp (A. C. Wilmot) to the inner margin of the title-page; reader's page-marker of machine-embroidered ribbon preserved inside the book.

**Early edition with a notable association of one of the most important books of the twentieth century.**

The Popular Edition was published in October 1944, the first edition having been published in March that year; the Popular Edition was then reprinted in April 1945. This copy was owned and used by P.-J. Mayer (1903 -1992), the writer, editor and founder of the De Tocqueville Centre at Reading University where he was Professor Emeritus. He was a leading figure in the anti-Nazi movement in Germany in the mid-1930s.

**The association is of significance:** Tocqueville is cited by Hayek in the epigraph, 'I should have loved freedom, I believe, at all times, but in the time in which I live I am ready to worship it'. And indeed it was very much in the spirit of Tocqueville's warnings against the threats of modern kinds of slavery that Hayek composed, in Hazlitt's words, 'one of the most important books of our generation. It restates for our time the issue between liberty and authority ... it throws a brilliant light along the direction in which the world has been heading ... it is an arresting call to all well-intentioned planners... to those who are sincere democrats and liberals at heart, to stop, look and listen' (*The free man's library*, New York, 1956, pp. 82-3).

### **'UNPOPULAR FROM THE DAY IT WAS PUBLISHED TO THE PRESENT' (PMM)**

38. **HOBBS, Thomas.** *Leviathan, or the matter, forme, & power of a common-wealth ecclesiasticall and civill. London, Andrew Crooke, 1651.*

Folio, pp. with the engraved additional title, and folding table; some very light foxing to the initial two and final two leaves, minute marginal paper flaw to M2 and Q1, outer margin with some faint dampstains, and a little worn in the last three quires, withal a very good copy, in contemporary calf, rebaked preserving the contemporary gilt lettering-piece, corners skilfully repaired; Joseph Henry Shorthouse's exlibris on the front pastedown. £29,000

**The true first edition** - often referred to as 'first edition, first issue', but in fact the only first printing - of a milestone of political philosophy: the earliest English book to set out a complete political system, the first modern philosophical formulation of a social contract theory, and a work made almost universally iconic by its illustrated frontispiece, perhaps the most famous graphic representation of a political theory.



The idea of the necessity of a State authority as a remedy to the brutal anarchy of the natural condition ('Man to Man is an arrant Wolfe'), and the associated idea of political representation, were the conceptual foundation of enlightened monarchies throughout Europe: while the legitimate source of power is the people, its exercise pertains to the monarch, the people's designated representative. 'This book produced a fermentation in English thought not surpassed until the advent of Darwinism. Its importance may be gauged by the long list of assailants it aroused. It was placed on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum 7th May 1703, though all Hobbes's works had previously been condemned *in toto*, and it still remains a model of vigorous exposition, unsurpassed in the language' (Pforzheimer).

'Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury is a unique figure in the history of English political thought. His defence of absolutism, unpopular from the day it was published to the present, is based on expediency. The individual (except to save his life) should always submit to the State, because any government is better than the anarchy of the natural state. Though his ideas have never appealed to proponents of the individual rights of man or to the modern totalitarians with their mystical vision of Volk, the fundamental nature of Hobbes's speculation has stimulated philosophers from Spinoza to John Stuart Mill' (PMM exhibition catalogue, 272).

The second edition, produced abroad with a false imprint, has a device on the title of a bear clasping foliage; the third, which was actually printed about 1680, has modernised spelling, a triangle of type-ornaments in place of the device, and a much worn impression of the original engraved title.

**Provenance:** the copy which belonged to the novelist Joseph Henry Shorthouse (1834-1903). It is worth noting that Shorthouse's first and most famous work, *John Inglesant* (finished and privately printed by 1876 but published commercially only in 1881), is a historical novel set in Hobbes' times. It has been described as 'one of the best examples of the philosophical romance in English literature' (Britannica). **The main character expounds Hobbes' political and religious points of view, and quite explicitly declares at one point 'We had first the authority of a Church, then of a book, now Mr Hobbes asserts the authority of reason' (p. 292).**

Kress 831; Macdonald & Hargreaves 42; Pforzheimer 491; PMM 138; Wing H2246.

**'THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS NOT DOWNCAST. IT LIVES.  
WE MUST EITHER KILL IT OFF OR LET IT GROW'**

39. **HODÉ, Jacques.** L'Idée de fédération internationale dans l'histoire. Les précurseurs de la Société des Nations. Thèse pour le doctorat (sciences, politiques et économiques) présentée et soutenue le 7 juin 1921 par Jacques Hodé, diplômé de l'Ecole des Sciences Politiques. *Paris, Vie Universitaire, 1921.*

8vo, pp. 294, [2 blank]; some very small tears to fore-edge where opened, slight creasing and browning; a clean copy in the original printed wrappers and glassine wrapper, small loss and tears at bottom of spine. £200

**First edition.** An impassionate history of and rationale for the League of Nations by a student of the law faculty at the University of Paris, submitted for his doctorate just two years after forty-four states signed the League's Covenant. To those who hoped the League would be an 'all-powerful goddess' and found instead a 'little girl' taking her first steps, Hodé advises patience. To those who claimed the League was a new tower of Babel built on sand, he replies that its formation is the result of an evolution going back to the dawn of civilisation, and over the next 290 pages he endeavours to prove his thesis in a chronological gallop through European history identifying precursors to the League.

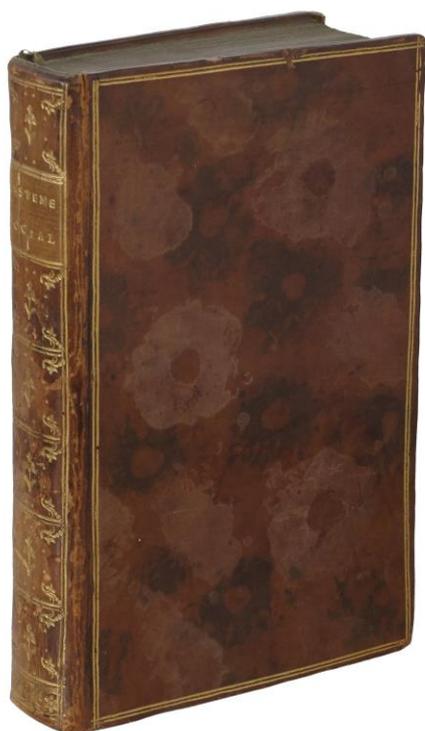
'The League of Nations is not downcast. It exists, it lives. We must either kill it off or let it grow. To kill it would be to deliberately destroy what little peace we have; to accelerate its growth would be to achieve the great peace of the people, true peace, the only peace worthy of its name.'

Copac records only four copies in British libraries.

**THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO OVERTURN AN UNJUST RULER**

40. **[HOLBACH, Paul Thiry, Baron d'].** *Système sociale. ou principes naturels de la morale et de la politique. Avec un examen de l'influence du gouvernement sur les moeurs. 'Londres' [recte Amsterdam, Marc Michel Rey], 1773.*

Three vols in one, 8vo, pp. [vi], 210; 176; 167, [1 blank]; including half-titles; a very good, clean, fresh copy in contemporary mottled calf, sides filleted in gilt, flat spine gilt with fleurons, gilt morocco lettering-piece; some light rubbing along the joints, one or two very minor scuffs at edges. £750



**Complete with all three parts, dealing with ‘Natural principles of morals’, ‘Natural principles of politics’ and ‘Influence of government on customs’, this edition was published anonymously and with a false imprint in the same year as the first.** Holbach’s system of ‘natural politics’, based on the same premises as the materialism which animated the *Système de la nature*, freed public morals from the realm of received authority or religion and built its foundation on the will of the people. It was man’s duty to assume the full responsibility of mankind’s independence: ‘la morale convenable à l’homme doit être fondée sur la nature de l’homme; il faut qu’elle lui apprenne ce qu’il est, le but qu’il se propose, & les moyens d’y parvenir’. Sovereignty of the people did not mean disorder, quite the opposite: Holbach ‘rejected revolution as a solution to political problems, [asserting] that revolution is worse than the disease which it is supposed to cure’ (Copleston, *A history of philosophy*, vol. IV, p. 50). The citizens’ happiness features as natural end and therefore natural foundation of any political body, the legitimate nature of which can and ought to be questioned if the citizens find the

ruler unjust. The book was seized and put on the Index in 1775.

Vercruyse 1773-A5; Barbier IV, 621-22; Cioranescu II, 34061; Quérard IV, 119; see Einaudi 2911; Goldsmiths’ 10952; Higgs 5873; Kress S, 4739; Tchemerzine VI 246 (a).

### **BENEATH THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH -AR**

41. **[HOLBERG, Ludvig, Baron].** Nicolai Klimii Iter Subterraneum novam telluris theoriam... *Copenhagen and Leipzig, Jacob Preuss, 1741.*

8vo, pp. 388; with an engraved title-page, engraved frontispiece, a folding map and two plates; some light uniform foxing, but a very good copy, in contemporary speckled calf, panelled spine decorated in gilt with a gilt morocco lettering-piece; corners bumped, extremities rubbed, foot of spine a little chipped, but a firm copy in an unsophisticated state. £1250

#### **First edition of a classic utopian novel, the archetypal journey to the centre of the Earth.**

In a fortunate turn of literary fiction that would appeal to many future writers, Niels Klim discovers a happy society living in peace, reason and lawfulness when, stepping into a hole near his Norwegian town of Bergen, he descends beneath the crust and finds himself on a planet apparently orbiting around a star located at the centre of the Earth. This narrative is the earliest instance of ‘science fiction’ making use of Halley’s theory, suggesting that planets consist of nested spheres around a small central sun.

Life on planet Nazar is largely conducted according to very unearthly principles. In Potu, the most enlightened of Nazarian cities, women appear to be equal to men and to be doing much of the ruling, while peasants are held in great regard and are the highest-ranking class in society. Less advanced or over-indulgent societies are also to be found on Nazar: Holberg’s inventiveness thrives on these comparisons which allow him more sophisticated political and sociological observations, as well as explicit satire (‘Martinia’ is modelled on France, ‘Quama’ on Russia).

‘Holberg was one of the leading scholars and playwrights of the eighteenth century, perhaps the chief literary figure in Denmark to date. Niels Klim has been translated into at least thirteen languages and published in more than sixty editions, including at least eight in English. It is in the genre of the imaginary voyage which has been so much a part of utopian writing from its very beginnings. ... Scholars have pointed out numerous resemblances to *Gulliver’s Travels*, and there are, indeed, many similarities. Perhaps the chief difference is that Swift was concerned with the behavior of individuals and Holberg with that of society’ (Lewis).

Negley 575; Lewes, p. 92; see Bleiler, *Science-Fiction: The Early Years*, 1114; Gove, *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction*, pp. 303-5; Nicolson, *Voyages to the Moon*, pp. 226-30.

## INTERWAR, INTERNATIONAL: THE PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTION

42. **KEYNES, John Maynard, general editor.** The Manchester Guardian Commercial. Reconstruction in Europe. Section one [-twelve] [Continued as:] European reconstruction. Section thirteen [-fourteen]. *Manchester, The Manchester Guardian Ltd., 20 April 1922 [-26 April 1923].*

Nine +1 nos., folio; **a good set in the original printed wrappers**; wrappers variously chipped and stained, internally generally good, issue 2 with internal foxing, occasional other minor blemishes. £2000

**A conspicuous run** of the *Manchester Guardian Commercial’s* ‘series of weighty supplements on European Reconstruction, with articles by the most distinguished authorities in each country’ (Harrod), published under the general editorship of J.M. Keynes, with contributions by other notable authorities including Pigou, Fisher, Einaudi, Gorky, Sraffa, Croce and Cassel.

**Our set, which comprises the ‘normal-title’ issues 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, includes the particularly uncommon issue 13, *Raw Materials***; this (along with no. 14) was published under the different general title of ‘European reconstruction’, but continued both issue and pagination numbering from the earlier title. **While Keynes does not appear on the cover of this issue as the general editor, he was the author of the first contribution, *Some aspects of commodity markets*.**

‘During 1922 the great *Manchester Guardian* Supplements, twelve in number, were the main vehicle for the expression of Keynes’ views. They were entitled *Reconstruction in Europe* and covered the whole field of finance, industry, trade and labour. Some of the issues were general, some specialised on some such topic as shipping or oil. To almost all Keynes contributed an introductory article, which summarised the subject and usually had some interesting ideas ... In the first issue there was a lengthy article on “The Theory of purchasing power parity” and another one on “Forward Exchanges,” which give a full account of the theory, which he subsequently summarised in his *Tract on monetary reform*’ (Harrod).

‘An “important and novel feature” of the First Supplement, which ran through all twelve issues, was the business “barometer”, based on an “index” of business conditions. Compiled for Europe by the London School of Economics and for the United States by the Economic Research Department of Harvard University, these barometers claimed to be able to forecast changes in the economic weather’ (Skidelsky).

‘In the eleventh issue ... he made a frontal attack on deflation. The magnitude of the internal debt of most European countries was the main reason why it was impossible to restore the value of their currencies to their former level. But this was not the only reason. Deflation would cause business depression and unemployment. He cited an article by Professor Irving Fisher in the same issue

“written with overwhelming force and lucidity”. This article by Keynes was his first to sound a clear warning against the evils of deflation and may therefore be regarded as the preface to the work which was to absorb his interests for the next fifteen years and to lead him far from his original starting-point’ (Harrod).

See Harrod, *The Life of John Maynard Keynes*, p. 312ff, Moggridge, *Maynard Keynes, an economist’s biography*, p. 375ff and Skidelsky, *John Maynard Keynes, the economist as saviour*, p. 102ff.

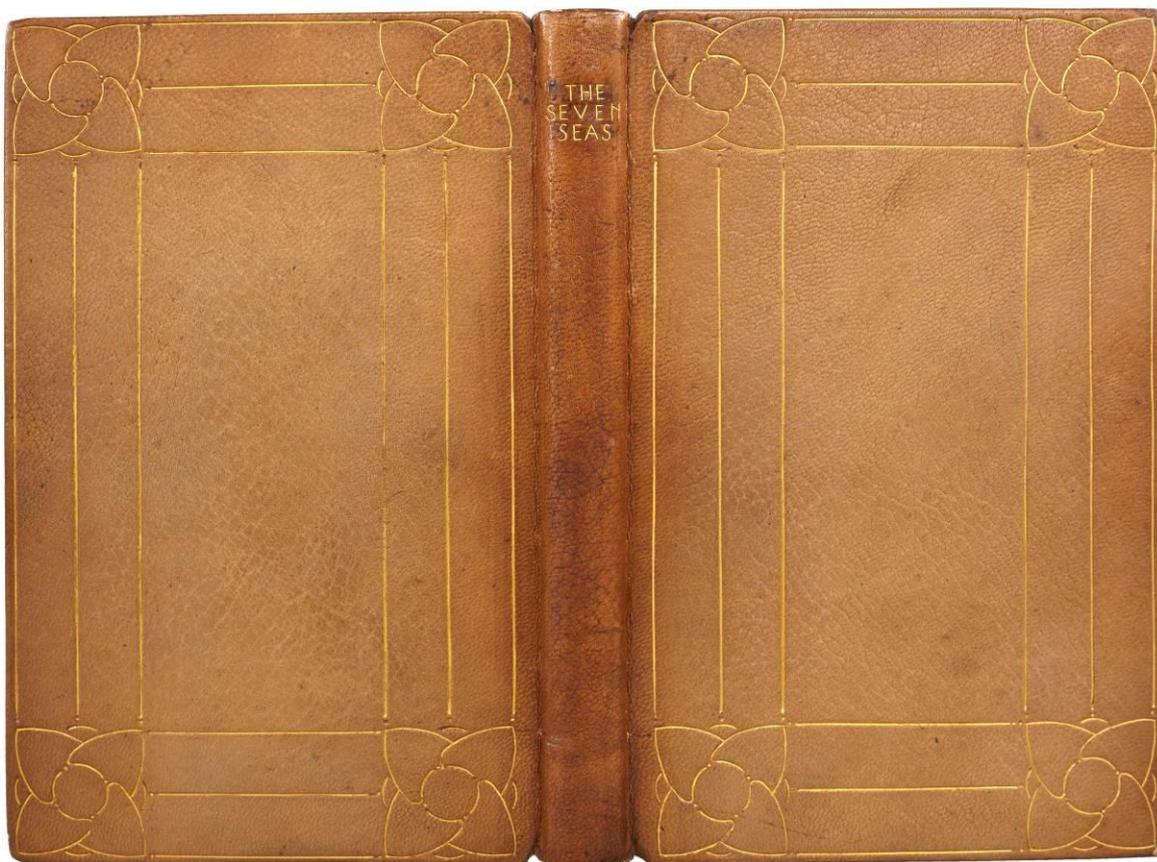
**MARGARET THATCHER’S COPY  
HER BEST-LOVED AND MOST-QUOTED POET**

**43. KIPLING, Rudyard. *The Seven Seas*. London, Methuen, 1896.**

8vo, pp. [xvii], 230; title printed in red and black, woodcut title vignette; a fine copy, top edge gilt but otherwise uncut, bound by the Guild of Women Binders in beige gilt morocco, sides finely panelled with fillets and geometrical stylized floral corner-pieces, flat spine lettered in gilt, marbled end-papers; lower corners a little rubbed, upper corners very slightly bumped. £3750

**One of 150 copies printed on handmade paper of the first English edition of Kipling’s anthology.** This copy from the library of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Her biographers concur in singling out Kipling as her best-loved poet, and not just on the grounds of her many assertions. In the Summer of 1976, having been chosen as leader of the Conservative party and having since happily adopted the soubriquet of Iron lady devised for her by the Soviet Defence Ministry, Thatcher selected for her holiday reading Kipling’s poems, and during that Summer she read them all. She was fond of quoting Kipling, both in her speeches, which are peppered with citations from numerous poems, and in her dedication inscriptions.

Stewart 140.



#### PIONEER OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT

44. [LADD, William]. **PHILANTHROPOS**. A brief illustration of the principles of war and peace, showing the ruinous policy of the former, and the superior efficacy of the latter, for national protection and defence. *Albany, N. Y., Packard and Van Benthuysen, 1831.*

8vo, pp. 112; a very good copy in the original cloth-backed printed boards; boards a little stained; contemporary ownership inscription to front free end-paper (Lucy mackintosh). £350

**First edition**, one of the earliest works to advocate the forming of international organizations to further cooperation and world-wide peace. William Ladd, a Harvard graduate, began as an agricultural reformer. From 1819 onwards he devoted himself to the cause of international peace, founding the American Peace Society in 1828. He believed in the principle of non-resistance. He 'not nmly contributed to the technique of pacifist propaganda, but was the first to try to bring the peace question into the sphere of politics' (D.A.B.). Much of Ladd's plan was later realized in the Hague Conferences, the World Court and the League of Nations.

Sabin 38522.

#### MARKING FIFTY YEARS OF THE LABOUR PARTY

45. **LASKI, Harold Joseph**. Autograph manuscript signed ('Harold J. Laski') entitled 'The British Labour Party after Fifty Years'. [*London?*, 1950].

4to ruled paper in loose sheets, ff. 13; written in blue and black ink on the rectos only in Laski's small, neat hand; light rust stains from paperclip to first and last pages, a few minor creases, but crisp and clean; some words circled in pencil. £500

A neat copy in Laski's hand, with a few corrections, of an article apparently written very shortly before his death when he was ill. The author's illness no doubt accounts for the mistaken date in the opening line, 'The British Labour Party was born on February 27, 1950'. Beginning with the founding conference at Farringdon Street London, Laski here analyses the history of the party up to the 1950 general election, giving a summary of the current state of the party, and writing in conclusion as follows: 'it is, on the whole, striking how the Labour Party, starting as a small group of trade unionists, socialists, and co-operators, has become the greatest remaining socialist party in Europe, strongly democratic, internationalist empirically rather than dogmatically, conscious of the reality of the class-war, but respecting the Marxian theory of a community which can only be made socialist by a revolution which establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat which then, by repressing all opposition, passes into the classless society ... there is nowhere a party in which the spirit of fellowship is more profound and the reserve of practical wisdom more remarkable ... its leaders are notable both for their integrity and their sagacity, its rank and file for its acute sense of fair play. It may lack any figure with the romantic dash and colour of Mr Winston Churchill, but it is at least aware that it has to operate in the twentieth, and not in the eighteenth, century.'

Laski's close association with the Labour Party began in 1920 and his election to the party's national executive committee (NEC) for twelve successive years was unparalleled for someone who was never an MP. In spite of his resignation from the NEC in 1949, Laski campaigned vigorously in the general election of February 1950, writing the introductory section of the party programme and speaking at forty meetings. This manuscript dates from this last flurry before his death on 24 March 1950.

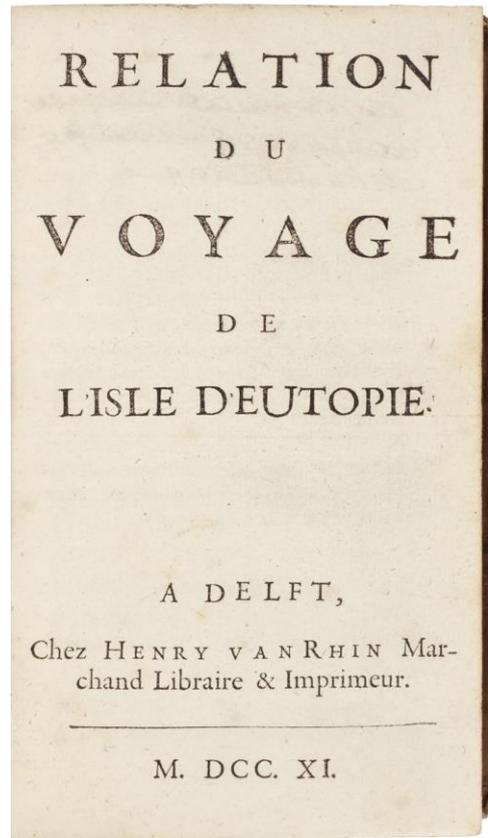
## EUTOPIA

46. [LEFEBVRE, François]. *Relation du voyage de l'isle d'Eutopie. Delft, Henry van Rhin, 1711.*

12mo, pp. [iv], 240; a clean, crisp copy in contemporary calf, panelled spine decorated in gilt, red morocco lettering-piece; spine just chipped at head, a few scuffs to the sides, edges a little rubbed; contemporary ink inscription on the verso of the title-page, scribbled over in contemporary ink. £2000

**First edition, rare, of a utopia set on an island in South America**, 'a little south of Guinea [...] by the Capricorn' where a group of migrants found a colony which, according to the author, through wisdom and true piety deserves to be hailed as the paradise on Earth. The political and religious capital of the island, auspiciously named Macarie (anyone familiar with the Greek text of the Sermon on the Mount will have immediately appreciated the Christian nature of communion and happiness on Eutopie), home to 40 thousand people all descending from the family of a single French merchant quite explicitly likened to Abraham, is structured exclusively along straight lines in a grid. The republic of Eutopie hosts all sorts of virtuous ways of life, animated by a spirit of community and by authentic piety, devised by the founders after a reflection on the corrupted ways of the motherland: thanks to their frank examination, society was 'gradually reformed by men's reasoning their way to discover the best procedures' (Gibson).

Gibson 673; Negley, 324; Versins p. 933-4; not in Barbier.



**THE SERENISSIMA LOOKS TO FLORENCE FOR POLITICAL NOUS**

47. **LEONI, Giovanni Battista.** *Considerationi . . . sopra l'istoria d'Italia di messer Francesco Guicciardini. Venice, Gioliti, 1583.*

Small 4to, pp. [viii], 177, [15]; a very good copy in contemporary limp vellum.

£875

**First edition.** An extended refutation of the Florentine Guicciardini's censures of Venice expressed in his history of Italy (1561), which, for example, blamed the selfish ambition of Venice for preventing Italian unity in the face of foreign incursions. Despite their disagreement, Leoni expressed his admiration for Guicciardini in the *Considerationi*: his stance is indicative of a growing interest among Venetians in the political culture of Florence and a shift towards a political and historical understanding resembling that of the mature Florentine Renaissance, moving away from the traditional static idealism that held that Venice's perpetuity was guaranteed by an original constitution which had achieved a perfect balance of social forces (see Bouwsma, *Venice and the defense of republican liberty* pp. 69, 269).

Adams L489.

## INFLUENTIAL TRANSLATION OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT

48. [LOCKE, John]. *Du Gouvernement Civil, où l'on traite de l'origine, des fondemens, de la nature, du pouvoir, & des fins des sociétés politiques. Traduit de l'Anglois. Amsterdam, Abraham Wolfgang, 1691.*

12mo, pp. [xii], 321, [1 blank, and bound without the final blank leaf]; woodcut printer's device on title, a couple of leaves lightly browned or spotted, but a very good copy, in contemporary speckled calf, panelled spine gilt, red morocco lettering piece; headcaps defective, corners a little worn; early ownership inscriptions on the title. £3500

**First edition in French of Locke's *Essay concerning the true original extent and end of civil government*, one of the most famous and influential works in the history of liberalism**, which had originally appeared the previous year as the second of the *Two Treatises of Government* (1690). The anonymous translator is generally thought to be David Mazel, a 'Huguenot pastor living in Holland' (Yolton); 'it is surprising to note that all translations of this work up to 1800 were only of the second treatise' (id.). It was to a great extent thanks to his translation that Locke achieved a wide readership on the Continent.

'Mazel's translation provided the Francophone readership with an anti-absolutist critique of the French regime, and ... emanated from the circle of Locke's closest friends. It was through the intermediary of a handful of Francophone Protestants that the Continental audience became aware of Locke's arguments and that he became known, not only as a theoretical philosopher, but also as a political theorist – as the author of, not the *Two treatises*, but the *Du gouvernement*' (S.-J. Savonius, 'Locke in French: The Du Gouvernement Civil of 1691 and its readers'. *The Historical Journal* 47:1, March 2004, p. 47).

Attig 166; Christophersen, p. 101; Yolton 46.

## ALL MACHIAVELLI IN DUTCH, ILLUSTRATED

49. MACHIAVELLI, Niccolò. *De historische en politieke werken. 's Gravenhage, Boucquet, 1703-1705.*

Five vols, 8vo; with two engraved title-pages (one for the Histories and one for the Prince) and a set of 12 engraved plates illustrating the Histories, each accompanied by a caption; a very good copy, in contemporary half vellum, boards with pink floral pattern, spines lettered in ink; modern pen ownership inscription to the front free endpaper of the first volume. £4000

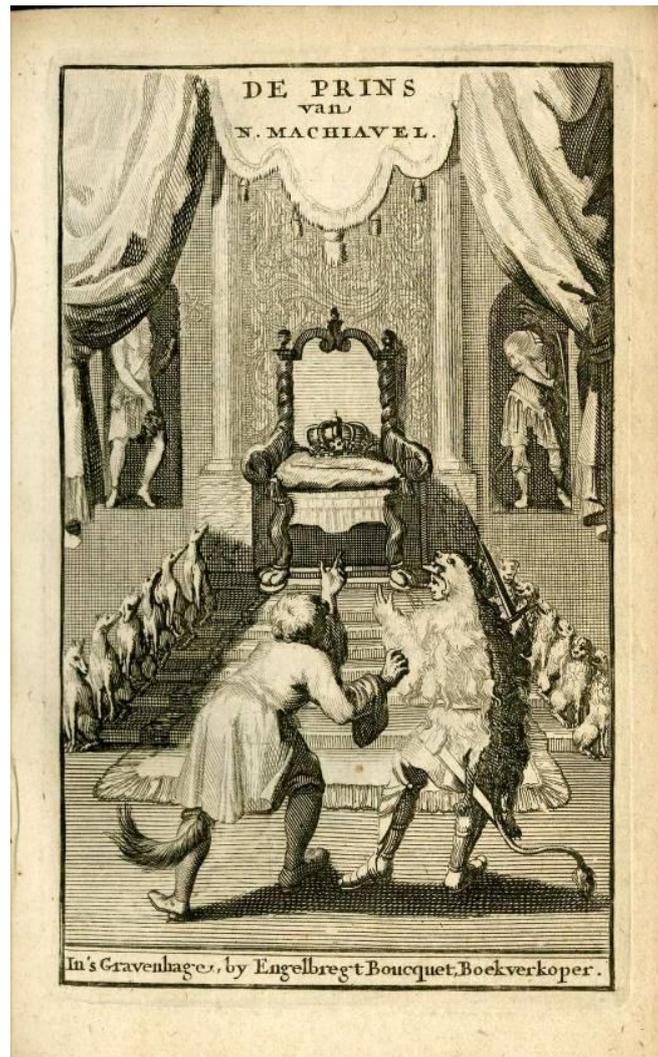
**Rare first edition in Dutch of Machiavelli's complete works, preserved in all its five parts.** The set includes the *Historie van Florence* (1703, translation of the *Istorie fiorentine*, two parts), *De Prins* (1705, the first appearance of a new translation of the Prince, after that of 1615 made by Adam van Zuylen van Nijvelt; it is followed here by other shorter works by Machiavelli) and *De Republicq* (1704, translation of the *Discorsi*, two parts).

The *Prince*, translated by Daniel Ghys, is prefaced by the commentary of the French translator Abraham Nicolas Amelot de la Houssaie, his dedication to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Machiavelli's own letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, and Ghys's introduction.

**This translation of the *Prince* marks a significant shift in the attitude towards Machiavelli which occurred at the beginning of the eighteenth century.** Instead of excuses or rhetorical devices bent

on distancing translators and editors from the stance of the compromising Florentine, which had been the case for the first Dutch translation of 1615, here Ghys begins with an outright defence of Machiavelli, who ‘feared God, loved harmony, order, justice and discipline in the state, [and whose] intention was to rid mankind of idleness and voluptuousness. It was precisely Machiavelli who showed the activities of eminent persons in the “honest affairs of a republic”’ (E. Haitsma Mulier, ‘A controversial republican’, in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999, p. 252). The *Prince* is embraced without embarrassment, and so is the nuanced, refined political science of the *Discorsi*, with its open republicanism.

Muller, 780 (2 parts of only); De Vries, 185; Scheepers I, 496. OCLC finds no copies in the US and, in the UK, a partial copy at the British Library (parts 1 and 2 only).



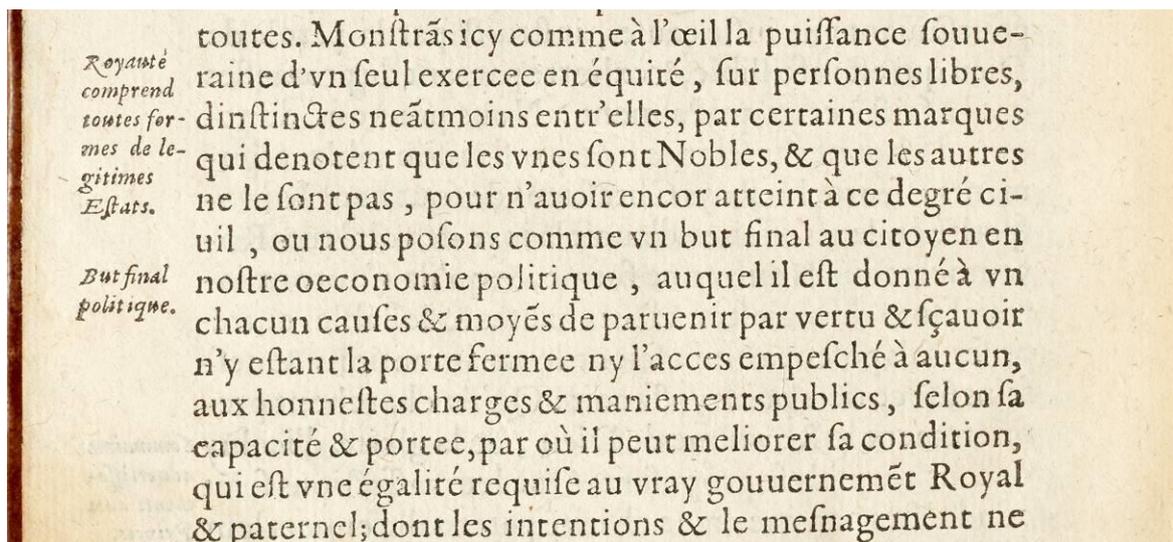
### ‘OECONOMIE POLITIQUE’ FOUR YEARS BEFORE MONTCHRETIEN

50. **MAYERNE, Louis Turquet de.** *La monarchie aristodémocratique, ou le gouvernement composé et meslé des trois formes de legitimes républiques.* Paris, Berjon and le Bouc, 1611.

4to, pp. [xx], 562, [10]; large engraved vignette with motto, hand-coloured, to title, one large and several smaller engraved grotesque initials, engraved grotesque headpieces marking the beginning of each part, printed shoulder notes; upper margin shaved close to the running titles, small worm-hole,

insignificant in several quires then slightly larger in about thirty leaves affecting at most three or four letters per page, without impairing legibility, faint dampstaining to the lower outer corner of the initial quires, a few spots here and there, but a good copy, in an eighteenth-century prize binding of full polished calf, gilt arms of the Parisian College d'Harcourt to sides, panelled spine direct-lettered and tooled in gilt; spine extremities skilfully repaired, cover a little rubbed; bound with a printed and manuscript leaf dated 17 August 1741 commemorating the conferring of the prize to Louis Bernard de Menon (see below) on the occasion of the anniversary of the foundation of the College; faint stamp of the Bibliothèque des Petits-Bois on front free end-paper. £15,000

**Rare first edition** of an influential work of political science, and **the work which contains the first noted occurrence in any modern language of the phrase 'political economy'** ('oeconomie politique', p. 558, as first observed by James E. King in 1948). The phrase was successively employed by Antoyne de Montchretien in his *Traicté de l'oeconomie politique* (1615), and became common currency in the discourse of economists and administrators who, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, endeavoured to extend the Aristotelian *oikonomia* (the successful running of a private estate) to the realm of statecraft, for the governance of a modern nation state. 'Political economy' retained the same meaning and defined the common effort of public administrators and political thinkers across Europe for nearly two centuries. It is only with Book IV of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* that a different meaning is offered, which obscures the normative character of the common interpretation (a set of rules by which to govern a modern state and increase its wealth) and defines political economy as the set of theories by which we attempt to explain economic facts.



In contrast with Bodin's theory of the supreme power of the prince, Mayerne defends the sovereignty of the Estates-General and the right and duty of the landed gentry to check the monarch's power. Such prerogatives Mayerne finds on the concepts of citizenship and civic virtue, in turn based on landownership and wealth as the necessary attributes of the free citizen. The book was found to be seditious, confiscated and banned; Mayerne was imprisoned and sent to the Bastille for a few months, then freed by Marie de' Medici.

The title-page is recorded in two states with variants in the imprint (Cambridge University Library catalogue); our copy bears the version 'chez Iean Berjon... Et chez Iean le Bouc'.

This copy was received as a prize for excellence in Latin and French by the 'ingenuus adolescens' Louis Bernard de Menon. He was in all likelihood the younger brother or a close relative of the agricultural reformer Louis-François-Henri de Menon, marquis de Turbilly (1717-1776), author of a *Mémoire sur les défrichements* which proved instrumental in the revolution of French agricultural practices. The prize was conferred to Louis Bernard de Menon by the prestigious College d'Harcourt,

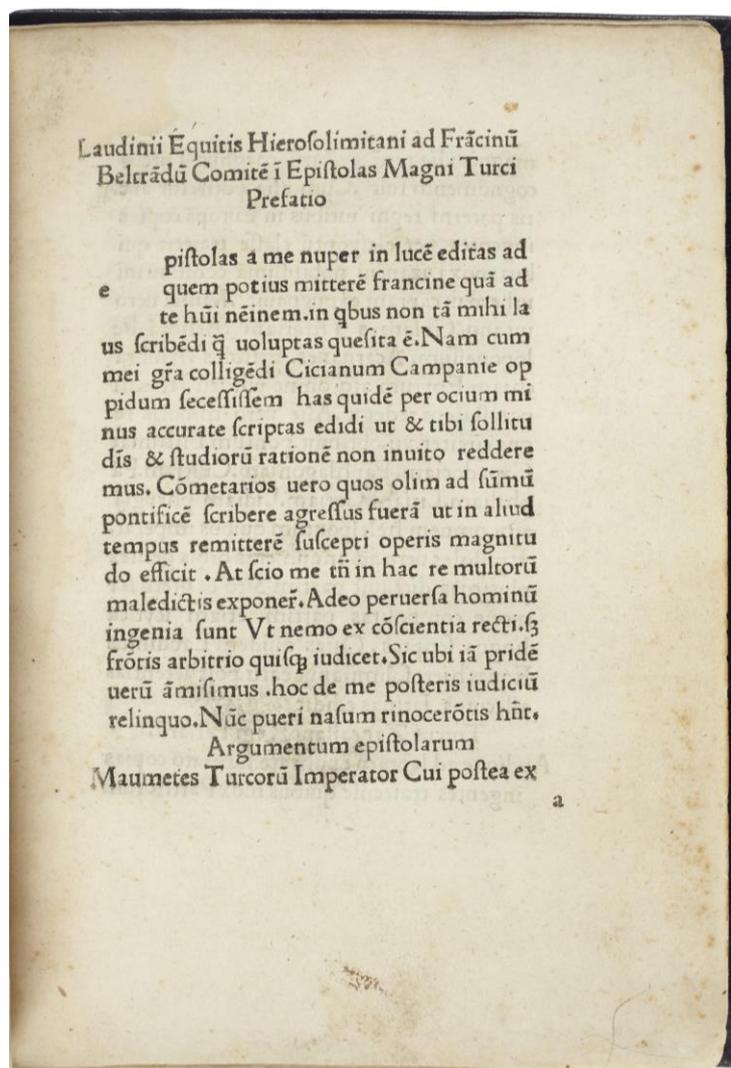
which in the eighteenth century hosted and educated several Jansenists, *philosophes* and encyclopedists, including Diderot.

Brunet III, 1558; INED 3117; Matsuda 577 (locating only one copy in Japan, at Tokyo Keizai University Library). See J. E. King, *The origin of the term 'political economy'*, in 'Journal of modern history' 20 (1948).

51. [MEHMET II.] LAUDIVIUS Zacchia. *Epistolas Magni Turci. [Padua], D[ominicus] S[iliprandus], [c. 1475].*

Small 4to, ff. [24], roman letter, capital space with guide-letter on first page; occasional spotting or soiling, light damp-staining in some gutters, old repair in outer margin of b1, but a good, crisp copy in modern blue morocco preserving nineteenth-century decorated paper wrappers. £9000

**Early edition (the fourth) of this successful literary forgery; one of only three books to have been issued by the Paduan printer Siliprandus.**



‘Laudivius, an Italian litterateur who worked in Venice, Rome and Naples, claims to have translated these letters of Mehmet the Conqueror from Greek, Syrian and Scythian, but they are almost certainly a fabrication. They include a supposed correspondence between Mehmet and Pope Nicholas V. Laudivius refers to himself as “Eques Hierosolimitanum” (a knight of the Order of St. John) but doubt has been cast on this claim, although there is some possibility that Laudivius did in fact travel in the Greek archipelago’ (Blackmer).

In this edition the text of the seventy ‘political’ letters are preceded by Laudivius’s address ‘Ad Francinum Beltrandum’ and followed by a ten-line poem ‘De Hermaphrodito’ by ‘Antonius Beccadelli, Panormita’ (a pseudonym; the *carmen* has been attributed to Matthieu de Vendôme, French scholar of the thirteenth century, abbot of St Denis and adviser to Louis IX of France).

The text seems first to have been printed by Arnaldus de Bruxella in Naples in 1473; the next two editions appeared in Rome (1473 and 1474), closely followed by our Padua edition of c. 1475. The work subsequently went through another 15 incunable editions. Dominicus Siliprandus seems to have printed only a handful of books. He issued only three books from his first press in Padua, all undated and giving only his initials ‘D. S.’. There is documentary evidence that he was at Padua in 1475–6 as a partner of Petrus Maufer; in 1477–8 he printed a further two books in Venice.

Hain 10501; BMC VII 914; Goff M-58; Bod-inc M-018; GW M25619. Blackmer 954 records a 1512 edition. See also F. Babinger, ‘Laudivius Zacchia, der Erdichter der “Epistolae Magni Turci” ’, in *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte*, Heft 3, 1960. ISTC locates three copies in the UK (Bodleian, British Library and Durham) and four in the US (Brigham Young, Library of Congress, New York and Yale), beside a handful in Europe.

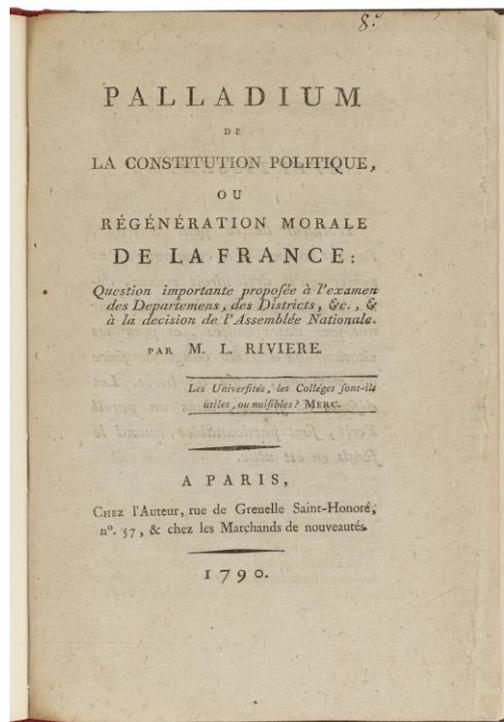
### EDUCATION AT THE ROOTS OF CITIZENSHIP

52. **MERCIER DE LA RIVIÈRE, Paul Pierre.** *Palladium de la constitution politique, ou Régénération morale de la France: question importante proposée à l’examen des departemens, des districts, &c., & à la decision de l’Assemblée Nationale. Paris, chez l’auteur & chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1790.*

8vo, pp. 32; some foxing in inner margins to pp. 13-14 and a small wormhole running through the inner margin throughout, not affecting the text; a good clean copy in modern boards with a red leather spine with gilt lettering and gilt Phrygian caps; cropped inscription beginning ‘8’ at head of title-page. £1250

**First edition, rare.** Written late in Le Mercier’s life, this work calls for **fundamental political and administrative reform of France’s educational institutions to better serve and strengthen the revolution and the regeneration of France.** The author’s conclusion pulls no punches: the universities are incompatible with a free constitution, are useless, and are hotbeds of ignorance, pride and charlatanism; the long dominance of Latin and Greek should be abandoned and the education of France’s youth no longer entrusted exclusively to tonsured Masters of Arts and monks; and the colleges – described as morally and physically harmful to the young and an obstacle to all good education – should be suppressed.

INED 2794bis; Martin & Walter 19320; May, *Le Mercier de la Rivière* 164; not in Goldsmiths’, Kress or Einaudi. **COPAC records a copy at the British Library, while Worldcat notes only 2 further copies (Bibliothèque Nationale and Stanford).**



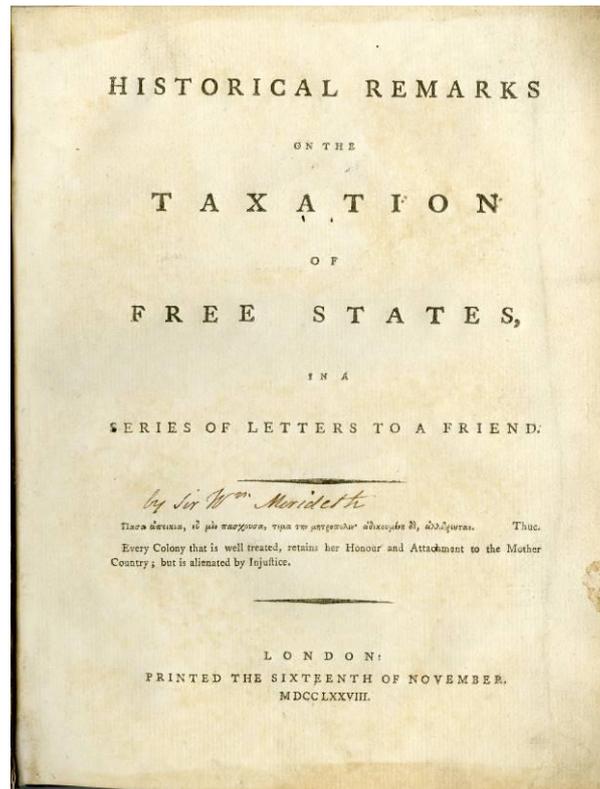
**ONE OF THE RAREST OF AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY TRACTS  
NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION**

53. [MEREDITH, Sir William]. Historical remarks on the Taxation of Free States in a Series of Letters to a Friend. *London, [n. p.], 1778.*

4to, pp. [ii], 82, [2]; occasional light marks, but a very good, clean copy bound without the initial blank in contemporary calf, flat spine decorated in gilt with gilt lettering-piece; front hinge cracked but holding well, small split to end of the upper joint, extremities rubbed, corners slightly bumped; old shelf number to front pastedown, author's name in a contemporary hand on the title. £2200

**First edition of this rare (reputedly printed in 30 copies) rejection of the taxation of American colonies**, published in London to rebut Barron's *History of the colonization of the free States of antiquity* – which quoted the example of ancient Greece in order to justify England's rights of taxation over the colonies. This tract, consisting of 15 letters dated from April to October 1778, was credited to Meredith in John Almon's 1797 Biographical, literary and political anecdotes, where he says "It was never published to the world; he printed only thirty copies which he gave away". Of the two variants noted by Adams, this is the one with a quotation from Thucydides on the title page, Adams noting that 'Although this was printed from substantially the same setting of type, there are a number of textual revisions, notably on pp. 13 and 82. The final leaf is "The Translations of the Greek Notes"'.

Adams 78-71b; Goldsmiths' 11747; Kress B 134; Howes M532; Sabin 47944.



## REPRESENTATION AND DEMOCRACY

54. **MILL, John Stuart.** *Considerations on representative government.* London, Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1861.

Tall 8vo, pp. viii, 340 + 4 pp. publisher's advertisements; title and edges lightly browned and extreme leaves lightly spotted, as usual; a very good copy, uncut in the original publisher's blind-stamped cloth, spine lettered gilt, a little bumped at extremities; ownership inscription (Belper) to front free end-paper. £1750

**First edition, the most important of Mill's political works following his *On liberty* (1859).** In this, his major work on political institutions, Mill 'discusses to what extent forms of government are a matter of choice, the criterion of a "good form of government", and explains his belief that representative government is the best form of government because it demands the most from its citizens and encourages their development. For this reason he commended the plan for proportional representation... as "among the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government"' (Sabine, 667). 'It is a wide-ranging book, and its interest lies as much in the discussion of general principles as in the particular recommendations regarding the ballot, proportional representation, and plural voting, not to mention the treatment of local government, federalism, and nationality' (IESS).

'The influence which Mill's works exercised upon contemporary English thought can scarcely be overestimated. His own writings and those of his successors practically held the field during the third quarter of the 19th century and even later... Many of Mill's ideas are now the commonplaces of democracy. His arguments for freedom of every kind of thought or speech have never been improved on. He was the first to recognize the tendency of a democratically elected majority to tyrannize over a minority' (PMM 345).

MacMinn, Hains & McCrimmon, p. 93.

## REPUBLICANISM

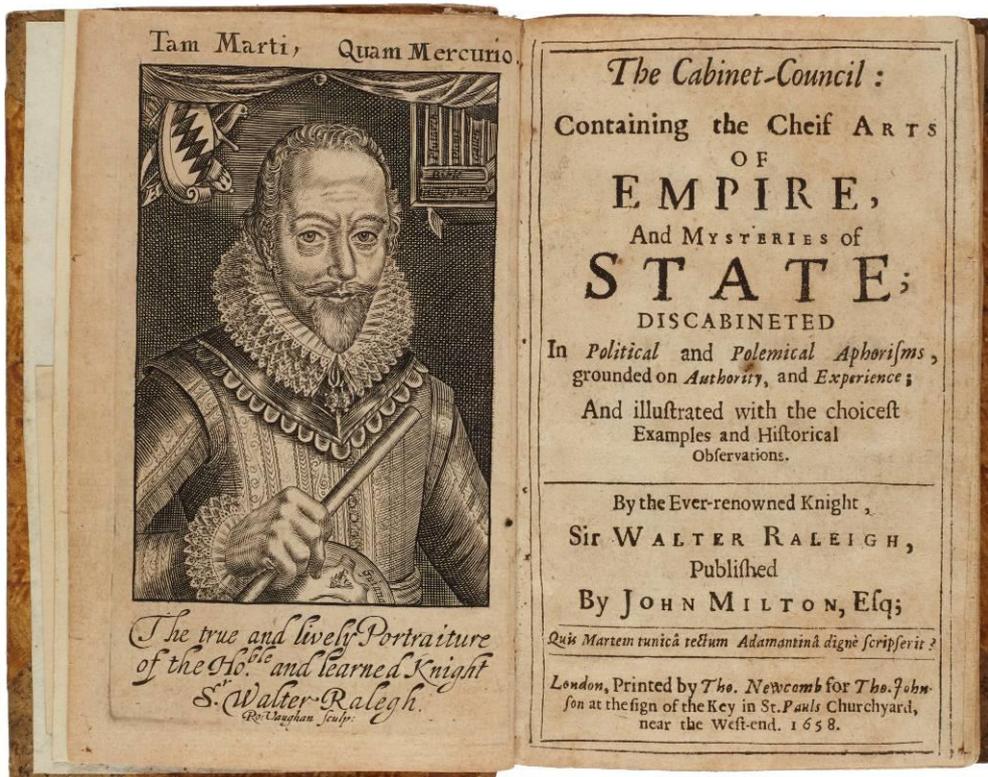
55. [MILTON, *attr.*] RALEIGH, Sir Walter. *The Cabinet-Council: Containing the Cheif [sic] Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State; discabineted in political and polemical aphorisms, grounded on authority, and experience; and illustrated with the choicest examples and historical observations. By the ever-renowned Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, published by John Milton, Esq. London, printed by Tho. Newcomb for Tho. Johnson 1658.*

12mo, pp. [viii], 199, [1 blank] (p. 123 misnumbered 213); with engraved frontispiece portrait of Raleigh by Robert Vaughan; light browning in places, one or two spots, but a very good, unsophisticated copy in seventeenth-century Italian sheep-backed boards, flat spine lettered in gilt with fleurons, gilt morocco lettering-piece; a few salient passages marked with a light pencil cross in the margins; printed exlibris (Alberto Stradelli, engineer) to the front paste-down. £2750

**First edition, first issue**, with Milton's name in the title, with the engraved portrait frontispiece (which is sometimes wanting).

An unpublished manuscript of these essays was owned 'for many years' by John Milton, who believed it to be the work of Sir Walter Raleigh. It was in fact a compilation of c. 1590-1600 by one 'T. B.' (Thomas Blount? Thomas Bedingfield?), whose most important source was Machiavelli. Milton had it printed towards the end of Cromwell's life, in the context of war with Spain. It was reprinted after the Restoration as *Aphorisms of State*, suppressing both Milton's short preface and indeed his name from the title-page. 'It is far from clear whether Milton published Cabinet Council because he was offering it as an ironic criticism of Cromwell or because it gave advice on how best to endure tyranny' (ODNB).

Wing R 156l; ESTC R8392; Pforzheimer 817; Sabin 67599; Brushfield 268.





56. **MORE, Thomas.** *The Common-wealth of Utopia: containing a learned and pleasant Discourse of the best State of a publike-Weale, as it is found in the Government of the new Ile called Utopia ... London, Printed by B. Alsop & T. Fawcet, and are to be sold by Wil: Sheares ... 1639.*

12mo, pp. [4], 288, 279-305, [1], with the additional engraved title-page by William Marshall cut down, mounted, and inserted; small section of lower corner of title-page torn away (touching the border of printer's tools), sporadic wormtracks in margins, touching the odd letter only, paper flaw in O3; withal a good copy in eighteenth-century sprinkled calf, rebaked, manuscript biographical notes from Rapin at the front and an index at the rear; ownership inscriptions of the bibliographer and librarian Edward Gordon Duff. £2500

Fifth edition of More's *Utopia* in English, translated by Ralph Robinson – the last edition of his translation, first published in 1551, and revised in 1556. Also printed a corrected edition in 1624, with a dedication to More's grandson, Cresacre More, which is reprinted here.

There appear to be a number of issues. In the present pp. 299-302 are correctly numbered.

STC 18098; Gibson 29; Pforzheimer 741.

#### THE LORD KEEPER OF THE GREAT SEAL

57. **NORTH, Roger.** *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis North, Baron of Guilford, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, under King Charles II and King James II, wherein are Inserted the Characters of Sir Matthew Hale, Sir George Jeffries, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Sidney Godolphin, and Others, the Most Eminent Lawyers and Statesmen of that Time ... Third Edition. London, Davidson for W. Clarke and Sons, 1819.*

2 volumes, 8vo (218 x 131mm), pp. I: xvi, 317, [1 (publisher's advertisement)]; II: [2 (title, verso blank)], 347, [1 (blank)], [20 (index)]; engraved portrait frontispieces of Lord Keeper Guildford and

Sir George Jeffries; occasional light spotting, bound without final l. I, X8 [?but possibly the inset singleton title to vol. II]; contemporary full English calf, the flat spines gilt in compartments, contrasting green and red morocco lettering-pieces in two, gilt board-edges, brown-speckled edges; slightly rubbed and scuffed causing small surface losses, some cracking on joints, nonetheless a very fresh, attractive set; *provenance*: **John Scott, 1st Earl of Eldon** (1751-1838, autograph ownership signatures 'Eldon' on pastedowns and armorial bookplates on upper pastedowns). £750

Third edition, a copy of desirable provenance. The lawyer, politician and writer Francis North was educated at St John's College, Cambridge and the Middle Temple. In 1668 he was appointed King's Counsel by Charles II, and then Solicitor-General in 1671. He was knighted the same year, and his interests began to turn towards politics: in 1673 he was elected Member of Parliament for King's Lynn and became Attorney-General in the same year, and then Chief Justice of Common Pleas in 1675; this was followed by his appointment as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1682, which gave him authority over the chancery, its court, and the passing of all royal charters and commissions. As a Privy Councillor and Lord Keeper who was aligned to the anti-Catholic interests of government, 'North had become the indispensable legal mind behind the so-called "tory reaction" from 1681 to 1685. Under his leadership commissions of the peace were remodelled and corporations were rechartered by the score to ensure that local government rested in the hands of those the crown could trust' (ODNB). However, the death of Charles II and the coronation of the Catholic James II in 1685 saw North's star wane, and rumours circulated of attempts to replace him as Lord Keeper with Sir George Jeffries – however, any such plots were pre-empted by North's death on 5 September 1685.

*The Life of the Right Honourable Francis North* was written by his younger brother, the lawyer and politician Roger North (1653-1734) and first published posthumously in 1742; a second edition followed in 1808 and this third edition in 1819.

This set was formerly in the library of the distinguished lawyer and politician, John Scott, Earl of Eldon, who was educated at University College, Oxford and the Middle Temple, and appointed King's Counsel in 1783. Like Francis North, Eldon was a Member of Parliament and a Privy Counsellor, and held the offices of Solicitor-General (1788-1793) and Attorney-General (1793-1799), before being appointed Lord Chancellor in 1801, holding the office (apart from a brief interval of thirteen months) until 1827 – the longest tenure to that date, which saw him enjoy the favour of both King George III and King George IV.

#### 58. **PARETO, Vilfredo.** *Trasformazione della Democrazia. Milan, Corbaccio, 1921.*

8vo, pp. 141, [1] blank, [1] contents, [1] blank; lightly toned throughout, otherwise a very good copy, uncut in the original printed wrappers, a couple of spots to the spine, a little frayed at the edges, short tear along upper joint at foot. £100

**First collected edition of four articles** originally published in the *Rivista di Milano* between 5 May and 20 July 1920: 'Generalità', 'Sgretolamento della Sovranità centrale', 'Il Ciclo plutocratico', and 'I Sentimenti', with an appendix in which Pareto relates the pieces to the theory set out in his *Trattato di Sociologia* (1916). Along with the articles collected in *Fatti e Teorie* (1920), these represent the application, with some adaptation, of his major sociological ideas to history and contemporary development. They are an important source for his political ideas at the end of his life, when he engaged, ambiguously, with Fascism. See Placido Bucolo, *The Other Pareto*, pp. 248–53. IESS 1920b.

59. [PARIS UPRISING]. Votez toujours. Je ferai le reste [Always vote. I'll do the rest]. Paris, Comité d'initiative pour un mouvement révolutionnaire, Imprimerie Robert et Cie, 1968.

75cm x 55cm, backed on linen, fine (A).

£550

**First edition.** A striking image of General De Gaulle patting France on the head for obediently voting, a baton cunningly concealed behind him. 1968 was a year when passions were flying high in France. The communist and socialist parties had formed an alliance in February with a view to replacing the De Gaulle administration. The ensuing student occupation protests coupled with wildcat general strikes of over 20% of the French population seriously destabilized De Gaulle's government, and for some time it seemed likely that it would fall. Having fled briefly to Germany, however, De Gaulle called elections for June 1968, and emerged with an increased majority.

The present poster, the production of the allied anti-Gaullist faction, urges caution to the prospective voter, with the reminder that with De Gaulle things are not always as they appear.

#### PRIESTLEY AND PAINE IN FRANCE

60. **PRIESTLEY, Joseph.** Lettres au Très-Honorable Edmund Burke, au sujet de ses réflexions sur la Révolution de France. [n. p., n. d., but with contemporary manuscript imprint to the half-title: 'À Paris, chez Gargnery, rue Serpente No 17, 1791.'].  
[bound with:]

**PAINE, Thomas.** Droits de l'Homme; en réponse à l'attaque de M. Burke sur la Révolution Française. Paris, F. Buisson, 1791.

Two works in one vol., 8vo, pp. 18, [2] contents, 197, [2] publisher's advertisement, [1]; xxii, 227, [1]; light soiling to the half-title of the first work, contemporary ownership stamps to the title pages, candle-wax to pp. 196-7 of the first work, otherwise good copies in contemporary mottled calf, corners slightly bumped; spine gilt decorated with black morocco label, spine ends worn, joints a little rubbed.  
£1250

I. **First edition in French** of Priestley's response to Edmund Burke's influential manifesto of conservatism, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*; one of the first of thirty-eight replies made by contemporary authors. The work was well received in revolutionary France, so much so that the National Assembly declared Priestley a citizen in 1792 (an honour he declined). His pro-civil and religious liberty ideas were not as well appreciated in England where a 'patriotic' mob ransacked his home, library and laboratory in the so-called Priestley Riots of 1791. In 1794 he moved to America where he was well regarded by men like Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, not least for his scientific work.

Crook PS 324.

II. **First edition in French of Paine's famous polemic**, to which the author added a special preface and additional notes. Translated from the original Joseph Johnson edition, the present work conveys Paine's ideas more faithfully than subsequent English editions that were toned down by publishers fearful of prosecution by a government concerned about the wide circulation of the radical work. *Rights of Man* was in essence a reply to Burke and a defence of the aspirations of revolutionary France, and 'the clearest of all expositions of the basic principles of democracy' (PMM, p. 145).

Howes P-31; Quérard VI, p. 646.

### A HIDDEN JACOBITE PLOT?

61. **PUBLICOLA.** An answer to an audacious letter from John Angelo Belloni, dated Rome the 4th of May, 1732. N.S. Being an antidote to the seditious principles endeavoured to be instilled by the same. To which is annexed, a true copy of the transcription of the said letter, which was burnt (by order of both Houses of Parliament) on Friday the 26th of May 1732, before the Royal-Exchange, London, by the hands of the common hangman. Also a faithful copy of a paper of seven proposals sent by John Thomson, to the committee of Parliament of Great Britain, stipulating the conditions for delivering up the books and papers relating to the Charitable Corporation. *London, [n. p.], 1732.*

Folio, pp. 8; a few small tears and losses to margins, central horizontal crease, some cockling, foxing and light soiling; bound in modern marbled paper covers. £800

**An extremely rare pamphlet** of economic and political interest, relating to fraudulent activity in the Charitable Corporation and to one of the chief culprit's rumoured links to the Old Pretender.

The Charitable Corporation was established in 1707 to provide low interest loans to the 'industrious poor', with money being raised through the sale of shares to stockholders. A Parliamentary investigation into the Corporation in the early 1730s revealed a massive fraud perpetrated chiefly by its warehouse keeper, John Thomson, who promptly fled the country. A staggering £500,000 was discovered to be missing, only a decade on from the South Sea Bubble disaster.

What happened next is revealed in this pamphlet. Giovanni Angelo Belloni, a Bolognese nobleman with links to the Old Pretender (James Francis Edward Stuart), wrote a letter to the Parliamentary Committee investigating the Corporation claiming that Thomson had been apprehended in Rome with his books and papers, which Belloni would hand over if certain conditions were met. Thomson claimed to have discovered £26,000 among his own effects and that his papers would reveal more. The letter so outraged Parliament that it was publicly burnt to 'loud huzzas'.

For 'Publicola', the anonymous author of this tract, Belloni's letter hid a Jacobite plot 'for the publick ruin' and Thomson's claim to have important information was mere bluff. Parliament's snubbing of Belloni and Thomson was, therefore, entirely justified.

Thomson negotiated his return to England in 1733 to testify before Parliament, and a lottery was organised to help those ruined by the fraud, although this only recovered 15% of the losses. For more on the Charitable Corporation see B. Lemire, *The business of everyday life* (2005) p. 56-72.

Not in Goldsmiths'; ESTC T225828, which records only one copy at the British Library.

### INTRODUCTION OF FREE TRADE BETWEEN SPAIN AND AMERICA

62. **REGLAMENTO** y Aranceles Reales para el Comercio Libre de España a Indias de 12 de octubre de 1778. [Bound with 3 other related pieces of legislation, see below]. *Madrid, Pedro Marin, 1778.*

Folio, pp. [iv], 19, [1], 262; with the additional leaf bearing the arms of Charles III (not present in all copies); a very good copy in Spanish contemporary marbled calf, gilt frames to sides, panelled spine

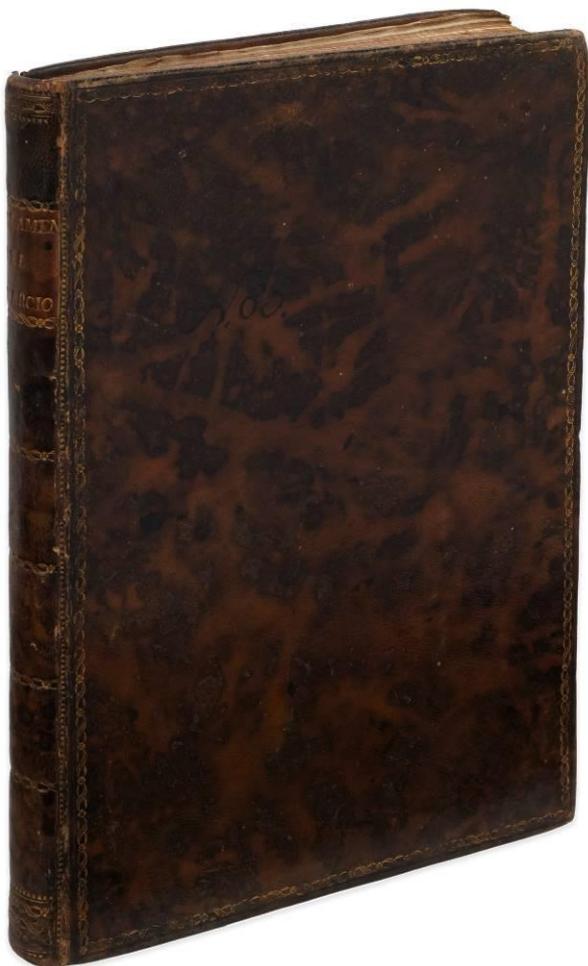
decorated in gilt, decorative printed endpapers; very light rubbing to the extremities; occasional contemporary ink marks in the margins of salient passages, one or two notes; contemporary inscription to the additional preliminary leaf: 'De la mesa de la Razon', i.e. 'From the table of Reason'. £4500

**First edition of the great Reglamento of 1778**, the apex of Charles III's economic reforms. It was this piece of law which lifted the trade restrictions on Spanish ports and introduced free trade between Spain and America. The document contains detailed information on trade and tariffs of Spanish and American goods (including gold, silver, leather, fabrics, spices, paper, cheese), on the ports, the protocols for ship captains, the rights of merchants, concessions agreed with Louisiana as well as the reiteration, simplification and ordering of the previous concessions granted to parts of South America, and much more. It is followed by three documents which completed the legislation, extended free trade to other ports (Alfaques de Tortosa and Almería), decreed duties and tariffs, and legislated of other ports of South America.

This copy belonged to a contemporary reader who manifestly honoured this legislative achievement as a fruit of the Enlightenment: he or she had the Reglamento complemented with the sheet bearing the arms of Charles III, had it bound in fine gilt calf, together with the additional pieces of regulations published in relation to it, and headed the book with the manuscript epigraph 'From the table of Reason'.

Kress 11727; Medina, 4845; Palau, 255843; Sabin, 68890.

The documents bound at the end:



- REAL DECRETO de diez y seis de Marzo de 1778. Por el que habilita S.M. el Puerto de los Alfaques de Tortosa, y el de Almería, para el Comercio libre à Indias, bajo los mismos terminos y circunstancias que los demàas comprendidos en el de dos de Febrero del mismo año. Madrid, Pedro Marin, 1778. Pp. [6], [2 blank]. Medina, 4844.
- ARANCEL de los derechos que S.M. señala a los escribanos de registros en los puertos de Indias para las embarcaciones del Comercio libre, y las que hacen el interior de unos Puertos à otros en los Mares del Norte, y Sur de la America. Madrid, Pedro Marin, 1778. Pp. [8]. Medina, 4833.
- REAL DECRETO en que S.M. ha resuelto ampliar la Concesion del Comercio libre, contenido en Decreto de 16 de Octubre de 1765. Instruccion de la misma fecha, y demás

Resoluciones posteriores, que solo comprendieron las Islas de Barlovento, y Provincias de Campeche, Santa Marta, y Rio del Hacha, incluyendo ahora la de Buenos-Aires, con internacion por ella à las demás de la America Meridional, y extension a los Puertos habilitados en las Costas de Chile, y el Perú, etc. Expedido en 2 de Febrero de 1778. Barcelona, Carlos Gibert, [1778]. Pp. [8]. Not in Medina.

### THE VERY RARE FIRST ITALIAN EDITION

63. **ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques.** *Du contract social, ou, Principes du droit politique.* Milan, Pogliani, 1796.

8vo, pp. [4], 188; with Avertissement on the verso of the title-page; title-page a little spotted, else a clean, crisp copy in near-contemporary quarter calf, marbled boards, flat spine decorated and lettered in gilt; edges a little rubbed, a few scratches to the sides; contemporary pen monogram and a modern ownership inscription on the front free end-paper. £3500

First edition printed in Italy, very rare, of Rousseau's *Contrat social*.

'[Rousseau's] fundamental thesis that government depends absolutely on the mandate of the people, and his genuine creative insight into a number of political and economic problems, give his work an indisputable cogency. It had the most profound influence on the political thinking of the generation following its publication. It was, after all, the first great emotional plea for the quality of all men in the state: others had argued the same cause theoretically but had themselves tolerated a very different government. Rousseau believed passionately in what he wrote, and when in 1789 a similar emotion was released on a national scale, the *Contrat social* came into its own as the bible of the revolutionaries in building their ideal state. Still in print, translated into every language in cheap editions and paperbacks, it remains a crucial document of egalitarian government' (PMM 207, describing the original edition of 1762).

Dufour, 154; S nelier, 719. No copies recorded in the UK, one in the US (Berkeley). OCLC finds 3 copies in Switzerland and one in Italy (Arco).

64. **SALTYKOV-SHCHEDRIN, Mikhail Evgrafovich.** *Blagonamerennya rechi.* Tom I [–II] [Well-meaning speeches. Volume I [–II]]. St Petersburg, A. A. Kraevsky, 1876.

2 vols, 8vo, pp. [ii], 327; [ii], 415; paper very lightly browned, paper flaw to one leaf with loss of a few letters; generally a good copy in Russian contemporary dark brown pebbled cloth, gilt lettering to spines, some chipping to joints and extremities of spines but hinges intact; with the gilt initials V. M. (in Cyrillic) at foot of spines. £1800

**First edition:** a volume of social and political satires by the greatest satirist of nineteenth-century Russia. The title is ambiguous – the word 'well-meaning' was widely used by the administration to mean 'loyal', i.e. 'politically reliable'.

'Saltykov's purpose with the *Blagonamerennya rechi* (his longest cycle of sketches, written 1872–6) was to reveal the emptiness of the alleged bases of contemporary Russian society – family, property, and the state – which were the constant themes of various "loyal speeches", but which at the same time were ignored and abused, not least by those who most loudly proclaimed them. In the course of his cycle Saltykov gives a valuable assessment of the current state of Russian society and of the new

disposition of social forces which had emerged as a result of the reforms of the 1860s' (I. P. Foote, *M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin: selected satirical writings*, 1977, p. 122).

Kilgour 1023; Smirnov-Sokol'skii 1090. OCLC also records copies at Stanford, Library of Congress, Princeton and Illinois; not in the British Library catalogue.

#### TOGETHER WITH AN EXTREMELY RARE POLITICAL TREATISE

65. **SAY, Jean-Baptiste.** *Olbie, ou Essai sur les moyens de réformer les moeurs d'une nation. Paris, Deterville and Treuttel & Wurtz, 'an VIII de la République' [1799–1800].*

[Bound with:]

[ANON]. *Principes politiques*, par F. M. S\*\*\*. *Paris, Magimel et al., 1818.*

8vo, pp. xii, 132; [2, blank], [ii], 28; Say: with an extra leaf inserted after the half-title, bearing an engraved vignette showing a trial scene with a caption; fine copies, clean and crisp, uncut in the original boards, flat spine filleted in gilt with a contrasting gilt lettering-piece; some surface rubbing to the orange paper cover on the sides, small chip to the paper at the foot of the spine; the author's dedication inscription to Mr. Dubois Du Bais penned on an extra leaf inserted after the first title-page, and a later inscription by one of Dubois Du Bais descendants in red ink on the front free end-paper. £5000

**Presentation copy with the author's inscription of the rare first edition of Say's utopia**, written in response to a competition organized by the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques on the question: 'Quelles sont les institutions capables de fonder la morale chez un peuple?'. Say treats the question from an economic viewpoint, and this work can, in some ways, be seen as a preface to his *Traité d'économie politique* of 1803.

With Olbie, 'Say instaurait un ordre nouveau sur les ruines de la monarchie absolue, ordre basé sur la raison: "Ainsi le premier livre de morale fut-il, pour les Olbiens, un bon traité d'économie politique." En Olbie, les femmes ont des emplois réservés à leurs capacités, les ouvriers des caisses de prévoyance. Enfin, l'oisiveté est stigmatisée, ainsi que les vices: "Il en coûte plus pour nourrir un vice que pour élever deux enfants", lit-on dans les bâtiments publics' (Versins, p. 798).

**The work bound after Say's is an exceedingly rare item, of which one copy only is recorded in OCLC (BNF): a work of political philosophy which places the notion of force/strength at the centre of its examination of governments.** The unidentified author sees the dynamics between government and oppositions in terms of physics: if the two opposing forces are equal, inertia is the result. This inertia is what plights many European governments, he claims. Public opinion is the resulting figure of the sum of individual minds. Any governing body ought to – first and foremost – count its heads. The author goes on advising states on how to deal with public opposition to taxation when seen as too high. His definition of a working and modern state, which he sees as a democracy, consists of '**citizens all equal before the law; a monarch or head who is elected and temporary; a chamber of representatives re-nominated at regular intervals**' (transl. from pp. 18-19).

Say: Einaudi 5117; INED 4109; Kress B.4266; Negley 1002; not in Goldsmiths'.

66. **SPEDALIERI, Nicola.** *De' diritti dell'uomo libri VI ... Assisi, [recte Rome,] 1791.*

4to, pp. xvi, 448; with an engraved frontispiece portrait; a crisp, wide-margined copy bound in contemporary quarter sheep and marbled boards, flat spine filleted in gilt with a gilt red morocco

lettering-piece; hinges cracked but holding, extremities a little worn, spine lightly rubbed, old library label at foot of spine. £700

**First edition of Spedalieri's treatise on the rights of man**, an attempt to reconcile the principles of the Enlightenment underpinning the French Revolution with Christianity. For Spedalieri the rights of man lie in nature and in man's natural desire to be happy. Rousseau's contractual picture of society is also echoed in Spedalieri's work. The legitimacy of the State is founded on the sovereignty of the people, who have the right to rebel against the prince, a mere delegate, when in breach of his pact. 'Notwithstanding the hearty reception given to this work by Pius VI who said, "For a long while rulers have been asking *quid est papa*. Your book will teach them *quid est populus*", a storm of criticism and refutation burst on the head of its author. Governments took notice of it and [...] forbade its circulation' (*Catholic Encyclopedia*).

**STATECRAFT AND THE PRINCE:  
A MIRROR OF PRINCES FROM THE GONZAGA COURT**

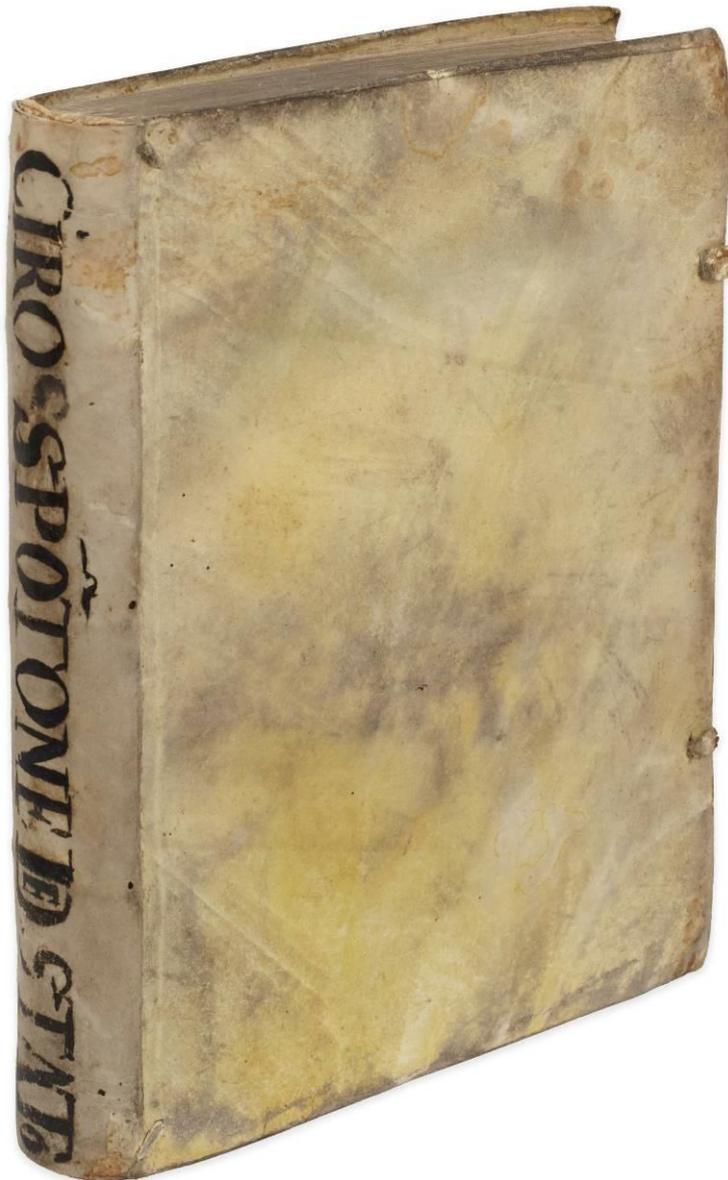
67. **SPONTONE, Ciro.** *Dodici libri del governo. Verona, for G. Battista Pigozzo and Andrea de Rossi, 1599 [colophon 1600].*

4to, pp. [xlviii], 389, [1] + [2, errata]; with typographic tables, engraved initials, running titles; a very good, fresh copy in contemporary vellum, spine bearing the author's name and title in a large calligraphic hand; a very genuine and attractive book, from the Jesuit college of Alcalá (inscription on the title-page). £4000

**First edition of a rare - and in parts typographically striking - treatise on political science** conceived as a comprehensive riposte to Machiavelli's Prince. Ciro Spontone (1552-1613) wrote his 'anti-Machiavelli' whilst serving as secretary to the Duke of Mantua Vincenzo I Gonzaga, with whom he would, in 1601, take part in the Hungarian war against the Turks.

Having already tried his hand at mirrors of princes theory nine years earlier with a work entitled 'La corona del Principe', which made ample use of iconic metaphors to illustrate the virtues of the ideal ruler, **with the *Dodici libri del governo* Spontone adopts a more severe, comprehensive and theoretically structured approach to the science of statecraft.** He explores it in all its implications: from royal prerogatives and obligations to the structure and domains of ministries, of governing and legislative bodies, of executive and policing institutions, to the classification of the people, the preserving of peace, the circumstances which lead to war and the possible consequences of war. His description is perhaps at its most effective and prescriptive in the initial 'table': ten pages given over to a graphic representation of the concepts, domains and actors of statecraft and the relations between them.

EDIT 16 52255; USTC 857390-1-2. **Rare outside Europe: America only holds 3 copies** (Brigham Young, Congress, Huntington).



**FIRST BOOK ENTIRELY ON CRIMINAL LAW  
FIRST IN ENGLAND TO CITE AUTHORITIES FOR EVERY PROPOSITION  
THE EDITION OWNED BY THOMAS JEFFERSON**

68. **STAUNFORD [Stanford], Sir William.** *Les Plees del Coron, Divisees in Plusors Titles & Comon Lieux. Per Queux Home Plus Redement & Plenairement Trover a Quelque Chose que Il Quira, Touchant les Dits Plees, Composees per le Tres Reuerend Iudge Monsieur Guillaulme Staundforde Chiualer, Dernierment Corrigees Auecques un Table Parfaicte des Choses Notables Contenus en Ycelle, Nouelment Reveu & Corrigees.* [London], Richard Tottell, 1583.

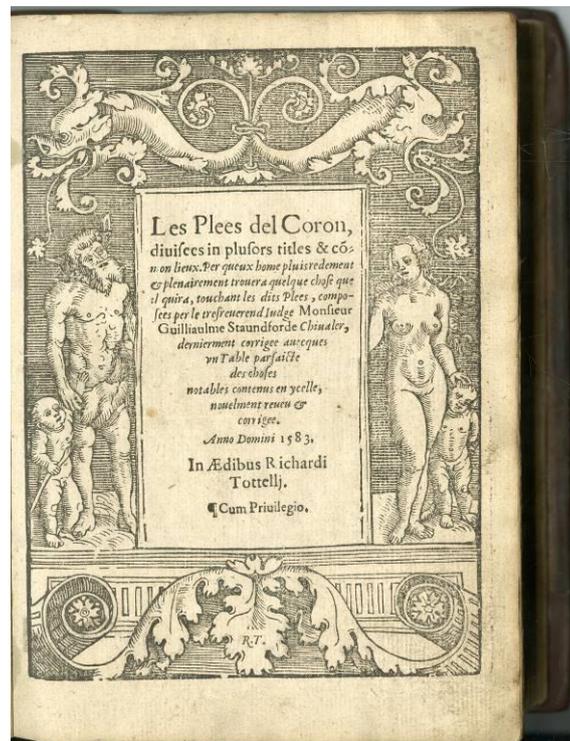
[bound with:]

**STAUNFORD [Stanford], Sir William.** *An Exposition of the Kinges Prerogative, Collected Out of the Great Abridgement of Iustice Fitzherbert, And Other Old Writers of the Lawes of England.*

Whereunto is Annexed the Proces to the Same Praerogative Appertaining. [London, Richard Tottell, 1577 (colophon)].

Two works bound in one volume, small 4to, ff. [xii], 196; [i], [5]-85; woodcut allegorical frontispiece to the first work, woodcut decorated initials to both works; very light toning, but very good copies, bound together in contemporary calf, rebaked, sides triple-filleted in blind with blind-stamped arabesque centrepieces; some contemporary annotations throughout. £3000

**The definitive edition, and that owned by Thomas Jefferson, of the first book devoted entirely to criminal law.** First published posthumously in 1557 and based on Bracton and the Year Books, *Les Pleez* deals in turn with offences, jurisdiction, appeals, indictments and defences. The third part is devoted to trials and convictions.



‘In 1543, according to a note in his fee book, Stanford entered the service of Lord Chancellor Wriothsley, who is known to have been his patron. [...] Notwithstanding the fall of Wriothsley, and his religious leanings towards Rome, in November 1552 he was created serjeant-at-law [...] On 19 October 1553 Mary I appointed him one of the queen’s serjeants, and in that capacity he undertook with due fairness, but unsuccessfully, the prosecution of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in 1554. [...]

‘The greatest of his own books was *Les pleez del coron* (1557), a textbook on criminal law. It was heavily based on the material gathered in the title ‘Corone’ in Fitzherbert’s *Graunde Abridgment*, arranged in chapters, in the form of a continuous text, with passages quoted from Glanvill, Bracton, and relevant acts of parliament. It was **the first legal textbook in England to adopt the practice of citing specific authorities for every proposition, and as such had a major influence on legal literature**, though it lacked the elemental clarity of Littleton’s *Tenures*, which was written by a judge of the same court a century earlier.

‘Stanford’s other principal book was his *Exposicion of the Kinges Prerogative* [...] concerned with the property rights of the crown rather than with constitutional principles. [...] Fulbeck justly said of Stanford’s books in 1600 that they were of: “force and weight, and no common kind of stile; in matter

none hath gone beyond him, in method none hath overtaken him. And surely his method may be a law to the writers of the law which shall succeed him” (Fulbeck, 72–3).

‘Both works enjoyed several editions down to 1607, when they were printed together’ (J. H. Baker, in ODNB).

ESTC S117812, S117820; Beale T490, T496; Holdsworth, *History of English Law* V, 394; Sowerby, *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, no. 1945.

69. [SWEDIAUER, Franz Xavier]. *The Philosophical dictionary: or the opinions of modern philosophers on metaphysical, moral and political subjects. London, for G.G.J. and J Robinson, 1786.*

Four volumes, 12mo, pp. 370, [2]; 373; 360; 391; a few small marks, a little light foxing, generally very good copies in contemporary sheep, spines gilt-ruled with red morocco lettering pieces; spines chipped at head and foot, a little light wear to surface and extremities; armorial bookplates of Joseph Radcliffe to front pastedowns. £800

**First edition of this philosophical dictionary**, featuring extracts from ‘the writings of the most eminent philosophers in Europe’ (preface) chosen by Swediaur, who originally compiled the collection as a sort of commonplace book for his private use. The broad-reaching content includes contributions from Locke, Hume, Franklin, Voltaire, Priestley, Rousseau, Franklin, Smith, Bentham and Montesquieu.

Bibliotheca Hulthemiana, 3723; Lowndes 1860; Risse, p. 389.

**EDITIO PRINCEPS OF A MEDIEVAL SPECULUM PRINCIPIS  
DEDICATED TO ‘NEW CONSTANTINE’ LOUIS XIV**

70. **THEOPHYLACTUS, Archbishop of Bulgaria.** *Paideia basilike. Institutio regia. Ad Porphyrogenitum Constantinum (Greek and Latin edition) interpr[ete] Petrus Possinus. Paris, typographia regia, 1651.*

4to, pp. [xvi], 99, [1]; printed in Greek and Roman types, with 5 engraved head-pieces depicting French coats of arms, engraved printer’s device on the title; a very good, crisp, wide-margined copy in contemporary stiff vellum, flat spine decorated in gilt, gilt morocco lettering-piece; head of spine with a small restoration; old German library (Gottingen and Ilfen) stamps and release stamp to the verso of the title, large engraved exlibris of the bookseller Jacques Desbordes on the front pastedown. £3000

**First edition of a Medieval Mirror of princes** written around 1085 by the Archbishop of Bulgaria for his pupil, the future byzantine co-emperor Constantine Doukas, son of Emperor Michael VII. **The medieval source is here published for the first time, in the original Greek**, accompanied by the translation into Latin by the editor Pierre Poussines (1609–1686), a French Jesuit and scholar responsible for bringing to the attention of the Western public other Byzantine texts such as Anna Comnena’s writings. Poussines dedicates this bilingual edition to the young Louis XIV, then thirteen, implying an ambitious ideal succession: ‘so that from Constantine we might have Louis’.

A first, 'panegyrica' part, concerned with the celebration of Constantine's life and deeds, is followed by the more substantial 'paraenetica' part, a veritable educational handbook for the prince in thirty chapters ranging from the legitimate use of authority to the description of princely virtues, the hallmarks of a tyrant, the happy consequence of a just reign, the distinction between friends and flatterers, a comparison between the state and a ship, the marshalling of both physical strength and military forces.

Uncommon.

### DISCUSSING EUROPEAN POLITICS AND THE SUEZ CANAL

71. **THIERS, Adolphe.** Three autograph letters signed ('A Thiers') to Nassau Senior. *Paris, 22 December 1852, 11 July 1854, 18 June 1855.*

8vo bifolia, pp. 1 + 3 blank; 1 + 3 blank; 2 + 2 blank; small tears and traces of mounting to last blank leaves, creases where folded, otherwise good. £200

**A set of interesting letters from Thiers to the English economist Nassau Senior.** Thiers was a French politician and historian who served as prime minister under Louis Phillipe. Following the overthrow of the Second Empire he again came to prominence as the French leader who suppressed the revolutionary Paris Commune of 1871.

The first letter was written soon after the fall of the Earl of Derby's government in December 1852 and the formation of a coalition under Lord Aberdeen. Thiers remarks that the combination of Lord Aberdeen and Lord Russell is 'la meilleure pour l'Angleterre et pour l'Europe', and expresses his belief that liberal conservatives are the best 'en tout pays'. Moving on to Spanish politics, Thiers remarks that Spain has just escaped from a foolish counter-revolution, an apparent reference to Juan Bravo Murillo's attempts to establish an absolutist constitution before his removal from power. Thiers ends by saying that he has seen Alexis de Toqueville and is concerned about his health.

In the second letter, Thiers tells Senior that there are no French generals in Brussels at present and that it should be possible to go there. He ends with mention of Senior's friend George Grey, possibly the Whig politician who was then acting as Colonial Secretary.

In his third letter, Thiers introduces Senior to 'Monsieur de Lesseps' to whom 'le Vice-Roi d'Egypte a concédé le canal de Suez', asking him to do all he can to help him. Thiers describes the canal project as 'une belle chose' which will profit the human race, bring honour to their age, and be one in the eye for 'sottes jalousies nationales'. Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805-1894), the former French consul in Cairo, had obtained a licence to construct and operate the Suez Canal in November 1854. Construction started in 1859 and finished, in spite of British opposition, ten years later.

**RECOMMENDING IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY  
DESIGNING PRISON REFORM**

**FROM THE TOCQUEVILLE ESTATE**

72. **TOCQUEVILLE, Alexis de.** **Rapport fait au nom de la commission chargée d'examiner la proposition de M. de Tracy, relative aux esclaves des colonies.** [*Paris, Henry, January 1840*].

[*offered with:*]

TOCQUEVILLE, Alexis de. *Rapport fait au nom de la Commission chargée d'examiner le projet de loi sur les prisons.* [*Paris, Henry, 1843*].

8vo, pp. 102, [2 blank]; light marginal dusting to the first leaf, but a fine, unsophisticated, crisp copy, uncut and unopened, sewn as issued; 8vo, pp. 126, [2 blank]; some soiling and dusting to the title and the margins, but a very good copy, unsophisticated, uncut and unopened, sewn as issued. £2500

**Two rare survivals, from Alexis de Tocqueville's own library: very likely the author's offprints, one unrecorded and one apparently only attested in a single other copy.**

**Very rare slavery report** by the Parliamentary commission presided by de Tocqueville, marked as 'N°7. Réimpression par suite de reprise (16 janvier 1840)', an issue produced following a first publication the year before which ran to 98 pages only, and now is only recorded at the BNF. Our issue too is recorded in a single location, the Collection jésuite des Fontaines deposited at the Municipal Library in Lyon. Tocqueville's *Oeuvres complètes* records the publication of this report by the Chambre des Députés as part of their proceedings, and 'en brochure par les soins de la Société pour l'abolition de l'esclavage'. Tocqueville's paper went well beyond the moderate proposal formulated earlier by de Tracy, recommending immediate abolition throughout the French colonies. The report 'exhibits many of his most characteristic virtues: it was based on thorough research... eloquently written but coolly argued, and advocated that all slaves should be promptly and simultaneously emancipated in the French Empire' (Brogan, p. 342).

The text of the **report on the state of prisons, in this present form apparently unrecorded**, appears in an edition 'Extrait du Moniteur' printed by Panckoucke (BNF only, running to p. 98) and another headed 'Réimpression par suite de reprise' printed by Henry (2 copies: Basel, and Université Panthéon). A keen supporter of the American Pennsylvania model, Tocqueville spent two decades promoting the partial devolution of prison affairs to local governments and the charities involved in bringing about the social reintegration of ex-convicts.

*Provenance:* both pamphlet, in a wholly unsophisticated state, were acquired from the dispersal of the de Tocqueville estate by Prof. Jacob Peter Mayer, editor of the works of Alexis de Tocqueville and founder of the Tocqueville Research Centre at the University of Reading where he was Professor Emeritus.

See Tocqueville, OC, vol. 3, i, pp. 41-78; OC, vol. 4, ii, pp. 117-82.

73. **TOCQUEVILLE, Alexis de.** Ueber die Demokratie in Nordamerika... Aus dem Fransös/zischen übersetzt von F[riedrich] A[ugust] Rüder. Erster Theil. Mit einem Anhange, enthaltend die Verfassung der vereinigten Staaten, und die Verfassung des Staats von New York. [- zweiter Theil. Mit einem Anhange aus "Marie ou l'esclavage aux états unis, tableau des moeurs americaines" par Gustave de Beaumont.] *Leipzig, Eduard Kummer, 1836.*

Two vols bound in one, 8vo, pp. [4], 267, [1]; vi, 343, [1, errata]; final leaf bound in in reverse, scattered light foxing, more so to the first title-page which is guarded along the fore-edge due to a natural paper fault; an attractive copy bound in contemporary cloth-backed marbled boards, cloth corners, spine direct-lettered and decorated in gilt, lightly rubbed at foot, marbled edges, Austro-Hungarian bookseller's ticket to rear pastedown. £2750

**First German translation of this classic.** *De la Démocratie en Amérique* established many of the fundamental concepts of sociology. De Tocqueville's articulation and application of the concepts of power, social stratification, industrialism and mass culture in particular provided the theoretical framework for their more detailed treatment at the end of the century by Weber, Simmel, Tönnies, Burckhardt, Michels, Acton, Taine and Le Play. Schumpeter praises the book as 'the finest flower of the period's literature of political analysis' (p. 433). Nisbet refers to the book as 'the first systematic and empirical study of the effects of political power on modern society' (*The Sociological Tradition*, p. 120).

Though Tocqueville found 'common sense' a difficult expression to define, he saw it as a quality that binds people's judgements beneath their individualities, and a 'disciplined order of thoughts together with a reduction of the complex to the simple, taking "care to use words in their true sense"' (Jaume and Goldhammer, *Tocqueville: The Aristocratic Sources of Liberty*, p. 205). He dedicated his major work to lamenting what he saw as the fundamental flaw of most democracies: the unhappy, perhaps unavoidable identification of common sense with public opinion.

The work also includes the first German translation of Gustave de Beaumont's *Marie ou l'esclavage aux États Unis*.

Fromm 25587; Sabin 96066.

74. **VEBLEN, Thorstein.** An inquiry into the nature of peace and the terms of its perpetuation. *New York, Macmillan Company, 1917.*

8vo, pp. xvi, 367, [1 blank] + [6 advertisements]; a very good copy, uncut with the preliminaries partly unopened, in the original publisher's green cloth, flat spine lettered in gilt; head of spine a little bumped. £160

**First edition.** Still in the midst of the first world-wide war and two years before the Treaty of Versailles, Veblen's insight into the drives and dynamics pushing nations against one another pointed to the moral ambiguity of patriotism and to the competitiveness which from the markets extends to nations. His analysis was prophetic, both of the terms of the Treaty and of its disastrous consequences. His proposals, unheeded like most peace projects from Rousseau to Kant, sound as utopian now as they did to the author himself, whose sombre, wistful style concedes little to hope.

## OUTLINING A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

75. WINDISCH-GRAETZ, Josef Nikolaus, *Count*. Discours dans lequel on examine les deux questions suivantes: 1. Un monarque a-t-il le droit de changer de son chef une constitution évidemment vicieuse? 2. Est-il prudent à lui, est-il de son intérêt de l'entreprendre?; suivi de réflexions pratiques. [N. p., n. pp.,] 1788.

8vo, pp. 151, [1, blank]; engraved head-piece; a little marginal dusting on the title-page, the odd light spot, but a crisp, clean, large copy, uncut in the original marbled wrappers, paper label to spine; spine worn and partly perished but holding well, lower wrapper creased. £750

**First edition, an attractively unsophisticated copy, of an important and rare Enlightenment work on constitutional monarchy**, which elicited Kant's 'singular enthusiasm' (S. M. Shell, *Kant and the limits of autonomy*, Harvard, 2009, p. 164).

Kant was introduced to Windisch-Graetz' writings by Jacobi, who, in a missive of November 1789, praised this particular work among others, promised to send Kant copies, and conveyed Windisch-Graetz' admiration for the German philosopher.

In the *Discours*, Windisch Graetz reveals himself as a 'forceful advocate of constitutional monarchy with strong parliamentary limits on the executive at a time when such an outcome in France still seemed possible' (*ibid.*, p. 167). He affirms the revocability of the social contract which underlies the power of monarchs, and urges monarchs to accept that, in view of the need for a legal underpinning of their power, a constitution should be promulgated, to protect the sovereign people from the abuse of the supreme power as well as from the licence of what he terms the 'intermediate' authorities. He shows the constitution to be the 'fundamental law' which cannot be arbitrarily changed by a monarch without grave damage to the nation and to the King's own interest. He warns that despotism is not an exclusive trait of monarchies, and that republics have just the same need for a constitution as kingdoms.

Windisch-Graetz's interests spanned from political philosophy to metaphysics, to mathematics and its applications (most notably, a refutation of some errors in d'Alembert's probability theories, and an attempt to solve the 'Petersbourg problem'). While living in Paris in the position of special servant to Marie Antoinette he met Condorcet, who proved a strong influence. The drive towards identifying a 'fundamental law' regulating political life expressed in the *Discours* is also reflected in works in other areas, for example an essay on the 'possibility of a general method for the discovery of truth in all sciences'.

Windisch-Graetz's questions about the foundations of legality remained as a reference point in Kant's 1790s work. He 'never found a way to formulate "universal law" as called for by "the wise and astute" Count Windisch-Graetz's, a law, in other words, that would hold not merely "generally" but "universally". Without such a formula, which would make exceptions to the law inconceivable in principle, "the so-called *ius certum* will always remain", as Kant admitted in a rueful note, merely a "pious wish"' (*ibid.*, p. 341).

Quéraud, *France litt.*, X, p. 523; not in Martin & Walter. Warda (X, 123) cites a later work by Windisch-Graetz in Kanth's library. There is another issue, also very rare, of 114 pages, without place or date of publication. OCLC finds 6 copies in the US (Buffalo, California LA, Iowa, Newberry, Stanford, Yale), while Cornell and Brigham Young have the other issue. In the UK, only the BL has a copy.

**OLYMPE DE GOUGES  
PLAYWRIGHT, POLITICAL ACTIVIST, FEMINIST AND ABOLITIONIST IN THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION**

**A COLLECTION OF RARE BOOKS – INCLUDING ONE OF ONLY TWO KNOWN  
COPIES OF A POSTER APPEALING TO CIVIC UNITY**

76. **GOUGES, Olympe de.** A collection of the works of ‘a French social reformer and writer who challenged conventional views on a number of matters, especially the role of women as citizens.

‘That Marie was the natural daughter of Jean-Jacques Lefranc (or Le Franc), marquis de Pompignan, was public knowledge. Her mother, however, would not be parted from her, so the girl remained with her. Marie was married at age 16 and the mother of a son, but the marriage was short-lived. When her husband died, Marie changed her name to Olympe de Gouges, moved to Paris, and vowed never to marry again.

‘She became active in political causes and took up social issues that ranged from better roads to divorce, maternity hospitals, and the rights of orphaned children and of unmarried mothers, and she wrote prolifically in defense of her ideas. Among her plays was *L’Esclavage des noirs* (“Slavery of Blacks”), which was staged at the Théâtre-Français. In 1791, as the French Revolution continued, she published the pamphlet *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* as a reply to the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the [Male] Citizen* (*Déclaration des Droits de l’Homme et du Citoyen*), which had been adopted two years earlier by the National Assembly. In her pamphlet she asserted not only that women have the same rights as men but also that children born outside of marriage should be treated as fairly as “legitimate” children in matters of inheritance.

‘De Gouges sided with the moderate Girondins against the Montagnards, defended Louis XVI, and called for a plebiscite to allow citizens to choose their form of government. After the fall of the Girondins in the summer of 1793, she was arrested, subjected to a mock trial, and on November 4 sent to the guillotine’ (Encyclopedia Britannica).

**While De Gouges’ *Déclaration des droits de la femme* has been the subject of much attention, it is remarkable that her most challenging and socially revolutionary ideas should have effectively reached the public through the medium which she, a playwright, found most congenial.** Her theatrical productions, together with the literature and pamphleteering which she published to support her plays and to expose arbitrary gender discrimination in the arts, offer a panoramic, nuanced and deep insight into her then subversive ideas and ambitions. The comedy plots, the characters and their speeches, form a most eloquent complement to the more overtly political pamphlets. Women’s right to divulge the identity of their children’s father (then denied), for example, gives awkward but essential substance to the abstract right to free speech advocated in the *Declaration*; the full – including financial – equality between the rights of children born out of wedlock and those born in a legitimate marriage specifically challenged the assumption that reproduction was a solely womanly affair and no responsibility should be connected with men’s free satisfaction of sexual appetites. The dramatized questioning of the standard perception of men as the rational agents and women as the non-rational, humoral counterpart actively supported the notion that women and men alike should be rightful members of the body politic.



- a. [GOUGES, Olympe de (née Marie Gouze)]. Avis pressant à la Convention, par une vraie Républicaine. [N. p., n. p., before 20 March 1793].

Poster, folio, [1]; 530 x 415 mm; caption title; printed on white paper in two columns on one side of the sheet; light horizontal crease where once folded, but a wide-margined, unblemished copy in very good condition, mounted and framed; contemporary inscription 'sans date [sic]' in brown ink in the top left margin.

**One of the very few surviving original posters by Olympe de Gouges, and very likely to be the only one still in private hands.** The British library holds the only de Gouges poster located in the UK (*Les trois urnes, ou Le salut de la Patrie*, [1793]), while no example is held in American institutions.

Following the King's death sentence, France's declaration of war on England and Spain, the insurrection in the Vendée and an increasingly material threat of civil war, Olympe de Gouges writes this *Avis*, published in poster and in pamphlet form. Here she sides with the 'true Republicans', those for whom the frenzied killings, and particularly the execution of the death sentence against the King, would be barbaric acts, a prelude to more indiscriminate bloodshed, and the ultimate betrayal of the principles which inspired the Revolution: unity of intent, civic virtue over crime, the respect of the law over vengeance. Constitutional monarchy, Gouges would later point out, seemed to a 'true Republican' the only viable means to save the Country from the degenerations of extremism. On March 20<sup>th</sup> Gouges was attacked in the street, but evaded her assassins, presumed to be associates of Laclos.

Blanc 84. We were able to trace one other copy only of this poster: at the library of the National Assembly (fond Portiez de l'Oise).

## BOOKS

### 'L'EXEMPLAIRE MAGNIFIQUEMENT RELIÉ AUX ARMES DU PRINCE DE CONDÉ'

- b. [GOUGES, Olympe de (née Marie Gouze)]. Oeuvres de Madame de Gouges, dédiées à Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans. Paris, chez l'auteur, Cailleau, 1788.

Two vols, 8vo; both volumes comprising several works each with individual pagination, two with separate title-page; a very good, clean, crisp copy finely bound in contemporary mottled calf, sides gilt **with the arms of Louis-Joseph de Bourbon-Condé** (1736–1818; one of the fourteen variants of the prince's coat of arms) within a triple fillet border and small floral corner-pieces, flat spines finely gilt with acorns and small tools, green morocco lettering- and numbering- pieces; hinges cracked but holding firmly, some light rubbing at extremities, foot of spine and one corner a little worn, skilful minute restoration to the head of spine in vol. II.

**Very rare first collected edition**, dedicated to the duc d'Orléans. This copy bound *aux armes* of Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, prince de Condé. A third volume which included more of de Gouges' works appeared only a few months later, this time with a dedication to the prince de Condé: **our copy is therefore all the more remarkable in associating with the prince, through its binding, the two parts which did not contain a dedication to him.**

This edition gathers under collective title-pages copies of works which had previously appeared separately and which retain separate pagination, in some cases the original title-pages or the half-title.

The first volume includes the three-act comedy *Le mariage de Chérubin*, with its own title-page, the five-act comedy *Le Philosophe corrigé, ou le cocu suppose*, with its half-title, and the ten-page *Réminiscence*. The second volume includes the drama *L'homme généreux*, with its title-page (*chez l'auteur, Knapen et fils, 1786*), the *Préface pour les Dames, ou le portrait des femmes*, followed by the epistolary novel *Mémoire de Madame de Valmont*, the *Dialogue entre mon esprit, le bon sens et la raison, ou critique de mes œuvres*, and a conclusive *Post-Face*.

Blanc, p. 238, edition A. Of this edition Blanc records one copy only in the UK (British Library) and two in the US (Columbia and Newberry). **He makes mention of our copy: 'l'exemplaire magnifiquement relié aux armes du prince de Condé est apparu ces dernières années sur le marché parisien' (*ibid.*)**

- c. [GOUGES, Olympe de (née Marie Gouze)]. Molière chez Ninon, ou le siècle des grands hommes, pièce épisodique en prose et en cinq actes. *Paris, Cailleau, 1788.*

8vo, pp. 192; a very clean, crisp copy, uncut in later marbled boards, red morocco spine, gilt green lettering-piece.

**First edition**, published in time to be included in the third volume of the first collected edition, which appeared a few months after the first two volumes. The play was never staged in any public theatre. The plot ostensibly revolves around rather piquant episodes of the life of Ninon de Lenclos, with Saint-Evremond, Scarron and Molière participating in dramatic parts.

Parallels have been found between this play and Diderot's *Est-il bon*, published the year before: 'the writers abandon some of the traits of bourgeois drama. ..Unity of action is abandoned in both, and plots multiply... Writers replace fathers, and their despotism is benevolent ... the very idea of family undergoes expansion. The bonds of friendship take a central place, and its loyalties motivate the players' actions. Schemes for empowering the disadvantaged come and go on stage and in discourse. For some, a society's ability to protect its weakest members is the measure of its worth... [De Gouges and Diderot] depict conversion of the powerful to understanding of others and to giving up tyrannical impulses (Fowler, *New essays on Diderot*, Cambridge, 2011, pp. 180ff.)

Blanc 60; Brenner 7043.

- d. [GOUGES, Olympe de (née Marie Gouze)]. Séance royale... ou Les Songes patriotiques. [*N. p., n. p.*], 1789.

8vo, pp. 32; marginal paper flaw in B3 (far from text), some very light foxing; a very good copy bound in a miscellany with other texts (see below) in contemporary speckled calf, flat spine gilt in compartments with small tools and a neoclassical urn motif, title and 'B Lartiga' direct-lettered in gilt; hinges cracked but holding firm, extremities rubbed with cover a bit worn along the top edge of the upper side, one or two surface scratches.

**First edition** of this pamphlet dedicated to the duc d'Orléans, distributed on July 11<sup>th</sup>, on the day of Necker's dismissal and three days before the storming of the Bastille. 'For de Gouges imagination offered a good way of escaping the restrictive boundaries of gender and demonstrating new and contrary kinds of relevance for it. In *Séance royale* ... de Gouges envisioned a royal session in which first the Duke and then the King spoke, reasserting the need for the royal veto (which the Assembly wanted to abolish). De Gouges spoke in several voices to make her point. First, in her own, she ... reminded [the Duke] of the need for recognition for women authors as well of his promise to help

secure a commission for her son. She linked her particular situation to the needs of her sex: “it is dreadful that women don’t have the same advantages as men for the advancement of their children”. Then she spoke as the Duke, proposing her plan to the King: “Well, Sir, a woman, an ignorant being, a visionary spirit ... has the courage to alert the King to the sole means that can save France”. Then ... Orléans spoke again, proposing as articles for the constitution, along with the veto, divorce and the right of illegitimate children to equal standing in society. ... The pamphlet is an example of the political potential for dreamwork; dreaming (which was synonymous with imagining) permitted an extraordinary mobility both for de Gouges ... and for the characters she invented. The Duc d’Orléans became an ardent supporter of feminist claims as he defended monarchical power; a dream perhaps, but its appearance in print might influence the real Duke’s thinking, de Gouges suggested coyly, and so “will perhaps come close to reality” (J. Wallach Scott, *Only paradoxes to offer: French feminists and the rights of man*, Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 39-40).

Blanc 139.

[Bound with the following **pamphlets pertaining to the early period of the Assembly, and to questions of vote, rights, participation and veto:**]

BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, J-P. Rapport dans l’affaire de MM. Dhosier et Petit-Jean. *Paris, [n. p.], 1790*. 8vo, pp. [iv], 47, [1 blank]; very light uniform foxing. **First edition of this governmental counter-revolutionary publication**, one of two issues. The other (differing only in the title-page) has as a title ‘Projet de contre-révolution par les somnambulistes’. ‘Two men had attempted to communicate a reactionary program to the king by means of mesmeric fluid, [Brissot] reported. They had received the message from Madame Thomassin a somnambulist with aristocratic connections ... and they had attempted to “imprint” it mesmerically on the king’s mind ... In another séance, Mme Thomassin had dictated a memoir on a counterrevolutionary plot involving the navies of England and Spain [which] would inaugurate the apocalypse, since “the political revolution of France is purely the initiation of a religious, moral and political revolution universal throughout the earth”. Brissot found these “dangerous ideas, which tend towards a counterrevolution serious enough to warrant attack’ (R. Darnton, *Mesmerism and the end of the Enlightenment in France*, Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 130-131).

FAUCHET, C. and David LE ROY. Éloge civique de Benjamin Franklin prononcé, le 21 juillet 1790, dans la rotonde, au nom de la Commune de Paris, par M. Pabbé Fauchet, en présence de MM. les députés de l’Assemblée nationale ... de MM. les représentans de la Commune ... *Paris, J.R. Lottin etc, 1790*. 8vo, pp. [ii], 50; title and last leaf foxed, else clean and crisp. **First edition** of this publication approved by the Commune and sent both to the Assembly and to the American Congress (see verso of title). Includes a *Note de M. Le Roi sur Franklin* (pp. 38-50).

LAMETH Alexandre de. Examen d’un écrit intitulé discours & réplique du comte de Mirabeau à l’Assemblée nationale... sur cette question: A qui la nation doit-elle déléguer le droit de la paix & de la guerre? avec une lettre d’envoi. *Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1790*. 8vo, pp. [ii], 85, [1 blank]; occasional light foxing. **First edition**.

MIACZYNSKI, Joseph, comte de. Mémoire à Nosseigneurs de l’Assemblée nationale. [*N. p., n. p., n. d. but 1790*]. 8vo, pp. [ii], 26; some uniform light foxing. **First edition**.

[ANON.]. Lettre à chacun de MM. les députés composant les états généraux par un des députés du bailliage. [*N. p., n. p., n. d.*]. 8vo, pp. 26; occasional light foxing. **First edition**.

[CHEVALIER, Étienne]. Voeux d’un patriote, et réflexions soumises à MM. les députés des trois ordres composant les états généraux du royaume, tenant à Versailles en 1789 par M\*\*\*. [*N. p., n. p., n. d.*]. 8vo, pp. 23, [1]; some light foxing. **First edition**.

[ANON.]. Réflexions sur quelques adresses lues à l'Assemblée nationale et imprimées par son ordre. [*N. p., n. p., n. d.*]. 8vo, pp. 15, [1]; some light foxing. **First edition.**

[HAUTERIVE, Chevalier de]. Haro sur la f... des b... [feuille des bénéfices], par Thomas-Guillaume B. E. R. [Bérenger], secrétaire de feu Mons. de Jar... *Grenoble, [n. p.], 1789.* 8vo, pp. [ii], 50; a couple of quires lightly browned. **First edition** of this pamphlet in favour of reforming the clergy and ecclesiastical property.

[SAUTERAU, F.]. Le secret dévoilé dialogue entre l'Évêque Y et l'Abbé Z. [*N. p., n. p., 1789.*]. 8vo, pp. 24 (mispaginated as 53); occasional light foxing. **First edition** inclusive of 5 pages of notes (not in all copies) of this pamphlet on the veto, and on the manner of voting of the three orders of the States General.

[ANON.]. Lettre à M. l'abbé de M\*\*\*[Montesquiou], par des curés députés aux états généraux. [*N. p., n. p., n. d.*]. 8vo, pp. [ii], 9, [1]; some light foxing; a contemporary manuscript correction. **First edition.** In answer to a letter attributed to the Abbé de Montesquiou on the clergy of France.

[ANON.]. Dialogue en vers libres, entre Henri IV et Sully qu'on suppose se rencontrer près du Louvre, au moment où les États-généraux vont être assemblés. [*N. p., n. p., 1789 or 1790.*]. 8vo, pp. [ii], 8; some light foxing. **First edition, rare.**

[ANON.]. Maladie de Mme la duchesse de P..... [Polignac] qui a infecté la Cour, Versailles et Paris... [en] juillet 1789. [*N. p., n. p., 1789.*]. 8vo, pp. [ii], 19, [1]; the last two leaves browned, but a very good copy. **First edition, rare outside France, of this satire.**

ARBLAY, Alexandre d'. Récit exact du combat de M. de Bazoncourt, major de la 6e division. [*Paris, L. Potier de Lille, 1790.*]. 8vo, pp. 8; some light foxing. **First edition, rare.**

ORLÉANS, Louis Phillippe de. Exposé de la conduite de m. le duc d'Orléans, dans la revolution de France. [*N. p., veuve d'Houry & Debure, ca.1790.*]. 8vo, pp. [ii], 28; some light foxing. **First edition.**

e. **[GOUGES, Olympe de (née Marie Gouze)].** Lettre aux littérateurs François. [*N. p., n. p., n. d., but February 1790.*]

[bound with:]

--- Lettre de Madame de Gouge, auteur de l'Esclavage des negres, au public. [*N. p., n. p., n. d., but December 1789.*]

8vo, pp. 7, [1, blank]; 4; faded four-line contemporary inscription at the end of the second printed text; very good copies, sewn together in near-contemporary marbled wrappers, printed paper label on the upper wrapper.

**First editions.** The *Lettre aux littérateurs François* is a first formulation of de Gouges' grievances following mistreatment on the part of the Comédie Française, a detailed account which was to be followed by several other publications along the same lines; the second text carries de Gouges' appeal to men of letters published after the fiasco-suppression of her play *L'Esclavage des noirs*.

Blanc 11 and 10.

f. **[GOUGES, Olympe de (née Marie Gouze)].** L'Esclavage des noirs représenté à la Comédie Française en 1789. *Paris, March 1792.*

[bound with:]

--- Le Philosophe corrigé, ou le Cocu supposé. [N. p.] : [n. p.], [1787 or 1788].

8vo, pp. [iv], 90, [2]; 179, [1, blank]; half-title to the first work browned, some light foxing throughout, but very good copies in contemporary quarter calf, marbled boards, panelled spine lettered and decorated in gilt in compartments; spine extremities rubbed, lower corners a little worn.

1. **First edition to be published under this title, rare.** Written in 1784 with the title *Zamore et Mirze*, this drama subverted the tradition by looking at slavery from the slaves' perspective. It was read and accepted at the Comédie Française in 1785, but not played. Only on 28th December 1789 did the theatre produce a performance, under the title *L'Esclavage des Nègres, ou l'Heureux naufrage*; the play elicited immediate and fierce opposition from slave traders, who brought it down on January after only three performances. Olympe de Gouge replied on January 18<sup>th</sup> with her *Réponse au champion Américain ou Colon très aisé à connaître*.

2. **First edition**, which appeared as part of the first collected works published in 1788. Olympe de Gouges had written it the year before, having sold the set, costumes and props of her private theatre.

Blanc 41; Brenner 7039. Blanc 67; Brenner 7044.

g. [GOUGES, Olympe de (née Marie Gouze)]. *L'Esclavage des noirs représenté à la Comédie Française en 1789. Paris, March 1792.*

8vo, pp. [iv], 90, [2]; a crisp, uncut copy beautifully preserved, in later wrappers.

**First edition to be published under this title, rare.** Blanc 41; Brenner 7039.

h. [BEAUMARCHAIS and GOUGES]. [Miscellany of plays]. [*Paris, 1770s and 1780s*].

Two vols, 8vo; occasional light toning, a few margins a little soiled, but a very attractive collection of very good copies, bound in contemporary mottled calf, panelled spines gilt with fleurons and small tools, pairs of contrasting gilt lettering- and numbering-pieces on the spines, preserving the original green silk bookmark; corners and edges a little rubbed, joints of vol. I chipped at foot, still holding firm; contemporary manuscript index on the recto of both rear flyleaves.

A remarkable Sammelband of plays containing, among others, **the first edition of Olympe de Gouges's *Le Mariage inattendu de Chérubin***. The play had been written in 1784 as *Les Amours de Cherubin*, and had been inspired by Beaumarchais' *Le Mariage de Figaro*, of which it was a sequel; though well received, it was never performed, due to Beaumarchais' dislike of the plot (de Gouges emphasized the cruelty of the female characters' predicament in the story, and made it clear that their gender condemned them to unacceptable prevarication) and his persuasion that it stood as a case of plagiarism. When the play was published with a new title two years later, it enjoyed widespread favour, and Olympe de Gouges toured following several provincial productions. ***Le Mariage inattendu* is especially notable for its famous preface, in which the author's skilled use of figures of speech brings to the fore her woes as a woman, as a female playwright, as a female proprietor whose possessions are forever threatened, and as a widow.** Within the play itself, a remarkable passage sees a plea for the recognition of women writers accompanied by a reference to the author inserted into a conversation between Figaro and the count. Figaro also addresses the audience at the end, pleading for social acceptance of female authors (see C. Sherman, *Reading Olympe de Gouges*, p. 10, and I. DeMarte, 'Woman, aspiring playwright, litigating proprietor, and widow: the figures of speech in Olympe de Gouges's Preface to *Le Mariage inattendu de Cherubin*', in *Eighteenth-century Women: Studies in their lives, work and Culture* 6 (2011), 253-285).

This miscellany, assembled at a time very close to that of the printing of the later works (1786) is no common gathering. It presents a very interesting composition, testifying to a contemporary owner who must have been acutely aware of the literary and meta-literary relationships between some specific works by Beaumarchais and Olympe de Gouges' *Mariage inattendu*. The two volumes consist of the following:

BEAUMARCHAIS. Eugénie, drame. *Paris, and sold in Marseille, Mossy, Royal printer, 1777*. 8vo, pp. 71, [1]; typographical ornaments; a very good, crisp copy.

BEAUMARCHAIS. Les deux amis, ou Le négociant de Lyon, drame. *Paris, Delalin, 1775*. 8vo, pp. 64; typographical ornaments; short tear to head of title (no loss), last page lightly soiled, one or two light marks, but a very good copy.

BEAUMARCHAIS. Le barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile, comédie. *Paris, Roualt, 1778*. 8vo, pp. 24, 70, [2]; typographical ornaments; a few quires a little browned, some light marks, but a very good copy.

BEAUMARCHAIS. La folle journée, ou Le mariage de Figaro, comédie. *Lyon, [n. p.], 1785*. 8vo, pp. [4], lvi, 224; historiated woodcut headpiece, typographical ornaments; light stain through a few of the preliminary leaves, some light marks, but a very good, crisp copy. Published the same year as the first (Paris) edition. See PMM 230.

PARISAU. Le repentir de Figaro. *Paris, chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1785*. 8vo, pp. 30, [2]; woodcut device on title, head- and tail-pieces; a crisp, clean copy. Second edition, first published the year before when it was first presented on stage. 'Parodie de La folle journée, ou Le mariage de Figaro, de Beaumarchais'- Brenner, *French plays*, 9754.

[GOUGES, Olympe de (née Marie Gouze)]. Le Mariage inattendu de Chérubin. *Seville, and sold in Paris by Cailleau, 1786*. 8vo, pp. 111, [1 blank]; title vignette; crease to the titlepage, one or two spots, a couple of leaves toned, but a very good, crisp copy. **First edition**. Blanc 57; Brenner 7042.

### 'L'ESPRIT N'A POINT DE SEXE'

- i. **POULAIN DE LA BARRE, François**. L'égalité des deux sexes, discours physique et moral.... *Paris, Jean Dupuis, 1673*.

8vo, pp. [xvi], 243, [5, including *Avertissement*, errata, *Extrait du privilege du roi*]; light toning to a few quires, outer margin of the last leaf of the first quire (preface) trimmed shorter to obscure a contemporary annotation, but a very good copy in contemporary speckled calf, panelled spine gilt in compartments, gilt lettering; joints cracked exposing the sewing but holding, sides lightly soiled with a few surface abrasions, extremities rubbed.

**First edition of the first and most important feminist treatise by the principal seventeenth century champion of the intellectual equality between the genders, 'the leading feminist of the time' (Simone de Beauvoir).** Poulain (or Poullain) de la Barre has been hailed as 'the thinker who theorized women's emancipation, the most important [France produced] from the Middle Ages to the mid-nineteenth century' (Albistur & Armogathe, *Histoire du féminisme français*, p. 84, our translation). He was deeply influenced in his youth by Descartes' thought. Following closely Cartesian method as well as tenets, he embraces the distinction between mind and body, and deduces that the mind is naturally free from gender differences, which only apply to the body (indeed, within the body, merely to specific organs). Women's senses, their sight, their hearing and so on, are as reliable as men's. The brain also is the same, with all its capabilities regarding reasoning, memory and imagination. Women therefore, argues Poulain, are just as capable as men of accurate and

creative work in all fields: anatomy, he writes, mathematics and logic, law, medicine, physics and metaphysics.

De Gouges' militancy partly relied on Poulain de la Barre's widely-known theory of equality. But, as over a century of Cartesian-based advocacy of the similarity between men and women had not succeeded in changing women's actual predicament, in her works she went further, exposing and celebrating the natural distinctiveness of women. What Poulain de la Barre articulated as a merely rhetorical point (women's superiority when it came to sensitivity and gentleness) de Gouges embraces as a psychological truth of potentially great social value.

- j. **MARECHAL, Pierre-Sylvain.** *Projet d'une loi portant défense d'apprendre à lire aux femmes. Paris, Massé, an IX [1801].*

8vo, pp. [4], viii, 106; first and last leaf browned, light browning to title and penultimate leaf, but a very good, crisp, clean copy in nineteenth-century cloth-backed marbled boards, printed paper label on the spine; joints cracked but holding, extremities a little rubbed.

**First edition.** Atheist, republican, freemason, a follower of Rousseau and – as an intellectual acquainted with Babeuf and the Égoux – a forerunner of communism, Marechal was certainly not a political reactionary. Yet, in the instance of this facetious *Projet* for a law preventing women from learning to read, he lightly rehearses the most traditional and consolidated of all misogynist arguments. While many contemporary Enlightened thinkers looked forward to better education for women within a renewed, post-Revolution society, Marechal drew upon well-worn passages from Xenophon, Plutarch and, much more explicitly, Rousseau to delineate for women an exclusively domestic education, and a life firmly confined to private, familial concerns, away from the 'dangers to morals and to public affairs' which a public life would bring about. Women's participation in the public sphere would lead to two evils: discord in a household 'when a woman knows as much or more than the husband' (article 44), and the 'obvious' political threats of 'female diplomats' (32). The *Projet* immediately ignited controversy. For two centuries, an alternative, 'ironic' interpretation co-existed with the more literal understanding of Marechal's position. However B. Jolibert and M. Perrot, editors of the critical edition published in 2007, convincingly and conclusively dispel the possibility that Marechal might have written his book other than in earnest.

The social assumption here condensed by Marechal had been the set of values which de Gouges systematically challenged in her works, protesting that women, as co-responsible agents in all that pertains private and family life, and indeed, in the public sphere, often subjected to juridical sentences as severe as men's, ought to be held as co-responsible with men in the management of public affairs.

