

FIG. V.

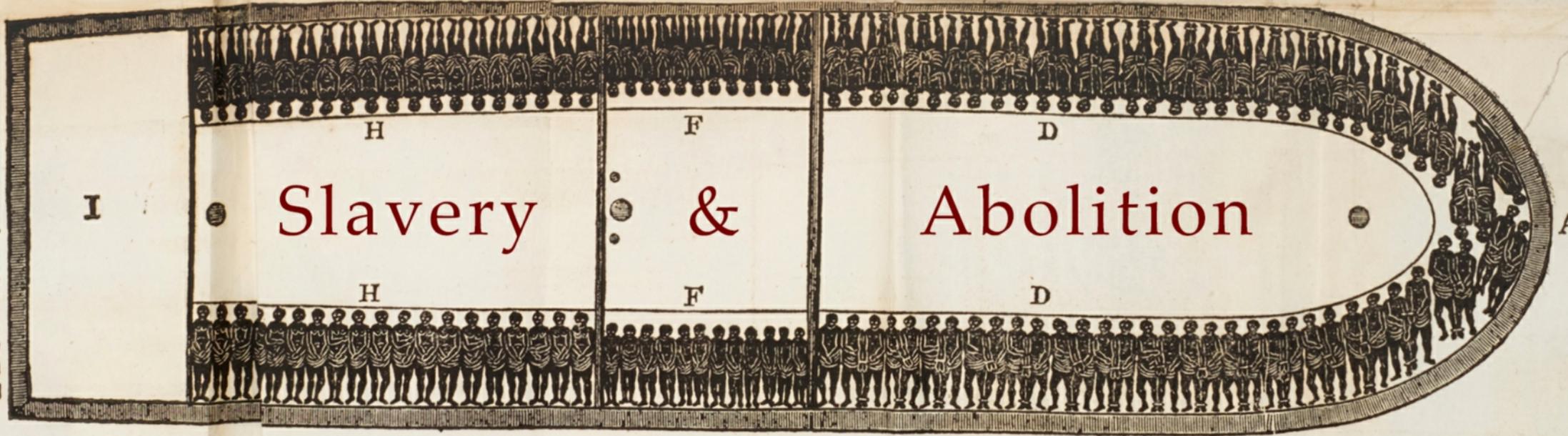
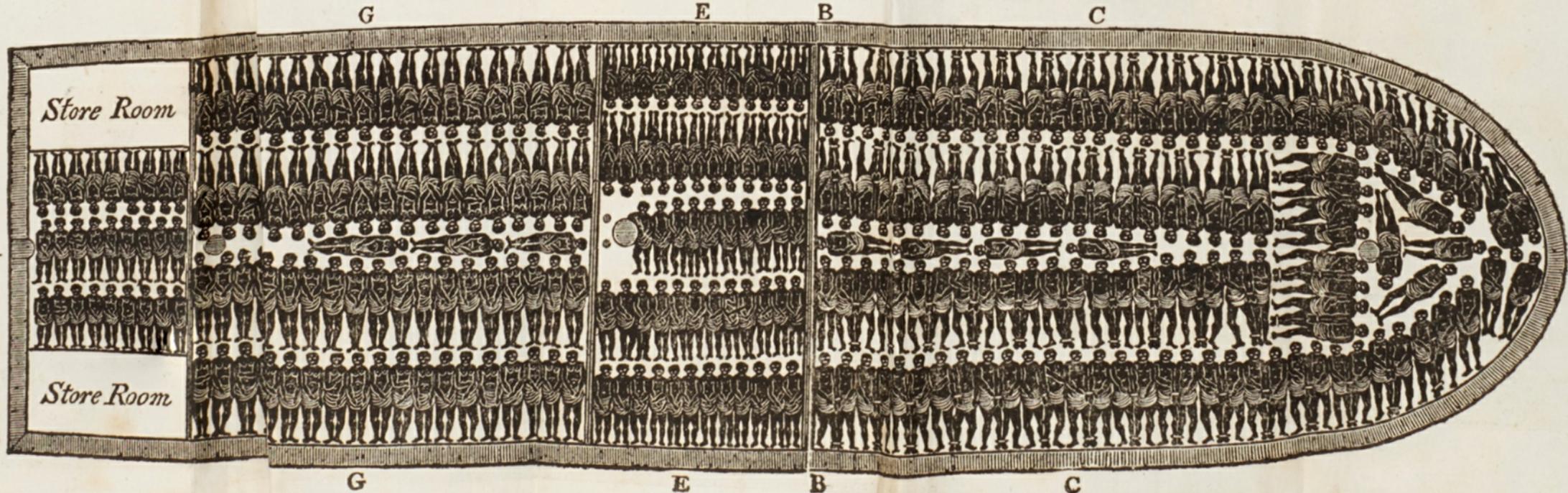


FIG. IV.



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*EURO ACCOUNT:*        iban: gb03 bukb 2065 9045 4470 11

*U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNT:*    iban: gb19 bukb 2065 9063 9924 44

*VAT NUMBER:*    GB 322 4543 31

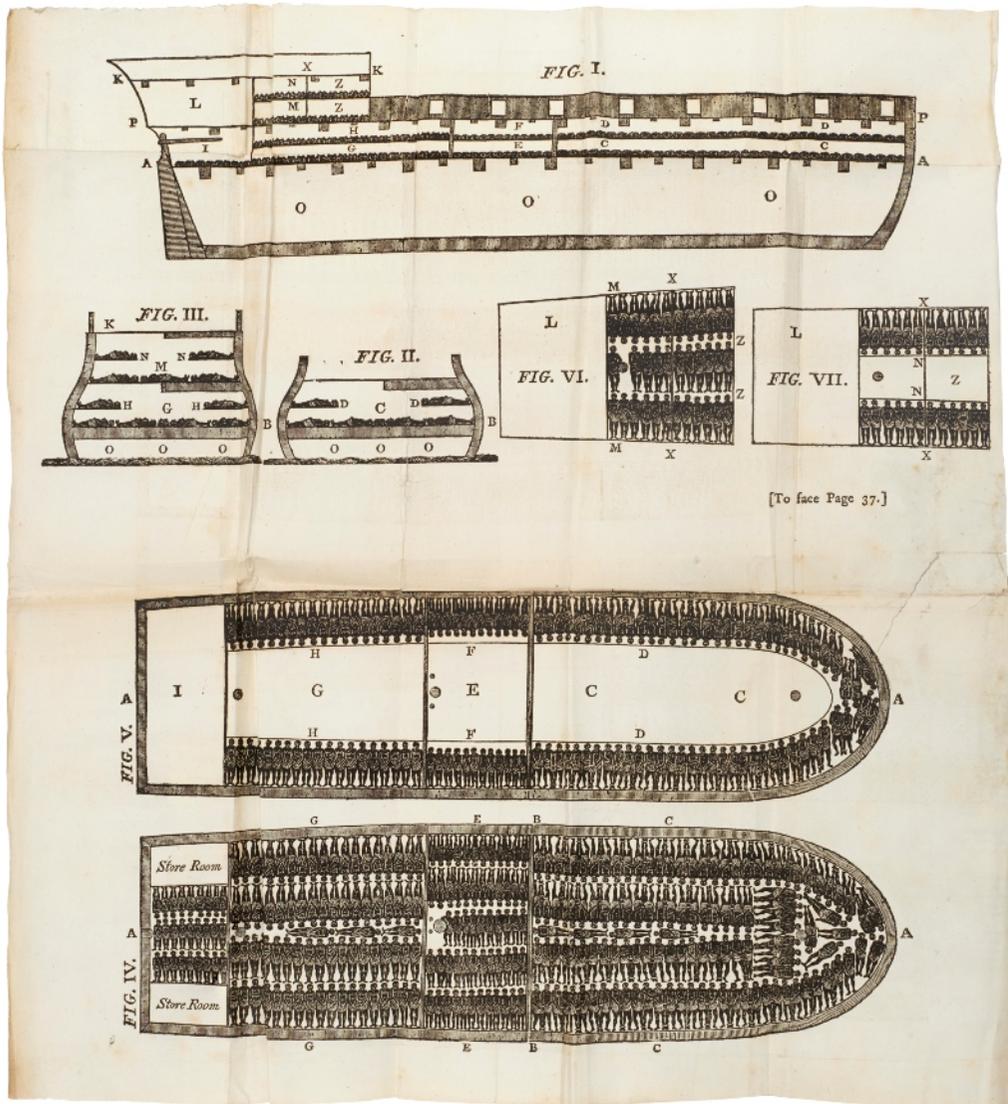
## 2020/2

front cover: from item 1  
opposite: item 37

items marked with an asterix \* will attract VAT within the EU.



WITH THE PLAN OF THE *BROOKES*



1 **ABSTRACT (An)** of the Evidence delivered before a select Committee of the House of Commons in the Years 1790, and 1791; on the Part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade. London: Printed by James Phillips ... 1791.

8vo., pp. xxvi, [2, blank], 155, [1], with a large folding woodcut plan of the Brookes slave ship, and a folding engraved map of the Western Coast of Africa; a good copy in nineteenth-century quarter calf and marbled boards.

£2750

**First edition, rarely found complete with both the woodcut plate and the map.** Edited by William Wilberforce, the *Abstract* summarises the testimony of those called to answer the witnesses in favour of the slave trade who had appeared before the House of Commons in 1789-90. **A ten page alphabetical list of those who spoke in favour of abolition includes John Newton (see items 28-37)** and numerous other former planters, slavers, estate-managers and slave-ship crew.

The famous plan of the *Brookes* slave ship had first been issued in both woodcut and engraved form in 1789, and became the single most important piece of visual propaganda in the fight for abolition, a cultural icon that was widely reproduced and adapted, and still shocks today.

Sabin 81745.



## WITH A POEM AGAINST SLAVERY

### 3 **BROWNING, Elizabeth Barrett.** Poems before Congress ... London: Chapman and Hall ... 1860.

8vo., pp. [2], viii, [2], 65, [3], with initial blank and terminal advertisement leaf; a very good copy in the original red cloth, slightly shaken, spine rubbed. **£200**

First edition of a slender collection of seven poems on the cause of Italian independence, and one attacking slavery in the United States ('A Curse for a Nation'), on the eve of the Civil War that would bring about emancipation.

Barnes A12.

### 4 **BUXTON, Sir Thomas Fowell. Charles BUXTON, editor.** Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Baronet. With Selections from his Correspondence ... London, Murray, 1848.

8vo, pp. [2 blank], iii-xvi, 690, 14 (ads), [2, ads]; engraved frontispiece portrait, light offsetting, wood-engraved ads to final leaf; a very good copy, uncut in publisher's blocked brown cloth, lightly rubbed, spine gilt, chipped at head and foot; contemporary ownership inscription of Charles Barclay ?Brydell; bookbinder's ticket to rear pastedown. **£100**

First edition of the memoirs of the humanitarian politician and philanthropist Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786-1845), MP for Weymouth from 1818 to 1837. **Buxton campaigned for prison reform, humane treatment of indigenous peoples, and the abolition of slavery throughout the Empire, succeeding Wilberforce in leading the abolitionist group in the House of Commons.**

Fowell Buxton had become involved with the abolitionist and reform movements through his introduction to the Quaker brewing set of the interlinked Gurney and Barclay families of Norwich (though Church of England himself), marrying Hannah Gurney in 1807. It is possible that the Charles Barclay to whom this book belonged was a distant relative by marriage.

## A LANDMARK OF ABOLITION

**5 CLARKSON, Thomas.** An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the human Species, particularly the African, translated from a Latin Dissertation, which was honoured with the first Prize in the University of Cambridge, for the year 1785, with Additions. London, J. Phillips and T. Cadell, 1786.

8vo, pp. xxxi, [1 errata], 256; some spotting, occasional marks; **a good uncut copy in original blue/grey paper boards**, rebacked, with new paper spine label; some wear to corners and ink stains to boards; ink stamp of James Kerr at head of title; preserved in clamshell box. **£1600**

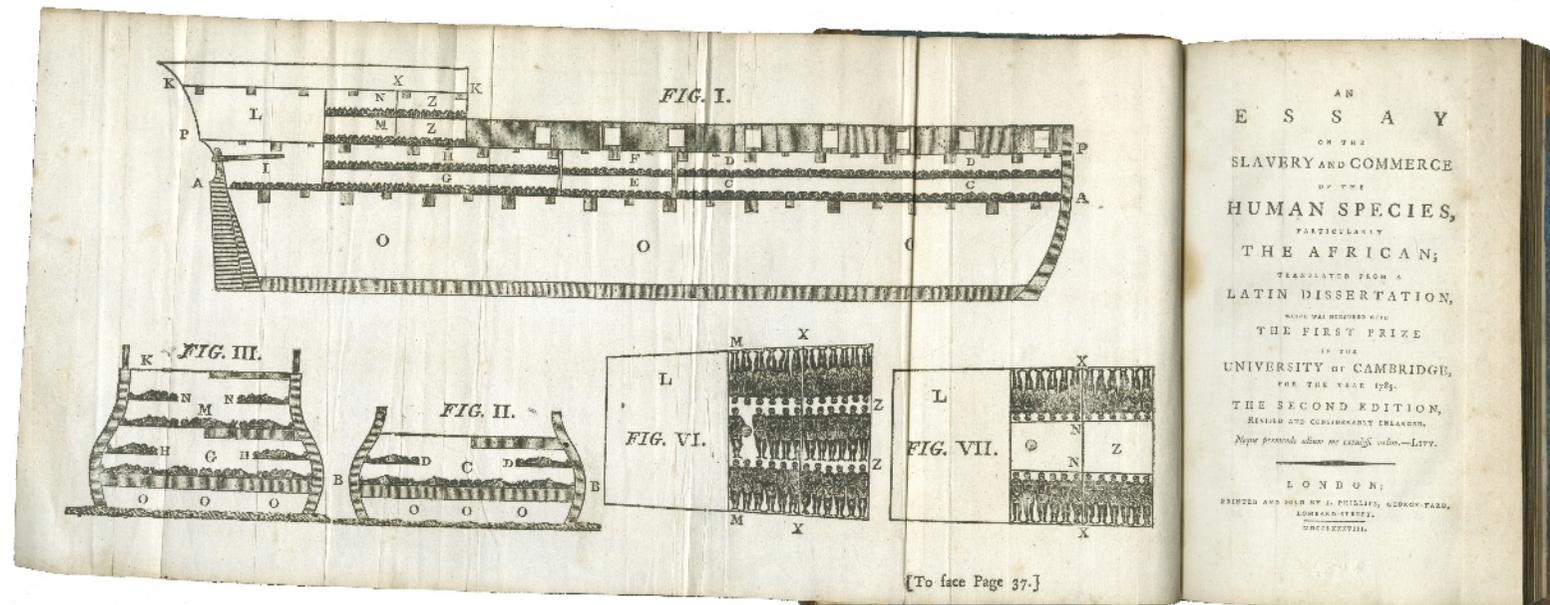
First edition of Clarkson's principal work. If Clarkson (1760-1846) was not the first person to call the attention of the country to the criminality of slavery, it is almost impossible to overrate the effect of his unceasing perseverance in the quest for its abolition. Before he entered on the crusade slave-holding was considered, except by a few, as a necessary part of the social economy; it was due largely to his exertions that long before his death, it had come to be regarded as a crime.

Goldsmiths' 13279; Hogg 1836; Kress B.1026; PMM 232; Ragatz, p. 488; Sabin 13484.

**6 CLARKSON, Thomas.** An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the human Species, particularly the African ... The second Edition, revised and considerably enlarged. London, J. Phillips, 1788.

8vo, pp. xxii, [2 blank], 167, [1, advertisement]; inserted as a frontispiece is the 1791 version (on wove paper) of the famous woodcut diagram of the Brookes slave ship (see item 1); small loss to lower blank margin of C3, a little light foxing; very good in contemporary half calf over blue paste paper; rebacked with remains of spine laid down, recorned, some wear to edges and slight discolouration to boards. **£1000**

Second edition, revised and enlarged. The diagrams of the overladen Brookes slave ship which became one of the most iconic images in the fight towards abolition, first appeared as a crude engraving in Plymouth in early 1789, and then were re-issued as woodcuts or engravings in London later in the year. This version, marked to be bound opposite p. 37 (not a relevant point here), evidently comes from *An Abstract of the Evidence* (1791, see item 1).

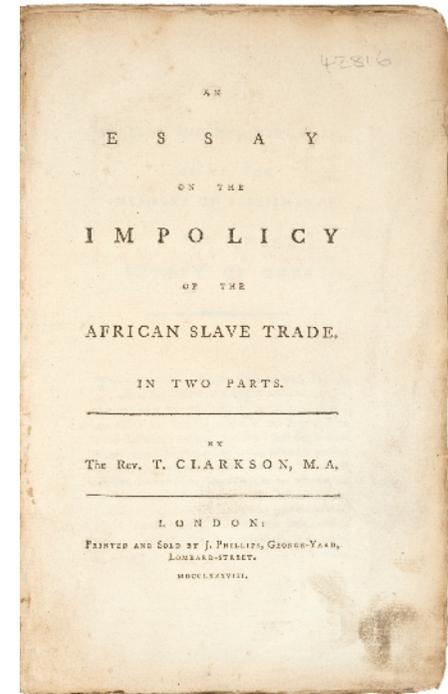


## AGAINST THE ECONOMICS OF THE SLAVE TRADE

**7 CLARKSON, Thomas.** An Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade. In two Parts. London, J. Phillips, 1788.

8vo, pp. [2], iv, 3-134, [2, advertisement leaf]; some light marginal damp staining, occasional marks; else a good copy in recent paper boards, paper label to spine. **£750**

First edition of this best-selling and momentous work, the driving force behind the foundation in 1787 of the Committee for the Effecting of the Abolition of the Slave Trade. **The *Essay* 'was the first British antislavery tract to pass over the moral problem of slavery entirely and confine itself exclusively to the political and economic case for abolition'** (C.L. Brown, *Moral capital: foundations of British abolitionism*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2006, p. 328). Clarkson's pervasive influence as an abolitionist was later celebrated by William Wordsworth in the sonnet *On the final passing of the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, March, 1807*.



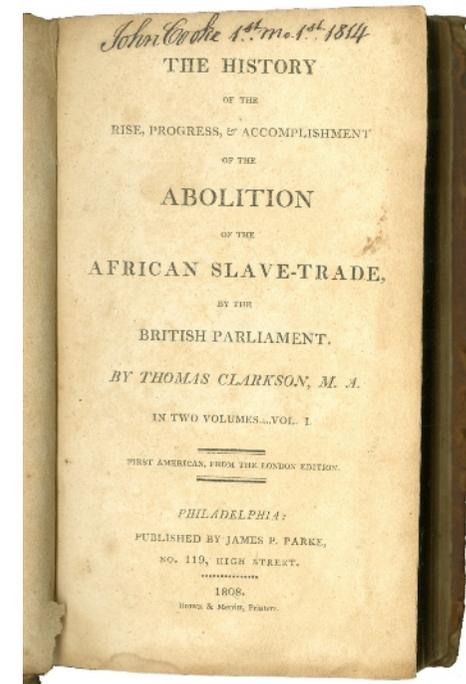
## THE 'MAGNA CHARTA FOR AFRICA'

**8 CLARKSON, Thomas.** The History of the rise, progress, & accomplishment of the abolition of the African slave-trade, by the British Parliament ... First American, from the London edition. Philadelphia, James P. Parke, 1808.

2 vols, 8vo, pp. 455, [1, errata], with 2 plates (1 folding); 468; vol. 1 quire R misbound after quire S, closed tear to folding plate, small tear to foot of vol. 2 pp. 449-450 touching a few letters, some browning and foxing; overall good in contemporary mottled sheep, rebacked with red morocco gilt-lettered spine labels; some wear to corners and edges; book labels and inscriptions of John Cooke (1814), bookplates of Charles Coleman Sellers (1903-80), American historian and librarian. **£1250**

First American edition, published in the same year as the first London edition.

Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) made abolitionism his life's work. 'For British, American, and some later continental and Latin American reformers, it was Thomas Clarkson's canonical *History of the rise, progress and accomplishment of the abolition of the African slave-trade* ... that spelled out the redemptive message of this "Magna Charta for Africa". While Clarkson rejoiced at the removal of "one of the greatest sources of suffering to the human race", he considered this a minor benefit compared with Britain's liberation from a contagion that had poisoned "the moral springs of the mind" and jeopardized Christian salvation' (Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, p. 117ff).



**9 CLARKSON, Thomas.** Memoirs of the private and public Life of William Penn. London, Richard Taylor & Co. for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1813.

2 vols in one, 8vo, pp. xii, 520; [4], 500; minor spotting, old repair to vol. II title, short marginal tears to I, 2A1, and II, B1-2; a very good set, together in recent calf-backed boards with non-pareil marbled sides, spine lettered directly in gilt; minimal rubbing at extremities; contemporary annotations to I, p. 324, early ink stamps partially erased. **£125**

First edition, an early biography of the founder and namesake of Pennsylvania. Clarkson pens a highly favourably account of the life of the Quaker leader, 'a Statesman, who acted upon Christian principle in direct opposition to the usual policy of the world' (p. viii). There is a certain irony that Penn himself owned, bought, and sold slaves.

## TOWARDS EMANCIPATION

**10 CLARKSON, Thomas.** Thoughts on the Necessity of improving the Condition of the Slaves in the British Colonies, with a view to their ultimate Emancipation; and on the Practicability, the Safety, and the Advantages of the latter Measure ... Second edition corrected. London, Printed for the Society for the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, J. Hatchard and Son, 1823.

8vo, pp. iv, 57, [3]; a few spots to title; very good in recent quarter cloth over marbled boards, paper spine label. **£250**

Second edition (same year as the first). **'A classic of emancipationist literature.** Urges the adoption of ameliorative measures and the preparation of the slaves for early freedom. Hired labor was far more profitable than was that of slaves. Originally published in *The Inquirer*. Its appearance synchronized with the issuing of the Order in Council of 1823, instituting reforms in the crown colonies, and through discussion aroused by the latter, it gained a tremendous circulation and was very influential in forming public opinion' (Ragatz, p. 490).

**11 CLARKSON, Thomas.** Strictures on a Life of William Wilberforce by the Rev. W. [actually R. I.] Wilberforce, and the Rev. S. Wilberforce ... With a Correspondence between Lord Brougham and Mr Clarkson; also a Supplement, containing Remarks on the Edinburgh Review of Mr Wilberforce's Life, etc. London, for Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1838.

8vo, pp. xv, [1 blank], 136; a little light foxing; very good in somewhat later calf, gilt and blind borders to covers, spine gilt in compartments with lettering-piece, marbled endpapers and edges; extremities and boards somewhat rubbed; armorial bookplate of the Danish banker Baron Hambro, who founded Hambros Bank in London in 1839. **£200**

First edition. 'Clarkson was meanly attacked by R. I. and S. Wilberforce in their 1838 life of their father, William, but he effectively defended himself in his tract *Strictures on a Life of William Wilberforce*; Crabb Robinson had the last word when he wrote of the brothers, "Such is their blindness that they see not even this – that to have been the forerunner, associate, and friend of Mr. Wilberforce is much more than to be the fruit of his loins"' (*ODNB*).

**12 CLARKSON, Thomas.** Strictures on a Life of William Wilberforce by the Rev. R.I. Wilberforce, and the Rev. S. Wilberforce ... Second Edition. London, for Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1838.

8vo, pp. [2], iv, [iii]-xv, [1 blank], 136; some light foxing; good in recent maroon cloth, spine lettered in gilt; 'From the author' inscribed at head of title; perforated stamp of Battersea Public Library to title and ink stamp at foot of several pages.

**£250**

**Second edition, a presentation copy, inscribed 'from the author'.**

**13 DORE, James.** A Sermon on the African Slave Trade, preached at Maze-Pond, Southwark ... Nov. 30, 1788 ... Third Edition. London: Printed by J. Phillips; and sold by J. Buckland ... C. Dilly ... M. Gurney ... and W. Button ... 1788.

8vo., pp. 39, [1], with the **woodcut device of the Committee for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade on the title-page**; a very good copy in recent half calf.

**£150**

Third edition, an abolitionist sermon by the Baptist minister James Dore, published for the benefit of the London Abolition Society – for which his congregation collected funds. There were three editions within the year, the first two in 12mo.



## SLAVERY, LUNAR VOYAGES, AND PHYSICS, IN A GUIDE TO HAPPINESS

**14 ERLACH, Rodolphe-Louis.** Code du Bonheur. Renfermant des maximes et des regles relatives aux devoirs de l'homme, envers lui-même, envers ses semblables, et envers dieu. Tome I [-VI]. Paris, Hotel Landier, and Geneva, François Dufart, 1788.

Six parts in seven volumes, 8vo, pp. [4], xvi, 405, [1]; [4], 430; [4], 528; [4], 461, [1]; [4], 423, [1]; [4], 348; [2] 302; folding engraved frontispiece to volume 1; numerous woodcut head- and tailpieces; light staining to head of parts of volume 2 and margins of volume 4; small tear without loss to foot of Y6 in volume 4, some gatherings, especially in volumes 4 and 5, uniformly lightly browned; occasional marking; but in the main, clean and crisp; uniformly bound in contemporary mottled sheep, flat spines tooled in gilt with gilt-lettered morocco labels; loss to foot of spines of volumes 1 and 6, ink stain to lower cover of volume 2, and sporadic signs of wear, but still an attractive set. **£1850**

First edition, one of three issues in the same year, of this extraordinary collection of essays, dialogues, letters, and narratives broadly centred on the notion of human flourishing, by the enlightenment-minded Swiss politician, soldier, and writer Rodolphe-Louis d'Erlach (1749-1808). Dedicated to Catherine the Great, the seven volumes contain, among much else, an essay on the nature of happiness, an introduction to physics (as a 'general antidote to several of our maladies'), a dialogue on suicide, two imaginary voyages to the moon, anecdotes about fanaticism, reflections on the effects of the love of gambling, notes on the virtues, a tale of a hot-air balloon voyage, advice to daughters, letters on slavery, theodicy and optimism, and a dialogue between Louis XIV and Voltaire on the subject of tolerance. Although in many ways a conservative, Erlach was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the age, and draws heavily on the likes of Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Boyle, and Newton.

The publication history is unclear: in addition to this Paris and Geneva imprint, issues also appeared solely in Geneva (printer unnamed) and Lausanne (Heubach); both of these appear to use the same sheets as the present issue, but ours is the only one to feature the attractive if somewhat rococo frontispiece by Pierre-Philippe Choffard (1731-1809). An extract appeared in 1791, as *Précis des devoirs du souverain* (Lausanne, Mourer, and Paris, Garnery). This is by a long way the most substantial of Erlach's works, but not what he is best known for. In 1802, hostile to the French republican invasion of Switzerland, he led an armed insurrection in an attempt to restore the Swiss Confederation. Military leadership did not become him, however, and he retreated to rural retirement, where he died in 1806.

**Of this issue, OCLC appears to record only two complete copies**, at the town library in La Chaux-de-Fonds and the Institut Catholique de Paris; the BL has a set incorporating vols 3 and 4 from the Lausanne printing.

**15 FRANCIS, Philip.** Proceedings in the House of Commons on the Slave Trade, and State of the Negroes in the West India Islands. With an Appendix ... London: Printed for Caroline Ridgway ... 1796.

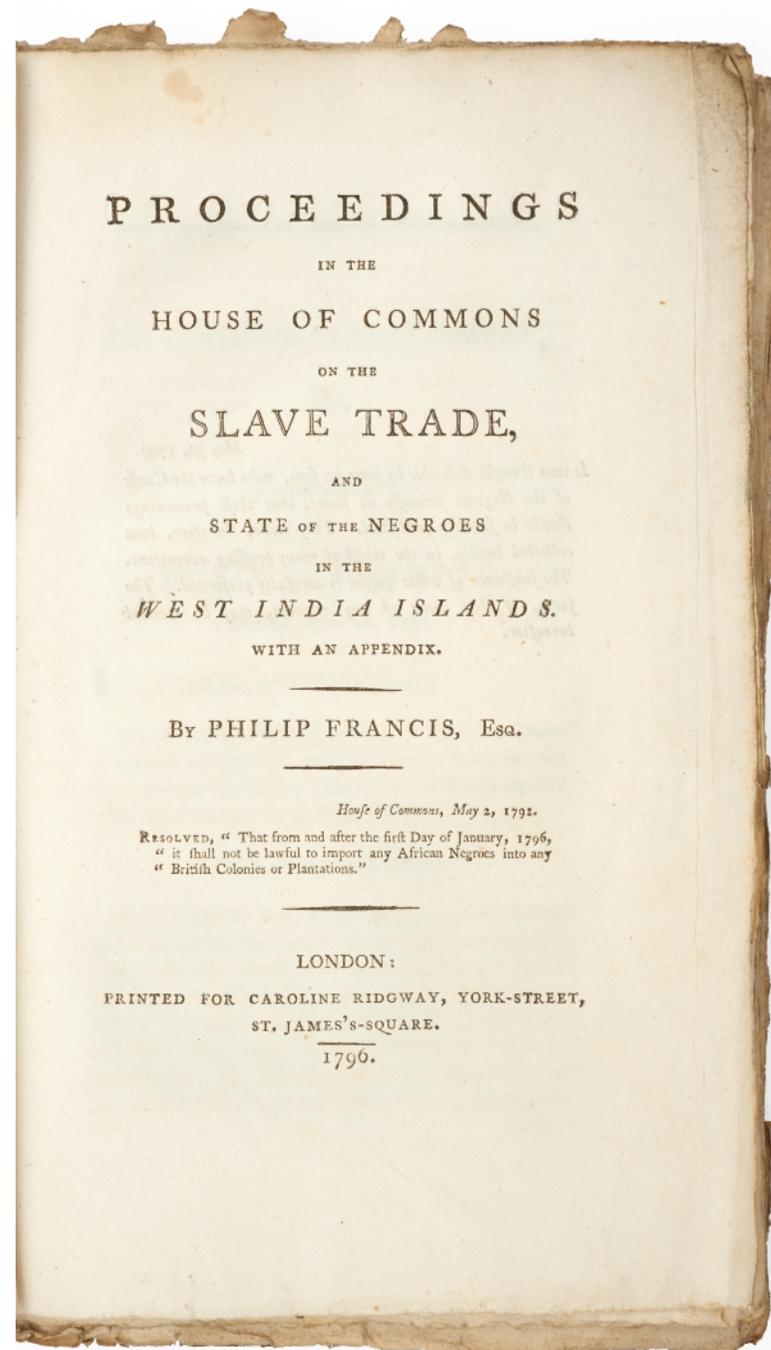
8vo., pp. [4], 105, [3, blank], with a half-title (slightly dusty); a very good copy, uncut, and partly unopened, stitched as issued; **(authorial?) corrections (mostly deletions but a few substantive additions) on at least 16 pages, four line quotation from Plautus on a terminal blank, apparently for insertion on p. 46.** £750

First edition, scarce, the substance of several speeches in Parliament by Philip Francis, who 'spoke strongly and effectively in support of William Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave trade' (*ODNB*) in April 1791. A summary of that speech opens the volume here, followed by the full text of speeches on the same topic in March–April 1796, after he introduced a 'Bill for the better Regulation and Improvement of the Situation of the Negroes'. The Appendix comprises correspondence and extracts from relevant statutes.

Although Francis's 'favourite theme' in Parliament was Indian affairs (mentioned in passing here too), he was also 'a critic of Pitt's foreign policy ... [and] an opponent of public lotteries and objected vehemently to the slave trade, though his own attempt to introduce a bill "for the better regulation and improvement of the situation of the negroes" was rejected without a division, 11 Apr. 1796' (*History of Parliament online*). His long speech introducing and defending the latter is printed here on pp. 18-70.

Now best known as the most plausible candidate for authorship of the Junius letters, Francis was unable to retain a seat in Parliament in the General Election of 1796, and did not return until 1802, when he continued staunch in favour of abolition, and against compensation for slave-owners.

**This is possibly a unique issue.** ESTC reports a half-title reading 'Heads of Mr. Francis's Speech, &c. &c' rather than 'Proceedings of the House of Commons on the Slave Trade' as here.



## SLAVERY AND REPUBLICANISM

**16 [FREEMAN, Sir Ralph].** *Imperiale, a Tragedy ...* London, Printed by Thomas Harper, and are to be sold by Robert Pollard ... at the Signe of Ben: Jonson. 1655.

Small 4to., ff [40]; title-page frayed and stained, uniformly browned throughout, otherwise an acceptable copy; modern quarter calf and marbled boards. **£1850**

First authorised and authoritative edition, preceded by a mysterious sequence of exceedingly rare private editions published by Thomas Harper sixteen years previously (each surviving in a single example). Freeman here asserts that he 'never design'd [*Imperiale*] to the open World' and that it 'is now permitted, through the importunity of some friends, to appeare abroad: chiefly to prevent a surreptitious publication intended from an erroneous Copy'.

A discursive yet lively blank-verse closet drama in the Senecan vein, *Imperiale* concerns two 'ancient enemies ... lately reconciled' (*Imperiale* and *Spinola*) and ends with a gamut of deaths. *Spinola*'s son *Francisco* employs *Imperiale*'s slave, *Molosso*, to help him woo *Angelica*, *Imperiale*'s daughter. But *Molosso* has his own complicated designs of revenge on *Imperiale*. These culminate with a masque within-a-play about the rape of the *Sabines*, during which *Molosso* and another slave abduct and violate their masters' daughters. **The edition of 1655 introduced a number of small changes, in which the language of the rebellious slaves is transformed into more overt Republicanism** (see A. R. Bossert, 'Slavery and anti-Republicanism in Sir Ralph Freeman's *Imperiale, a Tragedy* (1639)', in *Early Theatre* 13:1, 2010).

Wing F 2136; Greg 560(c); Bentley III, 469.

## SLAVERY IN AGRICULTURE

**17 GANILH, Charles.** *La théorie de l'économie politique, fondée sur les faits recueillis en France et en Angleterre; sur l'expérience de tous les peuples célèbres par leurs richesses, et sur les lumières de la raison ...* Seconde édition, entièrement revue, corrigée et augmentée. Paris, Treuttel et Würtz, 1822.

Two vols, 8vo, pp. [iv], xxxiv, 54, 301, with 5 folding plates; [iv], 486, [2]; a little light foxing, small wormholes and wormtracks touching some words in vol. I, small wormhole to tail margin of first quire of vol. II; otherwise a good copy in contemporary light blue paper boards, spine in compartments with initials 'W. Z.' to foot, inked paper labels to head, edges sprinkled blue; some stains and scrapes, some wear to labels, but a nice set. **£250**

Second expanded edition (first 1815) of *Ganilh's Théorie*, the central question of which is whether all countries can develop in the same manner guided by the same set of philosophical speculations. Drawing on statistical data, *Ganilh* gives an overview of French agriculture and industry in 1789, quoting from *Quesnay*, *Young*, and *Lavoisier*, and compares this with the situation in England in 1798. He then discusses work (including slavery), wages, capital, commerce, value, and consumption, referencing, and frequently disagreeing with, *Smith* and *Malthus*, and ends by asserting that commerce can only flourish through peace.

Goldsmiths' 23410; Kress C.868; not in Einaudi or Mattioli.

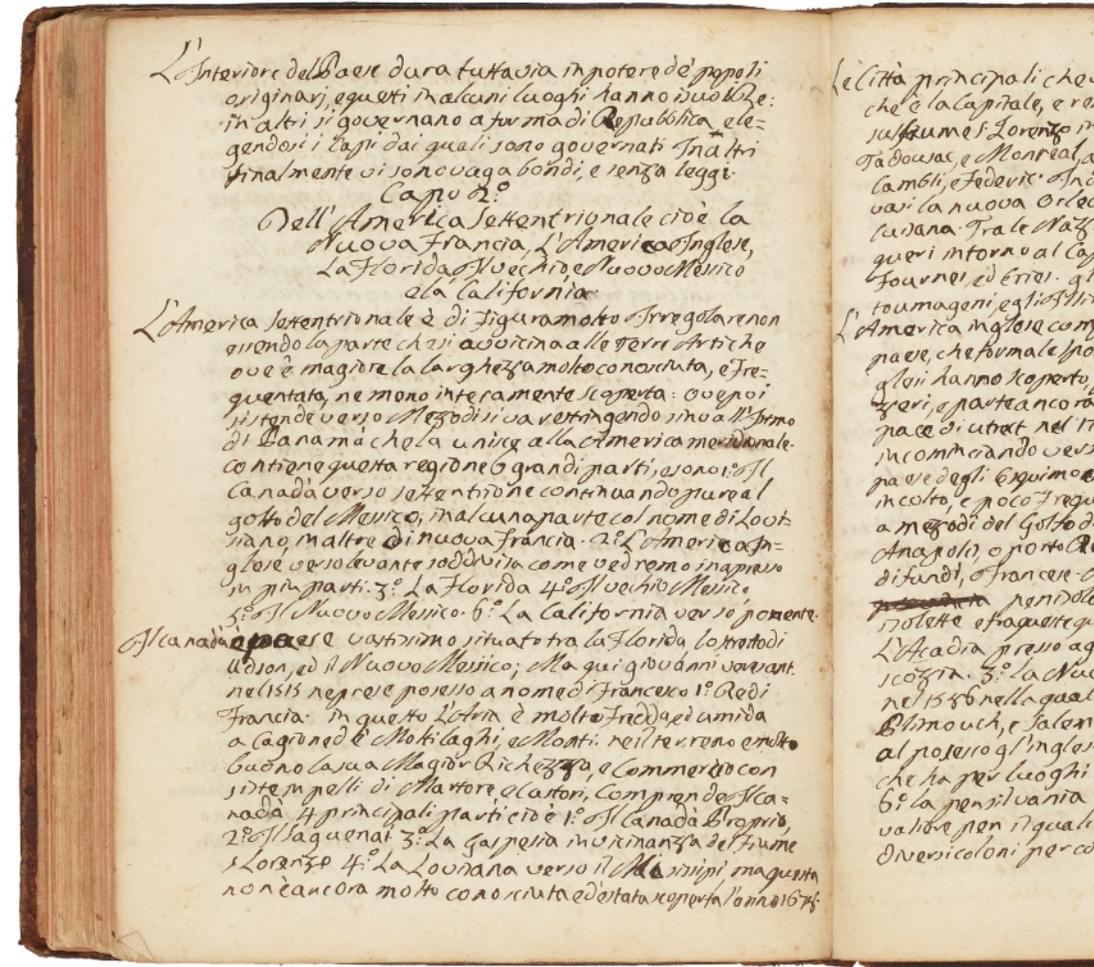
## MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPEAN WORLD VIEW

**18 [GEOGRAPHY.]** Italian manuscript treatise on world geography. Italy, c. 1760.

Manuscript on paper, in Italian, 4to (225 x 185 mm), pp. 320 (including index at end); neatly written in brown ink in two distinct hands, c. 33 lines per page, French verses at end in different 18th-century hand, a few corrections and crossings-through, table headed 'tavola de climi' to p. 18; occasional small ink stains and marks; very well preserved in contemporary calf, gilt decoration and label to spine, red edges; some wear to extremities, a few marks to covers, upper joint repaired. **£2500**

A thorough and methodical manuscript treatise on the physical, political and religious geography of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, apparently unpublished, providing an important insight into the mid-eighteenth-century western European conception of the world. The latest event referred to within the text is the 1756 battle of Minorca, putting its composition – by an anonymous Italian author – to around 1760. The absence of information on Australasia also indicates a date prior to Cook's voyages.

**The section on Africa includes references to slavery and to European possessions on the continent**, but it is generally a Eurocentric account, and the greatest part of the manuscript (up to p. 240) is devoted to Europe. The sections on the Americas open with Vespucci and Columbus and cover the trade in cocoa, tobacco and precious metals.



**19 GLADSTONE, John, and James CROPPER.** The Correspondence between John Gladstone ... and James Cropper ... on the present State of Slavery in the British West Indies and in the United States of America; and on the Importation of Sugar from the British settlements in India. With an Appendix; containing several Papers on the Subject of Slavery. Liverpool, Printed for the West India Association, 1824.

8vo, pp. [2], iv, 122, xvii, xxviii, [1, blank], x; a few spots to initial leaves, marginal pen marks to first 16 pages, but a good copy, disbound. **£450**

First edition in book form. The correspondence, initiated by the East India merchant James Cropper with an anonymous article in 1823, was first published in the *Liverpool Mercury* and the *Liverpool Courier* between 1823 and 1824. James Cropper's first letter brought up the issue of the 'impolicy of slavery', moving from a position of agreement on 'cruelty and injustice of Negro slavery' towards the more radically economic criticism that 'such is its inherent impolicy, that if it had not been supported and protected by bounties and prohibitions, it would long since have been ameliorated and finally have fallen' (p. 2), effectively invoking self-interest as an argument for the suppression of slavery. His criticism of the protective measures created for the benefits of the sugar trade was answered by John Gladstone, a Caribbean planter and West and East India merchant, who replied under the pseudonym of Mercator. Cropper goes on to argue that if restrictions on the oriental trade had been lifted, slavery would have ceased because forced labour could not have competed with free labour.

Goldsmiths' 24313; Ragatz, p. 507.

**20 HARTLEY, David.** The State of the Nation with a preliminary Defence of the Budget. London: J. Almon, 1765.

4to, pp. 39, [1, advertisement]; woodcut title ornament, letterpress tables in the text, retaining advertisement; occasional light browning and slight marginal water-staining to the outer edge across two quires; modern quarter cloth with marbled boards, title label on upper board, board edges lightly rubbed. **£500**

First edition. David Hartley (1731-1813) was a politician and supporter of the rebel Americans, and a particularly close friend of Benjamin Franklin. In parliament he was a consistent supporter of the Rockingham (later Fox) faction, the self-styled whig party. He wrote and orated a great deal on America and supported his fellow MP for Hull, William Wilberforce, in introducing proposals that he hoped would lead to the ending of slavery. 'The State of the Nation' was a reply to Thomas Whately's 'Remarks on the budget', and comprises Hartley's account of the finances of 1765, discussing in particular Grenville's budget taxing articles of American commerce.

Goldsmiths' 10112; Higgs 3492.

### A VICTORIAN 'RAILWAY BOOK' AGAINST EMANCIPATION

**21 HENNIKER, Robert.** Trifles for travellers, being a Βολβαριου ή κοχλιδιου ['shellfish or truffles' (Epictetus, *Enchiridion*)]. London, Murray, 1864. [Bound after:]

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY CALENDAR (The).** 1858. Corrected to December 31, 1857. Oxford, Henry and Parker; Slatter and Rose, 1858.

Two works, small 8vo, pp. [6], 150; and pp. [18], 13-530, with a half-title; light waterstaining to margins, more noticeable to last few leaves, but a very good copy bound for the author in red morocco, front board lettered direct, gilt, 'Rober Henniker Trin. Coll. Oxford. B.A. 1856'; rear inner hinge split, but holding; boards scratched, corners rubbed with loss, spine tool-gilt with interlocking floriated design, fairly rubbed with some loss; metal clasp intact. **£500**

First edition of a very rare book of essays by a Northumberland curate, Robert Henniker, **bound for the author**. The book is the product, according to the preface, of ten years of 'effusions', totalling thirty-four short essays, the more moderate of which had appeared previously in the *Alnwick Mercury* or other publications. **The most notable of the**

**unpublished essays is a bizarre and violently racist chapter on slavery, calling *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the 'most brilliant of modern pamphlets' and railing against Southern emancipation, which had been proclaimed the previous year.**

The work, which is peppered throughout with derogatory remarks on women and servants, was panned by reviewers. *The Spectator* was moderate: 'the only thing to be said in its defence is that a very small railway book cannot be considered a great evil'. By contrast, *The Athenaeum's* reviewer could not get beyond the 'outrageous' chapter on slavery, and concluded that 'writers of small capacity frequently offend because they do not see the force and significance of their own words'.

LibraryHub and OCLC note only a single copy of this 1864 edition, at the BL; an edition dated the following year is at Cambridge, Bodley and NLS.

**22 HODGSON, Adam.** A Letter to M. Jean-Baptiste Say, on the comparative Expense of free and slave Labour. Liverpool, printed by James Smith, published by Hatchard & Son, and J. & J. Arch in London, and sold by W. Grapel, and G. & J. Robinson in Liverpool, 1823.

8vo, pp. [4], 55, [1] blank, 17, [1] blank; disbound. **£550**

**First edition, presentation copy, inscribed 'With the Author's best respects'.**

Four years after the fourth edition of the *Traité d'économie politique*, Hodgson, an Anglican Evangelical writing on behalf of the Liverpool branch of the Society for Mitigating and Gradually Abolishing Slavery, upbraids Say for having denounced 'the slave-system as unjustifiable' while admitting 'that in a pecuniary point of view it may be the most profitable' (p. 1). Say (whose reply was published at the end of the second edition, also 1823) later agreed with Hodgson's case for the uneconomical nature of slavery.

Goldsmiths' 23958; Kress C.1077; Ragatz, p. 513; this edition not in Black or Sabin; not in Einaudi.

**'TO PURSUE THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA IN THE INTERESTS OF SLAVERY, IS TO PURSUE THE DOOM OF THE REPUBLIC'**

**23 'HURLBUT' [i.e. HURLBERT], William Henry.** Pictures of Cuba. London: M'Corquodale and Co. for Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1855.

8vo., pp. viii, 132; light marginal browning, a few light marks; modern half crushed morocco over marbled boards, spine gilt in compartments, a very good copy of this scarce work; marginal manuscript translations of a few German and Spanish words. **£150**

First British edition, revised and retitled, issued in the 'Traveller's Library' series, first published under the title *Gan-Eden: or, Pictures of Cuba* (Boston, 1854).

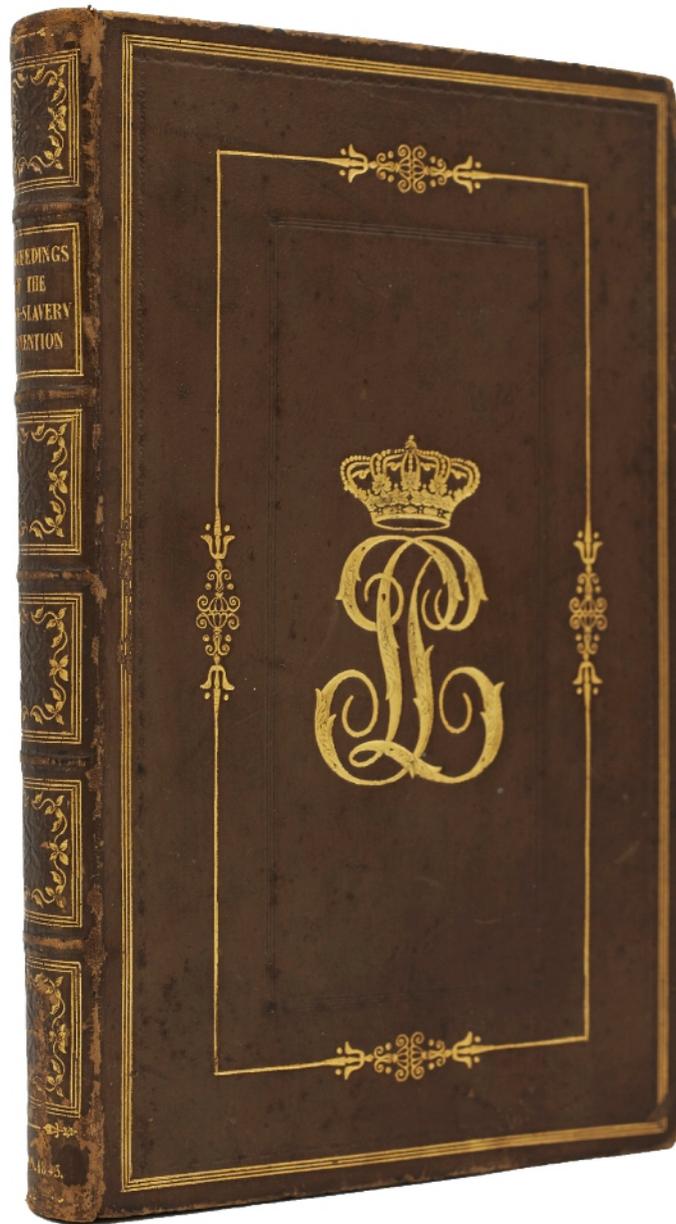
The work discusses the history, culture, topography, etc. of Cuba and also Cuban literature, the Cuban people, and chapter XIII (pp. 98-108) is dedicated to the question of slavery in Cuba, opening with the words: 'Man is at once the crown and the curse of the earth'. The final chapter considers the difficulties of annexing Cuba, which the author strongly opposes: 'To pursue the annexation of Cuba in the interests of slavery, is to pursue the doom of the Republic ... We have nothing to fear from the world. But have we nothing to fear from ourselves? Slavery is an institution so essentially false and mean in principle, so thoroughly barbaric in spirit, that no man can labour in its service without barbarizing his temper and his intellect. If it does not find men unscrupulous, it makes them so' (p. 129).

This revised edition is scarce and Library Hub only records three copies in UK libraries (National Library of Scotland, Glasgow, and Manchester).

Sabin 34004; Smith, *American Travellers Abroad*, H164.

DEDICATED TO LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF FRANCE

IN A PRESENTATION BINDING



**24 JOHNSON, John Flude.** Proceedings of the general Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and held in London, from Tuesday, June 13th, to Tuesday, June 20th, 1843 ... London: John Snow, [1843.]

8vo., pp. viii, 360; **a splendid copy in an elaborate presentation binding**; full smooth calf, boards ruled in a French fillet, decoratively panelled in gilt, with the monogram and coronet of Louis Philippe, King of France, centrally stamped on front and rear covers, spine embossed and scrolled gilt in compartments, raised bands, direct lettered gilt, all edges gilt, inner dentelles. **£5000**

**First edition, the King of France's copy**, with his oval library stamp on title-page and dedicated on front free endpaper thus:

Respectfully presented to His Majesty Louis Philippe, King of the French by the Committee of the British & Foreign anti-slavery Society, instituted for the purpose of promoting the universal ablation (sic) of slavery and the slave-trade, by moral, religious and pacific means only. John Scoble, Secretary, London, 27 New Broad Street.

The struggle to abolish slavery throughout the world was led by the British abolitionists: 'from 1833 through the 1840s abolitionists' expectations were strongly influenced by the need to present West Indian emancipation as a successful model for France, the United States, Cuba, and even British India' (Davies, p. 210).

However, other countries were beginning to question Britain's right to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries: Fogel cites France as a particular example. In the early 1840s the prime minister was François Guizot, former professor of modern history at the Sorbonne and a leader of the revolution of 1830 which ushered in the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe. Guizot and his cabinet were reluctant to act quickly on the report of a Royal

Commission which recommended the compensated emancipation of the French slaves; however, confronted with a movement for reform of the French Assembly and with the threat of renewed lower-class radicalism, the Guizot government were reluctant to risk the possible consequences of ignoring the recommendations altogether. 'When a delegation of British abolitionists arrived in Paris in 1842 to stir popular sentiment for emancipation, Guizot invited their leader to dine with him, but his minister of the interior issued a decree canceling the public meeting at which they were to speak. French abolitionists did not adopt the recommendations of their British colleagues that they launch a nationwide campaign to pressure

Guizot's ministry into immediate action ... It was not until the Revolution of 1848 swept out the monarchy and proclaimed a republic that emancipation was enacted' (Fogel, p. 234).

Goldsmiths' 33458; Hogg 3086; not in Kress; see Davies, *Slavery and Human progress* (1984) and Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract* (1989).

**25 [KEIR, James].** An Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Day, Esq. London, John Stockdale, 1791.

8vo, pp. iii, [1 (blank)], 144; a few light spots; a very good copy in modern tan buckram, spine lettered directly in gilt. **£750**

First edition of the first biography of Thomas Day. An author, political radical, and ardent student of Rousseau's ideas on education, Day's life was eccentric and often contradictory. A supporter of the American Revolution and opponent of slavery, he had published in 1780 three speeches in favour of peace and parliamentary reform; later writings were largely instructive fiction, much of it intended to teach children Christian and early socialist principles. His most famous work, written with John Laurens Bicknel, was *The Dying Negro* (1773).

The account is written by James Keir, Day's friend and a fellow member of the Lunar Society of Birmingham, and dedicated to his widow, Esther *née* Milnes. A later account, 'vicious and inaccurate' (*ODNB*), was published by Anna Seward in 1804 and has done much to damage his reputation.

Respectfully presented  
to His Majesty  
Louis Philippe  
King of the French  
by the  
Committee of the British Foreign  
Anti-slavery Society, instituted  
for the purpose of promoting the  
Universal Abolition of Slavery and  
the Slave Trade

**26 [MACAULAY, Zachary].** Negro Slavery; or, a View of some of the more prominent Features of that State of Society, as it exists in the United States of America and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica. London, Richard Taylor, 1823.

8vo, pp. [4], 92; some foxing to first and final few leaves; very good in contemporary half calf over marbled boards, rebacked and recornered. **£400**

First edition. Before becoming an abolitionist and philanthropist, Macaulay (1768-1838) had worked in Jamaica as a bookkeeper on a sugar plantation, seeing first-hand the violence of the slave trade. It was only upon his return to England in 1796 and his subsequent acquaintance with his brother-in-law, the evangelical Thomas Babington, that Macaulay joined the abolitionist cause. He was elected governor of the Sierra Leone colony, intended to home emancipated slaves, in 1794.

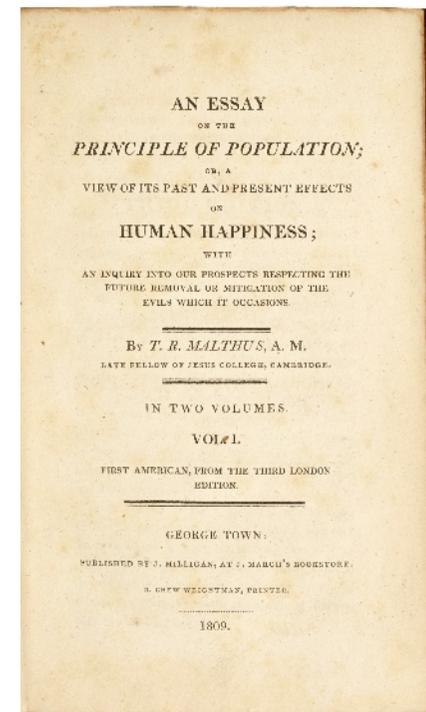
*Negro Slavery* is one of Macaulay's most important works. Combining, as it does, extracts from contemporary accounts that highlight the evils of slavery, this pamphlet showcases Macaulay's strengths in compiling evidence. Indeed, 'when information was required Wilberforce would say, "Look it out in Macaulay"' (ODNB).

Goldsmiths' 23964; Kress C.1106.

### MALTHUS IN AMERICA - AN APOLOGIST FOR SLAVERY?

**27 MALTHUS, Thomas Robert.** An Essay on the Principle of Population; or, a View on its past and present Effects on human Happiness; with an inquiry into our prospects respecting the future removal or mitigation of the evils which it occasions ... In two volumes. Georgetown, Milligan, 1809.

2 vols, 8vo, pp. xvi, 510, xxxiv (index); vii, [1 blank], 542; half-titles; extremities toned, some foxing throughout, still a very good and attractive set in contemporary marbled calf, rubbed, spines gilt with green-black morocco labels; ownership inscriptions of Charles M. Leary dated 1815 to front pastedowns. **£1000**



**First American edition, rare.** Malthus might not have overshadowed America in the same fashion as Montesquieu, but his *Essay* had a new life in America in two contexts, being viewed with some interest by settlers moving West, and in the antebellum South. The idea of superiority over the savage, which Malthus did not necessarily condone but which he propagated in his writings, was applicable in each case. In his own lifetime Malthus had trouble with the problem of slavery, and after slavers were found to be using his *Essay* to defend their activities, he asked Wilberforce to publicly inform the House of Commons of his opposition to slavery. Here we see the potential pitfalls of Malthusian pessimism: if a portion of the population is destined for poverty and misery, why not for slavery? And yet, antislavery discourse focussed on the idea that the rapidly expanding slave population would crowd out the white population. Malthus's American afterlife was, therefore, as 'fittingly complex' as his *Essay* had proved in Europe in his lifetime (see Bashford and Chaplin, *The new worlds of Thomas Malthus*, 2016, pp. 247-254).

Not in Einaudi, not in Sraffa.

## AGAINST SERFDOM IN DENMARK

**28 [MARTINI, Ferdinand].** Breife. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Soröe 1768, gedruckt bey Jonas Lindgreen, Ritterlich Akademischer Buchdrucker.

8vo., pp. 128, with woodcut vignettes on the title and the first text-leaf; slightly browned, scattered foxing, but a very good copy in recent half vellum. **£750**

First edition of a rare, radical indictment of serfdom in Denmark, ostensibly 'translated from the English'.

Chatty letters from Jacob Barhoppe and David Richartson (*sic*) are a fictional frame for a debate on land ownership and tenant-farming, through the various approaches of the local landowners – Lords Harpar, Buldrian, Worthbury etc. Among numerous 'enclosures' sent between the parties is a long address 'To the King' (pp. 56-108) by Jost Simple, a strong indictment of the 'slavery' of tenant-farming. By the end the correspondents fall victim to spies and censorship, and the final two letters comprise only ellipses.

Martini (1734-1794) was a surgeon who had served with the Danish army in Holstein. At the time of this publication, which was reissued the following year as *Briefe über den schlechten Zustand des Landsmannes*, he was in the service of the agricultural reformer Severin Løvenskiold, though the pamphlet proved too radical for even this liberal landlord, and he was quickly dismissed.

It was a period of major transformations in Denmark. The mentally unstable Christian VII had come to the throne in 1766; 1768 was to be a fateful year, that of his first meeting with Johann Struensee, the German doctor who steered Denmark through an extraordinary sequence of Enlightenment reforms between 1770 and his downfall and execution in 1772. The abolition of serfdom, though, was not one of them, and was not achieved until 1788, shortly followed by the abolition of the slave trade in 1792 (enacted 1803).

**OCLC and KvK show three copies: Göttingen, Halle, and Royal Library Copenhagen.**

## John Newton

Now best known as the author of 'Amazing Grace', John Newton (1725-1807) was pressed into the Royal Navy in 1743 and spent several years in Africa as a slave to Princess Peye of the Sherbro. In the early 1750s he returned to the continent as the captain of three slaving voyages. On the last of these his encounter at St Kitts with an evangelical captain, Alexander Clunie, began a slow process of spiritual conversion, which led through Methodism, to his ordination, and also, slowly, to his embracing of the cause of abolition. In the 1780s he became associated with Wilberforce, published his *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (1788) and appeared as a witness before the House of Commons. The present catalogue includes nine of Newton's publications, including *Thoughts*, but also covering his evangelical career; and most extraordinarily, one of three mourning rings produced for his executors.

**29 NEWTON, John.** Sermons preached in the Parish-Church of Olney, in Buckinghamshire ... London: Printed for the Author: and sold by J. Johnson and B. Davenport [and six others] ... 1767.

8vo, pp. xxxii, 350, [2, errata and ads]; a good copy in recent marbled boards.

**£500**

First edition, uncommon, of Newton's first publication after moving to Olney, a collection of twenty sermons preached in the church there, or rather, 'no more than a brief summary of what you heard more at large from the pulpit'. It was in 1767 that William Cowper moved to Olney to be closer to Newton, and they commenced their collaboration on what would become the Olney Hymns.

**30 NEWTON, John.** A Review of Ecclesiastical History, so far as it concerns the Progress, Declensions and Revivals of evangelical Doctrine and Practice .... London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly ... 1770.

8vo., pp. xx, 356, [4]; some pale offset to title-page from turn-ins, else a very good copy in contemporary mottled calf, neatly rebacked preserving the old spine, traces of bookplates removed from pastedowns. **£250**

First edition. 'The history of all ages and countries uniformly confirms the scriptural doctrine, that man is a depraved and fallen creature'; even the countries of the Reformation soon 'needed a second reformation'; and to be a true Christian is to face persecution.

**31 [NEWTON, John].** Twenty Six Letters on religious Subjects. To which are added, Hymns, &c. By Omicron. London: Printed by J. and W. Oliver ... 1774.

12mo., pp. iv, 224; title-page dusty, final leaf thumbed and soiled; modern half calf; early nineteenth-century ownership inscriptions to title and following leaf.

**£500**

First edition, much reprinted (eight further editions by the end of the century). 'Although Newton published sermons and even a *Review of Ecclesiastical History* (1770) ... his favourite medium was the familiar letter' (*Oxford DNB*). *Twenty Six Letters*, his first such collection of correspondence, brought together pieces 'which had earlier been published in the *Gospel Magazine* under the pen name Omicron. His three letters on growth in grace (originally written to John Thornton [for whom see also item 33] in 1772) have frequently been printed from the Omicron series as a classical statement of evangelical spirituality' (*ibid.*).

At the end are fourteen hymns – some of the pieces that would come to be included in the celebrated *Olney Hymns* (1779).

**32 [NEWTON, John].** An Authentic Narrative of some remarkable and interesting Particulars in the Life of \*\*\*\*\*. Communicated in a Series of Letters, to the reverend Mr. Haweis ... and by him (at the Request of Friends) now made public ... The fifth Edition. London: Printed for J. Johnson ... 1782.

12mo., pp. [8], 160, with an engraved frontispiece by Joseph Collyer, an initial advertisement leaf, and a folding engraved map of the Coast of Guinea; a very good copy in contemporary speckled sheep, neatly rebacked.

**£250**

Fifth edition. Newton's *Authentic Narrative* (1764), which **'weaves together the themes of religious conversion and romantic love with his seafaring career ...** immediately established his place as one of the leading evangelicals in the revival. It went through ten British and eight American editions before the end of the century and was quickly translated into several other languages' (*Oxford DNB*). On the last of his three slaving voyages, Newton had met Capt. Clunie at St Kitts. Despite his profession, Clunie was a deeply religious man, and he is credited with providing a Calvinistic element in Newton's spiritual development. The draft of this autobiography of conversion helped secure Newton's ordination, which then led to his appointment as curate-in-charge at Olney.

Of this edition ESTC lists five copies only: BL, Cambridge; McMaster, Texas; and Sydney.

## JANE THORNTON'S COPIES

**33 NEWTON, John.** A Plan of academical Preparation for the Ministry, in a Letter to a Friend. Second Edition ... [London,] Printed in the Year 1784. [Bound with:]

**NEWTON, John.** Political Debate on Christian Principles; or the Substance of a Correspondence between the Reverend John Newton ... and the Reverend David Williamson ... Edinburgh, Printed for John Ogle, Edinburgh; and J. Johnson ... London. 1793. [and with:]

**SHIRRA, Robert.** Church and civil Government considered: or, submission to regular Government, enforced by the Authority of Scripture .... The second Edition. Edinburgh: 1794. [and with:]

**DAVIDSON, Thomas.** The Excellency of the Knowledge of Jesus Christ; a Sermon, preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, at their Anniversary Meeting, in the High Church of Edinburgh, Thursday 2d June, 1796 ... Edinburgh: printed by John Paterson; sold at the Society's Library, and by W. Creech, J. Dickson, and J. Ogle, Booksellers. 1796. [and with:]

**[EWING, Greville].** Mrs. Ewing died on the 23d of August 1795 ... [Glasgow, 1795.]

Five works, 8vo., *Newton I*: pp. [2], 53, [1], **inscribed on the title-page 'From the Author'** but with the recipient's name cropped; *Newton II*: pp. 36; *Shirra*: pp. 28, with an errata slip pasted to title-verso; *Davidson*: pp. [4], 59, [1], with a half-title, **inscribed at the head 'To Lady Balgonie, with Lord Levens affectionate Compliments'**; *Mrs. Ewing*: pp. 4; some occasional foxing, else fine copies in attractive contemporary quarter calf and marbled boards, vellum tips, red morocco label, printed shelf-label 'F6'. **£1600**

A fine and attractive tract volume including the first edition of John Newton's *Political Debate on Christian Principles* (1793) and a presentation copy of the second edition of his *Plan of Academical Preparation for the Ministry* (1784). The recipient was Lady Balgonie (*i.e.* Jane Leslie, née Thornton), daughter of Newton's patron John Thornton, a merchant and philanthropist who had offered Newton the living of St Mary Woolnoth in 1780.

Newton's *Plan*, first printed in 1782, comprises a letter signed under his pseudonym 'Omicron' proposing an ideal of religious education: 'A Minister is a Soldier of Jesus Christ'. Both editions are scarce, with eight of the first and four of this second in ESTC. *Political Debate* prints correspondence and comments between Newton and David Williamson on the subject of Williamson's recent book on civil and religious liberty – Newton remains rather more apolitical than his correspondent.

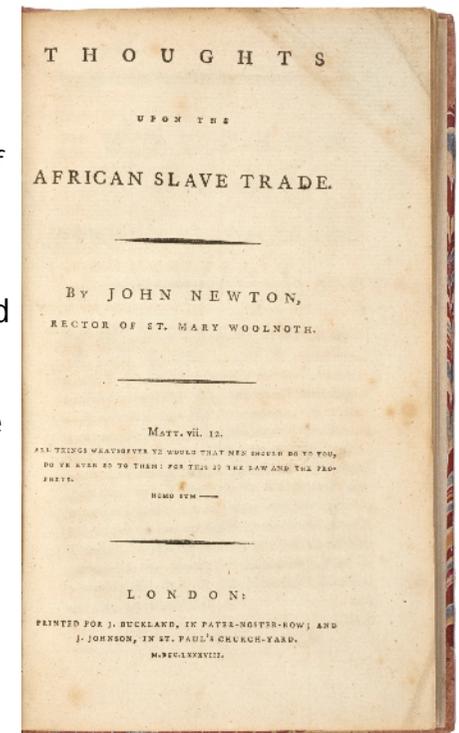
Accompanying these works are three rare theological works on similar topics. The expanded second edition of Shirra's *Church and civil Government considered* adds an appendix of examples; ESTC records 3 copies of the first edition and six of this second. This copy of Thomas Davidson's sermon to the SPCK was given by the chairman of the board, David Leslie, 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Leven, to his daughter-in-law, Jane Thornton, Lady Balgonie. The final item is a two-leaf tribute by Greville Ewing to his unfortunate wife Anne Innes, who had died at only 20. Ewing was to become a founder member (and the first secretary) of the Edinburgh Missionary Society in the following year, and helped found the *Missionary Magazine* in the same year. **Very rare – BL only in ESTC.**

**34 NEWTON, John.** Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade ... London: Printed for J. Buckland ... and J. Johnson ... 1788.

8vo., pp. [4], 41, [1, ads], [2, blank], with a half-title; half-title dusty, a few spots and stains but a very good copy in modern half calf. **£750**

**First edition of Newton's primary abolitionist work.** Newton and Wilberforce had become associated in the 1780s, and in the year of this publication Newton was called by Pitt before the Privy Council to give evidence as a former slaver (see item 1).

**'I hope it will always be a subject of humiliating reflection to me, that I was, once, an active instrument, in a business at which my heart now shudders.'** Admitting that at the time of his involvement he had not 'the least scruple as to its lawfulness', he firstly attacks the trade for the degradation it induces in the sailors of slaving ships; and secondly reveals the distressing mechanics of slavery – the terrible conditions of confinement; the inevitable insurrections and their punishment; the murder of infants; the wholesale drowning of slaves 'to fix the loss upon the Underwriters, which otherwise, had they died on board, must have fallen upon the Owners of the vessel'; the enormities inflicted upon the female slaves, etc.



Very rare in commerce. There was a second and an Edinburgh edition within the year.

Sabin 55076.

## NEWTON'S SLAVING VOYAGES

**35 NEWTON, John.** Letters to a Wife, by the Author of Cardiphonia ... London: Printed for J. Johnson ... 1793.

Two vols in one, 12mo., pp. [4], xxiv, 305, [3]; [4], 262; with a fly-title in each volume and a terminal advertisement leaf in volume II; some scattered foxing, offset from turn-ins to extremities of each volume (when previously bound separately), else a very good copy in mid nineteenth-century half calf, spine gilt, rubbed; bookplate of T. V. Scudamore. **£600**

First edition. Published after the death of his wife from cancer in 1790, Newton's *Letters* traced the history of their relationship, as well as his steady spiritual conversion. **The first volume is devoted to the period of his three slaving voyages to Africa in 1750-54;** the second covers 1755-85 in Liverpool, Olney and London. At the end are four hymns written by Newton for his wife.

These letters proved particularly popular in America where they were several times re-printed.

**36 NEWTON, John, editor.** The Christian Character exemplified, from the Papers of Mrs. Margaret Magdalen A-s, late Wife of Mr. Frederick Charles A-s ... Selected and revised by John Newton ... From the second London Edition. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Kimber, Conrad, & Co ... 1806.

12mo., pp. 160, with a half-title; somewhat toned, a few stains, but a good copy in contemporary sheep, rubbed, spine dry, joints cracked.

**£150**

**First American edition, very rare,** an account of Margaret Magdalen Athens (née Jasper, 1752-1789) edited by Newton from her diary and papers. Her story – of long resistance to the gospel, spiritual conversion, then stoicism in adversity – evidently resonated with Newton, who was sent her papers by her husband after her death from consumption.

We can trace only one copy of the first edition (1791, British Library) and three copies of the second (1793). **OCLC records one copy of the present edition only, at the Library of Congress.** It was afterward much reprinted in America.

## NEWTON'S MOURNING RING

**37 [NEWTON.] GLOVER, Samuel, *goldsmith*.** Mourning ring for John Newton. London, 1807.

18ct gold and black enamel mourning ring (weight 4.8g), maker's mark of Samuel Glover, London hallmarks for 1807; around the exterior face in gold on black the lettering 'Rev<sup>d</sup> John Newton ob 21 Dec 1807 Æ[tatis] 82 Ys 4 Ms'; in excellent condition, in a display case.

**£16,000\***

**An extraordinary survival, one of three mourning rings produced for Newton's executors**, as specified in a codicil of his will (proved 4 February 1808). The whereabouts of the other two rings is unknown and it possible that this is the only one to have survived.

After a long period of ill health and the failure of his sight, John Newton died peacefully at home on 21 December 1807, and was buried beside his wife, who had died in 1790, at St Mary Woolnoth ten days later. Newton had named William Cardale, James Neale, and John Scott 'and them only to be joint executors of my will, requesting each of them to accept the Sum of five guineas for a Ring'; unfortunately we have been unable to determine which of these was the original owner of the present ring.

Of the three executors Cardale (1777-1826) is probably the best known; a solicitor, of Bedford Row, he was a founder member of the Church Missionary Society and legal counsel to the Moravians. When Newton called on Cardale in London in 1780 he found among the company the Moravian leader Benjamin La Trobe, John Thornton's sister, Mrs Wilberforce and William Wilberforce's aunt. James and Elizabeth Neale were also old friends; Neale worked on the administrative end of the pottery company Neale & Co., and Newton held a weekly lecture in his London house. John Scott was possibly the son of Thomas Scott, Newton's friend and successor at Olney, and the first secretary of the Church Missionary Society, though his address is given in the will 'at Messrs Down, Thornton and Co., Bankers', *i.e.* the firm of the philanthropist and abolitionist Henry Thornton, close friend of Wilberforce and son of Newton's patron John Thornton.

Samuel Glover (d. 1822?) was a prominent London goldsmith, made free by patrimony in 1795, operating at this date from 4 Noble St, and later from Bull & Mouth St; his father, also Samuel Glover (d. 1800), had started the business in 1775. Glover seems to have specialised in this field, and is listed in *Johnstone's London Commercial Directory* as a 'Mourning ring maker'. Similar gold and enamel mourning rings produced by Glover for Spencer Perceval (assassinated 1812) survive in a number of examples – see Bonham's 15 April 2015 lot 130 – but we have been unable to trace records (or mention outside of the will) of the ring for Newton.



REV. JOHN NEWTON

## A PAWN IN THE BIAFRA SLAVE-TRADE

**38 [PASSPORT.]** A signed and sealed document testifying that in March 1776 'A Sugua Oroock Robin John son of Oroock Robin John a Free Blackman late of Old Calabar voluntarily entered himself on board the ship Dalrimple', signed by the ship's commander Patrick Fairweather and witnessed and sealed by William Crosbie, Mayor of Liverpool. June, 1777.

1¼ pages folio, in a notarial hand; tears along the folds (no loss), one entirely split, else good.

£500\*

An extraordinary witness to the mechanics of the slave trade from Old Calabar in the Bight of Biafra. The Robin Johns were one of the ruling Efik families of Old Calabar and major players in the African end of the slave-trade. Europeanised, they often sent their children to England for education, but also used them as collateral in slave trades. Relations were not always harmonious, and in 1767 the Robin Johns had suffered a 'massacre' at the hands of aggrieved British slavers, with the support of local rivals in Duke Town. Two minor princes, Little Ephraim and Ancona Robin John, were taken as slaves to Dominica, then resold into slavery in Virginia, finally ending up in Bristol in 1773, where they managed to contrive their release after writing directly to Lord Mansfield (judge in the Somerset case – see item 44). Until their return to Old Calabar in 1774, they spent much time in the circle of the Wesleys and were baptised by Charles.

Assogua Orrock Robin John was a junior member of the same family, and there seems to have been a bit of a contretemps in 1776 over his status, with allegations of kidnapping. The present affidavit records that he boarded the *Dalrymple* 'voluntarily' under the experienced slaving captain Patrick Fairweather in March 1776, arriving in Liverpool in August, 'and that he has continued since that time in Liverpool aforesaid, exercising and enjoying his Freedom in as ample and beneficial manner in all Intents and purposes whatsoever as any Free Subject of this Realm'; now, in June 1777, he wishes to return to Old Calabar. Another surviving deposition, from 22 August 1776, signed by several members of the Robin John family including Orrock Robin John, states that 'the boy named Assogua' was put on board a ship as collateral by the Robin Johns and then carried off by Ambrose Lace of Liverpool in redemption of debts owed. Lace and Fairweather seem to have worked together on some occasions.

See Randy J. Sparks, 'Two Princes of Calabar: an Atlantic Odyssey from Slavery to Freedom' *William & Mary Quarterly* 59:3, 2002.

## A VALUATION OF SLAVES IN JAMAICA

**39 [PERRIN, William Phelp.] JAQUES, John.** Autograph letter, signed, enclosing 'A Valuation of Negroes belonging to James McVicar Affleck, Esq. taken this 10<sup>th</sup> day of July 1796'. Jamaica, 16 July 1796.

2 pages 4to. on a bifolium, the enclosure 3 pages 4to. on a bifolium (two columns, ruled in red); in very good condition. **£2500\***

William Phelp Perrin, a school friend of Joseph Banks who never visited Jamaica, had inherited 5 estates and 600 slaves from his father. From the 1760s to 90s he increased the number of slaves on his estates from 600 to 850, but profits dropped considerably, in part through poor management and loss of soil fertility.

Affleck was a Scottish surgeon resident in Jamaica who operated what was called a 'jobbing-gang' of slaves, hired out to planters in need of extra hands; his 141 slaves were valued here, with a view to sale, at £13,255. The valuation was conducted by two independent parties, one on behalf of the vendor and the other on behalf of the potential purchaser. In his accompanying letter Jaques, who was Perrin's agent, goes on to report on the sugar crops at Grange Hill (shipping was delayed by heavy seas) and Blue Mountain (which saw a 'considerable falling off' as a result of the failure of the water mill). Apparently the sale of the slaves fell through as Perrin thought the price too high, and several years later Affleck was still hiring out his slaves, with a considerable toll on their health.

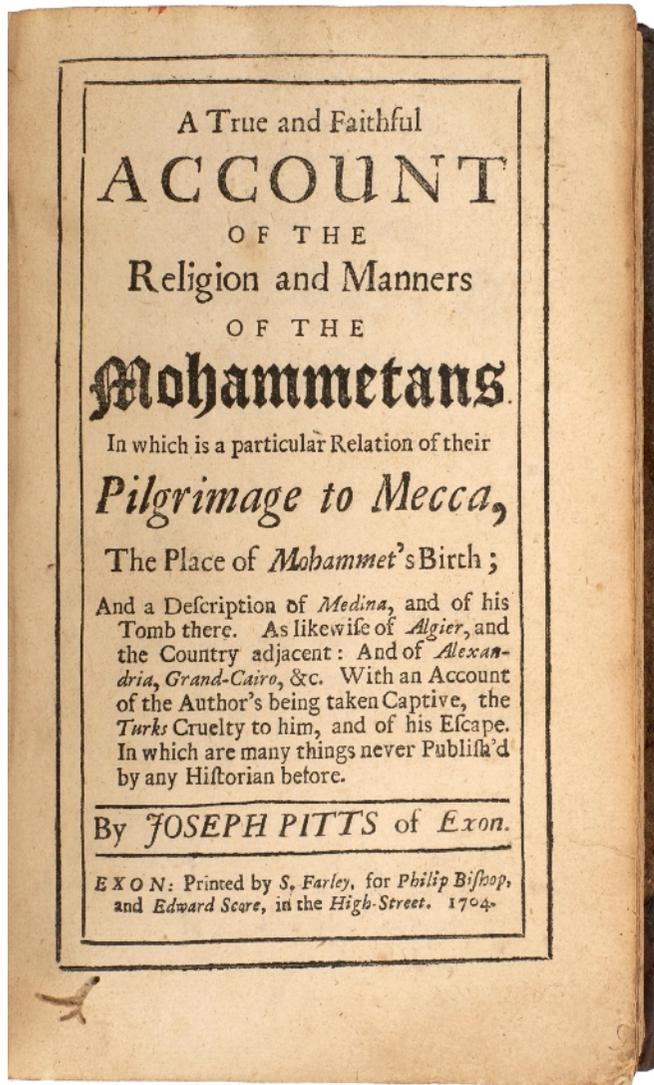
The valuation lists 141 slaves by first name (Pitt, Homer, Polydore, Christmass, Minerva), of whom 45 were women and 40 children. The men are valued between £60 and £180, the women up to £100, and the children as low as £5, presumably infants.

See Nicholas Radburn and Justin Roberts, 'Gold versus Life: Jobbing Gangs and British Caribbean Slavery', *William & Mary Quarterly* 76:2 (2019).

*Valuation of Negroes belonging to James M<sup>r</sup> Viccar Affleck Esq; taken this 10<sup>th</sup> day of July 1796 by William Innes & Robert Whitfinch Esq; at the request of the said James M<sup>r</sup> Viccar Affleck and William Sutherland Esquires*

N <sup>o</sup>	Names	Valuation	N <sup>o</sup>	Names	Valuation
	Hink	180		Tom	130
	Quaco	155		And	130
	Isaac	120		B. Patrick	125
	Cosar	180		Polydore	130
	Bute	140		Charles	125
	Cuffie	140		Will	120
	Chance	140	30	Achie	125
	Hamilton	140		Hony	130
	Augustina	125		William	130
10	Prince	125		Bristol	125
	Quashie	125		Simon	125
	Cudjoe	125		Adam	125
	Keith	125		Gregory	125
	Hannibal	125		Harry	120
	Boatswain	130		Billy	120
	Hugh	125		Numa	95
	Samson	125	40	Howe	125
	S. Patrick	130		Sandy	95
	B. James	125		George	125
20	C. James	60		Samuel	125
	George	90		Richard	125
	Pitt	130		Julius	120
	Homer	130		Vigell	125
		£ 2990			£ 2820

## A WHITE SLAVE - THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN TO ENTER MECCA



**40 PITTS, Joseph.** A True and faithful Account of the religion and Manners of the Mohammedans. In which is a particular Relation to their pilgrimage to Mecca, the place of Mohammed's birth; and a description of Medina, and of his Tomb there. As likewise of Algier, and the Country adjacent. And of Alexandria, Grand-Cairo, etc. With an Account of the Author's being taken captive, the Turks cruelty to him, and of his Escape. In which are many Things never publish'd by any Historian before. Exeter, S. Farley for Philip Bishop and Edward Score, 1704.

8vo, pp. [16], 183 (i.e. 184); small worm tracks to lower margins of first quire and quires L-N, another to pp. 97-106, touching a few letters, slight wear to upper outer corners of a few leaves, otherwise a very good clean copy in near 18th-century calf, neatly rebacked and recorned, spine laid down, covers rubbed. **£8500**

Scarce first edition. Pitts (c. 1663-1739) was just fifteen when he was captured off the Spanish coast by Algerian pirates and taken into slavery. Forcibly converted to Islam, he accompanied his third owner on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1684, passing through Alexandria, Cairo, Suez and Jiddah. He spent four months at Mecca before proceeding to Medina, and following the pilgrimage was granted his freedom. After serving for a while with the Turkish army, Pitts undertook an arduous journey home to his native Exeter, where his *True and faithful account* was published ten years after his return.

'Pitts was the first Englishman to record his own experiences of the pilgrimage to Mecca, a place strictly prohibited to infidels. His book also gave a detailed account of Muslim rituals, and the family life, customs, and cookery of the Turkish Algerians among whom he resided ... Sir Richard Burton's *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (1855-6) referred to it in detail and printed extracts' (ODNB).

## AN EARLY OPPONENT OF SLAVERY

**41 POPE, Alexander.** Windsor-Forest. To the Right Honourable George Lord Lansdown ... London: Printed for Bernard Lintott ... 1713.

Folio, pp. [2], 18; slight spotting but a very good copy, disbound.

£2750

First edition of Pope's second separately published poem, preceded by *An Essay on Criticism* in 1711. Written in the tradition that young poets begin with pastoral verse, *Windsor-Forest*, with its epigraph from Virgil's *Eclogues*, was the poem that first won Swift's regard and laid foundations for the 'most celebrated literary friendship of the earlier eighteenth century' (*Oxford DNB*).

Pope rescued the earlier, descriptive, section of the poem from his own juvenilia. The conclusion, with its vision of the peace that was hoped for following the Treaty of Utrecht, gives it a political dimension. **'Pope was aware that the treaty of Utrecht ... was supposed to give Britain increased access to the slave trade. Yet his concluding vision explicitly includes abolition of slavery (ll. 407–12). Among scores of poems on the peace, *Windsor-Forest* appears to be the only one to mention actual (not metaphorical) slavery and oppose it'** (*Oxford DNB*).

Foxon P987; Griffith 9; Rothschild 1567.

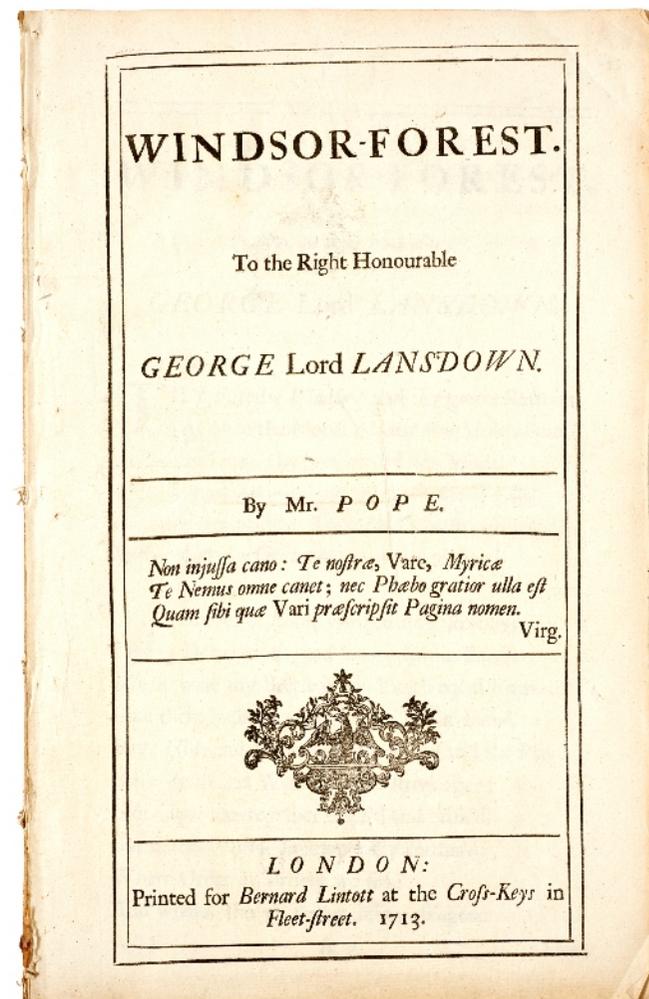
## SLAVES AND SUGAR IN GUYANA

**42 [SANDBACH, TINNE & CO.]** Autograph letter from 'WH[?]', an agent of McInroy Sandbach in Demerara, to Messrs Sandbach Tinne & Co in Liverpool. 22 July and 31 July, 1818.

4 pages, 4to. on a bifolium; short tear along fold in first leaf, second leaf torn through along fold (no loss).

£600\*

James McInroy came to Demerara (newly seized from the Dutch, though it would change hands several more times) in 1782, and planted or acquired a sugar plantation soon after his arrival. By 1790 he had been joined by Samuel Sandbach, Charles Stewart Parker and George Robertson and the company McInroy Sandbach and Co. was founded, with a head office in Glasgow. In 1804 a branch was formed in Liverpool which later became the company's headquarters. In 1813, Philip



Tinne was taken into the partnership and the company became known as Sandbach Tinne and Co. in Liverpool, and McInroy Sandbach and Co. in Demerara. They were importers and exporters, shipping and estate agents, mainly concerned with the trade in sugar, coffee, molasses and rum, but were also involved in slavery.

In this letter are reports on several matters: the forthcoming voyage of the *Oscar* carrying sugar, cotton and wine; the attempted disposal of the cargo of the *Diana* 'at vendue'; a consignment of beer and porter soon to be sold. Also mentioned but not included is a 'Note of the Bills drawn by Mr J[acobus]. H[enrik]. Boode on the House on Glasgow in payment of the 68 Negroes he has purchased'. The *Oscar's* cargo included 8 hogsheads of sugar from Boode's plantation, Uitvlucht.

### AN ABOLITIONIST'S COPY

**43 SENIOR, Nassau William.** Statement of the Provision for the poor, and of the condition of the labouring classes, in a considerable portion of America and Europe ... London, B. Fellowes, 1835.

8vo, pp. vii, 238; a good copy in contemporary calf, spine gilt.

**£850**

**First edition, a presentation copy, inscribed at the head of the title 'The Earl of Radnor from the author'.**

'Viscount Palmerston, by a circular dated the 12th of August, 1833, requested each of His Majesty's Foreign Ministers to procure and transmit, with the least possible delay, a full report of the legal provisions existing in the country in which he was resident, for the support and maintenance of the poor ... and of the practical working and effect of the actual system, upon the comfort, character, and condition of the inhabitants. The answers to these well-framed inquiries form a considerable portion of the contents of the following volume. They constitute, probably, the fullest collection that has ever been made of laws for the relief of the poor' (Introduction).

The whig politician William Pleydell-Bouverie, third earl of Radnor (1779–1869), to whom this copy was presented, 'supported parliamentary reform, the new poor law, the abolition of slavery, and repeal of the corn laws ... [His] advocacy of universal manhood suffrage, the secret ballot, annual parliaments, and disestablishment of the Church of England made him genuinely radical ...' (*Oxford DNB*).

Goldsmiths' 29196; Kress C.4036.

## THE SOMERSET CASE – PRESENTATION COPY

**44 SHARP, Granville.** An Appendix to the Representation, (printed in the Year 1769,) of the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery, or of admitting the least Claim of private Property in the Persons of Men in England. London: Printed for Benjamin White ... and Robert Horsefield ... 1772.

8vo., pp. 28; some foxing, mainly in the margins; ink library stamps to the title and first page, a few contemporary ink ms. corrections to the text, **with the author's presentation inscription to the reformer John Jebb (1736-1786)**, cropped, to the title, later ownership inscription in coloured pencil to the title verso; disbound. **£1000**

First edition. Sharp (1735-1813) was a prolific writer in favour of the abolition of slavery. In 1769, he had written a detailed study on the status of slavery under English law, in which he argued that while slavery was permissible in the colonies, neither the common law nor Parliamentary law recognised the existence of slavery in England. In 1772 Sharp was able to put his arguments to the test when he intervened on behalf of James Somerset, a slave owned by a Boston customs officer, who had escaped from his master while both were in England in 1771. Somerset had been recaptured and put on a boat for Jamaica when Sharp applied on his behalf to the Court of the King's Bench. The Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Mansfield, ordered a hearing to be held early in 1772. 'The legal argument ... focused on whether slavery was legal in England and whether an English court could uphold colonial laws if they conflicted with English ones. Mansfield's carefully worded judgment, however, concentrated on the legality of forcible deportation ... His judgment, delivered in July 1772, conceded an important but limited advancement of slave rights [and] established that slaves were servants, rather than chattels. It freed Somerset from imprisonment but left his status as a slave unresolved. However, it was widely believed that Mansfield had freed Somerset from slavery and this interpretation of the judgment has passed into Anglo-American legal mythology. Somerset himself believed that Mansfield had declared slavery to be illegal' (DNB).

Although the exact legal precedent set by Mansfield's judgement was to be debated over the years, **the 1772 case was a huge propaganda victory for the abolitionist cause and it came to be widely believed that when in England, no man was a slave.** In this *Appendix*, Sharp elaborates on the impact Lord Mansfield's judgement had on the legal status of slavery in England and replies to arguments brought up by slaveholders against Mansfield's judgement.

Hogg 1765; Ragatz, p. 550; not in Kress or Goldsmiths'.

## SUBMISSIVENESS ≠ SERVITUDE

**45 SHARP, Granville.** The Law of passive Obedience, or Christian Submission to personal Injuries: wherein is shewn, that the several texts of Scripture, which command the entire Submission of Servants or Slaves to their masters, cannot authorize the latter to exact an involuntary Servitude, nor, in the least Degree, justify the Claims of modern Slaveholders. [London, n.p., 1776?].

8vo, pp. 102, [2, errata]; bound without the 4 p. advertisements called for in ESTC; very good in recent marbled boards, paper label to spine. **£400**

First edition. This, like the next item, is one of four pamphlets written by Sharp in 1776 condemning slavery. Like his correspondents the American abolitionists Anthony Benezet and Benjamin Rush, Sharp 'combined denunciations of American slavery with alarm over the increase of religious infidelity and the "open declarations of Deists, Arians, Socinians, and others, who deny the Divinity of Christ, and the Holy Ghost"' (Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, p. 137).

Goldsmiths' 11501; Kress 7257; Sabin 79825.

## 'ALAS! THE WHOLE BRITISH EMPIRE IS INVOLVED!'

**46 SHARP, Granville.** The Law of Liberty, or, royal Law, by which all Mankind will certainly be judged! Earnestly recommended to the serious Consideration of all Slaveholders and Slavedealers. London, for B. White and E. and C. Dilly, 1776.

8vo, pp. 55, [1 blank], without the four pages of advertisements at the end; some light foxing; very good in contemporary boards; some loss to spine and wear to extremities, boards somewhat marked and stained; inscription to half-title 'Novr 24th 1783 Daniel Simons book'; preserved in cloth slipcase with gilt lettering-piece. **£500**

First edition, scarce on the market, of this anti-slavery tract. 'The African slave trade, which includes the most contemptuous violations of brotherly love and charity that men can be guilty of, is openly encouraged and promoted by the British parliament! And the most detestable and oppressive slavery ... is notoriously tolerated in the British colonies ... The horrible guilt therefore, which is incurred by slave-dealing and slave-holding, is no longer confined to the few hardened individuals, that are immediately concerned in those baneful practices, but alas! the whole British empire is involved!' (pp. 48-49).

**47 SHARP, Granville.** Autograph letter, signed, to the solicitor Thomas Adams of Alnwick, Northumberland. Dated at the head London, 22 Sept. 1787.

1½ pages 4to. on a bifolium, with an integral address panel; in very good condition. **£750\***

Sharp thanks Adams for a transcription of 'the account of the Spanish Regulations for the gradual enfranchisement of Slaves, for tho' that acco: was drawn up by myself many years ago ... yet I am not the less obliged to you. The Information I received many years ago from a Merchant who had formerly been at the Havanna, and there lost his leg by the bite of a Shark in the Harbour ...', namely Brook Watson (1735-1807).

Meanwhile 'All the Seamen in the River were pressed last night without mercy', in preparation for war with France – another form of slavery that Sharp agitated against. Granville Sharp may have known Adams through his elder brother John Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, and they were both members of the St George's Bay Company (f. 1790, later the Sierra Leone Company), the corporation responsible for the foundation of the colony there for the resettlement of Black Loyalists from the Americas.

**48 [SHARP.] HOARE, Prince.** Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq. Composed from his own manuscripts, and other authentic documents in the possession of his family and of the African Institution. With observations on Mr. Sharp's Biblical Criticisms, by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's. London, Colburn, 1820.

Large 4to, pp. xxxii, 524, xxxiii (appendix), [1 blank]; engraved frontispiece portrait; with a subscribers' list; foxing to frontispiece and half-title, lightly scattered throughout, dusty mark to half-title, but a good copy, uncut in original drab boards, rubbed and bumped, spine and paper label somewhat grubby. **£150**

First edition of these memoirs of the abolitionist Granville Sharp (1735-1813), collected by Prince Hoare (1755-1834), playwright. The subscribers include William Wilberforce and Charles Macarthy, the Governor of Sierra Leone.

## SALE OF A RUNAWAY SLAVE

**49 [SLAVERY.]** 'Sale of a Negroe Man named Hope the Property of Oliver Birch Esq late of Antigua dec[cease]d', 1783-6.

1 page 4to; slightly foxed, worn at left edge.

**£250\***

A record of charges and receipts by English & Eskrigge to the estate of Oliver Birch, an Irish merchant operating from Antigua. From the sale price of £50 in 1783 is subtracted 'Cash paid for advertising Hope when run away' (£3.0.0). Interest accrued from 1783 to 1786 took the total to £52.10.0

## ENGLISH QUAKER AND ABOLITIONIST

**50 STACEY, George, et al.** Daguerreotype and ambrotype portraits of Stacey and members of his family. London, 1850s.

A collection of 12 cased daguerreotypes (ninth to half plate), 7 framed/cased ambrotypes (ninth to quarter plate), and 1 cased hand-painted salt print photograph; some colour tinting; occasional tarnishing or spotting, some cases chipped, a few with hinges split; very good overall.

**£7500\***

**A handsome set of photographs of the English Quaker and abolitionist George Stacey (1787-1857), his second wife Mary née Barclay (1797-1876) and members of their extended family, taken by some of the finest portraitists in England at that time.**

A partner in the London firm of chemists, Corbyn, Beaumont, Stacey & Messer, Stacey became a leading member of the Anti-Slavery Society following its foundation in 1823, and in the 1830s and 1840s served twelve times as clerk of the important yearly meeting of Quakers in London. He played a significant role in the 1840 Anti-Slavery Society Convention and appears in the front row next to Thomas Clarkson in Benjamin Haydon's famous painting of the occasion. Stacey married his cousin Deborah Lloyd (1796-1841), of the



famous banking family, in 1818, and they had several children. Following her death, he married Mary Barclay in 1846.

Stacey and his family clearly embraced the daguerreotype portrait and sought out portraitists of good repute. Daguerreotypists whose work is found here include **Timothy Edmund Le Beau** (5 pieces), the second person to be granted a license to use the daguerreotype process in England, whose work is now remarkably scarce; **Antoine François Jean Claudet** (3 pieces), who took lessons from Daguerre himself and was later appointed Photographer in Ordinary to Queen Victoria; **William Edward Kilburn**; **Richard Beard** and **John Jabez Edwin Mayall**.

A full list of the photographs is available on request.



**51 SUMNER, Charles.** White Slavery in the Barbary States. Boston, John P. Jewett & Co., 1853.

8vo, pp. [4 (blank, title)], 5-135, [1] blank, with engraved illustrations to text; browned with some marks throughout, but a good copy in the original publisher's brown embossed cloth boards, upper board direct-lettered in gilt, extremities chipped and slightly faded. **£60**

Second edition (first 1847) of a lecture on the history of the practice and abolition of white slavery in Algiers, delivered in 1847 by the American legislator and abolitionist Charles Sumner.

Sabin 93689.

### PRESENTATION COPY – A 'GREEK' PLAY LEGITIMIZING ABOLITION

**52 [TALFOURD, Thomas Noon].** *Ion*; a Tragedy, in five Acts. To which are added a few Sonnets. Second Edition. London: Printed by A. J. Valpy ... for private Circulation. Not published. [1835].

8vo., pp. xxi, [3], 216; a very good copy in contemporary calf, joints rubbed; autograph presentation inscription (slightly shaved) to Charles Shaw Lefevre, a fellow M.P., with Lefevre's later bookplate as Viscount Eversley. **£250**

Second private edition of Talfourd's blank verse tragedy, adding a small group of eight sonnets not in the first edition (also privately printed, 1835), and with a new preface: 'Having exhausted the small impression which was originally printed of *Ion*, and finding that there are yet friends in whose hands I wish to place it ... I send it again to the press. I have availed myself of this opportunity ... to introduce considerable alterations.'

Talfourd 'circulated the play privately to influential individuals, including Wordsworth, Robert Southey, and Gladstone, which ensured that the theatre was packed with the most distinguished audience contemporary reviewers could remember, including Dickens, Robert Browning, Walter Savage Landor, Pitt,

Melbourne, Lord Chief Justice Denman, Lord Grey, and Lady Blessington' (*Oxford DNB*).

This was not a good period for the serious English stage, and *Ion*, which was performed continuously for over a year, helped with its regeneration. It 'was also politically significant .... Talfourd used Greek models [Euripides, Sophocles] to legitimize contemporary political developments, especially the Reform Act (1832), the abolition of slavery (1833), and the democratizing acts following the municipal corporations commission (1835) ...'. The conclusion (*Ion* reforms the judiciary, disbands the army, and commits suicide) 'was particularly politically charged, since the ancient Greek democracies were in 1836 still ... associated with the dangerous radicalism of Thomas Paine and William Cobbett... (*Ibid*).

### THE PUBLISHER'S COPY - 'MANY REFERENCES TO AMERICAN SLAVERY'

**53 THOMPSON, George.** Lectures on British India, delivered in the Friends' meeting-house, Manchester, England, in October, 1839. *Pawtucket, Rhode Island, William and Robert Adams, 1840.*

12mo, pp. 206; some occasional spotting, else a good copy in the original publisher's roan-backed marbled paper boards; spine ruled and direct-lettered gilt, joints and spine ends rubbed, endpapers foxed; **contemporary autograph of the publisher Robert Adams to the fly-leaf.** **£450**

First edition of this collection of six lectures, examining the working and living conditions of the natives of the British Indian empire, the connection between the improvement of the Eastern Empire and the presence of Empire, and the prosperity and future development of Great Britain.

'The archetype of the mid-Victorian professional reformer', due to his concerns over conditions in the British Indian empire (in 1833 he had guided the Slavery Abolition Act through Parliament) Thompson took

part in a number of highly publicized debates with Peter Borthwick, who at that time was the agent of the West Indies. 'From being an agent of the Aborigines' Protection Society in 1838-9, he developed an interest in land reform in India, which eventually led him into taking an agency for the new British India Society, and successively the editorship of the *British India Advocate* and a seat on the Court of East India Proprietors. His visit to India in 1843 was widely publicized in Britain, especially among abolitionists, who were quick to see the close connexion between plans to produce cheap free cotton in India and the downfall of American slavery' (Rice, p. 19)

A Quaker, Thompson had first gained popular attention in America in 1834 when he made a visit to the US during which he spoke out vehemently against slavery, cutting his visit unexpectedly short when he was obliged to make his escape from fomenting Boston on the New Jersey packet. 'He was the only one of British abolitionist visitors to the United States in this period who was specifically delegated and financed as the agent of the British anti-slavery societies' (Rice). While opinion came down very firmly in support or opposition to his cause, his proclamations were of significant interest to the Americans, hence this publication.

American imprints 40-6534; Sabin 95498: 'Relate to the anti-slavery movement for British India, and contain many references to American slavery.'

**54 WALLON, Henri Alexandre.** De l'esclavage dans les colonies pour servir d'introduction a l'Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquite. Paris, Dezobry, e. Magdeleine et c.ie, 1847.

8vo, pp. [4], clxxvi; marginal burn spot to two initial leaves not touching text, faint damp-stain to last few leaves; a very good copy, in the original published printer's wrappers, upper corners chipped, preserved in glassine. **£350**

First edition. A general introduction to Wallon's fundamental *History of Slavery*, published separately and included in the *History* from the second edition onwards.

**55 [WARE, Nathaniel].** Notes on political Economy as applicable to the United States. By a Southern Planter. New York, Leavitt, Trow, and Co., 1844.

8vo, pp. viii, 304; some light browning, a few ink spots, but a very good copy in contemporary quarter cloth, green paper boards; paper library label to spine; spine chipped at the extremities, original lettering-piece partly worn off; ownership inscription D.R. Burke on the front free end-paper. **£900**

**First edition, rare on the market, of an early American tract on political economy.** Conceived within the predominantly Northern emerging tradition of an American nationalist school of political economy, favouring a neo-mercantilistic style and thus distinct from the old ways of Europe, the book was written by a Southern planter. Ware looks at national productive capacity, free trade, protection for the fostering of investment, and of course slavery – confronted not from a moral perspective but with a preoccupation for its economic efficiency. His discussion extends to capital, currency and the need for a well-regulated banking system throughout America.

Sabin 55963.

## BLASPHEMY BY THE SON OF A JAMAICAN SLAVE

**56 [WEDDERBURN, Robert.]** The Trial of the Rev. Robt Wedderburn (a dissenting minister of the Unitarian persuasion) for Blasphemy, before Sir Charles Abbott ... Lord Chief-Justice, and a special jury, in the court of King's Bench, Westminster ... containing a verbatim report of the defence. Edited by Erasmus Perkins. London, for the editor, sold by Mrs Carlile, T. Davison, and J. Griffin, 1820.

8vo, pp. 23, [1, advertisement]; a little foxing to last leaf, a few marks; very good in recent marbled paper over boards, spine label.

**£650**

First edition. The radical Robert Wedderburn (1762-1835/6?) was born in Kingston, Jamaica, the son of a Scottish planter and his African-born slave Rosanna who was later sold back to her previous owner. Robert was born free, but the harshness of his upbringing led him to sign on with the Royal Navy at the age of 16, and, now in London, he lived among runaway slaves, dabbled in petty crime and ran a bawdy house, before he reformed and converted to Methodism.

In 1819 Wedderburn opened a chapel in Soho, which became a centre for insurrectionary activity. His arrest for blasphemy came after comments made regarding the trial of fellow-radical Richard Carlile, and he was sentenced in May 1820 to two years' imprisonment, which he served with Carlile at Dorchester.

McCoy, *Freedom of the press*, W107.

**57 [WEDDERBURN, Robert].** The Address of the Rev. R. Wedderburn to the court of King's Bench at Westminster, an appearing to receive judgment for blasphemy, when he was sentenced to two years imprisonment in Dorchester jail, on Tuesday the 9<sup>th</sup> of May, in Easter term 1820. Edited by Erasmus Perkins. London, T. Davison, [1820].

8vo, pp. 15, [1] advertisements; clean and fresh throughout; in recent marbled boards, paper label on spine.

**£450**

Uncommon printing of the speech given by the anti-slavery campaigner and radical Robert Wedderburn after his sentencing to two years' imprisonment for blasphemy. He uses the opportunity to give a passionate defence of free speech and freedom of religion, citing writers as diverse as Machiavelli and the Venerable Bede, claiming that 'I shall esteem it an honor to die immured in a dungeon for advocating the cause of truth, of religious liberty, and the universal right of conscience'.

OCLC records six copies in the US, plus Bristol, BL, NLS, and the National Library of Australia.

## THE ICON OF THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT

58 [WEDGWOOD, Josiah]. Jasperware anti-slavery medallion. c. 1787.

Ceramic paste cameo medallion (oval c. 2.5 x 3 cm), modelled by William Hackwood to a design by Henry Webber, black on white, with a chained, kneeling slave in relief, round the upper edge the words 'Am I not a man and a brother'; contemporary or early round wooden gilt frame. **£5000\***

The famous Wedgwood abolition medallion, one of the first examples of a fashion item produced for a political cause, instrumental in 'turning the attention of our countrymen to the case of the injured Africans, and of procuring a warm interest in their favour' (Clarkson, *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, 1807).

Wedgwood was a founder member of the Committee [later Society] for the Abolition of the Slave trade, established in 1787 by Thomas Clarkson on the back of the publication of his *Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (1786). Committed to the cause, Wedgwood distributed pamphlets and bore the costs for producing this famous medallion, based on the Committee's seal. In 1788 he sent a packet of his medallions to Benjamin Franklin, then president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, saying 'It gives me great pleasure to be embarked on this occasion in the same great and good cause with you, and I ardently hope for the final completion of our wishes.' Franklin replied, 'I am persuaded [the medallion] may have an Effect equal to that of the best written Pamphlet in procuring favour to those oppressed people.'

**With its meek, kneeling slave, which flattered the supporters of abolition as the saviours of such 'noble savages', Wedgwood's medallion became *the* emblem of the British movement:** 'a beautiful cameo, of a less size, of which the ground was a most delicate white, but the Negro, who was seen imploring compassion in the middle of it, was in his own native colour. Mr. Wedgwood made a liberal donation of these, when finished, among his friends. I received from him no less than five hundred of them myself. They, to whom they were sent, did not lay them up in their cabinets, but gave them away likewise ... Some had them inlaid in gold on the lid of their snuffboxes. Of the ladies several wore them in bracelets, and others had them fitted up in an ornamental manner as pins for the hair. At length, the taste for wearing them became general; and thus fashion, which usually confines itself to worthless things, was seen for once in the honourable office of promoting the cause of justice, humanity, and freedom' (Clarkson, *op. cit*).



See Guyatt, M., 'The Wedgwood Slave Medallion', *Journal of Design History*, 13:2 (2000); Margolin, S., 'And Freedom to the Slave': Antislavery ceramics, 1787-1865, *Ceramics in America*, ed. Robert Hunter (2002); Myers, S., 'Wedgwood's Slave Medallion and its Anti-Slavery Legacy'. Some examples are on a pale straw-coloured field rather than white.

## A TURNING POINT IN WILBERFORCE'S CAREER

**59 WILBERFORCE, William, and Henry DUNCOMBE.** Letter signed 'H. Duncombe' and 'W. Wilberforce' to Mrs Rodes of 'Long Houghton'. *York*, 2 April 1784.

4to bifolium, p. 1, with integral address leaf stamped 'York' and bearing remains of red seal; neat repairs to address leaf, light creases from folding, very well preserved. **£750\***

A letter signed by William Wilberforce (1759-1833) and Henry Duncombe (1728-1818), as the Pittite candidates for Yorkshire, soliciting support from a female elector in the forthcoming 1784 general election, **a momentous event in the great philanthropist and abolitionist's political career.** Wilberforce and Duncombe promise, if elected, to work 'to maintain the genuine Principles of our excellent Constitution & to support the Interests of this great & commercial County', the largest constituency in Britain.

Wilberforce began his political career in 1780 as the youthful MP for Hull, becoming a key supporter of his Cambridge contemporary William Pitt the younger. When parliament was dissolved in March 1784, 'Wilberforce rapidly emerged as a compromise Pittite candidate for Yorkshire at the ensuing general election. On 6 April [four days after this letter] the Foxites conceded defeat, and he returned to the Commons as a representative of England's largest county – a remarkable achievement for a man without major landed interests who was not yet twenty-five. At the time this success seemed fully to open his way to the

fulfilment of conventional ambition; in the event it was to provide him with the independent political weight required for a career that took a very different course' (*ODNB*).

The recipient of this letter was Mary Rodes (1714-1789) of Great Houghton, Yorkshire. Mary had inherited the family estate upon the death of her unmarried brother, William, in 1740, and as a property owner would theoretically have been able to vote in the 1784 election (it was not until the 1832 Reform Act that the right to vote was specifically restricted to 'male persons').

**60 WILBERFORCE, William.** Autograph letter, signed, to Lord K[enyon]. Palace yard, 9 January, 1792.

2 pages 8vo. on bifolium; wax seal on verso (stain to head of first leaf). **£400\***

Finding that Lord Kenyon (Lloyd Kenyon, first Baron Kenyon, the Lord Chief Justice) has gone to the country and might require 'a stronger magnet' to draw him from retirement, 'I take up my Pen in order to add the requisite force, by acquainting your Lordship that' he will be meeting Pitt, Grenville and others on Thursday. Three months later Wilberforce and Pitt would bring a bill enforcing abolition before the House, only to be defeated.

Barham Court Sunday July 15<sup>th</sup> 1810

My dear Perceval

The subject of your letter received today, for which I return you many thanks, justifies my answering it immediately. And to your question, what extent of Relief had contemplated, I reply, that the sum which after consulting with Mr. Kueper appeared to me it would be right to endeavour to raise by private Contributions, supposing no public money could be obtained was abt. £15,000 - If the national purse were to furnish the aid, I should hesitate between £20,000 & £25,000 - But the conclusion is confessedly vague, because the premises are so scanty & uncertain. One proposition however is but too clear, that if poor people have been despoiled of all they had.

**61 WILBERFORCE, William.** Autograph letter, signed, to the prime minister Spencer Perceval. Barham Court, Sunday July 15<sup>th</sup> 1810.

2½ pages, 4to, on a bifolium pasted onto an album leaf; docketed on the blank verso in two different hands (neither Wilberforce's). **£1250\***

Wilberforce replies to the prime minister's letter received the same day, answering Perceval's enquiry about potential levels of humanitarian aid for an unstated cause – probably the relief of poor in Germany affected by the recent conflicts. It 'is but too clear, that the poor people have been despoil'd of all they had'. He would intend to raise £15,000 worth of relief (through private subscription) to give a total of £20,000-25,000 if public money were also available (equivalent to about £700,000-850,000 today). Wilberforce suggests that Perceval send for Kueper, the Princess of Wales' German master, and Charles Steinkopff, of the Lutheran Church in London, 'one of the best Creatures living', to benefit from their experience of the distribution of relief to Swabia, Hanover and other conflict zones.

**62 [WILBERFORCE.] PITT, William, the younger.** Copy, in Wilberforce's hand, of a letter from Pitt to Wilberforce of 8 August 1792, with an additional note by Wilberforce at the head, dated 8 April 1817.

2 pages 4to. on a bifolium; some slight foxing else good. **£350\***

April 1792 had seen the defeat of Wilberforce and Pitt's second attempt to pass a bill enforcing abolition, a measure not supported by the King. He was nevertheless invited by the King 'in the most gracious terms' to accept the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, and thereafter until 1802 spent part of the summer at Walmer Castle. He wrote to inform Wilberforce of the circumstances, and Wilberforce seems to have transcribed a file copy, to which he added a note some years later, 'happening to find this letter on looking for some missing paper' – namely that the King had asked Dundas to persuade Pitt to accept the post, the latter being indifferent 'to his own pecuniary interest'.

**63 WILBERFORCE, William.** An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies ... A new edition. London, Ellerton and Henderson for J. Hatchard and Son, 1823.

8vo, pp. 56; a very little light spotting, light stain to inner margins pp. [2]-[3]; very good in recent quarter cloth over marbled boards, paper spine label. **£300**

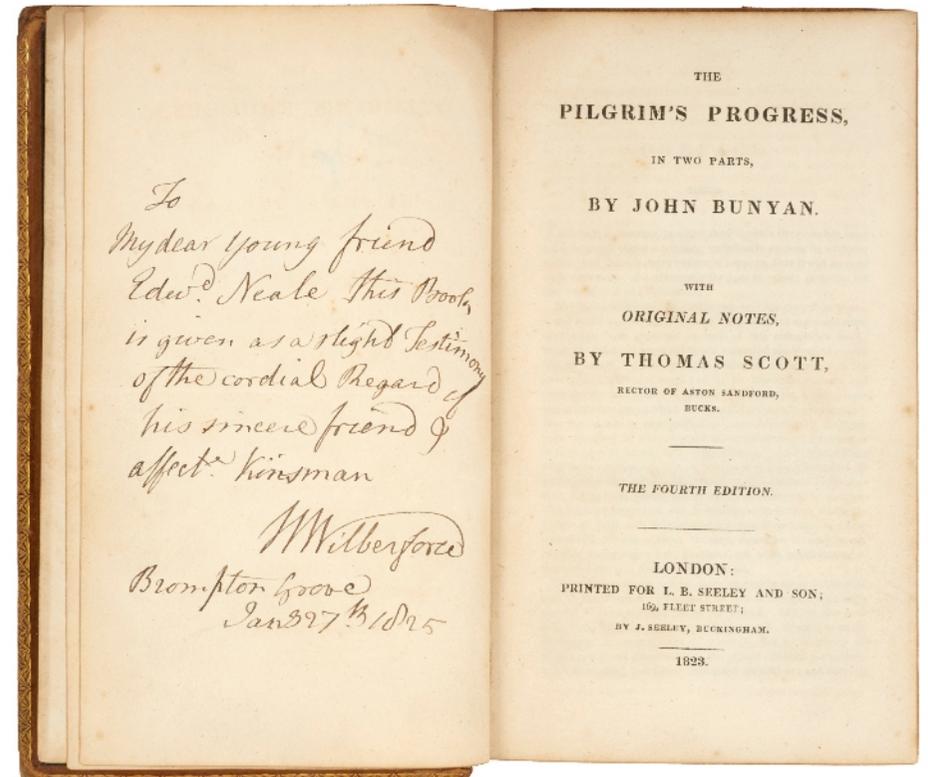
New edition, printed the same year as the first, and in the year that the Anti-Slavery Society was formed. Here Wilberforce 'dwelt on the moral and spiritual degradation of the slaves and presented their emancipation as a matter of national duty to God. It proved to be a powerful inspiration for the anti-slavery agitation in the country. It also stirred William Cobbett into a virulent published attack on Wilberforce for his alleged failure to acknowledge the extent of the deprivation and oppression suffered by the "free British labourers" whose lot he had contrasted favourably with that of the slaves' (*ODNB*).

**64 [WILBERFORCE.] BUNYAN, John.** The Pilgrim's Progress, in two Parts ... with original Notes, by Thomas Scott ... the fourth Edition. London: Printed for L. B. Seeley and Son ... by J. Seeley, Buckingham. 1823.

8vo., pp. xx, 407, [1], with an initial blank; a good copy in contemporary calf, rubbed, covers detached; folding cloth box. **£1350**

Inscribed on the initial blank: **'To my dear young friend Edward Neale this Book is given as a slight Testimony of the cordial Regard of his sincere friend & affect<sup>e</sup> kinsman / W Wilberforce / Brompton Grove / Jan<sup>y</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> 1825'.**

Edward Vansittart Neale (1810-1892), then not yet fifteen, 'was educated at home under the influence of William Wilberforce, a relative' (*Oxford DNB*). He was later a tireless social reformer, a Christian socialist and a father of the Co-operative movement. His father, also Edward Neale, was Wilberforce's brother-in-law, after they married the sisters Anne and Barbara Spooner. Bunyan would have been influential early reading-matter for Neale in his move towards Christian Socialism – see for example T. H. Hudson, *Christian Socialism, explained and enforced* (1839): 'Read the Pilgrim's Progress, and John Bunyan will help you out ...'.



**65 WILBERFORCE, William.** Partly autograph letter signed ('W. Wilberforce') to Adam Hodgson ('My dear Sir'). Rothley Temple near Leicester, 2 May 1827.

2 pages, 4to. on a bifolium, with integral address leaf (addressed to 'Adam Hodgson Esq. Liverpool'); Wilberforce's red wax seal bearing an eagle displayed to address leaf, 13 lines neatly written by Wilberforce's amanuensis, followed by 8 lines in Wilberforce's own hand; small loss to address leaf, light creases from folding, remains of pink paper mount; very good.

*[Offered with:]*

**HODGSON, Adam.** Autograph letter signed ('A. Hodgson') to Sarah Lawrence 'Dear Mrs Lawrence'. Everton, 30 May 1838.

4to bifolium, pp. 4, neatly written; small areas of loss to blank inner margins, traces of pink paper mount to last page; very good.

*Together. £975\**

Wilberforce writes to the Liverpool merchant and abolitionist Adam Hodgson (1788-1862) expressing his wish to be able to help Hodgson but his concern that his troubled eyesight will prevent him: 'the complaint in my eyes which almost entirely prevents my reading, keeps me ignorant of all periodical literature, especially of all ephemeral publications'. He ends, writing in his own hand, 'I take ye pen into my own hand to assure you once more that We shall be happy to see you (en famille) at Highwood Hill'. 'Wilberforce suffered two bouts of serious illness in 1824, and early in 1825 he bowed to the inevitable and resigned his parliamentary seat. He purchased Highwood Hill, a house with a small estate at Mill Hill in Middlesex, in a rural situation but accessible to London, and moved there in 1826' (*ODNB*).

In his letter of 1838, Hodgson presents Wilberforce's letter as a gift to Mrs Sarah Lawrence, writing: 'Perhaps too you will do me the favor to regard it, as the Pipe of Peace, presented by a decided Abolitionist to kind & liberal friends – on this question arrayed in some degree, & for a little period on opposite sides ... I am sure you will have been deeply gratified by the life of this excellent man – a life of such deep, & varied, & absorbing interest. It affords an exemplification (unequalled I do believe in the annals of departed excellence) of a Christian walking unhurt in the furnace of worldly absorptions & seductions'.

**66 WILBERFORCE, William.** Autograph letter, signed with initials, to an unidentified recipient ('My dear F[rien]d'). Highwood Hill, 5 January 1827.

1½ pages 4to; slightly browned at the edges, creased where folded.

**£300\***

Wilberforce is hoping to raise £300 for a Mr Tinker who is in the 'lowest State of Misery & degradation, with a family of a Wife and 8 Children'.

### INSCRIBED TO A 'BROTHER JOHNIAN'

**67 WILBERFORCE, William.** A Practical View of the prevailing religious System of professed Christians ... the seventeenth edition. London: Printed for T. Cadell ... 1829.

8vo., pp. xvi, 391, [1]; a good copy in contemporary tan panelled calf, covers tooled in blind with concentric panels, spine gilt; spine very dry and worn, front cover detached.

**£1250**

A presentation copy, inscribed on the front endpaper: '**To my Old College Friend Robert Holford Esqr this Book is presented as a slight pledge of the Cordial Regard of his Brother Johnian WWilberforce / Brighston 1<sup>st</sup> Oct 1830 Isle of Wight**'.

Robert Holford (1758-1838), was admitted fellow-commoner at St John's 1775. 'At College he made the acquaintance of his lifelong friend Sir Henry Oxenden, with whom he travelled in Europe. Tierney and Wilberforce [who matriculated in 1776] were also his intimate friends' (*Alum. Cantab.*). He was widely read, but pursued no career other than that of a country gentleman and philanthropist; he was a member of the Royal Society and the Royal and London Institutions, and succeeded to the Westonbirt estates in Gloucestershire in 1804. He 'resided latterly chiefly at Niton, Isle of Wight', where he had an 'extensive and valuable library, and splendid collection of prints and paintings'.

After some disastrous financial missteps Wilberforce was forced to let out his house Highwood in 1830 and split his time between the vicarages of his two sons. Samuel was then incumbent at Brighstone on the Isle of Wight, just up the coast from Niton, and Wilberforce obviously took the opportunity to reconnect with his fellow Johnian.

**68 WILBERFORCE, William.** Family Prayers ... edited by his Son, Robert Isaac Wilberforce ... First American, from the second London Edition. To which are added Prayers by the Rev. John Swete, D. D. New-York: Swords, Stanford, and Co ... 1834.

12mo., pp. 72; some toning, pale dampstain two first two gatherings; withal good, in the original publisher's buckram, front cover lettered gilt. **£150**

**First American edition, rare,** published in the same year as the London editions. Wilberforce had died in July 1833; his son Robert Isaac (1802-1827) was prominent within the Oxford Movement, a friend of Newman and Keble, and later converted to Catholicism.

3 copies only in Library Hub and OCLC: Columbia, Lancaster Theological Seminary.

**WILBERFORCE'S COMMUNION PRIMER:  
A MEMENTO GIVEN TO WILLIAM HAYLEY**

**69 [WILBERFORCE.] NEW WEEK'S PREPARATION (The)** for a worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper .... And a Companion at the Altar ... also Instructions how to live well after receiving the Holy Sacrament. To which are added a morning and evening Prayer for the Closet or Family. London, Printed for W. Bent, [1804.] *[Bound with:]*

**NEW WEEK'S PREPARATION (The)** ... Part the Second ... London, Printed for W. Bent *[and eight others]*. 1803. M. Brown, Printer.

Two parts 8vo., pp. [4], 142, with a frontispiece; and pp. 144; very good copies in contemporary calf, rubbed; with the armorial bookplate of William Wilberforce, and a manuscript note on the front endpaper **'Mr Wilberforce's devotional given me by the Rev Samuel Wilberforce, Brightstone, Isle of Wight, 1834 / W<sup>m</sup> Hayley Esq.'**; also with a letter, in a secretary's hand but signed by Wilberforce, to Hayley, dated **Sheffield 29 October 1806** (see below): 1 page, 4to., in good condition, in the original letter cover ('William Hayley Esq, Felpham, Near Chichester'), with postmark and Wilberforce's wax seal (an eagle, as on his armorial). **£2000**

Wilberforce's devotional primer, given after his death by his son Samuel to the writer William Hayley, best known as the biographer of William Cowper and as a friend and patron of Blake. The text can be traced back to 1737 and was often reprinted.



Hayley's *Life of Cowper* (1803) had paid tribute to Wilberforce as 'The Liberator of Africa', and both he and Cowper, who was himself a notable figure in the campaign for Abolition, addressed poems on the subject to Wilberforce. In the letter of 1806 from Wilberforce to Hayley laid in here Wilberforce apologises for not writing in his own hand owing to 'the hurry and bustle of an Election' (following Pitt's death), and assures Hayley 'that I will with great pleasure accept the office of Treasurership to Mrs Rose's Son'. Mrs. Rose was the widow of the lawyer Samuel Rose, a close friend and correspondent of Cowper, who had died in December 1804 after an illness contracted during his defence of William Blake against charges of high treason. His sons were George Edward and Cowper Rose (to whom Cowper was godfather), though to which son Wilberforce acted as treasurer we have not been able to determine.

Samuel Wilberforce, William's third son, who presented Hayley with this volume in 1834, was advanced to the rectory of St. Mary's, Brightstone, on the Isle of Wight in 1830; he was later Lord Bishop of Oxford.

