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Catalogue 1455

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ENGLISH BOOKS *and* MANUSCRIPTS

being a CATALOGUE in which:

Secrets and Lessons are imparted, Pirates accused, all Ills cured,
Kings and Courtiers advised, a Priest thanked, Bigamy revenged,
and Eros worshipped.

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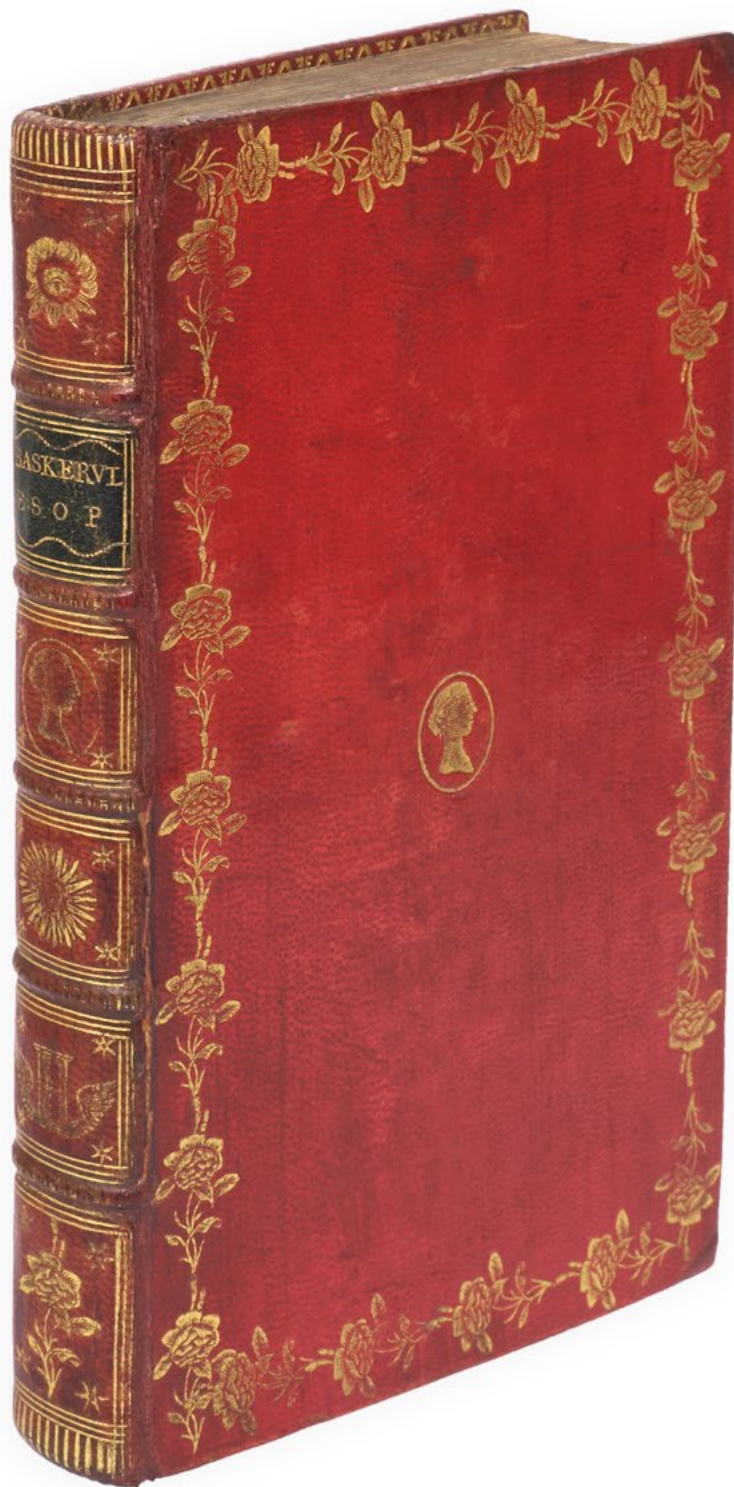
With also - *Tours, Embassies, and Incursions, in which some*
invade France and others languish there in Gaol, a Quaker goes to
Montreal, and a Mohawk chief comes to London.

To which is now for the first time added,
a Series of poetical Self-Portraits; a Hippo, a Hawk, a Hermit, a Hero,
Hope, and Herod; as also Rebels, and Riddles.



Bernard Quaritch Ltd

2023



Hanway Binding, with an autograph manuscript 'Explanation'

- I. AESOP. [DODSLEY, Robert.] Select Fables of Esop and other Fabulists. In three Books ... Birmingham, Printed by John Baskerville, for R. and J. Dodsley ... 1764.

8vo, pp. [2], lxxvii, [1], 186, [26], with an engraved frontispiece, an engraved vignette on the title-page and head- and tail-pieces by Grignon after Wale; rather foxed throughout as nearly always; in a fine contemporary binding for Jonas Hanway of red morocco, covers gilt with a border of roses, the head of Britannia in profile on the front cover, a lyre on the rear, spine gilt in compartments, each with a different emblematic tool (ever-open eye, Britannia head, sunburst, winged hourglass, rose), front joint and upper edge of rear board neatly restored; on the front endpapers is a presentation inscription by Hanway and a two-page manuscript 'Explanation of the Binding'; quarter morocco box.

£3250

An extremely attractive emblematic binding by Hanway's second binder, inscribed by Hanway 'For Master James Ord from his most affectionate Servant & friend / J Hanway / 10 June 1765', and with a two-page 'Explanation of the Binding' in prose and verse:

O Fair Britannia think how swift thy hours fly (a) Tho' thy beauty should dazzle as the Sun and all thy ways be strewd with Roses ... [etc.]

Whilst thy time is on the wing

Tune thy Harp with joy & sing ... [etc.]

(a) Alluding to all our fellow Subjects of both sexes who are careless & inconsiderate with respect to their duty to God & men.

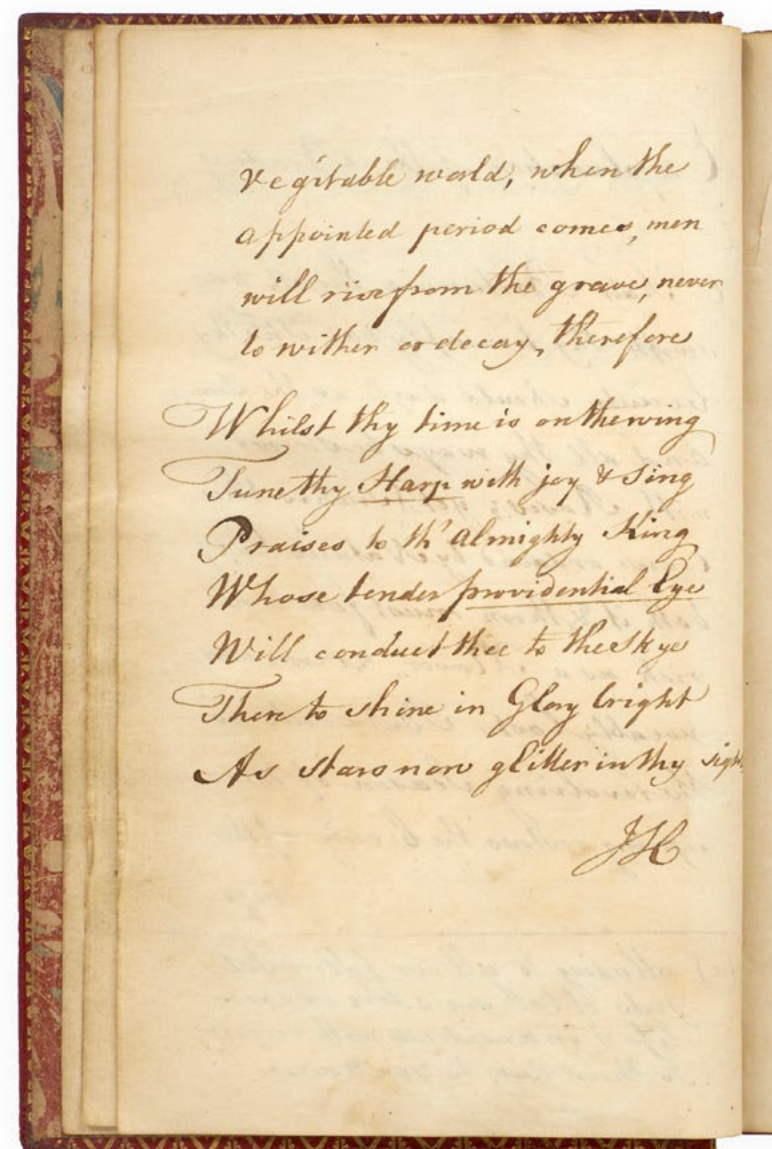
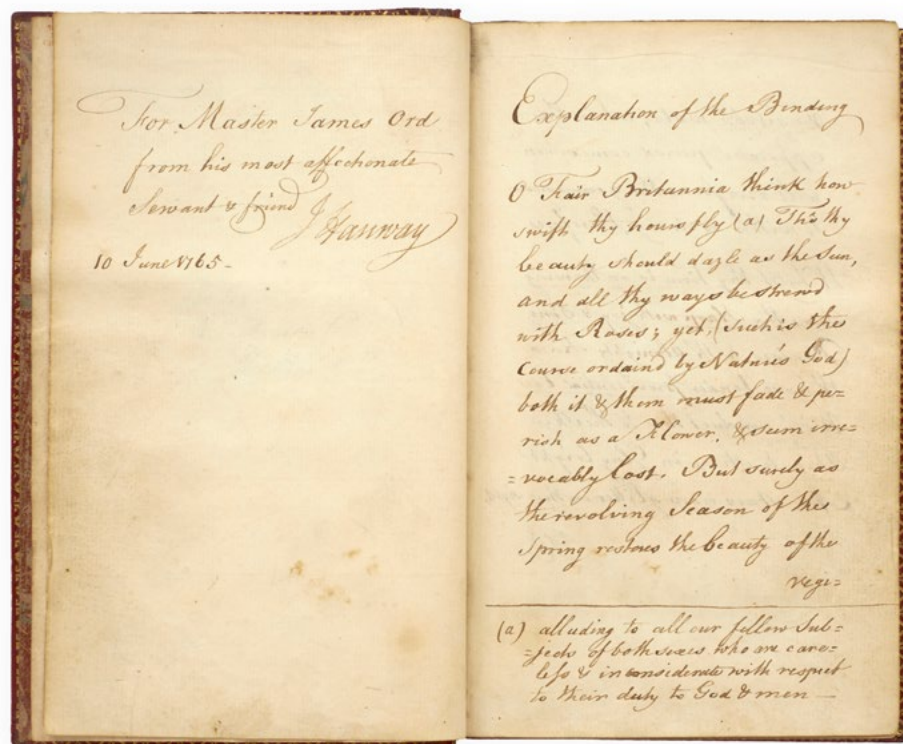
The young recipient was James Ord (1759–1843), second son of the mine owner and MP William Ord, of Fenham (c. 1715–1768), and Anne Dillingham (d. 1806). William Ord was a subscriber to Hanway's Marine Society in 1756 and the Magdalene Society in 1758, but 'in later life he was afflicted with an obsession for hanging himself' (*History of Parliament*), succeeding on the third attempt in 1768. After his death the wealthy 'Mrs. Ord' became an important blue-stocking, regularly hosting Elizabeth Montagu, Hannah More, and others at her London house, and was a friend to Charles Burney and Fanny d'Arblay (who also met Hanway at her house in 1783). Hanway seems to have taken James Ord under his wing, perhaps because of his father's mental health, and in March 1765, on the latter's first visit to London, had presented him with a nonce volume of his own works of advice, with a long inscription, in a binding by his first binder (see below). James Ord, who was the only one of nine children to survive his mother, later became a clergyman.

Though less known than those executed for Thomas Hollis, the emblematic bindings produced for the eccentric philanthropist Jonas Hanway from the late 1750s are 'of better material, and the tools which decorate them are more amusing than those of his contemporary; perhaps they have been neglected because they are comparatively rare' (G.D. Hobson, *English Bindings in the Library of J.R. Abbey*, 1940). Hanway employed two binders, and **the present example is perhaps the earliest (certainly the earliest dated) to be executed by the second binder.**

Hobson compiled a census of 26 'Hanway' bindings, of which 23 were presentation copies of his own works. Item VIII in his census is the work mentioned above inscribed to James Ord in March 1765, in a calf binding by his first binder (British Library C.69.e.2). As Hobson suggests, Hanway changed binders in 1765, 'no doubt soon after No. VIII had been given to James Ord', and indeed the present volume narrows the timescale to between March and June that year. Hanway's second binder favoured red morocco and employed a fine array of emblematic tools, almost all of which feature on the present example. Similar bindings to the present one can be seen on a compilation volume presented to a 'Young Lady' in 1765 (Hobson X, see M. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift* II, 176), and on another copy of Aesop's *Select Fables* (1764) without any inscriptions (Maggs catalogue 1075, Part II, item 181). Only two of the 26 bindings surveyed by Hobson (X and XI, copies of Hanway's *Miscellanies*) contain an 'Explanation of the Binding' like that found here.

Provenance: Jonas Hanway, to James Ord; Dr Porter, Cheltenham (nineteenth-century inscription); Williams's Library Cheltenham (small red stamp to endpapers, f. 1815, books sold 1896); bookplate of Henry John Beresford Clements (1869-1940, collector of armorial bindings, lot 548 in the sale of 1966, bought by H.D. Lyon); modern bookplate, with monogram 'M.E.W.'

Gaskell 27 (most copies 'now badly foxed').

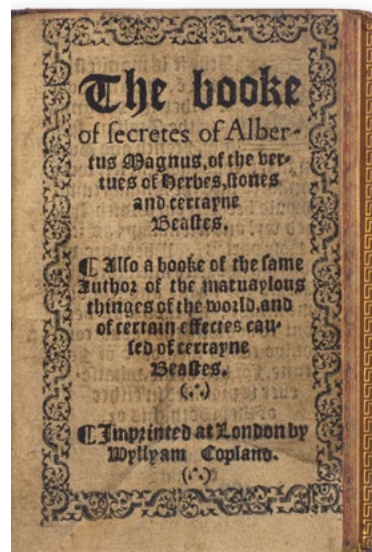


'The Science of Magike is not Evil'

2. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *attributed author*. The Booke of Secretes of Albertus Magnus, of the Vertue of Herbes, Stones, and certayne Beastes. Also a Booke of the same Author of the marvaylous Thinges of the World, and of certain Effectes caused of certayne Beastes. Imprinted at London by Wyl[lyam Copland, 1550s?]

Small 8vo, pp. [166], with the terminal blank L4; title-page with a border of printer's tools, woodcut initials; title-page dusty, old tear repaired, portion at foot restored in old manuscript facsimile, affecting part of imprint and last line of text on verso (the text 'the ende' replaced erroneously with 'further thy delight', presumably because of the lack of available copy text), a few headlines shaved, else a very good copy in speckled calf, panelled gilt, by Riviere.

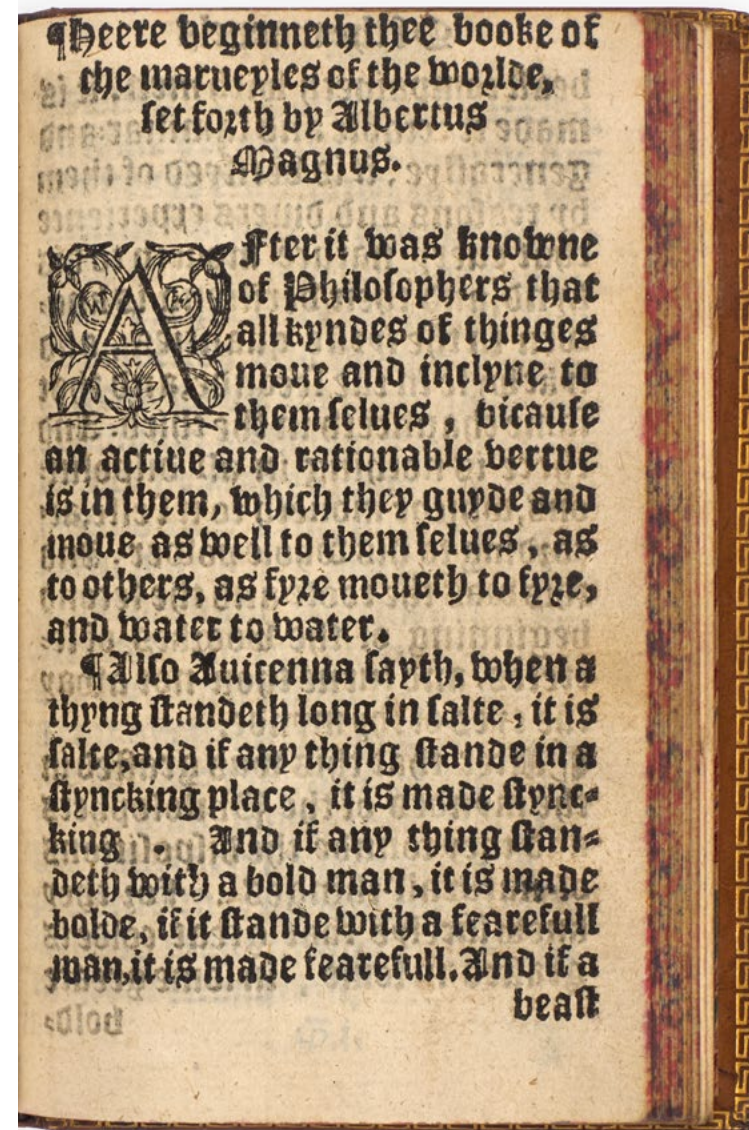
£7500



The first English translation of the *Liber aggregationis* and *De mirabilibus mundi* – **this is the only complete copy of this edition**, one of three printed by William Copland before 1560, all very rare.

Liber aggregationis or *Liber secretorum de virtutibus herbarum, lapidum et animalium*, was 'one of the most widely known works in a literature which gained popularity in the Middle Ages', a handbook on the miraculous properties of certain plants, minerals, and animals, and was first published in 1477. Only the second part, the lapidary, is derived directly from Albertus Magnus, from his *Mineralium*. 'It should be clear that the intellectual tenor of *The Book of Secrets* is very different from the known works of Albertus Magnus, and yet it is also clear that it was written at a time either contemporary with Albertus, or very soon after his death', possibly by a follower (*The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus* ed. Michael Best and Frank Brightman, 1973). The first part is divided into sections devoted to herbs (with 16 miraculous plants plus 7 more ostensibly drawn 'from the mind' of Alexander the Great), stones (45 examples), and beasts (18 animals), followed by a brief section on the planets. The second deals with 'the marveyles of the worlde'. Although the *Liber aggregationis* had its first incunable printing in England in c. 1483, it had to wait until c. 1548–50 for a vernacular edition, pitched at a popular audience and intended 'to mitigate and alacrate thy heavy and troublesome minde' – a work more of entertainment than serious enquiry, though a number of claims are said to have 'been proved'. The anonymous English translator, who drew heavily on the 1545 edition of the Elyot–Cooper Latin–English dictionary in his work, censored his source text, removing some references to necromancy, aphrodisiacs, and contraception.

Marigolds, we are told, if picked under Leo and wrapped in laurel, will defend the bearer against evil speech and allow him to identify thieves; nettles will attract fish and hounds-tongue dogs; with celandine and a mole's heart a man 'shal overcome al his enemies'; centuary induces hallucinations, such that 'al they that compasse it about, shal believe themselves to be witches' or will see the stars fighting each other; and verbenas will induce 'strife or malice' between two lovers. Among the stones, lodestone will help identify a cheating wife; onyx 'stirreth up ... sorrow and heavinesse



in a man, and terrou[r]s, and also debate'; selenite gives knowledge of things to come; amethyst, of which the best is found in India, is good against drunkenness, coral against floods, chalcedony against illusions, and lapis lazuli against melancholy; while eaglestone 'getteth love between the husband and the wyfe'. Less magically, 'iris', which must be a rock crystal, 'if [it] be put in the beame of the Sunne ... maketh a raynbowe soone to appeare in the wall'. The bestiary encompasses various remedies involving the blood, powdered horn or flesh etc of eagles, badgers, camels, eels, pelicans, doves, moles.

The Book of the Marvels of the World is more discursive, opening with a passage on affinity, effectively sympathetic magic, drawing on pseudo-Aristotelean and pseudo-Platonic sources. Marvelousness is nothing more than the true nature of objects – much as the loadstone 'draweth to it Iron' though the cause be hidden. There follow numerous instances of miraculous action, generally prefaced by the qualifier 'it is said'; and a series of marvellous recipes by which, for example 'men maye seeme to have three headdes', 'thou wylt understand the voyces of Byrdes', and 'every man shal seeme to other that bee in the house, in the forme of Elephantes and great Horses'.

Best and Brightman assign priority to the three Copland editions (STC 259–261) over the dated edition printed by John King in 1560 (1 imperfect copy in ESTC). ESTC assigns them all a date of '1565', presumably a conjecture based on the erroneous imprint 'MDXXV' in STC 260, which could as reasonably be 1545 as 1565. In fact ornamental letters in that edition are shared with works published by Copland more definitely in 1548–1550. The present edition, called C3 by Best and Brightman, is probably the third, based on successive modernization of the orthography, and is the only one to bear Copland's name on the title-page.

Of the Copland editions the following copies survive (ordered according to Best and Brightman):

STC 260: British Library only, damaged
STC 261: Glasgow (imperfect), Bodley, Huntington
STC 259: Cambridge only, wanting tp

Provenance: though without marks of provance, from the library of the Barclays of Ury, listed in the manuscript library catalogue of 1774 (*see item 7*).

STC 259.

Traders or Pirates? – testing the politics of neutrality

- ANSWER OF THE MERCHANTS-PETITIONERS, and Trustees for the Factory at Legorn, to the Account of Damages, laid to the Charge of the Great Duke of Tuscany, by Sir Alexander Rigby, Mr. Will. Shepherd, and Mr. Will. Plowman: together with their Reply ... With several other Matters and Papers since come to Hand from Legorn. London: Printed in the Year 1704.

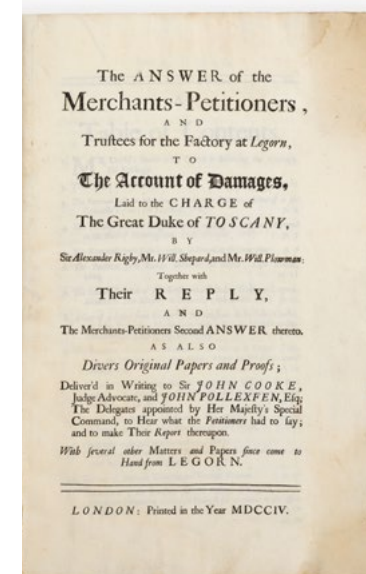
Folio, pp. [12], xv, [1], 159, [1];
titlepage slightly soiled at fore-edge
else a fine copy in the original boards,
**contemporary German (Augsburg?)
brocade paper covers with birds,
dogs and hunters among foliage,**
spine mostly defective, pastedowns of
marbled paper, edges gilt.

£1350

First and only edition, scarce, part of a fascinating trade (and piracy) dispute involving English merchants in Livorno (or Leghorn), which brought England and Tuscany to the brink of war in 1704.

In the seventeenth-century Livorno emerged as an archetypal free port, a safe and neutral entrepot controlled by the Medici Dukes of Tuscany. By the 1640s the English were the principal foreign mercantile population, and in the eighteenth-century perhaps half the city's trade went through them. Sir Alexander Rigby (c. 1663–1717) had established a trading concern at Livorno as early as the 1680s. In 1690 he entered into a partnership with William Shepherd and William Plowman. 'They exported woollens, fish and tin from England to Turkey, and ... Rigby later claimed to have earned £20,000 in profits by 1695' (*History of Parliament* online). Having separated from the partnership, Plowman captured several French vessels in the Levant, therefore threatening Tuscany's neutrality in the Nine Years' War. He was consequently imprisoned by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici, on the charge of piracy; confined for 3 years, he 'was only released when he confessed to the charge ... and after he had signed over to the French consul at Leghorn all the goods belonging to Rigby, Shephard and himself'. When Plowman had returned to England, the trio 'vigorously pursued with the ministry their grievance against the Grand Duke, claiming compensation of £40,000'. In their efforts they published several accounts of their cause and sought the support of Queen Anne, Marlborough, Godolphin, and Harley, but the Duke continue to ignore any claims for reparation.

The Duke was not their only opponent: their campaign was opposed by merchants still trading in Livorno, afraid of how the dispute could affect their business. In this finely printed *Answer* the Merchant-Petitioners of Livorno label Rigby and Plowman's *Case* as 'Scandalous Libel ... compiled with Fabulous and Airy Pretensions', and present some 39 petitions, letters, accounts, and pieces of contrary evidence. Front and centre is an 'Apology to the Queen', which was presented to Anne by Edward Gould in June 1704 and accuses Plowman not just of Catholicism and piracy, but also of bigamy (with a wife in England and another in Italy), contact and support for Mary of Modena, and complicity with the



attempted assassination of William III. Later evidence compounds this with blackmail – a letter from Plowman is printed asking the consul John Burrows to assist him lest he bring to light Burrows's involvement in two attempted murders.

The Rigby and Plowman cause is also challenged on economic and legal grounds. An account of the damages claimed is printed side-by-side with the merchants' replies, which expose for example how they charge the Duke for the loss of a ship off the coast of Barbary. Legal opinions by John Cooke (Plowman's piracy was legitimate during a time of war and not justification for the Duke's actions) and John Pollexfen (Rigby's business was legitimately affected at no fault of his own), are also answered showing accounting inconsistencies.

Scarce, with 10 copies in ESTC: British Library (Hans Sloane's, mounted), Lambeth, Bodley (2), Senate House; Harvard (2, one imperfect), UCLA, Illinois, and Kansas.

Goldsmiths' 4052; Hanson 390; Kress 2408.



A True Copy of the Great Duke's Sentence in Italian, which the Legorn-Merchants have likewise given in English, to shew how False a Translation Plowman and Company have made of it in several places, in that Scandalous Book, called, Their Printed Case, &c.

Noi Cosimo Terzo per Grazia di Dio
Gran Duca di Toscana.

We Cosmos the Third, by the Grace
of God Great Duke of Tuscany.

HAvendoci Guglielmo Pluman Negoziante Inglese, nella nostra Città, e Porto di Livorno, e che presentemente di nostro Comandamento si ritrova Carcerato nelle Carceri degl' Otto di questa nostra Città di Firenze, assicurato, e dato parola, che la Nave Filippo e Maria Inglese Armata in detta nostra Città, e Porto di Livorno, e Comandata dal Cap° Gio. Brume Inglese, nella quale detto Pluman s' Imbarcò, non haverebbe molestato, ne dato Fastidio alle Navi e Bastimenti Francesi; e ciò non ostante constando ci, che partito con detta Nave di Livorno, con la medesima siano stati depredati tre Bastimenti Francesi, cioè

La Nave S^a Barbera, Cap° Giuseppe Fougasse, che procedeva di Costantinopoli per Marsilia.

La Nave Vergine di Speranza Cap° Fran° Leoncy, che di Alessandretta, e Cipri passava a Venezia.

E la Barca Madonna di buon in-

William Plowman, an English Merchant in our City and Port of Legorn, (who is now a Prisoner by our Command in the Otto of this our City of Florence) having Assured Us and given Us his Word, That the English Ship Philip and Mary, Armed in our said City and Port of Legorn, and commanded by Captain John Brome, an Englishman, (upon which Vessel the said William Plowman embarked himself) should not molest, nor give any Trouble to French Ships or Vessels; yet nevertheless it appearing to us, that he being sailed from Legorn with the said Ship, there have been Three French Vessels taken by her; viz.

The Ship, Santa Barbara, Captain Joseph Fougals, coming from Constantinople to Marseilles.

The Ship, Virgins-Hope, Captain Francis Leoncy, who from Scanderoon and Cyprus was passing for Venice.

And the Bark, Lady of good Encounter,

Incontro Padrone Gio: Turcon, che di Marsilia andava in Cipri, & Alessandretta: Con tutti li loro Carichi, e così contravenuto alla detta promessa fattaci.

Inordine à che essendoci per la parte degl' Interessati Francesi in detti Bastimenti, e Carichi porte suppliche per il riparo, e Rilancio de danni da essi sofferti à Causa di dette Depredazioni.

Volendo perciò Noi, che detto Pluman risarcisca i danni fatti in contravvenzione della Data parola, con piena cognizione di Causa de Fatti seguiti; sentita la Relazione fattaci in voce dall' Aud^{te} Pietro Angeli uno delli Auditori di questa nostra Consulta di gratia, e di Giustizia, che di nostro ordine ha riconosciuto la Materia à Termini di Ragione, sentita l'una, e l'altra parte, e riconosciuto le loro scritture, a prefasi da Noi precedente informazione, con i dovuti riguardi del valore degl' effetti suddetti depredati, Di Certa scienza, stante la mancanza della detta promessa.

Arbitriamo, e dichiariamo il detto Plumen esser tenuto, & obbligato à restituire li suddetti tre Bastimenti; cioè.

La Nave S^a Barbara Cap° Giuseppe Fougasse;

Nave la Vergine di Speranza, Cap° Fran° Leoncy;

E Barca Madonna di Buono Incontro,

Encountering been of the said Vessel Reparation Damages Reason of

On which ing been of the said Vessel Reparation Damages Reason of

We then said Plowman Damages his said Vessel full Cogni Facts that Report m from Peter Auditors Grace and der bathes ing to term Parties, and We ou cedent Inf gard to the Effects so certain Kn of the said

Do Ar said Plow ed to Rest Vessels, vi

The Ship Joseph Fou

The Ship Francis Le

The Bar O o



The Generation Game

4. ARISTOTLE'S COMPLEAT AND EXPERIENCE'D MIDWIFE: in two Parts. I. A Guide for Child-bearing Women in the Time of their Conception, bearing, and suckling their Children ... Together with suitable Remedies for the various Indispositions of new-born Infants. II. Proper and safe Remedies for curing all those Distempers that are incident to the female Sex ... A Work more perfect than any yet extant; and highly necessary for all Surgeons, Midwives, Nurses, and child-bearing Women. Made in English by W--- S---, M. D. The second Edition. London: Printed, and sold by the Booksellers. 1711.

12mo, pp. [2], iv, 180, [4, contents], with a woodcut frontispiece of a childbirth scene (laid down), and a folding woodcut plate of 'The Form of a Child in the Womb' (to be bound opposite p. 48, but here loose, old repair along fold); cut close on the fore-edge, shaving some text (sense recoverable), else a good copy in early polished calf, joints cracked; early ownership inscription 'George Asplen owght this'.

£1250

Second edition, very rare, apparently 'translated' (i.e. edited) by the self-trained popular empiric William Salmon, a prolific author of domestic medical treatises; some of the text is drawn from Nicholas Culpeper.

Aristotle's Compleat and experience'd Midwife served as a companion piece to *Aristotle's complete master-piece* (first 1684), the first sex-manual in English, and was advertised in (and sometimes bound with) editions of the latter. First published in 1700 (four copies in ESTC), *Artistotle's Midwife* was reprinted, mostly in undated editions, throughout the next century; the last listed in ESTC is a 'fourteenth' edition in 1776. The nature of the content and the poor quality of the printing has meant that all printings are uncommon, many likely lost, and surviving copies tend to be in mediocre condition at best.

Of this second edition, ESTC records three copies only: British Library, Birmingham, Glasgow. There would however appear to be two issues – ours differs from that described in ESTC in that pp. i–iii are paginated correctly, and is perhaps therefore unique.



Dutch cure?

5. ARM'S OF TILLY (The). The Virtues and Effects, of the Remedy, named Medicamentum gratia probatum, id ist: the Remedy approved by Grace ... [Colophon:] Printe [sic] by John Enschedé, Printer of the City of Haarlem in Holland, [c. 1764-73].

Folio broadside, printed on both sides, with a large woodcut device at the head (surrounded by the words 'The Arm's Of Tilly'); printed on poor quality paper (Maid of Dort watermark) and consequently toned, small inkspots, a few small holes touching the odd letter, else very good.

£1500

Unrecorded printing of an advertising broadside for Haarlem Oil, a panacea containing ingredients such as sulphur and terebinth oil which is still sold today as a dietary supplement. The oil was first marketed in 1696 by Claes Tilly, a Haarlem schoolmaster, who was succeeded by his step grandchild Leendert Jonkhout, and then in 1762 (or 1764 here) by Claes (Nicholas) de Koning Tilly, who seems to have been responsible for expanding the business into more international markets.

Originally the oil was sold for urinary complaints, but the current advertisement, execrably printed and littered with grammatical and typographic errors, claims its usefulness for bruises, scurvy, dropsy, the French disease, worms, heart murmurs, migraines, short-sightedness, ulcers, colic, etc. etc.

ESTC records six versions of this broadside, in a total of seven copies, of which none conforms to the present (most notably in the error 'Id Ist' in the title); at least one (ESTC N69801) is visibly a nineteenth-century printing, with far fewer typographic errors. All are undated but mention Nicholas de Koning Tilly as 'Author of the same, since ... 1764', and list those who will succeed him after his death. There is one unique example of an earlier advertisement in English, at the British Library, *Pouer an[d] working of the Medicamentum gratia probatum* (c. 1723, printed for an Amsterdam retailer), and we have traced versions of the present broadside in Dutch, Swedish, German and Portuguese.

The printer Johannes Enschede (1708-1780), succeeded his father Isaac, who had founded the company in 1703; from 1774, the imprint changed to incorporate Johannes's sons.

It likewise cures all fresh sores, Megrims, Giddiness, Deanines & all distempers in the Gums or Teeth, by applyting this to the affected part.

All old & ancient Disorders, we cannot doubt but they require a long & continual Remedy, so I have experienced by seeing several Disorders of twenty & thirty Years standing, which was supposed to be incurable, and given up by the Physicians, but nevertheless was miraculously cured by virtue of this Remedy.

of Haarlem, in the Province of Holland, at the house of *Nicolas de Koning Tilly*, who is the Author of the same, since the Year 1764, and so was his Grandfather *Caas Tilly* before him; that was the Chief Inventor of it, since the Year 1798.

After the Decease of *Nicolas de Koning Tilly*, this Medicament shall be made and sold by his near kinsmen, viz. *Jan de Koning*, *Leenders de Koning*, *Abraham Tilly* and *Adolf de Koning*.

Printed by *John Enschedé*, Printer of the City of Haarlem in Holland.

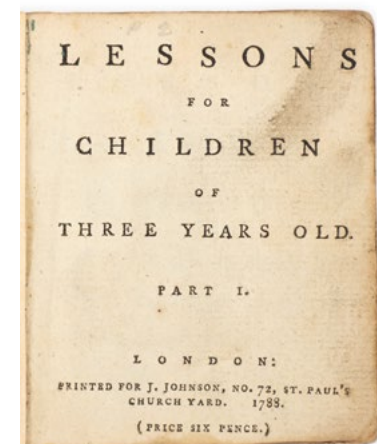
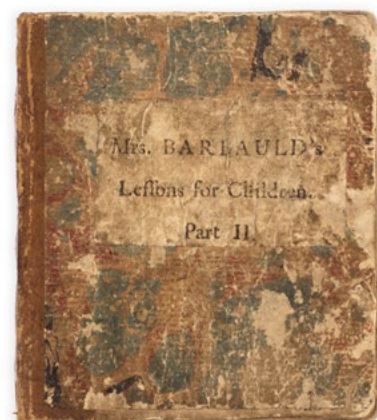


'Everybody works but little Babies; they cannot work'

6. [BARBAULD, Anna Letitia]. *Lessons for Children of three Years old. Part I.* London, Printed for J. Johnson ... 1788.

Square 12mo, pp. 83, [1, ads]; a few small stains, scattered early pencil marks (on several occasions changing 'boy' to 'girl'), withal in very good condition in the original quarter roan and marbled stiff paper covers, printed cover label 'Mrs. Barbauld's Lessons for Children Part II.'

£500



Second edition, rare, the second work in a revolutionary series of graded primers for young children by the educationist Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743–1825), written for and addressed to 'Little Charles', her nephew and adopted son Charles Aikin.

Barbauld's *Lessons for Children*, first published in four parts in 1778–9, was the first of its type, a primer that specifically addressed the needs of young readers, employing large, well-spaced type, and an informal didactic style based around conversations between a mother and a child, derived from personal experience. Its referents were from secular, everyday, lived experience, rather than fantasy, fable, or Bible. The first volume was for children of 2 to 3 years; the present volume was the first of two for 3 year olds, and the final volume was for children of 3 to 4.

Along with Barbauld's *Hymns in Prose*, the *Lessons* were 'reprinted throughout the nineteenth century in England and the United States, and their effect on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century middle-class people, who learned to read from them, is incalculable ... [T]he poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning could still quote the opening lines of *Lessons for Children* at age thirty-nine' (William McCarthy, 'Mother of all Discourses: Anna Barbauld's *Lessons for Children*', *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 60:2, 1999). *Lessons* might be a literacy primer, but it also covers natural history, the calendar, geography, agriculture, and political economy, and introduces its readers to 'elements of society's symbol-systems and conceptual structures, inculcates an ethics, and encourages him to develop a certain kind of sensibility' (*ibid.*). In this the second volume in the series, Barbauld uses the calendar year to deal with the weather, nature, agriculture, life and death, and then turns to animal physiology, trades, and charity. At the end are a couple of short fables about a naughty boy who teases a robin and gets lost in the woods – 'I believe the bears came and ate him up ... for I never heard anything about him afterwards'; and an idle boy inspired to industry by the examples of nature.

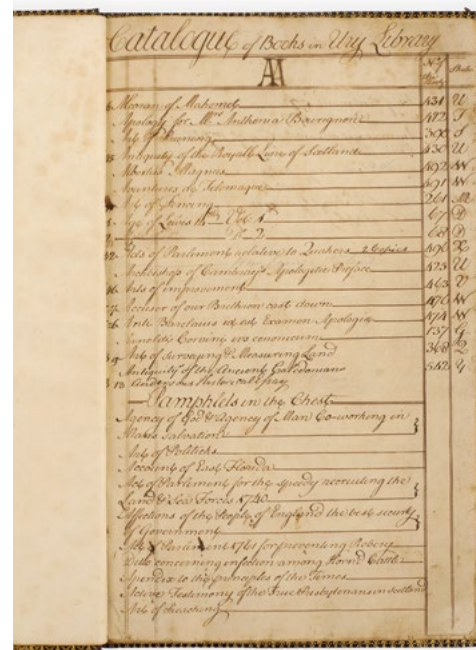
All early editions of the *Lessons for Children* are rare, the first editions of 1778–9 surviving in a unique set (of 3 of the 4 volumes) at Glasgow University. The second printings appeared in 1787–8, and were issued and sold separately – the advertisement leaf here lists only vols I, II and IV, at 6d apiece. We can trace complete sets of the second edition at Cambridge and Wayne State only, and of this volume individually at the BL (imperfect), Nottingham, Bodley and Bristol.

Books by the Barclays, and an Eliot Indian Bible

7. [BARCLAYS OF URY.] Manuscript 'Catalogue of Books in Ury Library', 1774? [with a few additions up to the 1790s].

Folio, pp. [45], plus blanks ('GR' and royal arms watermarks); first page slightly browned else in excellent condition, edges untrimmed, bound in nineteenth-century pebbled morocco by Wilson (19 Foley Place, London), covers gilt with the Barclay arms and lettered direct.

£6500



A fascinating manuscript catalogue of the library at Ury, Kincardineshire (now Aberdeenshire), containing the books of five generations of Scottish Quakers. 547 numbered titles are listed, plus a few unnumbered, as well as perhaps 80 more 'Pamphlets in the chest'.

The soldier and courtier David Barclay (1610–1686) was the first laird of Ury, 15 miles from Aberdeen, which he purchased in ruins in around 1648 after a successful career soldiering on the Continent. While in prison in 1666 he joined the Quakers and retired from active life; after his release in 1669 Barclay built a new manor house at Ury and established it as a Quaker centre, with a meeting-house. David Barclay's eldest son Robert Barclay (1648–1690), who had been educated in Paris where he flirted with Catholicism, converted to the Quakers at around the same time as his father and is known as 'the Apologist' from his most important work, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, 'the classic statement of Quaker principles' (*Oxford DNB*). An intimate of William Penn, he was titular governor of East Jersey in the 1680s and his brother John emigrated there. Three further generations of Robert Barclays followed as lairds of Ury, the last being Capt. Robert Barclay Allardice (1779–1854), the celebrated 'Pedestrian', pugilist, and trainer. It was during the time of his father, the MP and agricultural improver Robert Barclay-Allardice (1762–1797), that the current catalogue was compiled, in around 1774 (the date is not in evidence and was perhaps taken from an earlier binding. Some additions in a different hand through to the 1790s include Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and Burke's *Reflections*.

While the more recent books show the agricultural interests of the fifth laird (Jethro Tull, Abercrombie, Arthur Young), this is very much a family library, and large space is given to Robert Barclay the Apologist and to Quaker and anti-Quaker publications of his day, evidence of Ury's role as a Quaker meeting-place. There are, for example, 8 copies of the famous *Apology* (1678), and translations into Spanish, French and Dutch; and 19 copies of his *Catechism* (1673); works by Penn, Whitehead and Fox; attacks on Barclay by Keith and others; and some 'Questions proposed by Charles Gordon to Robert Barclay concerning Quakerism a Manuscript'. Nods to another famous Barclay, though from a different branch of the family, are found in editions of *Argenis* and *Euphormionis Satyricon*.

But the most notable item in the catalogue comes as a result of Robert Barclay's position as Governor of East Jersey. Though he never visited the colony it was in that capacity that John Eliot presented him with a copy of the second edition of his Algonquian Bible (1685), here listed as a '**Bible in the American language**' and now at the University of Edinburgh. Other works of American interest include Roger Williams's *Key into the Language of America* (1643), the first English-Native American dictionary; *New England Judg'd* (1685), on the Quaker persecutions; and Stork's *Account of East Florida*, 1766. Curiously Robert Barclay's minute book as Governor (sold at auction in 2005) does not appear to be listed here.

Other miscellaneous books include an edition of Albertus Magnus (see item 2), Descartes's *Principia Philosophiae*, a 'Collection of Papers relating to the Scotch Comp' trading to Africa & the India's', Locke on Toleration, and Bibles in English, Irish, Dutch, Latin and Hebrew. Literature is scarce, confined to couple of plays, editions of Milton, and some Smollett.

Raising money for Wilberforce and Clarkson; and an Embassy to the Seneca

- BARCLAY, David. Autograph letter, signed, to the Quaker banker and abolitionist Charles Lloyd, of Birmingham, on raising money for William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson, and enclosing 'An account of a visit to the Indians in the autumn of 1806 by one of the Pennsylvania Committee appointed to promote their Civilization' (Isaac Bonsall). Walthamstow, 24 June 1807.

4 pages 4to, with an integral address panel, on paper watermarked 'I. Taylor 1801'; remains of wax seal, a couple of a short tears from opening, else in very good condition.

£2750*

A fine letter between two prominent Quaker bankers, philanthropists and abolitionists. The Parliamentary session of 1806-7 had been a crucial one for the campaigns of Wilberforce and Clarkson and saw the passing of the bill abolishing the slave trade in the British Empire on 25 March 1807, the last Act of the Pitt administration. In the general election that followed Wilberforce was running again in Yorkshire, which had its first contested election since 1741 – the campaign was notable for the extraordinary amount spent by the three candidates (£250,000 between them). Funds for Wilberforce came from his supporters across the country. Barclay writes of the 'money raised in London, Birmingham, &c', which 'was sent to Wilberforce's committee at York, who had the power of making what use of it they thought proper', but notes that the Tuke family of Yorkshire managed their own subscriptions.

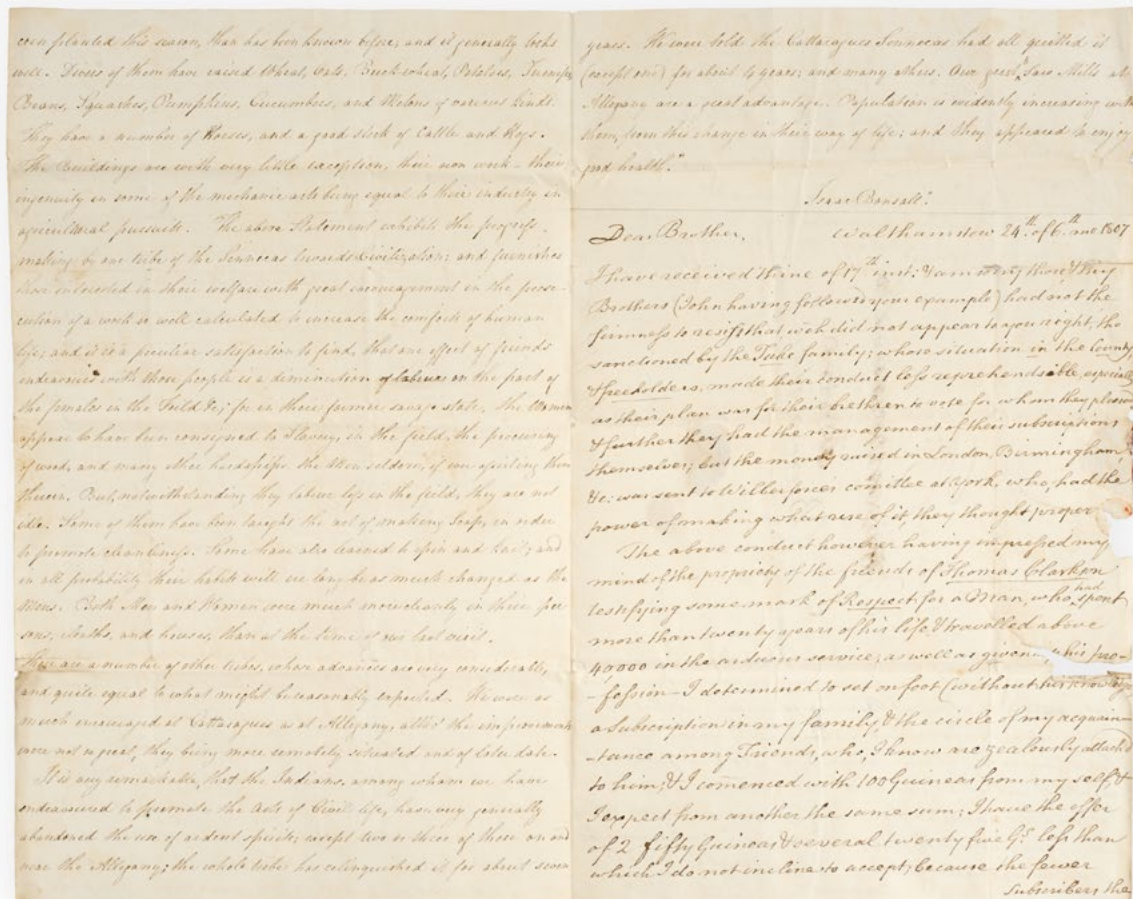
The matter of raising money brought to Barclay's mind the idea of a subscription for Thomas Clarkson 'testifying a mark of Respect for a Man, who had spent more than twenty years of his life, & travelled above 40,000 in the arduous service, as well as given up his profession'. Barclay has begun among his close circle, starting with '100 guineas from myself, & I expect from another the same sum ... My intention is collect a thousand Guineas', and Lloyd is invited to contribute.

Barclay also encloses a copy of a report from a member of the Quaker committee for the 'Improvement and gradual Civilization of the Indian natives', one Isaac Bonsall, based on notes from a 'late embassy to the Seneca Indians residing near the Allegany River' at Tunesassa, where the Quakers had helped establish a settlement in 1803 – Lloyd and Barclay had committed funds. 'I was astonished by the improvement made by the Indians within the last three years ... they had considerably exceeded in labour and attention, any opinion I had formed'. The roads were 'much superior to those we observed among the Frontier White inhabitants', 100 new houses had been built, mostly of two storeys, some with panelled doors, some chimneys, and many with glass windows. Bonsall describes the extent and nature of their agriculture, and notes that it has resulted in better conditions for the labouring women, some of whom now have time to make soap and spin or knit. 'We were as much encouraged

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116. Bacon, ser. Francis and Goring	454	116. Bacon, ser. Francis and Goring	454
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at Cattaraugus as at Allegany', and most of the Seneca have abandoned alcohol. Another account of this embassy, by Halliday Jackson, is to be found at Swarthmore College.

David Barclay (1729–1809), of Youngsbury, also known as David Barclay of Walthamstow, the grandson of Robert Barclay the Apologist, was a merchant and banker whose business had relied heavily on the American colonies before the Revolution – a friend of Benjamin Franklin, he had attempted to engineer a peaceful resolution in 1774–5. As a banker he advocated against the financing of the slave trade but was unable to prevent it – he was however notable for the 'gratuitous manumission' in 1794 of slaves from a Jamaican plantation, Unity Valley Pen, that he acquired in return for a debt. The former slaves were sent to Philadelphia and provided with vocational training and support. Charles Lloyd (1748–1828), banker, translator and abolitionist, was also Barclay's brother-in-law.



Paris, Virginia, New England, and the Iroquois in the 1770s

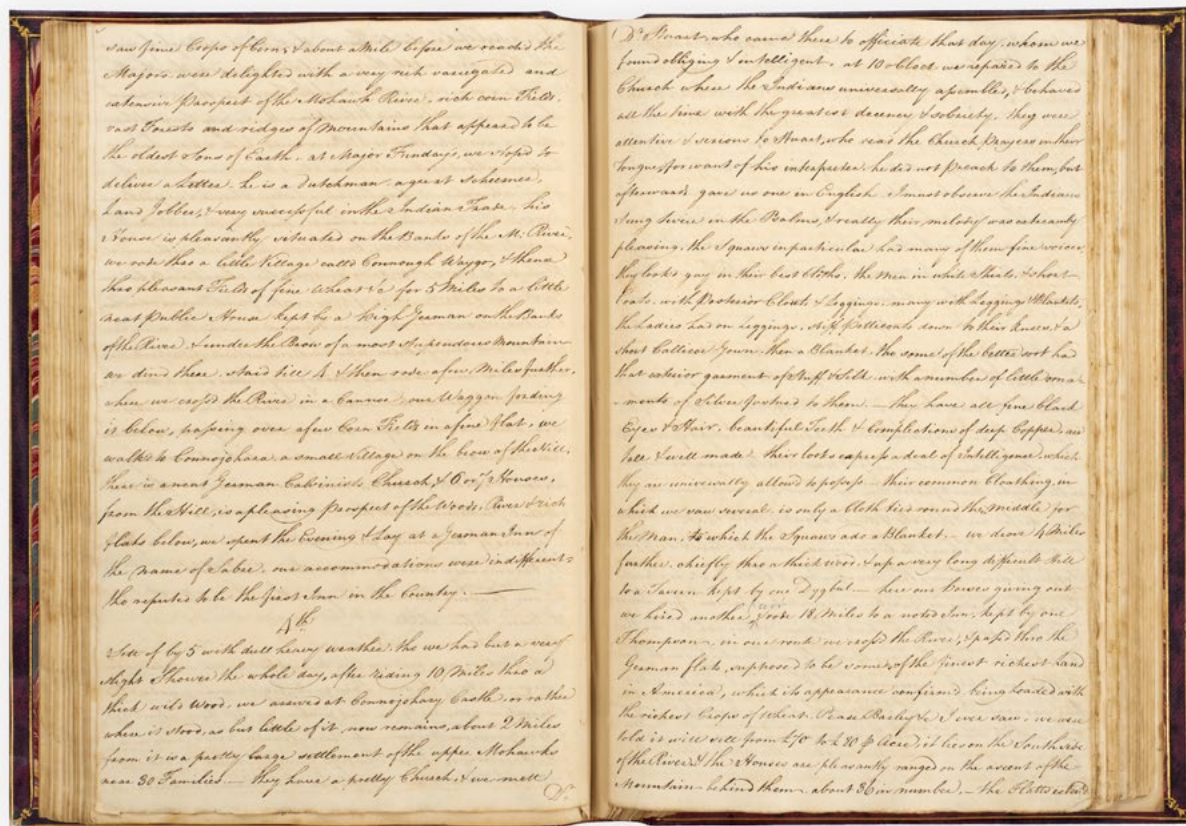
9. BARCLAY, Robert. Journal and commonplace book, covering a tour through the Low Countries and France in July–August 1772, a journey from New York to Montreal and back in June–October 1773, and tours of Pennsylvania (November 1773) and Maryland and Virginia (March–April 1774), with a selection of notes and poems at the end. 1770s.

Folio manuscript, ff. 125 in total, each portion separated by blanks, various watermarks (crowned GR, arms of George III before 1801, Pro Patria); initialled several times 'RB', though only partially in his hand – a few transcription errors, including dates, some later corrected in pencil, suggest that some parts are later fair copies; bound together in full nineteenth-century dark purple crushed morocco, front cover lettered 'Notes and Journals of Robert Barclay. Philadelphia, 1772.'

£37,500

An extraordinarily rich, unpublished account of a young Quaker businessman's travels in Europe and America in the years immediately before the Revolution – describing encounters with, among others, Louis XV, the colonial administrator Sir William Johnson, John Langdon (founding father of New Hampshire), chieftains of the Seneca and Mohawk, merchants involved in the Boston Tea Party, and 'the celebrated negro poetess' Phyllis Wheatley. Throughout Barclay is a meticulous journalist, providing ample and detailed records of the extent, situation and commercial capacity of the towns visited, but he was also an adventurous young man, who revelled in the sublimity of the landscape, and in his encounters with indigenous peoples. At the end the small commonplace section includes pieces by the Americans poets Susanna Wright and Hannah Griffitts.

Robert Barclay (1751–1830, later of Ury) was born in Philadelphia, son of Alexander Barclay (1711–1771), and Anne Hickman (d. 1753), and great-grandson of his namesake the Quaker Apologist and Governor of East Jersey. After a dissolute youth and a period in the army Alexander Barclay had been made comptroller of customs at Philadelphia from 1749, where the family linen firm David Barclay & Sons dealt with a large part of the Philadelphia mercantile community. Robert Barclay himself was sent back to England at the age of 12 and educated at a Quaker school at Wandsworth, under the care of his uncle David (a friend of Benjamin Franklin), eventually entering into the family business in Cheapside, of which he had been left a partnership in trust by his grandfather. After his father's death in Philadelphia in 1771, Robert returned to America with the object of settling up his estate. He remained there about two years (1773–5), returning to England to marry Rachel Gurney in October 1775, and it is during this sojourn that the various American tours described here were taken – their ostensible object to reinforce and expand the family's trade (and Quaker) networks, but also serving as an alternative grand tour. The Revolutionary War forced the Barclays to cease all American business and in 1781 Robert Barclay, with family assistance, acquired the Anchor Brewery from Hester Thrale (Samuel Johnson oversaw the transaction and remarked to Robert 'that he had heard he devoted time to reading'). He later turned his attention to agriculture and built a collection of rare plants in his houses at Clapham and then Bury Hill,



23rd November 1773

Under the auspices of a fine day, & the good company of Dr Parke, Bisher, Edwards & man Christopher, I left Philadelphia, & cross'd the Schuylkill at the middle Ferry, — a ride of Eleven miles prepared us an appetite for Coffee & Beefsteaks to Breakfast. Thirteen miles farther brought us up at the Adam's Tavern where boiled Mutton & roast Pork became our portion, & then we parted fine mitis lacrymae, — with that I jog'd on to the Ship, where we refreshed our horses, & admird the elegant sign ornaments with the Dr's name — night coming on whereby vision became obstructed, we stop'd at the waggon, a house of no great reputation, I was pleas'd with the sight of cultivated lands on both sides the road, tho' here & there considerable forests were still standing, — I found the farms generally very large, & in excellent order, all in the possession of Germans, — but very few Houses were to be seen, tho' mostly large

becoming a founder member of the Linnean Society in 1788. His early experiences in America and Canada, and his first-hand knowledge of the various peoples of the Iroquois (Haudonosaunee) Confederacy, would later be instrumental to his friendship to the Mohawk chief and diplomat John Norton and his efforts on behalf of the Five Nations along with Wilberforce (see items 54–55).

'Journal of a Tour thro Holland, Flanders & the Nth Part of France July & August 1772', 38 leaves.

Written in the form of letters to his cousin Daniel Barclay, this journal opens with an entry written in Rotterdam on 7 July, describing the voyage via Harwich to Hellevoetsluis, then Delft by canal. At Rotterdam he makes observations on the major streets and spends 2 hours in the theatrum anatomicum. Delft is city not of commerce but of wealthy retirement; at the Hague, where his Jewish guide speaks English, he sees the Stadthouder and visits the menagerie. Leyden is notable for the Academy and the Botanic Garden but the Public Library is full of 'musty books' and in all it 'is the dullest [city] I ever entered'. At Haarlem he views the famous bleaching fields but a recalcitrant bookseller refuses to show them an example of the printing of Laurence Coster. In Amsterdam he admires the Town Hall and the Jewish quarter but not the Exchange, inferior to that of Rotterdam; he visits the Moravians at Zoest and purchases 'several articles' of their manufacture; but Breda is 'exceedingly dull'. In Antwerp he visits several convents, notes that the beer is unusually strong, and admires the Rubens in the Cathedral. Passing on to Paris via St Quentin (to look at cambric production) he is immediately assaulted by salespeople, before travelling to the court at Compiègne, where he is questioned by a nobleman about the beliefs of the Quakers during a hunt. On one occasion the King approaches: 'he came with a few yards of me & then retired'. The royal party including the dauphiness, and 'The King after a little conversation had passed, told them to look round & they would see an English Quaker in the ring, which they fail'd not to do'. Back in Paris, he thinks it 'an emporium of pleasure', the shops full of 'knickknacks' serving only to adorn, while women 'paint in the extreme' and all the men carry a sword and wear coloured and flowered cloth. There are detailed descriptions of the major streets and buildings including churches, the Bastille, the Gobelin factory and Les Invalides, as well as the palaces at St Cloud, Marly, and Versailles. The twin poles of commerce and religion control his itinerary, with visits equally to mills and to churches.

New York to Montreal and back, June-October 1773, 44 leaves (in two portions)

Leaving New York on the Royal George sloop under Capt. Wandell, Barclay passes up the Hudson to New Windsor, Newburgh and 'Pakeipsy' i.e. Poughkeepsie, admiring views of the Alleghenies. At Albany, where the supreme court is then in session, he is introduced by a local contact 'to Hagar an Indian Trader, who gave us much useful information about Provisions &c'. The principal trade is in furs from the indigenous Americans, which they barter for rum and day goods. At Schenectady he calls on the merchant house of Phyn & Ellis; 'To this place all the batteaus from Niagara & the Westward come by water'. He stops to listen to a Seceder preaching, visits Col. Guy Johnson, whose house had 'unfortunately been struck & consum'd by lightning about 10 days before', and passes Fort Hunter and a church where Dr John Stuart (1740–1811) caters to the Mohawk in the morning and the whites in the afternoon. 'These Indians are quite a civiliz'd class in their dress ... many are excellent Farmers ... the Men leave their Families for 2 or 3 Months hunting to the Westward'. They then enter Johnstown (NY) where 'Sir William Johnston [*recte* Johnson] is Ld Paramount to the whole'. Sir William's house 'is of wood with four Rooms on a floor, & is more convenient than elegant, indeed the number of Indians always there, who have no notion of property, but will oft cut marks on his Mahogany Tables, & break down his Wainscots ...'. The man himself 'treated us with great freedom & affability, being a man of no ceremony'; there is music in the evening, and at breakfast the following day, they are entertained with 'a great variety of Indian Trinquets'. Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Johnson (1715–1774) was an honorary Mohawk chief and his common-law wife was a Mohawk, sister of the famous Joseph Brant.

From Johnstown to Conajoharie, 'a pretty large settlement of the upper Mohawks near 30 Families – they have a pretty Church', where they see Dr Stuart say prayers in Mohawk. Barclay describes the Mohawks' singing and clothing in some detail, as well as their beautiful teeth and complexions – 'their looks express a great deal of Intelligence'. Passing through rich agricultural land he calls the 'German flats', he encounters a 150-strong group of Oneida ('we were sociable with them, & they were not less so with us') and later four chiefs of the Ottawas on their way to Johnstown, who 'took us for great men' and gave them the head of a buck. They are plagued by mosquitoes, catch and eat pheasants and frogs, and purchase eels from the Onondagas. From Oswego they charter a sloop towards Niagara; 'We were informed that on the 10th of next Month the Onondagoes were to roast alive & devour, with their usual Ceremonies 7 Chactaws who they had taken on the back of Carolina'.

The twelve-mile hike to Niagara is 'the very worst ... I ever walk'd', through thick wood, and across creeks. At Niagara, Barclay is awed by the falls (which he sees from both sides, surprising a wolf, and scrambling down precipitous banks) but their guide is 'an ignorant dissolute fellow'; they dine with the prosperous 'J. S.' who has 250,000 acres and whose 'wife is a very desirable pleasant Woman'. Then at Fort Schlosser they met **15 Seneca '& with them Asquejian [elsewhere he writes Asquishong] the greatest of all the Seneca Warriors', who supped with them, and of whom there is a long admiring description – modest, elegant of dress, 'serious, possesses a most manly presence, being a graceful active Muscular Man', a politician as well as a warrior, and now a successful farmer. 'His ears are cut in singular manner, & grow together under his Chin.'** Sadly, we have not been able to identify this figure with any certainty.

The route from Niagara to Montreal by batteau is fascinating – they accompany another French boat for a while – 'amidst constant chanson with alternate responses from both boats' – and sleep on board, 'a blanquet bearskin & a heavenly canopy for our covering'. The forts are all in ruinous condition and ill-manned (soon to be of great import). At St Regis (Akwesasne) there is 'a large village of the Irroquois or in English Mohawk Indians – it consist of 61 dwellings, & about 400 inhabitants among whom are a few French traders, they have a Jesuit for a Missionary, & a pretty chapel for the natives'; the houses are well built, with glass windows, and raised bedsteads, and the Mohawk paint their faces in red and black to attend mass. At Montreal Barclay has business contacts in the house of Ermatinger and considerable time is given to the nature of trade; four full vessels of pelts ('Beaver, otter, martin, wild cats, wolves, deerskin, muskrats') were sent to London

last year, dry goods are sent upriver and penetrate deep into the country, and they also export wheat – 330,000 bushels this year, mostly to Spain and Portugal.

Having paid a visit on a certain St Lire 'an old French merchant, remarkable for having in the last war headed the French Savages, who under him committed matchless cruelties upon the English', Barclay proceeds to Quebec via Trois Rivières. Near the Huron village of La Lorette they undergo a prank attack (apparently pre-arranged to spook the tourists) then see **a war dance 'perform'd by Men, women, & children in all the rites, then two of the them represented their manner of looking for their enemies', pretending to scalp one of the party.** At Quebec they call on Lt.-Gov. Hector de Cramahé ('very fat' with an 'open countenance' and a common-law wife). Barclay examines the wharves, engages in some battlefield tourism and visits Sillery, the former Jesuit house, now 'more known, for a beautiful description given it by F. Brookes in a novel call'd E. Montague' (*The History of Emily Montague*, the first novel written in Canada). In Barclay's general observations on the Canadians, he knows no country 'to increase more in commerce, & no people to be more happy ... the women almost universally wear the Breeches, & rule despotically', and rules of land ownership mean each man is a prince of his own domain.

Barclay finally departs Canada, returning via Lake Champlain, where after a shoreline lunch-stop, 'at the moment of embarkation we miss'd one of the party J. Fisher [Jabez Fisher, of the Quaker family of Philadelphia], upon which we separated into three divisions, & at last met him, he had been absent 3 hours, had lost himself in the woods, & with great difficulty recover'd us, not a little alarm'd at what might have happen'd'. Crown Point has been 'effectually demolish'd' and men are now being employed to carry the arms to Ticonderoga (both forts were captured by the Americans in May 1775). At Saratoga he passes the house of Philip Schuyler with its 'beautiful pastures', then later shelters from a storm in a crowded cabin where he is mightily entertained with the fiddle. Then come Glasgow, Watertown, Cambridge and finally Boston, where he attends a Quaker meeting and tours Beacon Hill. **He mentions meeting numerous merchants including John Rowe and Francis Rotch/Roach, both owners of ships soon to be involved in the Boston Tea Party,** and dines with the 'famous lawyer' John Lovell (a loyalist, but his son James was equally famous on the other side). There are trips to Cambridge ('the College is very famous, the Buildings of Brick', and they see the library and a student's chambers), Newburyport, and Portsmouth, 'a place of considerable note & trade, & likely to increase very fast'. Here he meets John Langdon (1741–1819), already prominent in the revolutionary movement, with whom he goes on several excursions; views the 'drawings, maps, prints &c' of the topographer Samuel Holland; and is introduced to the Governor. At Newburyport again he dines with the Tracys, the chief financiers of the forthcoming Revolution. And back in Boston, on 20 September he **'waited on Phillis the celebrated negro Poetess, no less modest than sensible, she shew'd us several of her letters in manuscript, also her poetry which is lately publish'd'**. Wheatley had just returned from London, where her *Poems* had been published 1 September; she was manumitted by the end of the year. At Providence, he visits the College, 'quite a new building, three story high & very roomy', and has tea with Miss Brown. Finally he visits Newport, meeting the Quaker abolitionist Thomas Robinson, and the Quaker slave trader Abraham Redwood, then passes through Narraganset, Hertford, and Newhaven – 'one of their most flourishing towns', with a college (Yale) on one side of the square ('a large wooden building', not extant) – reaching New York on 3 October.

Tour in Pennsylvania, 23 November-1 December 1773, 5 leaves

'Under the auspices of a fine day, & the good company of Dr Parke, Fisher, Edwards & man Christopher, I left Philadelphia ...'. After their first dinner, Barclay splits from the Quaker doctor Thomas Parke (1749–1835, later director of the Library Company), and proceeds into land dominated by German settlers. Lancaster is very full because the supreme court is in session; he breakfasts at Wright's Ferry, 'kept now by J. Webb Junr', on the way to Yorktown and later **spends the evening in the company of Susanna Wright (1697–1784), 'not less famed for her poetry than good sense' – for three poems by**

generally carrying 8 or 10 hands, & if lucky will bring home about 300 quintals each trip, & they generally make three in the year besides these they have 50 or 60 sail of Topsail Vessels which they dispatch laden with fish to the Eastern markets. There were then in the harbour a few topsail Vessels & about 40 sail of Schooners, which made a pretty appearance, all round the town were warehouses full of Fish, & a large extent of ground covered with cod Fish drying in the sun, we rode 8 miles thro' Lynx to Newell where we dined & rode to Boston to tea, supping at home with Roach —

19th Went with Mr Gier & Roach to hear Dr. Anttoman, a lively sensible orator of the Baptists, whether came also Sirg Symes a prisoner under sentence of death, on which occasion the Dr. was extremely pathetic, addressing himself to the youths present as well as the unfortunate man, dined with Gier, — waited on Miss Ingram, to Dr. Coopers, disappointed by hearing a Dr. Smith a beginner — the meeting quite new & elegant Hancock gave a thousand pounds to it, — drank Tea at Lucs, walked with Roach to the mall, & supped with him —

20th Breakfasted with Ryloven, waited on Phillis the celebrated negro Poetess, no less modest than sensible, she showed us several of her letters in manuscript, also her poetry, which is lately published. called on our friend Rowe, dined at Roach's with P. & L. Hughes & Atherton, & afterwards with Capt. Prince went on board the Admirals Ship, the Captain an old friend — treated very politely by the Officers — waited on Mr. Bourne & supped at Schenck's with Ryloven & Roach, —

21st Horses mounting were accompanied 6 miles out of Town by Mr. Geyer & Wife, & Miss Ingram, & F. Roach, rode 18 miles thro' Attany to dinner, at Kenham, a pleasant tho' small town — the Inn remarkably good, staid 10 miles farther to feed our cattle, 10 more reached Providence, the road was good all this day, the country pretty level for New England — all divisions,

of Land made by stone fences, observed no grain, chiefly Indian corn & Orchards, with some little flax, but principally grazing grounds, the country thickly settled, with numerous small Villages interspersed, — at Mr. Westons a private lodging house, we put up, & there met our friend Mercer, — supped at home, —

22nd Providence is finely situated on the W. side of a hill, on a river that is navigable for Topsail Vessels up to their bridge & runs into the sea at Newport 30 miles distant, the Houses are all of good very fine elegant ones amongst them, it is a mile long, being but one principal Street besides another on the W. side of the river over which they have thrown a wooden bridge, which is also $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long, it is said to contain 400 houses, & 4000 Inhabitants, they have lately built a large market, also a fine Court house in a beautiful situation, they have also a College here, quite a new building, three story high, & very roomy within, they have lately made a small aqueduct for bringing the water from some distance to supply the town — it is esteemed a place of great Industry & trade, having risen within 40 years & still increases very fast, they have several Shoppes in the Whaling Business, but are principally in the West India trade in which they have 70 or 80 vessels, — dined at home drank tea with Miss Brown, & Sister Sally, Miss Curtis & — Gregory & Mercer walked to see the Assembly room, with the girls, & supped at home meeting those Miss & Maurion from Newport, —

23rd Breakfasted at Providence, & leaving R. D. to attend Miss M. by water we first crossed the river about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, 16 miles further we passed thro' a little town called Bristol, crossed another river called about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile over, & 6 miles more brought us to the Starts that surround Rhode Island, about 1 mile & $\frac{1}{2}$ over, then we passed in a large sailing boat, in 10 minutes, & reached a Mother Turners who keeps a very good Inn, we dined there, & making a stage of 9 miles reached N.P. by 4 o'clock, the roads this day were good, & the country around us uncommonly pleasant, by reason of

her see the **Commonplace section**. He tours the glassworks at Mannheim and Grubb's Iron works – 'they employ about 40 men chiefly stout Irish & Negroes'. At Lititz he calls on the Moravians, and at Dunkards Town or Ephrata, 'We had two hours converse with Peter Miller the President', who gives them a tour. The denizens dress in long coats, wear beards and live mostly on vegetables, sleeping on planks and pillows of wood; 'what they wear they manufacture themselves, & seem quite independent of the world'. At Bethlehem 'Miss Langsley ... shew'd me the apartments of the young women, which were very commodious neat & regular and by accident left me with several in a room by myself'.

'Tour thro Maryland [Delaware,] and Virginia', 8 March-4 April 1774, 6 leaves

At Naimans [Naamans] Creek Barclay is accommodated by Abraham and Sally Robinson (Washington would sleep there in 1777); at Wilmington 'they have lately finish'd a large stone Collidge, & from the Zeal of the Gardians of it, great things are expected'; but Newcastle shows 'a total stagnation of every trade'. From the Chesapeake he proceeds by boat to Annapolis – a place of 400 houses, many noble. State House Circle 'is now rebuilding of brick, on a very large plan'. Alexandria 'bids fair to be the metropolis of the South', Frederiksburg is full of Scots, who barter goods for tobacco, and on the way to Richmond 'we rode many miles thro lonely forests, very seldom meeting any Travellers'. At present it is 'in a low estate' but 'is likely to become a place of considerable consequence'. Williamsburg is 'very badly situated for trade', but the Capitol is very elegant; at Baltimore the court house is not yet finished. For nearly every village Barclay describes its extent, the type of buildings, the situation and commercial prospects.

Commonplace book

There are some conventional transcriptions, but other material here seems to be unpublished and to relate to Robert Barclay's periods in America. These include three poems by Susanna Wright, whom he visited at Wright's Ferry ('Few & evil have the days of the years of my life been', written on her birthday August 1762; 'On the death of a Child'; and 'On Time'). A poem 'To the Memory of Charles Norris of Philadelphia by H. Griffiths 1766' is almost certainly by the Quaker poet Hannah Griffiths, an associate of Wright's – Norris was a friend as well as a relative; and there and several pieces by J. Kett (from another Philadelphia family related to the Barclays by marriage). Most personal is a poem 'To Rt Barclay', signed Cleora, Philadelphia 1 March 1774, wishing him luck on his return to England, where his future wife Gurney awaits him.

Suppressed by the Author

10. BEATTIE, James. Original Poems and Translations. London: Printed [by F. Douglas, Aberdeen?]; and sold by A. Millar, 1760. [With:]

BEATTIE, James. The Minstrel, in two Books: with some other Poems ... London, Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly ... and W. Creech, in Edinburgh. 1779.

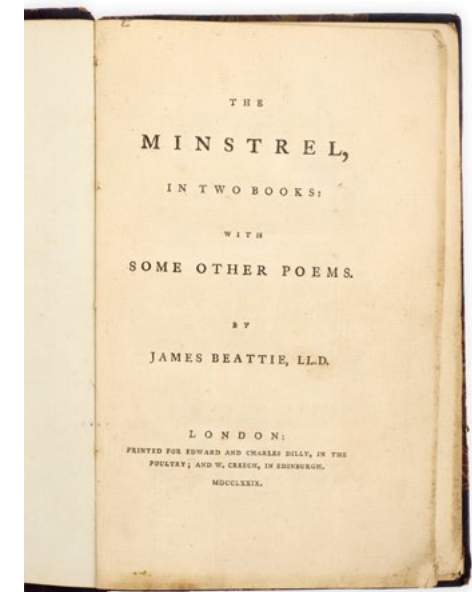
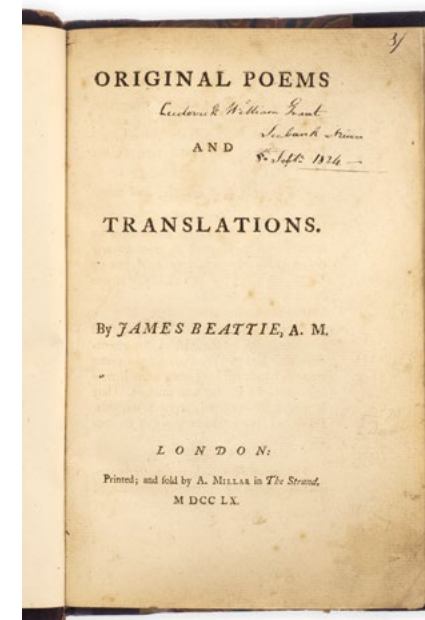
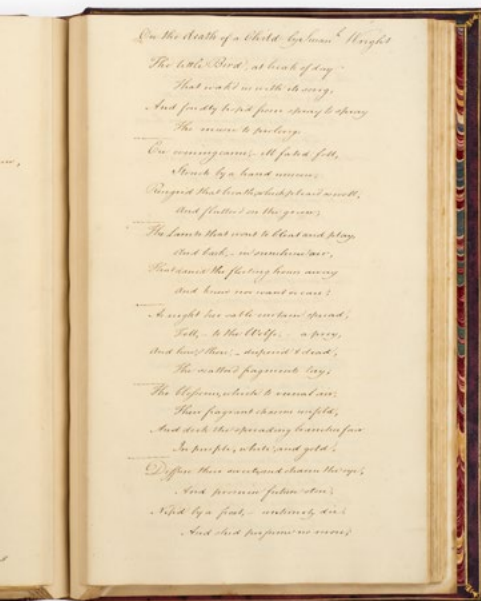
Two vols, 8vo, *Poems*: pp. x, [4], 188; title-page dusty, else a very good copy, lower (and occasionally fore-) edge partly untrimmed; and *Minstrel*: pp. iv, [4], 107, [1]; some slight foxing but a very good copy, lower and outer edges partly untrimmed; bound in uniform nineteenth-century half dark red roan and marbled boards, rubbed, lettered as Beattie Poems Vols I and II; ownership inscriptions to *Original Poems* of Ludovick William Grant dated 1824, and Miss Emily Fraser.

£450

First edition of Beattie's first collection. It is always described as his first book, but it is in fact preceded by an unique *Elegy on Mrs Walker* (1759), discovered by us in 1991 and now in the National Library of Scotland (but still not listed by ESTC).

This collection apparently became an embarrassment. A manuscript note in the British Library copy reads, 'This is the edition which the author was afterwards at such pains to suppress — the translations are totally excluded from the later editions'; and in later years Beattie 'used to destroy all the copies that he could find, and only four pieces from the collection were allowed to accompany the "Minstrel"' (A. H. Bullen, in *DNB*). The same sheets were reissued with a cancel title-page in 1761, when the Aberdeen origin was acknowledged.

It is offered here with a later collection, printing 'all the verses of which I am willing to be considered as the author': his autobiographical *Minstrel* (1771-4), three pieces repeated from *Original Poems*, and five other works (pp. 79-107).



With Notes for Infidels and those of mean Capacity

- II. [BIBLE.] FORTESCU, Alexander, editor. The Holy Family Bible, containing the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the Apocrypha at Large: with concise Notes on all the difficult Texts of Scripture, wherein the Objections of Infidels are obviated, and the obscure Passages explained to the meanest Capacity. Illustrated with Copper-Plates ... Winchester: Printed for the Proprietor by John Wilkes, and sold by him, and William Harris ... London. 1774.

Large 8vo, pp. [1434], printed in two columns, with an engraved frontispiece by Taylor after Samuel Wale, and twelve engraved plates; some occasional light foxing but a very good copy, in attractive contemporary red straight-grain morocco, front cover gilt with a border of floral tools, spine gilt in compartments, turn-ins gilt with diagonal stripes; contemporary printed book-label of William Henry Gater.

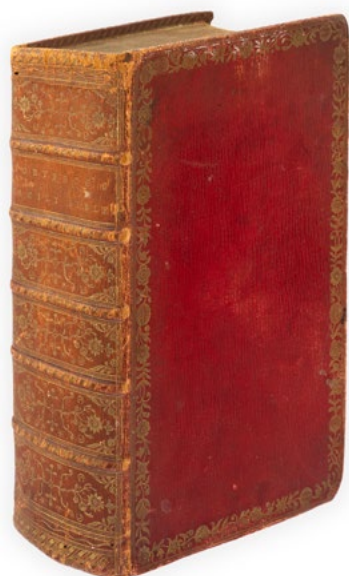
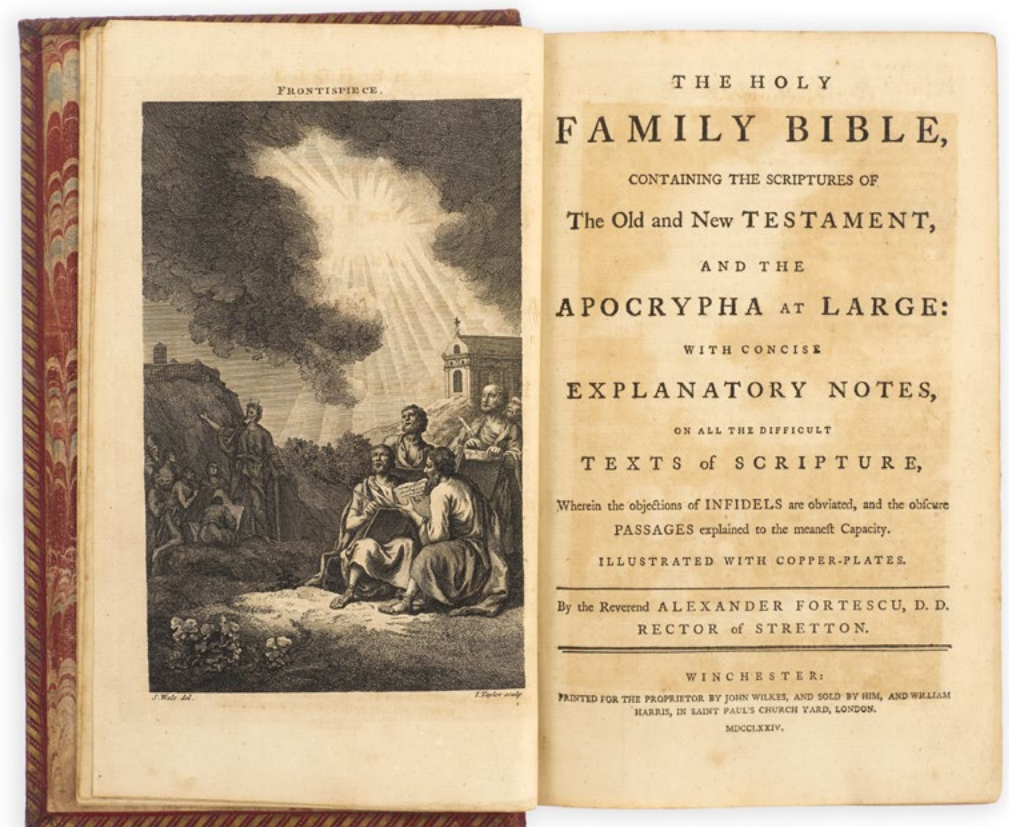
£1500

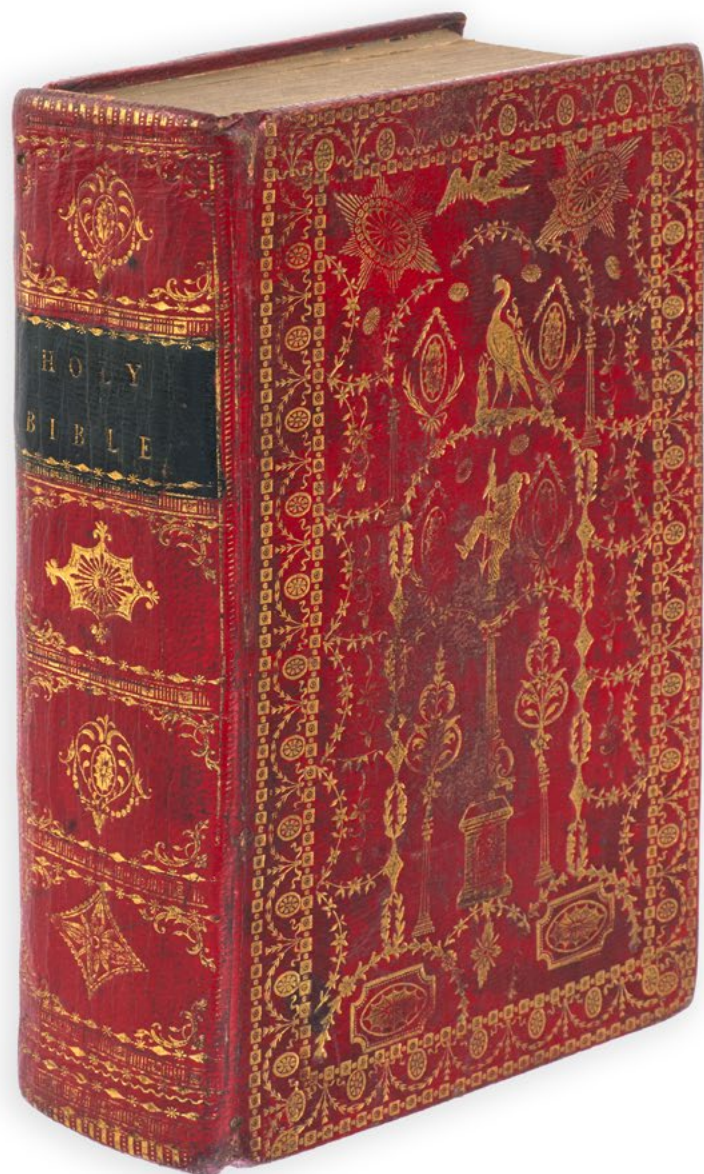
First edition, very rare, of a provincially-printed Bible, with original notes and additional matter by Alexander Fortescu, Rector of Stretton. Fortescu took as his source text the Cambridge folio Bible printed by Field in 1659, adding a short summary text at the head of each book, and explanatory footnotes throughout. At the end are a 'New Explanation of the Holy Bible by Question and Answer' (26 pages), and a 'New accented Dictionary of the Names and Places mentioned in the Holy Bible' (20 pages).

A 'second edition', printed in two vols 4to in 1777, features an entirely different set of notes, and omits the catechistical section and the dictionary (one recorded copy includes it, and it is listed separately in ESTC). A third edition appeared in Bristol in 1778. The printer John Wilkes, of Winchester, was later printer of the *Hampshire Chronicle* (1778–84), and compiler of the *Encyclopaedia Londinensis* (1801–28), but was also implicated in the sale of false lottery tickets in the 1780s.

For a substantial, illustrated work, Fortescu's Bible is unaccountably rare. ESTC records two copies only: BL and Bodley, and no more are added by Library Hub or OCLC. We have also traced a sale record for another copy in an identical binding with the printed label 'Jacob Gater' – presumably bought at the same time.

Darlow & Moule 1237; Alston III, 733 records the second edition only.





Scottish Rococo Binding

12. [BIBLE.] The Holy Bible, containing the old and new Testaments: newly translated out of the original Tongues ... Edinburgh: Printed by Alexander Kincaid ... 1772. *[Bound and probably issued with:]*

PSALMS (The) of David in Metre ... Edinburgh: Printed by Alexander Kincaid ... 1772.

12mo, ff. [420]; [36]; with a separate title-page for the New Testament; a fine copy in contemporary or near-contemporary Scottish red morocco, elaborately tooled to a rococo design with a wide border of swags and wheels, the central panels with sunbursts, swags, and columns, interspersed decorative tools including birds and man with a spear, covers slightly scraped in places; gilt edges; inscription recording the marriage of James Logan and Ann Pringle in 1792 and the birth of a daughter in 1797.

An attractive Edinburgh Bible and Psalter, in a very rare if haphazard example of a Scottish rococo binding, combining neo-classical elements and chinoiserie.

Versions of the distinctive Chinese spearman tool were employed in London by John Baumgarten (d. 1782), who is generally credited with bringing rococo binding to Britain, but see Forum Auctions 22 March 2018, lot 229 for a similar tool on a Kincaid Bible of 1778, the binding attributed there to Scott of Edinburgh (unlikely). The spread-eagle tool at the head here is one found on a number of unattributed Scottish bindings in the late 1780s and early 1790s (see *Henry Davis Gift II*, 283, listing four examples), and we have seen that tool along with the standing crested bird (thus and in reflection) on a similar Bible printed by Kincaid in 1787.

£2750



Unique bookseller's catalogue
Annotated with extra stock including 'odd volumes'

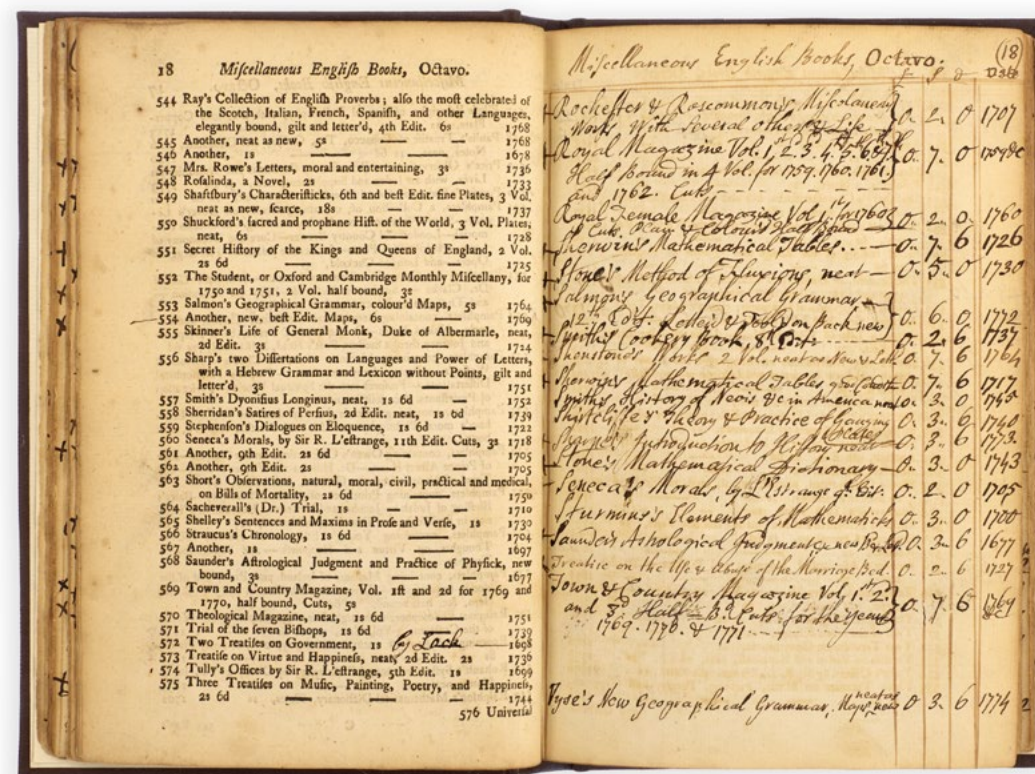
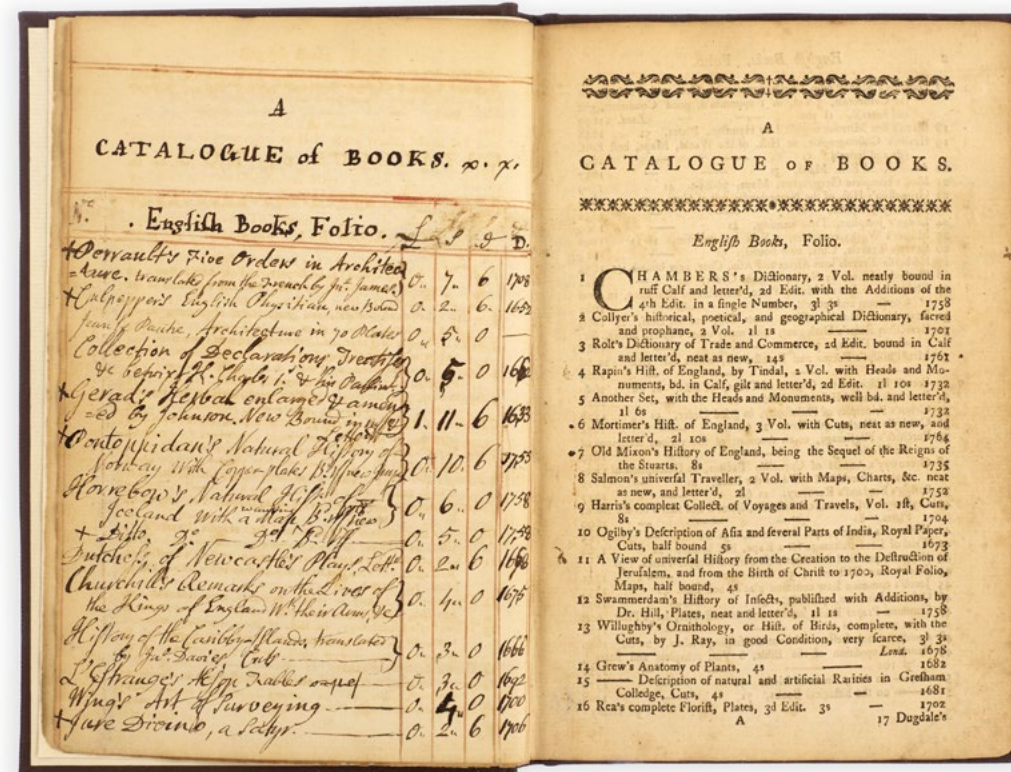
13. [BOOK CATALOGUE.] [HEATH, Joseph]. Catalogue of the Libraries of the late Rev. Mr Sloss, B. A., Mr. Milne, and Mr. Bruckshaw, of Nottingham The Books are in very good Condition, and many of them entirely new, gilt and letter'd. Which will begin to be sold very cheap (the lowest Prices printed in the Catalogue) on Monday the 22d of March, 1773, at Joseph Heath's Shop, Booksellers Nottingham; and continue on sale until Midsummer next. Where Catalogues may be had gratis, and at his shop in Mansfield; and of the Booksellers of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Northampton, Coventry, Kettering [etc. etc.] [1773.]

8vo, pp. [2], 70, interleaved with blanks and annotated throughout c. 1776, with additional blanks at the end (8 leaves of which annotated); old repair to closed tear in F2 (no loss), else in good condition, in modern library cloth, bookplate of City of Nottingham local studies collection.

£8500

First and only edition, the only known copy, a fascinating insight into the provincial book trade in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century, listing 2463 books and 20 prints, heavily annotated (presumably by Heath) with several hundred more titles to form a record of standing stock in around 1776. Joseph Heath, junior (d. 1789) was an enterprising bookseller, binder, and stationer, of Mansfield and Nottingham, son of another bookselling Joseph Heath who died c. 1748–9; his brother George Heath was a stationer and bookbinder in London. The Nottingham Heaths are also recorded as publishers in a small number of imprints from 1744, including a catalogue for a circulating library (Nottingham's first, then of 600 titles) – a later catalogue advertised here specifies 1800 titles.

The libraries Heath advertised here were those of three recently deceased local clergymen – James Sloss (1698–1772, the catalogue includes some works by him, presumably his own copies), and Thomas Bruckshaw and John Milne, both ministers of the High Pavement Chapel who had died in 1772. Predictably there is a preponderance of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theology (Isaac Watts takes up a full page, with more added in manuscript), but there is also much miscellaneous content, including, for example 'Willughby's Ornithology ... complete, with the Cuts ... in good Condition, very scarce, 3l 3s'; Purchas his Pilgrimage 1617; the third editions of Locke's *Two Treatises* 1698 and *Essay concerning human Understanding* 1695, 'best Edit. neat, 3s 6d'; a commonplace book, 3 vols 'well bd. in blue Turkey, gilt Edges and alphabetted', 18s; an *Atlas Geographus* 1712, with 100 Maps by Herman Moll, 'colour'd ... well bound', 12s; and 'A Collection of curious preserv'd Plants ... with a Catalogue, 5s'; as well as works on mathematics, history, law, and physic, and a scattering of poetry and fiction. The most expensive book in the catalogue is a later edition of Goadby's *Illustration of the holy Scriptures* 1769, 'complete,



[illegible]

Most unusually, the catalogue, both in print and in manuscript, devotes significant space to ‘odd volumes’, i.e. incomplete sets, among which we find numerous uncommon novels, which were almost certainly residuals from Heath’s circulating library. Among these are 5 volumes of *Clarissa* (two more added in manuscript, but the set still lacking the last volume); and an unrecorded first edition of a novel, *The Modern Couple* 1771 – ESTC records only the Dublin edition of 1776. It is interesting testament to changing tastes, and the nascency of a ‘rare book’ market at this date, that the 1s 6d that you would have to lay out on odd volumes of *The Intriguing Coxcomb* 1759 or *The Fine Lady* 1772, could also get you Donne’s *Poems* 1633 but not Anderson’s *Constitutions of Free Masons* wanting 8 pages.

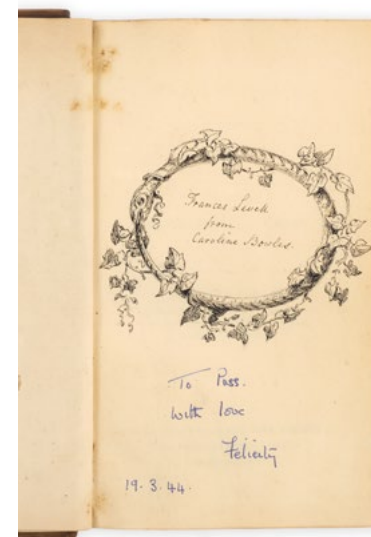
14. BOWLES (*later* SOUTHEY), Caroline. The Birth-Day; a Poem, in three Parts: to which are added, occasional Verses ... William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh; and Thomas Cadell, London. 1836.

£2750

The Birth-Day is a ground-breaking work, its publication long preceding that of Wordsworth's *Prelude* (1850), which is often thought of as the pioneer of verse autobiography. It is occupied with many of the same themes as Wordsworth's poem – memory, time, the relationship of mankind to nature, and the growth of selfhood – if on a more modest scale. 'The publication of *The Birth-day* in 1836 marked the coming of age of Caroline Bowles as a writer. The title-page not only prints her name authoritatively for the first time, it also gathers in most of her previous works ... **It is an important achievement, and should certainly be included in any future reckoning of nineteenth-century autobiography** ... [but] its substantial achievement had been quite overshadowed, first, by the circumstances of her marriage with the Poet Laureate, and later, by a tendency to dismiss verse about childhood (by women) as somehow childish in itself' (Virginia Blain, *Caroline Bowles Southey 1786–1854, the Making of a Woman Writer*, 1998).

THE
BIRTH-DAY;
A POEM,
IN THREE PARTS;
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
OCCASIONAL VERSES.
BY
CAROLINE BOWLES,
AUTHOR OF ELLEN FITZPATRICK, THE WIDOW'S TALK,
SOLITARY SONGS, CHAPTERS ON CHURCHYARDS,
TALES OF THE FACTORY, &c.
WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS, EDINBURGH;
AND THOMAS CADELL, LONDON.
MDCCLXXXVII.

In an age in which women usually masked their autobiography, Bowles stood out in claiming agency in her self-representation. The published work runs to 3000 lines but was in fact far shorter than she originally intended. Southey had seen something of it manuscript in 1819 when



advised her to 'go on with it, and you will produce something which may hold a permanent place in English literature'. Upon its eventual publication in 1836 he was 'looking every day for your little book, and should be glad to hear that there is more in it than the single poem, if I were not sorry that you had curtailed that poem, of which all I saw was very sweet' (letter 12 June 1836).

The poem was read 'with very much pleasure' in the Wordsworth household in September 1836, perhaps in particular by Dorothy, who suppressed her own poetic instincts in favour of her brother's; and was later known well by Elizabeth Barrett Browning. John Wilson's review in *Blackwood's* praised 'in the highest terms its lack of sentimentality, its humour, its subtlety, and its ability to "not mere recollect" but imaginatively reconstruct before the reader's eyes its vanished vision of childhood' (Blain). Those visions, vignettes of childhood seen again through her adult eyes, are more human than the intellectual isolationism of *The Prelude*, and show the important role of her mother, grandmother and great-grandmother, and her nurse in her upbringing, as well as the gardener Ephraim and his extraordinary wife Priscilla, and William Gilpin himself, whose drawing lessons must have had some effect – she painted in watercolour and oil and illustrated her own burlesque epic *Cat's Tail* (1831). **Here the drawings Bowles has added pick out moments of special resonance – as she takes dictation of her father's 'wild rhapsodies', trains her childhood spaniel, reaches for cherries dangled playfully by the gardener, reads in the hollow nook of an oak, and pets a newborn lamb rescued from a spring storm.**

In June 1836, around the time Southey would have received his copy (or copies) of *The Birth-day* (55 copies were delivered gratis from the run of 1500), his house-guests for several months were the Levetts, of Hampstead – Edward Levett, an old school-friend from Westminster days, and his wife Frances, recipient of the present copy. We have not been able to establish the relationship of Frances and Caroline precisely, but it predates the re-kindling of Southey's friendship and was evidently of long-standing; there is a 'long, chiefly domestic' letter from Bowles to Frances Levett dated 21 June 1827 in the Wordsworth Trust collection, Levett owned a number of drawings by Bowles, and in 1838 she donated silver plate to the church at Sway, four miles from Boldre, implying a possible Hampshire connection prior to her marriage.

A Farewell to Ruskin's parish priest

15. [BRIDGE, Stephen.] Illuminated memorial manuscript on vellum presented 'To the Rev. Stephen Bridge on his relinquishing the incumbency of St Matthew's Denmark Hill. 1868' by the residents of the parish and district, and the parish school. [Designed and executed by Witherby & Co., London, 1868].

Folio, ff. [12], the first and last pasted to silk endpapers; black, blue, red, orange and gilt decorative penwork and borders on vellum, comprising a dedication leaf, the resolutions of the memorial committee (2 ½ pages), and lists of the contributors and all the students at the Girls', Boys' and Infant schools of the parish; some discolouration at the extremities from the glue used to attach the silk endpapers, else in very good condition, bound in contemporary red pebbled morocco, covers with a wide stamped gilt border, lettered 'The Revd Stephen Bridge M. A.' within a central circle, wide gilt doublures, blue watered silk endpapers; front joint tender.

£850



A beautiful memorial volume presented to Rev. Stephen Bridge (c. 1811–1895) along with a silver salver and a purse of £1000 in gratitude for his service as minister of St Matthew's Denmark Hill since 1844, on the occasion of his transfer to the living of Droxford, Hampshire.

Bridge (BA Queens' Cambridge 1835) had previously served in York, Hull, and Islington, before his appointment to St Matthew's, Denmark Hill, in 1844. It was under his watch that the old St Matthew's Chapel, built the previous century, was demolished and replaced with a new church, consecrated in 1848 but the spire not completed until 1858 (destroyed by bombing in 1940). The area's most famous resident, John Ruskin, had been tutored at the school attached to St Matthew's in 1833–5, by a previous incumbent, Rev. Thomas Dale, and the Ruskins then made 163 Denmark Hill, up the hill from the church, their permanent home in 1842. The budding architectural critic was quick to weigh in on the proposed plans for St Matthew's by the architect Alexander Gough (1804–1871), much as he was involved in those for St Giles, Camberwell at the same time. A series of six letters from Ruskin to Bridge written 1846–65 (sold Sotheby's 14 December 2021) began with a vehement objection to the design, complaining that the architect had no understanding of Gothic; but he later apologized for his 'impertinent letter' and expressed delight at the finished product: 'it is really a very great delight to me to see the pretty circular end of your church and its pierced pediments projecting from the row of ugly brick houses'. Though he clearly attended the church, he was more lukewarm about Bridge's preaching, writing to his father in 1852: 'We heard Mr. Bridge this morning—very pleasant, but I like Mr. Moore better'.

Bridge was heavily involved in outreach work and was president of the local Working Men's Institute (Ruskin was a strong supporter of the London Working Men's College and gave regular classes there in 1854–8). For Bridge and the local Working Men Ruskin was to deliver a lecture in 1865 on the subject of 'Work and Play' (the holograph draft is at Yale), subsequently published in *The Crown of Wild Olive* (1866).

Despite their relationship, Ruskin is not listed among the contributors to Bridge's leaving gift – perhaps it didn't accord with his political principles, or perhaps he was pre-occupied with thoughts of Rose La Touche, to whom he proposed

that year. But other local notables who gave money include the Beneckes (friends of Mendellsohn), Henry Gastineau (watercolourist and friend of Turner), and possibly the architect Gough.

Witherby & Co. were a firm of stationers active since 1740 – they also specialised in the production of legal documents such as articles of agreement and marriage settlements.



A Hippo in the Haymarket?

16. [BROOKES, Joshua, Paul, or John?]. Bous Potamous, or the River Cow of Egypt, from the Banks of the Nile, (A Species of the Hippopotamus) being the only one ever taken alive and nearly the Size of an Elephant ... [London, dated in manuscript May 1799].

4to handbill, printed on one side, numerous lines crossed through in pen, and the location for the sale 'in Smithfield' added.

£1850

Unique broadside advertising the exhibition, and subsequent sale, of a live hippopotamus – possibly the earliest record of a live hippo in England – they were notoriously difficult to transport and keep alive and the arrival of a baby at London Zoo in 1849 was touted as the first in Europe since the Roman period. It was seemingly not: Benjamin Silliman (of Yale) reported seeing one in 1805, and Byron likewise in 1813. The present handbill suggests that the hippo, 'a curious amphibious animal, hitherto undescribed by the Naturalist of any Country', was shown to George III at Buckingham House, but we can find no record of this event, and given that portion is crossed through here, perhaps it was a claim too far. Indeed there is little collaborating evidence for the exhibition, suggesting that the animal might have died before it could be shown.

Joshua Brookes (will proved 1803) was probably the most prominent dealer in exotic animals in London in the second half of the eighteenth century. Though modest sounding, his 'Bird Shop, the Top of the Hay-market' was a substantial location, two houses together, ideally placed to capitalise on the new West End's wealthy clientele. It was in fact his third business; his original menagerie, at Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn, advertised in 1763 the sale of birds from India and America. By the late 1760s he was selling species as diverse as antelope, lions, monkeys and porcupines; he sold plants and seeds provided him by William Young, the royal botanist; and his son Paul travelled to Africa, Asia, South America and Russia to buy stock – the hippo apparently came from a certain Count Rajotsky in the Ukraine, who had it from 'Egypt by way of Turkey and the Crimea'. The Haymarket site, opened in 1777, was first operated by Mary Cross, wife of a former partner, and then by his son John. It was a success, placing him at the top end of the market: in the 1780s for example he sold the animals belonging of the Duchess of Portland, a decade or so later he provided 16 reindeer to the Duke of Norfolk and transported emus on behalf of Joseph Banks. Here he notes 'Foreign Birds bought and Sold. Orders taken in for all kinds of Deer'.

BOUS POTOMOUS,
OR THE
RIVER COW
Of EGYPT, from the BANKS of the NILE,
(A Species of the HIPPOPOTAMUS)
Being the only one ever taken alive, and nearly the Size of
~~1700~~ ~~AN ELEPHANT.~~ ~~1799~~

THIS most curious amphibious Animal, hitherto undescribed by the Naturalists of any Country, was purchased by Mr. Brookes, in his Travels through the Ukraine, (a Russian Province) of Count RAJOTSKY, which he had procured from Egypt, by Way of Turkey and the Crimea. It is of a Species, which partakes in the first Degree, of the large Holderness Breed, in Point of Size and other Properties, so much praised, and strongly recommended by the Gentlemen of that truly valuable Establishment, the BOARD of AGRICULTURE. Several of that scientific Body having seen this Quadruped, with the highest Approbation, and represented the same to His Most Gracious Majesty, it was exhibited to him and His Royal Highness Prince EDWARD, in the Riding-school, at Buckingham House, who were pleased to express their entire Satisfaction. The Breath of this most rare Animal is so perfectly sweet, that it fills the Room with the richest Perfume; and it is so extremely tractable and gentle, that the most timid Lady may approach it with perfect Safety.

As Mr. BROOKES has imported this Phenomenon, solely with the patriotic View of improving the Breed of Neat Cattle in England, he intends to dispose of it by Subscription. ~~in Smithfield~~

To be seen at the Bird Shop, the Top of the Hay-market.
Admittance ONE SHILLING.—Foreign Birds Bought and Sold.
* * Orders taken in for all Kinds of DEER.

This is likely a proof or retained copy, altered in manuscript to provide copy for a later untraced advertisement. An earlier version with textual differences ('Just arrived, a live boos potamous') is known in one copy, among Daniel Lysons's *Collectanea* at the British Library. The present version, with a different heading, also adds a line at the foot: 'As Mr. Brookes has imported this Phoenomenon, solely with the patriotic View of improving the Breed of Neat Cattle in England, he intends to dispose of it by Subscription [*in Smithfield*].' One can only imagine the expression on the faces of the poor livestock faced with this prospect. Whether the sale 'by Subscription' at Smithfield went ahead we cannot determine. Could it all be, as Caroline Grigson suggests, an elaborate hoax at the Brookes' expense? Or perhaps the animal was a fake – within the decade John Brookes was in court for applying spots to a camel to confect a 'cameleopard'.

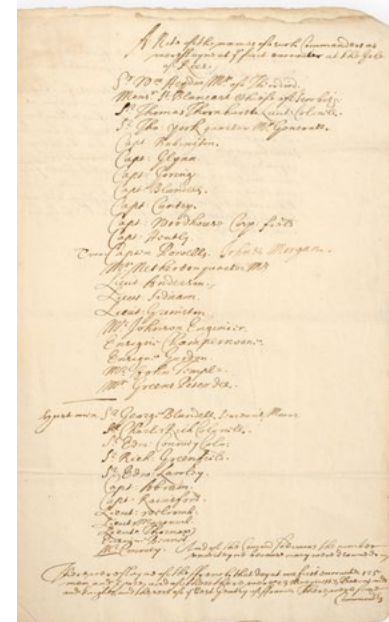
See Christopher Plumb, 'Exotic animals in eighteenth-century Britain' (University of Manchester PhD thesis, 2010) and Caroline Grigson, *The History of Exotic Animals in England, 1100–1837*, 2016.

Manuscript accounts of the Île de Ré Expedition

17. [BUCKINGHAM, George Villiers, *Duke of*.] 'A Journall of the Duke of Buckingham his Voyage and taking of the Isle of Rees' (dated on the docket 1 August 1627); and 'A True Journall or Diarie of all the material passages and occurrences hapininge at and after our landing at the Isle of Ree'. [1627]

Two manuscripts, folio ff [3], plus an integral docket leaf; and ff. [4]; 'Journall' in an italic hand, stitched, in very good condition; 'True Journall' in a secretary hand, old tape repairs to edges, one leaf fragile with small holes (no loss of sense); with early nineteenth-century transcriptions of both manuscripts and of a third account (Philipps MS 21172, 'An unhappie viewe of the whole behaviour of my Lo: Duke of Buckingham at the ffrrench Island. Secretly discovered by W F an unfortunate Com[m]ander in that unfortunate service').

£3250



A collection of contrasting contemporary accounts of the disastrous siege of St-Martin-de-Ré, led by the Lord Admiral George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham and favourite of Charles I.

Facing impeachment from Parliament but still supported by the King, Buckingham saw an expedition to Ré as a way of inhibiting French blockades of the Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle, and countering the influence of Richelieu, who had begun building a large French fleet. 'The fleet arrived off the south-eastern tip of Ré on 12 July 1627 and the troops were successfully landed, although they suffered losses from attacks by enemy cavalry. Five days later the army reached St Martin, the main town on the island, and invested the citadel into which the French defenders had withdrawn. By the end of September the garrison was close to capitulation ... However, Richelieu, who had taken personal charge of the French forces on the nearby mainland, dispatched a convoy of small ships which slipped through the English blockading fleet and brought supplies to the starving garrison. There was no prospect now of a swift victory for Buckingham's army, and his officers advised him to withdraw from Ré before the onset of winter, particularly since the reinforcements sent from England had been too little and too late. Buckingham made one last attempt to capture the citadel, this time by storming it, but his troops were beaten off by the defenders. He then gave the order to retreat, but the way to the ships was blocked by French forces sent over from the mainland. The English had to fight their way through, and suffered heavy casualties. Buckingham's army numbered nearly 8000 when it set out for Ré, but only 3000 returned to Portsmouth in November 1627' (*Oxford DNB*).

The first account here covers the earliest days of the expedition, up to 20 July. Forces had been split outside Dunkirk when Buckingham led 60 sail to pursue a squadron of 13 French ships to no avail, and they were not reunited until 10 July. During this time some of the ships had been damaged by storm, including the *Nonsuch*. The attempt to establish a beachhead on 12 July was met with valiant resistance, some English fleeing back to the boats and so drowning or causing others to drown, including Sir William Heydon, Master of the Ordinance. Yet, encouraged by Buckingham 'standing in the head of the Barge, his sworde drawne', the English finally prevailed. The author claims the loss of 125 French

horse and men, 'of the best of all France, as it was said 20 odd Barons' - 'I found about 56 naked Bodies, whose hands and haire shewed them to bee no Mechanique men'. Taking La Flotte, Buckingham spared the Catholic populace then advanced to Saint Martin and occupied the town, showing the while 'courageous spirit'. 'Now the Enemy beganne to batter night and day on the towne' but none were killed. This account then concludes abruptly: 'It is appointed that on Satterday there shalbee 20 field peeces landed, and 9 Drakes mounted against the Fort for Battery ... and so for England the 20th of July in his Mat^s Pinnace the Charles'. It seems clear that the author must therefore have been of the party of Sir William Beecher (or Beecher himself), who was sent back to England at this point 'to raise supplies and reinforcements. His speedy return was expected, but shortage of cash meant that he reappeared ten weeks later with only 400 men rather than the 2,000 expected' (*History of Parliament*). A list follows 'of such Commanders as were slayne in the first encounter', including Heydon, Sir Thomas York the quartermaster general, and Mr Johnson engineer. The tone throughout is supportive of Buckingham, which would fit with Beecher as possible author - he was a consistent defender of Buckingham's interests.

The second account elaborates on much of the same ground, covering the French horse charge at the beach head ('tru freancmen desperately valliant') and noting that the French foot were unwilling to engage 'after two or three volleys of shotte and stons, finding our pikes to[o] longe for them'. The author attributes this tactical failure on dissention amongst the French forces - Baron St Andrew had been promised the first charge but was not given it and therefore would not charge at all. But from this point on support for Buckingham is far more muted. The route taken to Saint Martin was a long hot one through vineyards to avoid being within range of shot - but the fort 'had neyther ordinance mounted nor any bodie to resist us, but an ould woman (as we afterward harde)'. On evidence of the French forces and their ample supplies, first Sir John Burroughs and then Henry Spry advise against direct assaults on the fortress, but the latter is 'answeared with a court like scorne, that he talked, as if he had come from an Alehowes'. When they abandoned the town, the English left 'our sicke behind us, whose throats wer cutte after, and inhumanely sent us in a barke'. And in retreat they were attacked at an opportune moment (a pinch-point over bridge) and routed 'and the enemy had the execution of five whole Regimentes, wch they put all to the sworde, exept twentie Officers and a hundred comone souldiours prisoners, and those that wre drown'd, wch wer many'.

The third account, an 'Unhappy viewe', of which a Thomas Phillipps transcription is present, is the most accusatory, calling Buckingham 'obstinate and rediculous', and even suggesting he employed a body-double for the most serious assault on the fortress. The author describes being caught out at the bridge during retreat and stuck in a salt pit with a bullet wound in the leg. He hopes Parliament will take revenge on Buckingham and encourages Charles I to open his eyes to his favourite's faults.

Revenge would in fact be not too distant - by now deeply unpopular Buckingham was assassinated the following year by a disgruntled soldier who had served in the expedition.

15
5490

*True Journall or Diarie of all
the materialle passages and
occurrences happening at and
after our landings at the Ile of Rhé.*

*Monday the
11th of July.*

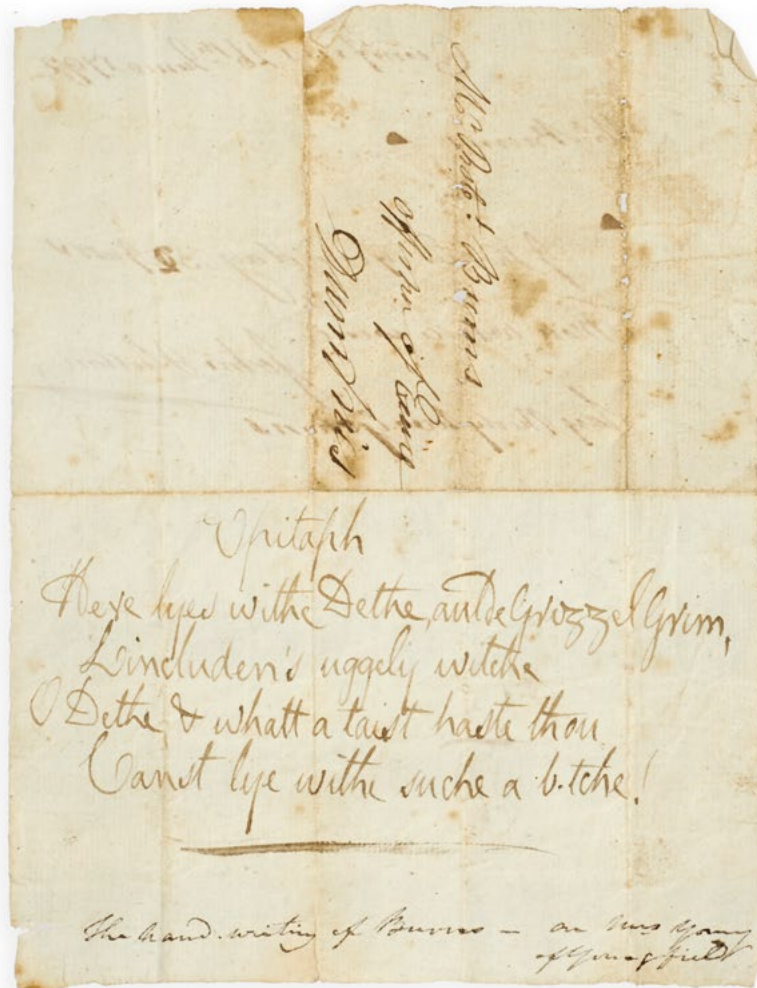
The generall expectation of our mightie fleet was at length
delivered of a goodly birth, brought to passe with full ignorance
or over confident feare in the after raines of affayres it
proved illegitimate, for after some fortnight time spent at
sea, our ships (though formerly dispersed in chase of
certaine privateers) on wednesday beinge the eleventh
of July, all arrived before the Ile of Rhé, where a great
batterie immediately raised, the Colonells received order
for three manner of landings, that might not onlye
of our owne power doe some only some shotte made by the
batterie shipped at the fort called Port de la Pie
but to litle purpose.

*Tuesday the
12th of July.*

The next morninge Mons^r Saubie went to Fort St
to procure some aid from them, and Sir William Beecher
was brought out by my lord. Duke to knowe the intentions
but they of the fort would scarce admitte them but by a
postern door beinge within of the walls of our affayres
about fower of the clocke in the afternoon the same day,
we began to dispossesse our fortifications, but by that time
we had landed some 1200 or 1500 of our men, with fower
or fower Drakes, the enemye also had discovered of us
by the advantage of a batonne, charged us with 200 fowle and
1000 foot. in this assault they showed them selves
two foramen desperately valiant and our men beinge over-
and faste shot a short route, and drowned many of the
French but at length by the brave example of the Colonnells
and gent^l. they resumed their courage, and in great number
about an hundred of this Cavalrie on the ground of the
seeminge the last argument of their fortification in doing
unwillingly this Captaine saung this battie to them, and
were glad to quite us for after two or three volleyes of shotte
and stons findinge our pikes to longe for them, they betooke
themselves to flight and left us masters of the field.
an hour after we charged it beinge in the death of many
of our braver souldiours, that might we bequeit to hands
our fowle, and made good the place by intrenchment, expe-
ctinge another charge from the enemye that night, but
they left us quietly to enjoy our victorie, whereupon they
had but as accident as hath beene we had never provided
for it they at first had charged us with fower fowle to take
revenge of our first and lastest volley and then plant
with their fowle they have left us many for a long time
but it hapned otherwise by a dissention amongst themselves
arisinge from this cause Mons^r Chevalier governor of the
Ile had promised down at our first the honor of the
charge to us after gave in remaunde to his but then
whereat he beinge discontented would not charge at
all, nor infor his purpose to serove the battie
yet we must attribut not our victorie or rather
wch

Impromptu bawdry – the earliest holograph

18. BURNS, Robert. Autograph verse 'Epitaph' to 'Grizzel Grim', c. 1792.



1 leaf 8vo, 4 lines, on the integral blank of a short letter written to Burns in his capacity of excise officer for Dumfries by a local alcohol merchant John Hutton, dated 26 June 1792, with a sum in Burns's hand below; creased where folded, some edge-wear but in good condition, manuscript note below the poem in the hand of Janet Esther Houison Craufurd (m. 1808), with a longer note by her on a separate sheet.

£15,000*

A charming bawdy 'epitaph' by Burns, written seemingly impromptu on the back of a scrap paper relating to his job as an exciseman.

Here lyes withe Dethe, aulde Grizzel Grim,
Lincluden's uggey witchie
O Dethe & whatt a taist haste thou
Canst lye withe suche a bitche!

Only recently discovered among the papers at Craufurdland Castle, near Kilmarnock, the present manuscript is the earliest (and the only currently traceable) holograph version of the poem, and confirms that it is an original composition by Burns. Though only a brief skit, it became the inspiration for one of Burns's best comic ballads, 'Grim Grizzel is a mighty dame' (written 1795), which uniquely allied bawdry with the social commentary that increasingly occupied him in the 1790s.

According to the notes here by Janet Craufurd (m. 1808), which echo a separate source mentioned by Kinsley, the subject of Burns's 'Epitaph' was the still-living Grizzel Young (1732?-1809, formerly Craik) of Youngfield, Lincluden, near Dumfries. 'Mrs Young was certes very ugly – and the heroine of many singular anecdotes – many of which I was witness of in my childhood near Lincluden'. By 1795 some of those anecdotes had inspired the ballad of Grim Grizzel, in which the haughty dame berates her cowherd for wasting manure by letting her kine shite on other land.

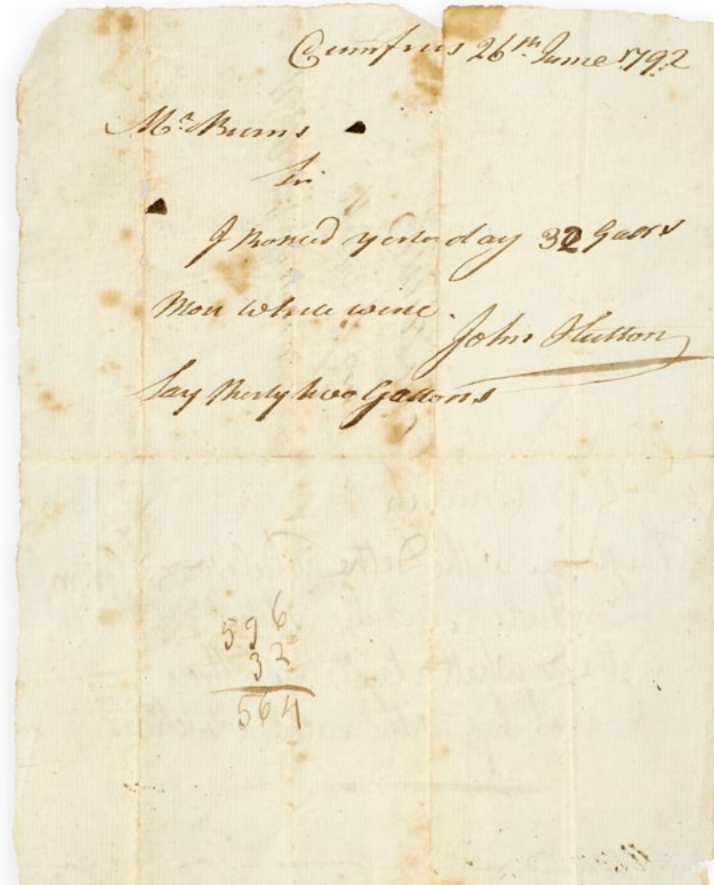
In February 1792 Burns was promoted to his last excise post, as port officer for Dumfries. It was an extremely busy position, with over 50 dealers in excise goods (mainly alcohol, tea and tobacco) under his purview, including the John Hutton who writes to Burns here:

Mr Burns
Sir
I Bottled yesterday 302 galls
More white wine. John Hutton
Say thirty two Gallons

Under this Burns has calculated the sum now left in barrels ('596 – 32 = 564'), his job requiring him to keep tabs on all dutiable goods within his district. When he died in 1796 Burns owed Hutton £1 8s 6d, but it seems more likely that this note is professional and not personal given the quantities involved.

First published in the 1830s in a modernised version, the 'Epitaph' appeared in the Henley and Henderson centenary edition of the *Poetry* (1896) from a holograph MS then in the possession of Lord Rosebery. It sat there alongside the Grizzel ballad, with a note that Burns 'pickt up' this 'ludicrous epitaph ... from an old tombstone among the ruins of the ancient Abbey' in Dunblane. Despite other cases in which 'Burns has been deliberately (and sometimes playfully) evasive as regards authorship' (Henderson, Mackey and McIntyre), which would be especially pertinent with a bawdy poem, Kinsley's critical edition of 1968 takes this at face value. Kinsley prints the text from Henley and Henderson (the source manuscript being untraced), where the faux archaic orthography is different in ten places. **The present manuscript (which likely predates the Rosebery MS by at least three years), and the local provenance, confirm a clear Dumfriesshire connection, rendering the 'Dunblane' back-story supremely implausible.**

See Jonathan Henderson, Pauline Mackay, and Pamela McIntyre, "Epitaph" on Grizzel Grim: a newly-discovered manuscript in the hand of Robert Burns', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 41:1.



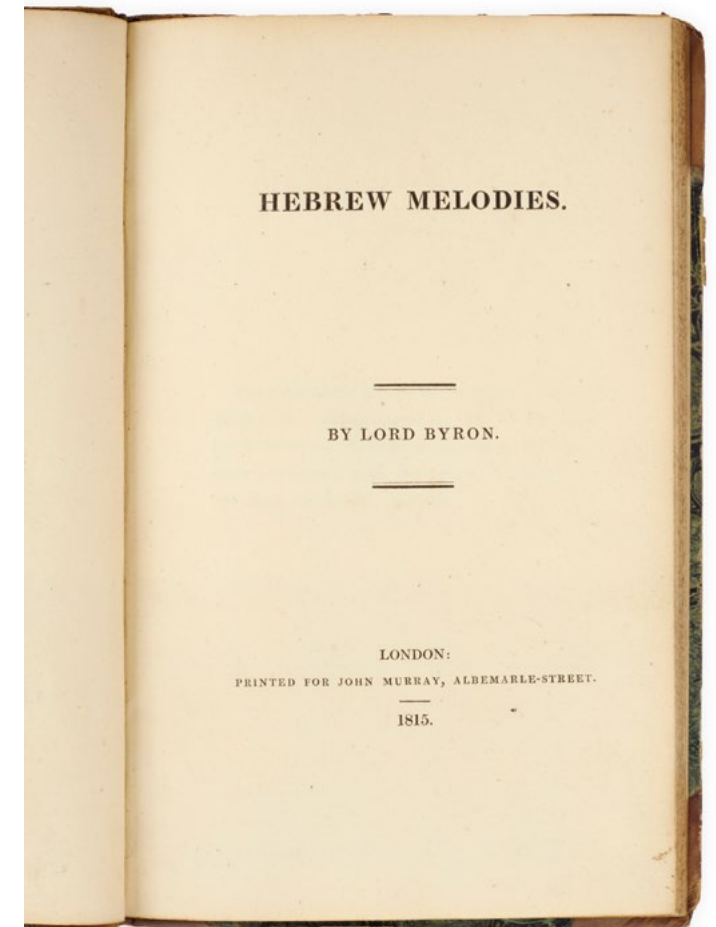
Hebrew melodies, in English ...

19. BYRON, George Gordon, *Lord Byron*. Hebrew Melodies ... London: Printed for John Murray ... 1815.

8vo, pp. [8], 53, [1, blank]; with half-title and fly-title, but wanting the terminal leaf of advertisements (E4), and the four leaves of half-titles and title-pages intended (but seldom used) for binding up Byron's poetical pamphlets as a collection; a little browning but an acceptable copy in old half skiver with marbled sides; rubbed, corners worn.

£500

First edition of this group of poems, mainly written at the request of Douglas Kinnaird, Byron's banker and friend, to accompany a selection of ancient Jewish sacred music set by Isaac Nathan, although the most famous of all, 'She walks in Beauty', had been composed impromptu a few months earlier when Byron first met his cousin Anne Beatrix Wilmot. The folio printing with the music, *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies*, in two parts, also 1815, is very rare.



... and in German

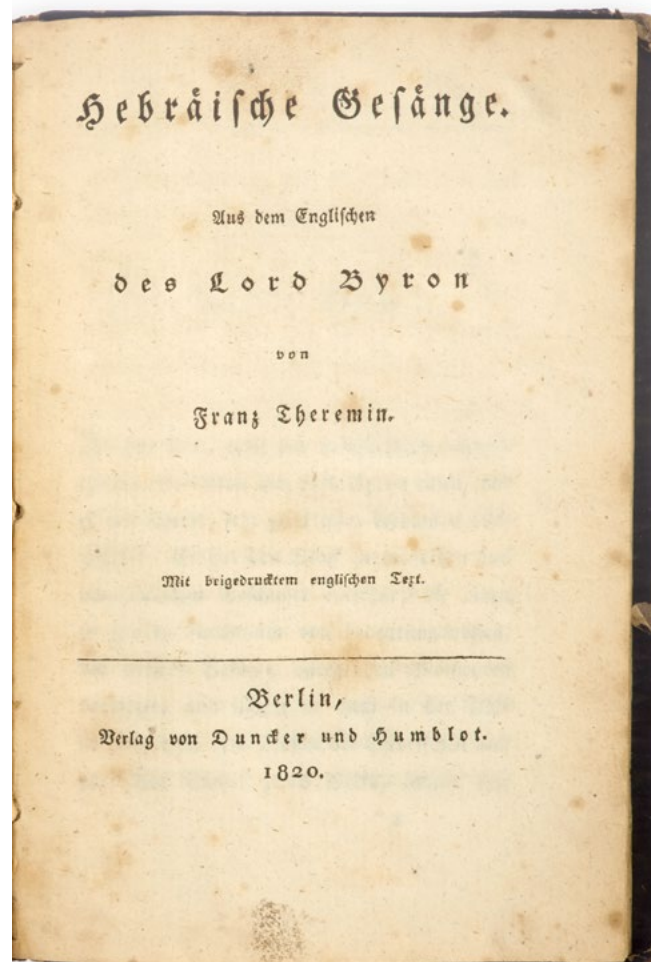
20. BYRON, George Gordon, *Lord Byron*. Hebräische Gesänge. Aus dem Englischen ... von Franz Theremin. Mit begedrucktem englischen Text. Berlin, Verlag von Duncker und Humblot. 1820.

Squarish 12mo, pp. viii, 87, [1], 12 [advertisements], with a terminal errata slip; some foxing, more to the extremities, but a good copy in contemporary black marbled paper boards, edges worn.

£450

First edition in German (and first dual-language edition) of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (1815), translated by the theologian Franz Theremin. Omitted are 'It is the hour' and the 'Lines on the Death of Sir Peter Parker'.

Very uncommon outside Continental Europe: OCLC records BL only in the UK and no copies in North America.



Byron's Spenser

21. [BYRON.] SPENSER, Edmund. The Faerie Queen: the Shepherds Calendar: together with the other Works of England's Arch-Poët ... Collected into one Volume, and carefully corrected. Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lowndes ... [1609-] 1611. [With:]

SPENSER, Edmund. Prosopopoia. Or Mother Hubberds Tale ... At London, Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lowndes ... 1613.

Folio, pp. [4], 363, [15]; [10], 56; [136]; 16, with the dedication to Elizabeth (often wanting), but without the medial blank ²F4; old repair to small closed tear on title-page, title-page and conjugate dedication leaf sometime neatly reinforced at outer margin, mild marginal dampstains to quires A-B, a few spots and stains, else a very good copy in early nineteenth-century calf over wooden boards, blind roll-tooled border, marbled edges, neatly rebacked and recorned; seventeenth-century ownership inscriptions 'Eliz. Lawrence', bookplates of Lord Byron (Franks 4750) and of James William Ellsworth (1849-1925, industrialist and bibliophile, his library acquired by A.W. Rosenbach in 1923), gilt leather booklabel of Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.

£25,000



Byron's copy of the first collected edition of Spenser's poems. This is the earliest state of the 1611 Works, employing the unsold sheets of *The Faerie Queen* 1609, along with *The Shepherds Calendar*, *Colin Clouts come home again*, *Prothalamion*, the sonnet sequence *Amoretti*, *Epithalamion*, and the rest of Spenser's minor poems, all in their first issue, dated 1611. To this volume is also added *Prosopopoia* or *Mother Hubberds Tale*, which was initially left out in 1611, because of its allegorical attack on Lord Burghley, the father of the (then living) Lord Treasurer Robert Cecil (this is the variant dated 1613 rather than 1612).

Byron's employment of the Spenserian stanza in *Childe Harold* is perhaps the greatest literary tribute to the Elizabethan poet in the nineteenth century: 'Not long ago I began a poem in the style and stanza of Spenser, in which I propose to give full scope to my inclination, and be either droll or pathetic, descriptive or sentimental, tender or satirical, as the humour strikes me; for, if I mistake not, the measure which I have adopted admits equally of all these kinds of composition' (Preface). While Byron's adoption of Spenser's 'style' lasts no longer than the first few stanzas, the 'Childe' is a quasi-Spenserian protagonist, and Spenser makes frequent enough appearance in Byron's correspondence to be sure of an ongoing engagement. 'Byron showed a lively, though not a systematic interest in Spenser ... In terms of sheer bulk, most of Byron's writing in the first half of his career ... took the form of the Spenserian stanza ... Yet more than external form is at issue. When Byron in his last long poem, *The Island* [1823], again had recourse to the pentameter couplet, he infused it with a Spenserian vein of romance ... What Byron and Spenser had in common was ... complex and powerful: a motivation born of finding themselves in unofficial exile; a power of analyzing, with stark and startling sensitivity, the history and politics of their time; and a penchant for immersing themselves in moments and scenes as revelations of value' (Michael Cooke's article on Byron in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, 1990).



1
 That Tigre, or what other saluage wile
 Is so exceeding furious and fell,
 As wrong, when it hath arm'd it selfe
 Not fit mongst men, that do with re:
 But mongst wilde beaists and saluage woods to
 Where still the stronger doth the weake deuou
 And they that most in boldnesse doe excell,
 Are dradded most, and feared for their powre:
 Fit for *Adicia*, there to build her wicked bowre.

2
 There let her wonne farre from resort of men,
 Where righteous *Arthegall* her late exiled;
 There let her euer keepe her damned den,
 Where none may be with her lewd parts defiled
 Nor none but beaists may be of her despoiled
 And turne we to the noble Princee, where late
 We did him leaue, after that he had foyled
 The cruell Souldan, and with dreadfull fate
 Had vterly subverted his vnrighteous state.

3
 Where, hauing with Sir *Arthegall* a space
 Well solac't in that Souldans late delight,
 They both resolving now to leaue the place,
 Both it and all the wealth therein behight
 Vnto that Damzell in her Ladies right,
 And so would haue departed on their way.
 But shee them woo'd by all the meanes she mi
 And earnestly besought, to wend that day
 With her, to see her Lady thence not farre away.

4
 By whose entreatie both they, overcommen,
 Agree to goe with her, and by the way
 (As often falles) of sundry things did comm
 Mongst which, that Damzell did to them be
 A strange adventure, which not furre thence l
 To weet, a wicked villaine, bold and stout,
 Which wonned in a rocke not farre away,
 That robbed all the Country there about,
 And brought the pillage home, whence none co

The present volume must have been acquired by Byron after 1822, most likely in Italy before his final departure for Greece in July 1823. Byron's armorial bookplate, engraved by Griffiths & Weigall, is itself a rarity: it was only commissioned after he took on the name and arms of the Noel family (a condition of the will of his mother-in-law Lady Milbanke, d. January 1822). Leigh Hunt, who joined Byron in Italy with his family in July 1822 (*see next*), recalled how, thinking Byron's library poor, 'I lent him a volume of the "Fairy Queen" and he said he would like to try it. Next day he brought it to my study-window, and said, "Here, Hunt, here is your Spenser. I cannot see anything in him:" and he seemed anxious that I should take it out of his hands, as if he was afraid of being accused of copying so poor a writer' (Hunt, *Lord Byron and some of his Contemporaries*). Lockhart, reviewing Hunt, later rubbished the idea 'that the author of one of the noblest poems that have been written in the Spenserian stanza was both ignorant of the Faëry Queen, and incapable of comprehending anything of its merits ... Lord Byron, we have no sort of doubt, indulged his passion for mystifying, at the expense of this gentleman, to an improper and unjustifiable extent.' **Indeed, Byron had just casually mis-quoted Spenser's 'Fierce warres and faithfull loves' in *Don Juan* canto VII, written in Pisa in June 1822:**

'Fierce loves and faithless wars' – I am not sure
 If this be the right reading – 'tis no matter ...

(*Don Juan*, VII, 8).

No copies of Spenser are to be found in the various auction catalogues (1813, 1816, and 1827) from Byron's library; this copy could only have appeared in 1827, but that catalogue is so slight (233 items) as to appear 'skeletal', in Peter Cochran's words. Cochran ('Byron's library') lists numerous works Byron was known to possess but which do not appear in that sale, including an English Montaigne and a ninety-two-volume edition of Voltaire, implying substantial 'pre-sale pilfering by Byron's friends'. **The rediscovery of this copy is a major statement in support of Byron's debt to Spenser.**

The 1611 works is a complicated collection, printed in sections and assembled from available parts, which were then reprinted as they ran out. Lownes had already produced a folio edition of *The Faerie Queene* in 1609, having acquired the rights from Simon Waterson who had them from William Ponsonby, the publisher of the original quartos of 1590–96. Two years later he still had some unsold sheets, and these, with a cancel title-page and dedication, were incorporated into the earliest copies of the 1611 collected works, as here (where the colophon of *The Faerie Queene* is still dated 1609, as is the title-page to Books IV–VI). **'Two Cantos of Mutabilitie', printed as a fragment of Book VII, are also from 1609, their first appearance in print and the sole authority for the text.** When the 1609 sheets ran out all this part of the book had to be reprinted, and the 'Mutabilitie Cantos' lose their textual authority.

Johnson 19; STC 23083.3 (including 23086.3) and 23087.



'The Land which refuses a refuge to the unfortunate, and an asylum to my friends - is not a fit residence for me'

22. BYRON, George Gordon Noël, *Lord Byron*. Autograph letter, signed 'Noel Byron', to the Governor of Livorno [Francesco Spannocchi Piccolomini]. [Villa Dupouy, Montenero,] 1 July 1822. [With:]

BYRON, George Gordon Noël, *Lord Byron*. Secretarial letter, signed 'Noel Byron, pari d'Inghilterra', in Italian to the same. Villa Dupouy, Montenero, 2 July 1822.

I. Two pages, 4to, on a bifolium, with an integral address leaf, paper watermarked 1820.

II. One page, 4to, on a bifolium, with an integral address leaf, probably in the hand of Pietro Gamba, black wax seal with Byron's coat of arms.

Both creased where folded but in excellent condition.

Offered together with a letter from Caroline D[upouy] of 15 April 1826 to an unidentified recipient in Turin, mentioning Byron's residence at her family's villa in Montenero.

Together £13,500



A fine unpublished letter written by Byron in defence of his friends Ruggero and Pietro Gamba, and his lover Teresa Guiccioli, who, along with Byron himself, had been asked to leave Livorno by the Tuscan government; along with a message correcting an error in the first letter.

Sir

I presume to address your Excellency in English, as they tell me you do us the honour to understand that language. My friends the Counts Gamba and family have received an order to leave Tuscany in four days - as also my Courier a Swiss by birth [Giuseppe Strauss]. - Upon this order I shall make no remarks, at least for the present. I shall quit the territory with them - as the land which refuses a refuge to the unfortunate, and an asylum to my friends - is not a fit residence for me. - But as I have considerable property in this country in furniture and other articles - which require some time to arrange for removal - I have to request a delay of some days in favour of my friends - as also my Courier - who will accompany me, if permitted - and I should suppose that a day or two more or less can[?] be of little consequence - - As I shall accompany them wherever they go, I beg leave to request the honour of an answer.

I remain, Sir
Your Excellency's
very obed[ien]t
faith[ful] humble Ser[van]t
Noel Byron

favour of my friends - as also of my
favourite - who wish accompanying me, if ~~the~~
is permitted - and I should suppose
that a day or two more or less can
be of little consequence - -
As I shall accompany them wherever
they go - I beg leave to request the
honour of an answer -
I remain Sir -
your Excellency's
very obed[ien]t
faith[ful] humble Ser[van]t
Noel Byron



The following day, Byron takes the liberty of correcting an error in his previous – he did not mean the ‘Conti Gamba, ma padre, figlio, e figlia maritata al Signor Cavalier Guiccioli di Ravenna’.

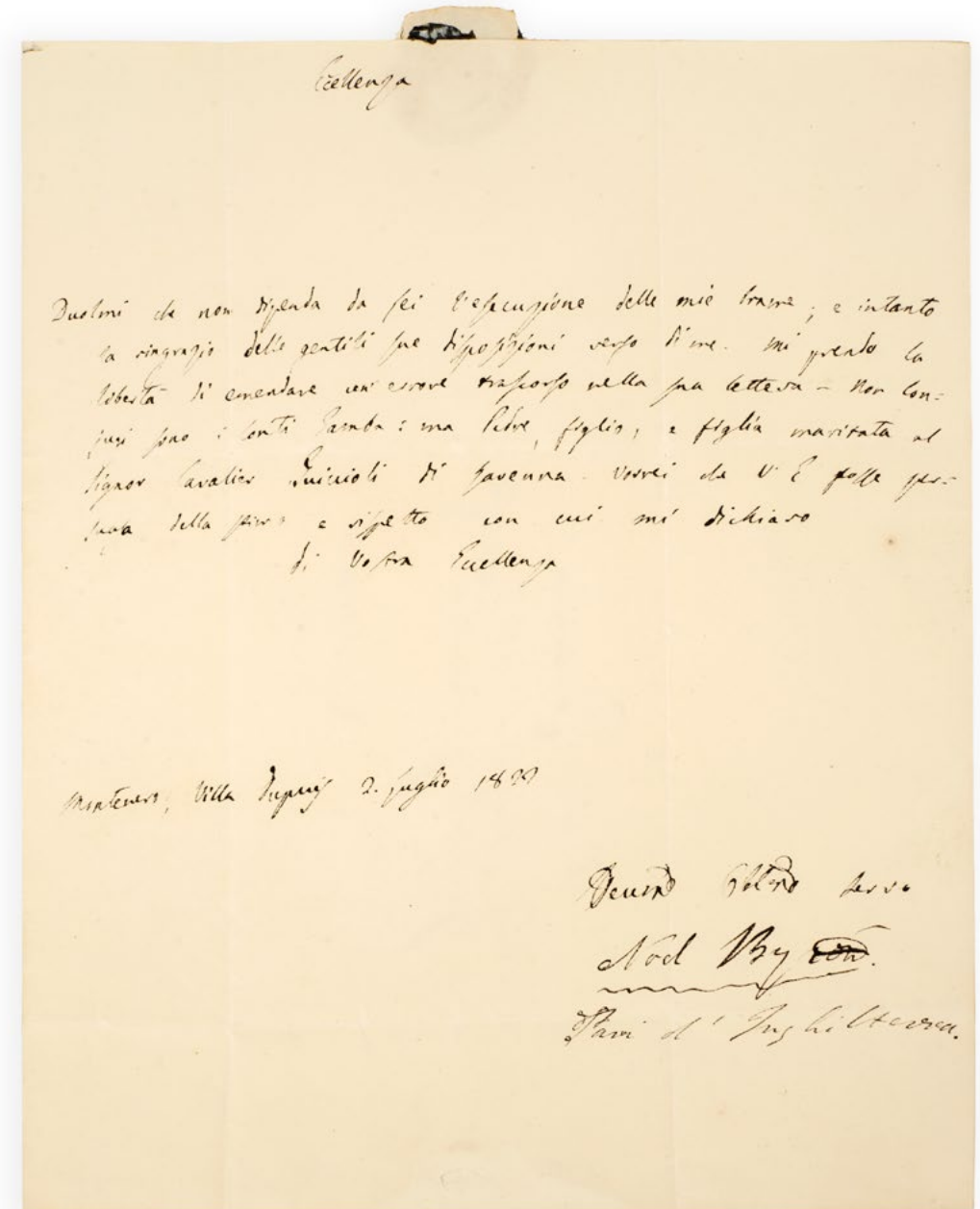
Byron had met Teresa Guiccioli (née Gamba) in 1819, just three days after her wedding, and so began the last great affair of his life. Although the liaison was tolerated at first by her much-older husband Alessandro, the couple’s separation was later granted by Pius VII on condition that she remained in her father’s household. Her father Ruggero and her brother Pietro were ‘among the staunchest supporters of libertarian principles in Ravenna’ (Marchand) and members of the Carbonari, for which they were exiled from Romagna in 1821, settling with Byron in Pisa. In March 1822 Byron and Pietro Gamba, along with Shelley, Trelawny and others, had become embroiled in a fracas at the city gates in which a local soldier, Stefano Masi, had been injured by one of Byron’s servants, rendering their status in Pisa precarious; Shelley was also injured, as was Byron’s courier Giuseppe Strauss. Encouraged to make themselves scarce, in May Byron and the Gambas moved for the summer to the coast near Livorno, where the poet rented the Villa Dupouy in Montenero.

On 1 July, when Leigh Hunt arrived at Livorno, he encountered at Byron’s summer house ‘a scene of Italian tragi-comedy ... A quarrel of the servants of Byron and the Gambas had resulted in a knife wound in Pietro’s arm’ (Marchand, *Byron, a Portrait*) – the authorities immediately seized on the altercation as an excuse to expel the Gambas, and hopefully with them Byron (both this and the Masi affair may have in fact been engineered by the Tuscan government). They were ordered to appear before a tribunal on 2 July, and while Byron’s intervention secured a postponement for them, they departed to temporary asylum in Lucca on 8 July. Byron and Teresa returned to Pisa, dropping the pretence that she remained in her father’s household. The affair was the central act in a trilogy of horrors that summer – prefaced by the death of Byron’s daughter Allegra from fever on 20 April, and shortly followed by the drowning of Shelley on 8 July.

Marchand, *Byron’s Letters and Journals*, prints an approximate, abridged text of the first letter, retranslated from an Italian version in the spy Luigi Torelli’s *Arcana politicae anticarbonariae*, and from that rendered into English in Cline, *Byron, Shelley and their Pisan Circle* (1952). The second letter is nowhere recorded.

The Byron letters are offered here with another written by Caroline Dupouy, niece of the banker Francesco Dupouy, Byron’s landlord in Montenero. She asks ‘Aime t’on beaucoup à Turin les belles pages de Lord Byron qu’on lit avec fureur en France? Savez vous que ce grand poète a habité 6 mois notre villa de Montenero’. She goes on to recount an anecdote in which this ‘sublime and eloquent defender of liberty’ was

nevertheless touchy about his aristocratic prerogatives. ‘Lord Byron écrivait à mon oncle François une letter impertinente pour se plaindre de l’avocat qui avait eu l’irreverence de l’appeller Sig^r Byron au lieu de Lord Byron.’ – such a letter does not survive. Byron had taken Dupuy to court over the lack of adequate water at the villa, but lost and had to pay the equivalent of three months’ rent with interest.



'Thou, the Hall of my Fathers'

23. [BYRONIANA.] [Cover title: Particulars and Conditions of Sale of the venerable Abbey and Baronial Residence of Newstead.] Newstead Abbey, Nottinghamshire ... containing the Abbey Manor and Domain of Newstead, containing about 3,226 Acres with Extensive Park, Woods, Plantations, Shrubberies and Pleasure Grounds [etc. etc.] ... will be sold by Auction by Messrs. Pott and Neale, at the Auction Mart ... on Wednesday, the 13th Day of June, 1860, at 12 at Noon. In one Lot ... London, Waterlow & Sons, Printers. [1860].

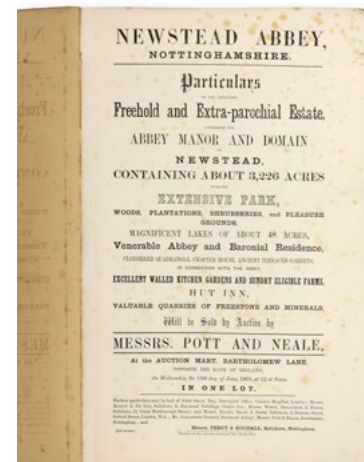
Large folio (500 x 320 mm), pp. 15, [1], with five lithographic plates (views of the west and south fronts, and floor plans of the abbey and garden, ground floor, and other floors) and one large folding colour plan of the estate; some foxing but a good copy, stitched as issued, in the original printed stiff paper covers (foxed, a bit worn, small repair verso), cloth spine.

£1500

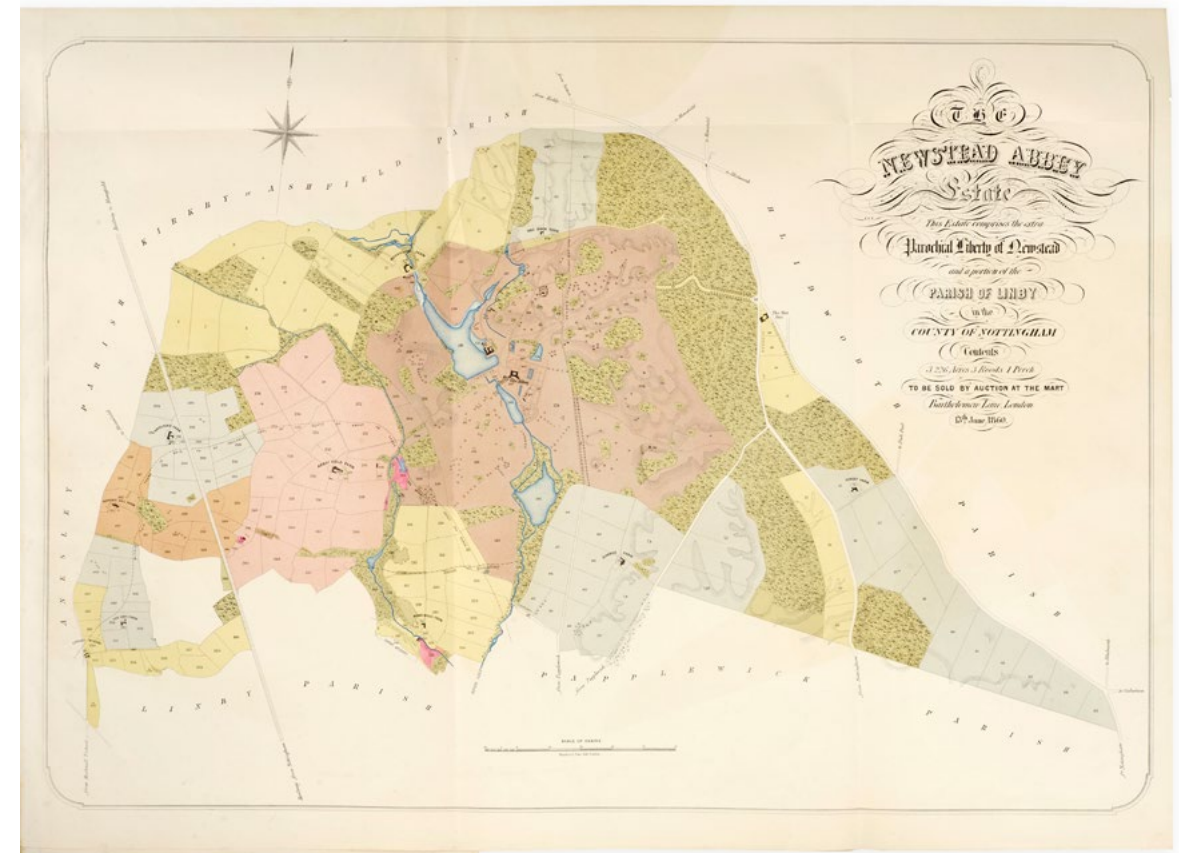
Very rare auction catalogue for the sale of Lord Byron's former home Newstead Abbey in 1860.

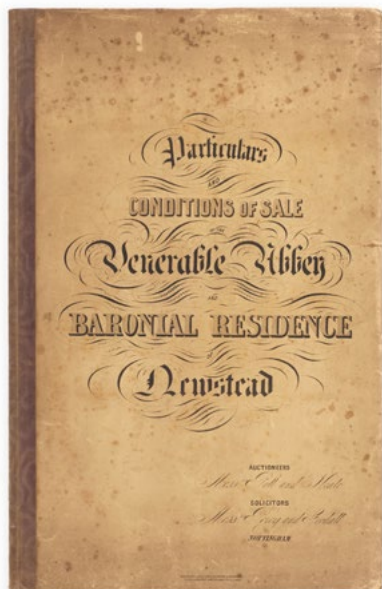
Byron had inherited Newstead in 1798 at the age of ten, but only obtained outright ownership on his coming of age in 1809. Though he lived there for a period after his education, when he was not travelling, the main building was badly dilapidated, the east wing roofless, and the kitchen full of rubble. 'Through thy battlements, Newstead, the hollow winds whistle; / Thou, the hall of my fathers, art gone to decay' ('On leaving Newstead Abbey'). He slept in the old prior's lodging, used the rectory hall as a shooting gallery, and made a plunge bath from one of the old cloister cells, but he could not afford a restoration, and plagued by perpetual debt and having failed to raise a mortgage, he began trying to sell it. At auction in 1812 it failed to reach Byron's £120,000 reserve, but he accepted a post-sale offer from a Lancashire lawyer, Thomas Claughton, who never in fact had the money and strung Byron along for several years. Byron was only finally rescued in 1818, when Newstead was purchased by his schoolfellow Col. Thomas Wildman for 90,000 guineas. Wildman spent large sums (up to £200,000) restoring the property, converting a chapter house into a private chapel (room L in the plans here), and the Abbey became a popular site of pilgrimage for admirers of the poet.

After Wildman's death in 1859, the terms of his will dictated the sale of the Abbey at auction. 'Ever since the announcement that Newstead was to be disposed of ... very considerable anxiety has been manifested to know who would be the fortunate purchaser of an estate and abbey-manor and demesne, around which so many charming and romantic associations cling' (*Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 14 June 1860). The solicitors Percy and Goodall advertised the auction in leading newspapers in Britain, Ireland, and America, and it generated much attention, but on the sale day itself, bidding petered out at £180,000 and the estate was again bought in. Finally, the following year the property was purchased by William Frederick Webb, for £147,000; a



NEWSTEAD ABBEY.
South Front.

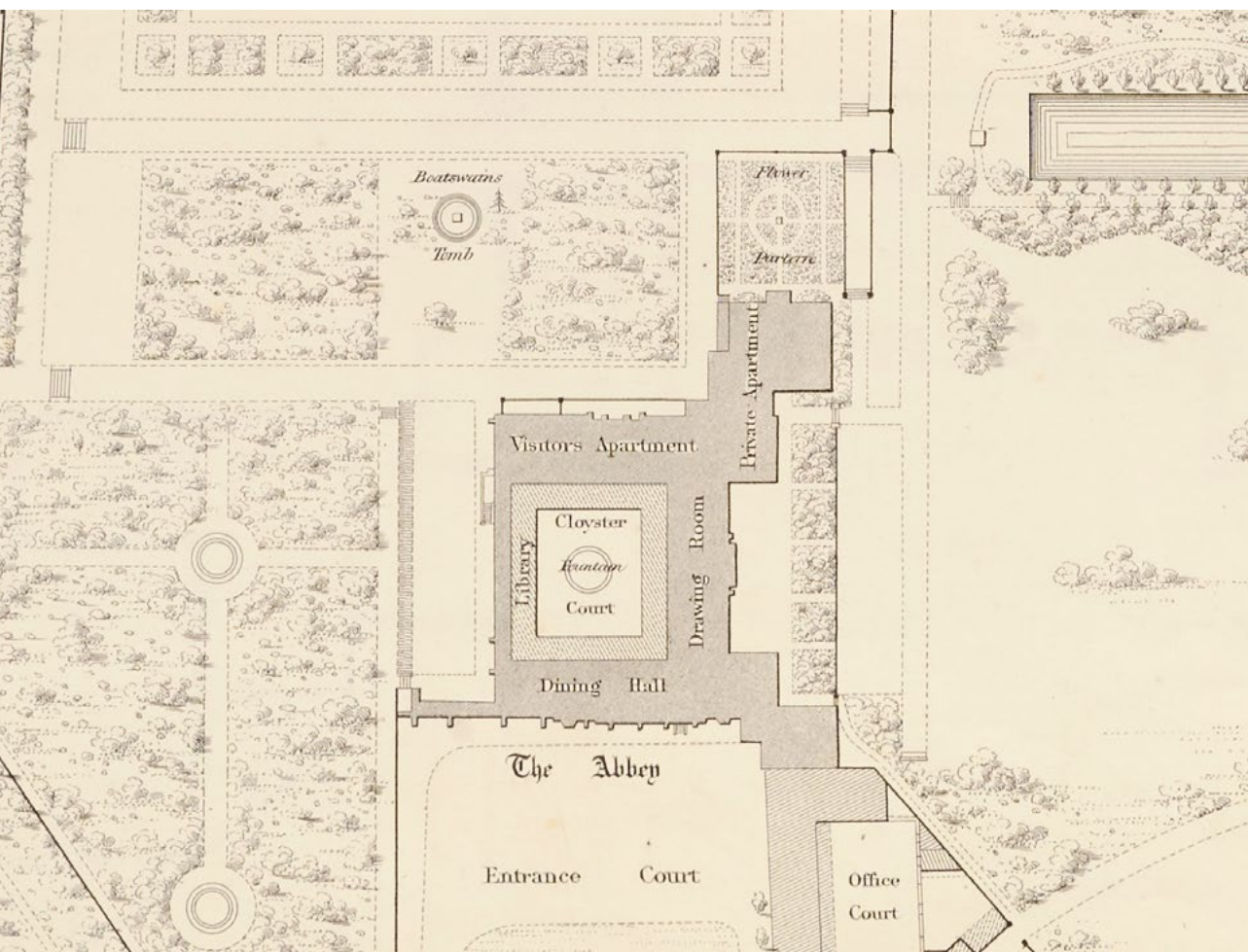




High Sheriff of Nottingham and a big game hunter, he added heating and gas-lighting and his wife sought out Byron memorabilia. The house remained in the family until 1931.

The present auction catalogue, lavishly illustrated with views and plans, particularises the extent of the estate's various components including farms, plantations, lakes, and outbuildings. The conditions of sale are printed on p. 2, and the final leaf is a part-printed sales contract. Although the catalogue itself made no direct mention of Byron (though the memorial he erected to his dog Boatswain is shown on the plans), on the day of the sale Pott the auctioneer waxed lyrical about the association, noting that 'Every spot of ground is hallowed by association with the great and mighty bard, whose home and patrimony Newstead once was'. In a signal of changing times he also drew attention to an engineer's report declaring 'the existence of vast fields of coal' on the estate – and indeed by 1875 the first coal was being dug from the new Newstead Colliery.

Library Hub and OCLC shows three copies only: British Library, V&A; and Morgan Library.



'L. E. L.'

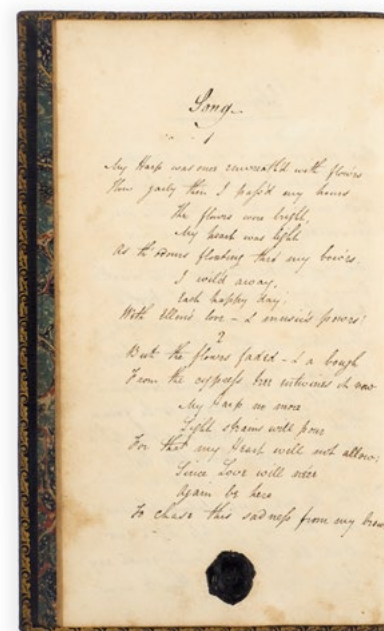
24. [COMMONPLACE BOOK.] [WHIDBORNE, Thomas Vining.] An album of manuscript verse, mostly original, but including a group of fourteen poems by Letitia Elizabeth Landon. [Devon, 1820s, with some later contributions in different hands.]

Manuscript on paper, 8vo, 78 leaves plus blanks, watermarks 'C. Wilmot 1822'; with contributions in several hands; some occasional foxing but in good condition in contemporary straight-grain morocco, covers tooled in blind, gilt fillet border, spine lettered direct 'M. S. Poems'; gilt edges, front free endpaper wanting; stamp of the library of Maynard and Outram Smith.

£950

An interesting post-Romantic manuscript, with much original unpublished verse alongside generous testimony to the feverish popularity of Letitia Elisabeth Landon in the early 1820s.

Landon's verses receive a direct credit from the album's first and main contributor: 'Many of the following pieces are by a young Lady / These will all be marked with her initials L. E. L.' – these include 'Lights and Shadows', 'The Gipsy's Prophecy', and 'Head of Ariadne', taken from the *Literary Gazette* in 1822–4. His (for we assume it is a he) own contributions are frequently addressed to a 'Miss N-', presumably the same unnamed figure to whom the whole volume 'is inscribed with the affectionate regards of her sincere Friend, The Author'. Several works suggest a Devon origin, including a poem on 'Berry Pomeroy Castle' and another 'To – on her leaving Devon', and later poems are signed 'TVW' – a helpful 'Acrostic' seems to pinpoint the author as Thomas Vining Whidborne, a surgeon recorded variously in London; Saltash, Cornwall; and East Ogwell, Devon, where he married Jane Trehane Evans in 1835. His work is heartfelt if not of great merit, and some pieces seem composed near impromptu: '8 o'clock P. M. August 1823. Lines written at & addressed to Miss ...'. After Whidborne's contributions come to a close, there are several extracts from Byron and a number of pieces in different hands.



Landon's first published poem had appeared in the *Literary Gazette* in 1820 under the initial 'L', and she then even published a collection under her full name, but the mysterious 'L. E. L.' made her debut in 1821 and 'speedily became a signature of magical interest and curiosity' (Laman Blanchard, *Life and Literary Remains of L.E.L.*), especially once the editor confirmed in 1822 that the author was 'a lady, yet in her teens!'. Interestingly, given Landon's own propensity for recycling previous work, Whidborne employs as his general epigraph the same six-line piece ('Gleanings of poetry, - if I may give / That name of beauty, passion and grace [etc.]') that Landon had used in front of her series of 'Fragments' that appeared in the *Literary Gazette* in January 1824.

*'Time & Counsell May Reforme Many Things:
Industrie & Imitation Must Reforme the Rest'*

25. COPE, Sir Walter. 'Enchiridion. Certaine breife Remonstrances offered unto his Maj[es]tie ... Touching divers Inconveniencies growne into the publike Weale by meanes of The Netherlanders and our owne Company of Merchant Venturers'. [London?], 1613.

Scribal manuscript on paper, folio, pp. [18]; pillars and grapes watermark, written in dark brown ink mostly in a neat secretary hand, the titles and headings in an italic hand (by the same scribe); conjugate blank to title-page cut away, slightly toned at edges, else in very good condition; evidence of earlier stitching.

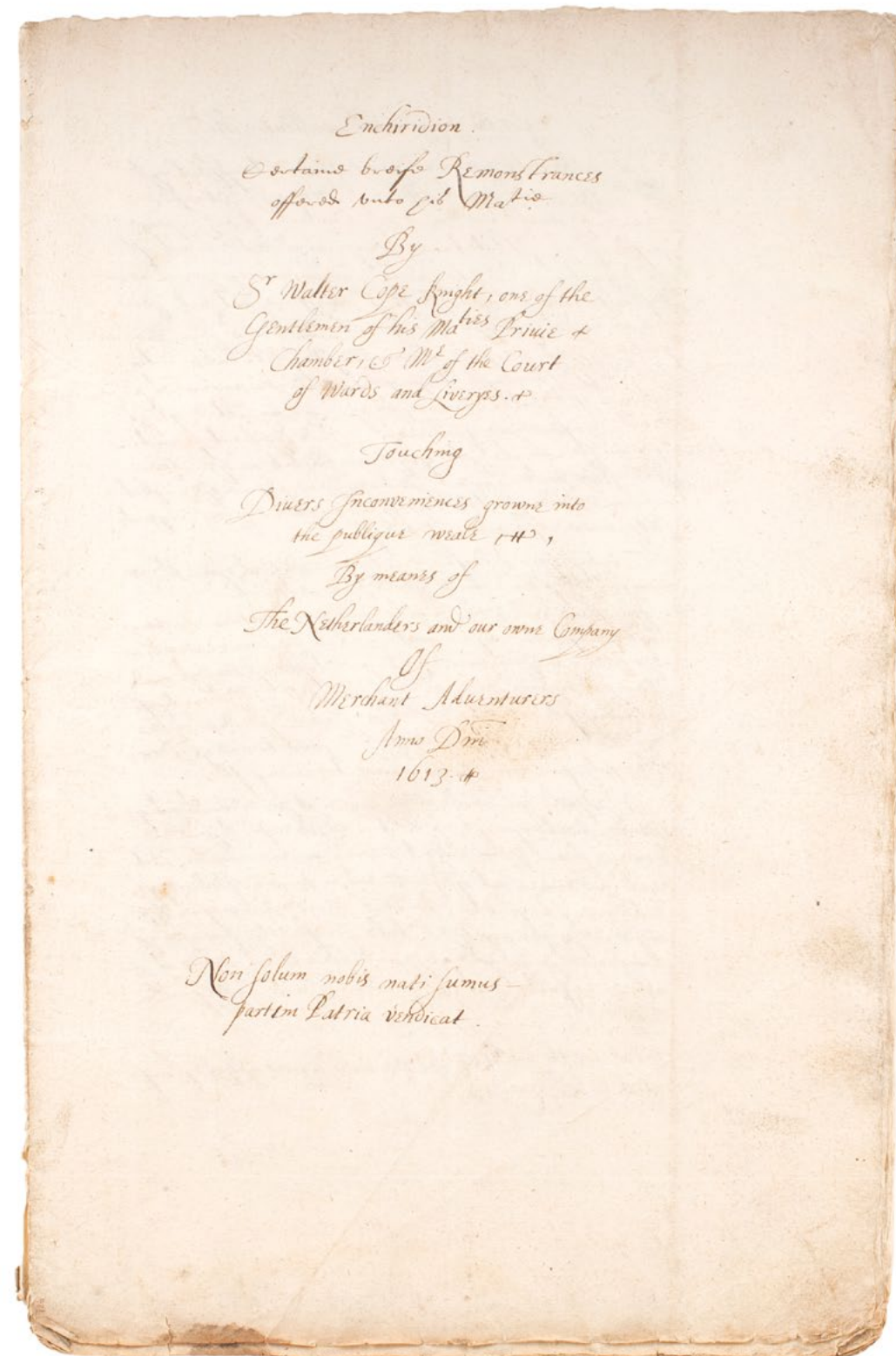
£11,000

A fine, unpublished manuscript treatise on economics, dedicated to James I, by the administrator, politician, and collector Sir Walter Cope (c. 1553–1614).

Not born into wealth, Cope was a junior cousin of Mildred Cecil, Lady Burghley, and allied himself to the Cecils as they rose in power, becoming gentleman usher and then secretary to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and a trusted friend to his son Robert, the Earl of Salisbury. Burghley secured him a post in the Court of Wards in 1574 and eased his passage to Parliament in 1589; a steady accrual of positions and status followed. Knighted by James I in 1603, he was appointed gentleman of the privy chamber in 1607, joint keeper of Hyde Park in 1610, Registrar of Commerce in 1611, and Master of the Court of Wards in 1612, and regularly entertained the King and Queen at his house 'Cope Castle' (later Holland House) in Kensington. A committed imperialist with an interest in trade, he served on the Councils of the Virginia Company (1606), the Newfoundland Company (1610), the Northwest Passage Company (1612) and the Somers Islands Company. In 1612–3 he was on several commissions for the augmentation of revenue, cloth exports, and alum works, and it was in this context, as well as James I's dire need for new sources of revenue, that Cope drafted the present *Enchiridion*.

Every man, with the new yeare, studies to present your Majestie with a new years gifte, some with Skarves, some with gloves, some with Garters, I with a poore glasse [i.e. mirror] of the present time, hoping your Majestie is not of the disposition of our late Queene, who, for many years refused to looke into any, least it might report unto her the wrinkles & stepps of Age.

Cope's mirror reveals the 'wrinkles & decaies of State, encroached upon the lib[er]tie of your Sub[ec]ts by forreyne Pollicies', lamenting in particular England's export of raw materials 'by License or stealth ... untanned, unwrought, contrary to Lawe', to the detriment of our 'poore Artisans'; and its neglect of fishery and shipping, all of which have allowed the Dutch to reap the lion's share of profits from



Enchiridion .
Certaine breife Remonstrances
offered unto his Maj[es]tie .
By
S^r Walter Cope Knight, one of the
Gentlemen of his Maj[es]ties Privie &
Chamber, & M^r of the Court
of Wards and Liveries . &
Touching
Divers Inconveniencies growne into
the publike weale &c .
By means of
The Netherlanders and our owne Company
Of
Merchant Adventurers
Annus Domini
1613 . &

Non solum nobis nati sumus -
partim Patria redirecat .

With Southey's tribute to Wollstonecraft

26. COTTLE, A. S., *translator*. Icelandic Poetry, or the Edda of Saemund translated into English Verse ... Bristol: Printed by N. Biggs, for Joseph Cottle, and sold in London by Messrs. Robinsons. 1797.

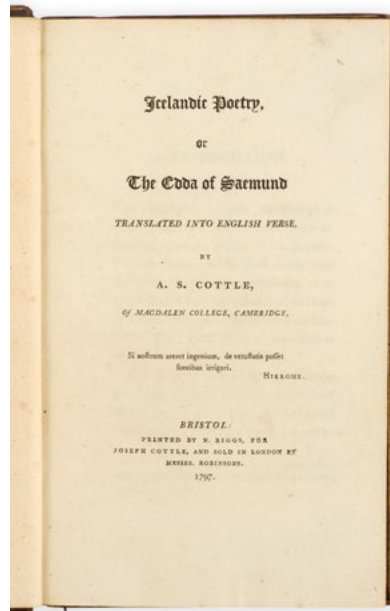
8vo, pp. xlii, [4], 224, 235–318, [2, errata and blank]; a very good, clean copy in near-contemporary polished calf, spine rubbed, joints cracking; bookplate of John Matthew Gutch.

£250

First edition of the earliest substantial English translation of the collection of old Norse poems once attributed to Saemundur the Learned but now known simply as the Elder Edda or the Poetic Edda. The translator, Amos Simon Cottle of Magdalen College, Cambridge, was the elder brother of Joseph Cottle, the publisher of *Lyrical Ballads*. Among later translators attracted by the Poetic Edda was W. H. Auden.

The preliminary poetical address from Robert Southey on northern themes includes a panegyric to Mary Wollstonecraft, who had died on 10 September 1797: 'her, Who among women left no equal mind / When from this world she pass'd; and I could weep, / To think that She is to the grave gone down!'

Provenance: John Mathew Gutch was a school fellow of Coleridge and Lamb at Christ's Hospital. He entered business as a law stationer in Chancery Lane where Lamb lodged with him in 1800. In 1803 he removed to Bristol and became proprietor and printer of Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal*.



Old plays revived

27. DAVENANT, Sir William. Two excellent Plays: The Wits, a Comedie: The Platonick Lovers, a Tragi-Comedie. Both presented at the private House in Black-Friers, by his Majesties Servants ... London, Printed for G. Bedel, and T. Collins ... 1665.

8vo, pp. [10], 182, with a general title-page and two individual title-pages dated 1665, all with borders of printer's tools; general title slightly dusty else a very good copy in contemporary sheep, rubbed.

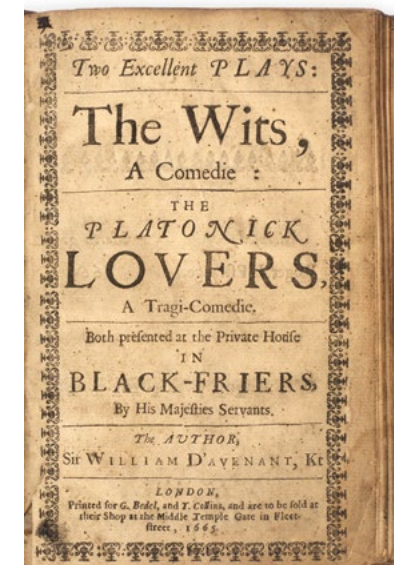
£950

First collected edition of two plays first published in 1636, probably published to fill the revenue gap after the temporary closure of the theatres in 1665 because of the Plague.

Davenant's new theatre for the Duke's Company at Lincoln's Inn Fields was completed in June 1661 and had the first moveable scenery on the British stage. He obtained the sole right to certain old plays including nine Shakespearian dramas. 'In addition, apart from new plays ... the company presented the manager's own *The Wits, Love and Honour, The Unfortunate Lovers*, and *The Siege of Rhodes*' (Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660–1900*). Pepys found *The Wits* 'excellent' and the new scenery 'admirable' when it ran for 8 successive days in August 1661 – the King also attended with Duke of York.

The Platonick Lovers did not receive a Restoration revival – a play more of its time, it was written at the request of Queen Henrietta Maria following the current French fashion for the medieval cult of Platonic love.

Wing D347; Pforzheimer 262.

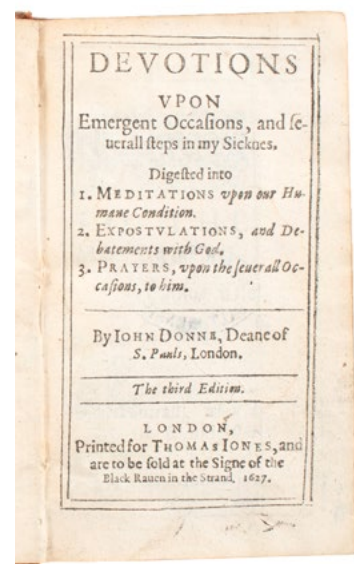


'No Man is an Island.' Donne in Contemporary Velvet

28. DONNE, John. Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, and severall Steps in my Sicknes ... London, Printed for Thomas Jones ... 1627.

12mo, pp. [10], 589, [1], with the initial blank A1; **a particularly fine copy with generous margins**, in a once-handsome binding of contemporary red velvet (crown and shield endpapers), evidence of silver clasps and catches, central boss, and cornerpieces sometime removed, green and red endbands, all edges gilt; the velvet mostly rubbed down to the nap, endcaps frayed, superficial splits to joints; ownership inscription of Margaret Stanhope dated 1677 to front flyleaf; oval stamp to title verso 'Ex. Lib. Bib. Eccl. Gilb. Burnett Saltonensis' (see below).

£13,500



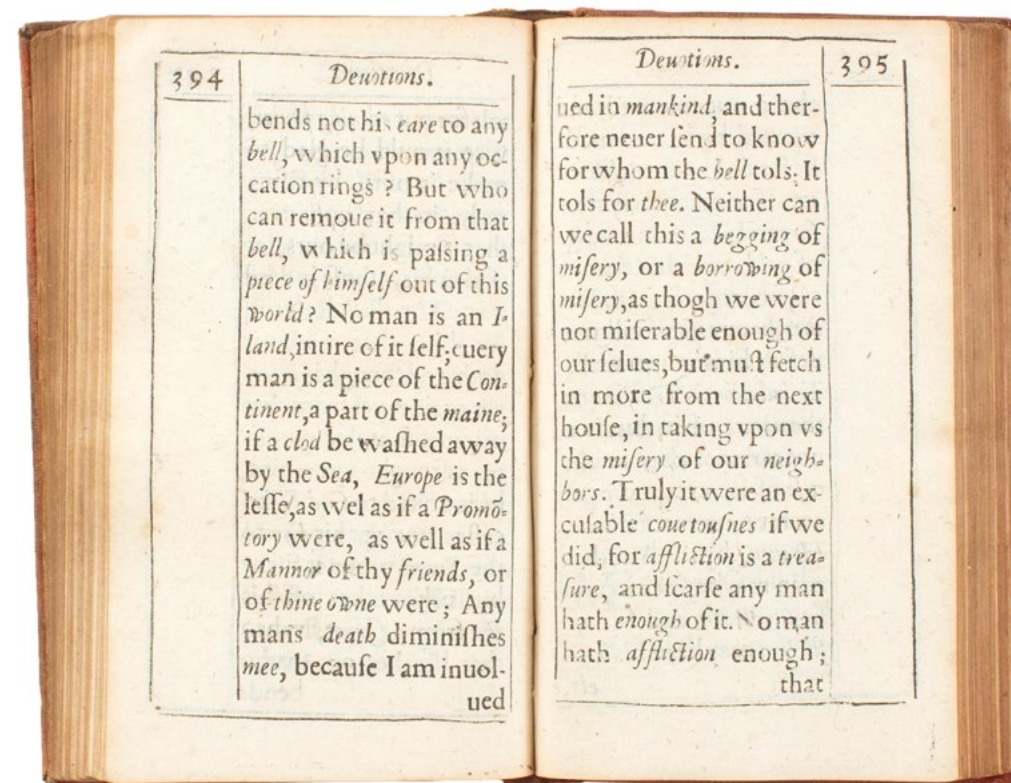
Third (and last lifetime) edition of Donne's most familiar prose work, composed during his convalescence in 1623-4 from the 'spotted Feaver' which nearly killed him. It consists of twenty-three 'Stationes, sive Periodi in Morbo', each comprising a meditation, expostulation, and prayer.

Meditation XVII, 'Nunc lento sonitu dicunt, Morieris', the tolling of the passing bell, contains the famous passage:

No man is an lland, intire of it self; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the maine; if a clod bee washed away by the Sea, Europe is the lesse, as wel as if a Promo[n]tory were, as well as if a Mannor of thy friends, or of thine owne were; Any mans death diminishes mee, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tols; It tols for thee.

It was immediately popular, with five editions by 1638, and drew the compliment of an act of plagiarism by Sir Francis Bacon within the year: the celebrated passage from Meditation XVII ('No Man is an lland ...') is incorporated, without citation, in Bacon's 'Of Goodness' (*Essaies*, 1625).

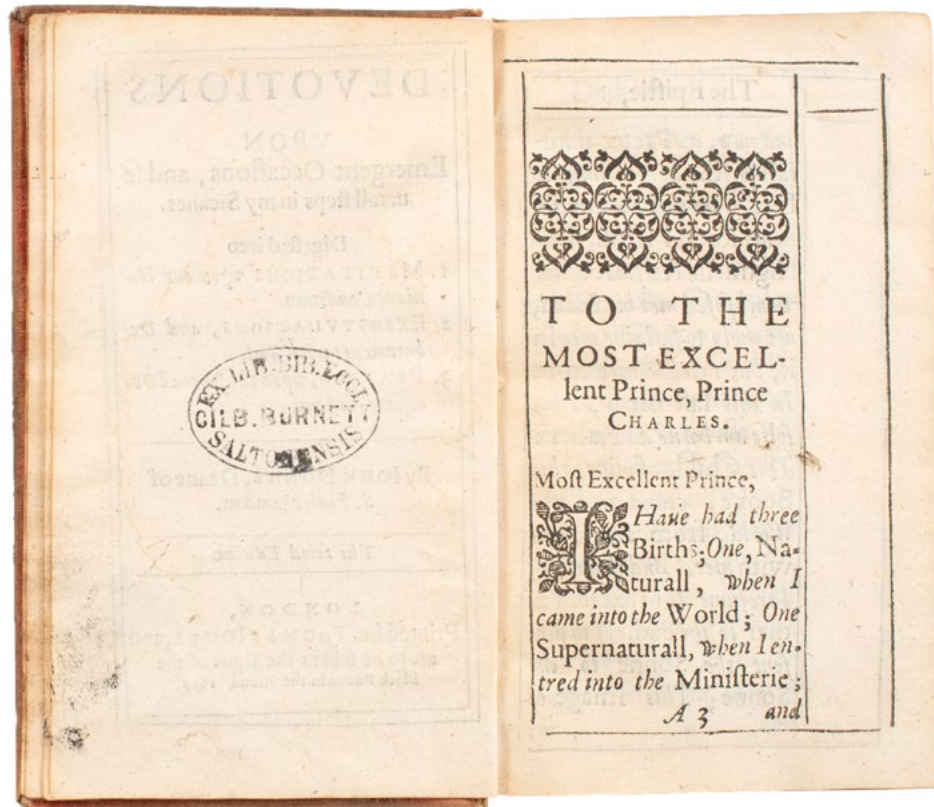
The first edition has become nearly unprocurable. Since 1975 only two complete copies have appeared at auction (Bradley Martin, Sotheby's New York, 30 April 1990, lot 2779, bought by Quaritch; and Robert Pirie, Sotheby's New York, 2 December 2015, lot 266). The second and third editions are also rarely encountered in commerce, and it is extremely rare to find the work in a binding as elaborate as this once would have been. Indeed, we can trace no copies of any edition in a binding other than calf or vellum at auction since at least 1948. Velvet was a luxury binding material, often accompanied by silver furniture, and much favoured in royal libraries up to the Civil War but rarely after. The ghost-impressions of the silverwork here show catches of an identical size and shape to those on a family copy in red velvet of *Manchester al Mondo* (1633), see Maggs catalogue 1495, item 68, and were therefore probably imported Dutch mould-cast features.



There are two variants of the third edition, with the title-page dated 1626 or 1627, evidently a change made during printing as the 1627 title-page is not a cancel; the colophon in both issues is dated 1627.

Provenance: The Scottish churchman Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), consecrated Bishop of Salisbury in 1689, left some private bequests of books (mostly Bibles) to his children, but most of his library was sold at auction in 1716 (*Bibliotheca Burnetiana*), including a Donne *Poems* but not this copy of *Devotions*. Burnet also left an allowance of 50 marks to augment 'the will began for the minister's house' in Saltoun, where he had been minister between 1665 and 1669. The Saltoun kirk library was deposited in the National Library of Scotland in 1977.

STC 7035; Keynes 38.



29. EDWARDS, Edward. A Collection of Views and Studies after Nature with other Subjects designed and etched by Edward Edwards associate and teacher of perspective in the Royal Academy. London, 1790. [Offered with:]

EDWARDS, Edward. A Collection of Views and Studies after Nature ... London, 1790. [but 1794].

I: folio (c. 440 x 285 mm), ff. [33 (of 35)], with an engraved title-page, a letter-press dedication leaf, a letterpress index leaf, and 48 [of 51] numbered plates (two leaves cut away), varying sizes from 64 x 96 mm to 238 x 300 mm, some two or three to a leaf; printed on thick laid paper (the letterpress leaves with watermarks WT and crowned fleur-de-lis, the engraved leaves with a bell and bird watermark); rather foxed, uncut, in contemporary quarter calf and marbled boards, front cover detached.

II: large 4to (348 x 250 mm), ff. [39], engraved throughout, complete, with an engraved title-page and 51 numbered plates, some two to a leaf, printed on thick wove paper (watermarked 1794); title-page dusty, but a very good clean copy, untrimmed, later cloth spine.

£1600

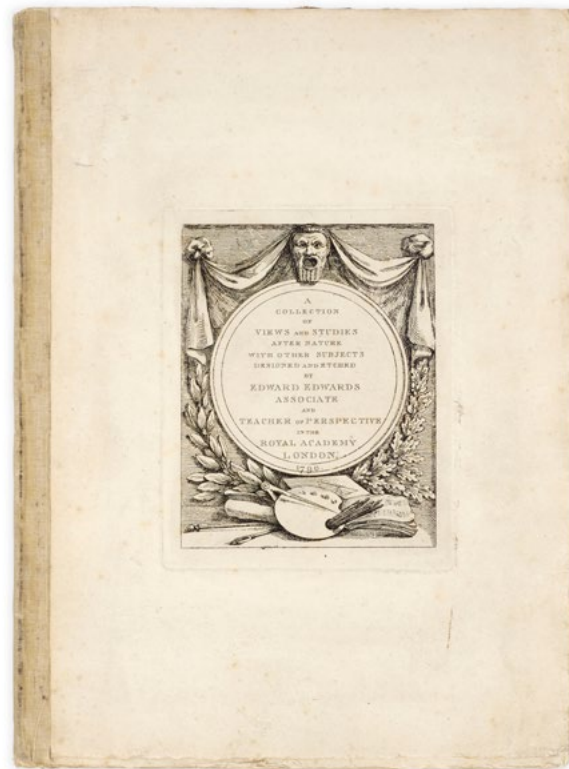
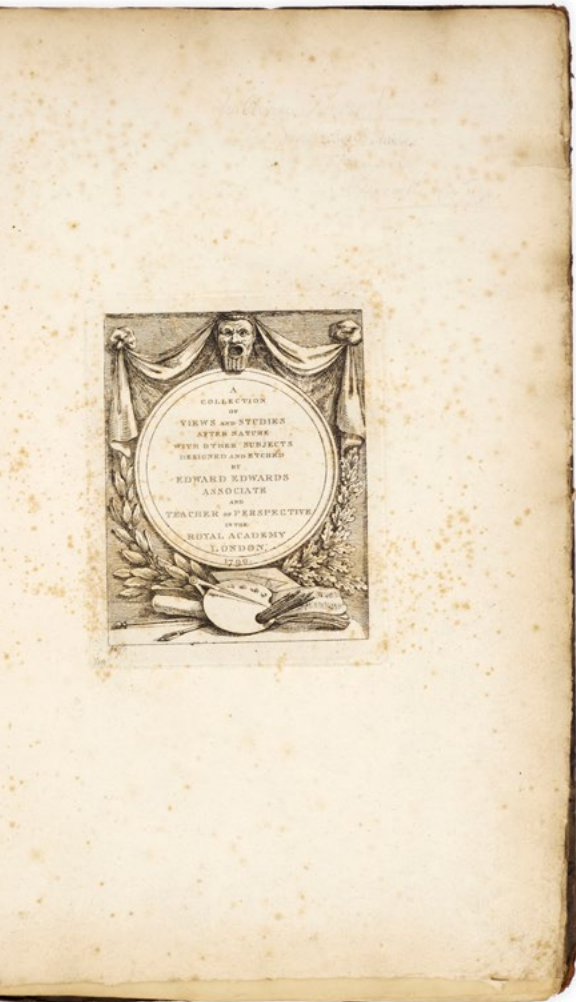


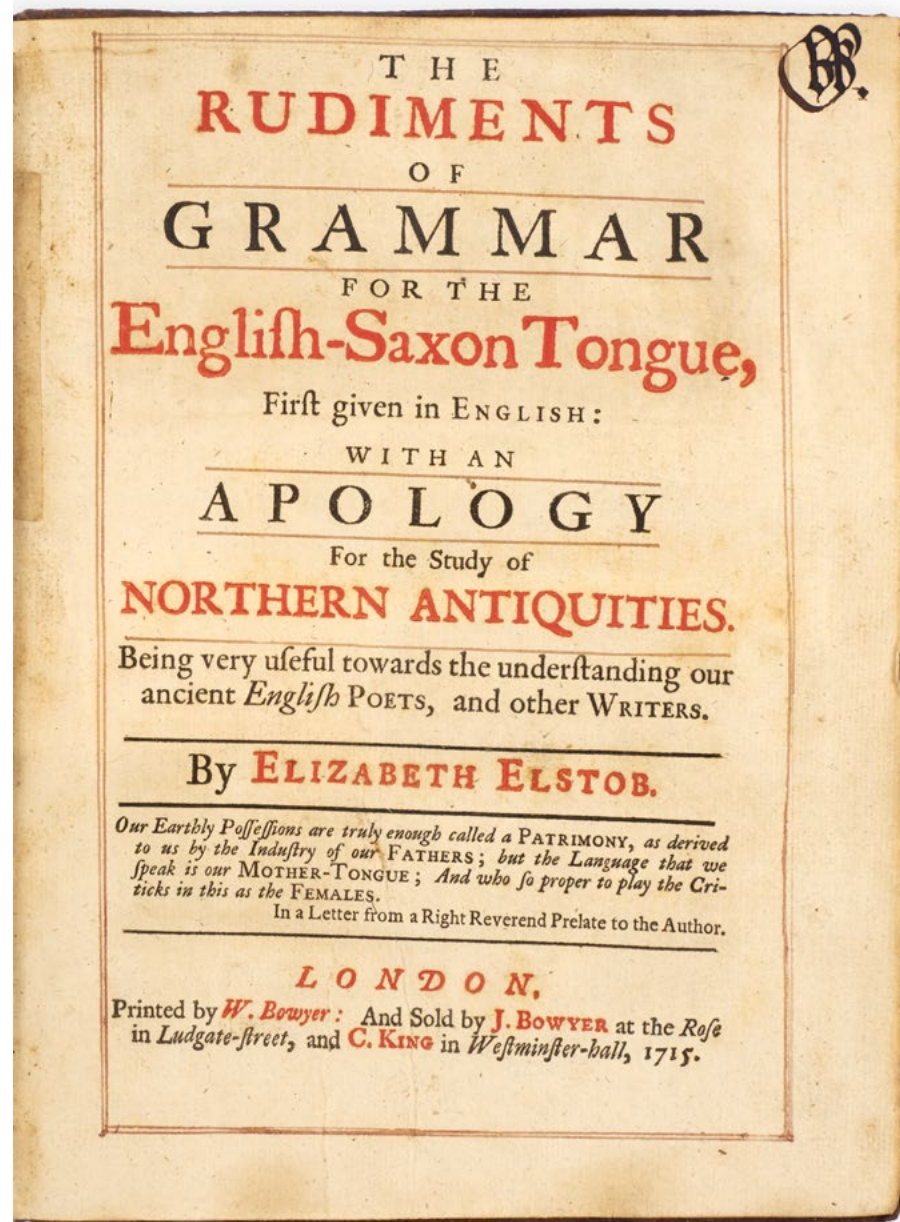
First edition, the first and second issues, both very rare, of an attractive collection of miscellaneous engraved and etched plates by Edward Edwards (1738–1806). Son of a chair-maker, Edwards started his career in furniture design, then studied at the Duke of Richmond's gallery (1759) and the St Martin's Lane Academy (1761), and was one of the first students of the Royal Academy Schools, enrolling in 1769. He travelled to Italy in 1775–1776, at the expense of the Scottish art collector Robert Udney, to whom he dedicated the first issue of this work, and exhibited frequently with the Society of Artists, the Free Society and the Royal Academy from 1771 to 1806. Elected A.R.A. in 1773, he taught perspective in the Academy from 1788 to 1806. In the early 1780s he was frequently employed by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill – Walpole's extra-illustrated copy of Kirgate's *Description* contains many drawings by Edwards, and he built an ebony cabinet to house the drawings of Lady Diana Beauclerk – but they split after a disagreement in 1784. This was Edwards's only published collection of engravings, but he later issued a *Practical Treatise of Perspective* (1803), and his *Anecdotes of painters* (1808), a supplement to Walpole's own *Anecdotes* (1762–71). His collection of drawings, books and prints was sold by Leigh and Sotheby in 1807 and included presentation copies of Strawberry Hill press publications, as well as his own works.

Plates 1–36 here are landscape views, and the very rare index leaf in copy I details locations around London, Newcastle, and County Durham, as well as two from Savoy and Italy; Plate 37 is captioned 'Iunculae et Chimaerae diversae' and is followed by a series of human figures and heads (some in neoclassical style). Plate 47, captioned 'T.K.', is a portrait of Thomas Kirgate, Walpole's printer at Strawberry Hill.

A Collection of Views had two distinct issues. In the first, accompanied by a letter-press bifolium with the dedication (dated October 1790) and index, the plates were disposed on 33 folio leaves of laid paper with plates 1–3, 4–6, and 46–8 grouped together; in the second, printed at least four years later on superior wove paper, the smaller paper size means the plates are spread over 39 leaves (disposed 1–2, 3–4, 5–6 etc), and the larger images nearly fill the page.

Not in ESTC. Of the first issue we can trace only two copies, at the RA (presented to the Academy in 1791) and the Lewis Walpole Library; ours is sadly lacking two leaves of plates. **Of the second issue, The British Museum has the only complete copy we can locate**, along with scattered separate impressions including some of the first issue, and a volume of annotated proof impressions. There are also imperfect copies at the Wellcome (lacking 2 leaves), NYPL (lacking one leaf, another laid down), and Tatton Park (lacking 3 leaves).





Anglo-Saxon, and a defence of female scholarship

30. ELSTOB, Elizabeth. *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue*, first given in English: with an Apology for the Study of Northern Antiquities. Being very useful towards the understanding our ancient English Poets, and other Writers ... London. Printed by W. Bowyer: and sold by J. Bowyer ... and C. King ... 1715.

Small 4to, pp. [8], xxxv, [1], 70, with engraved vignettes and initials on the dedication leaf and first leaf of text (the latter initial containing a portrait of Elstob); title-page printed in red and black, ruled in red by hand; a very good copy in early mottled calf, covers rather scraped, spine rubbed; later ownership inscription to front endpaper of Richard Watts (and perhaps his monogram on the title-page), bookplate of Charles Barclay (1780–1855).

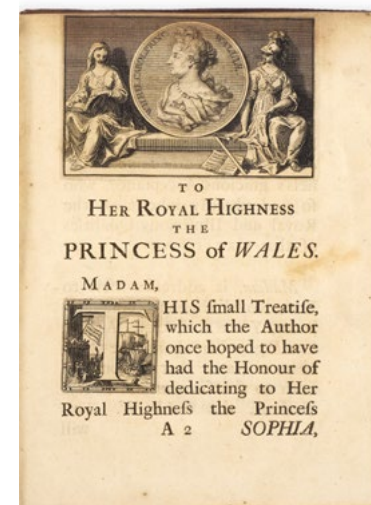
£1500

First edition of a pioneering grammar, the first Anglo-Saxon grammar to be published in English rather than Latin. The long preface addresses two prejudices which the learned author had encountered, against female scholarship and against Northern languages (barbaric tongues, according to Swift, full of harsh consonants and monosyllables).

Encouraged in her studies, despite the disapproval of her guardian, by the Old English scholar George Hickes, Elstob also published a translation of Aelfric's *English-Saxon Homily*. Her *Rudiments of Grammar* was a lavish production, dedicated to the Princess of Wales and printed partly in Anglo-Saxon type newly cut for the purpose (designed by her and Humfrey Wanley) and afterwards presented to the University of Oxford. Mary Astell was a supporter and helped find subscribers for the *Rudiments*. But shortly after publication her brother's death left her with debts and no income and she fled in 1718 to Evesham, disappearing off the intellectual map.

The Richard Watts who has inscribed this copy is plausibly the London printer of that name, known as a cutter of oriental and foreign types.

Alston, III, no. 18.



A School donation reclaimed

31. EURIPIDES. Τραγωδίαι οκτώκαιδεκα ... Tragœdiæ octodecim, Hecuba, Orestes, Phœnissæ, Medea, Hippolytus, Alcestis, Andromache, Supplices, Iphigenia in Aulide, Iphigenia in Tauris, Rhesus, Troades, Bacchæ, Cyclops, Heraclide, Helena, Ion, Heracles furens. Basileæ apud Ioan. Hervagium anno 1537.

4to, two parts in one volume, pp. [896], with the full complement of blanks (α7–8, li6–7, and ²Zz5–8); wormhole touching the odd letter, a few marginal holes towards the end, else a fine copy in contemporary blind-tooled Swiss or German pigskin over wooden boards, clasps wanting; a couple of early marginalia and some underlining in red in *Orestes*; ownership inscription dated Oxford 1631, the name scored through, purchase note of the antiquary and collector Cox Macro (1683–1767) while at Christ's College Cambridge (1702), with two subsequent inscriptions by him; armorial bookplate of Charles Barclay (1780–1855).

£3750

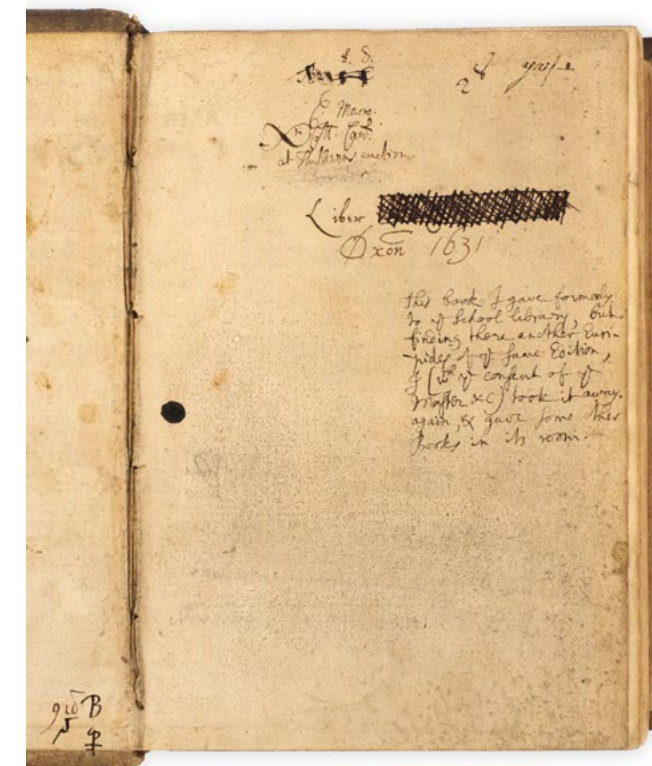
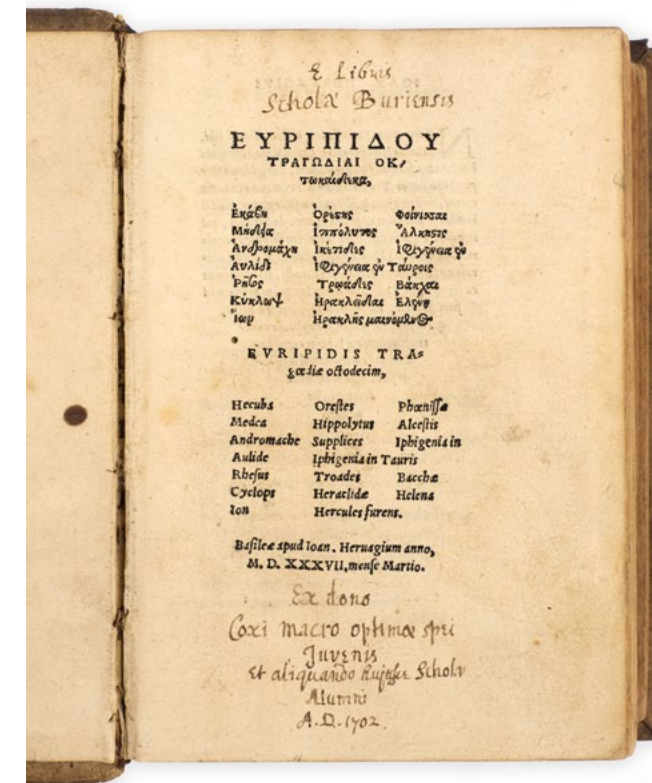


Second edition of the complete extant tragedies of Euripides, following the Aldine *editio princeps* of 1503.

This copy, which was in England by 1631, was then purchased by Cox Macro during the brief period he was at Christ's Cambridge, after his transfer from Jesus and before he moved to Leiden in 1703 to study under Boerhaave. Norfolk born and bred, Macro later moved back there to Little Haugh Hall, where 'he devoted himself to a broad range of studies and to the collection of 'antiquities': coins, medals, paintings, books, and manuscripts. His collection of manuscripts was exceptionally fine and included the great register of Bury Abbey during the abbacy of William Curteys; a ledger book of Glastonbury Abbey; a cartulary of the religious house at Blackborough in Norfolk; a vellum manuscript of the works of Gower; and the original manuscript of Spenser's "View of the state of Ireland" (*Oxford DNB*), as well as the famous Macro MS 5 (now at the Folger), containing the earliest complete examples of English morality plays.

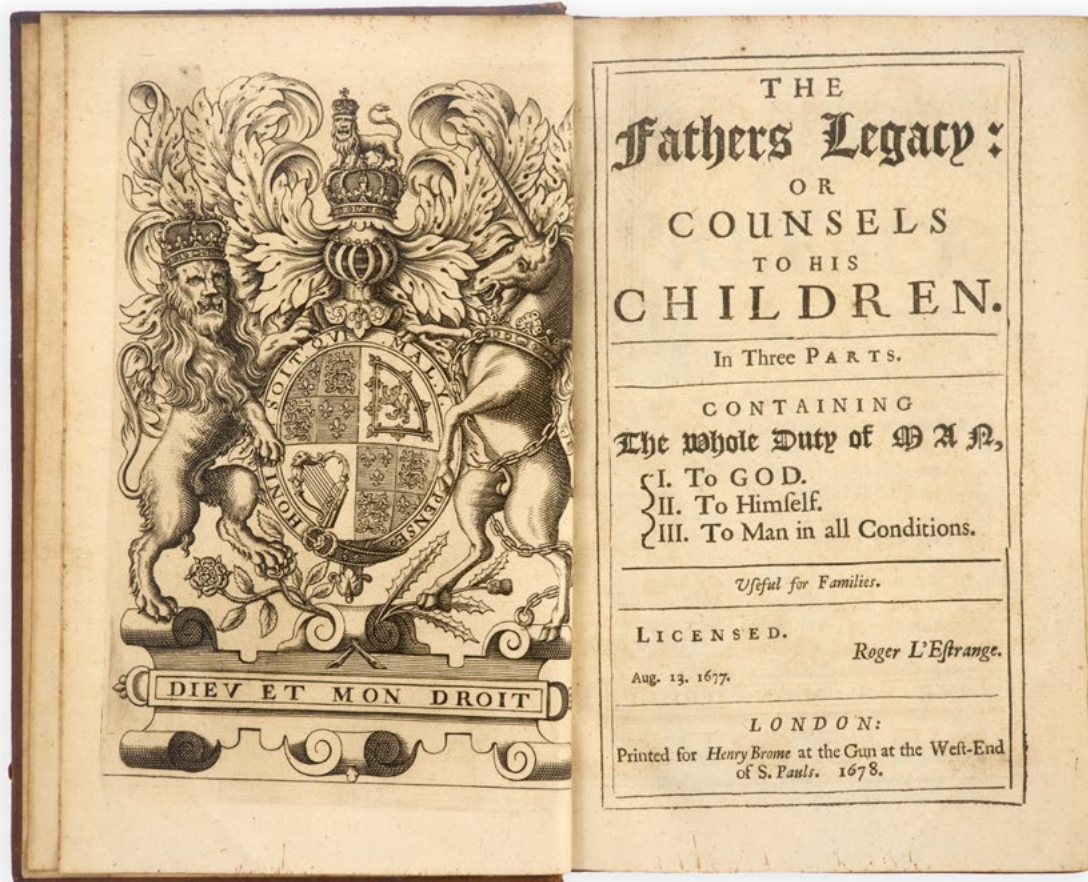
Two inscriptions on Macro's copy of Euripides chart its history after its purchase at an unidentified auction in 1702: on the title is a gift inscription from Macro to his old school at Bury St Edmunds, also dated 1702; and on the front fly-leaf the additional inscription: 'This book I gave formerly to the school library, but finding there another Euripides of the same Edition, I (wth the consent of the Master &c) took it away again, & gave some other Books in its room'. Most of the school's early books are now at Cambridge; Macro's books and manuscripts passed to his heir John Patteson, who sold them to a Norwich bookseller Richard Beatniffe, and thence in a private transaction by Christie's in 1821 to Dawson Turner, on the understanding that Hudson Gurney would immediately buy a portion – Gurney's mother and wife were both Barclays and it seems likely that this volume passed to Charles Barclay direct.

VD16 E 4213; Adams E 1031; STC 289; Brunet II, 1096.



French courtesy, owned by the wife of the Ambassador to France

32. FATHERS LEGACY (The): or Counsels to his children. In three Parts. Containing the Whole Duty of Man, I. To God. II. To himself. III. To Man in all Conditions. Useful for Families ... London, Printed for Henry Brome ... 1678.



8vo, pp. [12], 220, [10, table and advertisements], with an engraved frontispiece of the royal arms; a fine crisp copy in contemporary speckled calf; ownership inscription to front free endpaper: 'Eliz: Trumbull July y^e 24th 1679'.

£1850

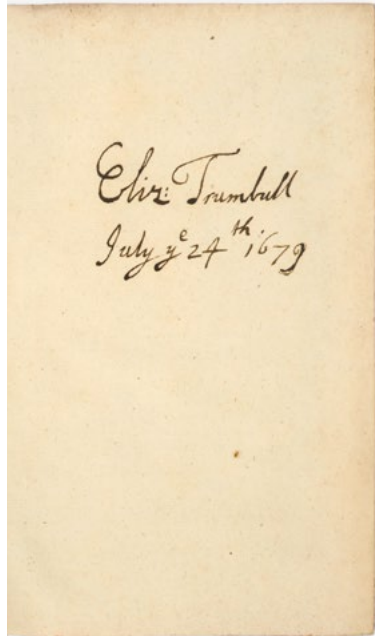
First and only edition, very scarce, of a fine courtesy book written by an anonymous former soldier. Part I, dealing with religion, is unexpectedly brief (pp. 1–26), and the bulk of the text is more practical, with an emphasis on physical as well as mental education – 'Studies and Exercises ought to be jointly performed'.

It is almost certainly a translation from a French original (internal evidence suggests a date of c. 1660), slightly modified for an English audience. The author's children are named as Philip, Armand, Hardowin, Charles; his brother and sister lost children fighting in Battles of the Thirty Years' War in the 1630s, while he himself was at the Siege of Breda (1637, aged 40); and references to the King and Queen on p. 71 make no sense for Charles II and would seem to refer to Louis XIV and his mother.

'There is no man of what condition soever, nor any Nation whether of the new or old world, that loves not dancing'; sword play is also recommended, but not hunting which 'brutifies' a man. 'Renounce all sorts of dangerous leaps, juggling tricks, and slights of hand', but you are allowed to see others perform them at Bartholomew Fair. In study 'before all things, learn Cosmography', learn arithmetic but not algebra, and take as your model the life of the 'Chevalier Wayard' (i.e. de Bayard). In reading, Romances inculcate more morality than True Histories, but daughters should avoid them, especially 'Astrea [L'Astrée, by Honoré d'Urfé], which by the variety of many amorous Histories ... secretly kindles in young hearts that natural and sweet passion', and so is 'only fit to be read at an after Season, when these wanton flames are extinguished'.

Considerable time is devoted to the military, which he intends as his sons' profession (he recommends the academies of M. de St Luc in Brouage and M. de Vic at Calais), and the court, with advice on the vices to avoid there and how best to survive – be pliable, not too scrupulous about honour, follow fashion but do not set it.

In 'Of the will of a child', the author seems remarkably modern in observing that his son's self-will first presented itself in the 'resistance that you made to mine ... as if the desire of acting in liberty were more violent in us, that of



our own our security'. While in 'Of Sensual Love' he is more courtly, advising his son to find a beautiful mistress 'somewhat more mature than you' and endeavour to win her esteem chastely, serving her until the 'season of debauchery' passes.

There are also chapters, *inter alia*, on moderation of the appetite, wealth and poverty – ('regard more the poor man that is undefended, than the rich'), lying, anger, grief, play (chess is approved, dice not), the duties of spouses to each other and to their children, joy, sedition, and death.

Provenance: the bold ownership inscription is that of (Katherine) Elizabeth Trumbull (née Cottrell or Cotterell, 1653–1704), wife of Sir William Trumbull (1639–1716). Well educated and sprightly, daughter of the Master of Ceremonies and Master of Requests at court, she had married for love in 1670 – 'never wife had such a husband as my selfe', she would write – and their affection, though childless, saw them through her husband's unexpected appointment as Special Envoy to France in 1685, just after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and then Constantinople in 1687. Elizabeth's father Charles Cotterell (1615–1710) was himself a very accomplished courtier, but also a competent translator from French and a friend of the poet Katherine Philips – could he perhaps have been responsible for this text?

Wing F555.

Glass Houses

33. FORD, Simon. The Restoring of fallen Brethren: containing the Substance of two Sermons ... preached on the Performance of public Penance by certain Criminals, on the Lord's-day, usually called Mid-Lent Sunday; 1696 ... London, Printed for Henry Mortlock ... 1697.

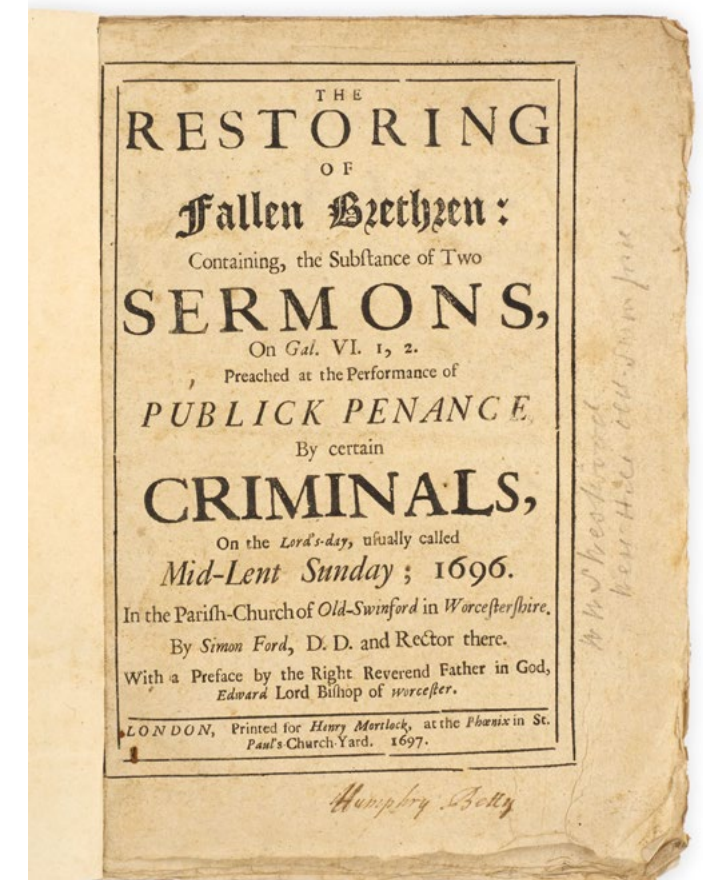
4to, pp. [6], 26; a very good copy, uncut, in modern wrappers.

£275

First edition, the last published work of the clergyman and poet Simon Ford (1618/9–1699), being two sermons preached on the occasion of the performance of penance 'for the late Fornications, and filthy Uncleanesses. that have been committed in this Neighbourhood'.

Ford reminds his audience that they are 'liable to the same Temptations, by which others are overtaken', and cautions them to consider 'that though they are no open Adulterers, or Fornicators, yet possibly they are, secretly such, or (if not so, neither yet) common Swearers, or Drunkards, or profane Scoffers at Religion ... cheating Traders, Exactors, Oppressors, Grinders of the Faces of the Poor ...'.

Wing F1498.



Hospital Mismanagement

34. [GARLICK, Edward]. A Supplement to an Address to the Subscribers of the Bristol Infirmary. By a Subscriber. [Bristol, 1765.]

4to, pp. 39, [1], title-page dusty and worn at edges, small hole in final leaf touching two words, else good, in modern wrappers.

£750

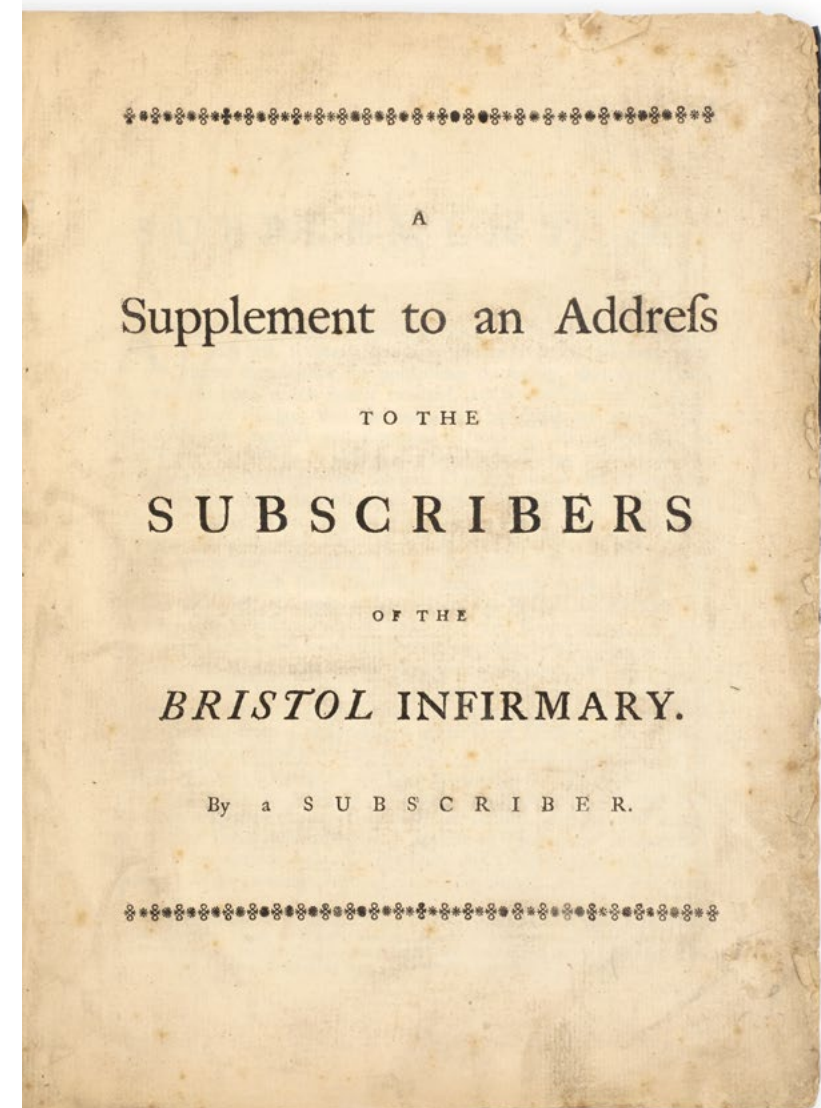
Very rare, no copies traced of either the present work or the original *Address* – a pamphlet accusing the board of the Bristol Infirmary (f. 1735) of financial mismanagement and effective embezzlement: the employment of too many staff, excessive food rations, inflated case numbers, over-expenditure on drugs, and inaccurate annual reports.

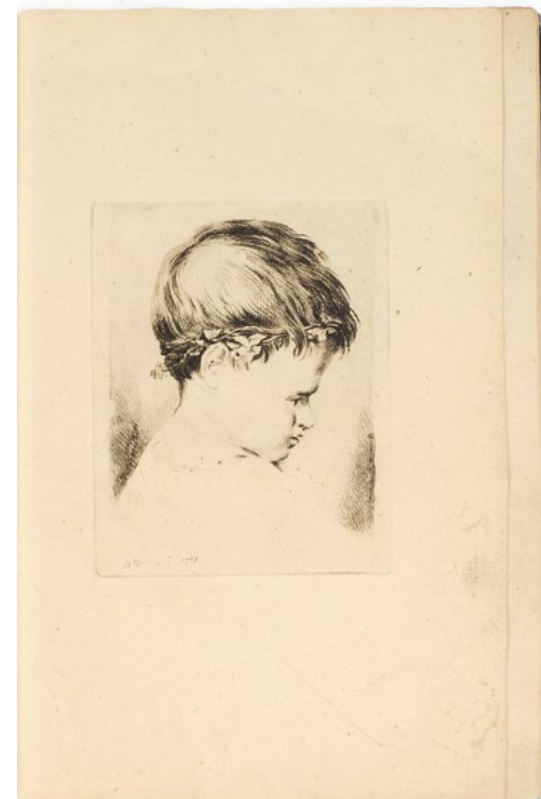
'On November 20th, 1763, a certain Edward Garlick, a gentleman of means, and interested in philanthropic work ... addressed a letter to the Subscribers in which he rather severely criticised the general management of the Bristol Infirmary, especially the amount spent on food and drugs.

'He compared Bristol with St. George's, the London Hospital, and the Exeter, Gloucester and Salop Infirmarys, covered pages with figures and statistics, and came to the conclusion that there was unnecessary outlay on each patient at Bristol. He concluded by making three practical suggestions : (1) That a "Diett Book" should be kept ; (2) that a House Steward should be appointed "to keep accounts of Provision of all Sorts that come into the House ; to deliver out everything himself and account for the consumption of it in writing to the Friday Committee ;" (3) that a Committee should be appointed to inquire "into the present means of prescribing drugs."

'Mr. Garlick was a Subscriber to the Infirmary and a regular attendant at Boards and Committees, and his complaints and recommendations were discussed at a Board Meeting specially called for the purpose on November 20th, 1764.' Specific accusations were levelled at the junior physician Doctor Plomer, who ordered large quantities of a panacea that he himself had a financial interest in; but all three of Garlick's suggestions for reform were rejected. 'Garlick, naturally annoyed at the reception of his really well-meant efforts, wrote and printed two pamphlets, containing in all seventy-five pages, in which he reiterated his assertions ... Without entering into this old "squabble" too minutely, one may at least assert that the calculations of Mr. Garlick were more correct than those of the Infirmary authorities' (G. Munro Smith, *A History of the Bristol Infirmary*, 1917). The board responded with a self-justifying pamphlet: *An animadvertory letter, in answer to the tract and supplement that were published by Mr. Edward G—l—k* (1765, Yale Medical Library only).

Not in ESTC, Library Hub or WorldCat.





Pioneering soft-ground etchings

35. GREEN, Benjamin. Figures & Heads from the Originals of Louthenbourg & Bossi ... [London,] 1773. [Bound with:]

GREEN, Benjamin. [Two plates of Quakers. 1690. After Marcellus Laroon]. London, Published by Samuel Hooper, 1775.

Large 8vo (275 x 185 mm), in total 24 plates (dated 1761–1775) on thick laid paper, including a title-page; mostly soft-ground etchings, but also two mezzotints, plate sizes 100 x 55 mm to 173 x 114; the last plate (a frieze of putti possibly not by Green) foxed, else in very good condition; stitched in contemporary brown marbled wrappers, later recovered in the nineteenth-century with blue marbled paper, manuscript spine label in French.

£3250

First edition, very rare, containing probably the earliest soft-ground etchings produced in England. A head of a monk after Benigno Bossi, dated 25 December 1771, is often referred to as the first dated soft-ground etching by an English artist (it is here in an early state, without lettering and with a faint publication date 29 May 1772 at the foot); but there is in fact a head of a child in profile here dated 1761.

Benjamin Green (1739–1798) came from an artistic family – his brother Amos was an animal painter, and he succeeded another brother, James, as engraver of the Oxford University almanac in 1760. He was appointed assistant drawing master at Christ's Hospital school in 1762, and then drawing master in 1766. His large mezzotints after Stubbs greatly contributed to the latter's fame. 'After 1771, however, most of Green's effort went into plates for drawing books. He was a gifted draughtsman and was good at imitating the style of other artists ... He worked in every printmaking medium and was technically innovative, improvising methods to copy the appearance of drawings. Green was one of the first English artists to use soft-ground etching, his earliest work in that medium being dated 1771' (*Oxford DNB*).

The two larger portraits of Quakers after Laroon possibly come from *A Drawing Book in Chalks, Containing Fifty-one Plates* which is advertised on a trade card printed by Hooper in 1775, but does not appear to survive. That work contained 'landscapes, figures, heads & animals' after Sandby, Stubbs, Louthenbourg, Bossi, Laroon, and others, so may also have included some later impressions from *Figures & Heads*.

Extremely rare: not in Library Hub or OCLC, although we have traced a copy at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (contents unspecified). The British Museum has an impression in sanguine of the title-page, as well as several individual pulls of heads after Bossi (present here in earlier states which erroneously give them to Louthenbourg), and one after Greuze (here unlettered).



Neo-Latin verse and schoolboy misdemeanours

36. HADDON, Walter. *Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, legum doctoris, sparsim collectorum libri duo*. Londini, Per Richardum Yardlei, et Petrum Short, propter assignatos Gulielmi Seresii. 1592.

8vo, pp. [156], wanting the final two leaves bearing the poem 'Adonis'; woodcut printer's device to title; creasing and wear to corners of first two quires, a few ink marks, otherwise good; stab-stitched in limp vellum reused from a manuscript, with faint Latin text to outside and English text to inside (see right); somewhat worn.

£3750

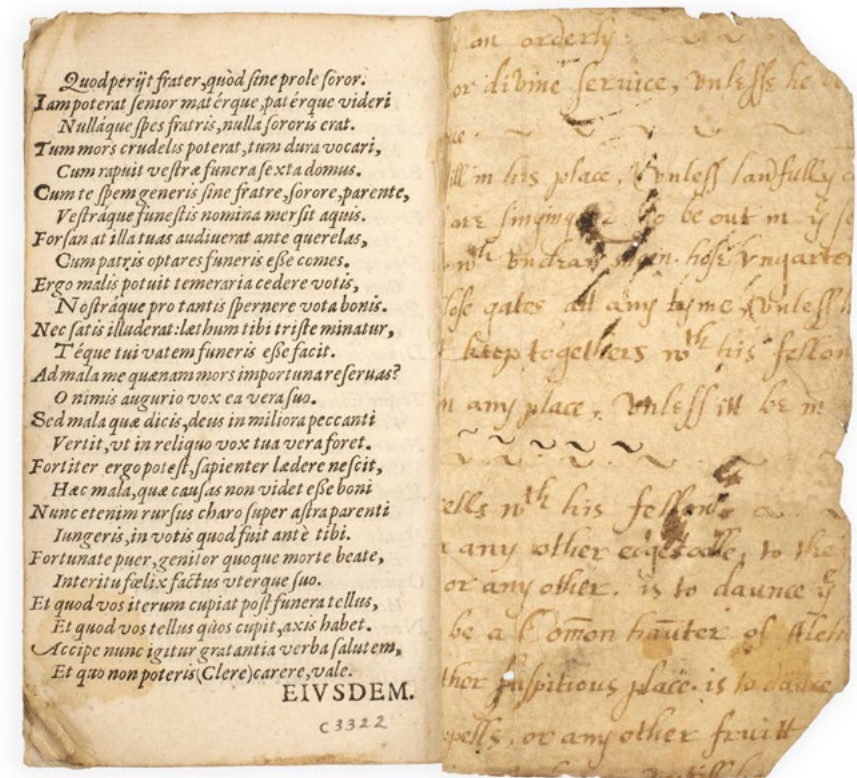
Very rare second edition (first 1576) of the collected Latin verse of the lawyer, poet, and fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Walter Haddon (1514/15–1571), **this copy bound in a contemporary manuscript relating to schoolboy misconduct**.

'One of the great and eminent lights of the reformation in Cambridge under King Edward' (*Oxford DNB*), Haddon served as vice-chancellor of the university. 'He was an accomplished master of Latin verse, and his poems were much praised during his lifetime' (*ibid.*).

The first part of the *Poematum* comprises religious verse of Biblical inspiration, while the second includes poems on love, music, marriage, Cicero, and Kett's rebellion, as well as verses relating to the likes of Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth I, Roger Ascham, Nicholas Bacon, Thomas Cecil, Martin Bucer, and John Cheke.

The binding on this copy is most interesting, comprising a fragment from a contemporary English manuscript bearing numbered points detailing what appear to be schoolboy misdemeanours for which punishment would be given, the text running from the inside front cover to the inside rear cover. A few examples will convey the interest and charm of the contents: 'Item he yt misseth morning or divine service unlesse he be sick or have leave'; 'Item if any of you g[o?] ... wth unclean ... hose'; 'Item he yt fights ... wth his fellow'; 'Item he yt drawes ... blood'; 'Item if any shall be [shown?] to be a common haunter of aleh[ouses], drabs, cards, tave[rns] [or] other suspitious place'; 'Item if any be known to eate appels or any other fruiit'.

ESTC records only three copies, at the Bodleian, Trinity College Dublin, and the Folger. The Folger's copy is incomplete, wanting most of quire A.



THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS, VOIAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land,

to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of
the earth at any time within the compasse

of these 1500. yeeres: Deuided into three
seuerall parts, according to the po-
sitions of the Regions wherun-
to they were directed.

The first, containing the personall trauels of the English vnto *Iudea, Syria, Arabia, the riuer Euphrates, Babylon, Balsara, the Persian Gulfe, Ormuz, Chaul, Goa, India,* and many Islands adioyning to the South parts of *Asia*: together with the like vnto *Egypt*, the chiefe ports and places of *Africa* within and without the Streight of *Gibraltar*, and about the famous Promontorie of *Buona Esperanza*.

The second, comprehending the worthy discoueries of the English towards the North and Northeast by Sea, as of *Lapland, Scikfinia, Corelia*, the Baie of *S. Nicholas*, the Isles of *Colgoicue, Vaigats*, and *Noua Zembla* toward the great riuer *Ob*, with the mightie Empire of *Russia*, the *Caspian Sea, Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Boghar in Baltria*, & diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria*.

The third and last, including the English valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and new world of *America*, from 73. degrees of Northerly latitude Southward, to *Meta Incognita, Newfoundland*, the maine of *Virginia*, the point of *Florida*, the Baie of *Mexico*, all the Inland of *Noua Hispania*, the coast of *Terra firma, Brasill*, the riuer of *Plate*, to the Streight of *Magellan*: and through it, and from it in the South Sea to *Chili, Peru, Xalisco*, the Gulfe of *California, Noua Albion* vpon the backside of *Canada*, further then euer any Christian hitherto hath pierced.

Whereunto is added the last most renowned English Nauigation,
round about the whole Globe of the Earth.

By Richard Hakluyt Master of Artes, and Student sometime
of Christ-church in Oxford.



Imprinted at London by GEORGE BISHOP
and RALPH NEWBERIE, Deputies to
CHRISTOPHER BARKER, Printer to the
Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

1589.

Contemporary calf, with the World Map

37. HAKLUYT, Richard. The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the Earth at any Time within the Compasse of these 1500 Yeeres. Imprinted at London by George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, Deputies to Christopher Barker ... 1589.

Folio, pp. [16], 242, [2, blank], 243–505, [1], 506–643, [12], 644–825, [12], with the folding world map (333 x 485 mm, 'Typus Orbis Terrarum', after Ortelius (Shirley 167), often lacking, here washed and remounted), the medial blank X4 and the terminal final blank 4F4. and the six unpaginated 'Drake leaves' (not always present); Bowes leaves in the first state (headed 'The Ambassage of Sir Hierome Bowes to the Emperour of Moscovie 1583', paginated 491–505); short tear to foot of R1 neatly repaired, small rusthole in L12–3, else a fine, crisp copy recased in its original, strictly contemporary London binding of roll-tooled calf over wooden boards (heads in wreaths and a capstan, not in Oldham), clasps repaired using the original metalwork, spine dry and with some restoration, some wormholes to rear cover, new endpapers; crimson morocco pull-off box.

£350,000

First edition, a fine copy, with the world map, in a strictly contemporary London binding, of the first collection of English voyages, a fertile source for Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers.

'Richard Hakluyt's collection of voyages is one of the more famous works of Elizabethan history and literature, but it is generally known and read in the three-volume edition, *The principal navigations*, of 1598–1600 ... To get the freshest flavour from Hakluyt it is necessary to go to *The principall navigations* ... of 1589. The narratives are nearer to the events they describe, some of them being tumbled in while the book was in the press, and Hakluyt set them out ... in a way which makes many of them more vivid and effective than after they had been sifted, scrubbed or pruned for the second edition The main bulk of the English voyages made in the early and middle parts of the Elizabethan period is already there, sometimes in versions of which this first edition is the only extant record. The first edition shows how Hakluyt went to work and it represents his original purposes in setting out a great, comprehensive collection on English achievements overseas' (Burns).

The world map combines several of Ortelius's maps, with the central oval taken from his third world map of 1587, and the cloud border from earlier plates. It was later re-used in the 1598 English translation of Linschoten's *Voyages*.

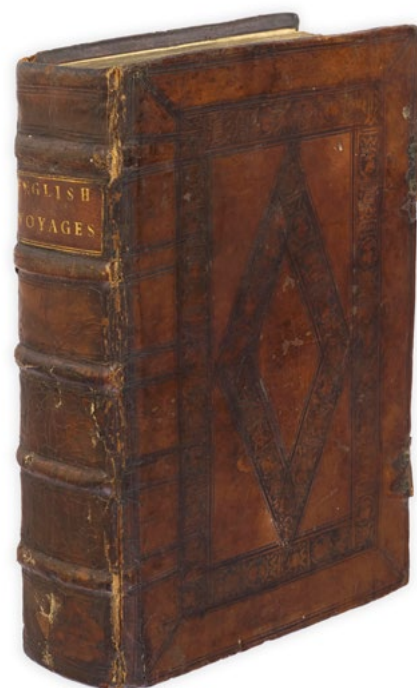
The present copy, with its few and minor faults, is in our opinion one of the best likely to appear on the market. The text, which is fresh and clean, includes the six 'Drake leaves' following p. 643, giving the earliest printed narrative of Drake's celebrated circumnavigation (1577–80), and has the 'Bowes leaves' in their first state (pp. 491–501). These bibliographical points are best explained by Quinn: 'after the book was complete and printed off two events took place which were to alter the form of surviving copies. In the first place permission was received to print an account of Drake's circumnavigation. Hakluyt had indeed begun to prepare such an account but withdrew it so as not to prejudice a collection of Drake's voyages which was in preparation. Permission now came to insert it, not improbably from Drake himself. Accordingly Hakluyt, or one of his assistants, pared down the



available materials ... had them printed on the same paper and in the same type as the rest of the book, and sent them out with most of the copies sold. It would appear that some few copies were issued without the Drake leaves, and that then a certain number were issued with the Drake leaves and without any other changes [as in the present copy]. At that point a further alteration took place: the leaves containing Sir Jerome Bowes's report of his Russian embassy in 1583-4 were cancelled', possibly at the instigation of the Russia Company. 'In any event, a more discreet and shorter version of Bowes's narrative was prepared: "printed this second time, according to the true copie I received of a gentleman that went on the same voyage, for the correction of the errors in the former impression", as Hakluyt says'. Quinn also notes that only about 'one copy in three of the surviving examples contains the map'.

The current Hakluyt census (which does not record this copy), notes only six copies in contemporary calf in this, the most ideal state, with the world map, the Drake leaves, and the first state of the Bowes leaves: Yale (Taylor 188); YCBA (the Mellon copy); Newberry (Drake leaves supplied); Detroit Public Library; Philadelphia Library Company (Drake leaves probably supplied); and the Streeter copy (sale of 20 October 1970). The Streeter copy is the only comparable copy to have sold at auction this century (\$380,000 in 2007).

Alden 589/31; Church 139-139A; Quinn, pp. 474-89; STC 12625.



Lead on ships, and then on roofs

38. [HALE, Thomas, Sir William PETTY, and Samuel PEPYS?]. An Account of several new Inventions and Improvements now necessary for England, in a Discourse by Way of a Letter to the Earl of Marlborough, relating to Building of English Shipping, Planting of Oaken Timber in the Forrests ... [etc.] Herewith is also published at large the Proceedings relating to the Mill'd-Lead-sheathing, and the Excellency and cheapness of Mill'd-Lead in preference to cast Sheet-Lead for all other purposes whatsoever. Also a Treatise of Naval Philosophy, written by Sir Will. Petty ... London, Printed for James Atwood, and are to be sold by Ralph Simpson ... 1691. [Bound with:]

A Survey of the Buildings and Encroachments on the River Thames ... [1691?] [and with:]

That the bringing on Boards above, and Paying the Plank with Stuff under a mill'd-lead-sheathing, is damageable, more charge, and altogether unnecessary; plainly prov'd from Experience as well as Reason ... [London, 'may be had at Mr Nelme's ... and at Mr Basset's', October 1697.] [and with:]

An Advertisement shewing that all former Objections against the Milld-lead Sheathing have been answered by the Navy-board themselves ... London, Printed May, 1696.

12mo, pp. [12], cxv, [19], 132; *The New Invention of Mill'd Lead* has a separate title-page and pagination, register continuous; with the *Survey* (folio, two leaves), and *That the bringing on Boards etc.* (folio broadside), folded and bound before B1; the *Advertisement* (folio, pp. 4), folded and bound at the end; short worm-track touching the odd letter, else a fine copy, in contemporary speckled sheep, covers tooled in blind; **authorial manuscript additions to the margins of p. 33, 96-7, and 116, and to *That the bringing on Boards etc.*, and a few scattered corrections**; armorial bookplate to title verso of James Hustler of Acklam, dated 1730.

£2750

First edition of Hale's *Account* with several rare broadsides on the same topic – the use of milled lead (rather than cast lead, or even wood) for the sheathing of ships as a defence against worm. Thomas Hale operated a lead mill in Deptford (his brother? Charles was a leadworker) and was a director of the Milled Lead Company, which had been founded by Sir Philip Howard and Francis Watson in 1670 with a 20-year patent, taking over sole interest in 1690. The manuscript additions in this copy, almost certainly authorial, add corroborating information up to 1702: milled lead, Hale writes, has been used on the roof of St Clement Dane's and Greenwich Hospital, and even Christopher Wren, 'tho no great friend to the Milld Lead, has owned under his hand' that it is better and cheaper than cast lead.

After a first successful test on the *Phoenix* in 1671-3, Charles II had ordered all ships to be sheathed in lead and around twenty ships were so sheathed; but then allegations emerged that it caused rapid corrosion of the ironwork (though it was to be another century until the scientific reason for the corrosion was discovered). A commission to investigate was set up in 1682 and the use of milled lead on ships largely abandoned. *The New Invention of Mill'd Lead* opens with Howard and Watson's reply to the 1682 commission – they accused the navy of using low quality iron – and a further memorial of

Rob. Midgley.

AN
ACCOUNT
Of several
New Inventions and Improvements
Now necessary for England,
In a Discourse by way of LETTER
TO THE
EARL of MARLBOROUGH,
Relating to
*Building of our English Shipping,
Planting of Oakn Timber in the Forreſts,
Apportioning of Publick Taxes,
The Conſervacy of all our Royal Rivers, in
particular that of the Thames,
The Surveys of the Thames, &c.*

• Herewith is also published at large
The Proceedings relating to the *Mill'd-
Lead-sheathing*, and the Excellency and
cheapness of Mill'd-Lead in preference to
Cast Sheet-Lead for all other purposes
whatsoever.

ALSO
A Treatise of NAVAL PHILOSOPHY, written by Sir Will. Petty.
The whole is submitted to the Consideration of our English Patriots in Parliament Assembled.

LONDON, Printed for *James Astwood*, and are to
be Sold by *Ralph Simpson* at the Harp in *St. Pauls*
Church-yard. MDCXCI.

made the same of
them, touching this
ing their Books, at
her in 1678. and
he said Officers to
ards suitable to this
ecess, we humbly
ceive your satisfac-
ion producing the
Yards, (if made)
helped your Lord-
ed by the Officers
, secure, clear and
ing this Controversie,
your Lordships, or
us and us, the trou-
thod of Dispute.

we speak of tedious, ^{there are others, at}
now doing as little ^{as they can}
Matter put into our
er his Majesty's and
will permit; wethall
the last Article of our
Kely, the opening lo
tain view of a Cure, in
w done of the true
the Disease : For
hing the Gentlemen
it, that Ships aban-
mentioned neglects,
ould in length of
te of weakness, as
ing able to support
We cannot but hold
^{it}

1686, and adds testimonials to its effectiveness by various master-builders, as well as a reprint of an *Advertisement to all who have occasion to make use of sheet lead* (1690) by Hale. At the front of the work is a long and rambling letter to the Earl of Marlborough (pp. cxxv), which mentions lead only briefly and takes in Tycho Brahe, calendar reform, land tax, Peter Pett's *Happy future state of England* (1688), lighthouses, the New River Company, and encroachments on the river Thames that impede passage. The shipwright Phineas Pett II, a supporter of Hale, is referred to several times, with special praise for his ship *Britannia*, of which an 'admirable draught of sculpture ... in four large sheets of Dutch paper' is announced (untraced). Hale also mentions several works by Sir William Petty seen in manuscript. Petty had been appointed a commissioner of the Navy in 1681, and a 'Treatise on Naval Philosophy' is printed under his name here (pp. 117-132).

The two additional folio publications bound in here are very scarce. The first, which accuses shipwrights of subterfuge in the fitting of sheathing, is known in two issues at three locations only (BL, NLS, and Huntington); the *Advertisement* (BL, NLS, and Yale only) contains a summary of the history of the Milled Lead Company, mentioning Pepys frequently. **Hale suggests that Pepys was long a support of milled lead and was in fact the author of the ‘Reply to the Navy Board’ that Hale printed in his *Account*,** but that he changed his position to follow ‘another Interest’. The naval use of milled lead having been abandoned, Hale now advertises it for use in roofing.

Wing H265 (with S6I98); H266A; H2I9.

[96]

[97]

Bell in Friday-street, and abundance more new Covered, too long here to mention; and where the old ones live, this decay and patching generally appears: Whereas such Coverings as have been laid with Mill'd-Lead, some not above 6 l. to the Foot, ten or twelve Years ago, yet as well as at first laying, and in all probability will so continue many Years, as to inlance in a few: At Mr. Widgeffe's, next the Hand and Pen in Road-lane, a Covering about 30 Foot square, with Sheets the full length; Mr. Miner's Buildings in the Inner Temple, with Sheets 22 Foot long, where a Covering of Cast-Lead by, at the same time laid, being compared, the Deictes complained of will plainly appear, in this, while that continues as well as at first, at Mr. Graydon's House in the Pell-mell, and divers others too long to go here to mention; besides many more in Town, and some great Houses in the Country done since, as Elq. Sander's at Tooting, some Sheets 34 Foot long; Elq. Tihny's new House near Roisterwick in Bark-bire; Sir James Hay's at Bedbury, and Elq. Vane's at Fairlaine in Kent, &c. of different kinds, worth viewing for Beauty and Imitation.

as the *Sheet* lengthens in *Milling*, (and not clo-
sed up as they falsely suggest) and where these
Holes or Breaks are met with, the *Sheet* is cut,
if long enough for use; if not, all's returned
again to be new *Cast*, so that none but *sound*
Sheets can pass the *Mill* twenty or thirty times,
as every *Sheet* does before it is finished.

5. Let us suppose then the present price of *Mild-Lead* to be 16 s. a hund. and *Cast-Lead* 14 s. which is an eighth part less, whatever the *Inequality* of a *Cast-Sheet* shall appear to be above an eighth part, which is not easily discerned, so much must it be granted that *Mild-Lead* is cheaper $\frac{1}{8}$ but if *Mild-Lead* of 7 lib. to the foot be admitted but to be as good as the *Plumbers* pretended 9 lib. it is cheaper at 16 s. a hundred than his at 12 s. 6 d.

6. Wherefore since 7 *lib.* to the foot may very well be allowed, to remove all Objections at once which the Plumbers and their Friends fully charge the *Mild-Lead* with, any Person (using the Plumber the Company shall recommend or approve) that shall lay a Covering with their Lead of 7 *lib.* to the Foot square, they will undertake (and secure him by good Covenants as Council shall advise) to keep such Covering, not exceeding a 100 *l.* value, in good and constant repair for a term of 41 Years (to mention a time certain and sufficient) for ; s. a Year, and proportionally for a greater; and if any Sheet or Sheets shall crack, or any wire prove defective in respect of the Lead it self, they will be obliged

[illegible]

4. There are besides the *Inequality*, certain defects in *Cast-lead* that lye concealed within the Sheet, not appearing on the superficies, called by the *Plumber Blow-boles* and *Sand-boles*, which often happens in *Casting*, and must help forward the decay of those *Coverings*, which the *Mill* discovers, such *Holes* being enlarged

AGAINST THE

Have been Answered by the *NAVY BOARD* themselves

And what's lately Objected, is Answered herein, as follows.

And what's lately Objected, is Answered herein, as follows.

[illegible]

Buildings and Encroachments on the River of Thames, on both sides from *London-Bridge* Eastwards to the lower end of *Lyons-Wharf*: Taken by the Principal Officers and Commissioners of his Majesties Navy, with the Assistance of the Elder Brethren of *Trinity-Wharf*, in pursuance of an Order of the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of England, Dated the Fifth of March, 1681. Wherein is also particularly expressed which of the said Buildings and Encroachments are *Old*, and which are *New*, and likewise which of them are judged most prejudicial to Navigation and the River; together with References to each of them by Numbers in the Draught of the River lately made by Captain Collins.

*On the South-side of the River, from
London-Bridge, Eastward.*

Buildings and Encroachments.		Part East from the new line	Part East from the old line	Old or New prejudicial.
1	A. T. Meyer's Dry-dock and a Post Gallery	21	12	Old
2	A. Part of Stairs	21	12	Old
3	Mr. Gardner's Brewery, a pair of Stairs	21	12	Old
4	Mr. Gibbs's Wharf on the East Side of Fishery Bay	14	15	Old
5	A Post Gallery upon the West Side of Fishery Bay	14	15	Old
6	A Post Gallery in the Mouth of Whiskey yard	8	7	New
7	From the East End, Mr. Lewis's Wharf	40	3	New
8	From the West End of Mr. Conley's Wharf to the West End of Mr. Rudy's Yard	40	3	New
9	From the East End of Conley's Wharf to the East of Fishery Bay	17	5	New
10	Mr. Farquhar's Wharf	15	20	New
11	From the East End of Mr. Farquhar's Timber Yard	11	20	New
12	Mr. Hayden, junior, also Conley's Yard	10	10	New
13	Mr. Hayden, senior, his Launch	10	10	New
14	From the Bayshore's Head to the Stairs at the West end of his Yard	10	10	New
15	Mr. Stephen's House and Wharf	14	4	New
16	Thomas Allen's Yard	10	10	New
17	William Elbow's Wharf	15	13	New
18	West of Third-Mansons Yard	10	10	New
19	Mr. Callaghan, also Conroy's Yard	10	10	New
20	Mr. Stephens House	15	7	New
21	Mr. Edwards's Wharf	10	10	Old
22	From thence East to Fishery Bay	40	23	Old
23	From the East End of Fishery Bay to the West of Clerk's Wharf	10	10	New
24	From the West Side of Captain Remy's House to the East Side of Mr. Hargreaves's	12	15	New
25	From the East and South East of Clerk's Wharf to the East End of St. Stephen's House	130	25	New
26	Mr. Remond's Wharf	15	28	New
27	Captain Wood's Hoyle	15	28	New
28	From the West End of Remond's Wharf to the West End of Wood's Hoyle	60	28	prejudicial

Preserving a seventeenth-century wallpaper fragment

39. HAMILTON, William, *of Monkland*. Manuscript account book, 1706–53.

Small 8vo notebook, 12 leaves, plus numerous blanks, entries in several hands, each signed by William Hamilton up to 1745, and then by Andrew Hamilton; slightly dusty but good, in a contemporary limp vellum wallet-binding, tie wanting, scrap of block-printed paper preserved under the fore-edge fold.

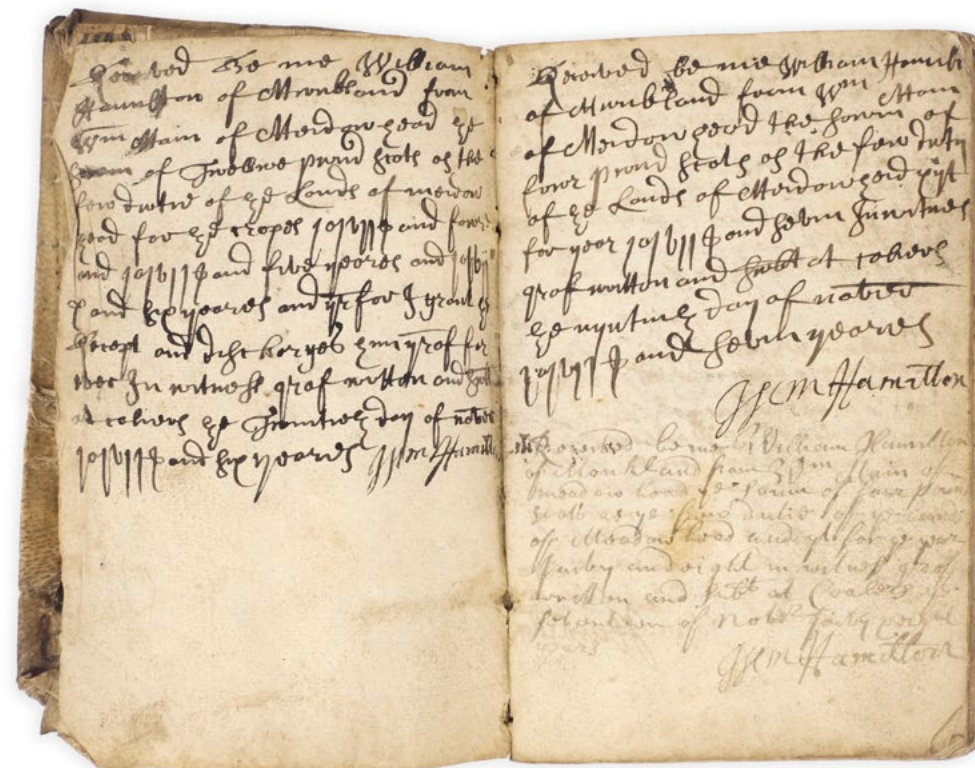
£5000



Manuscript account book with 41 entries recording payments to William (later Andrew) Hamilton of Monkland, Lanarkshire, by William Main of Meadowhead, of four pound Scots due annually for the 'few duty' (an annual land rent) on the farm of Meadowhead. The first entry is for £12 for the years 1704–6, and some other entries cover two years. Most are signed 'at Coalers' or 'Colliers'; although we have not identified this location, Monkland (formerly land belonging to Newbattle Abbey) is at the heart of the North Lanarkshire coal fields.

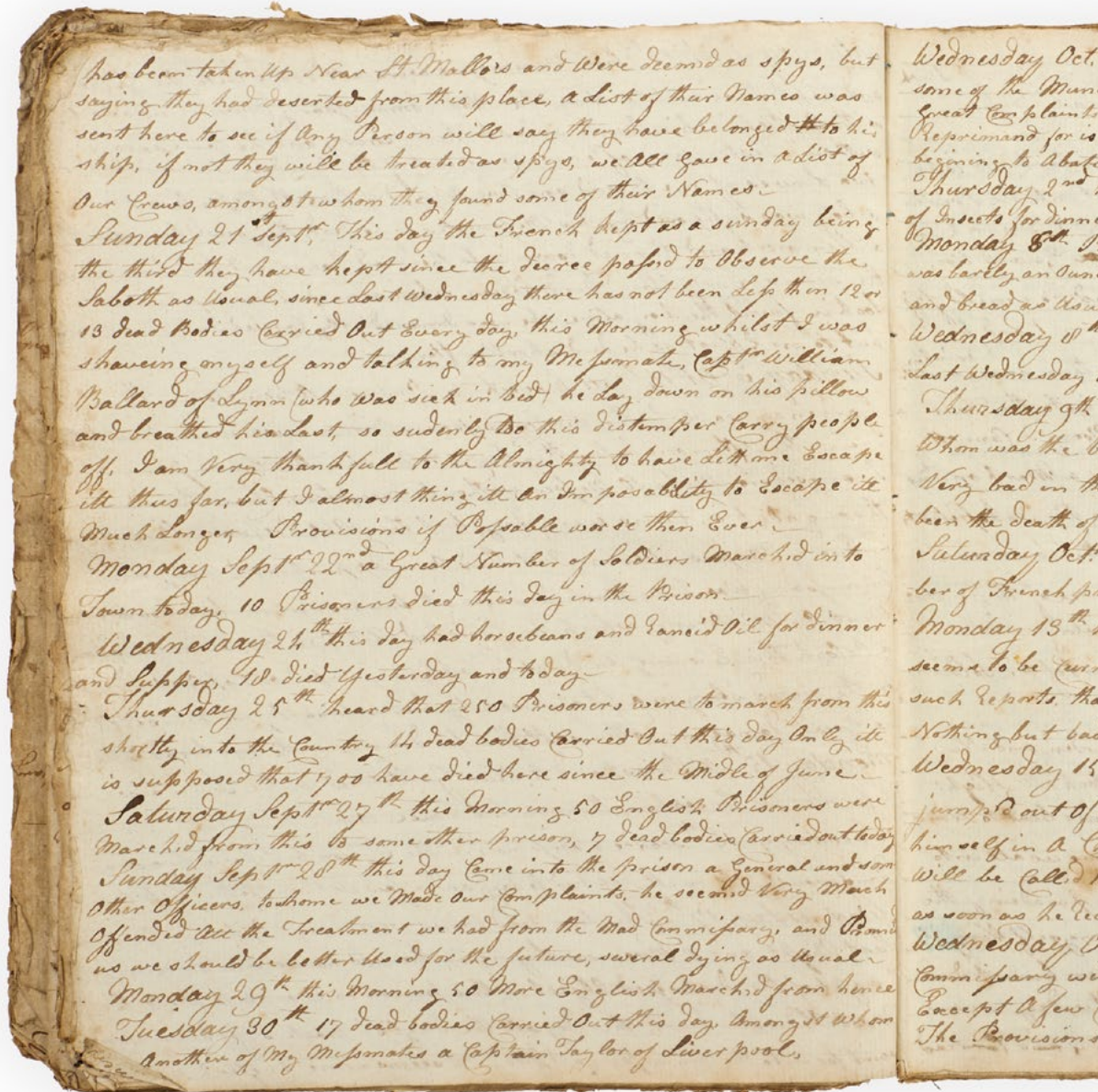
William Hamilton was the son of Robert Hamilton (1654–before 1721) and Margaret Hamilton, and the grandson of James Hamilton, 1st of Dalzell (d. 1668); his son Andrew Hamilton (d. 1765?), signs here in 1746 'in the name of my father' and from 1747 in his own right, suggesting William had died during that year.

Most delightfully, the binding preserves a small folded fragment (c. 135 x 46mm) of seventeenth-century wall- or lining-paper, block-printed in black and overstencilled in orange. Of English origin, it is of a type produced in imitation of black-work embroidery, 'used in England throughout the 17th century. Their main motifs are flowers (carnation, fleur-de-lys, rose, pansy), leaves and fruit (strawberry, pomegranate, acorn). They originated as printed designs for multi-coloured needlework on table- and bed-linen' (*The Papered Wall*, ed. Hoskins). Printed in carbon-black only on single sheets, they were sometimes over-painted or stencilled in other colours. Visible elements here include a thistle and a rather charming butterfly, with dotted branch borders – we have not been able to identify any papers with the precise elements visible here, though see *The Papered Wall* p. 22–3 for a single-sheet paper with orange over-stencilling (late seventeenth century, in *The Shrubbery*, Epsom), and a recently discovered paper in a Bible box at Acton Scott Hall with dotted branches, flowers, insects and birds. **Surviving examples of English wallpapers of this date are extremely uncommon, and almost always small fragments** – the collection at Temple Newsam for example (see *Wallpapers at Temple Newsam*) includes only three seventeenth-century examples, and there is only one in the collection of English Heritage (Rosoman, *London Wallpapers: their Manufacture and Use 1690–1840*).



Harrowing prison diary, at Quimper with Wellington's sister

40. HANCOCK, Capt. George?. Manuscript diary of an English prisoner-of-war during the French Revolution, and of a forced march of nearly 1000 km towards Paris and then back to La Rochelle; with some French vocabulary notes. 2 May 1794 to 17 November 1795.



Large 4to, ff. [26], plus [4] of French phrases with English translations, and several blanks; a couple of (blank?) leaves torn away at the front, edges thumbled and worn, first page rather grubby, second leaf loose, a few stains, withal good; with a late nineteenth-century transcription by Walter Hancock Gutch, attributing the diary, which is anonymous, to a relative – 'Captain George Hancock of Poole Dorset'; bookplate in the transcription of Peter Shand Kydd, step-father of Diana, Princess of Wales.

£6500

A grim but fascinating unpublished account of the notorious Republican prison at Quimper, in Brittany, at which several thousand British men and women (as well as Spanish, Dutch and Americans) were held in terrible conditions during the mid-1790s, large numbers dying of starvation, jail fever and cold: **'the French ... render it impossible for an Englishman to speak in the smallest degree of their humanity towards the unfortunate people that the chance of war have thrown into their power'**. Hancock describes in great detail the paucity of food rations, insanity and suicide attempts among the prisoners, and sickening mortality rates, only occasionally relieved by walks in the convent garden.

Hancock, who must have been a merchant captain out of Poole, had sailed as part of the convoy from Southampton on 2 May 1794 along with the Grand Fleet of Admiral Howe, under the direct protection of HMS *Adventure*. Having been separated from the convoy, which took no account of heavier sailing vessels, Hancock's boat was taken as a prize on 22 May by a French schooner of 12 guns out of Caen. His crew was kept in irons 'but I was Allowed to walk the deck myself and had no cause to complain of their treatment'. On board he saw the French sailors 'Calld to sing their Liberty Song and a sett of miserable wretches they where, as ever I sett my eyes on, not having cloaths enough amongst them to make a mop'.

On 4 June they arrived at Lorient, and after being searched for knives were marched with other prisoners to Quimper, seeing on the way a cart carrying 'two dead bodies without heads, by which we supposed they had been Guillotined att Brest'. At Quimper they are installed in a former monastery converted to a prison, where Hancock spends the next ten months in increasingly deplorable conditions.

The early days are awash with rumour and counter-rumour about prisoner exchanges that do not materialise and military successes on both sides – including the 'Glorious First of June', the battle of Ushant between Howe's Grand Fleet and the French, who lost a quarter of their naval strength but secured their Atlantic convoy. Meanwhile prisoners are falling sick and are forbidden to supplement meagre rations with their own purchases, attempts at escape begin, largely unsuccessful, and the 'mad Commissary' who runs the prison is coming down on them hard; while the French

Revolutionaries assemble 'round the Temple of Reason and the Tree of Liberty on the Hill & sung their Liberty songs'. By the end of June the prison had swelled substantially and had taken over the neighbouring convent, and on 3 July 'we had Ticketts Granted to the Officers to Walk in the Garden. **Also Lady Ann Fitzroy and her maids [h]ad Liberty to Walk in the Garden, she was taken in the Expedition Packet on her passage from Lisbon to Falmouth, and since her stay in this Town has been confined in a house facing the prison**'. Lady Fitzroy (1768–1844), born Ann Wesley, was the sister of the future Duke of Wellington (then yet to see battle), and had been captured along with her brother Henry on the way back from Lisbon after the death of her husband. Later, on 2 December 'Lady Ann Fitzroy had Liberty to goe to Brest and procure herself a passage to England, accordingly she departed accompanied by her brother Sir John Westly [sic], **dureing her stay here she [h]as done all in her power towards assisting the prisoners, she has repeatedly sent money to those confined in the town jail, and has soup boil'd for the sick in the prison**'.

In July 1794, 'the Commisary gave out a Number of Pamphlets Printed in English, and said to be written by Roberspeir in Vindication of the French Republican Principles'; a drunken gardener fires at the prisoners killing one and is imprisoned himself, Hancock sees 'some genteel dressed young Ladies ... walking in the Garden amongst which was the handsomest Girl I have seen since my Captivity'; and 'several Auctioneers set up selling Cloaths &c in the Yard', the only means for prisoners to raise money. But all the while prisoners are 'goeing to the Hospitals daily and from thence to their Graves'.

'Every day now is getting worse with respect to provisions' – they are fed 'soup' made of water, a few cabbage leaves and 'a little rank salt butter swimming on top of itt', tiny rye loaves, sardines 'full of magotts'. Hancock provides details of the food allowances throughout the diary suggesting that he may have been involved in organising provisions; he notes later for example how at Christmas 1794 'a party of the prisoners broke into the steward room and stole all the bread consisting of about 50 loaves', while on 14 February 1795 he provides a table of the present price of provisions (a sixpenny loaf costs 2s 8d, a quart of milk is 6d, 2 wild ducks are 6s, a pound of coffee is 5s 4d).

They are joined on 2 August by 270 new prisoners, being 'the Crews of his Majestys sloops of war Hound and Le Espion and some more Merchant ships', and the muster now tallies 2758 prisoners, plus over 400 in hospital. **News arrives of the death of Robespierre at the beginning of August, first that it was by suicide, and then that '13 of the Convention were guillotined att Paris amongst whom was Roberspiere (sic)', but the anniversary of the 10 August insurrection is**

Thursday 9th 10 dead bodies Carried out At On the last this day amongst them was the boy of my Maids we hear that the Mad Commissary is very bad in the Prison Distemper, greates hopes of his dying, he has been the death of many brave fellows here by his cruel usage towards them Sunday Oct 11th this day a Report in the prison that a great number of French prisoners had arrived att Brest from England Monday 13th heard that an Exchange is Absolutely on foot, this Report seems to be present in the Town, but we have been so often deluded by

still celebrated with 'great rejoiceings and a representation of [the Bastille] carried through the town accompanied by a band of musick'.

Later that month 'a very heavy firing was heard in the town and prison', creating much alarm in the town, soldiers all assembled, and 'the doors of Lady Ann Fitzroy's House' locked 'so great are their fears as to apprehend danger from her ladyship and her maids' – they later discover it was 2 English frigates pursuing a convoy bound for Brest.

By 4 September Hancock reports that 'within this 4 months 450 prisoners of different nations have died' and the rest 'a sett of poor emaciated beings, hardly able to crawl ... reduced to anatomy's merely for want of sufficient food'; he buries a friend, one Captain Hine, of Poole, several days later, but is forced to pay extra to avoid a mass grave; by this time 'scarce a healthy man is to be seen', and deaths are coming at a rate of a dozen a day in the prison and more from the hospital.

When in October, the 'mad Commissary' falls ill ('great hopes of his dying'), conditions improve somewhat under new leadership and some officers are allowed to live in the town, 'but for want of Money I cannot make one of the number', and on 10 November, 'I find myself very ill', fever confining him to bed until the 21st, one of several bouts he suffers; the prisoners continue 'to die very fast in the prison some with the flux others through cold'. The diary entries begin to become more sparse as conditions take their toll; in February 1795, after a month living on nothing but potato and horsebeans, **'the Prisoners were reduced to the Starveing Necessity of killing and eating several dogs that they caught in the prison, pieces of which were bought up with the greatest eagerness'**.

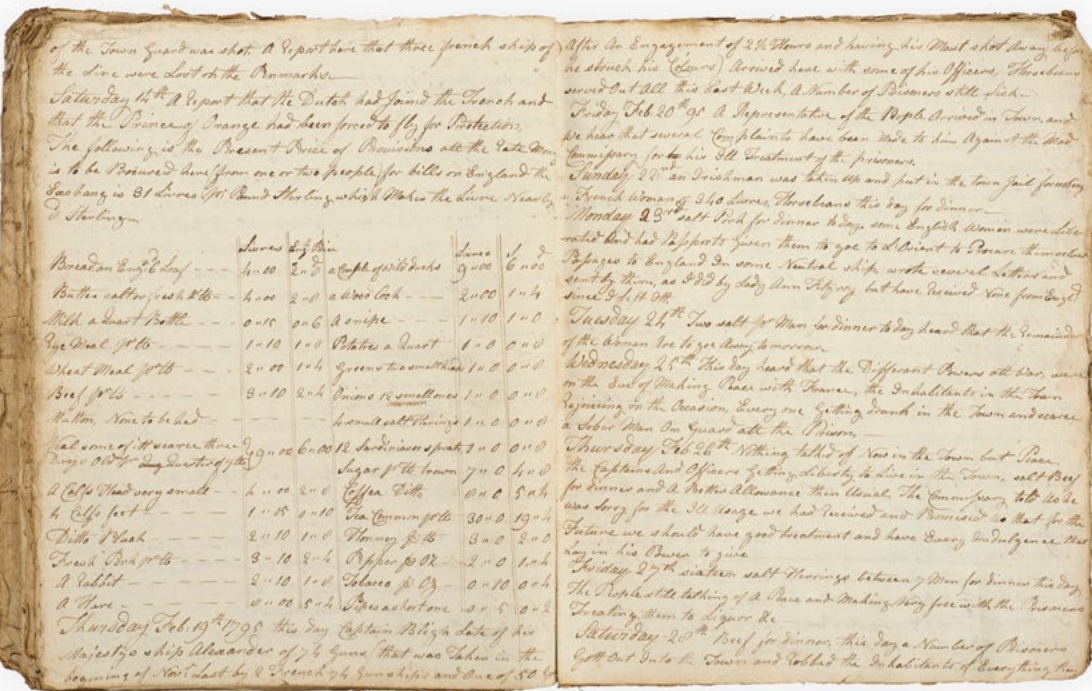
In March, 'finding myself not very well', he is finally allowed permission to live in the town, with Capt. Kittcat, also of Poole. 'If a man had hard Money he may live here cheap att this time as he could get 250 livres paper money for one guinea, but to draw money he can get for good bills but 40 livres per pound starling, a gread difference ... The French Assignat depreciateing very fast ...'.

Finally on 9 April, **'Att 7 oclock this morning, I packed up what few things I had left, and att 8 oclock marched from the teribal place** in company with 49 other Englishmen amongst whom were three Poole Captains, viz. Frampton, Kittcat, and Young'. They overnight at Rosporden where they 'drank a bottle for wine for joy of having left Quimper were we had experanced the most infamous treatment'. Thence to Hennebont and Vannes 'a very pleasant town with delightful walks' – 2000 soldiers are there bound for ships in St Malo. At Elven the royalist locals invited them to desert, and some did, 'but for my part I perfer taking my chance as a prisoner to carrying a musquit on my shoulder'. Rennes was

‘very handsome’ – they stayed in a church ‘that was turned into a prison; it had before we arrived been barricks for soldiers, so that we may truly say the house of God was become a den for thieves’. At Le Mans ‘we had a beautiful convent for a prison’; at Nogent-le-Rotrou ‘we found 80 German soldiers, prisoners of war, who dwelt in an old castle on the top of a high hill’. From Chartres, they are shunted back and then south to Vendôme, where Hancock takes lodgings with two others and remains for a long period (28 May to 3 October), awaiting news of an exchange. ‘A great many English sailors employed in getting in the harvest, as French men are very scarce, the greatest part being in the army’. When they finally leave Vendôme they are sent towards La Rochelle, arriving on 13 October (after a total journey of nigh on 1000 km); on 8 November he alights at Penzance, and 17 November is at last at Poole ‘after an absence of eighteen months, 17 of which I had been a prisoner of war’.

The French phrase-list that accompanies the diary provides a series of idiomatic phrases that might have been useful to Hancock during his travails, with English renditions: ‘I value honour above life ... I have no money about me ... I have the honour to be acquainted with A very agreeable country house ... Great misfortunes attend wars ... The Barns full (she is with child) ... Can’t you hold your tongue ... Your beauty commands love and respect from everybody ... A complication of miseries ... To fight for a man’s own country ... Joan is as good as my Lady in the dark.’

Hancock’s account of imprisonment in Quimper paints a vastly different picture from that of Watkin Tench (in his *Letters written from France*, 1796), who arrived in February 1795 along with Admiral Rodney Bligh after the capture of the *Adventure* (Bligh’s arrival is recorded here). Tench was immediately granted leave to lodge in town and ‘had no cause to complain of oppressive treatment’, though he does record that by October 1794 some 1200 prisoners had died.



‘We have met with no Sturdy Rogues’

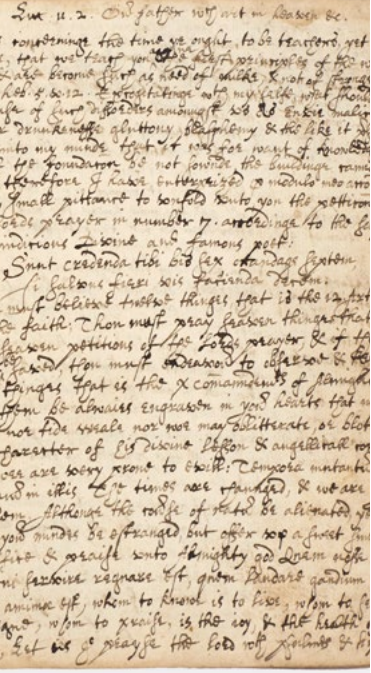
41. JAMES, David, *et al.* Manuscript exposition of the Lord’s Prayer, in ten discourses, plus several other Biblical expositions. [Herefordshire or Monmouthshire, 1630s.]

4to, ff [108], c. 33 lines per page; at the front are seven leaves of legal material in various hands, the first being a debt obligation from Gilbert Jones of Orcop, Herefordshire, to William Price dated 11 July 1632, signed by David James, the latest dating from the 1690s; some staining at the extremities, else very good, skewed, in contemporary limp vellum, one original endpaper laid down.

£2400

An expansive manuscript exposition of the Lord’s Prayer, datable by its references to King Charles I, Henrietta Maria, Prince Charles (b. 1630), the Lady Elizabeth (1596–1662) and the Elector Palatine her husband (m. 1613) – ‘O Lord, deliver them from all forreyne invasions, & homebread [sic] conspiracies’. The introductory prayers include ones to bring the Queen away from ‘AntiXtian pop[er]y’, and for ‘the two Universities of this Land, Oxford and Cambridge’ – ‘graunt ... unto the students of the same, that the chyffe end of their studies, may the furtherance of thy church, & the maintenance of the common wealth’. These are signed at the end David James (the same hand as on the legal document at the front), William Morgan (in Greek), and another David James – we have not been able to identify the authors with any degree of certainty.

At the end are further expositions on Psalms 6, verse 6 (2 discourses); 2 Corinthians 3, 5; James 1, 16–17; Matthew 7, 7; Romans 8, 26; and Matthew 13, 9 (incomplete at end).



A preponderance of legalistic formulae – obligations, debts – implies that the David James responsible for the volume may have had legal training. Certainly the later history of the volume suggests that context, and includes, in chronological order: an order ‘To the pettie Constables of the parish of Grissmont’ (Grosmont? in Welsh borders) – to apprehend one Richard Tilyer for hurting and wounding Francis Hill, 28 May 1635; the will of said Francis Hill of Lempster [Leominster], tanner, 21 July, 1635; several documents regarding debts from 1635; a document of 1684 in which Uvedale Tomkins (1649–92), authorises Edmund Price of Staunton to carry a gun within his manor; and presentments to the overseers of the poor in 1692, 1695 and another undated, by John Brian, petty constable, parish of Byford, Herefordshire: ‘We have mett wth noe sturdy Rogues since the last meeting ... we have noe that frequent any private Conventions or meetings ... we doe not know of any person that speaks reproachfull words against the Kings Majesty ... we have noe Cottages erected contrary to law ... we have noe Alehouses ... I know not of any person that prophanes the Lords day by resorting to Wakes or Sports ... I know not of any ... that neglect to repaire to divine service that are not exempted by law, but Alice Lewis the wife of Walter(?) Lewis a Popish recusant.’

42. JUVENAL. The Satires translated: with explanatory and classical Notes, relating to the Laws and Customs of the Greeks and Romans ... London: Printed for J. Nicholson, in Cambridge; and sold by S. Crowder ... and J. and F. Rivington ... 1777.

8vo, pp. xvi, 416, with a half-title; English and Latin texts printed on facing pages; a very good copy in contemporary mottled calf, rebounded; armorial bookplate of Sir Thomas Hesketh, third baronet (1777–1842), booklabel of Easton Neston Library; with scattered contemporary underlining and marginal annotations throughout.

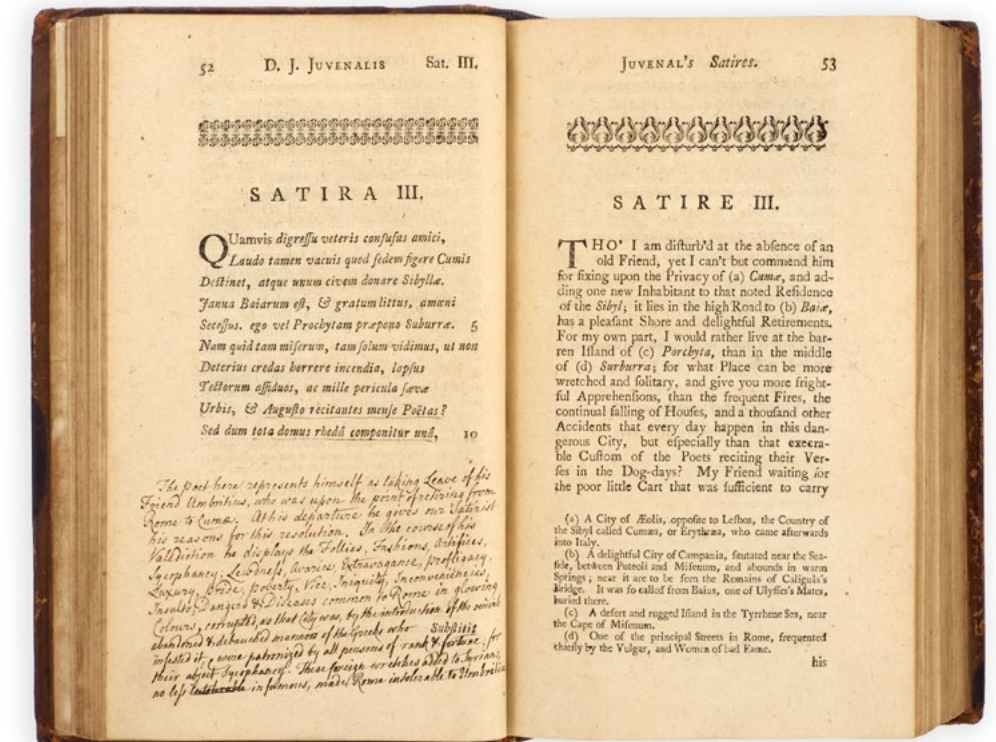
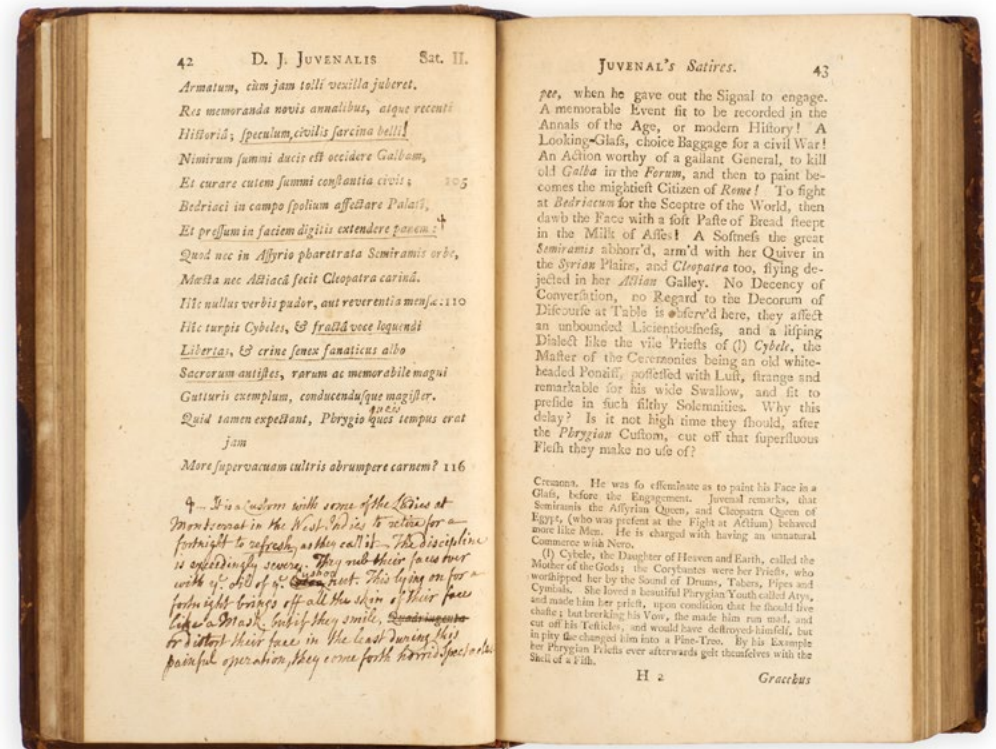
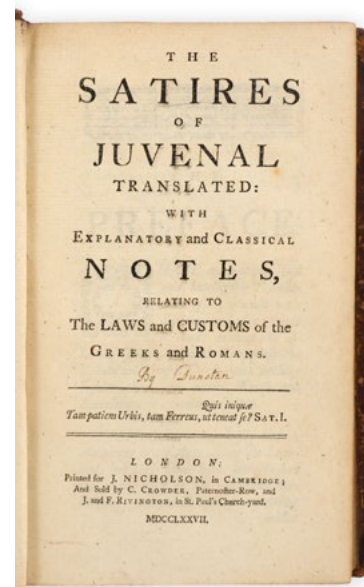
£1250

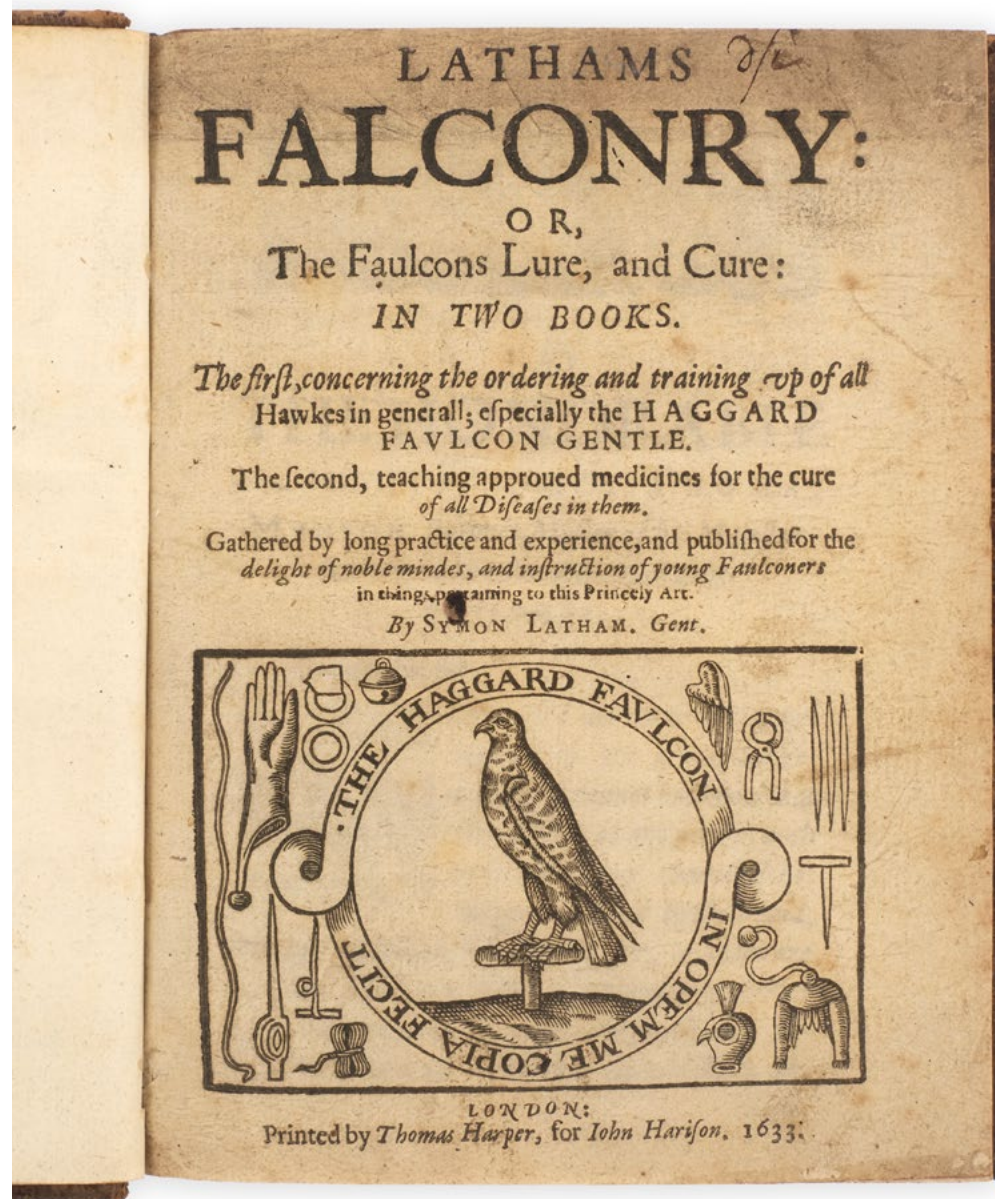
Third edition of this parallel-text translation edited by Thomas Sheridan, first published 1739. Contemporary annotations (one is dated 1779) provide succinct summaries of the subject of each satire. Satire II for example 'scourges the Hypocrisy, Effeminacy, & Bestiality of his Countrymen, as contradistinguished from the vilest & most libidinous Turpitude of Women. He is particularly severe upon that abominable intercourse between the male Sex, which was then highly fashionable.'

Several marginal notes point to the annotator having spent time in the West Indies: on p. 42 a reference to a beauty treatment of bread and asses' milk has the footnote: 'It is a custom with some of the Ladies at Montserrat ... to retire for a fortnight to refresh, as they call it. The discipline is exceedingly severe. They run their faces over with y^e oil of y^e cashoo [cashew] nut. This lying on for a fortnight brings off all the skin of their faces like a mask'. Elsewhere (p. 172) he notes that the hiring of beadles to lash servants 'is still practiced in the West India Colonies'; and (p. 174) that a switch of leather 'is used upon the domestic slaves by their Mistresses in the West India Colonies, & is called a Cow-Skin'.

Other notes seek contemporary parallels for Juvenal's satire – the circle of hangers-on in Satire V is the same as 'prevails now at royal Levees, where Courtiers of Distinction form a Circle in the Drawing Room'; in Satire II a reference to adultery ('Dives erit, magno quae dormit tertia lecto') 'is applicable to his present Majesty the Baby King of Denmark with his late Queen & Count Halk' (i.e. Christian VII, Queen Caroline Matilda, and Struensee); and the shepherd's cave that opens Satire VI ('A bitter satire upon the Roman Women. Here the poet is all Nerve, & exuberantly eloquent') is likened to the 'social hovel' in which 'some of the Highlanders in Scotland live at this day'.

And finally, the annotator glosses the obscene lines 'Callidus & christae digitus impressit alyptes', describing an erotic post-exercise massage: 'the Clitoris – so called from its resemblance to a Cock's Comb'.





To Tell a Hawk

43. LATHAM, Simon. Latham's Falconry: or, the Faulcons Lure, and Cure: in two Books. The first, concerning the ordering and training up of all Hawkes in generall ... the second, teaching approved Medicine for the cure of all Diseases in them. Gathered by long practice and experience, and published for the delight of noble mindes, and instruction of young Faulconers in things pertaining to this Princely Art ... London: Printed by Thomas Harper, for John Harison. 1633. [Bound with:]

Latham's new and second Booke of Faulconry ... London: Printed by Thomas Harper, for John Harison, 1633.

Two vols. bound in one, small 4to, pp. [24], 147, [1]; and [22], 148, [4] (wanting the preliminary blank); woodcut of a falcon surrounded by the equipment of the sport on the title-page of the first book, numerous small woodcuts of hawks and equipment in the text of the second; title-page of first book dusty, a few signature marks shaved, a few spots and stains, marginal worm-track to the second book, withal a very good, crisp copy in early nineteenth-century polished calf; armorial bookplate of the bibliophile Charles Barclay (1780–1855).

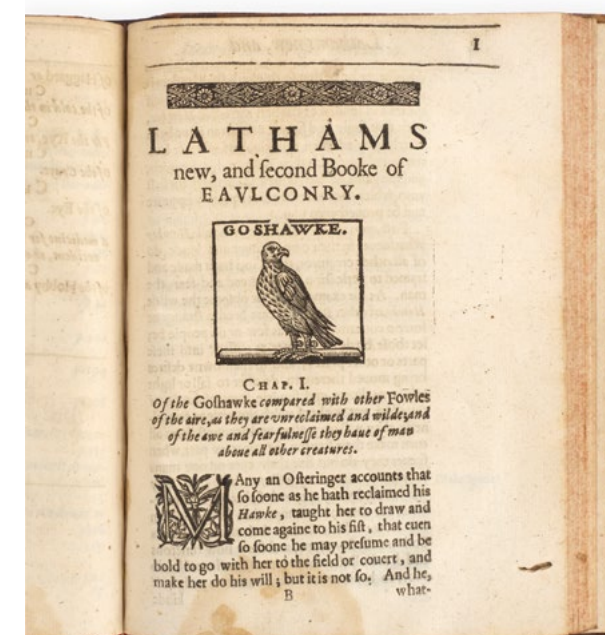
£8500



First collected edition (third edition of volume I, originally published in 1614 and reissued in 1615, second edition of volume II, originally published in 1618).

Latham acquired his skills in the 'princely art' of falconry during the reign of Elizabeth from Henry Sadler of Everley, 'my first and loving Master' and the Queen's Grand Falconer. In the first book he provides a brief glossary of terms and deals with the training, care, and ailments of the Haggard Falcon and Gerfalcon. The second book deals with the Goshawk and other varieties. The standard treatise of its period, Latham's *Falconry* 'ranks among the principal books on hawking in the English language' (Schwerdt, I, 302).

STC 15267.7 and 15268.7.

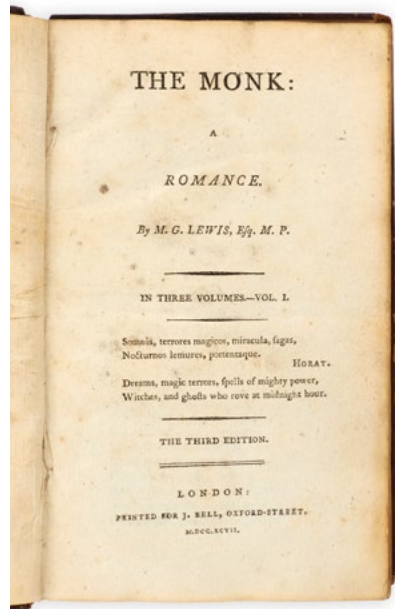


The Suppressed edition

44. [LEWIS, Mathew Gregory]. *The Monk: A Romance ... in three Volumes ... the third Edition.* London: Printed for J. Bell ... 1797.

Three vols, 12mo; apart from a crude old repair to D1 in volume one (to a paper flaw), a good, clean copy, in contemporary speckled calf, joints worn and slightly fragile (front joint of volume III restored), one spine label wanting.

£1500



Third edition, first issue, very rare. The first edition of *The Monk* (1796) was published anonymously, the second, announced the author as 'M. G. Lewis, Esq., M. P.', but it was this third edition that attracted the attention of the Proclamation Society, headed by the Bishop of London, and was suppressed. To avoid having to recall the whole impression, and faced with perhaps a thousand or fifteen hundred unsold copies, Bell put them on the market disguised as first editions by means of cancel title-pages. Overnight the true third edition became extraordinarily rare (three copies in ESTC). This complex publishing history was untangled by William B. Todd in *Studies in Bibliography*, II (1949–50), 324.

Perhaps the most famous – or infamous – of all Gothic novels, *The Monk* is 'the supreme example of the horrific extremity' of its genre, 'an encyclopedia of all the Gothic impulses ... [It] officially shocked and secretly delighted all varieties of readers. Its repulsive situations, lewd vulgarity of style, blasphemous rhapsodies, and erotic candor made it the first Gothic novel to be considered indecent, infamous, and dangerous ...' (F. S. Frank, *The First Gothics*).

When the authorship became known there was general outrage that 'a member of the House of Commons, an elected guardian' of law and religion, had, to quote T. J. Mathias, 'neither scrupled nor blushed to depict and publish to the world the arts of lewd and systematic seduction, and ... the most open and unqualified blasphemy against ... our religion' (*The Pursuits of Literature*, part IV, 1797). It was this review that caught the attention of the Proclamation Society and led to Bell's stratagem of the cancels, a stratagem that nearly failed as the date on the 'first edition' cancels still read 'MDCCXCVII' until, in some copies, the final 'I' was scraped away to restore it to 1796.

ESTC records copies at the British Library, Harvard, and Auckland Public Library.

Rival to Crusoe

45. [LONGUEVILLE, Peter, *pseud?*]. *The Hermit: or, the unparalleled [sic] Sufferings and surprising Adventures of Mr Philip Quarll, an Englishman.* Who was lately discovered by Mr. Dorrington a Bristol Merchant, upon an uninhabited Island in the South-Sea; where he has lived above fifty Years, without any human Assistance, still continues to reside, and will not come away ... With a curious Map of the Island, and other Cuts. Westminster: Printed by J. Cluer, and A. Campbell, for T. Warner ... and B. Creake ... 1727.

8vo, pp. xi, [5], 264, including an engraved frontispiece showing Quarll and his monkey companion Beaufidell (A1), a map of the Island (with a facing letterpress explanation, A7–8), and an engraved plate of a ship in a storm; a very good copy in early nineteenth-century diced calf, tooled in blind, spine a little dry; armorial bookplate of Charles Barclay (1780–1855).

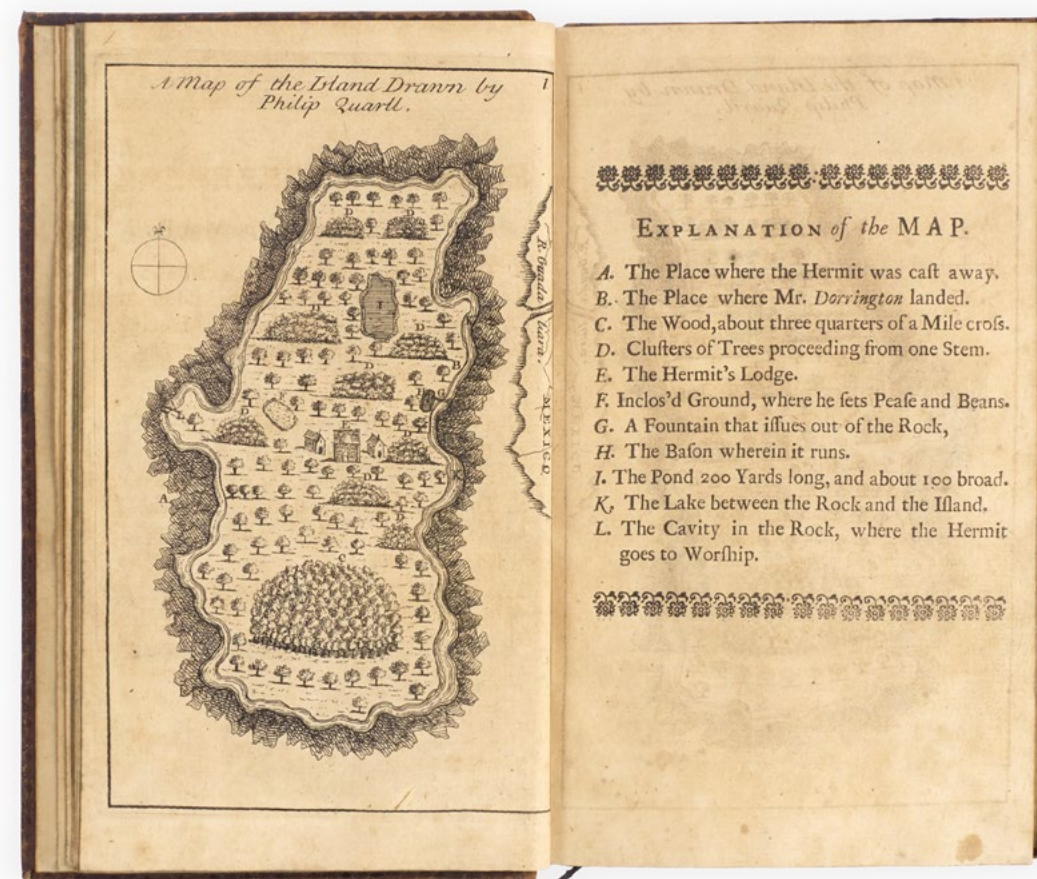
£5000

First edition, first issue, 'an enormously popular work, rivalling Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, of which it is possibly the best imitation' (Howgego). It had French, German and Dutch translations within a year, and many subsequent editions and chapbook printings. One of these was read by the young Coleridge and left a deep impact on his poetic imagination.

The publisher Cluer was wise to his market, and his Preface presents *The Hermit*, as 'truth', against the 'vulgar stories' of *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, and *Colonel Jack*, which are popular among the 'lower Rank of Readers', and the 'Satirical Vein' of *Gulliver's Travels*, 'an equal Entertainment to the superior Class of Mankind'. If *Crusoe* is the model for Parts I and III, with their descriptions of Quarll's discovery by the Bristol merchant Edward Dorrington, of Quarll's life on the island, of Dorrington's return journey, and of Quarll's shipwreck and first days as a castaway; then Part II harks after the picaresque of *Moll Flanders* and *Colonel Jack*. Its protagonist, newly enlisted as a cabin boy, finds himself married to a 'Drury-lane nymph', turns singing master, then dispatches his wife to the country. An aside follows her amorous intrigues, while Quarll behaves in a similar vein in London: he ends up married thrice and is consequently condemned in the Old Bailey. Pardoned by Charles II, he becomes a merchant seaman before his shipwreck brings the narrative full circle.

For its geographical descriptions *The Hermit* borrows substantially from William Dampier, and it has been shown by William Bonner in his *Captain William Dampier* that the island on which Quarll is shipwrecked is identical in its topography to one of the Tres Marias group off the coast of California, located and described by Dampier in his *Voyages* (Howgego).

The Preface here is signed by 'P. L.', but there is a single surviving copy of another issue entitled *The English Hermit* (n.p. 1727, BL only), with a dedication signed by one 'Peter Longueville', and a preface in which he notes that the 'Bookseller who purchased my Copy having in his Preface, made one Mr. Dorington, a Pretended Bristol Merchant ... to be the Author of the present history, in Order to Advance the Sale of his Books, this is to Certify that I never knew no such Person'. This makes it clear that the present issue has precedence. Of Longueville himself, nothing certain is known, and it may be another pseudonym.

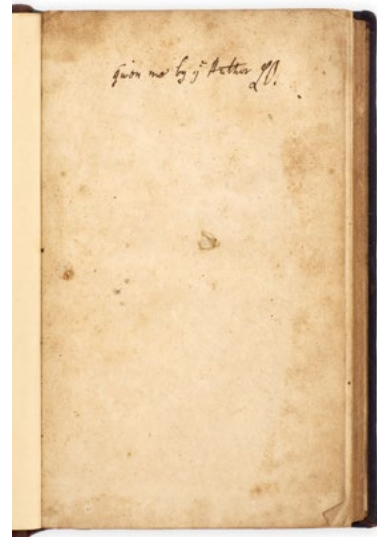


‘Given me by the Author’

46. MANLEY, Mrs. [Delarivier]. The Power of Love: in seven Novels viz. I. The fair Hypocrite. II. The Physician's Stratagem. III. The Wife's Retirement. IV. V. The Husband's Resentment. In two Examples. VI. The happy Fugitives. VII. The perjurd Beauty ... London: Printed for John Barber ... and John Morphew ... 1720.

8vo, pp. xvi, 368, with an initial advertisement leaf; some occasional light foxing but a very good copy in contemporary panelled calf, rebacked, new endpapers; from the library at Porkington (Brongyntyn), inscribed 'given me by y^e Author L[ewis] O[wen]' on a front fly-leaf, and 'Eliz. Owen' on the title-page.

£2500

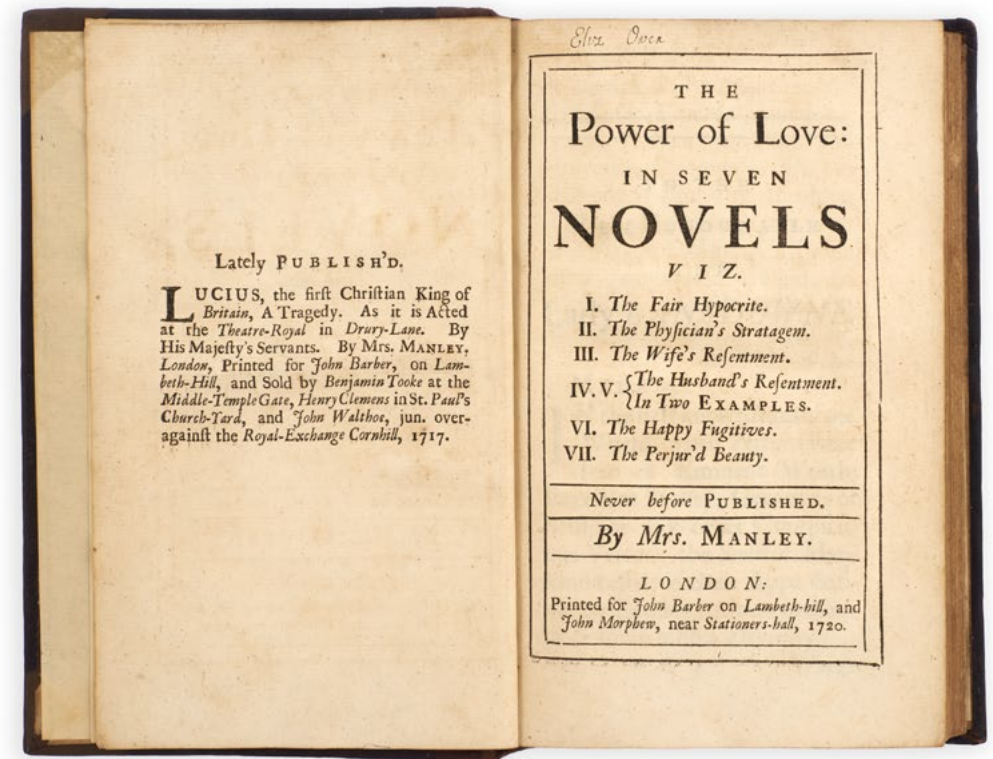


First edition, apparently a presentation copy, of Delarivier Manley's last work of prose, a collection of seven amorous novellas partly derived from William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (1566), 'adding divers new Incidents', and supplemented by several original compositions. Historically dismissed as an 'adaption', *The Power of Love* in fact shows Manley deliberately engaging with literary tradition, 'with the same Design at Mr. Dryden had in his Tales from Boccace and Chaucer'.

'In this underrated work Manley thoroughly transforms her sources to make them relevant to contemporary contexts and debates, delivers racy plotting, and panders to her readers' voyeurism' (*Oxford DNB*). Usually considered less political and less radical than her earlier work, **it is often remembered for the violent revenge of Violetta against her bigamist husband in Novel III 'The Wife's Resentment'**. But recent critical reappraisal has drawn attention to, among other things, the expansion of the roles of the servants in Novels IV and V, to contrast the differing treatment of male and female servants when they expose an infidelity; and the provision of a backstory for the Duchess of Savoy in 'The Fair Hypocrite', which serves to exonerate her (for Painter her passions are illicit, for Manley they are product of a flawed marriage not a flawed character) (*New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley*, 2017, especially chapters 2 and 8).

Manley (1670–1724), most famous for the *New Atlantis* (1709), an anti-Whig satire for which she and her publishers were arrested, had a sad but colourful personal life that might have left her with desires for revenge, commencing with a bigamous marriage to her cousin, the MP John Manley, who then abandoned her. Also a writer for the stage, she was a friend of Catherine Trotter, Richard Steele and Jonathan Swift. Manley's family was originally from Cheshire and Denbighshire and had split on political lines in the previous century – her scapegrace cousin and seducer was

born in Wrexham – and she may also have spent time there: certainly her network was preponderate with west-country Tories, and the Owens of Brogyntyn were the staunchest of west-country Tories. Robert Owen was in Parliament alongside John Manley; his son Lewis Owen (1696–1746) was 'the charmer of the family: witty, entertaining and popular with the ladies' (Hilary A. Peters, "Dear Mama": Mrs Owen of Brogyntyn and the Godolphin Family', NLW, online); in 1720 he would have been at All Souls Oxford. The Elizabeth Owen who has signed the title-page was his sister, later the second wife of Sir Thomas Longueville.



Fair Mariam – Josephus on the Stage

47. MARKHAM, Gervase, and William SAMPSON. *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater: with the Death of Fair Marriam ... as it hath beene, of late, divers times publicquely acted (with great Applause) at the Red Bull, by the Company of his Majesties Revels ...* London Printed by G. Eld, for Mathew Rhodes ... 1622.

4to, pp. [84]; lightly washed but a very good copy in nineteenth-century straight-grain morocco, neatly rehinged; booklabels of Mortimer L. Schiff and Kenneth Rapoport.

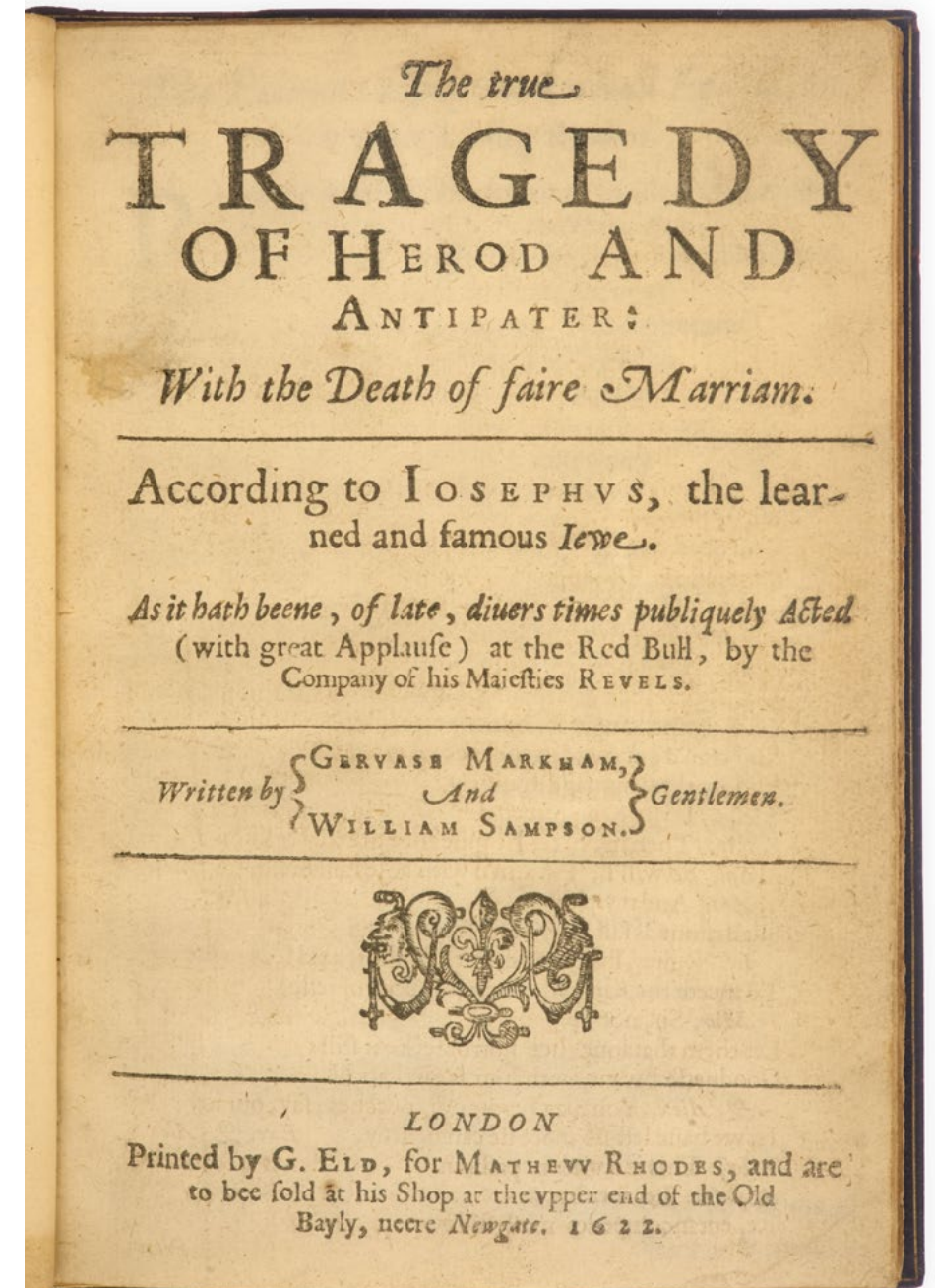
£4750

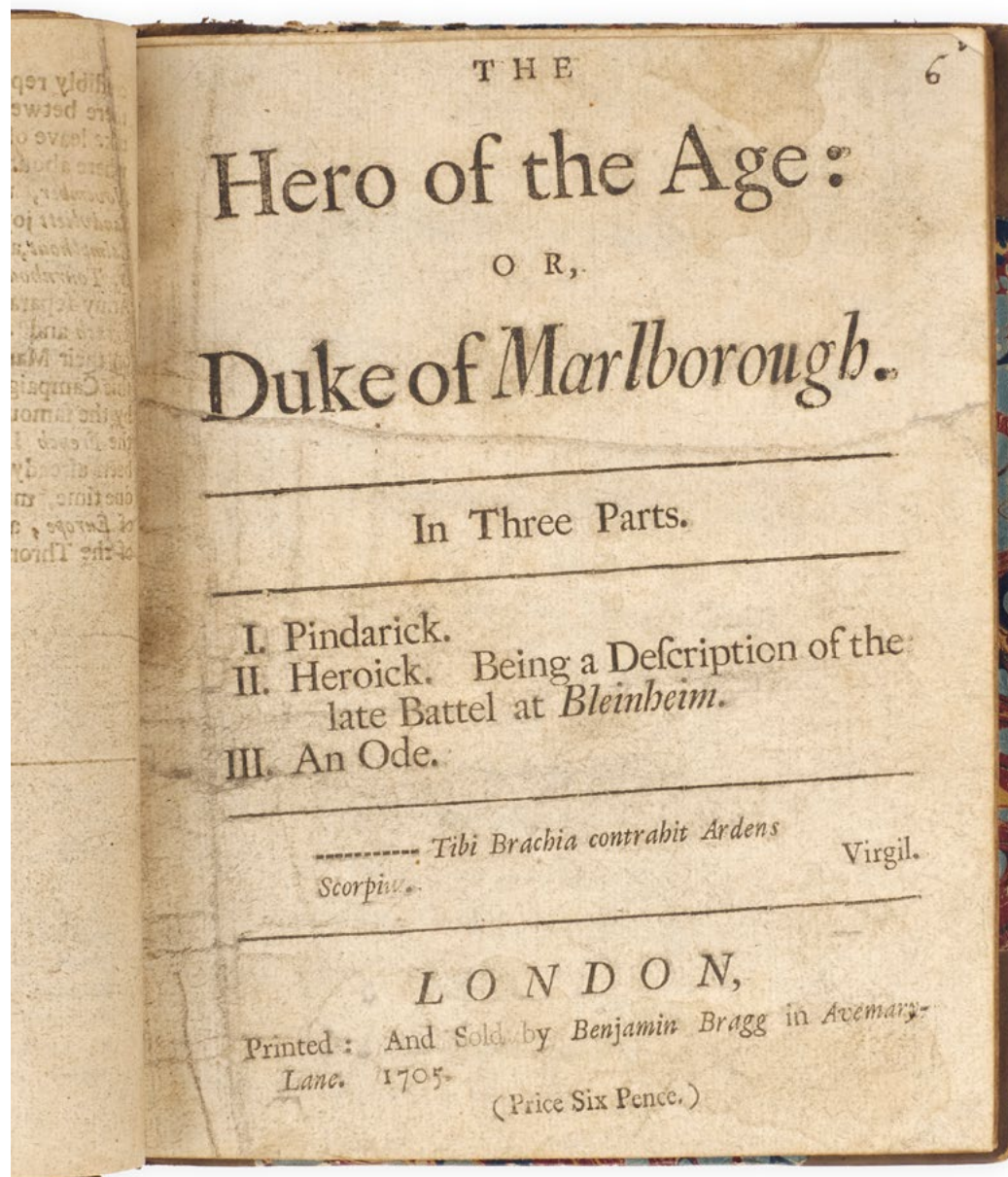
First and only edition, first issue, of an uncommon play, first written by Markham before 1613 and later revised with Sampson's help.

Taken indirectly from Josephus' account of the struggle between Herod and his bastard son Antipater, with the sufferings of Herod's consort Mariam, *Herod and Antipater* treats the same episode of Jewish history as *The Tragedy of Mariam* by Elizabeth Carew (1613) – the earliest original published play by an Englishwoman – but neither tragedy derives from the other. Markham, whose direct source was Morwen's *History of the Latter Times of the Jewes Commone Weale*, 1588, was ever adept at judging current taste, and cast his material as 'a popular drama of passion, villainy and violence' (Peter Auger, 'Playing Josephus on the English Stage', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 23:3, 2016). Interestingly Josephus himself appears a chorus character, introducing dumb-shows in Acts II and IV.

Shakespeare's influence is apparent, in a speech echoing Hamlet's 'What a piece of work' and in the character of Antipater, reminiscent of Richard III and of Edmund in *King Lear*. There is a good account in F. N. L. Poynter's *Gervase Markham* (1962), pp. 61–5, and in Bentley's *Jacobean and Caroline Drama*, IV, 734–5; a critical edition was published in 1979.

STC 17401; Greg 382A* (first variant with 'The Printers Epigrammaticall Epistle' – verse by the publisher Matthew Rhodes – on A2); Poynter 10.1.





'Were Shakespear Living, and Had Then Stood By,
Shakespear Had Wanted Words for this Dread Day'

48. [MARLBOROUGH, John Churchill, *Duke of*.] Tract volume of five rare works (three not in the British Library) relating to the Duke of Marlborough and the Battle of Blenheim. London, 1695-1706.

Five works, 4to, bound together in nineteenth-century half calf with marbled sides; first and last pages of all works dusty; inscription of the sixth Duke of Marlborough dated 1847, bookplate with the Marlborough arms.

£3850

[ROBINS, Jasper]. *The Hero of the Age: or, Duke of Marlborough. In Three parts.* I. Pindarick. II. Heroick. Being a Description of the late Battel at Bleinheim. III. An Ode ... London, Printed: and sold by Benjamin Bragg ... 1705.

Pp. [4], 24. Title creased and dusty, one line partly cropped at foot of [¶]2. **Not in ESTC.**

HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGNE (The) in Germany and the Netherlands for the Year 1705. Under the Command of his excellency, John Duke of Marlborough ... London: Printed for B. Bragg ... 1706.

Pp. [4], 55, [1]. **Five copies in ESTC: Rylands, Longleat; NLI; Harvard, and Rutgers.**

ΓΛΥΚΟΠΙΚΡΑ: or, Miscellanies melancholly and diverting. Occasioned chiefly by the Death of a late incomparable and truly noble Lady. By Way of Pastoral ... London: Printed, and are to be sold by A. Baldwin ... 1704.

Pp. [2], 30. **Six in ESTC: Worcester Oxford, Bodley; Indiana, Newberry, Illinois, Yale.**

FEUQUIÈRES, Antoine de Pas, Marquis de. *Mareschal Tallard's Aid-de-Camp: his Account of the Battle of Blenheim.* In a letter written by him from Strasburg, to Monsieur de Chamillard ... intercepted and sent over to a foreign Minister, residing in England. Wherein some Passages of that memorable Day, are more fully and impartially related, than in any Relation yet made publick. Both in English and French. London, Printed, and sold by John Nutt ... 1704.

Pp. [2], 10, 11, [1]. Title-page dusty and rather pale.

AN EXACT ACCOUNT of the Siege of Namur: with a perfect Diary of the Campagne in Flanders ... London: Printed for Tim. Goodwin ... 1695.

Pp. [4], 56. Wing E3582A.

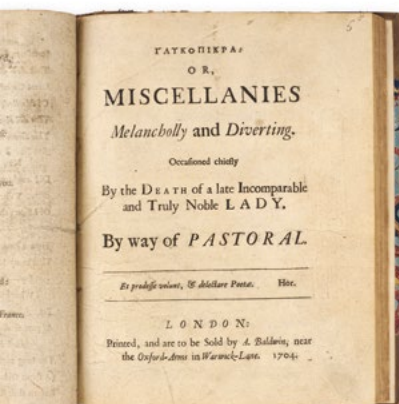
The Hero of the Age, published December 1704 by the otherwise unknown Jasper Robins, is one of the rarest literary contributions to the national outpouring that accompanied the martial success of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, in the early years of the eighteenth century. It comprises three poems, in praise of Marlborough's past victories (e.g. at the Boyne), describing the Battle of Blenheim, and celebrating peace and the reign of Queen Anne. These are prefaced by a dedication to Lady Harriet (i.e. Henrietta) Godolphin, in which Robins hopes the poem's 'Incense may be taken well / And by acceptance, yield a grateful smell', one of the more infelicitous turns of phrase to be found here. Unusual is the reference to an aposiopetic Shakespeare, unable to describe the drowning of the French horse in the Danube. **Not listed in ESTC, but known from a single copy in Dr Williams's Library.**

A corresponding French description of Blenheim is to be found in *Mareschal Tallard's Aid-de-Camp: his Account of the Battle of Blenheim*; 'This prose account is marked with much precise detail of the battle, and is innocent of the chauvinism that infects most military accounts' (Horn). And one of Marlborough's earlier campaigns is covered in *An Exact Account of the Siege of Namur* (1695), in which it is reported that 'Major-General Churchill was detached from His Majesty's Camp with 8 Battalions to reinforce the Duke of Wirtemberg', encountering enemy fire – 'Churchill was shot through the hat'.

The History of the Campaigne ... for the Year 1705 is narrated from an engaging birds'-eye perspective – 'Here we will leave the Baron intrenching himself ... and proceed to the Duke of Marlborough's Army, which we lately left strongly encamp'd at Meldert'. After the resounding successes of 1704, the 1705 campaign was less one to write home about, though a successful action at Elixheim in July broke the French lines and laid the foundation for the victory at Ramillies in 1706. The present *History* includes correspondence from Marlborough and his Dutch and Imperial counterparts, and lists of the allied forces and of the French and Bavarian combatants killed or taken, and the standards seized.

Though she is nowhere named, *Glukopikra* is an extended elegy on Anne Dodington (1642–1690), of Breamore House, Hampshire, wife firstly of Robert Greville, Baron Brooke, and secondly of her cousin Thomas Hoby. It takes the form of a pastoral dialogue between Thyrsis and Menalcas, two family retainers. The sprightly and rather entertaining verse is divided into sections praising variously 'her fair corps', her kindness to her tenants, her 'learned discourse' and knowledge of chemistry, botany, and medicine, her dislike of 'fops and beaus', the pleasures of her table ('Lucullus ne're had thought himself so rich in / Luxuriant Dishes, had he seen Her Kitchen'), her adoption of a series of tame animals, her anti-Jacobitism, her piety and beneficence, etc. At the end is a more topical section that explains its presence in this volume, 'On the present State of Affairs' (Dodington had died some fourteen years earlier): an encomium on Queen Anne and on the Duke of Marlborough.

Horn, *Marlborough, a Survey*, 59 (Feuquières) and 74 (Robins).



Elizabethan Romances, wrongly ascribed to Cervantes

49. [MONTEMAYOR, Jorge de, and Gaspar GIL POLO.] *The Troublesome and Hard Adventures in Love*. Lively setting forth, the Feavers, the Dangers, and the Jealousies of Lovers; and the Labyrinths and Wildernesses of Fears and Hopes through which they dayly Passe. Illustrated by many admirable Patterns of heroical Resolutions in some persons of Chivalry and Honour; and by the Examples of incomparable Perfections in some Ladies ... Written in Spanish, by that excellent and famous Gentleman, Michael Cervantes; and exactly translated into English, by R.C. Gent. London, Printed by B. Alsop ... 1652 [but 1651].

4to, pp. [280]; with the initial leaf A1 (blank except for the signature within a woodcut border); a very good copy in modern crushed maroon morocco, spine lettered directly in gilt; engraved armorial bookplate of Charles Viscount Bruce of Amthill (dated 1712) to title verso.

£7500

The rare second edition of a text of 1594 known in a single imperfect copy (STC 153.3).

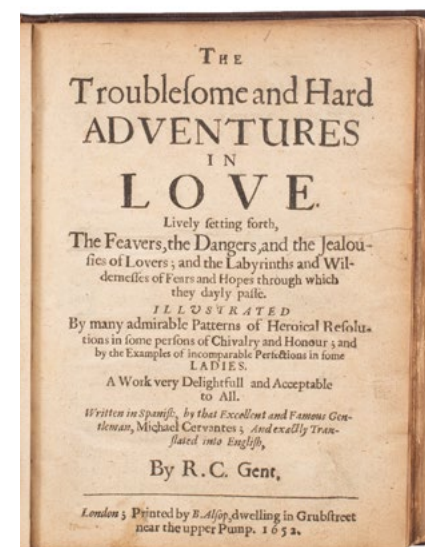
The earlier publication, not ascribed to any author but also translated by 'R.C.', is largely adapted from a French translation (Paris, 1578–1587) of Jorge de Montemayor's pastoral romance *Diana* (Valencia, [1559]), and Gaspar Gil Polo's continuation, *Diana Enamorada* (Valencia, 1564). The text of the present item is identical to that of 1594, but the preliminary pages (including a dedicatory epistle also signed 'R.C.') are new. The new title-page ascribes the work to Cervantes, possibly by mistake but more probably for commercial benefit, and this 1652 edition of *The Troublesome and Hard Adventures in Love* is by a margin of several decades the earliest English book not by Cervantes to bear, for whatever reason, his name.

The plot of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* also derives ultimately from Montemayor, and it is thought to have reached Shakespeare via either the French *Diana* of which this is an adaptation, or Bartholemew Young's 1598 translation thereof (putatively seen by Shakespeare in manuscript several years prior to publication). *The Troublesome and Hard Adventures in Love*, therefore, is a fascinating, and exactly contemporary, analogue in prose fiction of Shakespeare's dramatic reworkings from the same original.

'R.C.' is not, as has been suggested, R. Codrington, for he, though alive and vigorously translating in 1652, had not been born in 1594. Ralph Carr, translator of *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie* (1600), is a possibility; there is a rather exotic connection in that *The Troublesome and Hard Adventures in Love* was entered into the Stationers' register as having been 'written in Turkey'.

ESTC records two copies in the UK (BL and Bodley); and six in the US (Boston Public Library, Folger, Harvard, Huntington, Newberry, and Yale).

Wing C1781; Palau 54045; Grolier, *Wither to Prior* 184; Kenneth Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays* (London, 1977).



Possibly the first masque with moveable scenery

50. NABBES, Thomas. *Microcosmus*. A Morall Maske, presented with generall liking, at the private House in Salisbury Court, and heere set down according to the Intention of the Authour ... London, Printed by Richard Oulton for Charles Greene ... 1637.

Small 4to, pp. [54], wanting the initial blank; edges slightly browned but a very good copy, in nineteenth-century half blue morocco, endpapers renewed.

£5000

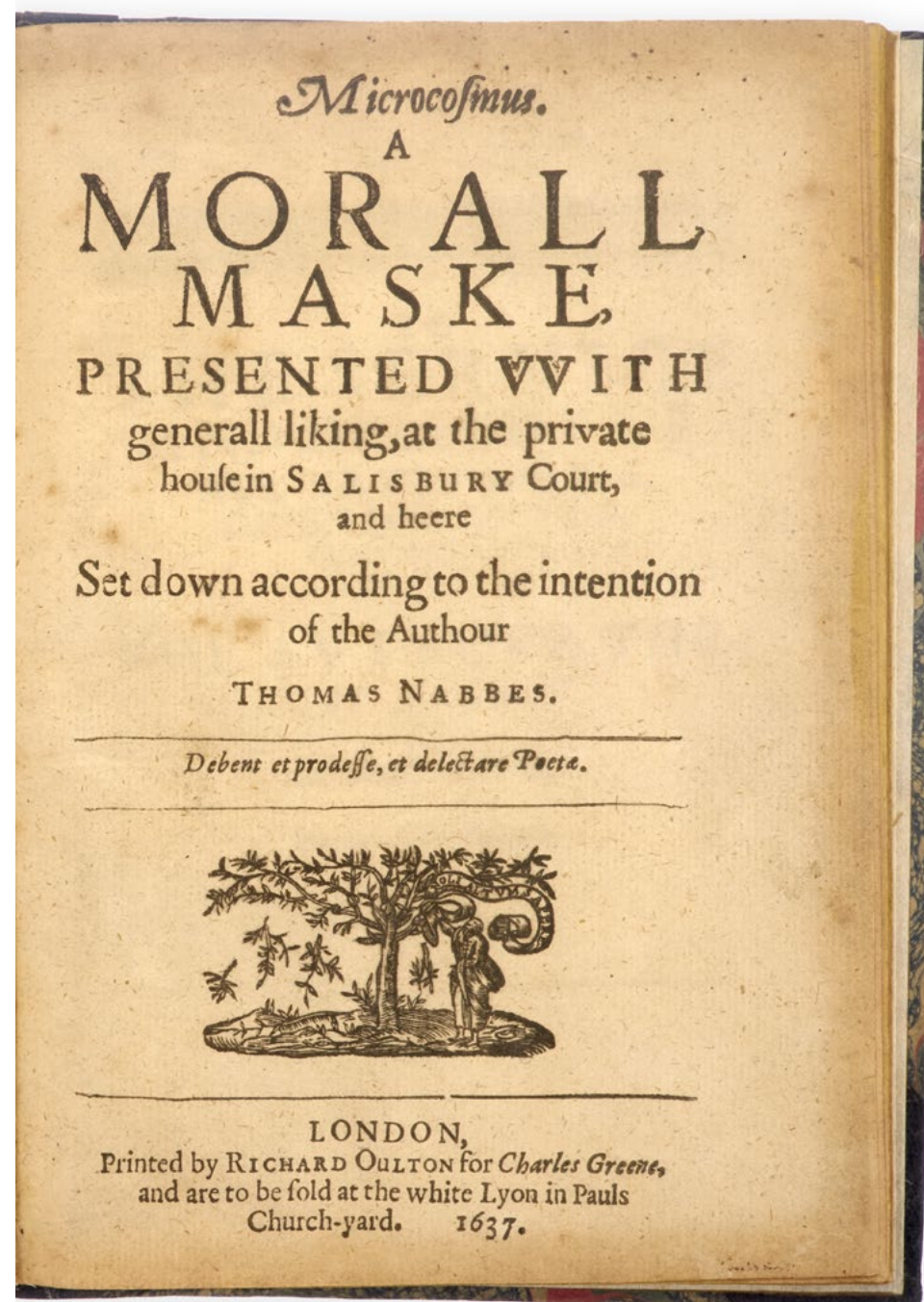
First edition of an allegorical morality play (the Elements, the Senses, Love, Fear, Hope, Melancholy, *et al.*) which 'may be the first English masque presented in a theatre with moveable scenery' (*Pforzheimer Catalogue*).

Completed during the 17-month plague-closure of the theatres from May 1636 to October 1637, *Microcosmus* is 'the offspring of a morality play and a Jonsonian court masque ... it has much in common with Middleton and Rowley's *World Tossed at Tennis*, and even more with Ford and Dekker's *Sun's Darling*', another 'moral masque' (Bentley).

In *Microcosmus*, 'Nabbes chronicles the temptations of an Everyman figure, Physander, who is led astray by Sensuality and the personified five senses before being rescued by Temperance. In the climactic trial scene Physander acquits himself against Sensuality and Malus Genius, who are banished to hell' (*Oxford DNB*). Unlike a regular masque, there is a readily identifiable plot, and while some characters remain abstractions, the senses take the form of a chambermaid (sight), usher (hearing), huntsman (smell), cook (taste), and 'Ladies Gentleman-usher' who 'kill[s] Spiders for her Monkey' (touch).

In the form it is printed here, the masque requires extensive stage machinery: as the play progresses five scenes are 'discovered', set within a 'Front', presumably a proscenium arch of some sort, probably with a pair of shutters ('Love and Nature returne to the Scene, and it closeth'). Recent scholarship has sided with Bentley in agreeing, against expectation, that such a complicated staging may indeed have been possible even on a small private stage such as Salisbury Court; on the other hand, the instructions may represent the unrealised or partly unrealised 'intention of the Author' as mentioned on the title-page.

STC 18342; Greg 514; Pforzheimer 756. See John H. Astington, 'The "Messalina" Stage and Salisbury Court Plays', *Theatre Journal*, 43:2 (1991), 141-156.



Large paper

51. NAUNTON, Sir Robert. Memoirs ... with some of his posthumous Writings, from Manuscripts in his own Hand, never before printed. London: Printed and sold by G. Smeeton ... and J. Caulfield ... 1814.

Folio, pp. [2], 50, with a engraved frontispiece portrait of Naunton by Cooper after a lifetime painting (somewhat foxed); a very good copy on fine, large paper, in contemporary half calf and marbled boards, joints cracked, portion of foot of spine wanting; armorial bookplate of Charles Barclay (1780–1855).

£450

First edition, a large paper copy, imposed as a folio rather than a quarto (and fully 11 cm taller than usual).

A brief biography of Naunton, author of *Fragmenta Regalia*, by James Caulfield, *Memoirs* includes several letters by Naunton, transcriptions of epitaphs and church monuments, descriptions of his coat of arms, and verses by Naunton in Latin and English on the Earls of Essex and Salisbury, and his sister Anne.

We can trace only one other large paper copy, at the British Library.

Kett's Rebellion

52. NEVILLE, Alexander. Norfolk Furies, and their Foyle. Under Kett, their accursed Captaine. With a Description of the famous Citie of Norwich, and a Catalogue of the several Governours thereof from the Dayes of King Edred ... Englished by Rich. Woods, Minister of Fretnam, out of the Latine Copie ... London, Printed for Edmund Casson, dwelling in Norwich, and are to be sold at his Shop ... 1623.

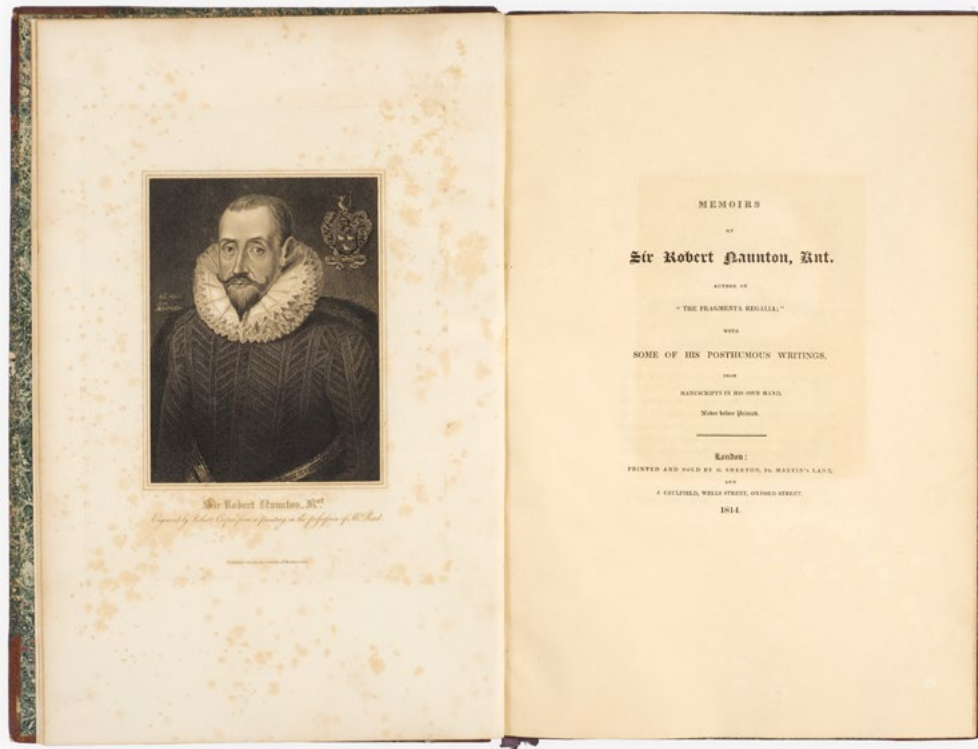
4to, pp. [118], wanting the terminal blank P4; with a map of Norwich extracted from *Britannia Magna* 1666 bound as a frontispiece; a few spots and stains but a very good copy in early nineteenth-century calf; armorial bookplate of the bibliophile Charles Barclay (1780–1855), with the note that it was bought at the George Nassau sale in 1824 for £2 15s.

£1250

Second edition in English of *De furoribus Norfolciensium Ketto duce* (1575), first published as *Norfolkes Furies, or a View of Ketts Campe* (1615), and here adding the 'Description of Norwich' (L1–4).

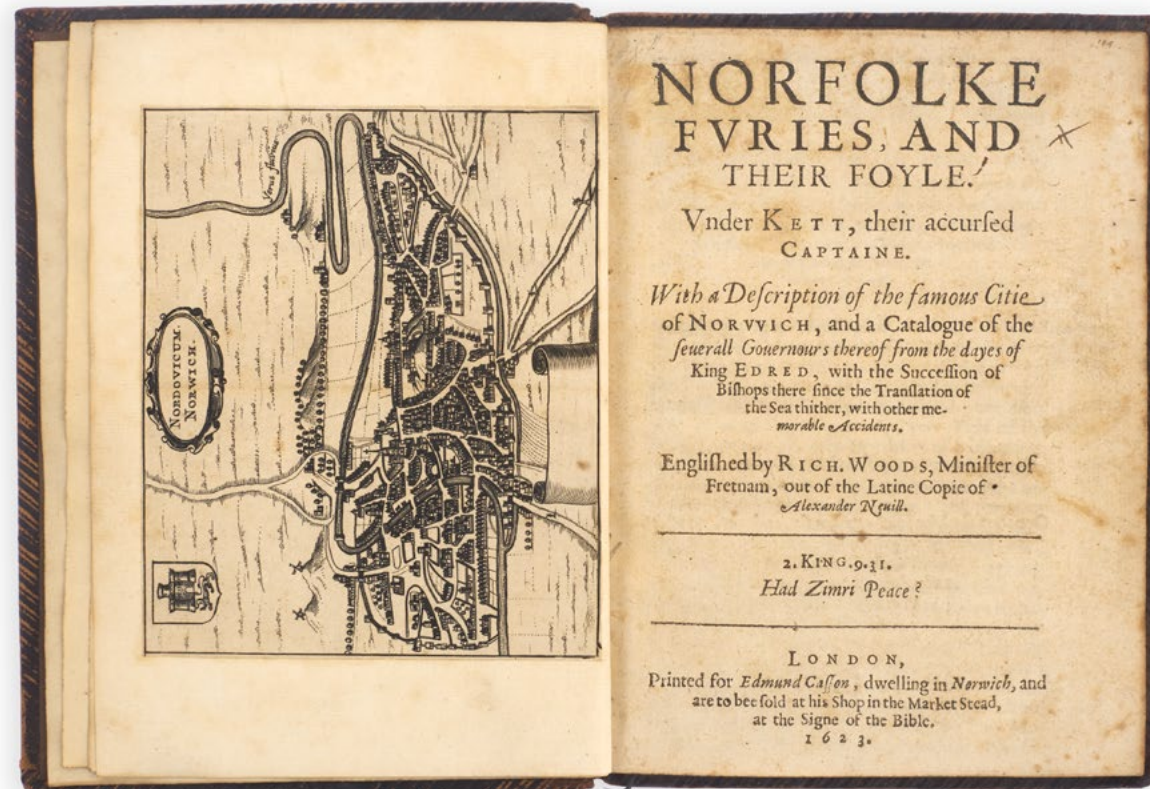
Kett's Rebellion, 'when all the Country of Norfolk in a manner was shaken and beaten with bloody tempests of these dangerous tumults', began in Norfolk in July 1549 in response to what the rebels saw as the illegal enclosure of land by wealthy landowners – Robert Kett was in fact one of their first targets but, sympathetic to their cause, came to lead them. 16,000 rebels assembled, swelled by workers from Norwich as well as rural villages, and their camp grew more populous than the city of Norwich, itself the largest city in England after London. At the end of the month they took the city, but having faced off a small Royal force, on 27 August they were defeated by a large army led by the Earl of Warwick and swelled by experienced mercenaries. Kett was taken ('in his filthinesse all forlorne, lying lamentinge & howling: pale for feare, doubting and despairing of life'), tried for treason and hanged from the walls of Norwich castle.

Alexander Neville, cousin of the poet Barnabe Googe and a friend of George Gascoigne, was secretary to Archbishop Matthew Parker, who had preached before the rebels and urged them to disperse – Parker encouraged Neville in this enterprise. Unsurprisingly Neville's account was hostile to Kett and his followers, accusing them of 'wasting, burning, robbing', despoiling land, and slaughtering livestock, but it would dominate the history of the rebellion (even ordered to be taught in schools in 1582), until nineteenth-century reappraisals cast Kett as a folk hero. This translation by Richard Woods was produced in the 1590s (an earlier by Thomas Corbold was not published) but not published until 1615 – it was reprinted and frequently incorporated into other texts. The title-page of the first edition claimed that Woods 'beheld part of these things with his yong eyes'.



The bookseller and binder Edmund Casson was 'the first Norwich bookseller to undertake the publication of small books', most notably the present work – he appears on one of two variants of the first edition in 1615. In 1622–3 'he was the first and only warden of the shortlived Company of Stationers in Norwich' (David Stoker, 'The Norwich Book Trades before 1800', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8:1 (1981).

STC 18481.



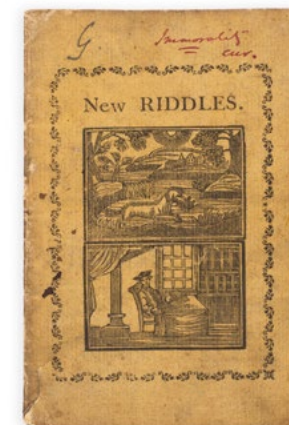
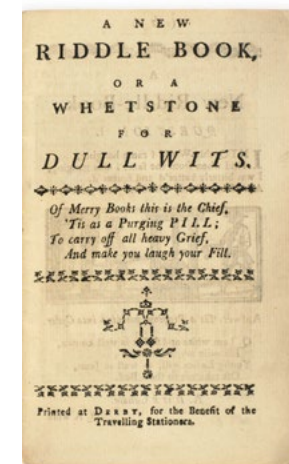
Improbable riddles

53. NEW RIDDLE BOOK (A), or a Whetstone for dull Wits ... Printed at Derby, for the benefit of the travelling Stationers. [J. Drewry? 1790?]

12mo, pp. 24, with a device of printer's tools on the title-page and 20 woodcut illustrations within the text; a fine copy in the original printed yellow paper wrappers, with four woodcut vignettes; covers a little soiled and dusty.

An attractive illustrated riddle chapbook. The solutions include 'a pipping pounded into Cyder', a man fleeing his scolding wife, a hog fattened with acorns, a young virgin, a mermaid, and a paper kite, though how one would ever guess 'a Taylor at Dinner with a Dish of Cucumbers, served up with Pepper, Salt, and Vinegar' is beyond our dull wits.

£750



A Mohawk chief in London

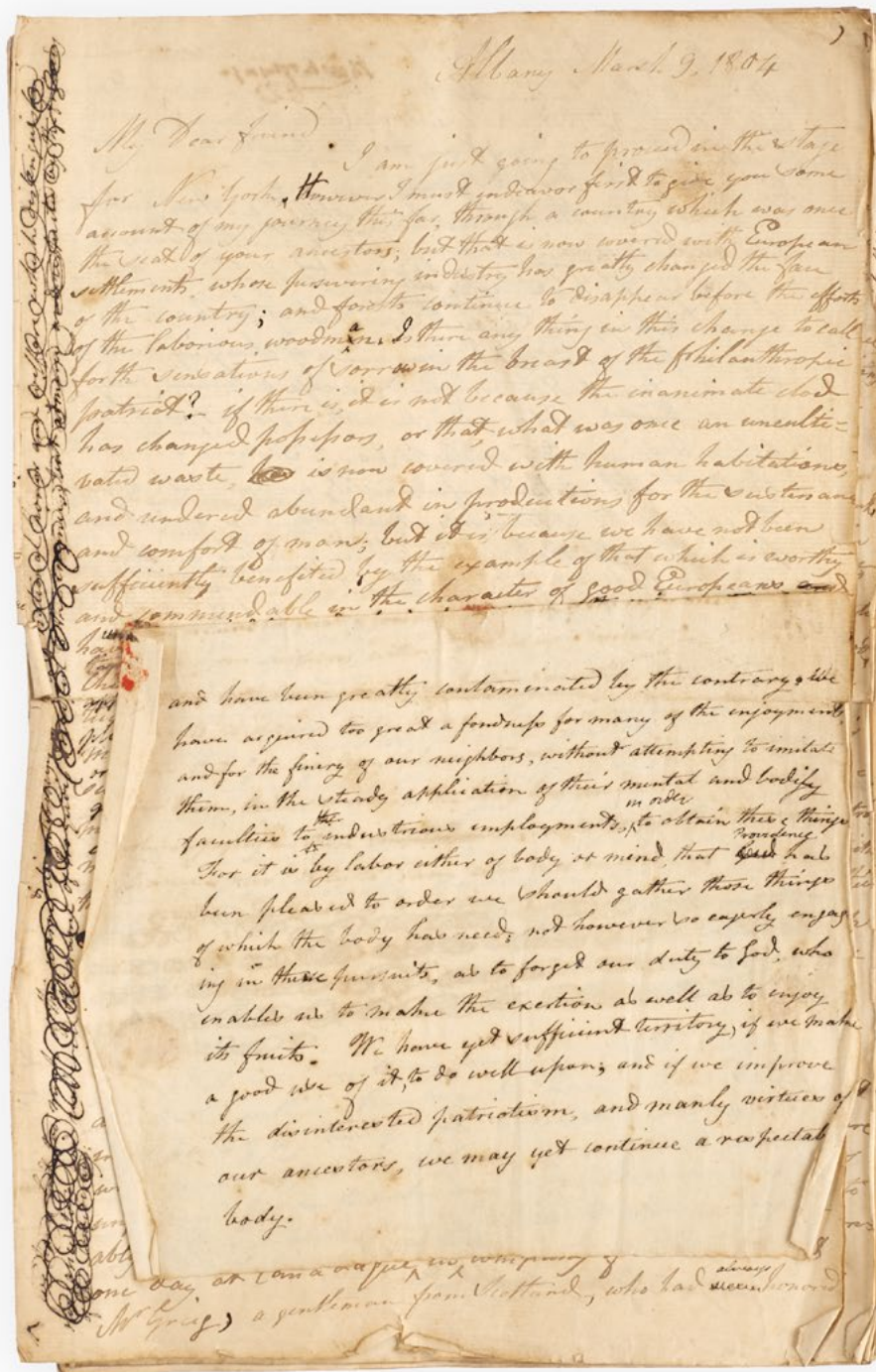
54. NORTON, John, or Teyoninhokarāwen. Autograph Journal, in the form of letters to a 'dear friend', of his personal and diplomatic visit to Britain, March 1804 to June 1805. [c. 1805–1808.]

Folio, pp. 267, paginated by hand, on loose gatherings, watermarks dated 1804–5; authorial corrections, deletions and additions throughout especially at the front, with a paste-on addition on the first page; occasional editorial marks in pencil – some passages cut and names anonymised (by Robert Barclay or John Owen, see below), edges slightly worn, pp. 149–267 on slightly shorter paper, a few letters mis-dated 1808, the likely year of composition; laid in loose are two quarto bifolia in Barclay's hand, presenting two versions of a key to many of the Mohawk names in the manuscript.

£ Price on application

An exceptional, unpublished, autograph manuscript of well-over 60,000 words – among the earliest literary productions by a writer of indigenous American origins – the half-Cherokee adopted Mohawk (Kanyen'kehà:ka) chief John Norton, or Teyoninhokarāwen (1770–1831?). Until its recent discovery among the papers of the Barclay family, to whom it was sent with the intent of publication in 1808, its existence was conjectured only from a letter, and it is the only known source for much of the information it contains. It is a major new document in the study of Norton's life and in the history of Anglo-Mohawk relations, and predates the journals of Norton's tour to the Cherokee in 1809–10 and his account of the War of 1812, which were also written for a public that never saw them, and were only published after their discovery in the library of the Dukes of Northumberland in 1966.

John Norton was the son of a Cherokee who had been adopted as a boy by a Scottish soldier, and a Scottish woman from the Anderson family. He was born in Scotland, but his early history has long been unclear; this journal confirms among other things that he spent some of his earliest years in America before returning to Scotland for education, and that his Scottish mother had died in Canada, probably in the 1790s. Norton's father was a soldier by profession, and in 1784 Norton followed in his footsteps, enlisting in the 65th foot and travelling with the regiment to Canada the following year. Unsited to the army hierarchy, he deserted before managing to secure his discharge in 1788. He may have worked briefly for a printer in Quebec, but then travelled west to join up with the indigenous tribes in conflict with American forces in the Northwest Indian War, which is where he first connected with the formidable Mohawk leader Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea, 1743–1807), an advocate of pan-Indianism. Norton worked as a teacher in a Five Nations settlement in around 1790 (at the invitation of Dr Stuart, whom Robert Barclay had met 16 years earlier) and then for a number of years as a fur trader along the Mohawk river on behalf of John Askin of Detroit. From 1796 he was an interpreter for the Department of Indian Affairs, until Brant convinced him to leave that post and ally himself with the Mohawks of Grand River, adopting Norton into the Mohawk as his nephew and appointing him as a chief. Norton's mixed heritage, his linguistic skill, and a natural affinity for diplomacy (he was 'a complex man who stood astride two



cultures with sensitivity, kindness and intelligence' (Klinck), his adopted Mohawk name meaning 'It keeps the door open'), made him an ideal figure to represent the Five Nations (the Iroquois or Haudenosaunee confederacy of which the Mohawk were part) in negotiations with the British. The matter of the day was land rights, specifically the rights of the Grand River Mohawk to dispose of the land they had been granted after the American Revolutionary War according to their own determination rather than only through the Crown. But for whatever reason, initial plans were delayed, and when Norton finally left for England in 1804, his mission was both personal and public – to reconnect with his Scottish relatives, as well as to help secure for the Mohawk the disputed land: in the first he was successful, in the second far less so, but his diplomatic mission also brought him the friendship and support of a notable circle of well-wishers including the Quaker brewing magnate Robert Barclay, William Wilberforce, Sir Evan Nepean, and the Duke of Northumberland.

It is that joint mission which is the subject of the current 'Journal', but it was likely composed several years after Norton's return to Canada in 1805, with the intent of publication, and is less a blow-by-blow diary than a conscious attempt at self-representation. Where in the later journals he adopted the tone of a European gentleman (they contain 'virtually nothing about his political and domestic career as a Mohawk of the Grand River community' (Klinck)), here Norton is consciously Mohawk, addressing his composition to an unnamed 'dear friend' representative of the Five Nations as a whole, and its tropes are nativist, with references to the Great Spirit, the Great Salt Lake, etc.

The Text

The 1804–5 journal opens on 9 March 1804 with a long account (pp. 1–11) of Norton's trip from Grand River to New York, passing through 'country which was once the seat of your ancestors; but that is now covered with European settlements', a fact that engenders sadness only because 'we have not been sufficiently benefited by the examples of that which is worthy and commendable in the character of good Europeans and have been greatly contaminated by the contrary'. 'If we improve the disinterested patriotism, and manly virtues of our ancestors, we may yet continue a respectable body', but the annuities of the Indian Department are detrimental to industry and self-sufficiency. At Albany he meets Lord Selkirk (the encounter is described in Selkirk's own diary), there to further his schemes for the resettlement of poor Scottish farmers – 'This nobleman is exceeding pleasant, affable & intelligent. I had the pleasure of a considerable conversation with him'. Much of Norton's account of New York is devoted to a lengthy description (pp. 14–18) of a performance of Sheridan's *Pizarro* (1799), a play which centred on the violent encounter of Europeans with indigenous peoples and was notable for its criticism of colonialism. Although the entire passage has been marked for deletion by Barclay and Owen (*see below*), Norton evidently thought it central to his literary and cultural identity. In his description of New York, he confirms that he was 'before in this city at the time Our Father's [the King's] troops had it ... being then a boy', a fact previously uncertain. He notes also the unforeseen 'consequence of America obtaining Independence' – that the British 'are at the present time more benefited by the trade of America than they were before the separation'.

Once he had arrived in Liverpool (his description of the voyage, pp. 21–25, records his shock at the sight of gibbets along the Irish coast), Norton connected with the abolitionist James Cropper (the slave trade is mentioned in passing), before travelling swiftly to Scotland, where he met with his mother's family, the Andersons, in Glasgow. A discussion of his motives for the visit shows them unhappy with his intention to rejoin the Army (no little effort had gone into his earlier extraction). After some observations on agriculture (a recurring interest) in Fife, he goes to Edinburgh, of which city there is a lengthy account (pp. 48–55). From there he takes a boat down the coast, arriving at the mouth of the Thames on 16 June – opportunity for an extended discussion on both liberty (**'happy is the fate of the brave, who falls in defence of his country's rights'**) and on trade and exploration, which he sees as a natural principle of man.

[illegible][illegible]

His first port of call in London is Lord Camden, armed with an introduction from the Earl of Moira, but he also swiftly connects with several notable Quakers: the scientist William Allen (1770–1843), with whom he stayed, the banker and philanthropist David Barclay of Walthamstow (1729–1809), the American-born William Dillwyn (1743–1824) and finally the brewer Robert Barclay (1770–1830), who would become a close friend: ‘the pleasure I derived from being introduced to his amiable family, I cannot express sufficiently’. Barclay (‘Shotcitsyawane’) ‘from the first addressed me as a brother American’ (and had previous experience with the Haudenosaunee, see item 9). It was through Barclay that Norton was introduced to William Wilberforce (‘Shakodenhre’).

Brant had provided Norton with an introduction to the Duke of Northumberland, who ‘testified a hearty disposition for promoting your welfare’, and with whom Norton later has a discussion about the native tribes (here and elsewhere he consciously restricts his descriptions to those ‘least contaminated’ by European contact, rightly playing into his listeners’ visions of the noble savage). A description of London contains a long a passage on trade and on the meaning of money, pitched towards an audience ostensibly unfamiliar with it. Through Wilberforce Norton meets Lord Teignmouth and John Owen (all of whom sat on the committee of the new British and Foreign Bible Society), and he later visits Owen’s family home. **He spends several days with Wilberforce (pp. 85–91) culminating in a discussion about sending missionaries to the Iroquois, and it is here that ‘it was proposed that I should translate the Gospel of St John [into Mohawk]; this I readily agreed to, and immediately made a commencement’.** He later reports (p. 102) that the BFBS has undertaken to print it, then that it ‘is now nearly finished’ (p. 158), and that he has completed ‘the correction of the last impression’ (p. 171) – it was the first work published by the BFBS.

Staying with Lord Teignmouth and then with Henry Thornton, Norton takes the opportunity for some personal discussion of the ‘character’ of the Haudenosaunee. He laments the inaccuracy of Robertson’s *History of America*, discourses on the construction of canoes and houses and notes that, contrary to popular belief **‘I cannot allow indolence to be a peculiar characteristic of the native of America, the man that will run in pursuit of a bear or a buffaloe all day, dance all night, exert every nerve to come off victor in playing at ball, in the plain before the village exposed to the burning rays of the sun, or that will march two hundred leagues through a desert to fight an enemy cannot with propriety be called indolent’.** In fact, Norton argues, an aversion to labour is a universal human trait, as much evidenced in Europe by the aristocracy, the drive to acquire wealth (‘to possess money is to be exempt from labor’), and the desire for liberal professions, and also by the prosecution of the slave trade. **While ‘Religion has rescued the slave in Europe ... I hope it may please God that its benign influence may soon free them in every other part, for there is no passage of scripture expresses, that a black skin is to be the mark to denote a man designed for a slave’.**

Another lengthy disquisition, this time on the army, appears on pp. 107–117 – Norton questions the merit of a standing army (‘throughout the British Kingdoms, the army is not respected, so that few enlist as soldiers unless the unfortunate or lowest class of people’, while the officers live in undue luxury) over a militia formed of motivated individuals; and he proposes a radically different approach to both military hierarchy and battlefield formation, ideas which must later have come into play when he led Mohawk warriors as a hero of the War of 1812. On pp. 179–181 an encounter with a French boy leads to a discussion of language, in which he disputes the idea that ‘our language’ [i.e. Mohawk] is not ‘capable of expressing every idea, that might occur to a sublime or refined conception’.

By now Norton was becoming the toast of London society – he describes meetings with Henry Hoare, Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Babington, a group of visiting Chinese, Alexander Davison, the Comte de Puisaye (‘Onondio’), Henry Thornton (frequently), Joseph Banks (at a house ‘full of philosophers’), and Thomas Clarkson. He discusses a Mohawk mission with the Bishop of London, and the Sierra Leone company with Thornton. In the winter of 1804 he pays a well-known visit to Bath with the Barclays, where he is presented to the West of England Agricultural Society, before whom he speaks with great aplomb, and also faces queries from the women in the pump room

Edmund Parsons
 Carl Moria - Capt Brant
 D Anderson - John And
 Mr H - his cousin
 - Carlful - his cousin
 Mr H - his cousin
 Carl Moria - Lord Cam
 S J Hager - Lady D
 Lord Camden
 Rakchidemo of W Allen
 Rowayadaco of Wm Dillwyn
 J G Bwan
 Shotcitsyawane R Bar
 Shakodemo - W Wilberf
 Thoydenarigan Col Bra
 Thoyghwayen D of Nat
 Henderson - W Smith
 Rarighnyonyanton
 - Zehaka-onyo - H Thom
 Rowizenawanan L J Ligon
 Karikowanen Riv J Cava
 Rarighwawago of J Stephen

Edmund Parsons of New York
 Carl Moria - Capt Brant
 D Anderson - John And
 34 Mr H - his cousin
 - his cousin Carlful at Damp
 - his cousin Carlful at Damp
 Mr H - his cousin
 Mr H - his cousin
 Carl Moria - Lord Cam
 J G H - Lady D
 L J Cambrden
 4 Rakchidemo - Wm Allen
 5 Rowayadaco - Wm Dillwyn
 7 J G Bwan
 Shotcitsyawane
 A Davison -
 7 Shakodemo - W Wilberf
 7 Thoydenarigan Col Bra
 Thoyghwayen D of Nat
 8 -
 7 Henderson W Smith
 Rarighnyonyanton J G B
 83 Zehaka-onyo - H Thom
 Rowizenawanan L J Ligon

on the status of the women among the Indians. With Gen. Johnson and Lord Henry Petty he talks on the importance of peace with the Americans, but also of the consequences for indigenous tribes who are split across the border.

Back in London, Norton is taken to the Royal Academy by Thomas Phillips (having earlier sat for a portrait in ‘Indian’ dress), and spends several days in Parliament at the invitation of Lord Morton. A trip to Cambridge (pp. 149–56) began at the library (of Trinity) where he is shown the Milton manuscript, as well as Egyptian mummies, and some porcupine quill work from Canada; he dines in hall with Lord Percy and spends the evening in Lord Headley’s rooms, where ‘the conversation was lively and brilliant’ (Headley wrote an account of the event). At the Royal Institution he is gifted an *Encyclopaedia*, and hears Sidney Smith; he attends lectures by William Allen on electricity, clocks and steam engines; and with John Inglis he visits the Canada wharves – ‘when I saw the skins from the shores of Lake Erie, the Miami and Wabash it called to mind my friends, as I knew it to be the produce of their hunting’.

In April 1805, at a ball at ‘Col. Th[ornton’s?] he **‘was requested to make a short speech, and to dance the warrior’s dance** – the first I danced the flash, and then the Miskwathige[?] dance’, and then a young lady taught him ‘the European dance’. The poet Thomas Campbell, whose *Gertrude of Wyoming* had slandered Brant, saw one such dance in this month (perhaps even that described here) and thought Norton an ‘arch dog’. But Norton ‘was no naïve primitive exhibiting himself as a spectacle but a skilled negotiator’ (Fulford), able to switch register and identity to play to his audience. Thence to the theatre (from the description, the main piece was Inchbald’s *To Marry or not to Marry*), for which he wears ‘Indian’ dress; the King arrives, and ‘The Korakoa was no sooner seated than he took out his glass, and began to take a view of our box’. Engagements follow with the Archbishop of York, Sir George Beaumont, Hannah More; and one of the American branch of the Barclay family, who asks ‘Have you had any success, have you been able to do any thing for the Five Nations? I replied that so far from having done any thing, I had even lost all hope of making any impression’.

Crucial to his diplomatic effort was the attempt to turn up the original documentation of the Haldimand Proclamation of 1784, which granted land purchased from the Mississaugas to the Mohawk as a reward for their loyalty to the British. Having been promised the ‘necessary papers’, Norton is first told that they are not at hand but might be at a house in Wiltshire, and then that they are not available at all. As the mission turns south he is forced to respond to attempts to discredit Brant and by extension Norton’s own mission: ‘I was sorry to hear, that reports of such a nature, had ever

93
teachers in our country; they asked me what part
of the Scriptures had been translated into the Mohawk
language, which I told them, and then it was pro-
posed that I should further translate the Gospel
of St. John; this I readily agreed to, and immedi-
ately made a commencement.

I then go to the house of Moniponrowa-
men, as I had before promised, and there pass
two days in his company, from which I derive
both pleasure and instruction (in the mean-
time, I have the happiness to see again my dear
friend Motesicrow and return from the sea coast.
it was through his means, God was pleased
I should be introduced to the excellent and
pleasing Society I now enjoy.) The morning
is generally spent in study, which gives me
a good opportunity to translate, the afternoon
in conversation or taking a walk, and the
evening in reading some excellent book and
making remarks on it.

On his enquiring the manner in which
we subsist in America, I replied, that the
only method pursued by the Aboriginal tribes
to supply their wants, was hunting, fishing

received any attention; because they did not appear to me to have any real foundation; unless that the careless exclamations in a state of inebriety & offended with some of the Officers of Government, can justly be taken as proof of his disloyalty'. Lord Dorchester promises to enquire about the Grant, and 'A Petition was drawn up and Lord Camden graciously promised to lay it before the Privy Council', but finally Norton fell foul of political manoeuvring by the Indian Department in Canada, which had engineered through bribery a conflict between Brant's Grand River Mohawk and other Haudenosaunee chiefs. In July 1805 Norton received the message 'that you disapprove, and disallow of all my proceedings here on your behalf' ... 'I feel convinced ... that there has been some deception'. Torn up by this turn of events, Norton proceeds to Samuel Thornton's at Albury, where he performs a war dance 'and indeed it seemed to be the only thing, that suited the state in which I then found my mind'. Having informed Wilberforce of the mission's failure he prepares to return to Canada - Wilberforce gives him 45 guineas and a printing press. His departure from Britain in disappointment has not though dampened his enthusiasm for the country and its people, and as he leaves he opines on the country's political system, justice, and the English character. Any differences between the English and the indigenous Americans, he says, are attributable to social and environmental causes rather than nature: circumstance, education, custom, and local situation, and especially the difference between settled agriculture and semi-nomadic hunting.

The manuscript

Having sailed from Spithead on 21 August 1805, Norton was back in Montreal by 26 November, but his time in Britain long stayed with him and he maintained correspondence with the Barclays for many years (see item 55). 'The special contribution of the Barclays to Norton's development, apart from their touching friendship, was their encouragement to him as a prospective author. While he was still in England, they wanted him to write a journal' (Klinck). In July 1806 Norton was to write apologizing for a delay in sending 'the journal I promised' (see item 54b), and it was not in fact sent for another two years. On 31 October 1808, Agatha Barclay, Robert's daughter, wrote to Norton that 'I scarcely know how sufficiently to acknowledge your kindness in sending me the Journal! I can only say it has fully realized all our wishes. We sat down almost immediately with the greatest interest to peruse it, and with the few notes you kept are only surprised at the general accuracy with which it is written ... my Father and your fd. at Fulham [John Owen] know the care and arrangement of it for publication, they will add or abridge wherever they think necessary. Yet I believe the alterations will be as few as possible, as we feel anxious to preserve your own remarks and reflections upon any subject ...' (quoted in Klinck).

Barclay seems to have taken his responsibility seriously and has gone through Norton's journal with some care, making a few redactions like the passage on Pizarro, but also reducing some names to initials and taking out personal references - a visit to Robert Barclay's Anchor brewery for example is rendered generic, while his country seat Bury Hill becomes 'B— H—'. Barclay had been renting the house since 1803 and Norton 'was often a visitor there, becoming a favourite of Barclay's children, especially of Agatha, the eldest daughter, and David and Gurney, the second and third sons' (*ibid.*).

Barclay wrote to Norton on 21 October 1808 that he had given the journal to Owen 'to prepare for immediate publication to which end - and for your entire benefit we propose to add a selection of your letters to ourselves & other friends'. For some reason, despite the seriousness with which the project was approached, there was no such publication. Perhaps Norton had second thoughts, as he seems to have borne no ill will to Barclay or Owen. Or maybe subsequent events overtook things - disillusioned with the politicking of the Indian Department, Norton departed on his visit to the Cherokee of the American Southwest in 1809, and then would come to lead Mohawk forces in the War of 1812, most notably at Queenston Heights, after which he was made a Captain, eventually securing through his military prowess some of the independence from the Indian Department he had been unable to secure through diplomacy. He spent one further period in Britain, mostly in Scotland, in 1815-6, before settling into life as a farmer. In 1823 he fought in the so-called 'last duel

fought in Canada', killing the lover his second wife had taken, and in October that year left for good to return a Cherokee kinsman to his homeland. He was last seen at the Dwight mission in Arkansas in 1824, then probably headed west, but the place and date of his death are unknown.

Autograph material by Norton, indeed manuscript material of any sort, is of the greatest scarcity. Apart from the journal of 1809–12, still in the collection of the Dukes of Northumberland (a fair copy not in Norton's hand), the main repositories are the Archives of Ontario (papers including correspondence found in Norton's house), the University of Western Ontario (a diary for 1802–8), and the Newberry Library (a letterbook in a different hand).

See Carl F. Klinck, 'Biographical Introduction', *The Journal of Major John Norton 1816*, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1970 and 2011; Tim Fulford, *Romantic Indians*, 2006; Alan James Finlayson, 'Emerging from the Shadows: recognizing John Norton', *Ontario History* 110:2 (2018); also *Oxford DNB*, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, etc.

55. NORTON, John, or Teyoninhokarāwen. Nine autograph letters (eight to the Quaker brewing magnate Robert Barclay, one to his son Charles Barclay), plus five copy letters to Barclay, John Owen and others, and a packet of enclosures; with one letter about Norton from Col. Thomas Barclay to Robert Barclay. Grand River and Niagara, Ontario (and Hiyowassee, Georgia), 1806–1818.

In total 95 pages, 4to and folio, creased where folded, but in very good condition throughout.

£ Price on application

An exceptional archive relating to the half-Cherokee Mohawk chief, diplomat and soldier John Norton, including among other things his only surviving letter from the Cherokee nation (k.), a long description of his most important military action of the War of 1812 (l.), and an account of his early years (i.), a period for which little other information is available.

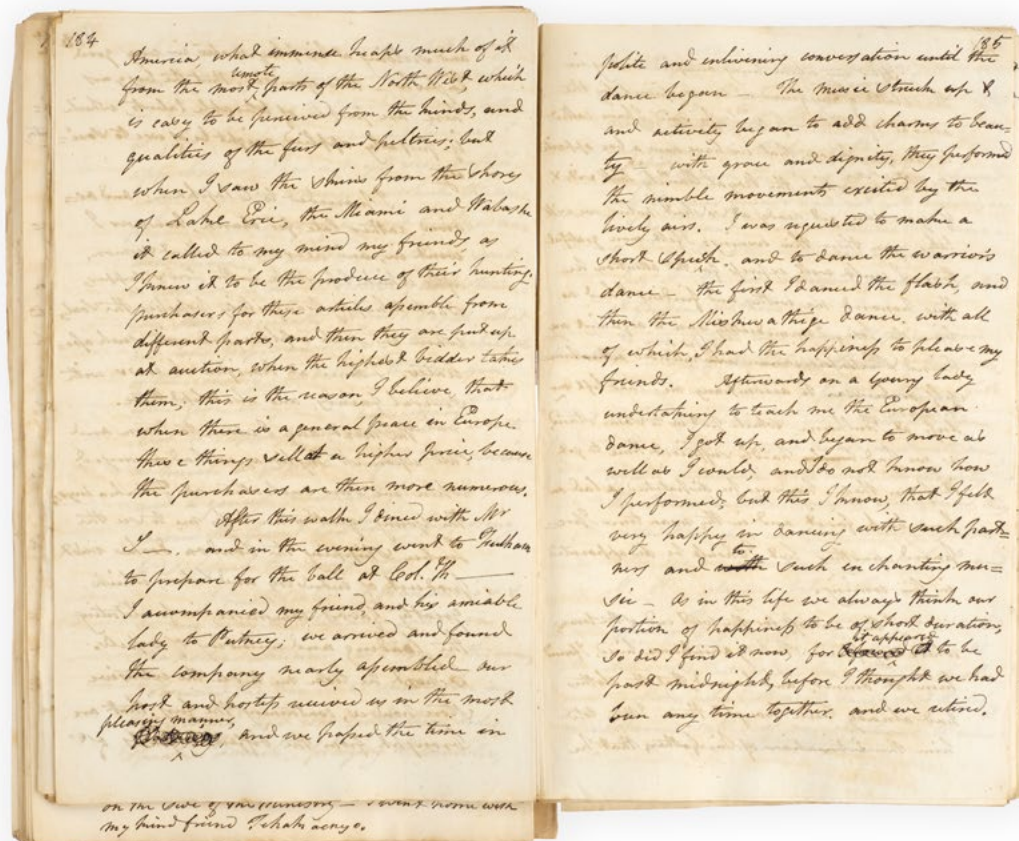
The correspondence written before 1809 is likely the 'selection of your letters to ourselves & other friends' gathered by Barclay with the intention of publication alongside the *Journal* of 1804–5. Of these, three copy letters (a. d. and f.) and the enclosure of speeches (c.) also appear in the Norton letterbook at the Newberry Library (Ayer MS 654); all of the other letters, both autograph and copied, are unknown and have never been available for study. **We can trace only two autograph letters by Norton to have appeared on the market in the last 100 years (one at Sotheby's in 1931, and the other a short note to John Owen in 2019).**

- a. Transcription of a letter from Norton to Samuel Thornton (cousin of Wilberforce). Grand River, 25 March 1806. 4 pages, 4to, creased where folded.

Norton reports on his return to Grand River after the England mission of 1804–5, to find his house roofless. He is reunited with his family, but soon learns of the death in his absence of his mother-in-law. He hopes to bring an end to tribal divisions, and will send an account of his efforts to Henry Thornton.

- b. **Autograph letter, signed** as Teyoninhokarāwen, to Robert Barclay. Niagara, 24 July 1806. 12 pages 4to.

Norton refers to previous correspondence in which he enclosed a copy of the Haldimand Grant and information on 'the cause of my miscarriage' in England. He has now come to Niagara for a meeting with William Claus, the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and to make a speech. The 'despicable' mercenaries whose change of allegiance had scuppered Norton's English mission have not come, out of shame or through bribery, but 150 are in attendance – their position supported by half the Mohawks, all the Anondagas (Onondagas) and Oghqnaga



*the warmest terms of the time & the grateful feelings
I remember me to my friends & avoid of Germany and all
a Chabray in a happy and all your amiable circle.
Your faithful friend &
J. Norton*

(Okanagas, or Syilx), and the chiefs of the Cayugas. He calls for a government investigation of the land question and the confirmation of the unsold land on the Five Nations in perpetuity. He discusses the history of the French presence in the region and its influence on the indigenous peoples and on the Indian Department, and suggests that the success of missionary efforts depend on reform of the Indian Department. He also mentions a 'benevolent scheme' proposed by the Clapham Sect (a Chippewa settlement further west) and details its requirements: a wheelwright, blacksmith, weaver, teacher, and farmer. 'I would advise you to obtain from Government a Grant somewhere between the Delaware town on the River Thames and the River Sable on Lake Huron'. **'I beg that Yorighwio [Agatha Barclay] will excuse the delay I make in sending the journal I promised' [i.e. the 1804-5 Journal]**. Meanwhile his books, and the translation of St John, have arrived from Montreal. A postscript adds a defence of Brant and a vehement attack on his nemesis Claus. 'I send you the speeches' from the latest meeting [see next.]

c. A packet of enclosures included in letter b. 15 pages, 4to. Not in Norton's hand.

Comprises the speech of Col. Joseph Brant addressed to Claus, Fort George 23 July 1806. Brant discusses the history of the Haldimand Grant, and mentions Norton's visit to Britain, as well as discord spread by Claus to foil Norton's plans. With all the signatories (incl Norton) and witnesses at the end. The final three pages contain shorter speeches by Okoghsennigonte and Tehaoseenisghte (of the Seneca).

d. Transcription of a letter to John Owen. Grand River, 12 Aug 1806. 8 pages, folio.

Norton advises Owen to work in cooperation with the Government on any scheme for a Chippewa settlement. The Indian Department encourages idleness not industry, discord not unity: Norton details corruption, with too much power granted to the agents. He repeats his vision for the proposed settlement, with a missionary, school, blacksmith, tanner, weaver, and cattle farm. The vast expense of the Indian Department could be better used to improve the lot of the tribes. Details are given for the location and extent of some other tribes - Chippewas, Ottawas, Poutewattomies.

e. **Autograph letter, signed** as Teyoninhokarāwen, to Robert Barclay. Grand River, 13 August [1806]. 4 pages, 4to.

Norton writes strongly against the Indian Department who have 'incurred the universal aversion of most of the Five Nations, from the repeated evils they have

introduced among them'. He then turns to farming, Barclay having offered to send seeds - he intends to sow wheat after the Indian corn has been taken off and would be glad of anything suitable for a 'rich black soil'. From internal evidence it is clear that the present letter was sent as an enclosure within correspondence to David Barclay, hence the lack of postmarks.

f. Transcription of a letter to Robert Barclay. Grand River, 20 Oct 1806. 5 pages 4to.

An account of the General Council held at head of Lake Ontario. Claus spoke there 'as our people express it ... in his bosom under his Robe, that is, in so low a voice that we could not hear him', and refused copies of his speech or full interpretation. Norton discusses the flaws of the Indian Department: 'unless the system is changed & its efforts be united with yours, it will resemble two men jumping into a Canoe & both paddling against each other'. Among the Mohawk cattle raising is on the increase. He mentions a visit by Gen. Simcoe and shall write to Wilberforce.

g. **Autograph letter, signed** as John Norton Teyoninhokarāwen, to Charles Barclay (at Thrle's brewery). Head of Lake Ontario, 4 February 1807. 2 pages, folio, with an integral address leaf.

Charles Barclay was the son of Robert Barclay and would shortly take over management of the Anchor brewery business. Norton enquires about his London friends and wishes them well. He had intended a trip 'to hunt towards Lake Huron' but has been delayed by public business and the severity of the winter. He requests news from Europe, and notes that the 'system of sobriety' here is increasing. **'In this country how different is the scene from that of Europe - there art is only called in to natures aid in the rough improvement of solitary plantations - but here she seems to attend in every quarter in the city, the village, the Palace & the cot, the cultivated field or the shady grove, she shows herself conspicuous in varied degrees'**.

h. **Transcription in Norton's hand** of an official letter to Lt-Gov. Francis Gore from the chiefs of the Five Nations. Onondaga, Grand River, 25 March 1807. 4 pages, folio, annotated 'Copy' at head.

Having endeavoured to present their views to Gore via Claus in November 1806, the General Council (among them Norton) now addresses him directly. A deputation has been authorised to lay a statement of grievances before the King and to protest against 'any further sale of land', particularly from Block 3 towards the source of the river.

i. Transcription of a letter to John Owen. Grand River, 19 March 1809. 12 pages, folio, docketed on the final leaf.

'So much of my early history as I can give you within the compass of a letter I shall now commence ...' Norton's detailed biography of his life before he met Owen in 1804 provides many details for which there is no other source. **'I was born into the British Army and the first recollection I had was at Boston' - he was 'about the age of three' (actually four) at the Battle of Bunker Hill (1775), and viewed 'that remarkable event' from an upper storey window.** They followed the troops to take New York and then Rhode Island, where they remained until evacuated in 1779 (transcribed in error here as '1799'). 'All I know of my Father's history is that British Officer took him in war from the Cherokees, brought him to Ireland and left him in care of a Priest', until he enlisted in the army at 16 - Norton recalls his father's negative opinions on General Pigot at Bunker's Hill and General Howe at Brooklyn. 'When I see you again I may be able to give you more particulars as to his origin, after I have returned from the journey I intend taking to the South West'. Norton's mother 'was younger sister to Doctor Andersons Father', daughter of a farmer at Saline in Fifeshire. His education was ad hoc until his father was discharged and they returned to Scotland, where Norton was schooled. Attracted by a naval career he secured a 'trial voyage to London', but the captain struck him 'for a trifling mistake', so he absconded, and was prevailed on to join the 65th Regiment of foot bound for Canada, hoping to reconnect 'with the tribes who were in our interest'. After training at Chatham, Norton proceeded to Quebec (his mother promising to follow him there and secure his discharge) then

Montreal and finally Niagara, where, after another conflict with a superior officer, he deserted, fleeing west into the woods. He was taken in by a Scottish officer on half-pay, and worked there for six weeks until he was tracked down and court martialled, but eventually released. 'I did duty until the fall, when my dear Mother arrived' and helped obtain his discharge. 'There was no employ for me at Quebec', so he learnt French, which then helped him secure a job as a printer's clerk, remaining in that role for a year or so, until the death of his mother. In 'a gloom of melancholy', he left 'to join the native Tribes ... who were then threatened with a war of extermination by the United States.' He wintered in the bay of Quinte, where he learned Mohawk and 'Mr Stewart appointed me their teacher' (the same Dr Stuart that Barclay had met 16 years earlier). The following summer (1791) he met Col. Joseph Brant on his way to Quebec and was introduced to Brant's son Isaac, 'with whom I spent time in shooting and agricultural labors'. But when he learnt that the Six Nations did not intend to send forces west, he 'left the Grand River in company with only two Mohawks and three Cayugas - we saw a thousand warriors of the western tribes triumph over three thousand Americans under Gen. Sinclair' (the battle of St Clair - Fort Recovery, in November 1791). Norton remained there for four years and three American campaigns, then returned to Grand River at the request of Brant and General Simcoe, to 'take the place of Interpreter' (in 1796). But he was unhappy at life within the Indian Department, and intended to resign and return west until he was adopted by Brant and appointed as a chief and his successor; Norton also mentions here having a 'small farm' and children. He was then persuaded by Brant to go to England to represent the Five Nations, but the 'time of going ... was put off from time to time until I heard of the War [in Europe] being renewed, when I determined to go on my own account', from which point Owen is 'well acquainted with my history'. Norton asks if Sir Evan Nepean to help direct the Lt-Governor 'not to sanction any more sales of Land from the Six Nations on the Grand River', and has sent Barclay an account of the last Council [see next]. 500 copies of St John have been sent to Montreal. He concludes with a list of Mohawk names for Owen's family.

j. **Autograph letter, signed** as Teyoninhokarāwen, to Robert Barclay (Thrale's Brewery). Grand River, 19 March 1809. 4 pages, folio, with an integral address panel.

'At present any hopes I have entertained of doing good in the country are damped by the unceasing opposition and underhand intrigues of the Agents of Government'. He gives an account of a meeting with Francis Gore at Niagara to present the resolves of the General Council, and of the devious politicking of Claus to exclude from discussion 'three or four thousand acres of land at the Mouth of the River'. He thanks Barclay for monetary assistance and describes work on his farm - for now there is still snow on the ground and ice on the river. 'In about a month I intend visiting the Nations to the Westward and Southwest of us ... previous to writing the history you have desired' [i.e. the history of the Five Nations that forms part of the 1812 Journal]. He also proposes another visit to England.

k. **Autograph letter, signed** as Teyoninhokarāwen Chehellughkigh, to Robert Barclay Shotcicciowane. Hiyouwasee (Cherokee Nation, in what is now Georgia), 1 February 1810. 4 pages, 4to, with space left for an address panel, but no address supplied.

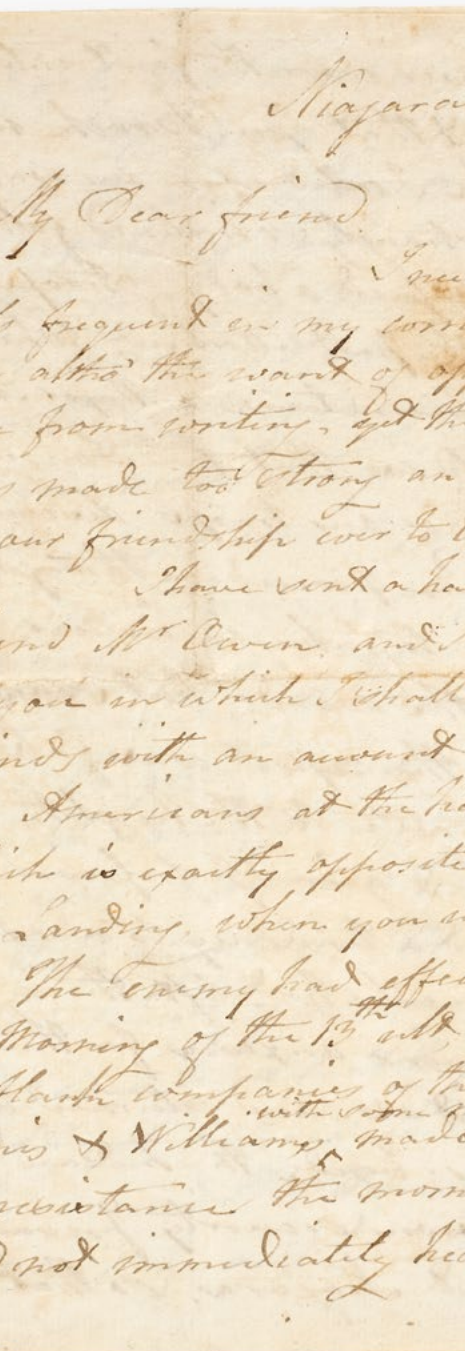
An extraordinary letter, the only to survive from Norton's tour of 1809-10 to the Cherokee Nation. 'I intended to return in four months; but ... I have failed'. Instead of the villages 'which in former times contained the Cherokee nation, we found them scattered in small hamlets ... over a country at least ten days journey in length and from three to five in breadth, thus I did not discover my kindred until I had been a considerable time in the nation, they formerly inhabited the eastern division, they are now in the western extremity.' He expresses the intention 'to make one of a party going to explore the country to the Westward of the Mississippi', towards the Osage towns, where many Cherokee have emigrated: 'one of my cousins now lives there'. Norton then describes the Cherokee in contrast with the Mohawk - they are not so laborious but more adaptable, their understanding of European farming is inferior but their land more fertile, and they govern their lands 'by their own laws'. Further west though the

Niagawasee February 1, 1810

My Dear Sir

When I last wrote to you from the Grand River, I informed you of some of our troubles there, and told you, that I was going to take a journey to the Cherokee country from whence I intended to return in four months; but in performing this intention I have failed; the hospitality and kindness with which we have been received every where throughout the nation, has certainly caused the time to slip pleasantly away, and not to hang heavily on our minds, yet this has not been the real cause of our delay.

Now, instead of the high Kittowa Chote and many other smaller villages, which in former times contained the Cherokee nation, we found them scattered in small hamlets, wherever the advantage of water or pasturage for their cattle invited them to fix their habitations, over a country at least ten days journey in length and from three to five in breadth, thus I did not discover my kindred until I had been a considerable time in the nation, they formerly inhabited the eastern division, they are now in the western extremity.



land is 'abounding in all kinds of game' and he hopes for a peace treaty between the Cherokee and Osage. It is to be presumed that having written this letter, Norton found himself with no means of sending it from Georgia and retained it for inclusion with later correspondence. The second name by which Norton signs himself here does not seem to be otherwise recorded – perhaps it was what he was known by in Cherokee?

l. **Autograph letter, signed** as John Norton, to Robert Barclay (at Thrale's Brewery). Niagara, 16 November 1812. 10 pages, 4to, with an integral address leaf (worn), Halifax stamp dated 6 February 1813.

An extremely important letter, providing a long account of the battle at Queenston Heights, on 13 October 1812, the first major battle in the War of 1812, in which Norton distinguished himself – he was afterwards appointed 'Captain of the Confederate Indians'. The battle would be covered in Norton's Journal of the War (cf. pp. 294–9 in the printed edition), but the present account, written closer to the event, differs in many significant ways, providing a much more straight, blow-by-blow history.

Hearing that the Americans had taken the Heights, Norton and his men proceeded there in haste, but 'numbers who had left their families at Niagara becoming anxious for the safety imperceptibly quit us, and returned to lead them out of danger, so that I found I had only 70 or 80 men with me'. Near the summit he encountered a Capt. Glegg and some of the 49th, from whom he heard of the death of Major-General Isaac Brock, who had been killed in the early stages. Convinced that the only sure way to victory would be to 'ascend the Mountain and assail [the Americans] in the rear', he parted with Glegg, with a 'strong foreboding of a glorious victory'. At this point in the later Journal Norton conjures an unnamed Warrior to give a poetic speech to drive the Mohawk on, but here the speech comes from Norton himself: 'I entreated them in the name of friendship to persevere along with me in mutual exertions, that the best method to preserve our women and children from harm would be to overcome the enemy ... They answered by shouts and acclamations'. Encountering the Americans they drove them back behind a fence line and then to the huts previously occupied by the British; after a few sallies back and forth Norton and his men held the position until the arrival of General Sheaffe. The first attack was led by Norton's men and the 'light infantry of the 41st' and 'after about 10 minutes sharp firing drove them down the precipice – it is said that 2000 men had crossed the river, 960 became our prisoner ... **this affair and some others has clearly shown the superiority of the redcoats and red skins over our enemies**'. Norton laments the loss

of Brock, who 'was the first friend I found among the rulers of this province since my visit to England' and notes that '**five of our people were killed all from that part who were more particularly attached to me – two from our own village**', and nine were wounded. Had his visit to England had more success 'I might now have had five or six hundred additional warriors'.

m. **Autograph letter, signed** as John Norton, to Robert Barclay (Old Jewry). Grand River, 16 November 1814. 4 pages, folio, with an integral address panel, wax seal. (Halifax stamp March 1815).

'If I do not write so often as in times of peace I think of you not less.' He thanks Wilberforce for his interest in the Mohawk cause and hopes that the border negotiations at Ghent are not to the detriment of the Five Nations. The Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chicasaws have a hundred thousand souls 'and a sufficient territory bounded by nature ... to which the Americans have no claim either by settlement or purchase', and could benefit from trade through Pensacola (still contested between the British, Americans, and Spanish). But it is more difficult for the tribes near Canada, who are 'now either neuter or sometimes opposed' to the British. **The Seneca chiefs Redjacket and Farmers Brother for example 'commanded a body of five hundred Senecas, Oneidas and Stockbridge against us' at the Battle of Chippawa on 5 July 1814.** 'About a hundred of the Western Indians and some militia fell into their ambuscade & suffered severely', but Norton's men then put them to rout, taking many of them prisoner as well as some Pennsylvania volunteers. **'This has been a bloody campaign, British valor has not had the success it merited ... I shall send you the memoirs of this, as I did the last'**.

The Indian Department meanwhile cares little for their supposed charges: 'my men are unfit for service, for want of ... shoes and clothing ... they would even have been in want of arms' were it not for American muskets and rifles they have taken. He has asked Sir George Prevost for independence from the Department – 'He granted all my request'. Norton had been invited to Quebec by Prevost, who presented with him a sword and pistols from the King – while there he also met Thomas Scott, Walter Scott's brother, who wrote enthusiastically about the encounter.

n. **Autograph letter, signed** as John Norton, to Robert Barclay (Old Jewry). Grand River, 18 April 1815. 4 pages, folio, with an integral address panel. Quebec and ship letter stamps.

Norton mentions his previous letter (item m. above). Now 'spring blooms in peace' and 'the Commissioners at Ghent have done as much for our tribes, as I could expect'. He reiterates that the tribes 'in the vicinity of Canada' are worse off than the Creek and Cherokee, that few are now loyal and the Indian Department have made them 'more like a rabble than a community'. He then turns to personal news: shortly before the war a young Cherokee relation who had followed him North in 1810 informed him that 'in my absence he had discovered that my former spouse had an intrigue with a man in the neighbourhood', so he left her; then a year later in May 1813 he met 'a lovely young women' [Catherine, possibly of mixed Delaware blood], whom he married soon after. He intends to visit Britain soon with her and with his 'only remaining son, who is now sixteen ... that he may learn something in the seminaries of Britain'. He will also 'commune with our friend Mr Wilberforce'. Norton did indeed pay a second visit, in July 1815, and placed his son in a Scottish school, returning to Canada in 1816, when he acquired a plot of 925 acres and set up a farm.

o. **Autograph letter, signed**, as John Norton Teyoninhokarāwen to Robert Barclay (Old Broad St). Grand River, 16 January 1818. 3 pages, 4to, with an integral address panel.

A largely personal letter passing on best wishes to members of the Barclay family. 'For my part ... I have with respect to every connection been led blindly by the affections of the heart' but is now 'completely happy at home' with Meshakanamou (presumably Catherine?); he hears 'good accounts' of his son's education in Scotland. Several English visitors are mentioned and he hopes émigrés will consider Canada over America as he fears further US aggression. **'May you enjoy every happiness and be blessed with peace – for war excepting that it is a high path to**

the country of souls, is frequently an unfortunate thing for they who survive it.'

p. Autograph letter from Col. Thomas Barclay to Robert Barclay. Tavistock Square, 24 June 1815. 1 page, 4to with an integral address leaf.

Thomas Henry Barclay (1753-1830) came from the New York branch of the family and had served as a loyalist soldier during the Revolutionary War, after which he settled in Canada. Recalled to London during the War of 1815 he was then appointed to the boundary commission. Here he sends Robert Barclay the opinion of Sir George Prevost on Norton: 'honest, sober ... he possessed more than ordinary natural abilities, which he had much improved ... acted with fairness and propriety towards his fellow Indians ... his loyalty to his Majesty and attachment to the British nation are unquestionable, and his courage unimpeachable ...'. Any opinions to the contrary are 'devoid of truth'.

After the date of the last items in this archive Norton's history becomes a little more patchy. He settled into farming life, until in 1823 he took part in the so-called 'last duel fought in Canada', killing a young man who had either had an affair with or assaulted his wife (at any rate Norton split from her too). He was convicted of manslaughter, fined, and in October that year he left Grand River for good on a trip to return to his homeland the Cherokee kinsman he mentions in letter n. Norton arrived at the Dwight mission (then in Arkansas) in 1824, then probably headed west, but the date and location of his death remain unknown.

No much of my early history as I can give you
than the compass of a letter I shall now commu-
cate - I was born in the British Army and I
not recollection I had some at Boston. I was about
five years of age when Bunker's Hill was fought
having had a view of it from the top of a house
near Boston, I retain a confused recollection
of that remarkable event impressed upon my memory
when Boston we went to take New York, and after
having taken it, the Regiment my Father belonged
was one of those detached to take Rhode Island
we were kept possession of notwithstanding the
advances of the Americans to the ...

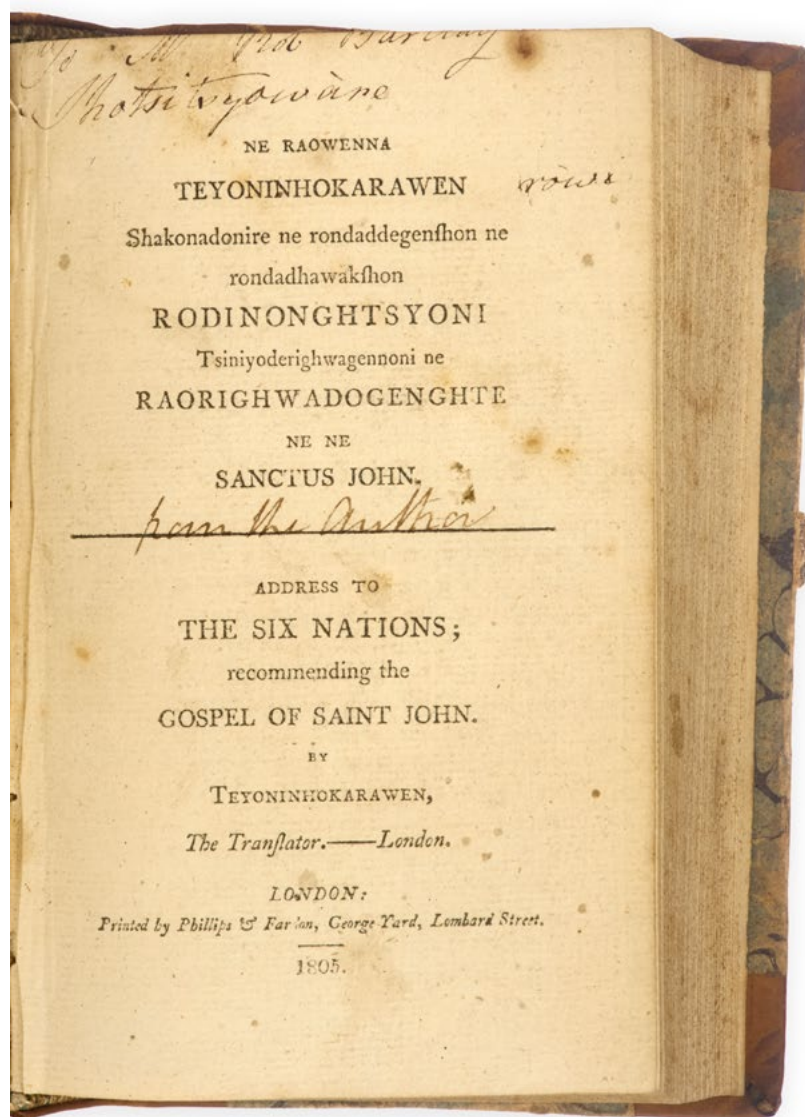
Grand River Nov. 16, 1814

My Dear Friend,

I received your kind favor of the
26th of April a few days ago, it gives me great
pleasure, now that I have a little rest to sit down
and converse with you on the other side the ocean.

If I do not write so often as in time of peace I
think of you not less, and always feel a warm
interest in the welfare and happiness of our
friends in England - for there I am assured that
we have real friends, however their good in-
tentions may be frustrated by the ill will of
some in Canada.

The interest our worthy friend Mr Wilberforce
takes in our cause commands my warmest acknow-
ledgements, and that which I have lately heard of
the conduct of the British Commissioners assures
me that we are not forgotten; I hope this de-
finite boundary may be obtained without
too great effusion of blood. I would consider
it to be no difficult object as it respects the
Cherokees, Creeks, or Muscogees, Choctaws and
Chicasaws, these four nations have a popula-
tion of a hundred thousand souls, and have
had the good sense to preserve a sufficient
territory, bounded by nature and to which
the Americans have no claim either by settle-
ment or purchase - They have however the im-
prudence to claim from the grants of former
kings, altho they have despised their maps;
Robt Barclay Esq.



Presentation copy – the Gospel of St John in Mohawk

56. NORTON, John, or Teyoninhokarāwen. Ne raowenna Teyoninhokarawen Shakonadonire ne rondaddegenshon ne rondadhawakshon Rodinonghtsyoni Tsiniyoderighwagennoni ne Raorighwadogenghte ne ne Sanctus John. Address to the Six Nations; recommending the Gospel of St John. By Teyoninhokarawen, the Translator, - London. London: Printed by Phillips & Fardon ... 1805.

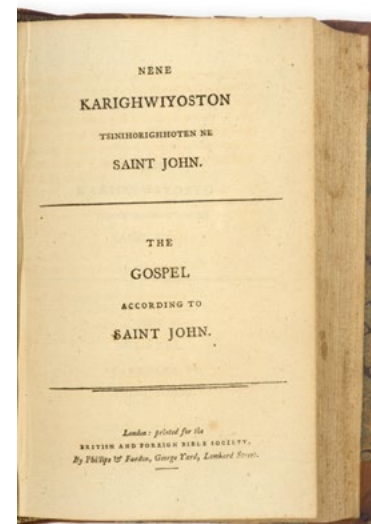
[Bound with:]

NORTON, John, or Teyoninhokarāwen, *translator*. Nene Karighwiyston tsinihorighhoten ne Saint John. The Gospel according to Saint John. London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society by Phillips & Fardon ... [1804.]

[and one other.]

Two works, small 8vo, *Address*: pp. [5], ff. iii–vii (on facing pages), pp. [1], blank, with Mohawk and English text on facing pages; and *Gospel*: pp. [5], ff. 3–125, pp. [3], with Mohawk and English text on facing pages; title-page of *Address* slightly foxed, else fine copies, bound with one other work (James Hare, *Essay on the Necessity of revealed Religion*, Oxford 1794) in early nineteenth-century half-calf and marbled boards; ownership inscriptions, manuscript contents list, and bookplate of Robert Barclay of Bury Hill; presentation inscription (cropped) to title of *Address*.

£6500



First edition of the first publication of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a translation of St John into Mohawk, along with Norton's very rare *Address to the Six Nations*. This copy is inscribed on the title-page of the *Address* 'To Mr Rob. Barclay Shotsitsyowàne ... from the Author'.

While Norton was on his trip to England in 1804 on behalf of the Iroquois (see item 54), discussions with Wilberforce and other members of the newly formed BFBS led to the suggestion that he translate a portion of the Gospel into his adopted Mohawk, to which he readily acquiesced. He made swift progress and the work was printed in 2000 copies, though their distribution in Canada had to await Norton's return there – as late as 1808 he noted 500 copies being sent to Montreal. In the meantime, Norton had separately printed a short *Address to the Six Nations*, which he immediately had bound up with six copies for presentation to a sub-committee, but the Society's rules forbade any introductions and so they were removed (Browne, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1859) and circulated separately. Rarely are they found together.

Robert Barclay (see items 9, 53 and 54) was one of Norton's closest friends during his stay in England in 1804–5 and would continue to correspond with Norton and support his cause for many years. It was through Barclay that Norton was first introduced to Wilberforce. Norton gave Mohawk names to his friends and supporters in England, which he used in correspondence as well as in his journal. 'Shotsitsyowàne' was his name for Barclay.

Of the *Address* there are copies in the UK at Bodley, Cambridge, and Trinity Cambridge (the British Library copy was destroyed in World War II), and in North America at NYPL, McGill (a presentation copy to Sylvanus Bevan), Gordon College, LoC, Smithsonian, Newberry, Wisconsin, and Library and Archives Canada.

Sabin 49846; Darlow & Moule 6797; Pilling, *Iroquoian*, p. 130.

Palmerin of England – with John Webster's first appearance in print

57. [PALMERIN OF ENGLAND.] [MORÃES CABRAL, Francisco de]. The First [-Second] Part, of the no less rare, then excellent and stately Historie, of the famous and fortunate Prince Palmerin of England. Declaring the Birth of him, and Prince Florian du Desart his brother, in the forrest of great Brittain ... Wherein Gentlemen may finde choyce of sweete inventions, and Gentlewomen be satisfied in courtly expectations. Translated out of French, by A[nthony] M[unday] one of the messengers of her Majesties Chamber ... London, Printed by Thomas Creede, and Bernard Alsop, 1616. [Bound with:]

The Third and last Part of *Palmerin of England*. Enterlaced with the loves and fortunes of many gallant knights and ladies: a historie full of most choice and sweet varietie. Written in Spanish, Italian, and French, and translated into English by A[nthony] M[unday] ... At London, Printed by J[ames] R[oberts] for William Leake ... 1602.

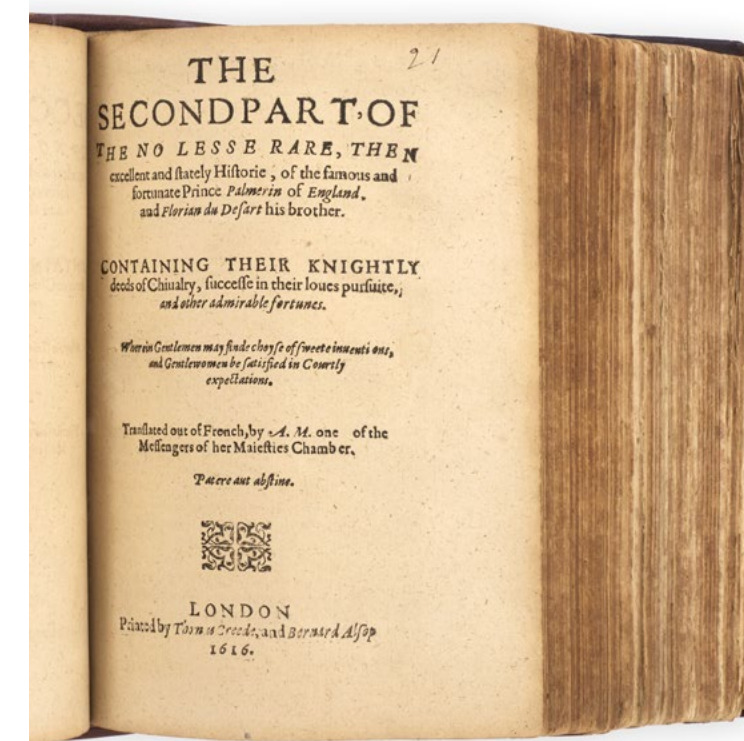
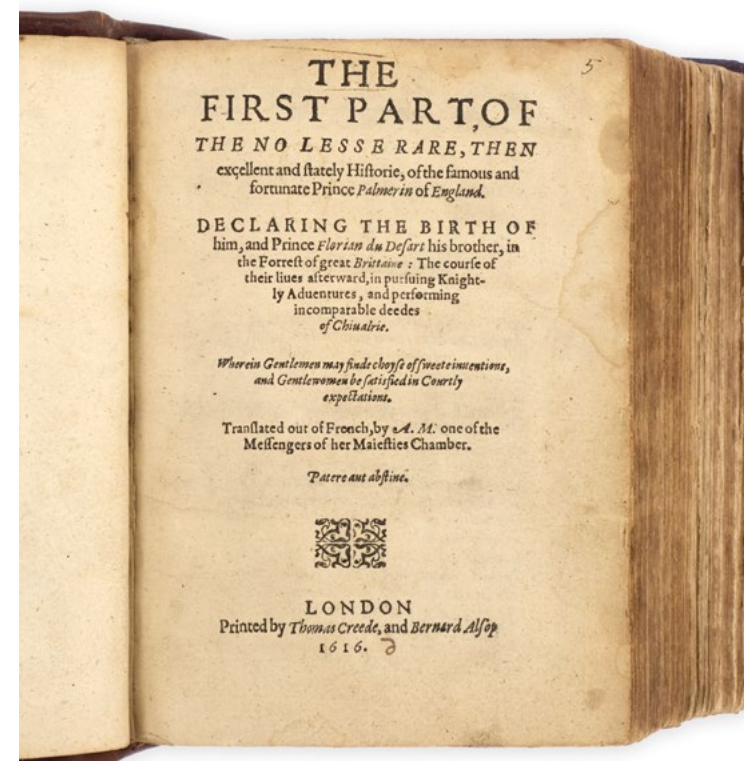
Three parts in one volume, small thick 4to, ff. [213]; [228]; [4], 282, [6]; manuscript pagination, occasional browning to text, a little wear to edges where formerly loose in binding, but a very good copy apart from a few minor faults: Part I with the final blank but wanting the initial blank (A1), the inserted leaves 'O6'–7 bound in the last half sheet where printed (the gap in the text of sheet O having been noticed while the book was in the press); Part II with the initial blank (A1), flaw in H7 catches a couple of letters; Part III, clean tear across H1 repaired without loss, wax-stain to T3 obscures two letters, closed tear at head of Mm2 without loss, tear to foot of Qq3–4 affects a couple of words in three lines. Contemporary unlettered calf, rebaked, preserving the old spine, back cover a little scraped; bookplates of Robert S. Pirie and Kenneth Rapoport.

£15,000

Apparently the only complete copy of the English translation of *Palmerin in England*, the last work in the *Palmerin* cycle: third edition of Part I, second of Part II, first edition of Part III. The earlier printings of Parts I and II survive in a total of three copies.

Palmerin of England was originally published in Spanish at Toledo in 1547–8. 'It is the best of the peninsular *Palmerin* cycle ... and has a real significance and literary value' (Ward, *Oxford Companion to Spanish Literature*). Cervantes praised it in *Don Quixote*, indeed it is one of the few romances of chivalry in *Don Quixote*'s library not to be consigned to the flames: 'Let that *Palmerin of England* be kept and preserved as a thing unique, and let a casket be made for it like that which Alexander found among the spoils of Darius and set aside for the safekeeping of the works of the poet Homer. This book, my friend, is to be esteemed for two reasons, first because it is very good, and secondly because it is said to have been written by a wise and witty king of Portugal' (Part I, chapter VI). In fact Cervantes is mistaken: the author is Francisco de Morães Cabral (1500?–72).

'Anthony Munday, aided and abetted by various English publishers, ran a factory for the production of chivalresque romances on the lines of the Venetian house of Mambrino Roseo and Michele Tramezzino' (Henry Thomas, 'The *Palmerin* Romances', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, XIII (1916), 97–144). His translations included the two earlier romances in the cycle, *Palmerin d'Oliva* and *Primaleon of Greece*, both anonymous, as well as *Palmerin of England*, also listed under title in STC although it should be listed under Morães.



Palmerin d'Oliva, emperor of Constantinople, his sons, Palmendos and Primaleon, and grandson, Palmerin of England, dominate a huge sweep of romance history, all of which Munday captures in translation. The stories emanated from Spain in the sixteenth century and passed through France, and Munday's translations created a market for them in England that remained vibrant well into the seventeenth century, to judge by published editions. His edition of Palmerin d'Oliva, dedicated to the Earl of Oxford, was published in 1588 in two separate parts for purely commercial reasons, as he himself confesses. In this translation Munday promises more of the history, and Palmerin was followed by Palmendos (1589), dedicated to Sir Francis Drake; Palladine (1588), dedicated to the earl of Essex; and Primaleon (1595). Munday translated Francisco de Morães's version of the history in *The First and Second Parts, of the No Lesse Rare, Historie of Palmerin of England* (1596), and the third part in 1602. Many of these texts were reissued in new editions in Munday's lifetime' (*Oxford DNB*).

Part III, here in first edition, includes signed commendatory verses by John Webster and Thomas Dekker. Webster's verses are apparently his first appearance in print, concluding with the lines:

Translation is a traffique of high price:
It brings all learning in one Paradise.

At the time Webster and Munday were working together on a play, *Caesar's Fall*; now lost, it was Webster's first documented work for the stage (see Henslowe's *Diary*, 22 May 1602).

The first edition of Parts I and II (1596) is known by a single imperfect copy at the BL; the second edition of Part I (1609), by copies at Folger (imperfect) and Harvard. The first edition of Part III (1602) is known in eight copies (at least one imperfect, and the present third edition of parts I and II (1616) in ten copies (at least seven imperfect). **We can trace only three other sets of the complete romance in three parts, all with faults:** British Library, not uniform, both volumes imperfect; Bodley (from the Vicars' Library, Marlborough, lacking the title to Part I); and Folger, the Harmsworth copy, with four leaves in Part II supplied.

An exceptionally good survival for an early romance.

STC 19163 and 19165.

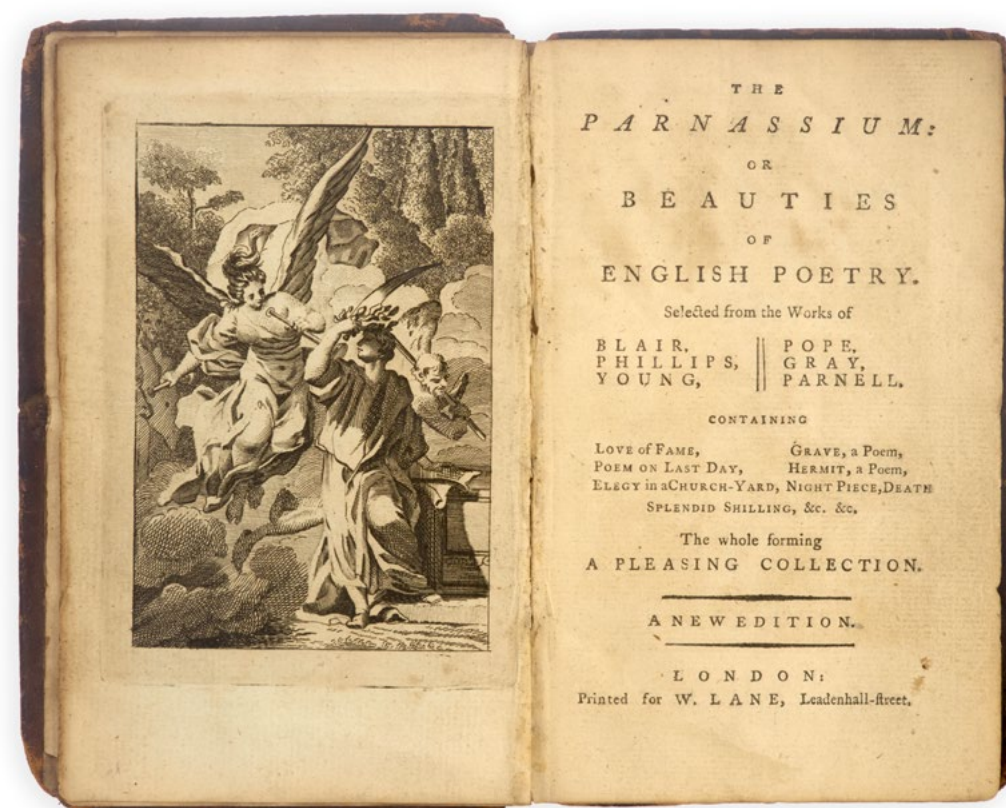
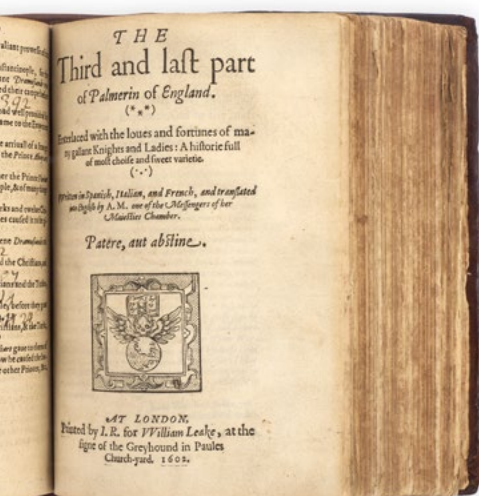
58. PARNASSIUM (The): or Beauties of English Poetry. Selected from the Works of Blair, Philips, Young, Pope, Gray, Parnell ... The whole forming a pleasing Collection. A new Edition. London: Printed for W. Lane ... [after 1776.]

12mo, pp. [2, general title-page], 81, [1], 47, [1], 8, 7, [1], 31, [1], 16, with an engraved frontispiece (partly detached); each part has a separate title-page with the imprint 'London: Printed for J. James ... 1761[-2]'; some occasional light foxing and browning, else in good condition, bound in worn contemporary sheep.

£325

A very scarce reissue by the enterprising William Lane, later of the Minerva Press, of *A Collection of Modern Poems* (London, J. James, 1762) – with a cancel title-page and a new frontispiece. The contents comprise the *Love of Fame* and *The Last Day* by Young, Gray's *Elegy*, *The Splendid Shilling* by Philips, Blair's *The Grave* and Parnell's *Hermit and Night Piece on Death*, all of which may also have been available separately.

ESTC records four copies: British Library, Cambridge; Chicago, and Texas (that listed at Yale is of a single part only, and therefore not the Lane reissue). The suggested date of 1765? is impossible – Lane began bookselling in 1770 and publishing in 1773, and moved to the address given here in Leadenhall Street in c. 1776. The original publisher, J. James, of New Bond Street, is known from only a handful of publications, largely those included here.



Pindar. p. 1. 2. Edit
 C'est qu'il s'agit de ces premiers vers (Olymp. A. 1-12)
 que la suffisance et la superstition ont combattue
 sous les noms de Perrault et de Boileau. (L'usage de
 Boileau. Tom. V. p. 126-168) la construction de ce passage
 me paroit assez dure, mais le sens en est clair et raisonnable
 et l'épithète d'ερημας (ερημας δι' αιθερος) est d'une
 beauté sublime. Dans cette allusion brusque et
 hardie ce sont les quatre grandes fêtes de la Grèce, que
 Pindare oppose aux quatre éléments, et aux quatre meilleurs
 en accordant la prééminence à l'eau, à l'or et aux
 Jeux Olympiques. Cette interprétation est appuïée de
 l'autorité des anciennes Scholies, aussi bien que des poètes
 : celles qu'on attribue à Demetrius Triclinius (Pindar
 Boileau. p. 1. 15) : la même comparaison est employée
 par Pindare une seconde fois (Olymp. I. 75. 76 p. 42)
 et le verbe αρειναι encore mieux que l'adjectif
 αρισον designe non la simple bonté, mais la su-
 periorité et l'excellence. αρειναι μολο οδαιε
 ημεσαν δε χρυος αρειναιον — les remarques
 n'ont point été profitement connues au dessein de
 Boileau, mais son sens en est même et emprunté
 les Scholies grecques sont habillées sans version latine,
 et il n'est que trop vraisemblable que le satyrique
 François a designé la première sans avoir vu la
 troisième des Odes de Pindare.

Gibbon's Pindar, with his notes – 'd'une beauté sublime'

59. PINDAR. Ολγμπια Νεμεα Πγθια Ισθμια ... Olympia, Nemea, Pythia, Isthmia.
 Una cum Latina omnium versione carmine lyrico per Nicolaum Sudorium ...
 Oxonii, E Teatro Sheldoniano, 1698. Prostant Londini apud. Sam. Smith & Benj.
 Walford.

Folio, pp. [30], 56, 59–497, [1, blank],
 [92, index], 77, [3], with a terminal
 errata leaf but without the engraved
 frontispiece and the two-leaf 'Vita'
 (c1–2); somewhat browned and
 foxed at the extremities, ink stain to
 e1, wax stains to K3 and N4; a good
 copy in contemporary calf, rebacked,
 in a modern folding cloth box;
 armorial bookplate of Edward Gibbon
 with two marginal annotations on
 pp. 159 and 161, and with an 8vo
 leaf of notes laid in loose, all in
 French with quotations in Greek.

£5250



First edition thus, the variant with the title-page dated 1698 rather than 1697. The Greek text was edited by Richard West and Robert Welsted, and the chronology of the Olympiads provided by the Bishop of Lichfield.

Gibbon rarely annotated his books – only four books with his notes, not including the present, are listed in the Index of English Literary Manuscripts, and only two of those are printed works – editions of Herodotus and Plautus. Neither the Pindar, nor the loose leaf of notes are listed in the Index, and neither has been published.

Pindar's Odes were important texts for Gibbon. 'Whatsoever the fruits of my education, they must be ascribed to the fortunate banishment which placed me at Lausanne. I have sometimes applied to my own fate the verses of Pindar, which remind an Olympic champion that his victory was the consequence of his exile and that at home, like a domestic fowl, his days might have rolled away inactive or inglorious' (Memoirs). There he refers to Pindar's Olympian Ode 12 (pp. 139–41). In the present copy the annotations are on Olympian 14, for Asopichus of Orchomenos, with its references to the Graces and to Echo. He applauds the scholiasts' and editors' interpretation as 'belle et raisonnable', but he also notes 'encore un allusion locale', that Echo's lover Narcissus was son of 'Cephisias' – the waters of Cephissus are mentioned in the first line. The longer note on p. 159 is on the city of Orchomenos in Boetia, and on the veneration of the Graces which began there.

Gibbon's more standard method of commentary on his books came in the form of loose leaves of notes ("abstracts and observations" ... on odds bits of paper of all sizes', Keynes), which survive in similarly small quantities; an example is illustrated by Keynes in the Library of Edward Gibbon – a leaf on 'Pindar p. 168.169 Edit. Oxon' (IELM GiE 81, now at Cambridge). Another is laid in loose here. Headed 'Pindar p. 1.2 Edit', it deals with Olympian 1, the most famous of Pindar's odes, and specifically with its opening lines on the superiority of water and gold: 'Le construction de ce passage me paroit assez dure, mais le sens en est clair et raisonnable et l'épithète d'ερημας (ερημας δι' αιθερος) est d'une beauté sublime. Dans cette allusion brusque et hardie ce sont les



quatre grandes fêtes de la Grèce, que Pindare oppose aux quatre Elements, et aux quatre métaux, en accordant le pré-eminence à l'eau, à l'or et aux Jeux Oympiques...'

This book is recorded in both the Bentinck Street, London, catalogue of Gibbon's library (1777) and in the subsequent Lausanne card catalogue. After Gibbon's death most of the library was sold by his executor, Lord Sheffield, to William Beckford. Beckford subsequently made a gift of the library to his physician, Dr. Frederic Schöll (also a friend of Gibbon), who sold a portion to John Walter Halliday in 1825. The remainder were sold in Lausanne in 1832-3, including our Pindar, which was among 400 lots bought by Samuel Farmar Jarvis and subsequently appeared in his sale of 1851, lot 502.

Wing P2246. Keynes, *Library of Edward Gibbon*, p. 221.

Oxford neo-Latin verse: in praise of a pub, and of a healing well

60. PLEYDELL, Mark Stuart. 'Epigrammata ... Anno Dom[ini] 1703. Novemb: 17th.

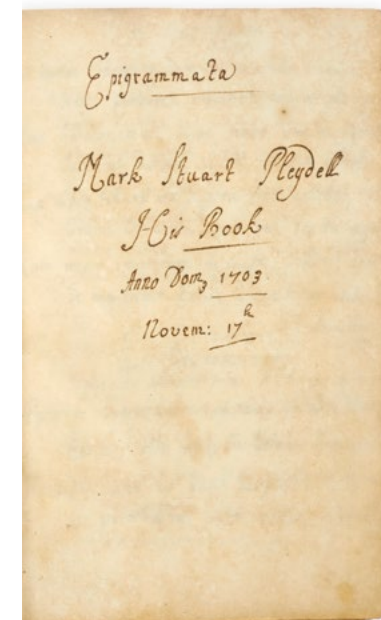
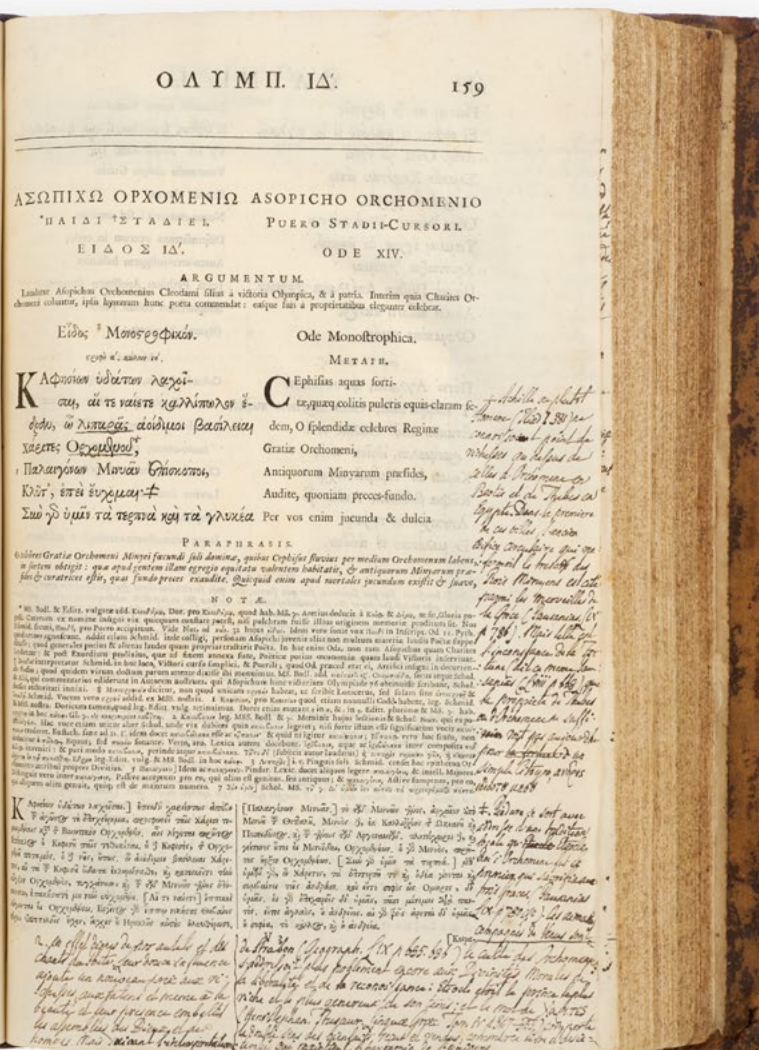
Small 8vo manuscript, paginated by hand, ff. [1], 73, [2], with a four-page index at the end; in Latin and Greek in a fine Italic hand, the lines afterwards numbered in two sequences: 634 and 1270; in very good condition, in contemporary limp vellum, sewn on three cords.

£3750

A fascinating collection of neo-Latin (and -Greek) poems and epigrams, the majority seemingly unpublished, assembled by Mark Stuart Pleydell (1692-1768), of Coleshill, later first Baronet, as a boy of 10 or 11. The authors are mostly named (by initial and surname), and where identifiable seem to have come from Wiltshire and to have matriculated at Oxford in the first few years of the eighteenth-century, suggesting they may have shared their education with Pleydell – witness for example several works addressed by a teacher to a pupil, as well as 'In Scholae dimissionem' (41v-42r, by 'Sutton') – 'nonne aures magno juvenum clamore replentur? ... Perpetuum studium sensus inscrasset acuto' [are not thy ears filled with the great clamour of youth? ... Perpetual study dulls the sharp senses]. Bucking the trend (Oxonian, unpublished) is the only traceable work in the volume: 'Nundinae Sturbrigiensis' (ff. 61-70), by the Cambridge Latin poet Thomas Hill (1682/3-1758). His colourful account of Stourbridge fair was based on a trip there in 1702 and written shortly afterwards: 'it achieved considerable success when it was published a few years later, in 1709' (*Oxford DNB*), but its presence here, signed 'Anonymus', demonstrates earlier manuscript circulation.

Among the more notable figures here is the poet George Duckett (1684-1732), who matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1700 and was later an MP, an intimate friend of Addison, and author of a response to Pope's *Homer* – *Homerides* (1715). He offers here three epigrams: 'In Lysimachum' (17r), 'Juventus Laeta, Senectus tristis' (39r) and 'In Platona' (44r). The most promiscuous contributor is probably Thomas Toppinge (d. 1715) of Chilton, Wiltshire, who matriculated at Magdalen College in October 1703 at the age of 16, and remained there until his death – there are at least 15 poems by him here, including pieces on wealth; Cato; David and Goliath; 'Is the soul a blank slate?' (for and against); and the death of William III. His 'Fons Medicinalis' (ff. 56-58 – 'Quà propé Charwellus duplici torrente propinquat / Oxonium, et flexu sinuoso prata coronat, / Fons oritur parvus ...') – is about one of the healing wells of Oxford. Toppinge later contributed to a printed collection of elegies on Prince George of Denmark (husband of Queen Anne).

Other poets include Servington Savery (cousin of the natural philosopher, matric. Exeter College 1705), Richard Kent (matric. Magdalen 1703), James Wall (matric. Hart Hall 1703), Robert Nicholas (matric. Balliol 1704) and Samuel Johnson (matric. Christ Church 1703).



Dum victus major natura ferocior et vi,
Cum concessit, equis vincere, cecidit, cupit.
In Argum. Kent

Cur videt hominum? quia gibbus fallor. non
Non vagina aequat eagle ne aequat ossa.
Quid, quod front, simus id pulchra cleantia hi
Forus, no, servas, corpora pada hiat.
Postulit ignominium, vide, vix mittit in ignom.
Sed, si peius, non animo ille Brothow.

In Ceream. Johnson

Alides orci custodem vixit atrocem,
Qui canetis validis maxime horror erat
Quo vis tremuit Lxxes, atq, Hannibal ingens,
Pellau juvnis, fortis et ipse Nilo.
Visne tenere alium custodem Nilo? Monippon.
Pona, caris namq, ut, lxxes terror nit.

So: Alh

In Polemona. 97

Vincit quando utularg, haufisset in aure,
Cinorati pueri quod documenta dedit,
Lobius ut Polemon, tua quanta potentia palla!
Quum valure nihil verbera, verba valent.
Nunc tua palma hiplex, palla, quod bestia fit vir,
(240) Quid hbi vincantur Bacchus, et alma Venus.

In Catonem. G. Goppinge

Pompeius casus? valios recidere cohortes?
Al scelus! hoc nequeo nec tolerare volo.
Hunc Mavens domuit, me nunc filitica domat,
Praefert hui vita mors generosa necem.
Oixit et audacter penetravit viscera ferro,
Cor prostrans! occidit victima pulchra sibi;
Vita vera fuit, mors ipsa superior, omnem
Hac vivit virtus vincit hoc omni notas.

G. Goppinge.

laborum primum, et milita coronam
aspicimus. Nimi autem nisi in
suis castris, optimi merito
nemi, nisi invito
ponitur triumphus
= lxx suam Olio
= ram largi
= tur Palla
cas.

Dixi

Taberna Walkeriana. 49

forma tecta cens, vastis quae sumptibus ingens
Walkeris posuit, miediz induxit Olympo:
Et Ta Baccha pater, tibi si videria cura,
Si tibi sensum semper libent honorum.
Walkerus, pleno spumant si vicia muste,
Tu mihi Bacche fave, atq, audaci bus annis esptis.
Sola vides, ut medias fulget Goliolous ad auras,
Ut circa altorum vulgus, juvenisq, senesq,
Conveniant, ut pars mavoria suspicit ora,
Flagran tesq, sui vultus, atq, hant in fide.
Hic optima armorum nexum, tucatoz, rizontes,
Et ostentum auro tecturam, et terribile forum,

Qua cum ita sint, judices, per
Imperium, per Republicam
conservandam, per omnes
Deos immortales, vos
oratores velim, ut illi
qui de Republica
optimi meritis
sit patrimon-
ium trad-
= eritur.

Dixi.
Springer.

Taberna Medicinalis. 56

Qua prope Charvelus duplici tomate propino
Jacinthum, et flexu sinuato prata coronat, 820
Tus britur parvus, cupis non gloria parva,
Hinc solum morbos cohors, curatq, radunt
Inferos; placida Tophyrus circumvolat ala,
Et late ardent aethra gramine campi.
Afulget quoties rosae Aurora quadrigis
Altera, et croco respingit Cumina calum,
Avenit ad fontem, fixa quaeque salutis
Urget amor, Lymphasq, vocat, calicesq, propinat

The content, as expected, leans towards classical allusion, but there are some notable exceptions, of which the most interesting is 'Taberna Walkeriana' (ff. 49-52), signed 'Parsons', about the Kings Head Tavern on Cornmarket, of which Richard Walker was licensee 1687-1704. Its Virgilian opening, 'Ardua tecta cano, vastis quae sumptibus ingens Walkerus posuit ...' leads on to Bacchic celebrations of foaming beer and of the grandeur of the establishment, and addresses Walker ('Ricarde') by name throughout.

Unique

61. POINT OF HONOUR (The). A Novel ... London: Printed by W. Adlard ... for Francis Noble, at his Circulating Library ... and John Noble, at his Circulating Library ... 1768.

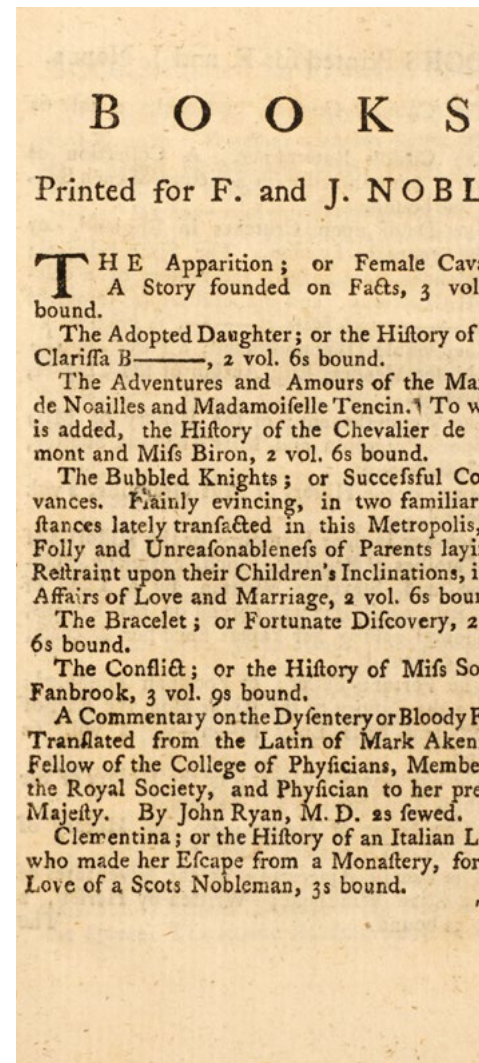
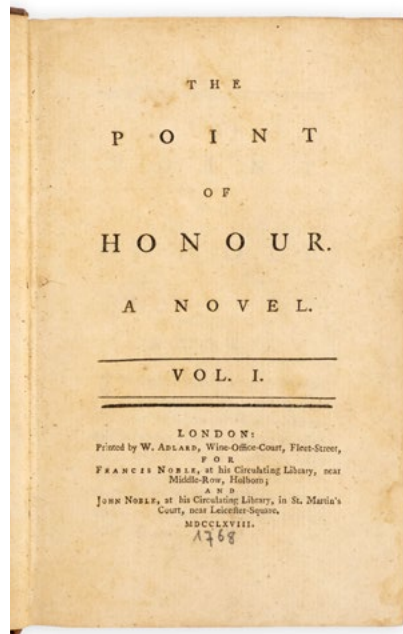
Two vols, 12mo, pp. [4], 236, [4], 228, [8, publishers' catalogue], with a half-title to each volume; slight skewed but a very good copy in contemporary German half calf and speckled boards, somewhat rubbed; twentieth-century stamp and bookplate of Johann Siegfried von Buch, Stolpe an der Oder.

£6500

The only surviving copy, a classic piece of anonymous circulating-library fiction published by the pioneers in that field Francis and John Noble.

Until the re-discovery of this copy the novel was known only from a French translation of 1770 and a short synopsis in the *Critical Review*, which called it 'a novel of the see-saw kind'. It is indeed a rollercoaster of the will-they-won't-they variety. Its first male protagonist, Wedderburn, is a soldier who saves the life of one Capt. Garlies at the Battle of Minden (1759), and in return is entrusted with the delivery of his daughter Emily to her aunt in England. Wedderburn, though handsome and amiable, was 'very warm in his temper, violent in his pursuits, and of an impatient disposition' and makes clear his intentions to wed his charge, but she equivocates.

Unable to get his discharge, Wedderburn arranges for Emily to travel back to England in the company of his friend Charles Gordon, and the latter's charming sister Charlotte, who takes Emily under her wing. They settle in Kent, where Charles teaches Emily how to sing and ride, protects her from unwanted attention, and they fall in love but fear acting dishonorably to Wedderburn, the first of several 'points of honour' in the novel. When the sudden death of his elder brother brings Charles into possession of the estate, Emily considers the match beyond reach, at which juncture Wedderburn returns and renews his interest, much to Emily's dismay. Eventually she makes her rejection of Wedderburn explicit and goes to stay with the local rector and his daughter. Meanwhile Charlotte Gordon has grown increasingly intimate with Wedderburn, though neither fully trust the sincerity of the others feelings. Several attempts to contrive a 'crisis' backfire before they finally manage a mutual declaration, which should therefore leave the path clear for Emily and Charles (now Lord D-). But ill news strikes and tests his honour again: as a young man he had entered into an attachment but the match had been refused by the girl's parents; her subsequent unhappy marriage to Lord Blaney had now ended with his death, and her scheming mother seeks to renew the earlier engagement. Lady Blaney's genuine feeling, and his guilt at her current ill health (she is in fact terminally consumptive) leave him compelled to acquiesce. At this point the devastated Emily contracts smallpox – there is an unusually graphic description of her 'red and bloated' face, 'almost without eye-brows and eye-



lashes'. As this story inevitably resolves itself happily, the work segues into a shorter space-filling third part involving the rector's daughter and another suitor, a sort of modern version of a patient Griselda tale.

The publishers Francis (d. 1792) and John (d. 1797) Noble began as booksellers in 1737 and 1743 respectively in St Martin's Court, which is where they partnered on one of the first circulating libraries in London in 1744–1745. The partnership ended in 1749 and Francis moved to Covent Garden in 1752 and then Holborn in 1759 but they continued to publish jointly. Boswell used the Holborn library and Noble would send him 'from time to time, a fresh supply of novels' (1763). 'Although the Noble brothers operated on the fringe of the established book trade throughout their careers, they are noteworthy for their role in popularizing the commercial circulating library in England, and for developing an active and popular publishing programme which supplied their own and other such libraries with appropriate publications ... A survey by James Raven indicates that the Noble brothers may have been "responsible for a tenth of all prose fiction titles published in the 1750s and 1760s", and that "over one hundred and seventy novels and fiction miscellanies (and further editions) were issued jointly for F. and J. Noble between 1744 and 1778" (Raven, 303)' (*Oxford DNB*).

The publishers' catalogue at the end is almost exclusively of anonymous fiction, much seemingly published in the 1750s but still available (or reprinted); there are several works by Phebe Gibbes, and a few otherwise unrecorded pieces including *The Child's Entertainer* and a new edition of the watchmaker George Smith Green's *Life of Mr John Van* (here the *Life and Adventures of John Van*). At the end are adverts for *The injured Daughter* and *The Forced Marriage*, the latter either unrecorded in this edition, or only published as part of another work in 1769.

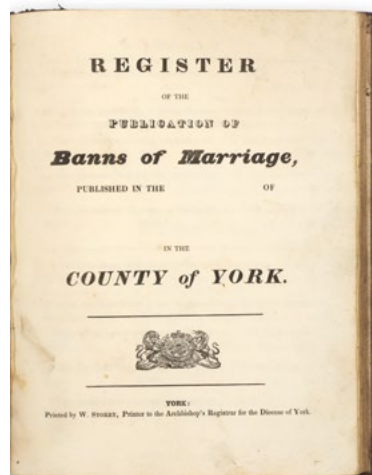
Not in ESTC, not in OCLC or Library Hub.

Yorkshire unions

62. REGISTER of the Publication of Banns of Marriage, published in the [] of [] in the County of York. York, Printed by W. Storry, Printer to the Archbishop's Registrar for the Diocese of York. [Printed before 1823, completed 1823-42.]

4to, pp. [2], 56 (paginated by hand), [40], comprising a part-printed title-page (uncompleted), and 48 leaves of part-printed forms (two per page), completed in manuscript throughout in a several hands; marginal wormtrack to a few leaves at the front, some ink stains, but in very good condition, in contemporary reversed calf, worn, covers stained.

£750

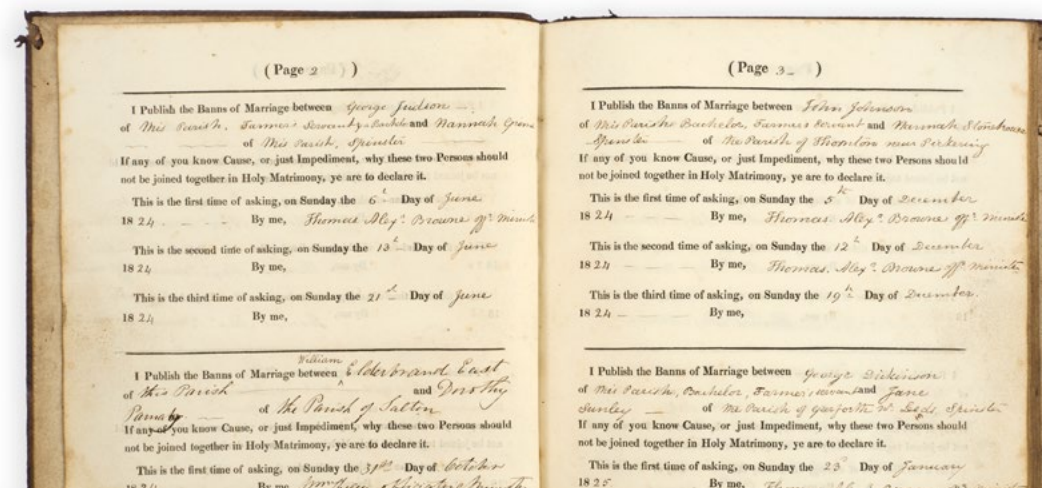


Unrecorded – a part-printed parish Register of Marriage Banns, for the parish of Nunnington in the North Riding of Yorkshire, as completed by a succession of ministers from November 1823 to November 1842: Thomas Alexander Browne, George Mackereth (from May 1826), Richard Prowde (from May 1832) and William Walker and John P. Mundy (in 1842).

For each entry the parties intending to wed are added in manuscript along with their village and parish of origin, and the banns are signed off on three successive Sundays, except on a couple of occasions where the engagement evidently fell through.

North Yorkshire Record Office holds marriage records for Nunnington for 1539-50 and 1578-1978, but no registers of banns. Parish registers were for the most part kept in manuscript, and we could trace no other examples of a part-printed *Register* like the present. William Storry was active as a jobbing printer in York 1783-1823, and was best known as a printer of ballads and playbills. We cannot trace another example of the title 'Printer to the Archbishop's Registrar'.

Not in Library Hub, not in OCLC.



Not just a Prettyface

63. RENOWNED HISTORY (The) of Primrose Prettyface, who by her Sweetness of Temper, & Love of Learning, was raised from being the Daughter of a poor Cottager, to great Riches, and the Dignity of the Lady of the Manor. Set forth for the Benefit & imitation of those pretty little Boys & Girls, who by learning their Books & obliging Mankind, would to Beauty of Body, add Beauty of Mind. London. Printed & sold by J. Marshall & Co. ... (Price 6d in Gilt Paper – 9d bound in Red.) [1788?]

24mo, pp. 88, [2], with an engraved title-page and frontispiece; wanting two leaves of terminal advertisements, but with, as a paste-down, a singleton with an advertisement for *The Juvenile Magazine* (not in ESTC but found in one copy we have previously handled); numerous woodcut vignette illustrations (all with contemporary amateur hand-colouring); title-page slightly soiled but a very good copy in the original Dutch floral boards, spine neatly restored; ownership inscription 'Mary Heald 1796'; later gift inscription dated 1853.

£1000

One of three undated editions, probably the last (adding Marshall's Cheapside premises at 17 Queen St to the imprint), but the only one with an engraved title-page and frontispiece.

It is a classic rags-to-riches story in the mould of *Little Goody Two-Shoes*, in which Primrose earns her social upgrade (courtesy of a baronet) not just by her moral uprightness but also by her industrious scholarship. Inset narratives, such as that of 'Eudoxus and Leontine', reinforce the message of the importance of study and the possibility of social mobility. There is also much verse, all uncredited, but including Richard Jago's 'Elegy on a Black-Bird shot on Valentine's Day' and Isaac Watts on sibling love.

ESTC records editions of pp. 105 (5 copies) and pp. 98 (Bodley, Indiana and Toronto), as well as the present, which it dates to 1789. However, the presence of an advertisement for a 'New Publication' – *The Juvenile Magazine* – which ran from January to December 1788, implies it may have been issued in 1788.

ESTC shows eight copies: BL, Cambridge; Free Library of Philadelphia, Indiana, Pierpont Morgan, UCLA, Wayne State, and Yale.

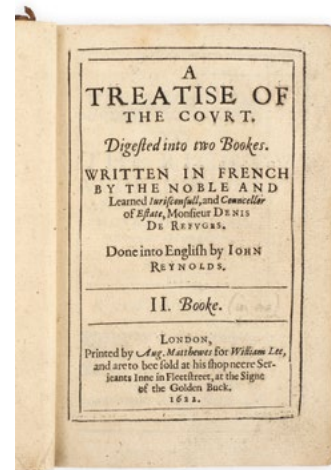


Copiously annotated

64. REFUGE, Eustache de. A Treatise of the Court. Digested into two books. Written in French Done into English by John Reynolds ... London, Printed by Aug. Matthews for William Lee, and are to be sold at his shops ... 1622.

8vo, pp. [30], 189, [15], 189, [59], wanting the engraved title (clearly never present) the errata leaf (excised), and the terminal blank; quire)(4 – the title-page and dedication to Book II – bound at the front and serving as the title for the whole, quire (a)4 bound before A8 in error (it should follow it); the faults notwithstanding, a fine fresh copy in contemporary sheep, covers ruled in blind, somewhat rubbed; **contemporary annotations to two leaves at the front, twelve leaves at the rear, and in the margins throughout.**

£1850

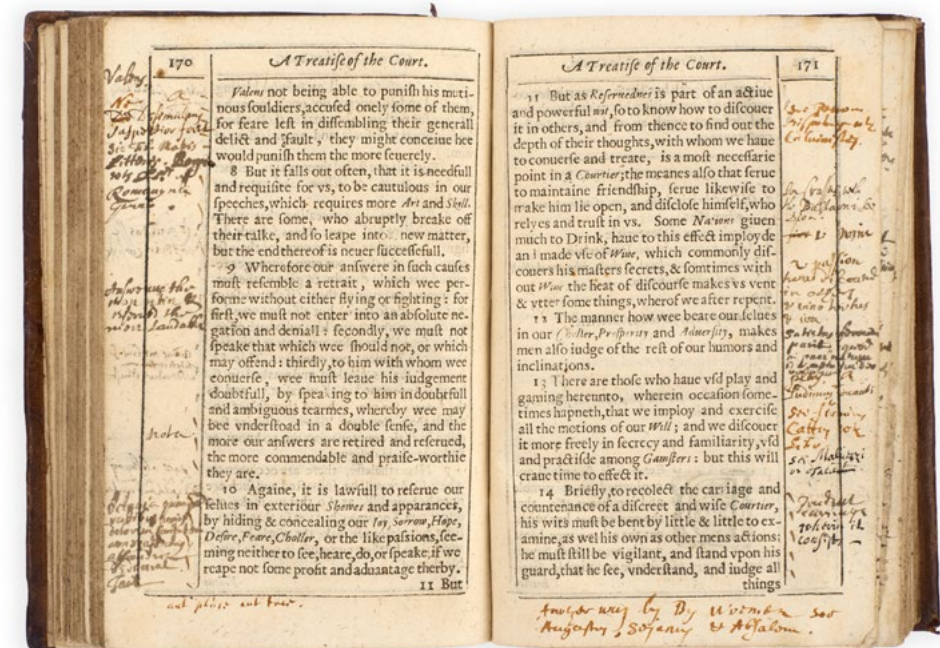
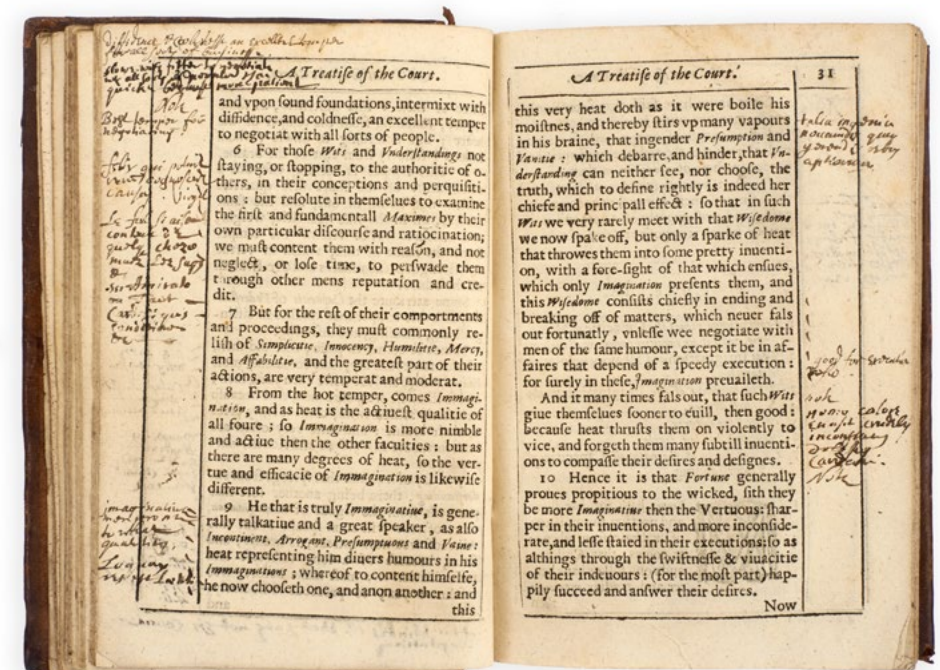
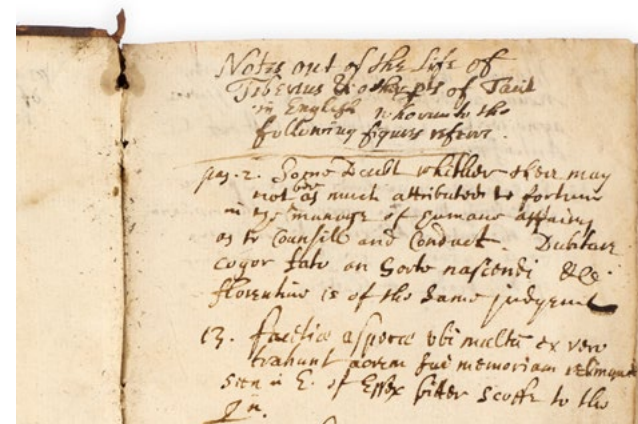


First edition in English of de Refuge's *Traicté de la cour* (1616), a hugely popular treatise on the art of the courtier in the tradition of Machiavelli and Castiglione. The second book in particular was an innovative practical manual for success at court and proved particularly successful. There were translations into Italian, German, and Latin, as well as the present English version by the merchant adventurer John Reynolds (fl. 1588–1655).

The current copy shows interesting signs of contemporary use. On the front endpaper is the instruction 'Mark & write out the applications of Author of the most acutest sentence in fine libri'. The final blanks duly enumerate many passages with reference to the original classical sources left unquoted by Refuge, sometimes summarising them in original language: 'P[art]. S[second]. 86. Ascanius Sforza his artifice in making himself the Authour of what hee could not hinder'. In the margins annotations add knowledgeable references in Latin and French and explanations in English. He points out for example that Charles IX was 'a great imitator' of Tiberius and Domitian (II, 151), and 'Tis a great point of prudence to make a safe retreat in the midst of prosperity. Paucis deponere felicitatem molliter licuit', quoting Seneca.

Reynolds was fluent in French and probably based in France from 1619. In 1621 he published a volume of 30 tales, *The triumphs of God's revenge against ... murder*, supposedly translated from French but in fact original; lurid and graphic, it was immensely successful. Less successful, in personal terms, were his political pamphlets *Vox coeli* and *Votivae Angliae* which saw him extradited from France and imprisoned in 1624.

STC 7367.

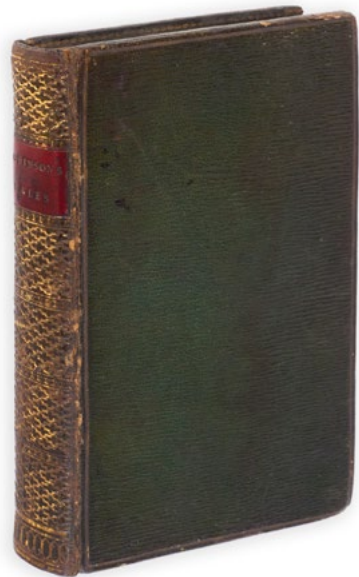


Poems by a leading Shakespearean actress
'A Woman of undoubted Genius' (Coleridge)

65. ROBINSON, Mrs. Mary (Darby). *Lyrical Tales* ... London: Printed for T. N. Longman and O. Rees ... by Biggs and Co. Bristol. 1800.

Small 8vo, pp. [4], 218, [2, ads]; a portrait is found in some copies, but is not required and was never present here; a few spots and stains but a very good copy, in handsome contemporary green straight-grain morocco, spine gilt to a lattice design, red morocco label, gilt edges, marbled endpapers (trace of old bookplate removed).

£1250



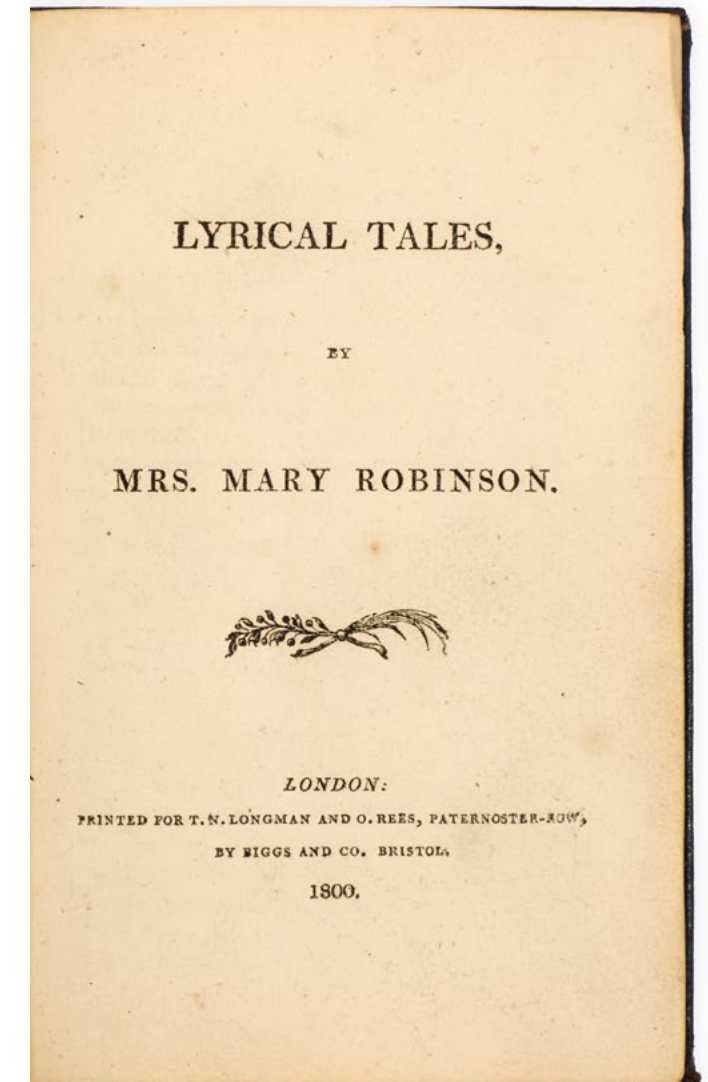
First edition, a revisionary response to *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) by the actress turned royal mistress turned author, Mary 'Perdita' Robinson, published only eight days before her death.

When Mary Robinson, the 'English Sappho', published her *Lyrical Tales* in December 1800, she was at the end of a long career and far more famous than Wordsworth or Coleridge – a product of her *demimondaine* reputation and her best-selling, and often strongly feminist, fiction. Since 1797 she had been in contact with Coleridge, a fellow writer on the *Morning Post*, and had come to feel increasingly drawn to the Lake Poets, both politically and aesthetically. The title of her *Lyrical Tales* clearly alludes to *Lyrical Ballads*, and also to Southey, whose own 'lyrical tales' have a visible influence. The opening poem, 'All Alone', is particularly notable, a reinterpretation of 'We are Seven' and 'The Thorn'.

Robinson had been the leading Shakespearean actress of her day, and (briefly) mistress of the Prince of Wales, before a miscarriage left her crippled and she took to laudanum and literature. 'A singularly brave writer' (Jonathan Wordsworth), she became a close friend of Mary Wollstonecraft, and Coleridge was a fervent admirer. When he heard of Robinson's final illness he was so upset that he consulted Humphry Davy about her condition and sent suggestions for medication, together with an early draft of 'Kubla Khan' and a poem to her entitled 'A Stranger Minstrel' (Wise, II, 69). Her response, 'Mrs. Robinson to the poet Colridge' [sic], published in volume IV of her posthumous *Memoirs*, 1801, contained the first extracts of 'Kubla Khan' to appear in print. Her early death at forty-three deprived English Romanticism of what may have become a major voice.

As *Lyrical Tales* were preparing for press, so was the expanded second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, also printed for Longman by Biggs in Bristol. Wordsworth was concerned by the similarity of title and wanted to rename the volumes *Poems*; in the event the *Lyrical Ballads* were not published until late January 1801 despite the date on the title-page. Robinson's reputation was useful to the Lake Poets, a fact of which Longman was well aware: the advertisements at the end of *Lyrical Tales* list Southey's *Poems*, the two-volume *Annual Anthology* (Coleridge had requested Robinson's inclusion), the as-yet unpublished second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, Coleridge's *Poems* 1797, etc.

Jackson, *Romantic poetry by women*, p. 278; Johnson, *Provincial poetry*, 770. Ashley J. Cross, 'From Lyrical Ballads to Lyrical Tales: Mary Robinson's Reputation and the Problem of Literary Debt', *Studies in Romanticism* 40: 4 (2001); Jonathan Wordsworth, *Ancestral Voices: Fifty books from the Romantic Period* (1991).



Court gossip in verse

66. [SATIRE.] 'A Letter to Julian'. c. October, 1685.

Folio manuscript, 4 pages, on a bifolium, in a neat hand; creased where folded else in very good condition.

£350*

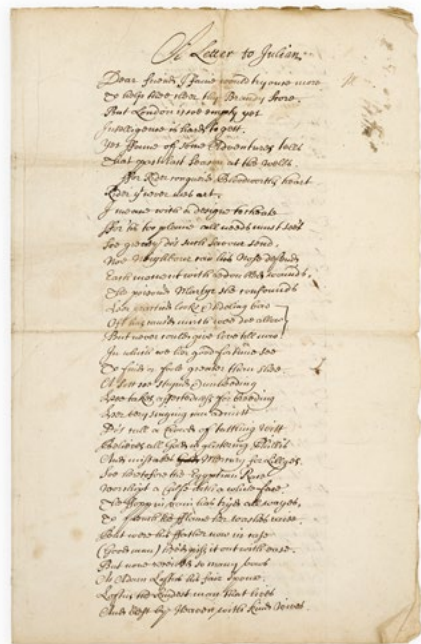
An attractive scribal copy of a 'shotgun libel' in verse, drawing attention to the scandals of the season at Tunbridge Wells and in London society. Captain Robert Julian had been imprisoned for a libel against Charles II in 1684–5; a number of verse satires of the time were addressed to him, possibly by the same unidentified author.

Here his targets are the intrigues of various married court ladies and the beaux they have attracted – e.g. Thomas Budworth, 'A sott soe stupid & unheeding / Hee takes affectedness for breeding, / Her very singing can admit, / Do's call a Crowd of tattling Witt'. The second wife of Adam Loftus (a Catholic favourite of James II) has been courted by both the 7th Duke of Norfolk and Viscount Cholmondeley; while Lord Berkeley 'follows stuttering Brathwayt' – the writer warns that 'Women of quality despise / A man that ogles with sore Eyes', and suggests he keep 'to your old trade / Of common whore and Chambermaid.'

The Earl of Arran may aim to be 'a first rate Fopp', but 'Of all the Travell'd Youth none dare / With Newberry [Newburgh] vie for the Bell Air. / Hee's so French in all his ways, / Loves, dresses, swears, a la Francaise ...'. Meanwhile 'her little Grace', the wife of the Duke of Grafton, 'whose charms lye onely in her face' has taken for a lover 'Antiquated Dover / Long since drain'd by her Husbands Mother', and they go together masked to Bartholomew Fair.

True or libellous, this is all the season has been able to provide, but the winter should 'prove more kind / For those that wait are sure to find / In Bettertons or Trevors House [i.e. on the stage or in the House of Commons] / Matters much more ridiculous.'

See John Harold Wilson, *Court Satires of the Restoration* (1976) pp. 141–148, dating the composition to the autumn of 1685 on internal evidence. The source text printed there (Harleian MS 7319, p. 405) differs in several places from the version here.



A 'Rogue' adapts Boccaccio for the stage

67. SHARPHAM, Edward. Cupids whirligig. As it hath bene Sundrie times acted, by the Children of his Majesties Revels. London, Imprinted by Tho: Creede, and Ber: Alsop, and are to be solde by Arthur Johnson ... 1616.

Small 4to, pp. [80]; title-page is slightly shaved, just touching the first word at the top, and slightly trimming the date at the bottom; a few leaves in the text shaved at the bottom, with the loss of an occasional catchword or signature mark; withal a very good copy in full dark blue crushed morocco, gilt, by Riviere; booklabel of Kenneth Rapoport.

£6000

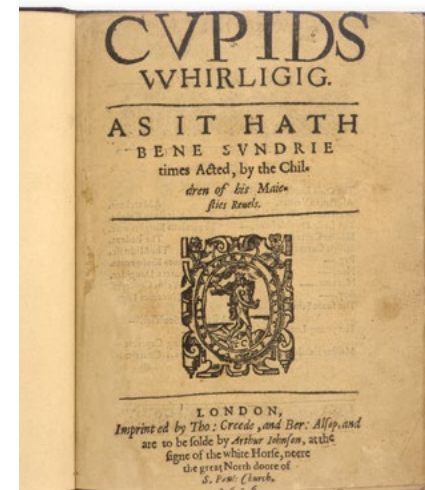
Third edition of an early Jacobean comedy based upon a tale in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, with a contemporary London setting. A satire parodying Lyly and influenced by Marston, it is almost entirely in colloquial prose, with a few passages in verse, and was first performed, and printed, in 1607 – shortly afterwards Sharpham died of the plague.

The characters include Old Lord Nonsuch and Young Lord Nonsuch, Alderman Venter, Sir Timothy Troublesome and wife (and her kinswoman Peg), Master and Mistress Correction, Master Exhibition, a Welsh courtier named Nucome, and four scholars. Amusingly, the early eighteenth-century literary antiquary **Thomas Coxeter once ascribed this play to Shakespeare, upon the authority of 'an old bookseller'**. Furnivall, in his *Allusions to Shakespeare* (1886), does refer to this play as illustrating passages in *Romeo and Juliet*. But Sharpham's authorship is secure.

Sharpham (1576–1608), also wrote another play called *The Fleire* (1607), which was acted at Blackfriars in 1605–6, and on several other occasions, by the children of the revels (as was the present play). Schooled in Devon, he was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1594 but never kept chambers. He 'must have associated with inns of court literary circles, but documentary evidence of his activities is lacking. Ben Jonson called Sharpham a "rogue" (Ben Jonson, 1.133), but he may still be the "E. S." who wrote a commendatory poem for Jonson's *Volpone* (1607)' (*Oxford DNB*). He was also probably the author of a 'coney-catching' tract entitled *The Discoverie of the Knights of the Poste* (1597).

This is a rare play in any form: this copy, last handled by us in 1997, is the only copy of any edition to have appeared at auction the last sixty years. Of the first edition nine copies are known (one imperfect), of the second edition (1611) seven; and of the present printing there are eight copies in six locations: British Library (imperfect), Guildhall, Bodleian (3 copies, one imperfect), Folger, Boston Public Library, and Illinois; plus fragments at Huntington and the V&A.

STC 22382.



Mont Blanc, Pompei, China (and dancing Mummies)

68. SMITH, Albert. A large archive of printed and manuscript material, including drafts of shows and lectures, including portions of *Mont Blanc*, *Mont Blanc to China* etc, poetry, dramatic pieces, a juvenile poem, letters to his sister Laura, a copy of his will, etc. [1820s to 1860s.]

Condition variable but generally good, some portions tightly folded or rolled, some secured with a pin or stitched, many loose.

£15,000*

Albert Richard Smith (1816–1860) trained as a surgeon but shortly afterwards turned to the world of letters, becoming a regular contributor to *Bentley's Miscellany* and *Punch*; he adapted works by his friend Dickens for the theatre and edited *The Man in the Moon* (1847–9). 'During the course of his career Smith published nearly thirty books. His novels, more notable for their wit than their plots, enjoyed modest commercial success but little critical acclaim ... Smith became best known, however, for his entertaining lectures about his travels in the 1850s.' He journeyed to Constantinople and Egypt in 1849 and ascended Mont Blanc in 1851, both of which became the subject of shows. *Mont Blanc* was a runaway success, running for 6 years (and 2000 performances), and was even performed before the Queen in 1854. It earned Smith a fortune in merchandise; it also established the peak as a major tourist destination at a time it was still infrequently climbed. In between each season he would travel to the Alps, taking a different route, in search of new content and exhibits for his shows. In 1854 for example his route to Chamonix took in Holland and Germany not France, and in 1856 he travelled via Genoa, Naples, Pompei and Capri. Seeking more exotic material, in 1858 Smith went to Hong Kong. The result of this last journey was *Mont Blanc to China*, which combined all his famous shows into one blockbuster. This series was cut short by his death of bronchitis in May 1860.

The present archive is a fascinating one, spanning Smith's whole career, with a few pieces relating to other members of his family. The earliest item is some touching autograph 'Verses written ... at the time he was in affliction and crying. 24 Miles from his dear Mama and home' (c. 1826?), when he was sent to board at Merchant Taylor's School at the age of ten. The last are copies of his will and the sale notice for his house North End Lodge in Fulham in 1860; and the printed *In Memoriam* for his brother and business partner Arthur Smith in 1861.

The main body of the archive though comprises more than 45 autograph drafts (or partial drafts) for scenes from Smith shows, some present in multiple versions, and most showing evidence of the extensive process of revision that Smith undertook as he performed then re-used material – there are collages of printed cuttings and manuscripts, carbon copies,

sections cut out and new portions inserted, and loose scraps of notes. Many contain instructions for staging and for the music to be played at certain points of the action.

Contents include:

Shows

The Ascent of Mont Blanc 1857 – scripts for new scenes describing his visits Pompei, Naples, Malta and Capri as well as chapter in Chamonix (in total 60+ leaves); an issue of *The Mont Blanc Gazette* for 1858.

Mont Blanc to China: a printed programme, draft manuscripts (with heavy editing) of Part I sections 1–4 (complete), and Part II section, 1–5, some fragmentary, section 1 in two drafts. Also 'China (second season)' (in total 50+ leaves).

Other dramatic pieces and prose

'Anthony and Cleopatra'. A curious pageant featuring a conversation between Osiris, a mummy, and the comedian Robert Keeley (Smith's father-in-law). **With the fantastic line 'The mummies join awkwardly in the dance'....**

'The Water of Life'. Scenes 1, 3 (fragile and fragmentary) and 4 of an unidentified piece featuring King Pantagruel, Prince Fastiman, Prince Prettyman, and Princess Amy. At one point they travel in a 'steam nautilus'. Carbon copies.

"'Tell Truth and shame the –!'" (A supernatural interlude, in one act)'

'The Pedigree of a Petticoat'.

'The Gentleman who feared he was not believed', two drafts.

Several interludes involving a Yankee, and others featuring the travellers Brown Senior and Junior (recurring characters in the shows).

Poetry

'Verses written ... at the time he was in affliction and crying. 24 Miles from his dear Mama and home' (c. 1826?).

'The Table d'Hôte'. Written on the blank versos of four copies of *The Destruction of Chamouni by Fire* 1858, a leaflet printed by Smith soliciting subscription funds in aid of the inhabitants.

'The Mediterranean Steamer'.

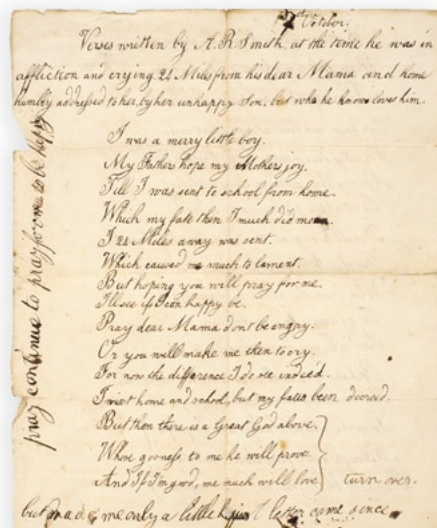
A packet of verse written on cards, mostly political in nature.

Personal material

Autograph letter to his sister Laura Eady, December 1859, inviting his nephew for a visit 'during the pantomimes'.

Letters to Laura Smith (later Eady) from Richard Smith (father, d. 1857), c. 1820–30; Eliza Frances Smith (sister), 1838; and Harriet Boileau (several, London and India, 1840).

Conduct book of Eliza Frances Smith August 1–28, 1832. A charming juvenile behaviour diary: eg. Sunday 5. 'Was shockingly tiresome – suppose it was because of the sad wet day. 6. Worried sadly & was so irritable I was obliged to be beaten but was much bitten by gnats & itched which I think was the cause'.



Handwritten notes on lined paper, some with blue ink and others in black ink. The text is dense and appears to be a collection of letters or a journal.

Richmond
M.L.S.
Lyncey

Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

My Dear Laura
I have just
received the letter of the
14th inst. and am
glad to hear that you
are all well. I hope
you will soon be
able to visit me.

Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

WALTER T. SPENCER
BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.



Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

Sarkis Family Bldg.

Albion Smith's Album

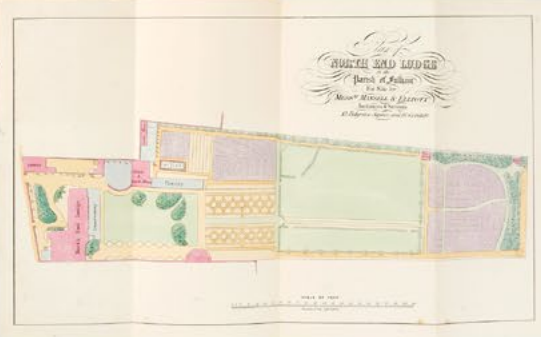
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Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.



Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

MONT BLANO
CHINA
PART II - THE TOWNS
Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

Reduced £3 per Cent. Annuities.
Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

PART II - CHINA
CITY AND HARBOUR OF VICTORIA, HONG KONG.
A WATERSIDE HOUSE, HONG KONG.
THE ROOF FORTS ON THE CANTON RIVER.
THE OLD EUROPEAN FACTORIES AT CANTON.
HONGKING GARDEN, NEW CANTON.

Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

Handwritten notes on a piece of paper, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

Presentation copy

69. SMITH, Albert. Marguerite de Bourgogne. A Tradition of ancient Paris ... London: Richard Bentley ... 1845.

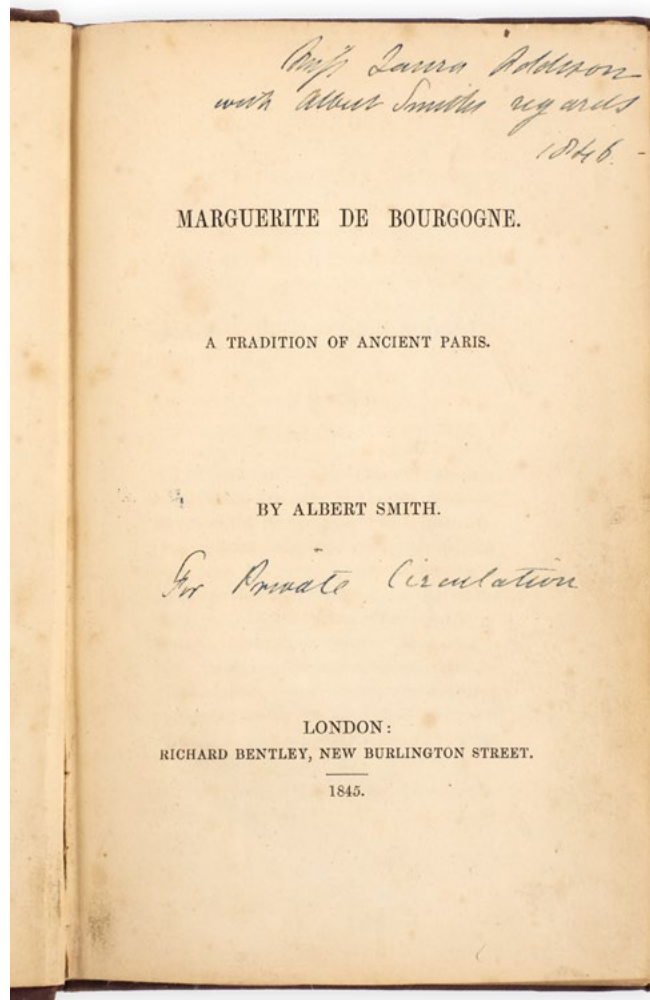
8vo, pp. [4], [61]–175, [1], with a half-title; some scattered foxing, but a very good copy in the original blind-stamped purple cloth, spine and edges sunned; authorial presentation inscription to title-page to 'Miss Laura Addison', and the phrase 'For private Circulation' added in manuscript.

£500

First separate edition, printed for private circulation and very rare, comprising a portion (though complete in itself) of Smith's three-decker *The Adventures* [or *Fortunes*] of the *Scattergood Family* (1845), with a new half-title and title-page.

Laura Addison is presumably the actress of that name who made her stage debut in 1843, played opposite Macready and Kean, and died suddenly in America in 1852.

Not in Library Hub; OCLC locates four copies: Huntington, UC Santa Barbara, Louisville; and Queensland.



So good they named it thrice

70. TAYLOR, Jeremy [and Brian DUPPA]. A Choice Manual, containing what is to be believed, practised, and desired or praied for; the Praiers being fitted to the several days of the Week. Also several festival Hymns, according to the Manner of the ancient Church. Composed for the Use of the devout, especially of younger Person ... London, Printed for R. Royston ... 1669.

12mo, pp. [18], 183, [3, blank], with a half-title ('The Golden Grove', A1, engraved portrait to verso), and an additional engraved title-page ('The Guide of Infant-Devotion'); 'A Guide for the Penitent' has a separate title-page, pagination and register continuous; dampstain towards the end, else a very good copy in contemporary mottled calf, joints slight rubbed.

£600

Extremely rare later edition of Jeremy Taylor's *The Golden Grove* (first 1655). *The Golden Grove*, named after the seat of the Earl of Carbery, Taylor's patron, 'was equal in popularity with Taylor's other works during this century. It is also interesting because it eventually contained all of his original poems, as opposed to his translations and paraphrases. There are twenty-three in this edition' (Gathorne-Hardy and Williams). The fifth edition of 1664 was the 'first of what might be called the popular editions of the book which, as will be seen, has now got three titles' – *The Golden Grove*, *The Guide of Infant-Devotion* and *A Choice Manual*. It was also the first to add the portrait of Taylor and the *Guide for the Penitent* by Brian Duppa, which had first appeared separately in 1660.

The edition of 1669 is unique in having the poems, 'Festival Hymns', printed after the 'Guide for the Penitent', and is very rare: **ESTC and Gathorne-Hardy & Williams record one copy only (Gathorne-Hardy).**

Gathorne-Hardy & Williams, 22G; Wing T291aA.



An erotic secret society

71. [WEBB, Francis?]. 'On the Origin, Antiquity, Mature and Obligations of the ancient and honorable Society of the Squa's.' [Gravesend, 1770s?]

4to manuscript, ff [20] in pen and pencil on vellum largely in a single neat italic hand (though some pages suggest several contributors), concealed within a blank book; deletions, corrections and additions in Webb's hand; a few stains, else in good condition, bound in contemporary reversed calf.

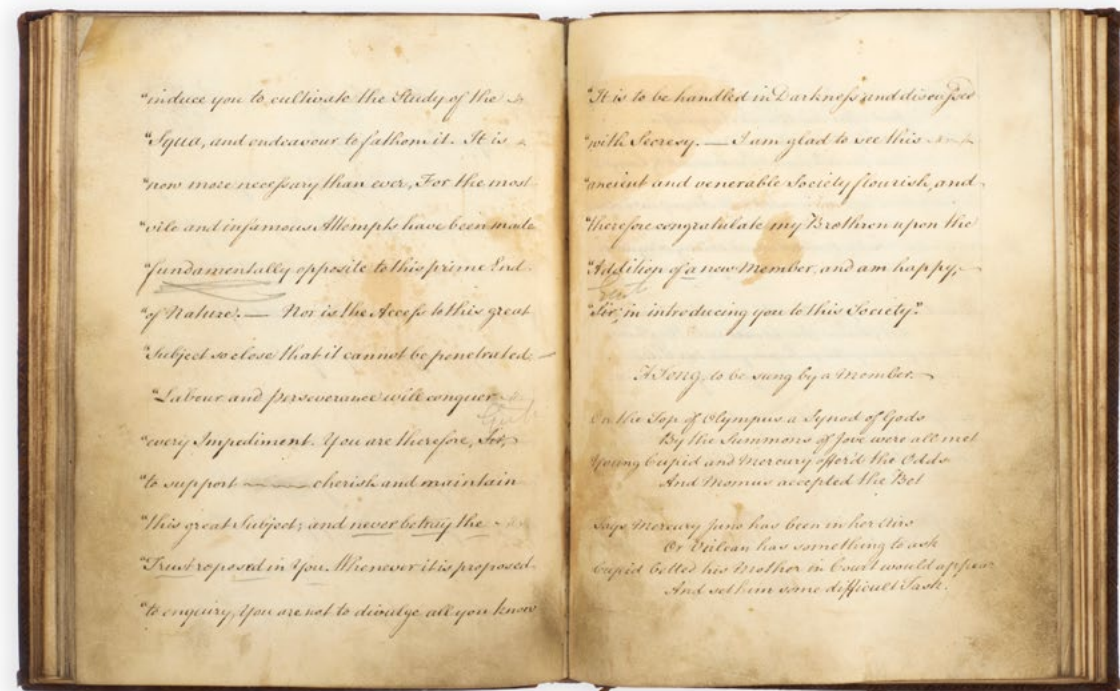
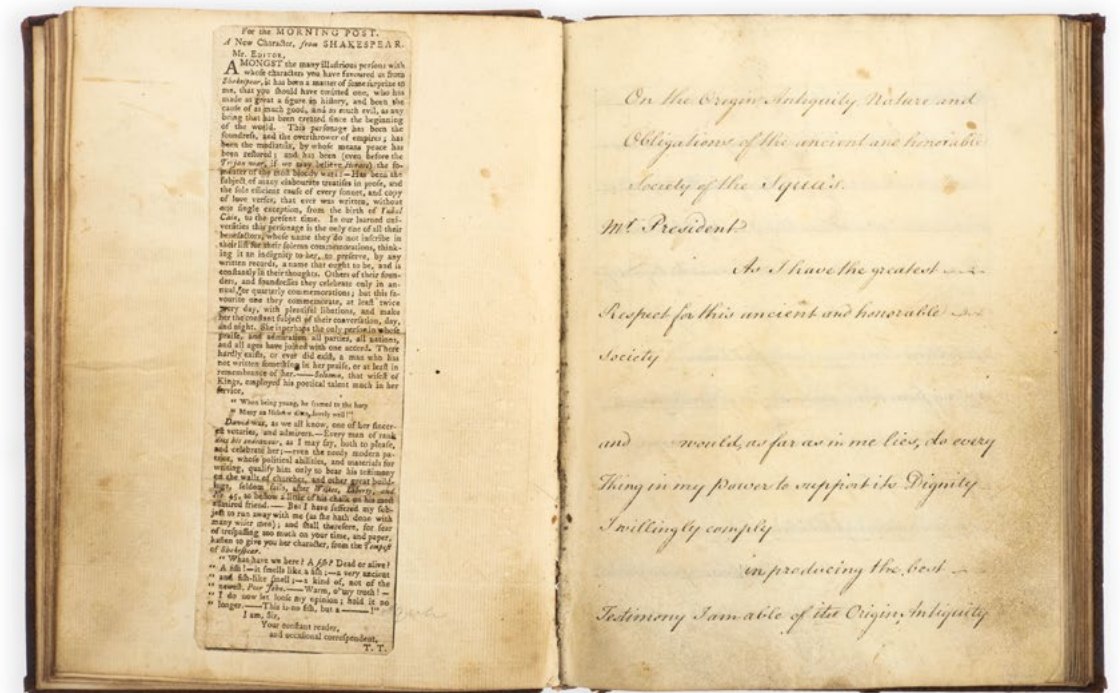
£3750

An extremely unusual English manuscript on vellum, being the supposed ancient history, oaths, and songs of a secret society founded by four friends 'on a Winter Ev'ning, at Gravesend' devoted to the worship of the 'Squa'. The word had entered English from the Mohawk in the early seventeenth century, but it is used here, stripped of any native American association and given an ancient Greek foundation myth, to mean not a woman or wife but her sexual organs (a usage we cannot trace elsewhere).

The author opens with a trope of sexual geography, the origin of the Squa being traced to Paradise, 'a little below a Hill; but it is a Hill worthy Paradise – and just above it are the Hills of Ephraim'. Helen of Troy's 'squa' was the cause of the Trojan War (the author quotes Horace: 'Cunus Causa [a]eterrima Belli'), and past members are said to include Marc Anthony and King Solomon. Many are the philosophers who have attempted 'this deep Species of learning' and tried but failed to 'fathom the Circle'. Only once was the society 'greatly injured ... when Sodom and Gomorrah were in their glory: but they were purged with Fire, and then the honourable Society flourished more than ever. I wish I could say that no Burning of any Sort had attended us since that Period, but I think it is still a Matter of Dispute ...' – presumably a reference to venereal disease.

'There is scarcely an Author of Repute who has not written on the Subject, though it is sometimes, if not always, covered with some Mystery'. While the Pythagoreans associate it with a 'bean', 'The Brachmans think it the general Centre of the World'; it is certainly to be linked to the Girdle of Venus: 'I believe every one will think with me, that whatever Cæstus [i.e. cestus] Venus wore above her Robes, that she had another beneath them of equal power and charms'.

After the 'History', the author turns to the Society itself, whose arms are 'Three conies couchant, three Cocks rampant, crested and proper'. The 'Obligations' and 'Charges' of the members are given, with several pointed references to 'vile and infamous Attempts Fundamentally opposite to this prime End of Nature', 'Fundamentally' being several times underlined to emphasise the 'abhorrence, Detestation, Hatred and Contempt' of alternative sexual practices. And at the end are two songs (one on the creation of the 'squa' by the Greek gods), and a poem on the origin of the society itself, which provides us with some biographical insights.

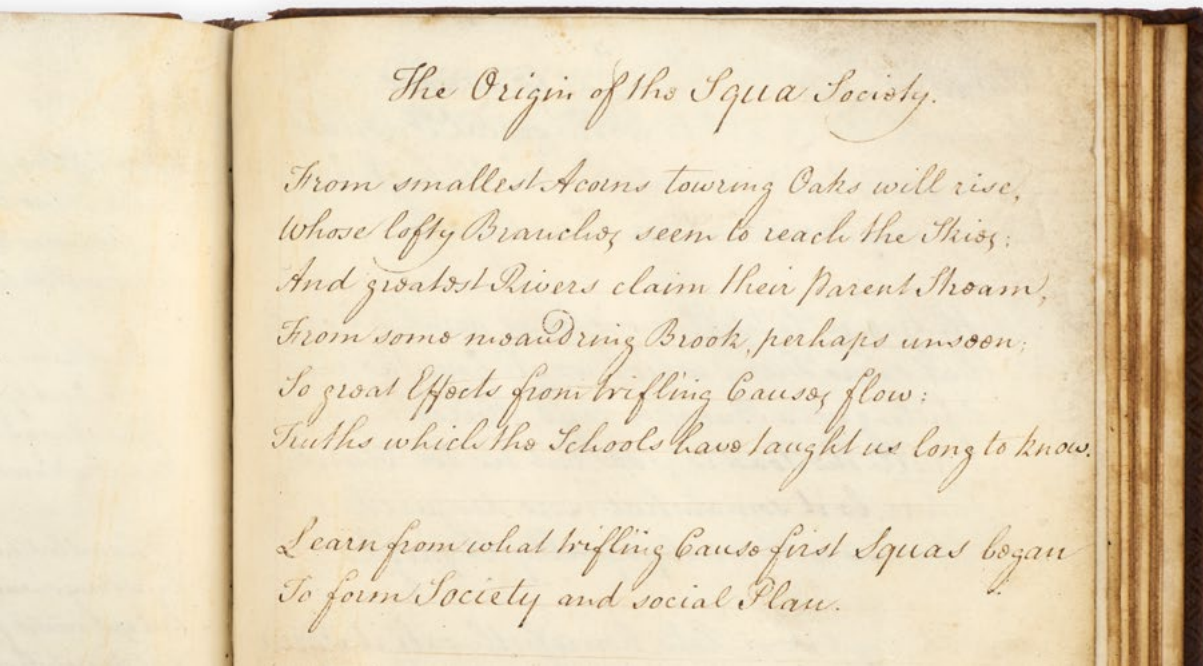


Quoth *George* to *Will* come, let us drink a Toast
 To that same Thing which we all love the most
 And filling up a Bumper cry'd Here's ____:
 Says *Will*, the Toast is good but 'tis too blunt.
 In future, be it somewhat more disguis'd
 Its Charms will surely equally be priz'd:

Agreed cry'd *Tom*, let's henceforth call it *Squa*
 And beg of *Frank* its History to draw ...

A contemporary pencil note names the protagonists as George Cooper, Dr William Parry, Thomas Masterson and Francis Webb. Given the references to Gravesend, we think that the author is certainly Francis Webb (1735–1815), a dissenting minister and writer (including of poetry) who resigned his pulpit in 1766 to become deputy searcher of customs at Gravesend, a post he held until 1777 – the main text is not in his hand but the corrections appear to be. The work is perhaps out of character, though the 'parade of classical learning, that even his admiring obituarist found at times obscure' (*Oxford DNB*) is certainly to be seen here. George Cooper is possibly the surgeon and magistrate (1728–1798), who also lived at Gravesend; and could Parry be the Congregational minister (1754–1819) who in the mid 1770s 'preached with success at Gravesend in Kent, and declined an invitation from the church there' (*DNB archive*)?

It seems unlikely that the 'Society' was much more than a squib, but the care in the production of the present manuscript, including the unusual employment of vellum, the manner in which it is bound surreptitiously within a blank book, and the evidence of editorial changes, all suggest some degree of commitment to the topic.

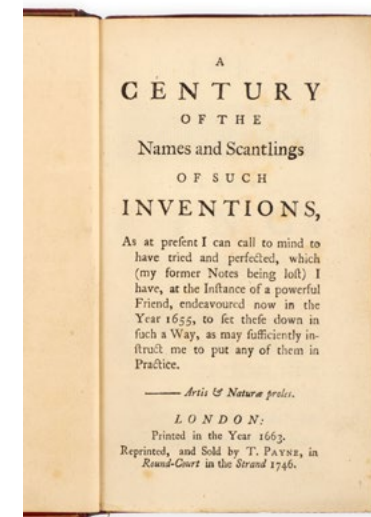


An early steam-engine

72. WORCESTER, Edward Somerset, *Marquess of*. A Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Inventions, as at present I can call to Mind to have tried and perfected, which (my former Notes being lost) I have, at the Instance of a powerful Friend, endeavoured now in the Year 1655, to set these down in such a Way, as may sufficiently instruct me to put any of them in Practice ... London: Printed in the Year 1663. Reprinted, and sold by T. Payne ... 1746.

12mo, pp. xxx, 94, [2, advertisements]; a fine copy in early nineteenth-century red straight-grain morocco by Charles Hering, with his ticket, covers panelled in gilt and blind, spine tooled in compartments, part-morocco pastedowns; mark of ownership on B1 of Philip Bliss, for whom the work was probably bound; bookplate of Charles Barclay (1780–1855); a pencil note suggests this was bought at the 'D. of Marlborough's sale £1 1 –'.

£750



Second edition of a charming catalogue of inventions claimed to have been 'tried and perfected' by the royalist 2nd Marquess of Worcester (1601–1667), first published in 1663.

Banished in 1649 and then imprisoned in 1653, on his release Worcester set up an establishment at Vauxhall to work on his inventions, employing the Dutch(?) engineer (and former gunsmith to Charles I) Kaspar Kalthoff, who had been at work on steam engines since at least the 1630s.

The most significant of these was no. 68, an 'admirable and most forcible way to drive up Water by Fire', a sort of prototype steam-engine, which was seen and admired by Cosimo de' Medici and Samuel Sorbière, but dismissed by Hooke as a perpetual motion fantasy. Worcester, subject of much myth-making since, was supposedly buried with it, but a gruesome Victorian exhumation revealed no such machine.

Also suggested, but with insufficient detail, are a machine 'to make a man fly; which I have tried with a little Boy of ten years old in a Barn'; a calculator; various automata; a floating garden on the Thames; universal languages employing silk knots, gloves, bracelets, the holes in a sieve, and, the mind boggles, smell; and what sounds like a limpet mine.

The antiquary and book collector Philip Bliss (1787–1857) became an assistant at the Bodleian in 1808; he 'assembled a substantial library, much of it related to his biographical and bibliographical researches and thus strong in books with Oxford connections, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English poets, and works by 'royal and noble authors' ... His books bear the discreet ownership mark of a 'P' written before the printed signature 'B', with a two-digit year of purchase following' (*Oxford DNB*). Bliss bought this copy in 1808; some of the books of the 5th Duke of Marlborough, removed from Blenheim, were sold in Oxford in 1840, and Bliss was a buyer at the sale, though this must have passed in the opposite direction, and thence to Barclay.

(xxiv)

7. *To hold the same by Night.*
8. *To level Cannons by Night.*
9. *A Ship-destroying Engine.*
10. *How to be fasten'd from
A-loof and under Water.*
11. *How to prevent both.*
12. *An unsinkable Ship.*
13. *False destroying Decks.*
14. *Multiplied Strength in
little Room.*
15. *A Boat driving against
Wind and Tide.*
16. *A Sea-sailing Fort.*
17. *A pleasant floating Gar-
den.*
18. *An Hour-glass Foun-
tain.*
19. *A Coach-saving Engine.*
20. *A Balance Water-work.*
21. *A Bucket Fountain.*

22. *An*

(xxv)

22. *An ebbing and flowing
River.*
23. *An ebbing and flowing
Castle Clock.*
24. *A Strength-encreasing
Spring.*
25. *A double drawing En-
gine for Weights.*
26. *A to and fro Lever.*
27. *A most easy level Draught*
28. *A portable Bridge.*
29. *A moveable Fortification.*
30. *A rising Bulwark.*
31. *An approaching Blinde.*
32. *An universal Character.*
33. *A Needle Alphabet.*
34. *A knotted String Alpha-
bet.*
35. *A Fringe Alphabet.*
36. *A Bracelet Alphabet.*

Æs. 37. *A*



and activity began to add charms to beauty - with grace and dignity, they performed the nimble movements excited by the lively airs. I was requested to make a short speech, and to dance the warrior's dance - the first I danced the flab, and then the Mishwathige dance, with all of which, I had the happiness to please my friends. Afterwards, on a young lady undertaking to teach me the European dance, I got up, and began to move as well as I could, and I do not know how I performed; but this I know, that I felt very happy in dancing with such partners and ^{to} such enchanting music - As in this life we always think our portion of happiness to be of short duration, so did I find it now, for ~~before~~ ^{it appeared} to be past midnight, before I thought we had been any time together, and we retired.