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CATALOGUE
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INDIA / PERSIAN GULF – GOA
PORTUGUESE-OMANI RIVALRY
PIRACY - HIGHLY IMPORTANT MSS.

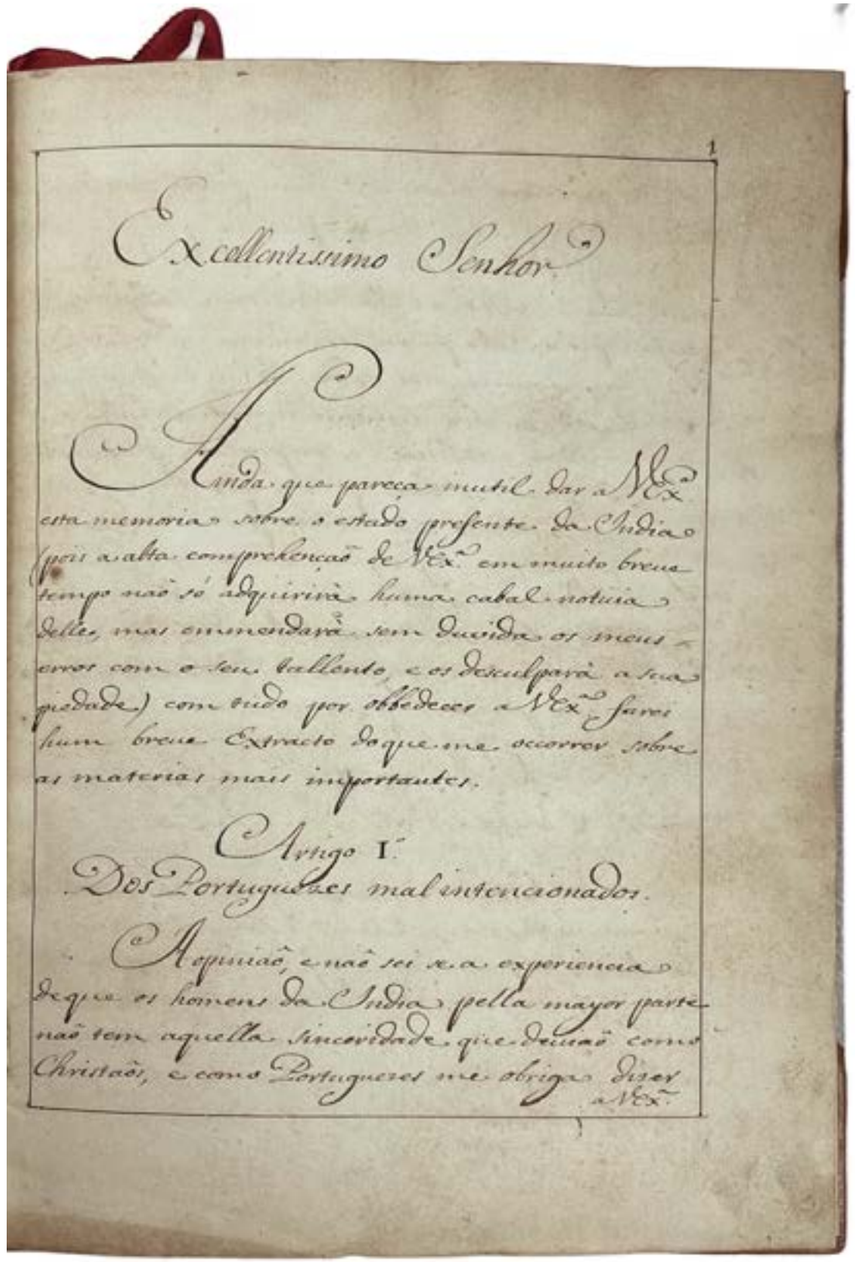
No. 1

Luís Carlos Inácio Xavier de MENESES, 5th Conde da ERICEIRA (later 1st Marquês de LOURIÇAL) (1689 – 1742).
[Relatório sobre o Estado da Índia]. "Excelentíssimo Senhor… memória sobre o estado presente da India...".
Manuscript, 1720.

4° (29.5 x 21.5 cm): Manuscript, 83 pp. (on 42 ff.), [8 pp. index (on 4 ff.)], black pen and ink on fine laid paper, modern endpapers, bound in fine mid-20th century half tan calf over grey cloth, spine with elaborate blind-stamped and gilt tooling and black title (Excellent condition, remarkably clean and crisp, just the odd minor stain or small points of light toning, light even toning to first page, binding with only light shelf-wear).

Exceedingly important and intriguing, being the manuscript 'Relatório', or official memoir of the state of Portuguese India (Goa, etc.) and its dependencies (Macau, Mozambique, East Timor, etc.) written by Luís Carlos Inácio Xavier de Meneses, 5th Conde da Ericeira (later 1st Marquês de Louriçal), the Viceroy of Portuguese India who was hailed as "the greatest of the rulers of the East in the first half of the eighteenth century", addressed to the de facto colonial minister at the end of his dramatic and triumphant first viceregal term (1717-20), it presents the ultimate 'Insider's View' of such fascinating topics as Ericeira's audacious efforts to counter the pirate king of Western India, Kanhoji Angre; the Luso-Persian alliance's triumph over Omani forces and their corsair proxies to gain dominance over the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea; Portugal's new near-monopoly on foreign trade with China, funnelled through its base of Macau; Portugal's relations with the Forbidden City and the Jesuits in Beijing; Portugal's renewed naval presence along the East Africa's Swahili Coast; the state of Portuguese India's finances, trade, markets and public institutions and Ericeira's elaborate endeavours to control or contain regional indigenous grandees; Portugal's clever intervention in the Timorese civil war that allowed it to dominate the precious sandalwood trade; as well as 'opposition research' on Portugal's colonial competitors (Britain, France, Netherlands, Denmark, Spain and the Belgian 'Ostend Company'), along with Ericeira's adroit analysis of ongoing events and prescient recommendations for the future direction of the Portuguese Empire in Asia and East Africa - 1 of the only 2 known surviving contemporary examples of one of the most important of all the viceregal manuscript documents, an invaluable primary source capturing events in Asia and East Africa at a critical historical juncture.

14.500 EUR


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Excellentissimo Senhor

Ainda que parece inutil dar a V.Ex.ª esta memoria sobre o estado presente da India pois a alta comprehençaõ de V.Ex.ª em muito breue tempo naõ só adquirirá huma cabal noticia delles, mas emmendará sem duuida os meus erros com o seu talento, e os desculpará a sua piedade) com tudo por obbedecer a V.Ex.ª farei hum breue Extracto daquelle me occorrer sobre as materias mais importantes.

Artigo I.º
Dos Portuguezes mal intencionados.

Aquisiaõ, e naõ sei se a experiencia de que os homens da India pella mayor parte naõ tem aquella sinceridade que deuiaõ como Christaõs, e como Portuguezes me obriga dizer a V.Ex.ª

Goa, in Western India, was conquered by Portugal in 1510 and quicky rose to become one of the most important trading centres in Asia and the anchor of Christianity on the continent, as well as the nucleus of a vast maritime empire with outposts extending from Mozambique to Japan, while dominating a good part of coastal India. Its global importance prevailed until the early 17th century, when it declined due to Dutch and English efforts to progressively dismember Portugal's overseas empire during the period when Portugal suffered under Spanish rule (1580-1640).

By the latter part of the 17th century, Goa remained an important economic and cultural centre, but its influence had much receded, for its remaining Indian dependencies were relatively minor (a few tiny coastal enclaves and islands along the coasts of today's Maharashtra and Gujarat), and while it still had auspices over Mozambique, Macau and East Timor, these lands were a far cry from its former empire. Moreover, Goa's size was then much smaller than its modern form, as the enclave consisted of only the Ilha de Goa and the adjacent provinces of Salcete (to the south) and Bardez (to the north). The surrounding areas were controlled by local states who were then in the process of joining the Maratha Confederacy (or Empire), a potent and well led Hindu state based in Pune (Maharashtra), founded in 1674, that rose to dominate Western India, taking advantage of the decline of Mughal power.

During the Maratha-Portuguese War of 1683-4, Portugal managed to fend off Maratha invasions of the peripheral areas of Goa and its dependencies along the Konkan Coast. However, in the power vacuum that followed the death of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, the Marathas' ambitions were renewed, and they would eventually re-set their sights upon conquering Portuguese India.

Meanwhile, Portuguese India faced another, potentially existential, threat in the form of Maratha-backed pirates, who suffocated Portuguese shipping in the Indian Ocean. Not only was this ruining Portuguese commerce but it also starved Portuguese India of military resources by severing it from the mother country, making it a sitting duck for Maratha attacks.

If these travails were not enough, the Portuguese were also beset by attacks from Omani naval forces and their pirate proxies, based both in their home region and out of certain ports in Gujarat.

Enter Luís de Menezes, the Conde da Ericeira (Marquez de Louriçal): The Man who Twice Saved Portugal's Eastern Empire

Luís Carlos Ignacio Xavier de Menezes (1689 - 1742), the 5th Conde da Ericeira (from 1740 the 1st Marquez de Louriçal) was aptly described by the eminent 20th century historian Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão as "the greatest of the rulers of the East in the first half of the eighteenth century".

He served two heroic terms, almost 20 years apart, as the Viceroy of Portuguese India (1717-21 and 1740-2). During his first tenure, he decisively defeated the Omani pirates, restoring Portuguese authority in the Indian Ocean, while during his second term, he saved Goa from being conquered by the Marathas.

The Conde da Ericeira was born into an esteemed noble family. Of uncommon intellect, as a child he amazed his tutors with his incredible virtuosity with languages, geography, philosophy, history and science. Entering the army, he fought with great distinction during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), rising to the rank of Brigadier General and becoming a favourite of King Dom João V (reigned 1706-50).

In response to the dire threat posed to Goa, etc. by the Marathas, Omanis and pirates, in 1717, the king appointed the Conde da Ericeira, then only aged 27, as the Viceroy of Portuguese India. Despite his youth, Ericeira was already a highly experienced battle commander and leader of men, with a very serious demeanour.

The Conde de Ericeira arrived in Goa on October 9, 1717, to find that the coasts of Portuguese India were being harried by a large Omani pirate fleet of 15 ships. While the Conde seldom led military campaigns in the field as Viceroy, his great achievement was perfectly marshalling his colony's limited resources to defeat much larger enemy forces. He was also an inspiring leader, who always got the best efforts out of his men.

Ericeira dispatched Admiral Dom Lopo José de Almeida, Portugal's highly rated naval commander in the Indian Ocean, to lead a fleet of only five ships to rid the area of the Omani pirate threat. Almeida successfully blockaded Surat, the main Indian port used by the Omani pirates, and at the end of 1717 he sailed towards the port of Porpatan (today Prabhas Patan), on the coast of Gujarat, near Diu. The heavily fortified town was technically supposed to be a Portuguese tributary, paying an annual fee of 2,000 xerafins to Goa, but as of late it had stopped paying tribute and was hosting Omani pirates.

Almeida demanded that Porpotan's leaders immediately pay all back tribute money, plus, agreeing to expel all Omani pirates. This demand was not answered, and on December 31, 1717, Almeida began to attack the town, eventually sacking and burning it the ground, while killing 1,500 of its defenders. He left the scene carrying 38,000 xerafins in booty (a very large sum).

Meanwhile, the Shah of Persia had suffered a series of military setbacks in the Persian Gulf, losing Bahrain to local Arab forces and some of the ports on the north side of the Strait of Hormuz to the Omanis, notably the key harbour of Bandar-e Kong. The Shah sent word to the Conde de Ericeira, asking to form an alliance against Oman. The Viceroy enthusiastically agreed to this overture, and dispatched Admiral de Almeida to the Persian Gulf. During a series of difficult battles fought over several months, in 1718, Almeida's fleet decisively defeated the Omanis, restoring Portuguese authority over the northern side of the Strait of Hormuz, while securing Portuguese trading rights in the greater region.

Following Almeida's campaign, Portuguese India was now safe from Omani pirate attacks, at least for the foreseeable future.

Meanwhile, further afield, in the Indonesian Archipelago, in 1718, forces under the Conde de Ericeira's oversight based in East Timor successfully intervened in a civil war on the island of Sumba (famous for sandalwood), making it a Portuguese protectorate (as it had been during parts of the 16th and 17th centuries).

Ericeira also dramatically increased the Portuguese presence along the coast East Africa, setting the groundwork for Portugal to later (albeit briefly) retake the key East African base of Mombasa, Kenya, from the Omanis, in 1728-9 (the Omanis had seized Mombasa from Portugal in 1699).

The Conde de Ericeira departed Goa early in 1721, succeeded as Viceroy by Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro (1675 – 1723). Ericiera was universally lauded as one of the most successful leaders in the long history of the Portuguese presence in Asia, an amazing achievement, especially as his victories were accomplished with very meagre resources.

However, while sailing across the Indian Ocean on the way back to Lisbon, Ericeira's ship was (ironically) attacked and seized by pirates. While the assailants robbed the Conde of his possessions, they fortunately did not assault his person and dropped him off at the Île de Bourbon (Réunion), from where he returned to Portugal aboard a commercial vessel.

Once in Europe, the Conde de Ericeira dedicated much of his time to academic pursuits, interacting with several of the greatest minds in Portugal and France.

However, when Goa came under existential threat due to Maratha attacks during the late 1730s, Dom João V summoned Ericeira out of retirement to, once again, serve as the Viceroy of Portuguese India, while promoting him to become the 1st Marquês de Louriçal.

Arriving in India in May 1741, the Marquês put up a

Emergencia que tem governado nella.

A Cidade he defendida por sinco fortalezas bem governadas de excellente artelharia cada huma com seu Governador particular que estão todos debaixo de hum General com as poucas guarnições como asima fica que ja fiz menção.

Artigo XXVI.

Do Senado da Camara de Macáo.

O Senado da Camara Leguem tem ordenado Polizia, Coreu Procuradores tem concedido exercicio que o Porto del Rey nas cidades Fortalezas pois a Cidade he quem paga aguarnição Ecclesiastica as Fortalezas somente os Almazens. Os Pautas Seglares em Macáo vão a grande distancia não permitir que o V. Rey da India as aqui envie Os mais capazes para Summas ocupaçoens tanto mais importantes q. as Dos de mais Cennados, assim são perjudiciaes as Macáenses aquelles inspiciones Mandões Juizes pois alli são detentores daquelles Causas Negocios publicos e particulares cuja Mente tirania ultrajam este Porto vaõ Se cauno emque Senni de alteração comporta De Semens Do Mar q. ali Capazes Ha vendo alguns outros que Mais Digna Mente podecem Servir esta Occupaçáo. Porcuja Se gouos Se Omessa Se conveniente que V. Ex.ª cuide muito em Dar as ordens necessarias para que Seruitens dantes abuzos que

General as faça executar. Adesunião dos Mo-
radores daquella Cidade Se tão antiqua como a sua fundação como Se
Se que Vierem da Corte aclara V. Ex.ª que accerca que Recebem os
Reis delay de Calumnias, ede Enveja Pello Que accontecer aparte q. se
Governam. Como accommodação
de Macáo depende inteiramente da vontade dos Mandarins Chinas por
q. Secretos não querem Morrerem de fome aquelles Trouxerem que
Sey Amarra q. Vem todo o seu provimento Seccas guerras Lagoa de
Sa parte toda a boa correspondencia ede Seja Contudo nunca Se possi-
vel deligencia por agradar ao V. Rey de Cantão, em Conformidade q.
Macáo ecomo Entre os Estatutos comodo Muy Leal emuy In-
dalavel de agradar Se offerecendo Muitas vezes Occasiones de
poder a Cidade das Thesouras de seu agradecimento ao V. Rey Cor-
tes Mandarins principaes.

Artigo XXVII.

Do Commercio de Macáo.

O Commercio do Vastissimo Ricasissimo Imperio da China Está estabelecido com Amplas penhas pello Emperador aos seus Vassallos Desde o Anno de 1518 em Diante corre Hoje por mãos dos Portuguezes de Macáo Sendo nesta Cidade Vem alguns Barcos Inglezes Francezes emuitos Hollandezes que Trazem



the Marquês put up a shockingly spirited resistance to the Maratha juggernaut, driving the enemy out of Goa altogether, before making a bold offensive into Maratha territory.

Tragically, it was at this point, during his ultimate moment of triumph, that the Marquês de Louriçal was struck down by a sudden illness, dying at Goa, on June 12, 1742. His design to save Goa and expand its territories was ably realized by his successor as Viceroy, Pedro Miguel de Almeida Portugal e Vasconcelos (1688 –1756), the Marquês de Castelo Novo (later the Marquês de Alorna).

THE PRESENT MANUSCRIPT IN FOCUS

Upon the conclusion of all Viceroy of Portuguese India's terms of office, they were legally required (if possible), as an explicit part of their commission, to write two different reports. One was a "Relatório" (sometimes called a "Memória", as here) addressed to the Presidente do Conselho Ultramarino (the de facto Colonial Minister), summarizing the events and actions of the outgoing Viceroy's service, and (politely) suggesting policies for the future. The second was an "Instrucção", addressed their successor as Viceroy, detailing the state of play in Portuguese India and imparting advice.

Both the Relatórios and Instrucçãos are the seminal primary sources for anyone seeking to gain an 'insider's view' of events in Portugal's Asian and East African realms. They feature vast amounts of highly sensitive intelligence and brutally candid insights, often found nowhere else, and were classified as secret, such that they were never published during their eras, save for rare, short, pre-authorize excerpts that promoted certain PR purposes, and which did not contain any classified information. These critical documents were made in only a handful of manuscript examples and circulated amongst only a very small number of VIPs in Goa and Lisbon. Most examples that were made are thought to have perished, while some Viceroy's Relatórios and Instrucçãos that are known to have been written, do not survive today, at least not in a complete or unredacted form (indeed, many Instrucçãos were destroyed during the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake). It also must be noted that far less Relatórios and Instrucçãos were written than they were Viceroys, as many holders of said office died in post.

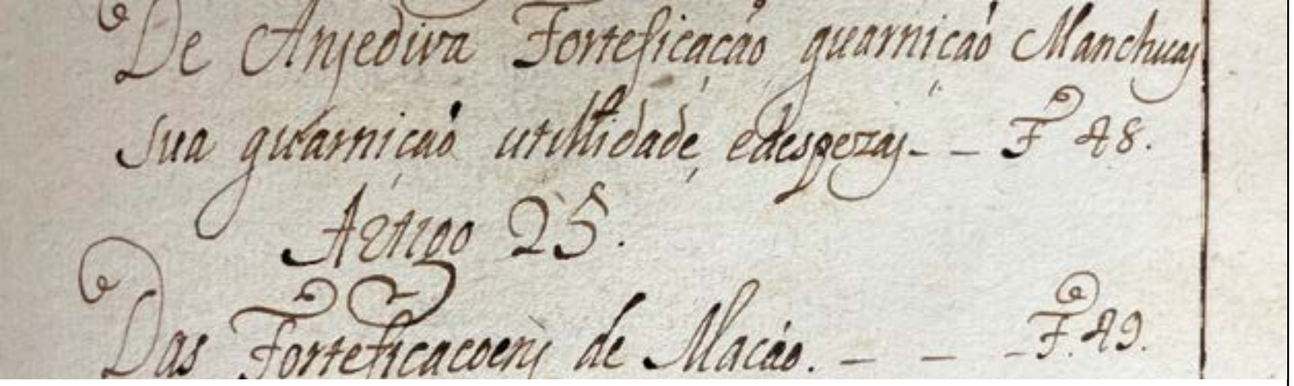
Present here is one of the only 2 known surviving contemporary examples of one of the most important of all the viceregal Relatórios, written by the most illustrious Portuguese colonial leader of his era. It is the report that Viceroy Luís Carlos Inácio Xavier de Meneses, the 5th Conde da Ericeira (later 1st Marquês de Louriçal) wrote to the Presidente do Conselho Ultramarino (who was then Luís de Melo da Silva, in office, 1719-24) upon the end of his first tenure. Written in a very neat secretarial hand and dated at Panjim (the de facto capital of Goa) on October 22, 1720, it would have been one of only a very small number of examples that would have been circulated exclusively within the highest echelon of the Portuguese government in Lisbon.

The only other known existing contemporary example of the Conde da Ericeira's Relatório is today held by the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. It appears to be the firsthand example, personally signed in Goa by the Viceroy, while the present example is an official duplicate (which importantly carried the same legal weight as its antecedent). The Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal example is of identical content, but is written in more fluid hand, please see this link courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal:

[Memorial sobre o Estado da Índia]

The Conde de Ericeira's Relatório is an unparalleled primary source on not only events in Goa proper and the other Portuguese Indian outposts (Damão, Diu, Bassein, Chaul, Anjediva Island, etc.) and its near neighbours, but also Goa's colonial dependencies (Macau, Mozambique and East Timor), as well as the Persian Gulf and the greater Indian Ocean-Far Eastern world.

Both comprehensive and meticulously detailed (with 48 articles, or sections), here Ericeira provides the ultimate 'insider's view' into such fascinating sub-


De Antecedira Fortificação guarnicão Manchuas
Sua guarnicão utilidade edespeza - - F 48.
Artigo 25.
Das Fortificacoens de Macáo. - - - F. 49.

jects as his bold efforts to combat the scourge of the attacks of the Maratha-backed pirate king Kanhoji Angre in Western India; Admiral de Almeida's triumph over the Omani fleets that secured dominance over the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea; the complexities of Luso-Persian diplomacy; Portugal's renewed naval presence along East Africa's Swahili Coast; the state of Portuguese India's finances, trade, markets and public institutions; Portugal's clever intervention in the Timorese civil war that secured its control of the valuable sandalwood trade; Portugal's new near-monopoly on foreign trade with China via its base of Macau and Portugal's relations with the Imperial Court and contacts with the Jesuits in Beijing; the Conde de Ericeira's elaborate endeavours to control or contain Indian regional grandees so as to maintain Goa's security and the crown's authority; as well as 'opposition research' on Portugal's colonial competitors (Britain, France, Netherlands, Denmark, Spain and the Belgian 'Ostend Company'); as well as a stellar overview of trade and commerce in various Portuguese outposts from Mozambique to Macau. Importantly, throughout the Conde da Ericeira provides his adroit analysis of ongoing events, explaining the rationale behind many of his (usually boldly successful) polices, while suggesting measures for the future direction of the Portuguese Empire in Asia and East Africa.

Importantly, while the present Relatório (via the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal example) had been cited by scholars, it has never been published (either in full or in significant excerpts) or comprehensively studied. It thus provides an invaluable and largely untapped resource for academic researchers to uncover a greater understanding of India, the Persian Gulf and connected places at a critical historical juncture.

A few of the many highlights from the Relatório include Artigo 34. *De Angria, Arabios de Muscate* [The Angre [Pirates] and the Arabs of Muscat] (pp. 66-7), where the Conde de Ericeira's asserts that Portuguese India has "two enemies", being "the Arabs of Muscat, and the Corsair Canogi Angria [Kanhoji Angre]", who "causes us more loss than all the others".

He continues that "The Arabs [Omanis] encounter our fleets" when they go to Surat, where the "usually come to repair his ships", especially "due to the damage they will suffer in the battles they will experience" against the Portuguese High Seas Navy. Indeed, "there is no port on the entire coast of Arabia" where the Omanis can properly repair their large vessels.

The Viceroy opines that "The best way to defeat them [the Omanis] is to try to counter them before they enter Surat" before they have a chance to "outfit their heavy ships" with "bombs" and "horses" and to load up "with other goods".

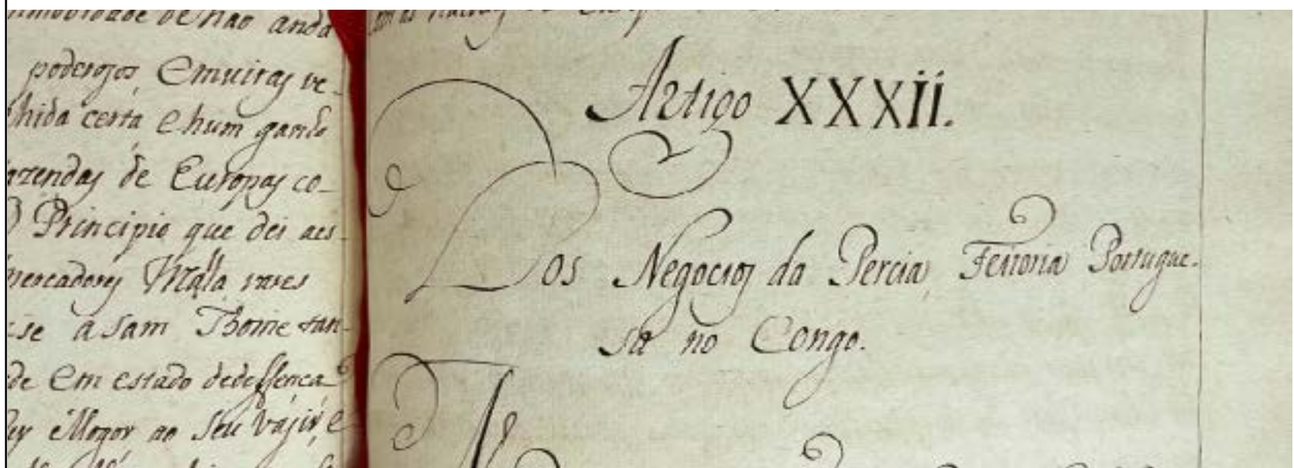
In Artigo 35. *De Angria Projectos sobre a forma de o destrubir* [Of the Angre Pirates' Endeavours and How to Destroy Them], (pp. 67-70) it in said that the Angria Dynasty of Pirates, then led by Admiral Kanhoji Angre, has due to "our negligence [been] allowed to become powerful". Recently, the Angria pirates damaged the fleet of Captain Luís da Costa. As the English in Bombay hold the Angria pirates as a "common enemy", there has long been much talk of forming a Luso-British alliance to combat said scourge. The forces of Kanhoji Angre are a stubborn enemy, and the Viceroy recommends to the Presidente do Conselho Ultramarino that "if Your Excellency decides to attack the Angria region, it must be in a manner sufficient to ruin the entire jurisdiction" under their control, even at great cost to our assets, as "such are the spirits and fortunes of this Corsair".

While Portugal no longer possesses any bases on the Coromandel (southeastern) coast of India, this region should not be ignored. In Artigo 31. *De S. Thoma na costa do Choromandel Projeto p.a o seu aumento* [Of San Thome on the Cormandel Coast and the Project to Augment our Presence there] (pp. 58-63), he discusses the Catholic mission and cathedral San Thome (near Madras), which was originally founded by the Portuguese in the 1520s. The Conde de Ericeira reasons that this can be used as a base for the Portuguese to access the ultra-lucrative diamond trade which emanates out of the famed Golconda Fortress, near Hyderabad.

Turning to the Persian Gulf region, in Artigo 32. *Dos Negocios da Percia, Feitoria Portugesa no Congo* [The Commerce of Persia, the Portuguese Factory in Kong], the Conde de Ericeira, in detail, discusses how the port of Bandar-e Kong is Portugal's nexus into Persia, and how Portugal must ensure that it always remains a base of its commerce and naval forces in the Gulf region. He discusses the complex but critical diplomacy behind the alliance between Portugal and Persia, to counter their mutual arch-nemesis Oman. He describes the Admiral de Almeida's magnificent achievements against Oman and their pirate proxies that restored Luso-Persian dominance in the Gulf and Arabian Sea.

As for affairs in China, in Artigo 27. *Do Comercio e Macao* [The Commerce of Macau] (pp. 51-3), the Conde da Ericeira discusses how the "The trade of the vast... Empire of China" has been funneled through Portuguese enclave of Macau, so giving Portugal a near monopoly on European commerce with China, especially as since 1718 the Kangxi Emperor instituted an isolationist regime that prohibited Chinese ships from leaving the country. The only exceptions to this were that a small number of British and French merchant ships were permitted to trade out on Canton. The Conde da Ericeira noted that he had recently enacted two laws that will lead the Portuguese crown to assume greater control of its Chinese trade (to maximize crown revenues and prevent smuggling). The first regulation prohibits Portuguese merchants from using Chinese ships to transfer their goods, while the second law creates a register that would record and limit the number of Portuguese ships trading out of China with foreign colonial ports such as Batavia (Dutch East Indies).

In Artigo 28. *Dos P.P. de la Companhia Residentes em Pekim bem vistos do Emperador da China* [From the P.P. of the Company Residents in Peking, well regarded by the Emperor of China] (pp. 53-4) the Conde da Ericeira mentions that he has been in contact with the Jesuits who were resident "In the Court of Peking", including Father João Mourão, who is man of "great prominence", much esteemed by the Emperor. He recommends that "Your Excellency should establish the same correspondence with him". Also noted are the other Jesuit fathers in Beijing, being Kilian Stumpf, Joseph Soares and João Lourenço José.


Artigo XXXII.
Dos Negocios da Persia Feitoria Portugue-
sa no Congo.

Nenhuma mas hé preciso conservala. O Feitor serve depois
Sam Cartazes algumas Manchuas, e Pavés dadita festa.
Na Fortaza do Porto de Mangalor falleijá tratando da Armada
da festa do Sul.

Artigo XXXIIII.

De Angriá Arabios de Mascate.

Dous Inimigos tem o Estado que são os Arabios de
Mascate, e Corsario Canoge Angria que reside no Pallabe vezinho a
tal hum poderoso, e outro insolente, como Ladrão de Caza nos Cabos
Mais perda que Arabes os outros. Os Arabios se encontrão
Com as nossas Armadas quando os vamos buscar a Surrate, donde elles
Costumão vir conservar as Suas Naos, que agora concluidas temos q[ue] fazer
pella destroça que padecerão nos Combates q[ue] tiverão Com as nossas Armadas
De-lle a Capitania desalbroada de Trinta grande cahim como as outras
aberta em agoa, por não terem embarcação acerca da Ribeira porte nenhum Ca-
pas destinarem de Guerra, hum dizerem outro corsario Dacinta Real porque
se porque quanto mais chegado estava dante mais fundo achou, e
Capte duas vezes q[ue] fortaraõ gente cantarão na Costa do Norte Os dous
pos dos Senhores V. Reys, Amotace Mor, e Caetano de Mello cagou q[ue]
nos q[ue]ria buscar estando nos Rio Longe, Sempre nos fomos os agressores,
Naõ inquietai ou se commercio Só odamno q[ue] nos causão He obrigarem
nos por precaução a dispender grandes Somas Empagatellar a Armada deal-
te boca, Emuitas vezes sem effeito algum.

Rincello medo dos desertar, Se procuras- mos encontra-los antes de
juntarem Com Surrate pois trazem as Suas grossas Naos com as Bem-
sas mais comsigam vem aconsertar se, para aderença dos Consertos
com tais carregadas de fardos, Cavolumadas de outros faundos que be
ne[ce]ssario sentirmo-los, Mas para conseguir esta o Cazão que Eu ten-
do hajamos era necessario ser antes do Inverno acertar de[s]vindo a Sur-
rate, oque Junto em meu tempo fizerão, e pormais esta razão Semar
ma ocasião que tem dos fazerem encontra da Sua Vinda se tão cedo
como Este discurso. O desembarque Nascente do Norte segue
Surrates com as Palay Manchuas, Tubares, e Galueras armadas em
Guerra com Pedreiros, e Granadas ecomesta prevenção fica Sendo mais
do difícil de[s]Sa Resolução de Chegar os Seus Intentos que trazem em
guerra m[ui]ta Semelhantes ocasiões.

Artigo XXXV.

De Angria Projectos sobre a forma de o destru. bir.

Angria ag[ra]d[ec]e o Nosso descuido deixou fazer poderoso seu re-
Estado do Senhor V. Rey Caetano de Mello tinha sómente outro em dezt Galve-
ria Governado pelos Senhor Rey Governador emfermará Thomas das nossas ter-
ras do Norte, nos fez nogoverno seguinte que era do Senhor V. Rey D. Pedro da
Costa o Estado que ja referi naarmada dez[e]Ra Capitaõ mor D. Luiz da Costa
nas terras

A List of the "Artigos" (Articles / Sections) of the Conde da Ericeira's Relatório:

1. Dos Portugueses Mal intencionados. [Of the Ill-intentioned Portuguese].

2. Das Eclesiásticos [The Ecclesiastical Establishment]

3. Fazenda Real I [The Crown Estate I]

4. De Bambual de Salcete [The 'Reed Wall' of Salcete]

5. Do Sennado da Camara de Goa [The Senate of the Chamber of Goa]

6. Da Fazenda Real II [The Crown Estate II]

7. Das Gancarias [The Rural Goan Communities]

8. Da Armada de Alto Bordo [The Navy of the High Seas]

9. Da Armada do Norte [The Navy of the North]

10. Da Armada do Sul, negócios do Cannara, e Feitoria de Mangálor [The Navy of the South, Trade with Cannanore and the Factory of Mangalore]

11. Das Administraçõens do Norte [The Administration of the North]

12. Dos Selleiros do Norte

13. De Mozambique, e Rios [Mozambique, and Associated Rivers]

14. Da Praça de Mombaça [The Bastion of Mombasa]

15. De Chaul guarnição, Feitoria, Rendas Reaes, e Comercio [The Garrison of Chaul, its Factory, Royal Revenues and Commerce]

16. De Bachaim guarnição commericio Aldeias, Feitoria, Rendas Reaes, Praças e Fortas e Franqueiras do seu distrito [The Garrison of Bassein, and its Commerce, Villages, Trading Post, Royal Revenues, Establishments, Forts and Farms]

17. De Damão Guarniço, Campo Commercio, Aldeias, Feitoria, Rendas Reaes, e Praças, Fortes, e Frang[uei].ras do seu distrito [The Garrison of Damão, its Market, Customs, Factory, Establishment and Farms]

18. De Diu, Fortificações, guarnição, Comercio [The Garrison of Diu, its Factory and Commerce]

19. Da Armada da Enceada de Diu [The Navy at Diu]

20. Da Feitoria de Diu [The Factory of Diu]

21. De Alfandega [The Customs House at Diu]

22. Dos Mazaens de Diu [The Warehouses of Diu]

23. De Baluarte do Mar [The Baluarte Fortress at Diu]

24. De Anjediva Fortificação, guarnição Manchaus, sua guarnição utillidade, edespezas [The Anjediva Fortification, the Manchuas garrison, and their utility and expenses]

25. Das Fortificações de Macao [The Fortifications of Macau].

26. Do Sennado da Camera de Macao [The Senate of the Chamber of Macau].

27. Do Comercio e Macao [The Commerce of Macau].

28. Dos P.P. de la Companhia Residentes em Pekim bem vistos do Emperador da China. [From the P.P. of the Company Residents in Peking, well regarded by the Emperor of China].

29. De Ritos Sincios, e Padroado [The Chinese Right, and Patronage]

30. De Thimor e Sollor, Forcas sosego dos habitantes utillid.es do sandállo, e de Mais Comercio, meyos de meyores utilidades Missoens [Of Timor and Sollor, Forces for the tranquillity of the inhabitants, Utility of Sandalwood, and of other Commerce, means of better utilizing the Missions]

31. De S. Thoma na costa do Choromandel Projeto pa. O seu aumento [Of San Thome on the Coromandel Coast and the Project to Augment our Presence there]

32. Dos Negocios da Percia, Feitoria Portugesa no Congo [The Commerce of Persia, the Portuguese Factory in Bandar-e Kong]

33. De Bandeis de Bengalla, e Siam, Feitoria de Calicute [Trade with Bengal, Siam and the Factory at Calicut (Kerala)]

34. De Angria, Arabios de Muscate [The Angria Pirates and the Arabs of Muscat], pp. 66-7

35. De Angria Projectos sobre a forma de o destrubir [Of the Angria Pirates Endeavours and How to Destroy Them], pp. 67-70

36. Dos Piratas Mallobares [The Malabar Pirates]

37. Do Rey da Sunda, e Regulos vizinhos [Th King of Sunda, and Neighbouring Rulers]

38. De Ghema Saunto [A Maratha-backed state near Goa]

39. De Sivagi Maratas [The Shivaji Marathas] (pp. 71-2)

40. Dos Reis, e Regulos Confinantes ao Norte [The Kings and Rulers to the North of Goa]

41. Do Mogor Surrate, Coutros Neg.os [The Mongols at Surat]

42. De Rey, dos otros Regulos ao Sul de Goa [The Kings and Rulers to the South of Goa]

43. Dos Interesses Holandezes [The Dutch Interests]

44. Dos Ingleses [The English]

45. Dos Franceszes [The French]

46. Dos Castellanos [The Spanish]

47. De Dinamarqueses [The Danes]

48. Da Companhia de Ostende [The Ostend Company]

References: N/A – Present example of the manuscript seemingly not recorded. Cf. [The other known mss. example:] Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: COD. 6698; [said mss. referenced:] H. HOSTEN, 'Some Portuguese Mss. for the History of India', no. 6698, in J. P. LEWIS and JOHN M. SENAVERATNA (eds.), Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Volume VII: 1921-1922 (Colombo, 1921), p. 236; [re: background:] Frederick Charles DANVERS, The Portuguese in India. Being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire (London, 1894), Vol. II, pp. 382 – 390; Teddy SIM, 'Survival of the Portuguese Estado Da Índia: Political Economy and Commercial Challenges 1700-50', in Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History, vol. 13.3 (2012).

MASSACHUSETTS – PLYMOUTH BAY
FIRST SCIENTIFIC SURVEY
AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ERA

No. 2

Joseph Frederick Wallet DES BARRES (1721 – 1824), Publisher; Thomas WHEELER, Surveyor.

[Untitled Chart of Plymouth Bay, Massachusetts].

[London: J.F.W. Des Barres for the Admiralty, circa 1778 - 1779].

Copper engraving with etching, on fine laid paper watermarked 'LVG', with a no. '8' typestamped to verso (Very Good, overall clean, bright and crisp, just some very light toning along vertical centefold, soft additional horizontal fold, some minor marginal tears closed from verso, minor clean split to lower vertical centrefold closed from verso), 76 x 55 cm (30 x 21.5 inches).

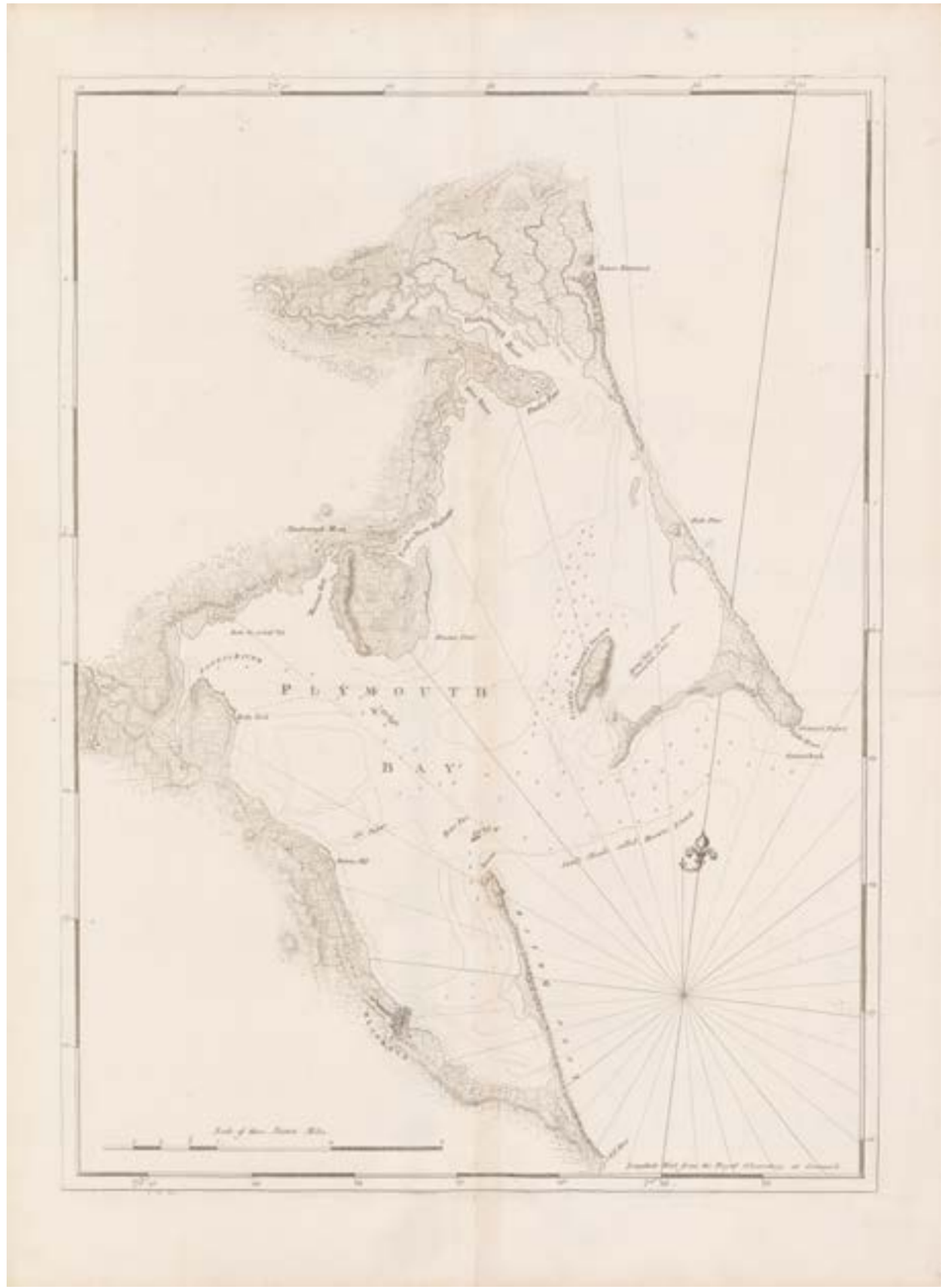
The very rare first state of J.F.W. Des Barres's beautifully rendered chart of Plymouth Bay, Massachusetts, famously the site of the Mayflower Pilgrims' landing at 'Plymouth Rock'; after the first scientific mapping of the bay executed by Thomas Wheeler, as part of Samuel Holland's General Survey of the Northern District of British North America, an epic endeavour that trigonometrically charted the coastal regions of New England and the Canadian Maritimes in the heady years leading up to the American Revolution.

4.200 EUR

This attractively rendered and detailed chart depicts an iconic place in American history, being Plymouth Bay, the scene where the Mayflower Pilgrims landed on 'Plymouth Rock' in 1620. The chart represents the first scientific mapping of the bay, the result of trigonometrical surveys executed in 1774 by Thomas Wheeler, as part of the General Survey of the Northern District of British North America, an ambitious project to complete the scientific charting of the coastal regions of the continent north of the Potomac, led by the incomparable Captain Samuel Holland. This is the first state of the chart, published by J.F.W. Des Barres, as part of his grand atlas, The Atlantic Neptune, and evinces his signature style of engraving with etching.

The chart shows the entire expanse of Plymouth Bay, which is guarded by two great sand bars, with the small but vibrant port town of Plymouth located on the southern part of bay, shown in outline, fronted by numerous wharves. The coastal road is shown to weave past homesteads and arms and around coastal estuaries up to the Duxborough River. On the way is the Duxborough Meet[ing House], which was then, in this period leading up to the American Revolution, a popular meeting place for those espousing patriotic sentiments.

In the seas, the many sandbars are bounded by stipple, bathymetric soundings dot the shipping passages, while the directions and heights of the tides are noted.



PLYMOUTH

3

2

2

2

BAY

GREEN

The States of the Chart

The Henry Newton Stevens Collection at the National Maritime Museum (Greenwich) is by far and away the largest, highest quality and most comprehensive archive of J.F.W. Des Barres charts in the world. It has commonly been used to define the states of each of the charts, although, in some cases, additional states and variants are known.

The Henry Newton Stevens Collection lists 6 states (with the second state having 2 variants), of which the present example is of the first state.

A Note on Rarity

All charts from J.F.W. Des Barres's Atlantic Neptune are rare, to varying degrees. We are aware of 3 other examples of the present Plymouth Bay chart (albeit of varying states) as having appeared on the market over the last decade.

The General Survey of the Northern District of North America and J.F.W. Des Barres's *Atlantic Neptune*

In 1764, Britain, which came to control all North America east of the Mississippi, established the General Survey of British North America, which had a mandate to create a complete and scientifically accurate map of all littoral areas of these domains. For this purpose, British North America was divided into two parts. The seasoned military surveyor Samuel Holland was appointed as the Surveyor General of the Northern District of North America, placing him in charge of overseeing the mapping of all the lands north of the Potomac River (while William De Brahm oversaw the Southern District, running from the Potomac to Key West). As some parts of the regions concerned had already been mapped to a high degree of precision, the focus of the General Survey was 'filling in the gaps', by making systematic trigonometrical surveys of the areas not yet well mapped, employing the most advanced European techniques that have hitherto never been attempted in the Americas on such a grand scale.

From 1764 to 1775, Holland led expert teams to chart large parts of Quebec, the Canadian Maritimes and New England, as well as parts of New York and New Jersey.

During the surveying season of 1774, the General Survey moved to map the Massachusetts coast south of Boston, with one of Holland's Deputies, Thomas Wheeler, charged with surveying the South Shore, including Plymouth Bay.

As the *Massachusetts Gazette* of Thursday, 5 May 1774 (cited in *The Library of Congress Bibliography of Cartography*, vol. 2, p. 59) records:

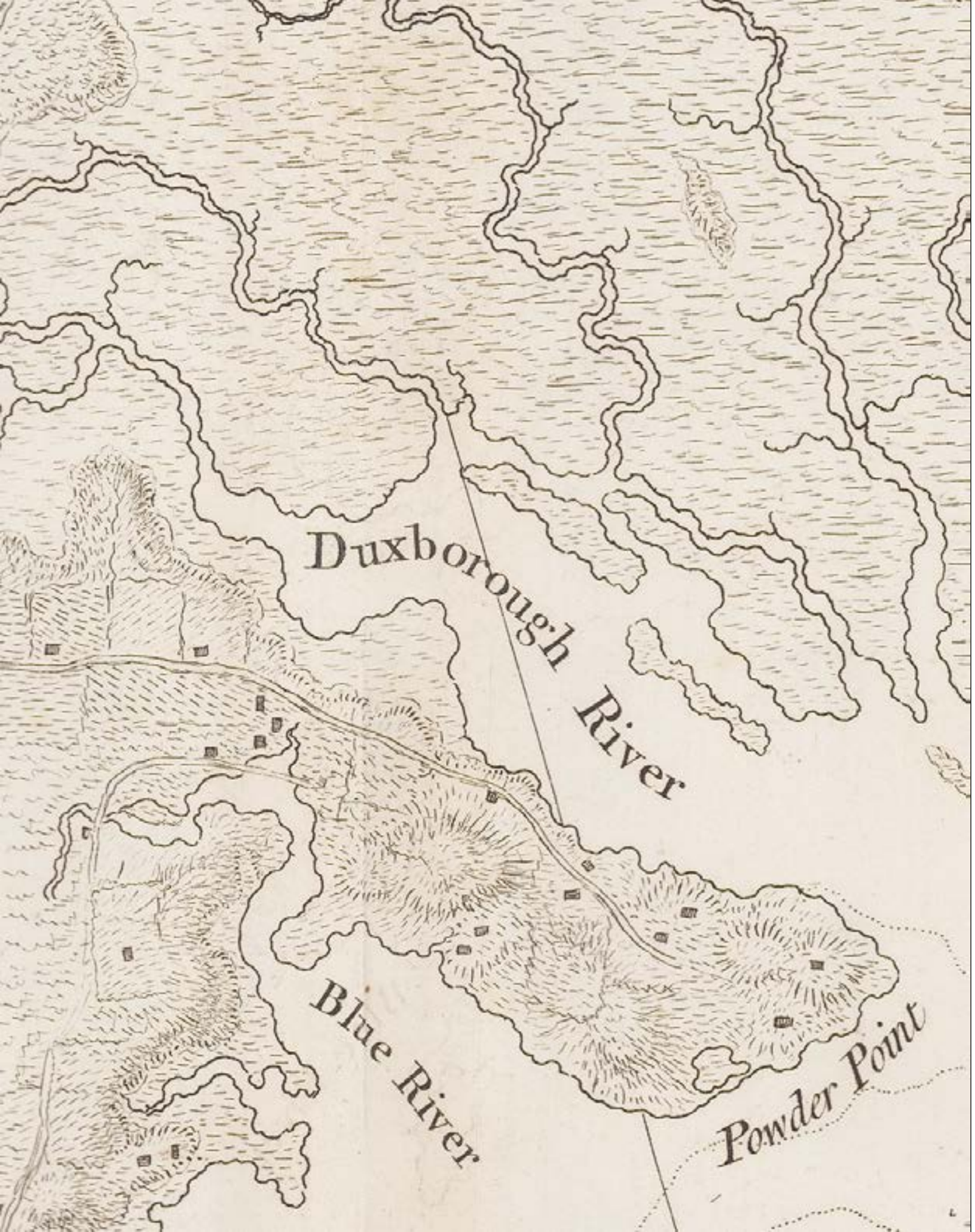
We have the pleasure to inform the public, that an Exact Survey of the Sea- Coast from the Bay of Fundy to this Port [Boston] (so much long wanted) is at length happily accomplished under the Direction of Capt. Holland; and that a further Survey, under the same Direction, from Boston to Plymouth, by Mr. Wheeler, and from Plymouth around the Cape to Rhode Island Government, by Mr. Blaskowitz, is intended; which when done will finish the whole east of this province [Massachusetts], and will be of great advantage to the Trade in the safety of Navigation. Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Blaskowitz came to Boston from Portsmouth last Week, and are immediately to proceed on said survey.

While Wheeler was able to execute his survey of Plymouth Bay without remarkable hindrance, the area was by that time a 'patriot' hotbed of discontent against the British colonial regime. As a representative of the crown, Wheeler would have to have been mindful of whom he interacted with while fulfilling his charge. In fact, less than a year after the survey, in the immediate wake of the Battles of Lexington and Concord (April 19, 1775), the local patriot militia, led by Colonel Theophilus Cotton, quickly moved to erase any British authority in the Plymouth area.

Most of the manuscripts from Holland's General Survey of the Northern District of British North America, including Wheeler's chart of Plymouth Bay, were handed to the eccentric but brilliant Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres to be published as part of his colossal atlas project, *The Atlantic Neptune.*

Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres (1721 – 1824) was a larger-than-life figure who had a transformative impact upon the Canadian Maritimes. He was born in Basel, Switzerland, and studied mathematics at that city's university under the famous Bernoulli brothers. Possessing an ambitious and adventurous spirit, he saw few opportunities in his staid native land, so immigrated to Britain. There he continued his studies at the newly founded Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where he was trained in surveying. In 1756, he enlisted in the Royal American Regiment, which was largely composed of well-educated Continental European soldiers, and left for Canada to fight in the Seven Years' War (1756-63). While in Canada, Des Barres participated in the Siege of Louisbourg (1758) and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham (1759), where the British took Quebec City. In 1760, he was deployed to Halifax to plan the enlargement of the city's defences and naval yard. In 1762, he worked on surveys in Newfoundland with the young James Cook, the legendary future Pacific explorer.





In 1764, Des Barres was appointed as the Admiralty surveyor for Peninsular Nova Scotia. He was commissioned with making a systematic trigonometric survey of the entire coastline of the peninsula. While geographically a small region, this was a Herculean task, as the coastlines were amongst the most indented and complicated in the world, often beset by fog and storms. From 1764 to 1770, Des Barres led his teams, often against great hardship and danger, to produce a series of remarkably precise sea charts, that when combined would form the first scientific general map of the coasts of Peninsular Nova Scotia. Des Barres and his men also took the time to sketch the landscape they encountered, creating many of the finest and most historically important 18th Century images of Nova Scotia.

In 1770, Des Barres moved to London, where he was charged by the Admiralty with creating the first sea atlas of the British American colonies, The Atlantic Neptune. This would prove to be no ordinary project, as, in good part, due to Des Barres' eccentricity, perfectionism and workaholism, it turned out to be perhaps the largest and one of the most artistically virtuous cartographic publishing projects ever undertaken. Des Barres not only employed his own charts but was given access to the best manuscripts charts in the Admiralty and Board of Trade archives, including those by the likes of Holland, Cook, De Brahm and others, creating a work of unrivalled scope and quality.

The atlases' essence was best captured by a contemporary French journal, which described The Atlantic Neptune as "one of the most remarkable products of human industry that had ever been given the world through the arts of printing and engraving". Printed progressively over a span of a decade, from 1774 to 1784, at its largest extent it comprised five volumes including 115 maps and 146 views, many of which folded out to a massive size. The atlases' coverage extended all the way down the Atlantic Seaboard and along the Gulf of Mexico, and the lower Mississippi Valley, plus the addition of charts of key harbours in Jamaica. Importantly, the atlases' volumes did not have set collations, as they were custom ordered, so varied in size and content. *The Atlantic Neptune* assumed added importance upon the advent of the American Revolutionary War (1775-83), whereby Royal Navy commanders were in desperate need of working charts of North American harbours. It is thus striking that, under such stressful circumstances, Des Barres still took the time to create charts and views of an utterly unique artistic élan.

In both a quest for perfection and through a sense of urgency, Des Barres produced many of his charts and views in numerous states. It is remarkable that while admirals were pressuring Des Barres to finish charts of key harbours, such as Halifax, Boston, Newport and New York, he still stubbornly laboured over the decorative elements of the Neptune. While these actions may have frustrated flag officers, we are today the beneficiaries of his artistic talent and dedication. As for Des Barres, he returned to Canada in 1784, where he served variously as the Lieutenant Governor of Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island. Amazingly, he remained daily active, in perfect health, until he passed away at the age of 102!

References: National Maritime Museum: HNS93A; SELLERS and VAN EE, Maps and Charts of North America and the West Indies, no. 960. Cf. Alexander JOHNSON, The First Mapping of America: The General Survey of British North America (London, 2017), esp. p. 210; William CUMMING, British Maps of Colonial America (1974),pp.51-56; S. Max EDELSON, The New Map of Empire: How Britain Imagined America Before Independence (2017); J.B. HARLEY et al., Mapping the American Revolutionary War (1978), pp. 25-8; Stephen HORNSBY, Surveyors of Empire: Samuel Holland, J.F.W. Des Barres, and the Making of the Atlantic Neptune (2011); Grace S. MACHEMER, "Headquartered at Piscataqua: Samuel Holland's Coastal and Inland Surveys, 1770-1774," Historical New Hampshire (Spring/Summer 2002), vol. 57 nos. 1 &2, pp. 4-25.

WEST INDIES – ST. THOMAS
DANISH (U.S.) VIRGIN ISLANDS
SLAVERY-PLANTATION ERA

No. 3

Anon. [Re: Wenzel ROTHKIRCH VON KAAS (1733 - 1792)].
[Untitled View of a Sugar Plantation, St. Thomas, Danish West Indies].
[Probably Denmark (in what is today Schleswig-Holstien, Germany), early 19th century].

Gouache on fine wove paper, accompanied by modern card framing mount bearing circa 1960s mss. provenance inscription in blue and black pen and the pastedown framer's label of 'Lange Glas & Bilder, Kiel' (Very Good, lovely, vibrant rich colours, short hairline tear in upper margin archivally closed from verso, slight creasing), 26.5 x 38.5 cm (10.5 x 15 inches).

An extraordinary and exceptionally well executed artwork, being an original gouache painting of a plantation in the Danish West Indies (today's U.S. Virgin Islands), presumably of the Ensomhed sugar estate on the island of St. Thomas, depicted during the time that it was owned by the colonial grandee Captain Wenzel Rothkirch Kaas; one of only very few surviving manuscript views of the Danish West Indies from the slavery-plantation era, its attribution is due to an accompanying modern inscription that connects its provenance to Kaas's daughter who perhaps had the view created after she moved to southern Denmark (today's Schleswig-Holstein, Germany) as a memento of her childhood home and the source of her family's enduring wealth; perhaps in part predicated upon an sketch of the estate taken on the spot, the present view is a 'romanticized' impression of a Danish West Indies plantation, made to appease prevailing European sensitivities, while its style accords to that of a 'Guckkastenblatt' (peep show slide), then a highly popular medium in Denmark and Germany that allowed the one to see the image with a sense of depth perception; we are not aware of any other original artworks of remotely similar qualities relating to any Caribbean subject.

3.800 EUR

The Danish West Indies (Dansk Vestindien), or the Danish Virgin Islands (which in 1917 were sold by Denmark to become United States Virgin Islands), was a colony gradually established by the Danish West India Company (Vestindisk kompagni), a private enterprise chartered by the Danish crown. It assumed control of the Virgin Islands of St. Thomas (83 sq. km) in 1673, Saint John (19 sq. km) in 1718, and purchased St. Croix (220 sq. km) from France in 1733.

The Danish West India Company fostered a sugar-slave plantation economy on the islands, while declaring them a freeport (open to all international shipping, with no customs duties), so making the colony a busy nexus of trade, ***both legal and black***





market, in what was otherwise a region of mercantilism. This allowed the islands to maximalize its profits from the Triangle Trade, which its lax regulations made it a favoured entrepôt for the exchange of slaves.

With special reference to St. Thomas, it was home to the colonial capital, Charlotte Amalie, which boasted one of the finest natural harbours on the West Indies, and so it was the epicentre of the colony's vibrant commerce.

While the Danish West India Company should have been hugely profitable, its administration was plagued by gross mismanagement and corruption and it went bankrupt in 1754, leading the Danish crown to assume direct rule over the Danish Virgin Islands. The royal government maintained the established freeport and slave trading policies.

Enter Wenzel Rothkirch Kaas: Leading St. Thomas Sugar Planter

The present artwork is seemingly connected to Wenzel Rothkirch Kaas (1733 - 1792), a Danish soldier and plantation owner who became one of the wealthiest and most important figures in St. Thomas of his era. He was born to an esteemed military family that rose to prominence by the hand of his ancestor Wenzel Rothkirck (1597 – 1655), a German-born soldier of relatively humble origins, who after saving Danish King Christian IV's life during a battle, was knighted, made the king's marshal of court and given extensive estates.

Wenzel Rothkirch Kaas was born in Ribe, in southwestern Jutland, in 1733, the son of an army officer. He entered the 'family business', becoming an Ensign in the Søndre-jydske Infantry Regiment in 1754. In the autumn of 1756, he was promoted to the position of First Lieutenant of the Royal Troops in the Danish West Indies. Posted in St. Thomas, he became a captain in 1761 and would retire from the army in 1767.
Meanwhile, in 1765, Kaas married Maria Testemacher (1731 - 1791), the widow of his late army commander, Major Johan Georg von Johnn (d. 1764). Testemacher was very wealthy having inherited a large sum from her first husband, Gerhardt Moll (d. 1754), the owner of the large Mollendahl Plantation on St. John. Wenzel and Maria would go onto have two daughters, being Magdalene Elisabeth Kaas (1766 - 1844) and Gertrud Kaas (1767 - 1814). Importantly, not long after his marriage, Kaas purchased Ensomhed, one of St. Thomas's finest sugar plantations, located on the island's north shore (seemingly with his wife's money). Ensomhed, which means 'Solitude' in Danish, is described by a modern U.S. Government publication as being an "Estate on a bench of 142 feet, 160 yards south of east portion of Hull Bay"; the property was subsequently known as the Hull Estate.

Kaas soon became one of the wealthiest and most socially important men in the Danish West Indies, being a major slave owner, while also buying the Sieben Plantation, near Fish Bay, in St. John. Wenzel's younger brother, Balthazar Johnan Rothkirch Kaas (1740 - 1790), had likewise migrated to the Danish West Indies and purchased a plantation at Cruz Bay, St. John.

Kaas made out his will in June 1791, placing his fortune in the hands of his brother-in-law Johan Ulrich, who would administer a complex trust for the benefit of his daughters and their heirs (he was apparently highly distrustful of both of his daughter's then husbands). It was said that his heirs benefitted from large regular payments of funds even 50 years after his death. Wenzel Rothkirch von Kaas died in St. Thomas on June 7, 1792.

His elder daughter Magdalene Elisabeth Kaas married three times, with her first two marriages being brief, leaving her twice a widow. Around 1802, she married for the third time, to Abraham Willinck, of Altona (near Hamburg), and moved back to Denmark, where the couple settled at Rendsborg (today Rendsburg, Germany).

The Present Artwork in Focus

This very unusual and exceptionally well executed artwork is an original gouache painting of a plantation in the Danish West Indies, presumably the estate of Wenzel Rothkirch Kaas, in St. Thomas, which would make it a view of the Ensomhed Estate. The view seems to date from the early 19th century. It is important to note that very, very few original artworks of any kind from the slavery-plantation era in the Danish West Indies (which ended in 1848) survive, granting the present work a cultural significance.

Importantly, the attribution of the present view as relating to the family of Wenzel Rothkirch Kaas and the Ensomhed Estate, St. Thomas, is due to a lengthy manuscript inscription, written in blue and black pen, seemingly during the third quarter of the 20th century, upon the modern card framing mount that accompanies the artwork (the mount features the pastedown framer's label of 'Lange Glas & Bilder, Kiel'). Written in what is seemingly a North German dialect (which is difficult to fully transcribe), the inscription essentially says that the view is of the "Sugar Plantation" of "Governor Wenzel Rothkirch von Kaas / St. Thomas, Danish West Indies / circa 1770" and that it belonged to his daughter [Magdalene] "Elisabeth", who married "Abraham Willinck" in London. It then goes on to provide some difficult to discern bibliographic details about Magdalene Elisabeth Kaas Willinck and her family, including the presence of a black "wetnurse".

While we have no reason to doubt that the view descends from the Kaas family and that it depicts their St. Thomas sugar plantation, Wenzel Rothkirch Kaas was never the island's "Governor", and while the present work may be based on how the plantation looked circa 1770, it was itself made more than 30 years later.

As best as we can discern, the present work was likely made in what was then southern Denmark (likely in today's Schleswig-Holstein, Germany), perhaps at the behest of Magdalene Elisabeth Kaas Willinck, sometime after she moved to Europe (circa 1802) with her third husband, Abraham Willinck, to serve as memento of her childhood home (which she would never see again) and the source of her family's enduring wealth.

In rich colours, the work is beautifully composed. The closely clustered buildings of the sugar estate (on the right-hand side) are of the architype Danish colonial style, with whitewashed buildings of a tall, narrow profile, with reddish roofs. Visible are warehouses, factories, sugar boiling rooms (with their smoking stacks), fine residences for the proprietors and the white management, warehouses, etc., while to the left is the concentration of small profile slaves' huts.

The buildings are nestled within a bucolic landscape, with forested mountains rising in the background, while in the immediate foreground are verdant fields, while in the aft a road runs diagonally from the estate towards a wooden bridge, which crosses a running brook, with luxuriant foliage gracing the right side of the perspective.

It will certainty occur to the observer that this Arcadian view is highly stylized, or idealized, to say this least. This quality was true of almost all 18th and early 19th century views of West Indian plantations, as artists sought to 'soften' or 'romanticize' the wildness of the tropical landscape and its flora, as well the brutal reality of slavery, to appease a bourgeois European audience.

The present work intentionally takes this idealization to high level to accord to a particular art genre that was then very popular in Europe, especially in Germany and Denmark.

The part of the view that focuses upon the plantation's Danish colonial buildings is likely quite true to reality, for it perfectly accords to the known form of other similar estates (although no known images of the Ensomhed plantation exist, as the property, like many other St. Thomas sugar estates, fell into ruin and disintegration before the dawn of photography). Indeed, this aspect of the present work may have been based upon a manuscript sketch of the plantation taken 'on the spot'.

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However, the rest of the view, being of the surrounding countryside, seems to have been highly altered from reality. As best as we can tell from a modern map of the Ensomhed's location, there are some discrepancies between the topographical features portrayed on the view and those which existed. While Ensomhed was backed by forested highlands, the fields and some the flora depicted in the immediate foreground are of a more European appearance (they look more akin to the grassy farmlands of Schleswig-Holstein that the rough canefields of St. Thomas!), while the running brook is perhaps a fabrication, as we are no aware of any natural creek near the Ensomhed Estate. Moreover, significantly, one will notice that the pillars below the wooden bridge are askew (although this detail seems to be intentional, as opposed to an oversight or error).

It is possible that the overall composition of the present view was in some way influenced by a very well-known engraved view of a sugar plantation in Jamaica, George Robertson's *A View in the Island of Jamaica, of Fort William Estate, with part of Roaring River belonging to William Beckford Esq.r near Savannah la Marr* (London: John Boydell Engraver, March 25, 1778), please see a link, courtesy of Wikipedia Commons and the Yale Center for British Art:

Thomas_Vivares_-_A_View_in_the_Island_of_Jamaica,_of_Fort_William_Estate,_with_part_of_Roaring_River_belonging_to_-_B2001.2.1520_-_Yale_Center_for_British_Art.jpg (1920×1410)

While less 'romanticized' than the present artwork, Robertson's view of Roaring River Estate still 'softens' the reality of a West Indian sugar plantation, as it 'Europeanizes' the flora and fields and shows the slaves to be living an almost serene rural life (in contrast to the violent hell of their daily existence).

The present view seems to be what the Germans called a Guckkastenblatt (English: a 'peep show sheet'), being an artwork specifically made to be inserted into a Guckkasten (a peeping box), a contemporarily popular viewing device that allowed one to look into its interior, so presenting the observer with a graphic providing a deceptively real perspective, or, in other words, an early 19th century '3-D viewer'. A telltale signature of this genre is the view's thick borders, which were necessary to frame its resolution when placed into the Guckkasten. For Guckkastenblatter to be successful, they needed to be composed of a variety of bold images, that required an exaggeration, or modification, from reality. Notably, the 'disconnected' pillars of the wooden bridge in the foreground are an intentional abstraction, as when the sheet is placed into the device, the disconnection will supposedly create an element of depth perception.

Thus, the present work seems to intentionally transform what may have been a crude but manuscript sketch of Ensomhed into a popular contemporary European artform. It should not be regarded merely as a fanciful abstraction of reality, but as an important cultural record of how Danes during the late slavery-plantation era wished to see and remember the sugar estates of the Danish West Indies, which were the source of much of the country's wealth and international trade.

Importantly, we are not aware of another original manuscript work relating to the West Indies that approximates the qualities of the present view.

References: N/A – Artwork seemingly unrecorded. Cf. [re: background:] James William McGUIRE, Geographic Dictionary of the Virgin Islands of the United States (Washington, D.C., 1925), p. 72; Gustav Ludvig WAD, Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift. Anden Række. Udgivet af Samfundet for Dansk-Norsk Genealogi og Personalhistorie, 4. Bind. (Copenhagen, 1889), pp. 275-6.



No. 4

Âtıf Paşa
يمن تاريخى
[Yemen Tarihi / History of Yemen]
Istanbul: Manzume-i Efkâr Matbaası - Şirket-i Tab'iye Matbaası 1326-1327, Rumi Calendar [1910 - 1911].

8°: 2 volumes bound in 1:
vol. 1: 146 pp.
vol. 2: 292 pp., [10 pp.] index, 4 monochrome plates bound in text.
Bound at the back: 2 folding coloured maps (1 double-sided) – part of volume 1; 1 folding plate and 1 folding map – part of volume 2. Complete.

Bound in a 1930s-1950s green half calf binding with gold lettering on the spine (Latin letters), contemporary dark grey endpapers.

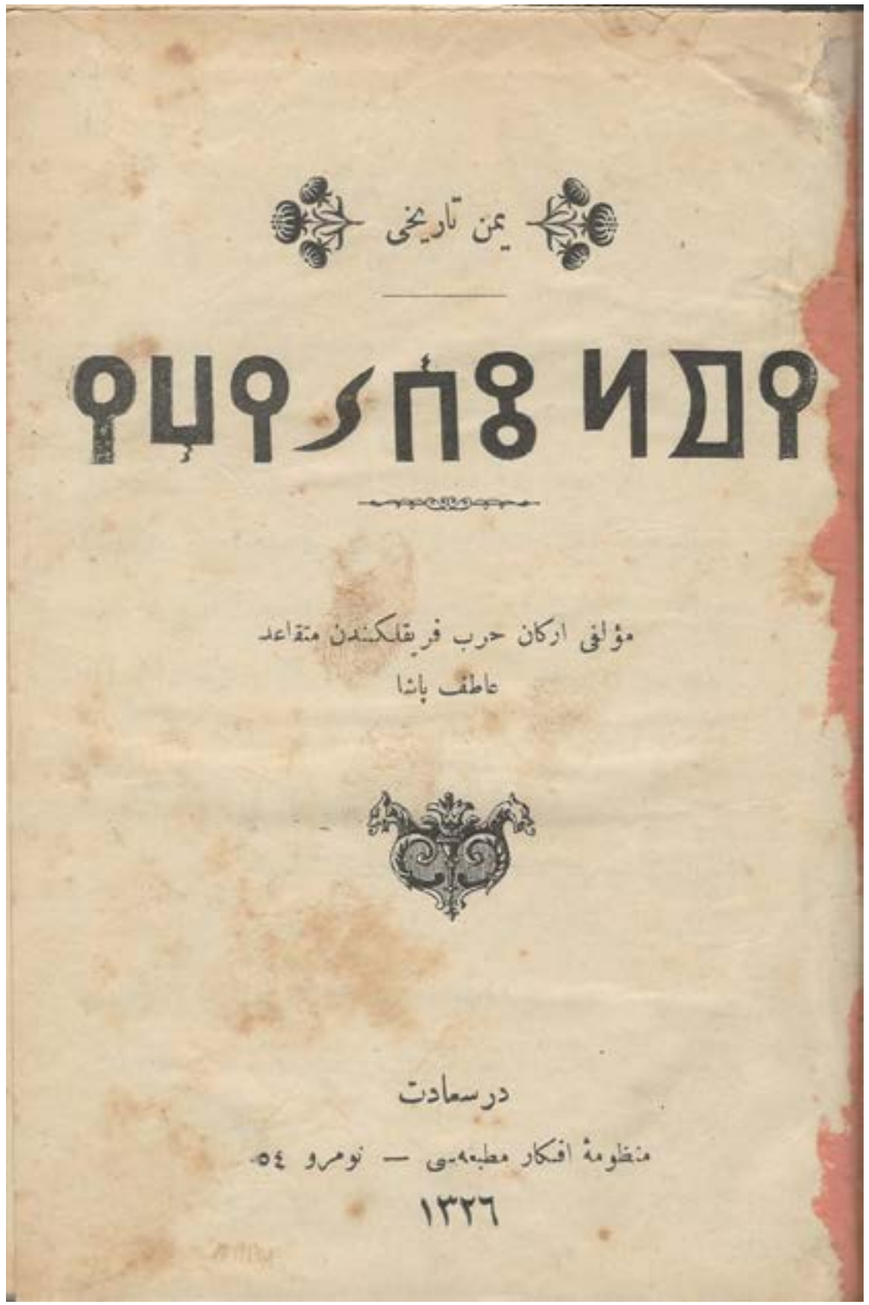
Condition report: Overall good, with minor traces of use: Minor age-toning and foxing, sporadic staining, mostly to the first volume, edges and last pages, sporadic annotations, also in ballpoint pen, first title page with stains and leftovers of original wrappers, old annotations on the upper margin of p. 1 of volume 1, binding lightly scuffed and rubbed on corners, the large folding map with blue printing colour split around the city of Jazan and Farasan Islands – please see the photo below).

The finest late Ottoman work on the history and current state of Yemen and parts of Saudi Arabia, made towards the end of the Second Period of Ottoman Occupation, when the Turks had to battle continuous guerrilla wars to maintain their presence in the country; an especially fine example, illustrated with photographic images and fine colour maps.

4.500 EUR

This excellent work is the finest overview of the history and current state of Yemen from the period of the Second Ottoman Occupation of the country (1849 – 1918), when the Turks had to battle continuous guerrilla wars to maintain their presence in this strategically valuable, yet the most distant, part of their empire. The work was to capitalize on the intense contemporary Turkish fascination with this precious, but troublesome land.

The present work consists of two volumes, here bound together. The first volume commences by exploring the history of Yemen, including a fascinating chart that showcases the Ancient Yemeni alphabets. It then goes on to discuss the geography and the current state of the country, before concluding with a folding harbour plan, and a larger, beautifully colourful general political map of Yemen; interestingly


يمن تاريخى

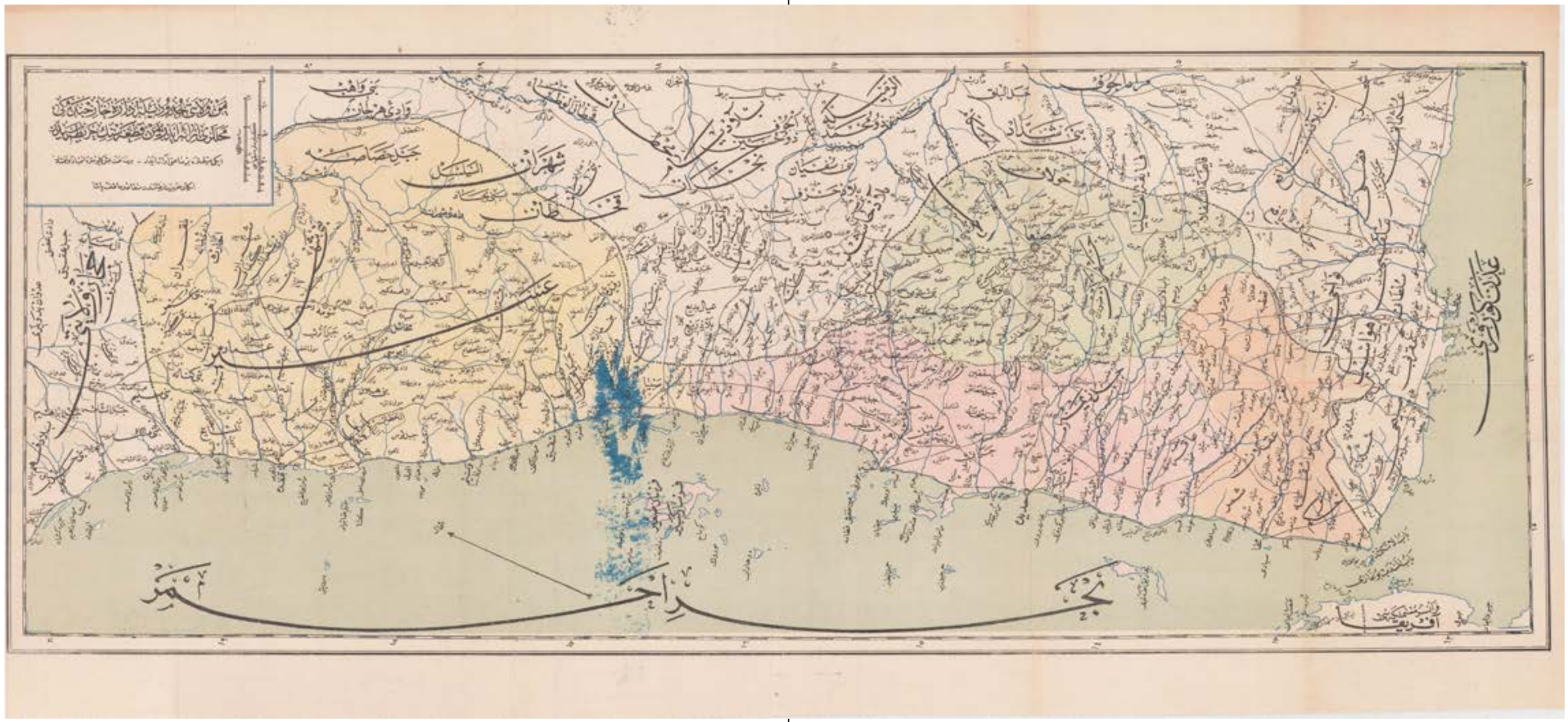
مؤلفى اركان حرب فريقلكندن متقاعد

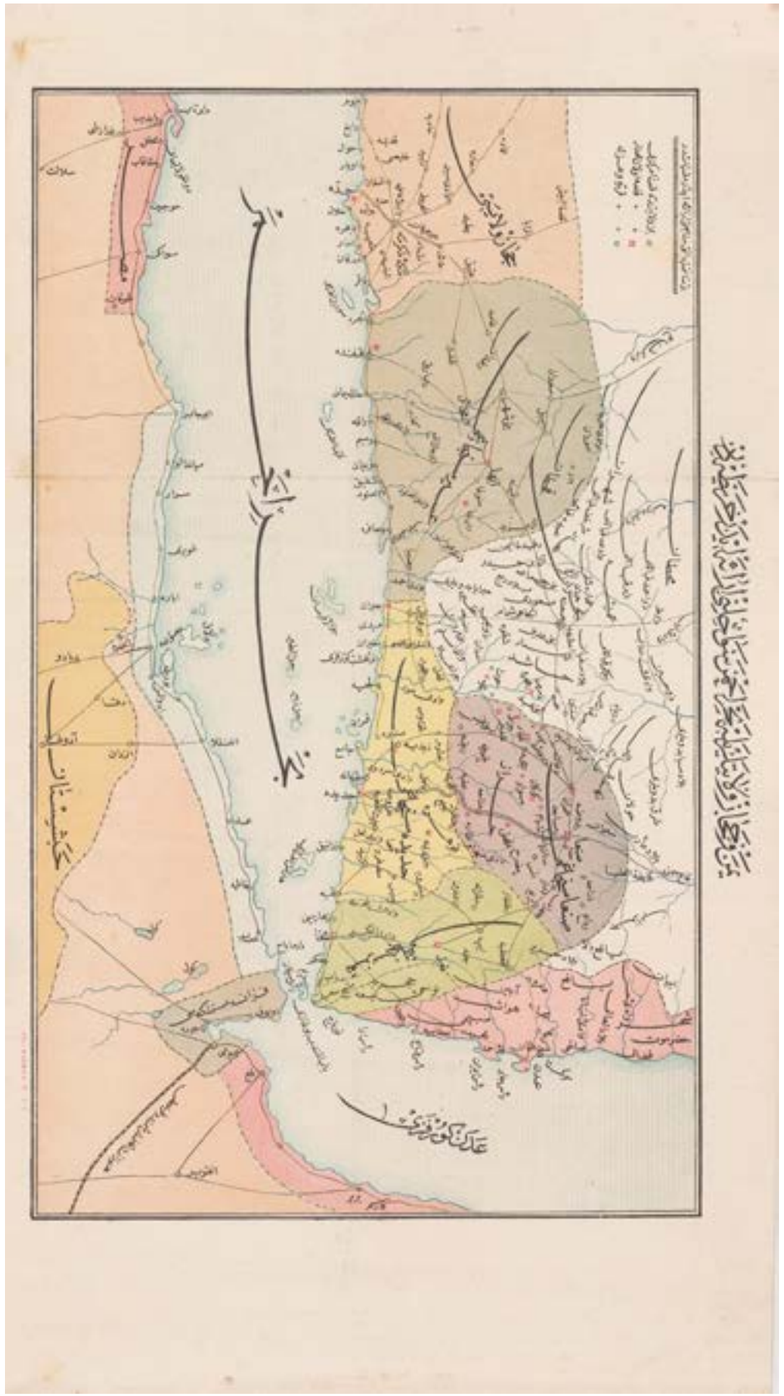
عاطف پاشا

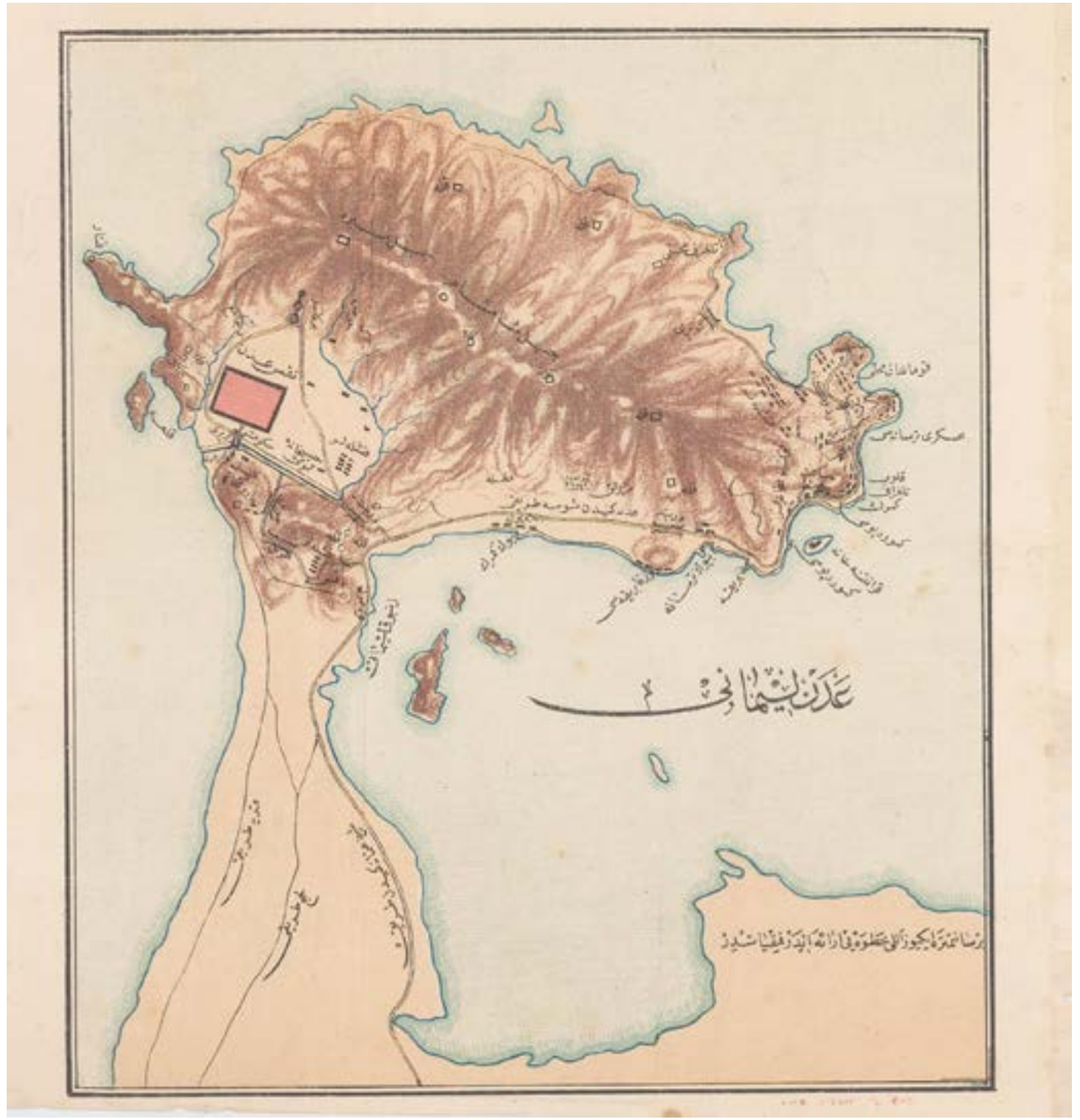
درسعادت

منظومهٔ افكار مطبعه‌سى — نومرو ٥٤

١٣٢٦


بحر العرب
بحر الهند
افريقيا





the verso of the map features a coloured orographic profile of the mountainous country (these plates are given in duplicate in the second volume).

The second volume continues the narrative on the current tumultuous state of the nation, and features five plates of photo reproductions of city views and a map, and concludes with a relatively large detailed folding general map of the country (different from the former) that labels seemingly all significant cities, towns and villages as well major roads; it is apparently derived from the mapping executed by Ottoman military engineers.

The work is rare on the market, especially with both volumes present, and this example is a remarkable clean and crisp, with uncut pages.

A Brief History of Ottoman Yemen

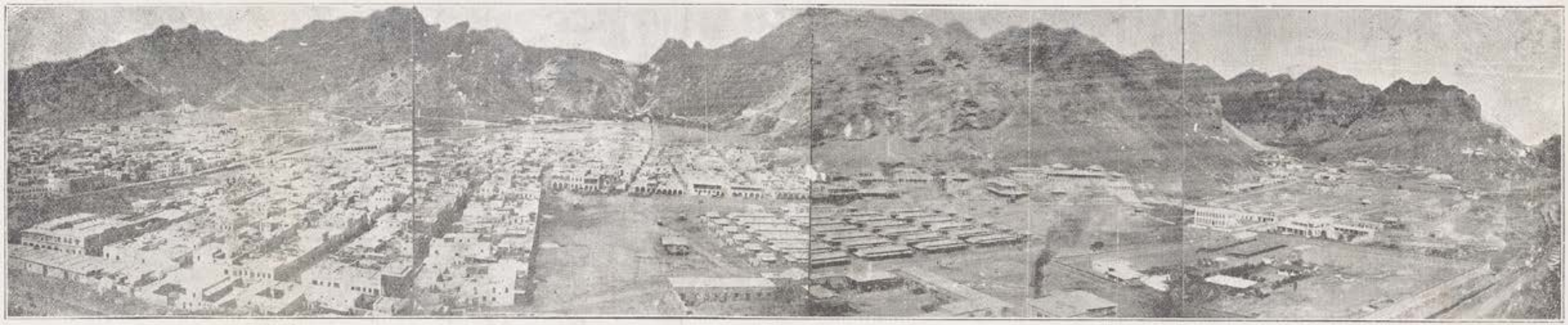
Yemen is one of the most ancient and culturally rich and diverse lands in the Middle East. It was traditionally also the source of great wealth; its interior produced coffee and silver, while its coastal ports were for millennia great marts of trade. Its strategic location often ensured that control of Yemen led to naval dominance of the Red Sea, the most vital maritime link between South and East Asia and Europe. The Ottomans first conquered much of the country in 1517, creating the Eyelet of Yemen, which extended from the Bab-el-Mandeb northwards to include what are today the Jazan and Asir provinces of Saudi Arabia (the Aden region and the Hadramawt were then considered peripheral). From the eyelet's capital, the port of Mocha, the Ottomans derived considerable revenue from trading the region's commodities and slaves, while their presence in Yemen anchored their control of the Red Sea. However, over the succeeding decades the Ottomans faced increasingly effective resistance from communities in the interior, such that their effective rule was confined the 'Tihama', the coastal plain along the Red Sea. In particular, the warriors of Qasim the Great (ruled 1597-1620), a Zaidiyyah imam, severely weakened Ottoman rule, to the point where the Turks withdrew form Yemen altogether in 1636. For the next two centuries Yemen remained free of direct Ottoman influence and was generally governed by a succession of local potentates.

In 1839, Britain founded a naval base at Aden, and gradually attempted to spread its influence throughout the Arabian Sea coast of Yemen. Meanwhile, the Sublime Porte was facing tremendous pressure from Egypt, its unruly and powerful former vassal. The government of Ottoman Sultan Abdulmejid I faced the prospect of being squeezed out of the Red Sea altogether. Most worrisome was the threat of loosing control of the Hejaz, which contained the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. If that were to happen the Sultan's claim to be the Caliph, or the Protector, of Islam would be undercut. Accordingly, Ottoman forces were sent to reconquer Yemen in 1849. While it helped that some Yemeni tribes welcomed the Ottomans, hoping to unite with them against their local enemies, Turkish forces had a difficult time pacifying the country and their power was for many years limited the Tihama coastal plain. Control of the interior, with its wealth in silver and coffee, remained elusive, as on old opponents, the Zaidiyyah imams, mounted an effective resistance.

The opening of the Anglo-French dominated Suez Canal, in 1869, intensified the Ottoman resolve to control Yemen. In 1872, massive Ottoman forces invaded the country, defeating the Zaidiyyah and taking Sana'a. They create the Vilayet of Yemen and sought to integrate the country into the Ottoman Empire. However, continuous guerrilla resistance hindered their ability to control the rural interior, despite concerted military strikes and the payment of large bribes to various tribal leaders.

In 1904, Yahya Muhammad Hamid ed-Din (1869 – 1948), the Imam of the Zaidiyyah, mounted a large-scale and well-organized rebellion that pinned down vast numbers of Ottoman troops. Despite the best efforts of the Turkish commanders, the insurrection seemed to only gain strength as the years drew on. Eventually, the Sublime Porte, facing severe pressures elsewhere, simply could not continue paying the heavy price in blood and treasure. In 1911, just after the present work was published, the Ottomans made peace with Yahya Muhammad Hamid ed-Din, whereby his regime was to be given autonomous control over Northern Yemen, while technically recognizing de jure Ottoman sovereignty. This state of play continued until the Ottoman Empire collapsed at the end of World War I (1914-8), whereupon all Turkish forces were withdrawn from Yemen.

References: OCLC 794910886, 837623793, 984464715, 644881829, 13213720, 164890497, 977325418, 164890494; BDK - ÖZEGE; 22959 - TBTK; 5126



عدنك منظرهٔ عمومیه سی

No. 5

ارکان حربیه دائره [Military Staff].

ارکان حربیه دائره سنده بالترسیم فطولیطوغرافیا اصولی اوزره طبع و تمثیل اولنانه بوسنه ولایتی خریطه سیدر ۱۲۹۲
[The Map of the Contemporary Bosna Vilayet was Printed and Reproduced Using the Method of Photo-lithographic Mapping at the Military Staff Office].

Istanbul: ارکان حربیه دائره [Military Staff] 1292 Rumi Calendar [1876].

Photolithography with hand-coloured borders, 87 x 108 cm (34.2 x 42.5 inches), contemporarily dissected in 16 segments and mounted on linen, old label with printed title in Ottoman verso (linen slightly dusty, paper little age-toned with small stains in margins and light water-staining in the lower left corner, but overall good).

First detailed Ottoman wall map of Bosnia - Seemingly Unrecorded

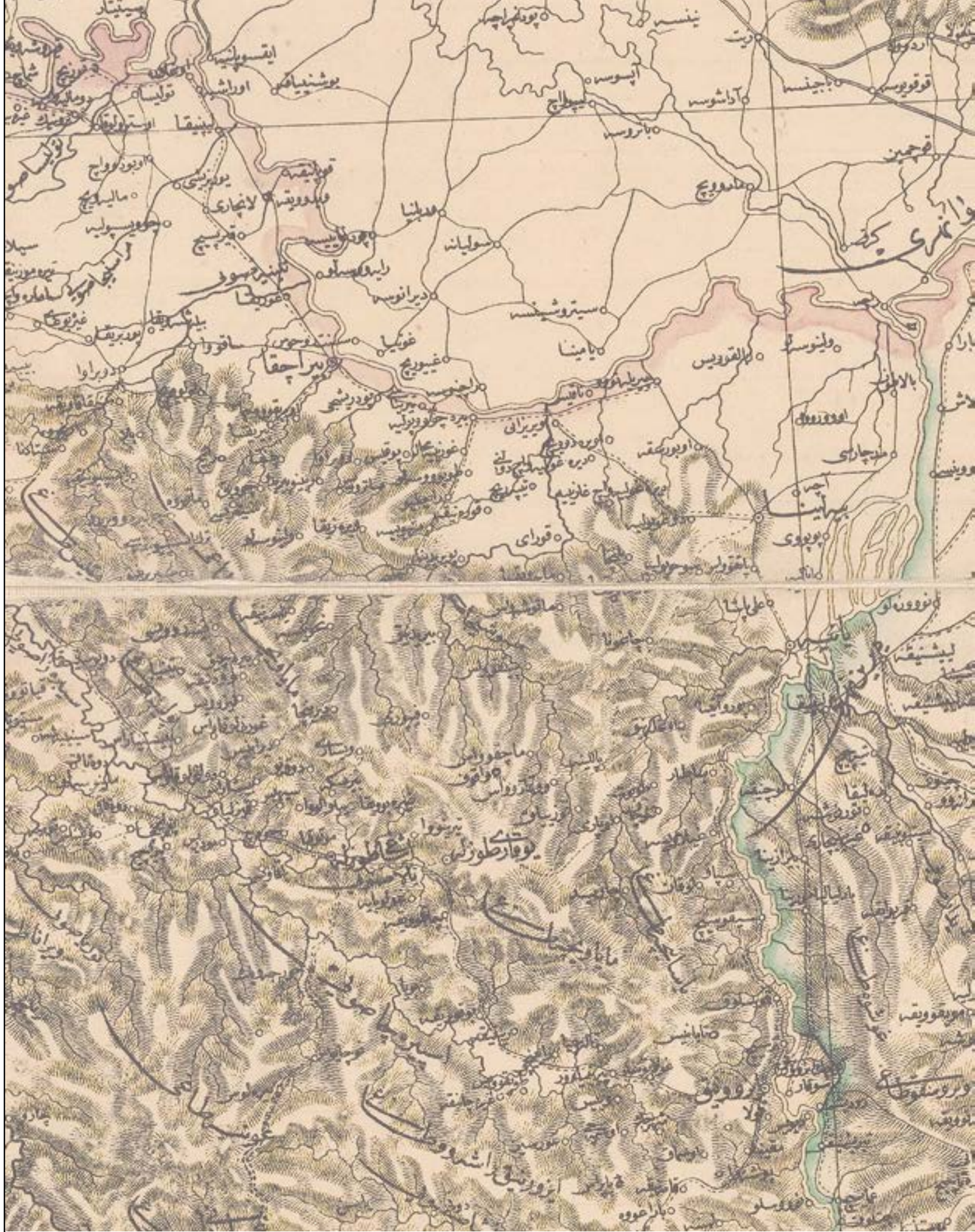
3.200 EUR

By the late 19th century, the once-great Ottoman Empire began to fragment. The Tanzimat reforms, aimed at modernizing the empire, were initiated in 1839 and continued until 1876. However, these reforms yielded minimal results and failed to elevate the Ottomans to the same status as the Western powers.

As a consequence, a brief period known as the First Constitutional Era emerged, lasting from December 1876 until February 14, 1878. This era began with the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution, which was drafted by members of the Young Ottomans who were dissatisfied with the outcomes of the Tanzimat reforms. However, after a short time, Sultan Abdul Hamid II suspended both the Ottoman Parliament and the constitution, restoring absolute monarchy.

By that time, the Ottoman Empire was rapidly crumbling both internally and geographically. The Balkans had become a hotspot where various regions began to seek independence, supported by the Russian Empire and Austro-Hungary, both of which hoped to gain territories for themselves. This situation led to the formation of the League of the Three Emperors, an alliance between the German, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian Empires from 1873 to 1887, with some brief interruptions, and the Great Eastern Crisis of 1875–1878.

The Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878) erupted, during which the Russian Empire backed Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro in their fight against the Ottomans. The war officially ended with a victory for the Russian Empire and the signing of the Treaty of Berlin. This treaty formally recognized the independence of the de facto sovereign principalities of Romania, Serbia, and Montegro (along with their territorial expansions) and granted autonomy to Bulgaria.





The Ottoman Empire struggled to manage its rebellious territories not only because of internal issues but also due to a long-standing neglect of these regions. As a result, the empire lacked reliable surveys and modern maps, which could have aided strategic decision-making during uprisings and conflicts. For instance, the first detailed Ottoman map of Serbia was not produced until 1873, just before the Serbian-Turkish War of 1876-1878, after which Serbia gained its independence (for image see our catalogues February 2025, no. 6, and November 2025, no. 12).

The large Bosnia Vilayet, located amid the rebelling Balkan countries supported by the West and along the southern border of Austro-Hungarian territory, found itself in the middle of a conflict. It was the most underdeveloped territory in the Balkans, inhabited by a heavily mixed population, including Muslims, which were local inhabitants as well as people who moved there from other parts of the Ottoman Empire, Orthodox Serbs, Catholics, and Jews. The complexity of this region and its internal disagreements are monumentally described in the works of Nobel Prize-winning author Ivo Andrić (1892-1975).

At the beginning of the Great Eastern Crisis of 1875–1878, the uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina began with a rebellion of Catholics in the town of Gabela in 1875. This was followed by an uprising of Orthodox Serbs in Herzegovina in 1876, marking one of the first major rebellions in the Balkans on the eve of war, which eventually led to the independence of various countries.

Unlike many neighboring territories, Bosnia and Herzegovina did not gain independence. At the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was granted provisional authority to occupy the Bosnia Vilayet. This resulted in an Austro-Hungarian military campaign in what is now Bosnia and Herzegovina during the same year. However, Old Herzegovina was ceded to the Principality of Montenegro in 1878.

The Map in Focus

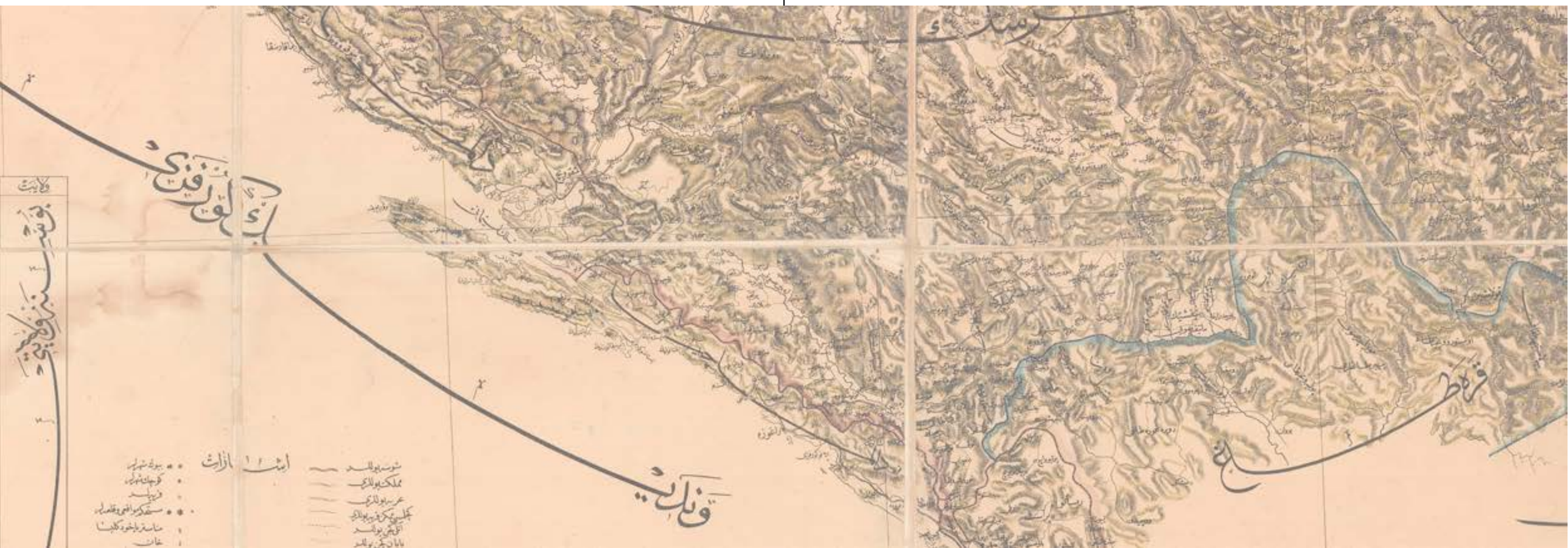
The map of the Bosnia Vilayet was published in 1876 during the Herzegovina Uprising. As the first detailed Ottoman map of the region, it was created at a crucial time when tensions were running high. Similar to the map of Serbia discussed earlier, it was produced just as the situation in the area was escalating, which impeded effective strategic planning for regaining control of the region.

The map features various types of roads, waterways, and sources, as well as cities, towns, villages, fortifications, monasteries, and churches. It also includes hans, which serve as accommodations for travelers, functioning as both hotels and stables, along with gatehouses and borders.

In the lower left corner, there is a chart listing the administrative centers of the sanjaks within the Bosnia Vilayet. On the right-hand side, Serbia is divided by a green line, Montenegro is shown below with another green line, and the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia (now part of Croatia but at the time under Austro-Hungarian rule) is marked with a pink line.

A Note on Rarity

The map is seemingly unrecorded. We could not trace any other examples nor any references to the title in literature.



JAPANESE-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS
MACAU
IMPORTANT ORIGINAL MSS. FROM THE MEIJI COURT

No. 6

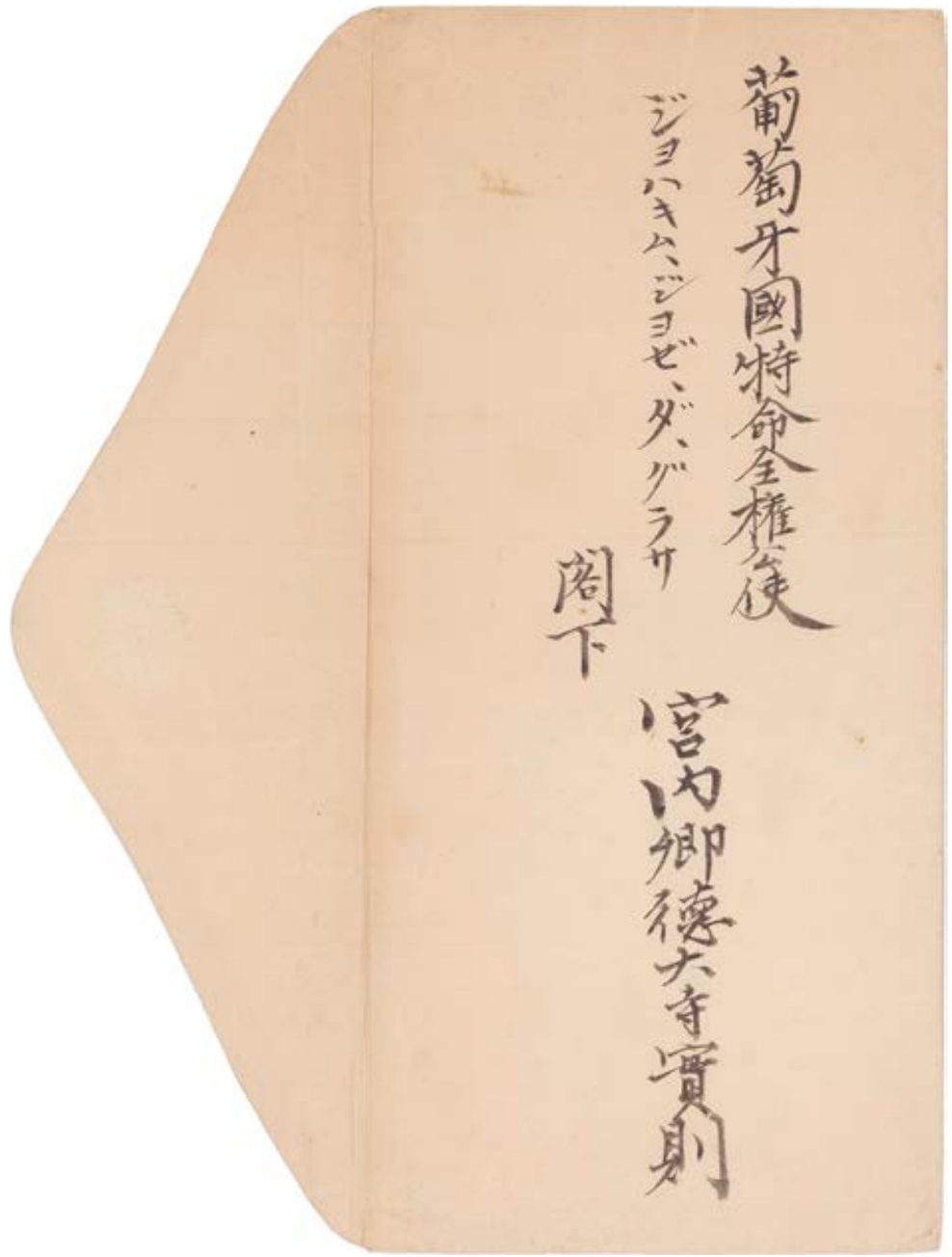
徳大寺 実則 [Sanetsune Tokudaiji] (1840 - 1919), Author. / Joaquim José DA GRAÇA (1825 - 1889), Recipient.
[Original Manscript Invitation addressed to Joaquim José da Graça, the Governor of Macau, to attend an Audience with the Meiji Emperor at the Imperial Court, Tokyo].
Manuscript, Tokyo, beginning of July, Meiji 15 [1882].

Manuscript: 2 pp., quarto (25.5 x 20.5 cm), Japanese text in black pen on one side of a single folding sheet of cream coloured stationary bearing the blind-stamp of the Imperial Japanese Court (the sixteen-petalled chrysanthemum), accompanied by its original envelop (22.5 x 10.5 cm), bearing mss. address on same stationary (Very Good, letter overall clean and bright, just some light wear and very minor toning along old folds; envelope with light creasing and minor toning).

An amazing original artefact from the Japanese Imperial Court during the glorious days of the Meiji Emperor, and of Japan's ongoing opening to the West, being the original manuscript invitation presented to Joaquim José da Graça, the Governor of Macau and the Portuguese Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan, to attend an audience with the Meiji Emperor on July 5, 1882, written in the name of Marquis Sanetsune Tokudaiji, the High Chamberlain of the Imperial Household; the audience was the climax of Da Graça's lengthy mission to Japan, whereupon he sought imperial concessions that would allow Portugal to boost trade with Japan, in part to buttress Macau's flagging economy; the Portugues mission proved a great success, as Japan allowed Portugal to open its maiden 'first class consulate' in Tokyo, while granting greater access to Japan's booming internal market; very few such high level original diplomatic documents survive from the Meiji Court.

2.200 EUR

Portugal was the first Western country to have any meaningful contact with Japan, which commenced when a group of Portuguese sailors were shipwrecked in Japan in 1543. This kickstarted almost a century of intense commercial and cultural exchange between Portugal and Japan. First, the countries established what the Japanese called the Nanban Trade (南蛮貿易 / Nanban bōeki, meaning the "Southern barbarian trade"), from 1543 to 1614, whereby Portuguese ships conducted a brisk commerce, purveying Western guns and munitions in exchange for such things as silk, silver and fine crafts, etc. Macau, established as a Portuguese base in Southern China, in 1557, became critical waypoint and for trade between Japan and Portugal and its colonies.



ゞ書翰致啓上候陳者今
五日閣下へ叙勲被仰
出候間午後二時大禮
服着用御參内有之
度依テ右得貴意候敬
具

明治十五年七月五日　宮内卿徳大寺實則

葡萄牙國特命全權公使
ジョハキム、ジョゼ、ダ、グラサ
閣下

Second, following Francis Xavier's visit to Japan in 1549-51, thousands of Japanese were converted to Christianity under the influence of the Jesuits who founded missions, concentrated in Kyushu. The Jesuits also played a crucial role in commerce, as in 1571 they established Nagasaki as Portugal's main trading port in Japan. By the end of the 16th century there were 300,000 Japanese Christians.

The Tokugawa Shogunate regime that took over Japan in 1603, soured on the Portuguese-Jesuit presence. It gradually enacted laws that restricted foreign, and especially Portuguese, trade and Christianity.

The denouement of Portugal's first period of activity in Japan came with the Shimabara Rebellion (1637-8), whereupon Portugal supported a revolt of Christians and rōnin against the Shogunate. In 1639, in the wake of the Shogunate's suppression of the revolt, the regime expelled the Portuguese and Jesuits from the country and banned Christianity, which hitherto became a beleaguered underground faith. The Shogunate then robustly enacted the policy of Sakoku (鎖国; meaning 'chained country'), whereby for the next two centuries Japan cut itself off almost entirely from the outside world, save for a narrow channel of trade with the Netherlands.

Yet, some legacies of the former Portuguese presence endured, in the form of underground Christianity, food (ex. tempura) and language (ex. many loan words).

In 1853, U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry entered Tokyo Bay, sailing in with a fleet of steam-powered vessels, that the Japanese called the 'Black Ships', bearing an ultimatum to the Shogunate to open Japan to foreign trade. This resulted in the Treaty of Kanagawa (1854), whereby Japan agreed to ease its Sakoku policy. This in turn led to the 'Ansei Treaties' of 1858 (named after the incumbent emperor), whereby Japan signed separate accords of 'Amity and Commerce' with the United States, Netherlands, Russia, Great Britain and France. These treaties opened Japan to international trade and permitted the presence of resident foreign diplomats and merchants, albeit under controlled circumstances.

Due to the intervention of the Netherlands, Japan invited Portugal to sign a treaty of 'Amity and Commerce'. To negotiate the terms of this accord and to sign it on behalf of the king, Portugal dispatched to Edo (Tokyo) Isidoro Francisco Guimarães, 1st Viscount of Praia Grande de Macau, the long-serving Governor of Macau (in office, 1851-63), who is today perhaps best known for legalizing gambling in the colony.

Guimarães arrived in Edo on July 12, 1860, aboard the Portuguese corvette Dom João I, and once on shore he stayed at the residence of the British Minister Rutherford Alcock. During his negotiations with senior Japanese officials, he tried to gain a reduction in Japan's 35% tariff on wine but was rebuffed. However, he managed to secure the same level of access to Japan's markets and related privileges that the emperor had granted to the other Western powers during the Ansei Treaties.

The treaty, called in Portuguese, the Tratado de Paz, Amizade e Commercio entre Sua Magestade el Rei de Portugal e Sua Magestade o Imperador do Japão, was signed in Edo on August 3, 1860, and would be ratified on April 8, 1862.

The treaty marked Portugal's commercial and cultural return to Japan after an absence of 221 years! The first Portuguese Consul in Japan was José Loureiro, who was otherwise the representative of the commercial enterprise Dent & Co., based in Yokohama. He assumed office late in 1860.
The shogunate responded by sending a diplomatic mission to Lisbon in 1862, which saw the format ratification of the 1860 treaty, and did much to establish goodwill to what was the oldest West-East relationship.

During the succeeding period, expanding trade with Japan became Portugal's greatest economic imperative in the Far East, as Luso-Chinese relations were in poor state. China continued to question Portugal's sovereignty over Macau and so refused to grant Portugal "most favoured nation" trading status, this



stifling their mutual commerce. Meanwhile, Macau's maritime trade was being throttled by competition from Hong Kong, and while the former Governor Guimarães's creation of the legal and taxable gaming industry in the colony helped to stench the bleeding, Macau was in desperate need of new prospects.

Through the 1860s and '70s, Portugal established consular offices in the Japanese ports as designated by the 1860 treaty, leading to a marked increase in Luso-Japanese trade. Indeed, Japan's rapidly growing industrial economy craved the European goods and tropical commodities that the Portuguese Empire produced. However, these Portuguese inroads were haphazard and not well coordinated. For Portugal to really 'up its game' in Japan, it needed a coherent diplomatic-trade strategy that had the blessing of the Meiji court.

Enter Joaquim José da Graça and His Mission to Tokyo

Joaquim José da Graça (1825 -1889) was a career military officer, colonial administrator and highly skilled diplomat. Born in Alcântara (Lisbon), after graduating from military academy he became an infantry officer and was posted in Angola for many years. There, he gained the respect of his superiors for his phenomenal diplomatic skill when dealing with the often-difficult stakeholders in that county. This led Da Graça to be appointed as the Interim Governor of Angola (serving from June 26 to September 4, 1870).

As ameliorating trade relations with China and expanding its successful relationship with Japan were top Portuguese priorities, in 1879, Joaquim José da Graça was appointed to the dual role of Governor

of Macau and the Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of China, Japan, and Siam, making him Portugal's 'supreme fixer' in the Far East (he would serve in those roles from November 28, 1879 to April 23, 1883).

In January 1881, seeking to improve Luso-Chinse trading terms, Da Graça's visited the Chinese Emperor's top representative in Southern China, the Viceroy of the two Kuangs, in Canton. However (perhaps predictably), he could not make any headway. This made expanding Portugal's commercial interactions with Japan even more urgent.

In 1882, Da Graça embarked upon a grand embassy to Japan, the goal of which was to convince the Meiji Emperor to allow Portugal to establish a 'first class consulate' (a de facto embassy) in Tokyo, which could coordinate and expand Portugal's diplomatic and trading endeavours in Japan, to bring this activity to a higher volume and intensity. While the Japanese were open to this notion, it represented a concession to their sovereignty, such that they would have to be convinced that the potential economic rewards to Japan were worthwhile.

A contemporary newspaper described the Macau delegation's departure for Tokyo, at the end of April 1882:

"His Excellency Governor Joaquim Jose da Graça departed on 30th April by the 'White Cloud' for Hong Kong, to proceed to Japan. His Excellency goes as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary from the Court of Portugal, and takes with him as Secretary of Legation Mr. A. J. Bastos, jun.; as Chinese Interpreter, Mr. E. Marques, and as English Interpreter, Mr. Arthur Milner. A better selection of officers could hardly have been made by his Excellency, as the above gentlemen are well known by their talents and abilities." (The London and China Telegraph, June 14, 1882, vol. XXIV, no. 980).

The Portuguese delegation arrived in Tokyo on May 8, 1882, and were treated with lavish hospitality by their Japanese hosts. They were taken on tours of many places and were the guests of honour at several banquets and events. Along the way, Da Graça would have had the opportunity to advance overtures to senior Japanese officials to gauge whether his proposals would meet with the Imperial Court's approval. Yet, this was all prelude to the main event, which would occur almost two months hence, being an audience with the Meiji Emperor. Such an occasion was described as one of the most elaborate and sophisticated formality, and awesomely impressive. It was the greatest possible honour for Da Graça to be invited to such a reception, and it would be there that his efforts would succeed or fail.

Joaquim Jose da Graça's host at the Imperial Palace would be the Court's High Chamberlain, Sanetsune Tokudaiji [徳大寺 実則] (1840 – 1919), who was the Emperor's 'Gatekeeper', and a man who served as one of the Meiji sovereign's most trusted aides for his entire 44-year-long reign. Born into a noble family in Kyoto, as a young man he was a member of a conservative reactionary court faction called sonnō jōi ("Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarian") that called for Japan to reject Westernization and foreign influence (his politics would later mellow!). In 1863, liberal factions forced him to flee Tokyo into internal exile.

Upon the advent of Meiji regime, Sanetsune Tokudaiji was bought in from the cold. He was welcomed to the Imperial Court and made a made a dainagon (a counsellor of the first rank).

Over the coming years, Sanetsune Tokudaiji increasingly gained the Emperor's trust, eventually becoming his 'righthand man'. In 1884, he was created a koshaku (Marquis) and the High Chamberlain of the Court and subsequently was made a prince. In 1891, he was elevated to become the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of Japan, the head of the Imperial Household. Sanetsune Tokudaiji was known to be fiercely protective of the Emperor, shielding his 'sacred person' from politics and the 'ugly' decision-making process of government. Sanetsune Tokudaiji retired in 1912, upon the death the Meiji Emperor.

The Manuscript Invitation in Focus

Present here is an amazing original artefact of the Imperial Japanese Court from the glorious days of the Meiji Emperor, and of the history of Japan's incipient diplomatic relationships with Western powers.

It is the original manuscript invitation, written in the name of Sanetsune Tokudaiji, that was hand-delivered at the beginning of July 1882, to Governor and Minister Plenipotentiary Joaquim José da Graça, inviting him to attend an audience with the Meiji Emperor at court, on July 5 next.

The invitation is drafted in an elegant yet easy calligraphy, written entirely in Japanese, on fine court stationary, of thick cream-coloured paper, bearing the blind-stamped imperial symbol of the sixteen-petalled chrysanthemum. The letter is housed within a manuscript addressed envelope of the same stationary.

Importantly, the present artefact is an incredible survivor, as only a handful of original manuscript invitations to an audience with the Japanese Emperor remain to the present day. It is also a seminal piece of the 'main event' of one of the great developments in Portuguese-Japanese relations and, more broadly, Japan's continued opening to the West.

The text of the letter reads, as translated from the Japanese (please forgive any minor errors!):

I hereby write to Your Excellency, as we are currently awaiting your arrival.
On the fifth day [of this month], Your Excellency will be honoured.
The grand ceremony will be held at 2 PM.
The attire and clothing provided are available within the Imperial Household Department.
After a period of rest, I will be able to respectfully await your arrival.
July 5, Meiji 15 (1882), Chamberlain of the Imperial Household, Tokudaiji Sanenori
Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Portuguese Empire
Your Excellency Joaquim José da Graça

The text on the accompanying envelope reads:
Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Portuguese Empire
Joaquim José da Graça
Your Excellency
Tokudaiji Sanenori, Ministry of the Imperial Household

Epilogue: Da Graça's Efforts Meet with Success

Joaquim José da Graça's mission to Japan returned to Macau with lavish ceremony on August 6, 1882. The endeavour was hailed as a great success, as Japan assented to the lion's share of Portugal's wish list. As a result, Portugal opened its maiden 'first class consulate' in Tokyo on December 20, 1883. Led by the veteran diplomat José Loureiro (who was Portugal's first consul in Tokyo, appointed in 1860), the consulate would be by far and away the largest Portuguese diplomatic mission in Asia. In the years following, the Tokyo mega-consulate was able to facilitate a significant increase in Luso-Japanese trade, to the benefit of both parties, while providing an economic lifeline to Macau.

Of interest, during the era of Joaquim José da Graça's diplomatic push in Japan, there arose a great cultural fascination in Portugal (and to an extent Macau) for all things Japanese. This included the publication of Portuguese-language works in Japan, such as that by the Yokohama-based merchant Polydoro Francisco da Silva, Reminiscencias do Japão (Yokohama: Imprensa Mercantil, 1884), a beautifully illustrated memoir/travelogue, which was intended for the Portuguese audience. Portuguese Japanophilia peaked with the literary works of Wenceslau de Moraes (1854-1929), the diplomat and author who lived his last 30 years in Japan.

References: N/A – Manuscript seemingly unrecorded. Cf. Eri FUKUDA, 'As relações entre Portugal e o Japão através do Diário do Governo e Nihongaiko-bunsho (1860-1897)', Master's Dissertation, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto (2023), esp. pp. 31-40.

MACAU – ETHNIC CHINESE COMMUNITY
HONG KONG IMPRINT
CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO CUBA

No. 7

Manuel de CASTRO SAMPAIO (1827 – 1875).
Os Chins de Macau por Manuel de Castro Sampaio.
Hong Kong: Typographia de Noronha e Filos, 1867.

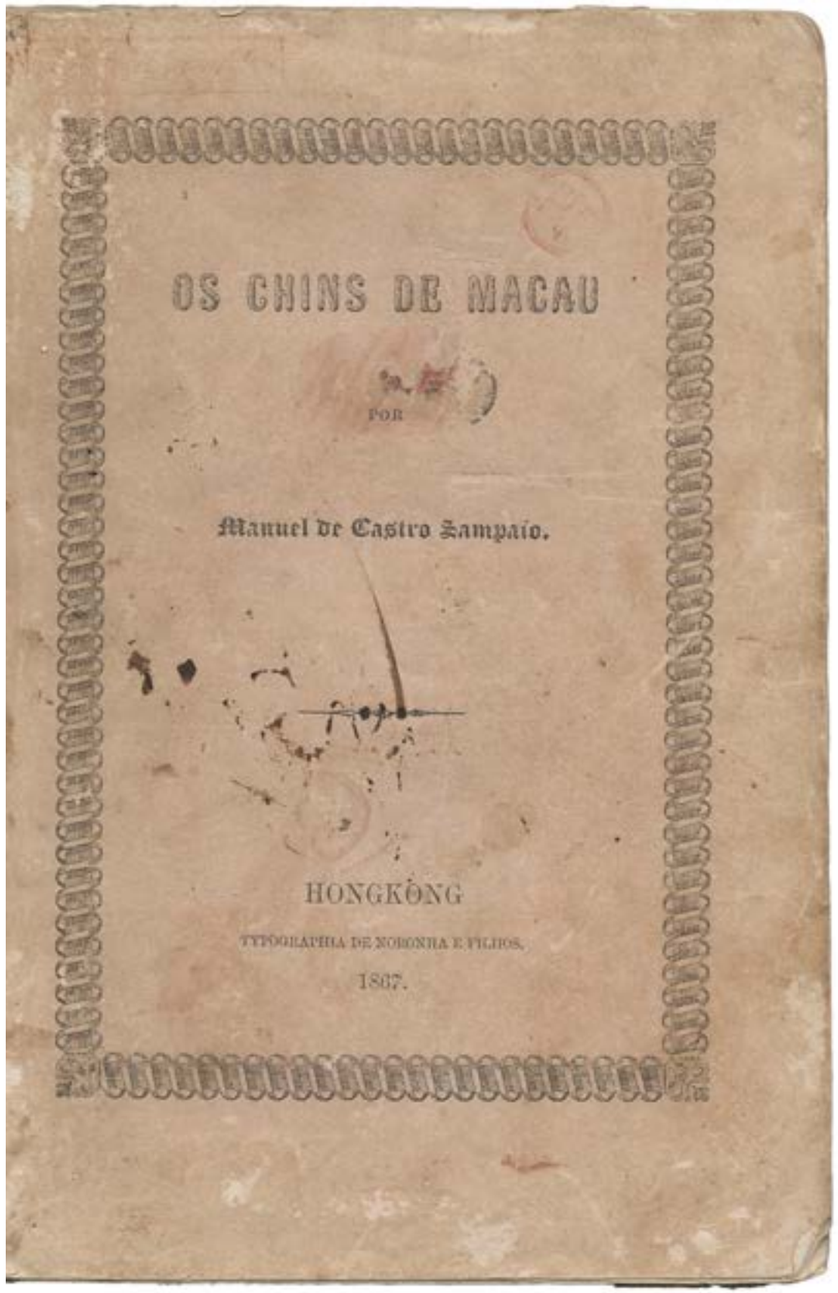
8° (20 x 13.5 cm): xi, 144 pp., 2 ff., plus 1 folding map (measuring 24 x 19 cm), bound in original publisher's printed paper covers, period former owner's mss. inscription of "Jose Joaquim dos Santos" in indigo pen to title, faint period bookseller's handstamps to front cover (Good, internally quite clean, just some minor stains especially to early and latter leaves, map with light even toning as is often the case, covers quite toned and stained, later spine, textblock bound in slightly slanted fashion).

Rare - the pioneering and definitive 19th century study of Macau's Chinese community which after three centuries under Portuguese rule had developed many distinct cultural characteristics, covering subjects such as cuisine, attire, weddings, homes and domestic habits, justice, religion, festivals, commerce (the city's great bazaar), medicine, as well as a valuable chapter on the Chinese emigration to Cuba that flowed through Macau; written by Manuel de Castro Sampaio, the prominent military officer, journalist and future colonial governor who lived for many years in the colony; published in Hong Kong by the firm founded by the Macanese immigrant Delfino Noronha, which became the official printer for the Hong Kong government.

2.800 EUR

Macau became a Portuguese colony in 1557, and for the next two centuries it enjoyed great commercial advantages as the only major European-controlled port in China. However, beginning in the mid-18th century, Macau endured competition from the new European factories in Canton; then the establishment of the British colony of Hong Kong in 1843; and next the foundation of foreign treaty ports across China from 1860. Moreover, China refused to extend Portugal favoured trading status, as they contested Lisbon's claims over Macau and resented their mutual boundary disputes. As such, in this new era, the Portuguese merchants and the colonial government had to hustle to drum up business.

Meanwhile, over 80% of Macau's population was ethnic Chinese. Some of the Chinese residents descended from families that had been there for hundreds of years, although most were more recent immigrants from Guangdong province. Despite the new immigration, the Chinese community in Macau developed a culture with many elements distinct from that in neighboring Guangdong. As such, the Macanese Chinese were often not considered to be truly Chinese by their brethren across the border, while traditionally leading lives segregated from the Portuguese/European colonial community. Indeed, the Europeans historically tended to view the Chinese community with much suspicion and prejudice.



However, just as affairs became more difficult for the Portuguese colonial establishment, the Chinese community thrived, linked to a massive overseas trading network in China and with the Chinese diaspora communities in Southeast Asia. At the same time, a new generation of Portuguese officials, businessmen, scholars and artists came to have a more open-minded view towards Macau's Chinese community, the author of the present work, Manuel de Castro Sampaio, perhaps foremost among them. While many Portuguese people still kept their distance, this new generation forged close personal and business relationships with the Chinese community, and came to have respect, if not great affection, for their culture.

By the time he wrote the present work, Manuel de Castro Sampaio had spent many years in Macau, first as an army officer, and then as the colony's leading journalist. He developed a deep fascination and respect for the Chinese community in Macau and spent countless days interacting with its people. He thus acquired an insider's view of the community to the highest degree that could ever be achieved by a European. While his viewpoint still suffered from some European biases and prejudices, in this work he approaches the Chinese of Macau with curiosity and respect, creating a work of special value.

The book was very highly regarded in its day, with a derivative work in English, Rufino F. Martins's (trans. and ed), Manners & Customs of the Chinese at Macao (Shanghai: Printed at the "Celestial Empire" Office, 1877), issued a decade later. In recent times, it is still heavily referenced, considered the seminal 19th century work on the Chinese community in Macau, and one of the most important historical works on Macau in general.

Castro Sampaio's coverage of the Chinese communities in all its facets is amazingly thorough, and is divided into an Introduction and 14 chapters, as follows:

Introducção **[Introduction]** (pp. vii-xi)

I. De Macau **[On Macau]** (pp. 1-12). This chapter provides a profile of Macau's history and geography and the general nature of its Chinese community and its distribution within the colony. Many intriguing facts and statistics are included, such as the chart noting that the Chinese community consists of 56,252 people but that only 10% are descended from traditional residents, while 80% are more recent emigrants, largely from form Guangdong Province. A highlight is the map of the commercial heart of the Chinese community, the market, or bazaar district, custom-made for the work by the author, Planta topographica do Bazar de Macau por M. de Castro Sampaio (placed after p. 4).

II. Da physionomia dos chins, do seu vestuario e diverso accessorios, e de alguns de suas qualidades **[On the Physiognomy of the Chinese, their Clothing and Various Accessories, and some of their Qualities]** (pp. 13-27).

III. Dos alimentos e bebidas **[On Food and Drinks]** (pp. 28-33).

IV. Dos casamentos **[On Weddings]** (pp. 34-43).

V. Dos habitações des chins e de alguns de seus actos domesticos e de etiqueta **[Of the Chinese Dwellings and some of their Domestic and Habits and Etiquette]** (pp. 44-49).

VI. Do tribunal onde os chins são julgados em Macau **[On the Court where the Chinese are Tried in Macau]** (pp. 50-67).

VII. Dos principios cultos dos chins e de seus actos religiosos **[On the Faith Principles of the Chinese and their Religious Rituals]** (pp. 68-73).

VIII. Da medicina chineza **[On Chinese Medicine]** (pp. 74-77). This chapter provides an intriguing short overview of the importance of Chinese medicine, written by Castro Sampaio, a former army medic.

IX. Das ceremonias que ha por occasião de falecamentos e enterras **[On the Ceremonies that take Place on the Occasion of Deaths and Burials]** (pp. 78-91).

X. Das festas **[On Festivals]** (pp. 92-102).

XI. Das procissões **[On Precessions]** (pp.103-107).

XII. Das varias superstições **[On Various Superstitions]** (pp. 108-113).

XIII. Do commercio e industrias **[On Commerce and Industry]** (pp. 114-136). This chapter provides a fascinating overview of the vibrant trade that the Chinese community of Macau undertook with Hong Kong and the Chinese diaspora communities in places such as Singapore, Malaya, Manila, Batavia (Jakarta) and Vietnam, often facilitated by the Hāos trading syndicates.

XIV. Mais duas palavras (Sobre a emigração chineza em Macau) [Two More Words (About Chinese Emigration to Macau)] (pp. 137-144). This highly important chapter concerns the Chinese emigration to Latin America, which flowed through Macau. In the mid-19th century, Cuba desperately needed agrarian labour and sought to attract immigrant workers from China. For a variety of legal and commercial reasons, these workers had to be transported from China to Havana via Macau. From 1847 to 1877, the Compañia Asiatica de la Habana, the commercial body set up to manage the system, transported over 140,000 Chinese labourers to Cuba. Here Castro Sampaio gives a detailed account of this migration system and provides recent statistics. The table on page 141 shows that from 1856 to 1860, 32,513 Chinese emigrants passed through Macau, with the great majority, 28,012, bound for Havana, while 1,613 were headed for Peru.

Manuel de Castro Sampaio: Journalist, Soldier and Governor in the Far East

Manuel de Castro Sampaio (1827-1875) was during the 1860s one of the most prominent residents of Macau, a senior army officer and then a respected journalist. While still a young man in Portugal, he had founded the Voz do Alentejo, a magazine in Elvas, and wrote a work of poetry, Pobreza envergonhada (Valencia 1852).

He subsequently joined the army, and as a member of the medical corps, was posted to Macau, where he eventually became the captain of the garrison. Of great intellect and possessing an open-mind, Castro Sampaio befriended a wide variety of people from all classes and races, granting him precious cultural insights. He left the army and became a full-time journalist, being one of the founders and editors of the short-lived but highly regarded weekly magazine, Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo (1863-6), and the author of several books, of both fact and fiction, including, Ensaios Poeticos (1858); Compendio de hygiene popular – tradução livre do texto de D. Francisco-Tamires Vaz, (Elvas, 1860); Victimas de uma paixão (Lisbon 1863); Memorias dos festejos realizados em Macau no fausto nascimento de S. A. o sr. D. Carlos Fernando (Macau, 1864) and Compendio de ortographia (Macau, 1864). The present work was Castro Sampaio's finest and most important, based on his many years of intimate knowledge of the Macau's Chinese community.

Sampaio was highly regarded by the Portuguese government and served as the Governor of East Timor (Timor Leste) from 1871 to 1873. Sadly, his years in the Orient took a toll on his health, and after having returned to Portugal, he died at only the age of 48.

The Publisher: Noronha & Sons – the Macanese Official Printer to the Kong Kong Government

The present work was issued by the firm of Noronha & Sons, a leading Hong Kong publishing house that for a century played a major role in the history of media and print culture in Hong Kong, Macau and southern China.

The firm was founded by in 1844, the year after Hong Kong's official creation as a colony, by Delfino Noronha (1824-1900), a virtually penniless Macanese immigrant. However, Norohna was incredibly hardworking, and a stickler for detail and quality, who spoke several languages. He produced far



better works at more reasonable prices than his British competitors, leading the crown to appoint him to publish the Hongkong Government Gazette. He was subsequently made the official government printer, a major accolade for anyone, especially an immigrant.

Noronha & Sons published many of the most important books and magazines in Hong Kong, in a variety of languages, and Delfino Noronha became a very wealthy man and a major philanthropist and patron of the arts. He also founded the first ferry service across Hong Kong Harbour, the forerunner to the famous Star Ferry. Noronha was also one of the principals of the Club Lusitano, the highly influential organization for Portuguese nationals in Hong Kong.

The Noronha firm was continued by his heirs after his death and remained the government printer until World War II.

A Note on Rarity & Variants

While we can trace around a dozen or so examples in institutions worldwide, the work seldom appears on the market.

Importantly, there are two variants of the book, which are identical save for the final leaves that list the author's other works. The first variant (the present example), features a single, unnumbered page of the author's other works after the index, entitled, 'Obras de Mesmo Auctor'. The earlier print runs of the book are of this variant.

The second variant features a differently printed, expanded 2-page list of the author's other works, entitled 'Obras de Manuel de Castro Sampaio', continuing the pagination of the book to page 149.

References: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: H.G. 15528 P.; British Library: General Reference Collection 1509/3687; Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden: KITLV3 M ww 662; University of Macau: RMK 1929; OCLC: 760470066, 253039237, 482495130; Jean A. BERLIE, 'The Chinese of Macao: Identity and Transformation', in Eilo W.Y.YU and Ming K. CHAN (eds.) China's Macao Transformed: Challenge and Development in the 21st Century (Hong Kong, 2014), p. 147; R. D. CREMER, Macau: City of Commerce and Culture (1991), p. 367; N.B. DENNYS (ed.), Notes and Queries on China and Japan, vol. 1 (Dec., 1867), pp. 63-4; Kendall JOHNSON, Narratives of Free Trade: The Commercial Cultures of Early US-China Relations (Hong Kong, 2011), p. 202.

Java	...	...	5	418	77	500
Havana	2,253	6,753	8,296	7,695	3,015	28,012
Havana, *via* Hongkong	...	...	617	...	...	617
Calhau de Lima	...	450	300	321	542	1,613
Demerara, *via* Hongkong	...	...	300	460	...	760
Australia	240	...	...	...	...	240
Surinam	...	...	500	...	...	500
Pinang	...	150	...	5	...	155
Singapura	...	...	16	25	...	41
Moçambique	...	30	...	...	...	30

QINGDAO / TSINGTAO IMPRINT
GERMANS IN CHINA

Richard Wilhelm (1873 – 1930) was a notable German sinologist, born in Stuttgart, who learned Chinese while working as a missionary in China. He arrived shortly before 1900 in the Empire of China, specifically the city of Tsingtao, as part of the German East Asia Mission.

In 1908, Wilhelm traveled to China for a second time. During World War I, he faced significant challenges continuing his work at the school and serving as pastor for the German community in Qingdao, as the region was under Japanese occupation. In the summer of 1920, after twenty years of missionary work, he returned to Germany.

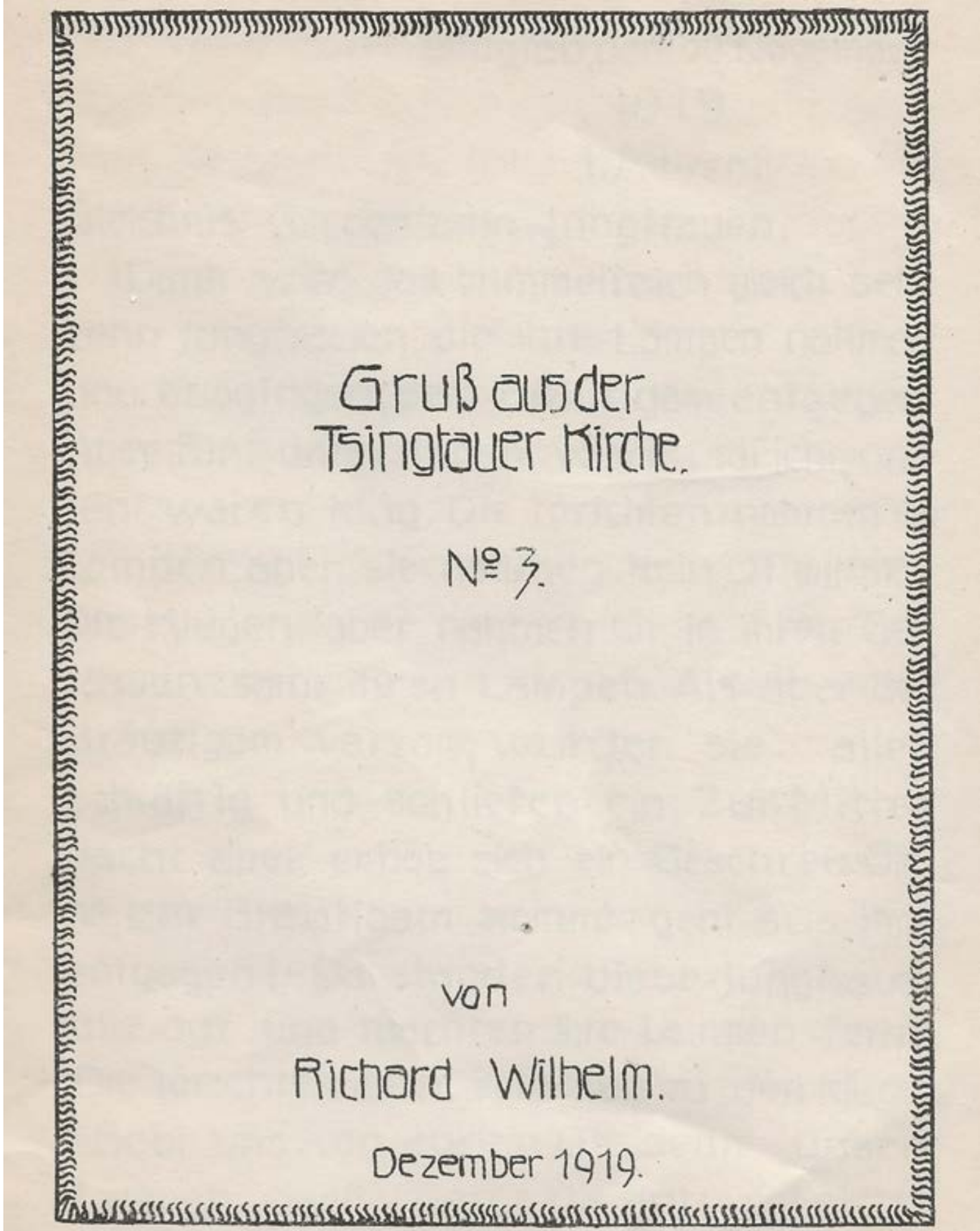
Upon his return, he was appointed as an honorary professor to the newly established endowed chair for Chinese History and Chinese Philosophy at Frankfurt am Main University in 1924. In 1925, he founded the China Institute at the University of Frankfurt, which he directed until his death in 1930.

Wilhelm translated several significant German works into Chinese and vice versa. His most renowned work is a translation of the *I Ching* (also known as *Yijing*), an ancient Chinese divination text regarded as one of the oldest Chinese classics.

Featured here are six titles authored by Richard Wilhelmm between 1918 and 1920 in Tsingtao, following World War I. The texts blend elements of Chinese philosophy with Eastern evangelical tradition. The pages feature beautiful yet somewhat rustic printing from manuscripts, complemented by elegant original wrappers and bindings that showcase intricate Chinese patterns. Some publications even include mounted images of Chinese landscapes and motifs, which vary from one edition to another.

These publications were likely printed in very limited quantities by an organization associated with Christ's Church in Tsingtao, which was established in 1910, where Wilhelm played an active role.

PLEASE SEE ITEMS NOS. 8-13



No. 8

ANON. Richard WILHELM (1873 – 1930), translator.
Chinesische Volksmärchen
[Chinese Folk Tale]
[Tsingtao: s. d., but probably between 1918 and 1920].

8°, blank sheet with mounted image, illustrated title page, 10 pp. with illuminated initial on the first page and last page with mounted image, blank sheet with mounted image, original light blue wrappers with highlighted pattern and lettering on the front, signature “Fred Othmer” in pencil on title page, stapled (minor wear to the edges, otherwise good).

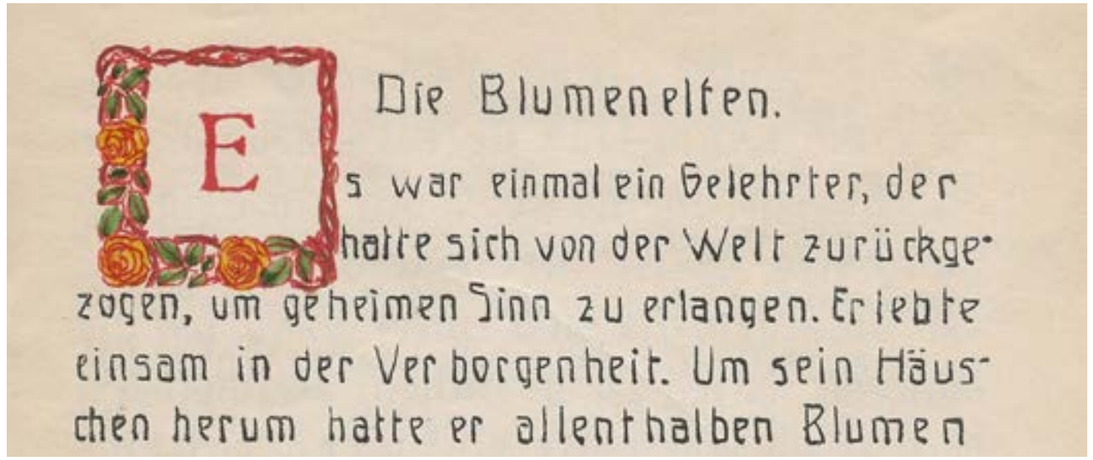
A translation of a Chinese folk tale with a decorative title page and mounted illustrations.

1.200 EUR

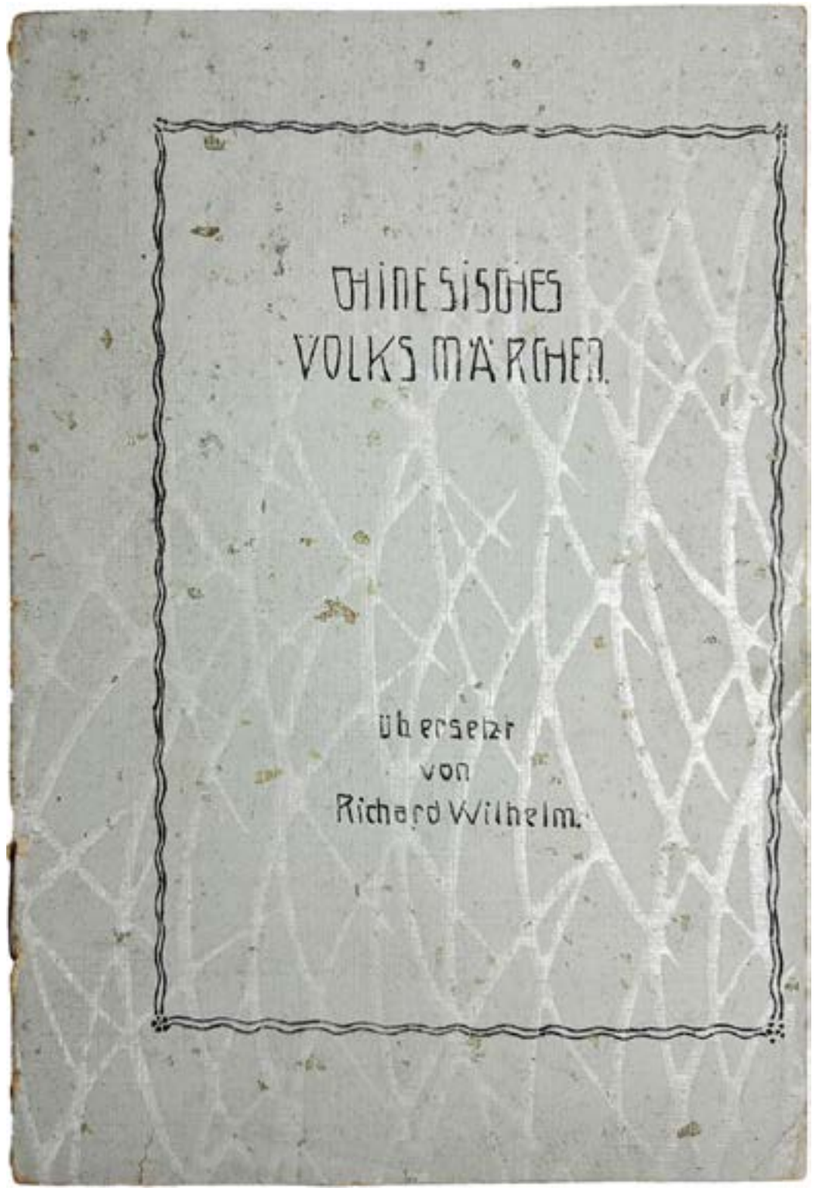
The signature on the title page, “Fred Othmer” likely indicates the ownership of German educator and sinologist Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Othmer (mostly known as Wilhelm Othmer in later articles 1882–1934). Othmer was active in Tsingtau until World War I, at which point he joined the army. Like many others, he was captured and sent to a Japanese prison. It is known that his wife, who remained in Tsingtao, was sending him letters—possibly also books—while he was imprisoned in Ninoshima in 1919.

The official romanization of Mandarin Chinese into the German language, known as the Lessing-Othmer System, is named after Wilhelm Othmer and his colleague Ferdinand Lessing (1882–1961). They first introduced this method while working as translators in Tsingtao, and it was published in 1912 in their book titled “Lehrgang der nordchinesischen Umgangssprache” (translated as “Course in the North Chinese Colloquial Language”).

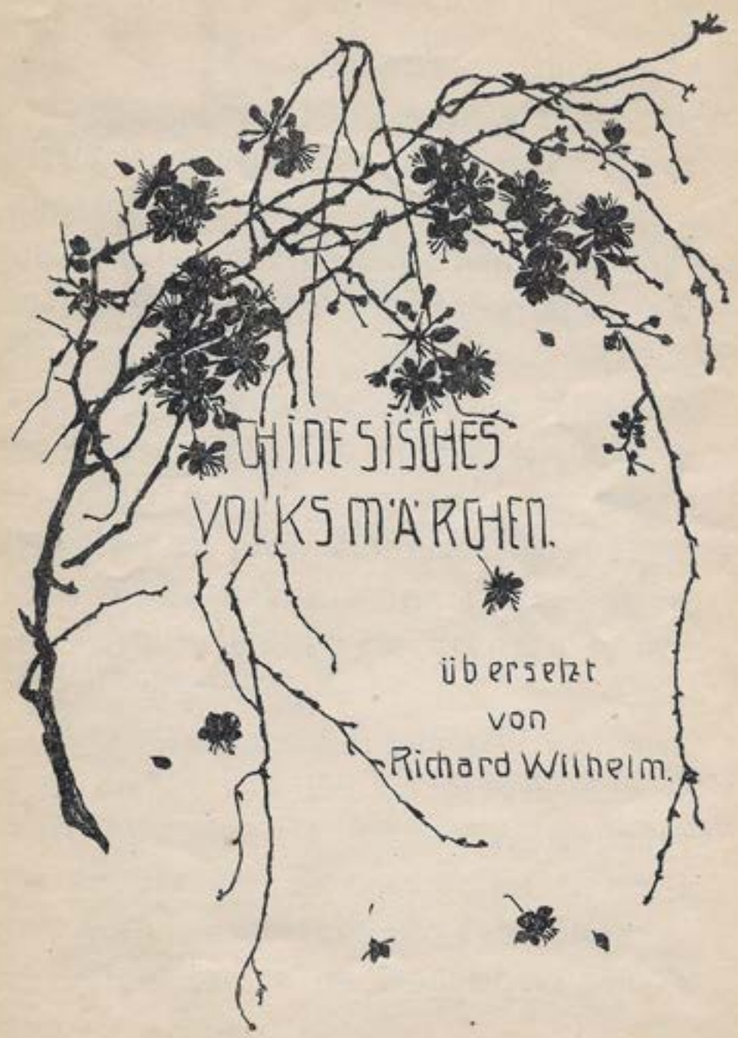
Determining the number of printed and preserved institutional examples is challenging, as the book with the same title and translator was also published in Germany (Jena) in 1914 and 1917.


Die Blumenelfen.

Es war einmal ein Gelehrter, der hatte sich von der Welt zurückgezogen, um geheimen Sinn zu erlangen. Er lebte einsam in der Verborgenheit. Um sein Häuschen herum hatte er allenthalben Blumen



Gerd Othmer



CHINESISCHES VOLKSMÄRCHEN.

übersetzt
von
Richard Wilhelm.

werden auch wir Schwestern lang am Leben bleiben."

Der Gelehrte tat nach ihren Worten und ass die Blumen. Da verwandelte sich seine Gestalt, und er ward wieder jung wie ein zwanzigjähriger Jüngling. Im Laufe der Zeit erlangte er geheimen Sinn und ward unter die Unsterblichen versetzt.



10-

No. 9

VARIOUS AUTHORS. Richard WILHELM (1873 – 1930), translator.
Chinesische Herbstlieder
[Chinese Autumn Poems]
Tsingtao: 1918.

8°, [24 pp.]: first blank sheet with mounted image, title, last sheet blank, 2 images originally mounted below text, contemporary card binding with floral pattern and mounted title on the front cover, originally bound with a string, contemporary grey endpapers, contemporary dedication in black ink to Mrs. Othmer on the front free endpaper (binding lightly rubbed in the margins).

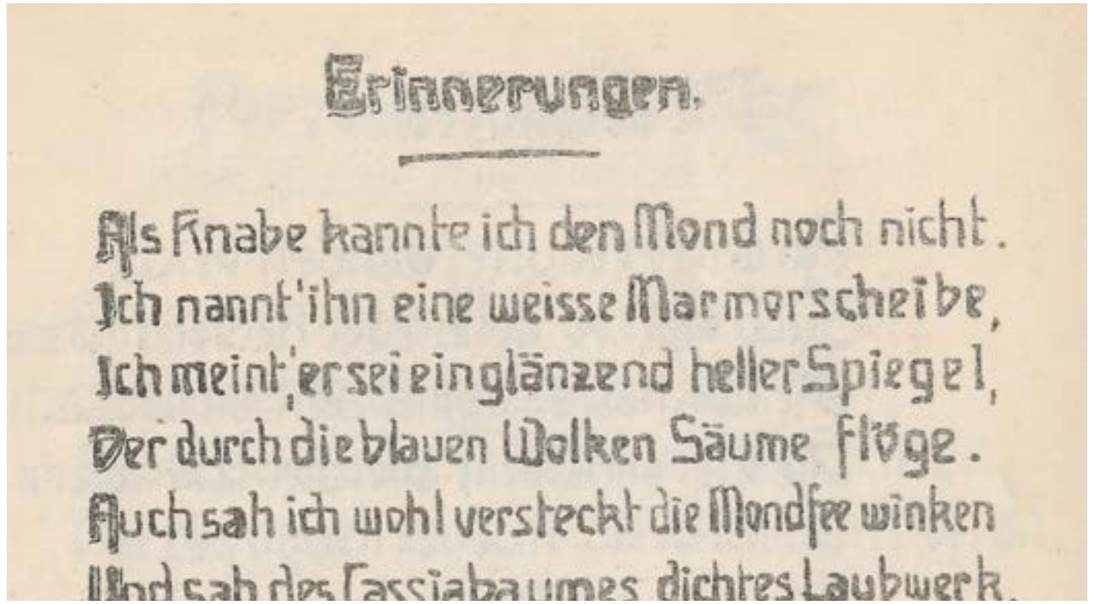
Translation from Chinese of twelve poems and short texts featuring autumn motifs by Richard Wilhelm.

1.400 EUR

The hand-written text of the front loose endpaper is dedicated to "Mrs. Othmer", the wife of the German educator and sinologist Wilhelm Othmer (1882–1934) (please see the item above).

We could trace examples in the following institutions on Worldcat: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen and Leiden University Libraries.

References: OCLC 248946001. Thomas Zimmer, Richard Wilhelm (1873-1930). Missionar in China und Vermittler chinesischen Geistesguts ; Schriftenverzeichnis, Katalog seiner chinesischen Bibliothek, Briefe von Heinrich Hackmann, Briefe von Ku Hung-ming, 2008, p. 93, nr. 215.


Erinnerungen.

Als Knabe kannte ich den Mond noch nicht.
Ich nannt' ihn eine weisse Marmorscheibe,
Ich meint', er sei ein glänzend heller Spiegel,
Der durch die blauen Wolken Säume flöge.
Auch sah ich wohl versteckt die Mondfee winken
Und sah des Cassiabaumes dichtes Laubwerk.


Chinesische
Herbstlieder

Kerze verglimmet,
Aber die Fülle der Lichtflut
Lockt mich noch einmal
Fort in den feuchtenden Tau.

Ach könnt ich schenken
Dir von der Fülle des Lichtes -
Einsam zum Lager
Kehr ich und träume von dir.



Herbstfahrt zur roten Wand.
von Su Dung Po.

Su Dung Po machte einst im Herbst mit einem Freunde eine Kahnfahrt zur roten Wand. Leis kam der kühle Wind geflossen und kräuselte nur leicht die Wasserwellen. Da hob er seinen Becher und trank dem Freunde zu. Sie sangen nun zusammen manches Lied vom Mondenschein und schönen Mädchen. Nach einer kleinen Weile kam der Mond im Osten hinter fernen Hügeln vor und schwankend grüsst' sein Abbild aus dem Wasser. Am Ufer glänzte weisser Tau und fern am Horizont verschwamm des Wassers Schimmer in den Himmel. Sie hiessen nun ihr Schifflein treiben, wohin es wollte in der ungeheuren Wasserflut. Da ward die Seele weit, als schwebte sie auf Windesflügeln, unbekümmert,

No. 10

VARIOUS AUTHORS. Richard WILHELM (1873 – 1930), translator.
Chinesische Frühlingsgedichte
[Chinese Spring Poems]
Tsingtao: 1919.

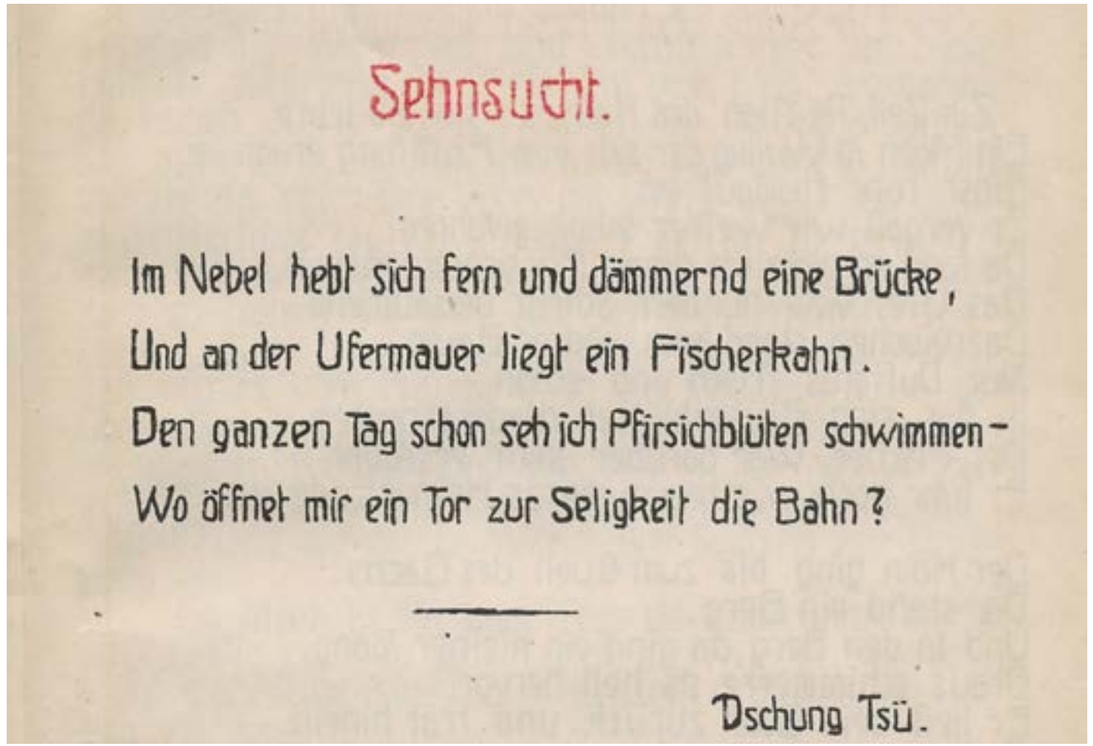
8°, first blank sheet with mounted image, title page, printed in black and red, 20 pp. with titles printed in red and text in black, a small image mounted below text on p. 9., inserted unnumbered sheets with mounted full page images between pp. 4 and 5, 12 and 13, 16 and 17, and after p. 20, blank sheet, original silk binding with floral pattern (minor age-toning to the last blank page, small loss of material to the spine and boards, otherwise good).

Translations of Chinese poems involving motifs of spring by Richard Wilhelm, with handsome original silk binding with Chinese floral pattern.

We could trace three institutional examples housed at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, and Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena.

References: OCLC 553996856.

1.400 EUR



Sehnsucht.

Im Nebel hebt sich fern und dämmernd eine Brücke,
Und an der Ufermauer liegt ein Fischerkahn.
Den ganzen Tag schon seh ich Pfirsichblüten schwimmen –
Wo öffnet mir ein Tor zur Seligkeit die Bahn?

Dschung Tsü.



Ein Frühlingsmahl im Pfirsich- und Pflaumengarten.

Einladung an die Brüder.

Der Himmel und die Erde
Sind aller Dinge Herberg nur,
Die flüchtge Stunde
Ist Wandergast der Zeitenspur.
Wir schwimmen durch das Leben,
Als wie in einem Traum
Und alles fröhliche Lachen
Ist aus, man merkt es kaum.
Die Alten im Scheine der Fackeln
Wanderten durch die Nacht,
Sie wussten wohl, was sie taten.

Nun lockt uns heute der Frühling
Mit seinen duftgen Fernen,
Und unsre liebe Erde
Schenkt uns ihre bunte Schönheit.
Wir wollen im Dufte der Blüten
Der Pflaumen und Pfirsiche weilen,
Und uns der heiligen Bande
Der Bruderliebe freuen.
Ihr alle, meine Brüder,
Seid ja gar wackere Leute,
Ich singe meine Lieder
Bescheiden im Hintergrunde.-

Noch sind die stillen Freuden
Nicht alle ganz erschöpft,
Wir plaudern von hohen Dingen,
Und lieblich fliesst das Gespräch.
Nun wollen zum Mahl wir uns setzen
Unter die Blüten hier.
Im Fluge der Becher soll kreisen
Bis trunken der Mond ist.--
Wenn's keine Lieder gäbe,
Wie käme heraus, was wir fühlen?
Drum wer kein Lied heut fertig bringt,
Drei Becher Wein zur Strafe trinkt.

Li Tai Be.



No. 11

VARIOUS AUTHORS. Richard WILHELM (1873 – 1930), translator.

Chinesische Sommergedichte

[Chinese Summer Poems]

Tsingtao: 1919.

8°, [2 pp.], 30 pp. [1 pp.]., text in black with red titles, 3 pasted black and white images, original wrappers with an abstract pattern and red title on the cover, stapled, hand-written inscription “Othmer, Ninoshima, 18. 10. 1919” in pencil in the lower corner of the title page (staples rusty and partly broken, light damages to the margins of the front cover, cover loose, but otherwise good, sporadic old annotations in light pencil).

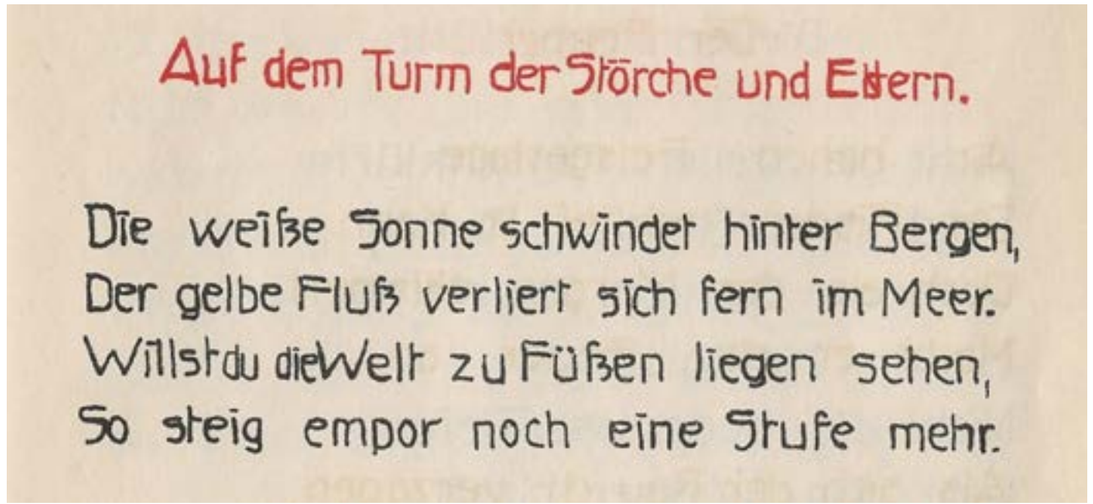
A collection of 20 poems was translated from Chinese to German by Richard Wilhelm. The images included in the book were sourced from various publications and were likely mounted by the author himself or by his circle. The illustrations and their number vary (we could trace between 3 and 6 illustrations) among the different examples of the title.

1.200 EUR

The handwritten note at the bottom of the title page, “Othmer, Ninoshima, 18. 10. 1919,” likely indicates the ownership of German educator and sinologist Wilhelm Othmer (1882–1934) - please see item no. 8 for further explanation.

We could trace an example in the University of Wisconsin Madison, and in the following three German libraries: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

References: OCLC 553996835. Thomas Zimmer, Richard Wilhelm (1873-1930). Missionar in China und Vermittler chinesischen Geistesguts ; Schriftenverzeichnis, Katalog seiner chinesischen Bibliothek, Briefe von Heinrich Hackmann, Briefe von Ku Hung-ming, 2008, p. 93, nr. 218.


Auf dem Turm der Störche und Eltern.

Die weiße Sonne schwindet hinter Bergen,
Der gelbe Fluß verliert sich fern im Meer.
Willst du die Welt zu Füßen liegen sehen,
So steig empor noch eine Stufe mehr.


CHINESISCHE
SOMMERGEDICHTE

Die Liebe zum Lotos.

Von Blüten der Gewächse
zu Land und Wasser sind gar viele, die man lieben
mag.
Der Eremit vom Dsinstaat, Tau Yüan Ming,
er liebte ganz besonders das Chrysanthemum.
Seit Glanz und Reichtum in der Tangzeit mächtig
wurden,
ist die Päonie allgemein beliebt.-
Ich liebe mir den Lotos,
wie er so aus dem Schlamm hervorkommt
und doch nicht befleckt wird,
wie er sich setzt in reinen Fluten und
dadurch nicht eitel wird.
im Innern frei, nach aussen aufrecht,
ganz ohne Kletterranken oder Zweiggeschlinge.
Sein Duft ist in der Ferne doppelt rein.
Selbständig steht er da und still.

Man mag ihn aus der Ferne schauen
doch mit sich spielen lässt er nicht.
Ich denke wohl, die Chrysantheme
ist von den Blumen die Einsiedlerin.
Und die Päonie
ist von den Blumen all die Prächtigste.
Der Lotos ist der Weise in der Blumenwelt.-
Ach! daß jemand die Chrysanthemen liebe,
hat man seit Tau Yüan Ming gar selten nur gehört.
Und wer teilt meine Liebe zu dem Lotos wohl?
Die Liebe zur Päonie aber
entspricht so ganz der großen Menge.

Dschou Dun I.

No. 12

Richard WILHELM (1873 – 1930), Translator.
Die Höhere Bildung. Aus dem Chinesischen Übersetzt
[The Higher Growth. Translated from Chinese]
Tsingtao: 1920.

8°, title page, 22 pp., original patterned wrapper with printed title, stapled (small tears and tiny loss of paper in margins, title page with light foxing, but overall good).

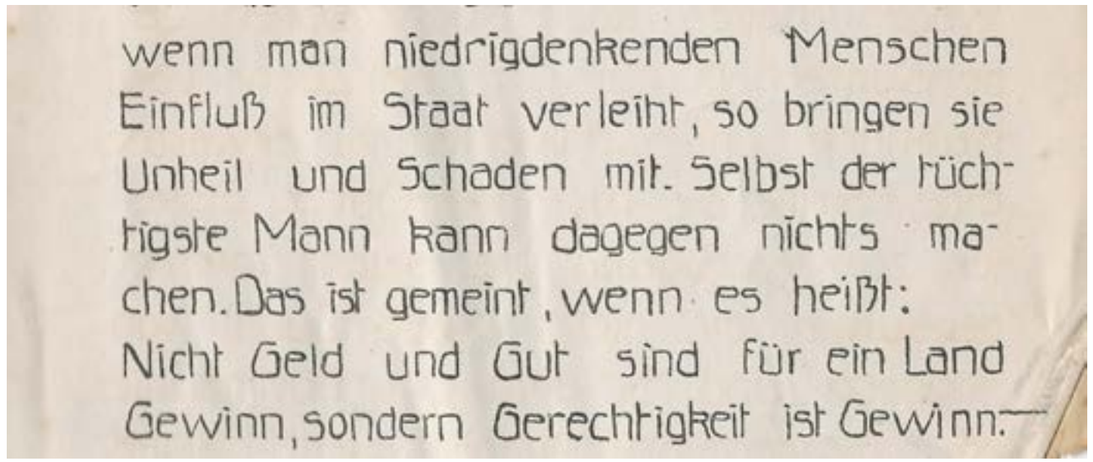
This text, translated from a Chinese source, focuses on personal development, inner peace, understanding one's life goals, and fostering love for humanity. It emphasizes the importance of organized thoughts, a tidy home, and an orderly environment around our living spaces.

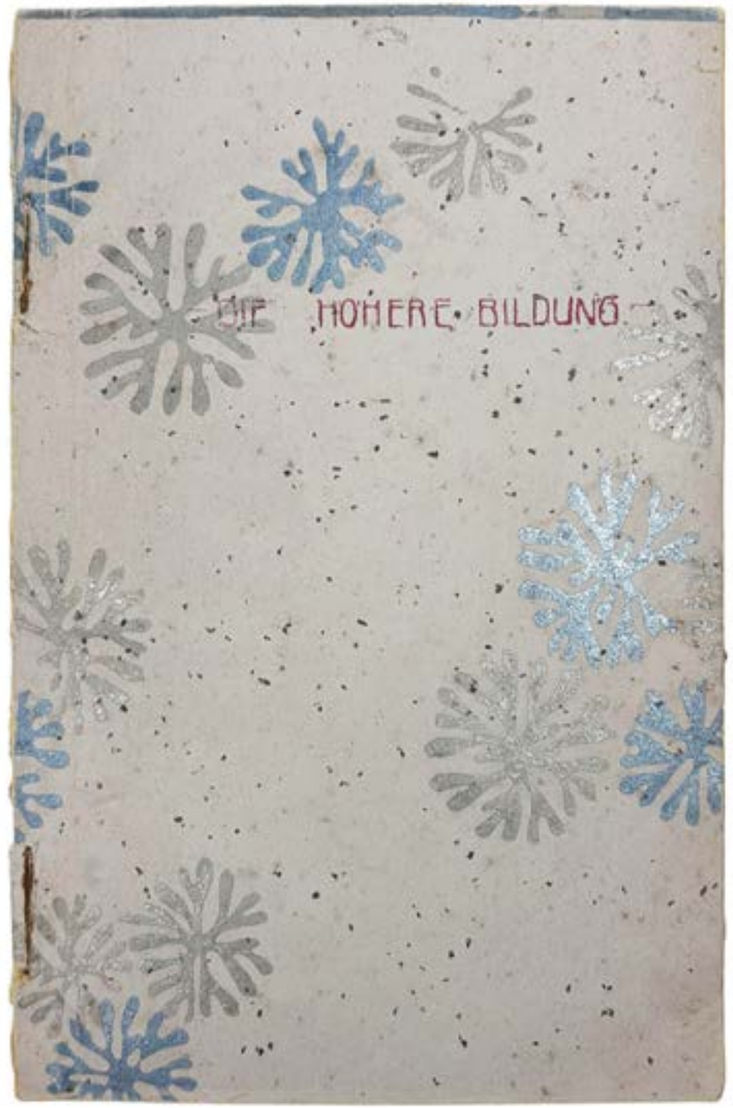
1.800 EUR

The ideas presented draw inspiration from interpretations of the Chinese poems found in the "Classic of Poetry" (Shijing or Shih-ching, also known as the Book of Songs, Book of Odes, or in German, Buch der Lieder). This collection is the oldest existing anthology of Chinese poetry, containing 305 works that date back to the 11th to 7th centuries BC.

We could trace three institutional examples, held at Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig and Universitätsbibliothek Basel

References: OCLC 1284405244. Thomas Zimmer, Richard Wilhelm (1873-1930). Missionar in China und Vermittler chinesischen Geistesguts ; Schriftenverzeichnis, Katalog seiner chinesischen Bibliothek, Briefe von Heinrich Hackmann, Briefe von Ku Hung-ming, 2008, nr. 220.


wenn man niedrigdenkenden Menschen
Einfluß im Staat verleiht, so bringen sie
Unheil und Schaden mit. Selbst der tüch-
tigste Mann kann dagegen nichts ma-
chen. Das ist gemeint, wenn es heißt:
Nicht Geld und Gut sind für ein Land
Gewinn, sondern Gerechtigkeit ist Gewinn.—



DIE HÖHERE BILDUNG.

Aus dem Chinesischen

übersetzt von

Richard Wilhelm.

-Tsingtau 1920.-

DIE HÖHERE BILDUNG.

A. Die Grundlagen.

1. Die höhere Bildung führt zur Läuterung der ursprünglichen guten Anlagen, zur Liebe zur Menschheit und dazu, daß man sich die höchsten Ideale als Ziel setzt.

2. Wenn man sein Ziel kennt, so gibt das Festigkeit des Entschlusses. Ein fester Entschluß allein führt zur Ruhe des Gemüts. Die Ruhe des Gemüts allein führt zum Frieden der Seele. Der Friede der Seele allein ermöglicht ernstes und besonnenes Nachdenken. Ernstes und besonnenes Nachdenken allein führt zum Gelingen.

3. Jedes Ding hat Stamm und Verzweigungen, jede Handlung Ende und Anfang. Dadurch, daß man erkennt, was zuerst und was nachher kommt, nähert man sich dem

No. 13

Richard WILHELM (1873 – 1930).
Gruß aus der Tsingtauer Kirche. No. 3.
[Greeting from the Tsingtao Church, No. 3.].
Tsingtao: December 1919.

8°, white sheet, title page, 20 pp., original patterned wrappers (minor folds and tears in inner hinges and around the spine and in corners, but overall good).

[and:]
Richard WILHELM (1873 – 1930).
Gruß aus der Tsingtauer Kirche. No. 4
[Greeting from the Tsingtao Church, No. 4].
Tsingtao: March 1920.

8°, title page, 18 pp., original patterned wrappers, annotation dated 28. 3. 1920, in pencil in the lower corner of the title page (minor folds and tears in edges of the wrappers, light water staining to the wrappers, title page age-toned, otherwise good).

Two volumes of rare pamphlets, likely given as gifts to the members of Christ's Church in Tsingtao after World War I, reflect a significant period for the German community in China. During uncertain times, especially with thousands of men still imprisoned in Japanese POW camps, the evangelical church served as a vital center for support.

2.600 EUR

Christ's Church in Tsingtao published four separate pamphlets over approximately one year, and the texts were not connected.

Pamphlet numbered 3 in this collection was issued in December 1919 and includes a speech delivered during the first Advent service on November 30, 1919. Pamphlet number 4, released in March of the following year, features a speech given at the Confirmation ceremony on February 29, 1920.

The Bavarian State Library appears to hold two volumes (one with 17 pages and the other one with 23 pages from 1919, possibly volumes 1 & 2; OCLC 802698126). The University Library Mainz houses volumes 2,3 and 4, dated June and December 1919, as well as March 1920 (OCLC 608730370).

It's possible that the pamphlets were intended for the German POWs in Japan, aiming to connect them with gatherings at the German church in Tsingtao. This would also clarify the titles of the texts: "Greetings from the Tsingtao Church."

References: Thomas Zimmer, Richard Wilhelm (1873-1930). Missionar in China und Vermittler chinesischen Geistesguts ; Schriftenverzeichnis, Katalog seiner chinesischen Bibliothek, Briefe von Heinrich Hackmann, Briefe von Ku Hung-ming, 2008, p. 93, nr. 216



Wir dürfen nicht mit einem falschen Optimismus auf die Dinge blicken. Wie viele Hoffnungen haben wir gehegt. Wie oft haben wir uns aufgeschwungen zu der Zuversicht: Es wird das Schlimmste uns erspart bleiben. Alle diese Hoffnungen mußten wir zu Grabe tragen. Und es scheint, als haben die Schwarzseher Recht behalten. So wollen wir das wenigstens aus den Erfahrungen der vergangenen Jahre lernen, dass... ehrlich der Wirklichkeit ins... auch wenn sie für...

Aber gera... doch auch...

...und hat eine Herrlichkeit des Lebens und der Auferstehung ausgegossen über die ganze Christenheit und das Frühlingslicht des Osterfestes ist auch in unsern Tagen noch nicht verblaßt.

Die Lage von uns Deutschen in Tsingtau am heutigen Tage erinnert in manchen Dingen an die Lage des Volkes Israel bei seinem Aufbruch aus Ägypten. Auch wir sind im Begriff nach langer Einschließung auszuziehen in unser Vaterland. Da gibt es viel zu denken und zu tun, viel Unruhe und Sorge, vieles was das Herz beschwert und düster macht. Aber mitten in den stürmischen Tagen des Aufbruchs feiern wir heute das Fest der Konfirmation, das wie ein heller Stern in unser Leben hineinleuchten soll und dessen Erinnerung uns als Gottessegen begleiten möge in unser künftiges Leben hinein.

...schen wir in heute unsern Konfirmanden, ...in erster Linie wün... daß sie etwas vom Segen Gottes, der mächtig ist in allen Stürmen, in ihr Leben hinausnehmen. Aber auch wir andre alle möchten vom heutigen Tage etwas mitnehmen, das uns befestigt im Segen Gottes. So soll der heutige als Tag des Dankes in unseren Herzen leuchten des Dankes für alles, was Gott an uns getan hat, wie er uns behütet hat in aller Not. Diese Erfahrungen der Vergangenheit sollen uns eine frohe Hoffnung für die Zukunft geben, die sich ungewiß, wie in Nebel verschwimmend vor uns ausbreitet. Denn wir wissen es gewiß, daß der Gott, der uns bisher getragen hat, auch künftig für uns sorgen wird; denn wir kennen Gott nicht nur vom Hörensagen, sondern wir kennen ihn aus seinen Taten, wir haben etwas erlebt von seiner Gnade, und darum

Gnade Gottes in aller Not ist ein ähnliches Wunder wie damals der Einzug Jesu in Jerusalem. Es ist auch alles ganz natürlich dabei zugegangen, und dennoch haben wir etwas erlebt ...es persönlichem Eingreifen ...

...ös unmöglich ...enn Gott ...ommen kann ...fahrungen ...wir nicht ...ein, ein ...h das ...so ...fest ...ind, ...uf

SOUTH AFRICA
EIGHTH EUROPEAN-XHOSA WAR (1850-3)
ORIGINAL MSS. ARTWORK (CARICATURE)

No. 14

ANON.

"1851 / The Outspan. in Kaffarland".

Manuscript, Cape Colony, 1851.

Manuscript, pen and ink and watercolour on wove paper (Good, lovely colours, light old stains throughout but curiously contributing to an attractive patina, old folds, some insignificant marginal tears and chips), 19 x 13 cm (7.5 x 5 inches)**.**

An amazing survivor, being an original manuscript caricature drafted during the Eighth European-Xhosa War (1850-3), one of the century-long series of brutal conflicts between Dutch, and more recently British, forces and the formidable Xhosa nation for control over the Eastern Cape Frontier, South Africa's 'Wild, Wild East'; involving a very clever use of imagery and dialogue, the caricature shows two British infantrymen at camp in the wilderness, lamenting that they will not receive reinforcements to fight the Xhosa, meanwhile two Xhosa warriors loom over them, holding a monkey on a leash, symbolically representing the fact that they held the hapless soldiers' fate in their hands; a remarkable piece of wonderful content that is one of only very few original 'field' artworks that remain from the European-Xhosa conflicts.

3.500 EUR

The European-Xhosa Wars (1779-1879) were a century-long series of conflicts between European colonial forces (initially the Dutch, and later the British) and the formidable and cleverly led Xhosa nation for control of the Eastern Cape Frontier, being South Africa's 'Wild, Wild East'. The conflicts were renowned for their brutality by both sides, typified by guerilla warfare, ambuscades in rough country and the massacres of civilians. While the Europeans enjoyed massive technological advantages that should have secured easy victory, the Xhosa were ingenious and utterly indefatigable guerilla fighters, whose speed and stealth was renowned throughout southern Africa. Whole through the first half of the 19th century, the British were able to make incremental progress, shifting the Anglo-Xhosa line of control ever further east, they also suffered stunning setbacks, as the Xhosa caught them off guard.

In many respects the Eighth European-Xhosa War (1850-3) was particularly brutal and unpredictable, whereupon after having suffered major setbacks in the previous Anglo-Xhosa conflict, the Xhosa mounted a grand reprise, surging into British-held territory, pinning down, besieging and overwhelming colonial forces. The Xhosa juggernaut terrified the powers in





Cape Town and London, and the Xhosa were only subdued by a massive surge of British forces into the Eastern Cape, that nevertheless came at a staggering cost in blood and treasure.
Fighting in the Anglo-Xhosa conflicts, and perhaps in the Eighth European-Xhosa War in particular, was described by even the most seasoned British veterans of colonial conflicts to be an utterly terrifying experience. The Xhosa could strike you anywhere, anytime, day or night. Even where the British were overall making a victorious push, for isolated detachments of British troops operating in the countryside, nowhere was safe, causing one's adrenalin to run high 24/7. The present work brilliantly captures this unsettling environment.

The Caricature in Focus

Here is an amazing artefact from the Eighth European-Xhosa War (1850-3), being an original manuscript caricature that employs very clever 'gallows humour' to capture the perilous predicament of the common British troops fighting the Xhosa along the Eastern Cape Frontier. It is an incredible survivor, as very few original 'field' artworks of any kind remain from the European-Xhosa conflicts, let along one of such wonderful content.

Caricatures, which are the ancestors of modern cartoons, had their rise during the late 18th century and were a clever and entertaining form of humour, social commentary and political satire. They we especially popular in the British Empire and their heyday continued well into the 19th century.

The present caricature depicts a pair of British soldiers at camp in a remote location, trying to relax, but seemingly haunted by the threat of a Xhosa ambush. The work features imagery and dialogue that, at first, is seemingly crude, featuring simple phrases and employing both British and local slang; however, in aggregate, it forms a clever and sophisticated commentary that perfectly captures the state of play along the Eastern Cape Frontier as it was in 1851, at the height of the Eighth European-Xhosa War.

The caricature is anonymous, although it seems to be indistinctly initialled below the title. It was clearly drafted somewhere in South Africa during the Eighth European-Xhosa War, and has the feel as having been made by a British colonial soldier with some amateur artistic ability, while he was fighting along the Eastern Cape Frontier, and was perhaps part of a diary or scrapbook (thus making the caricature autobiographical!). However, it could also have been made by someone in the safety of Cape Town who possessed a familiarly with the conflict along the frontier.

To explain the meaning of the title, "The Outspan. in Kaffarland", firstly, "Kaffarland" is the traditional name for the frontier regions of the Eastern Cape that were long contested by Europeans and the Xhosa nation. It derives from a pejorative (and deeply offensive) term for Black South Africans.

"Outspan", usually rendered as Out Span is a historical term popular in South African English during the 19th century (but seldom used today) that refers to a place in the countryside where travellers could rest, akin to a makeshift campsite. It is derived from the Afrikaans term uitspan, which originally referred to place where one unharnessed draft animals, but subsequently also came to refer to a traveller's place of rest. Today the term is best known from Outspan Citrus, the name of one of South Africa's oldest and most popular brands of oranges.

The caricature depicts two members of a British light infantry regiment (as revealed by the horn insignia on one of the soldier's caps), at rest, by a campfire, at a makeshift "Out Span", located somewhere along the Eastern Cape Frontier. One soldier, is relaxing, lying down in the grass, in the foreground. The other soldier is seated upon his canteen, in the centre. To their background right, shielded by some bushes, are their makeshift tents, with one being a mere sheet held up by a rifle. In the upper left background are two Xhosa warriors, holding a monkey on a leash.

The soldiers are remarkably scruffy, a common trait of British troops in the Xhosa Wars, wearing uniforms that are a melange of regular British and local elements, with patched up trousers. This is similar to the observations of the artist Thomas Baines, who remarked that the British troops fighting in the Eighth European-Xhosa War reminded him of "Falstaff's ragged regiment, but with their rags all resemblance ceased; the tinsel, even to the numbers on the caps of those who could still boast such an article of dress, had all been worn off by hard service, and to all appearance there was not a piece of feather".

Turning to the humour, or chain of dialogue in the caricature, it runs from the bottom to the top (i.e., for the lower British soldier up the Xhosa warriors). The soldier lying on the grass remarks to his comrade, "these are hard times Dick" [with "Dick" being a name sometimes used to describe a common British soldier, coming for the old phrase "Tom, Dick, and Harry", meaning "Everyman", as they were all very common English names].

The seated soldier in the centre replies "Thay are hard times – and no convoy coming", referring the fact they and their isolated regiment were to be left fighting the wily Xhosa warriors on the own, and could not expect to receive any backup from for Cape Town.

The two Xhosa warriors, in the left background, remark "Scoff Johnny", seemingly to themselves, and not addressing the British troops. This essentially means "Damn you, British soldier", and don't complain about your sorry state while you are invading our land!

The warriors' use of the term "Johnny" to refer to the British soldiers is intriguing. During the 19th century, the Xhosa and Zulus, who both spoke closely related tongues of the Nguni language group, referred to British troops as amajoni (plural; ijoni, singular), meaning "Johnnny". How precisely they started using this nickname is not known, although there are several theories. Indeed, during this time, in Britain, 'Johnny' was often used as a mildly pejorative term for 'foreigner' or 'the other', sometimes even denoting the 'enemy'. In India, white officers sometimes referred to their sepoys as "Johnnies" and given the strong military connections between South Africa and India during this period, this may

have been the inspiration for the Xhosa and Zulus to adopt the term to describe the "foreign enemies" that were invading their lands.

Interestingly, one of the Xhosa warriors holds a monkey by a leash, which is seated in his foreground. While the monkey makes an utterance, we have not been able to interpret what he is saying.

It is important to carefully analyse this scene, as one's first impressions can perhaps be deceiving. Initially, it may seem that the appearance of a monkey in the company of Black Africans is a deeply racist attempt to denigrate the warriors.

However, if one looks carefully, the monkey bears a striking resemblance to the British soldier seated at the centre. His pose and shape are the same, while he is wearing a red collar that mimics that of the soldiers and is even seated upon a canteen. As such, the monkey symbolizes the British troops fighting along the Eastern Cape Frontier, who just as the Xhosa warriors holds (and thus controls) the monkey with the leash, so do the Xhosa hold the fate of the isolated detachments of the British troops in their hands. Moreover, the general scene shows the Xhosa warriors looming over the British soldiers, who are seemingly helpless should the warriors choose to attack. Thus, the caricature self-deprecatingly ridicules the British soldiers, rather than the Xhosa warriors.

The Eastern Cape: South Africa's 'Wild, Wild East'

During the latter period of Dutch rule over the Cape Colony, the region that would become the Eastern Cape was known as the 'Zuurveld', part of the large territory that was fiercely contested between the Netherlands and the Xhosa nation. The Dutch fought three wars against the Xhosa between 1779 and 1803 (the first part of what would become 'Africa's Hundred Year War' between Europeans and Xhosa, lasting from 1779 to 1879!), and while they managed to push the line of control further east, the Zuurlveld was considered far too dangerous for permanent European settlement. For some years it remained an ill-defined buffer zone, or "no man's land".
Upon the British conquest of the Cape, in January 1806, the new regime was determined to push the Xhosa further eastward, and to settle the Zuurlveld, which was home to prime ranch land with easy access to the sea.

The anchor of the British presence along the so-called 'Eastern Frontier' was Grahamstown, founded in 1812 as a military outpost by Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham. In 1819, the garrison of only 300 men narrowly survived an assault mounted by a Xhosa army of 10,000 warriors. The British high command in Cape Town knew that they had dodged a bullet, and that going forward a chain of isolated military outposts would be insufficient to contain the Xhosa threat. The Eastern Frontier had to be comprehensibly and quickly settled by loyal British subjects, who could provide sufficient manpower and resources for its defence. If this was not realized, it was accepted that the region would be lost to the Xhosa.



Turning to the big picture, upon the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, Britain experienced high unemployment, with no realistic hope of domestically engaging many hundreds of thousands of its people. The crown encouraged British emigration to 'settler colonies', overseas domains with climates suitable for European agrarian practices, such as Canada, Australia and South Africa. The Cape's Eastern Frontier was home to excellent ranch land, supposedly ideal for English emigrants, and its development would simultaneously tackle two imperial problems.

Not long after the Battle of Grahamstown, the British regime sponsored the arrival of the '1820 Settlers' to the Eastern Frontier. A total of 4,000 colonists arrived in 60 separate parties between April and June 1820. They initially attempted agricultural endeavours, as the Crown had intended; however, as many of the settlers had been tradesmen back home, they soon quit their rural homesteads, populating communities such as Grahamstown, Bathurst and Beaufort, developing services and light manufacturing. Agriculture was relegated to a supporting role in the local economy, largely left in the hands of the Afrikaners. The districts of Albany and Beaufort were founded, and the area became an 'English Island' in an Afrikaner-Xhosa sea. By the early 1830s, Grahamstown had become one of the largest settlements in the Cape, with over 6,000 residents.



However, all was not well. The British had begun to push into the lands between the Great Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, evicting the Xhosa and causing them great hardship, due to the loss of cattle grazing land. Xhosa parties took to raiding European homesteads, often in an effort to avoid starvation.
In response, on December 11, 1834, a British colonial commando party killed a high-ranking Xhosa chief. In turn, a Xhosa force of 10,000 invaded the 'Eastern Frontier', causing much devastation, before besieging Grahamstown, causing the city's women and children to barricade themselves within the main church, while the town's men fought to save the city.

While Grahamstown narrowly managed to keep the Xhosa at bay, the response from Cape Town was swift and brutal. An army under Colonel Sir Harry Smith relieved Grahamstown, on January 6, 1835. Meanwhile, a detachment of Boer commandos under Piet Retief was dispatched to defeat a Xhosa force in the Winterberg Mountains.

From Grahamstown, Smith coordinated a series of lightning strikes upon Xhosa positions, forcing them out of the Albany District, and decisively defeating the main enemy army at Trumpetter's Drift.

Cape Governor Benjamin D'Urban enforced a harsh peace treaty upon the Xhosa (April 29, 1835), which moved the Cape Colony border eastward to the Great Kei River, while requiring the Xhosa to pay astoundingly large reparations in cattle, compliance of which would result in mass starvation. To make matters worse, a top Xhosa chief, who was being held hostage by the British until the cattle ransom was paid, was accidentally killed when he tried to escape.

In the wake of the showdown, Sir Andries Stocken-

ström, who served as the Lieutenant Governor of the Eastern Cape from 1836 to 1838, instituted a moderate policy, limiting European settlement in frontier areas, to preserve the peace with the Xhosa. Conflict would break out, once again, in the Eastern Cape during the Seventh European-Xhosa War (1846-7), popularly known as the "War of the Axe". The fighting commenced in March 1846 when the British retaliated against a Xhosa tribe for killing a British escort who was transporting a prisoner accused of stealing an axe. The Xhosa fought bravely, but their main force was defeated on June 7, 1847, near Fort Peddie, by an army under General Henry Somerset, although the conflict continued until the end of the year.

This war was highly consequential, as its result ensured that the Xhosa never again posed an existential threat to the European presence in the Eastern Cape. The British soon set upon a resolutely expansionist agenda, overturning Stockenström's designs. In December 1847, they extended the Cape Colony's boundaries north to the Orange River and east to the Keiskamma River, with the easternmost territories being named 'Kaffraria', a buffer territory protecting the heartland of the Eastern Cape from the Xhosa.

In the wake of the War of the Axe, Sir Harry Smith, now the Governor of the Cape Colony, expelled thousands of Xhosa beyond the Keiskamma River. There they suffered immensely from dislocation and starvation, a situation severely aggravated by the exceptionally cold winter of 1850. The Xhosa who remained in solidly British-held territory were compelled to move to towns and adopt Western lifestyles, which many found very difficult.

A charismatic preacher Mlanjeni encouraged the displaced Xhosa to revolt against the British, curiously claiming that divine protection would make them immune to European bullets. Many Xhosa warriors started to mobilize, setting the stage for what became known as the Eighth European-Xhosa War (1850-3).

Governor Smith blamed the Xhosa chiefs for allowing Mlanjeni to agitate their people and in late December 1850 summoned them to a conference in the frontier lands. When a senior Xhosa leader, Chief Sandile, refused to attend the meeting, Smith had him overthrown, declaring him an outlaw. This 'insult' gave the Xhosa an excuse to commence their uprising.

On December 24, 1850, a band of Xhosa warriors attacked a party of 650 British troops under Colonel George Mackinnon at Boomah Pass, forcing them to retire to Fort Cox, where they were besieged, along with Governor Smith.

On Christmas Day, many of the Xhosa people who lived near white towns took advantage of the festivities to attack the colonists when they had their guard down, resulting in a series of massacres.

While Governor Smith and his men were pinned down at Fort Cox, the Xhosa were strengthened upon gaining the defections of many Khoi warriors, including members of the British "Kaffir Police", a militia of indigenous fighters which was formed to supress the Xhosa. Meanwhile, the British cause was further weakened by Governor Smith's poor relations with the Afrikaners, many of whom refused to assist the British, even as they opposed the Xhosa.

The Xhosa and their allies surged forward, riding a wave of momentum, capturing the outposts of Line Drift and Fort Armstrong. While Smith and his party managed to fight their way out of Fort Cox, and escape to safety, the situation for the British looked grim.

However, early in the new year (1851), the British mounted a reprise. They fought off rebel attacks upon Fort White, Fort Hare and Fort Beaufort. Colonel Mackinnon then moved north from King William's Town to successfully bolster Fort Cox, Fort White and Fort Hare. The British then regained Fort Armstrong, pushing the Xhosa-Khoi forces into the Amatola Mountains. The arrival of thousands of fresh British troops in the region galvanised their comeback, allowing them to dominate the Keiskamma frontier.

Yet, the war was far from over. Later in 1851, the Xhosa chief Maqoma, based at Mount Misery, located between the forested Waterkloof and Harry's Kloof, conducted a series of devastating raids upon nearby colonial homesteads, greatly unsettling the situation. Notably, he led a fierce assault upon Fort Fordyce, ravaging Smith's troops. This led Whitehall to dismiss Smith and to replace him as Cape Governor with George Cathcart. Cathcart then pursued a scorched earth campaign that forced the Xhosa chiefs to surrender in February 1853.

The Eighth European-Xhosa War was the most violent and destructive of all conflicts in the region and pretty much broke the back of effective Xhosa resistance in the Eastern Cape. Over the coming decades, the British and the Zulu people would press the Xhosa further, until their once large domains were confined to small areas along the Cape-Natal borderlands. Meanwhile the Eastern Cape's European communities prospered, with Grahamstown becoming the second largest city in the Cape by 1860. Organized Xhosa resistance to the British regime ceased by 1879, ending Africa's longest colonial military contest.

References: N/A – manuscript seemingly unrecorded.



AFRICA - AUTOGRAPH: EYO HONESTY IV RUM AS A CURRENCY

No. 15

EYO HONESTY IV (Efiok Eyo Nsa, ruler from 1862 until 1865).

To Mr Louch
Dear Friend
I hope you are quite well. I send thise boy to come e and member you about the three Hoghead Rum which I been write you yesterday.
Please send me it all with my best compliment to you.
I am your truly
King Eyo Honesty IV

[S. l., s. d., but probably Creek Town, Nigeria: from 1862-1865].

18 x 11 cm (7 x 4.3 inches), manuscript in brown ink on laid paper (traces of mounting verso with a loss of paper in one of the corners, soft folds, light foxing),

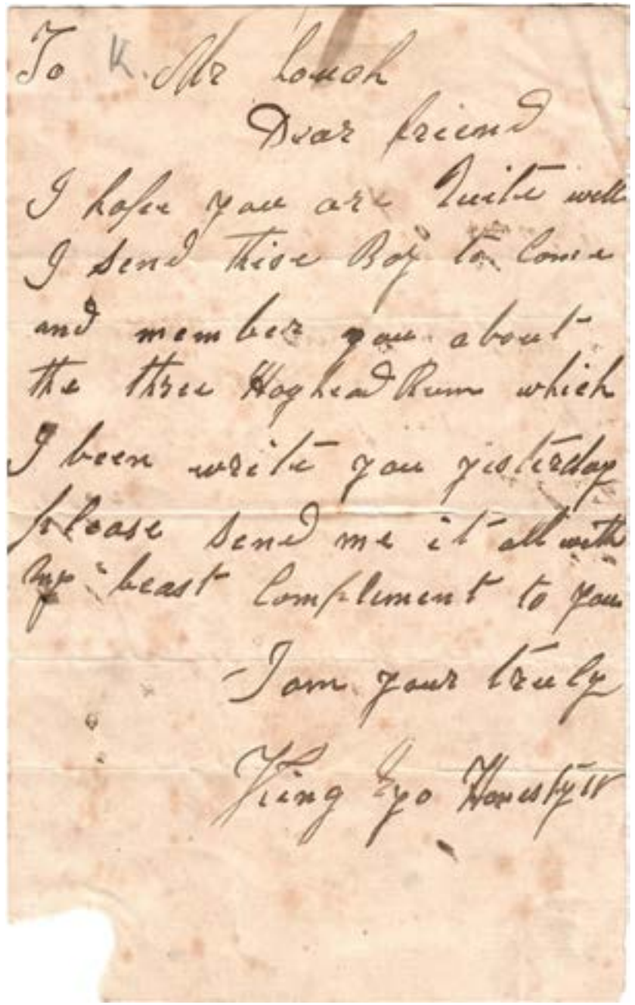
A letter from Eyo Honesty IV, the ruler of Creek Town, to liquor merchant John Howard Louche from Old Calabar (Duke Town) in what is today southern Nigeria, requesting the delivery of a large quantity of rum. At that time, rum was being used as an informal form of currency.

1.800 EUR

Rum, which originated in the Caribbean and later in New England, played a complex role in the history of colonial Africa. It was not only consumed as a beverage, but, alongside brandy and gin, it also served as an informal form of currency before the introduction of printed money. By the late 17th century, rum had replaced French brandy, which had previously been popular for trading goods. In addition to being a trading commodity that did not spoil easily in damp conditions, rum became an essential part of the triangular trade. Those involved in the slave trade were often compensated with rum.

Corruption was not uncommon in regions that used alcohol as currency. There are reports that gin, and likely other liquors, were watered down during transportation. Empty bottles placed in front of someone's hut were seen as a sign of that person's higher social rank. In some areas, spirits became part of traditional rituals among the local inhabitants, and empty bottles could even be incorporated into shrines. (MAA Digital Lab: 'Square Face': Gin, Currency, and Colonialism in Africa)

In this letter, Eyo Honesty IV (originally Efiok Eyo Nsa), the ruler of Creek Town from 1862 until 1865 in what is now southern Nigeria, wrote to John Howard Louche, requesting three hogsheads of rum. This request is notable because three hogsheads would amount to between 650 and 900 liters of rum, as each hogshead can hold approximately 210 to 300 liters.


To K. Mr Louch
Dear friend
I hope you are quite well
I send thise Boy to come
and member you about
the three Hoghead Rum which
I been write you yesterday
please send me it all with
my best compliment to you
I am your truly
King Eyo Honesty IV

John Howard Louche, whose name is sometimes misspelled as Lonche, was stationed in Old Calabar, now known as Duke Town in southern Nigeria. He was a co-owner of Browns, Louche, & Co., a firm based in Glasgow that contemporary newspapers described as involved in "African trade" as well as the alcohol business. Louche was also the head of J. H. Louche & Co. in Duke Town

The specific purpose for which Eyo Honesty IV intended to use the ordered rum remains unclear.

Louche played a role in several significant events, including negotiating in 1867 with King Archibong II to secure the release of five women and a girl from captivity, saving them from being butchered (Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons, Volume 56, Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons, 1869, pp. 2-3).

References: Cf.: MAA Digital Lab: 'Square Face': Gin, Currency, and Colonialism in Africa; New England, Rum, and the Slave Trade - DrinkingFolk.

A TRIO OF THE MOST IMPORTANT 19TH CENTURY WORKS ON GUINEA-BISSAU BY BLACK AUTHORS

What is today Guinea-Bissau (traditionally known in Portuguese as 'Guiné') is a land of great cultural wealth and demographic diversity, but one which has always been plagued by poverty and political instability (there was coup there last month!). It is the homeland of several tribal nations (today its population is 30% Balanta, 30% Fula, 14% Manjak, 13% Mandinka, 7% Papel and 6% other) and religious affiliations (46% are Muslims, 19% are Christians and 31% are of traditional faiths).

Portuguese mariners and slave traders came to frequent the Guinea coast during the late 15th century, and during the 1500s, what is today Guinea-Bissau became a major source for the incipient Transatlantic slave trade. For the next three centuries, the country was ravaged by constant slaving raids by the Portuguese, and later the French and British.

In 1588, Portugal declared the area to be a colonial possession, governed by its well-established colony of Cabo Verde (a globally important slaving entrepôt). However, the region which came to be referred to as 'Senegambia portugueza' (which included Casamance, today part of Senegal) was merely an archipelago of slave trading forts, with Portugal having little or no authority over the territory beyond their outposts. The slave trade had a devastating effect upon the indigenous societies, robbing it of manpower, ensuring constant inter-tribal conflict and inhibiting the development of other industries.

During the first half of 19th century, Senegambia portugueza fell into sharp economic decline due the phasing out of the Transatlantic slave trade. The Portuguese severely neglected their outposts, and their officials became known for their corruption, debauchery and incompetence, while the local tribal chiefs preyed on their colonizer's weaknesses. While some reforming colonial officials, such as Honório Pereira Barreto, who served as the Governor of Cacheu and Bissau districts from the 1830s to '50s, made some impressive improvements to the colony, these proved ephemeral. In 1878, slavery was formally abolished in Guiné, although forms of pseudo-slavery continued.

In 1879, 'Guiné Portuguesa' became its own colony, seperate from Cabo Verde; however, it would not be until the 1890s that the Portuguese enacted reforms that improved the discipline of their colonial systems such that Guiné started to become something of a coherent entity. Moreover, it was not until the Portuguese conquered the lands beyond their outposts in 1913-5 that Guiné became a colonial possession in the fundamental sense. Nevertheless, Portugal always neglected Guiné, and this set the preconditions for the colony to be the scene of 'Portugal's Vietnam', during the Guerra do Ultramar (1961-74), when the ***Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*** (PAIGC) fought a brutal guerrilla war against Portugal that ultimately resulted in Guinea-Bissau gaining its independence in 1975.

Curiously, during the 19th century, Portugal's neglect of Guiné and the constant instability of the country, created the preconditions that allowed a small number of highly talented Black guineanos to assume top leadership roles in the colonial establishment, a situation that would be unthinkable virtually anywhere else in Africa. Despite the climate of horrific racism and slavery (as well as the pseudo-slavery that followed it), the small and transient nature of the white population in Guiné ensured that the Portuguese often had to rely upon Black people to fulfil important official posts. In some cases, the Portuguese promoted them to top leadership positions in the government, ecclesiastical and business sectors. Of course, these Black individuals would have to have been extraordinarily impressive talents to cut through the ubiquitous racism to advance so high.

It was in this context, that three of the most important 19th century books on what is today Guinea-Bissau, as featured here, were written by Black guineanos, each of whom had leadership roles in the colony. The first book, Honório Pereira Barreto's ***Memoria sobre o estado actual de Senegambia Portugueza*** (1843), written by a highly educated Black military commander who served as the de facto Governor of Guiné, is an incisive critique and analysis of Portugal's neglect of the colony, while proposing an ambitious programme of reform to ameliorate its situation.

The second work, Luiz Frederico de Barros's ***Senegambia portugueza ou noticia descriptiva*** (1878) is an invaluable account of the state of Guiné, published just as slavery was formally abolished in the colony. It was written by a Black Cabo Verdean (of guineano ancestry), who was a prominent and controversial journalist, who would later become one of Guiné's most prominent lawyers.

The third work is Marcelino Marques de Barros's ***Litteratura dos Negros: Contos, Cantigas e Parabolas*** (1900), a highly important monument of the cultural history of West Africa. It is an anthology of the most popular guineano poems, songs and folktales, preserved before they were lost or altered under colonial influence. Marques de Barros was a Black guineano priest, the leading authority on Crioulo Guineano languages, and the Vicar-General of Guiné (the head of the Roman Catholic church in the colony).

While 99% of the 19th century books on Africa were written by white Europeans, here we have a trinity of masterpieces on Guiné written by Black guineanos, each of whom had attained great prominence in the Portuguese colonial establishment. Their insights are invaluable as they have a unique authenticity and authority.

PLEASE SEE ITEMS NOS. 16-18

No. 16

Honório Pereira BARRETO (1813 - 1859).
Memoria sobre o estado actual de Senegambia Portugueza: causas de sua decadencia, e meios de a fazer prosperar por Honorio Pereira Barretto, Ex Governador de mesma.
Lisbon: Typ. da viuva Coelho e Comp.a, 1843.

8° (18.5 x 12 cm): 49 pp., old pastedown inventory label to title, bound in modern marbled paper wrappers (Very Good, overall clean and bright, slight spotting to first and last leaves).

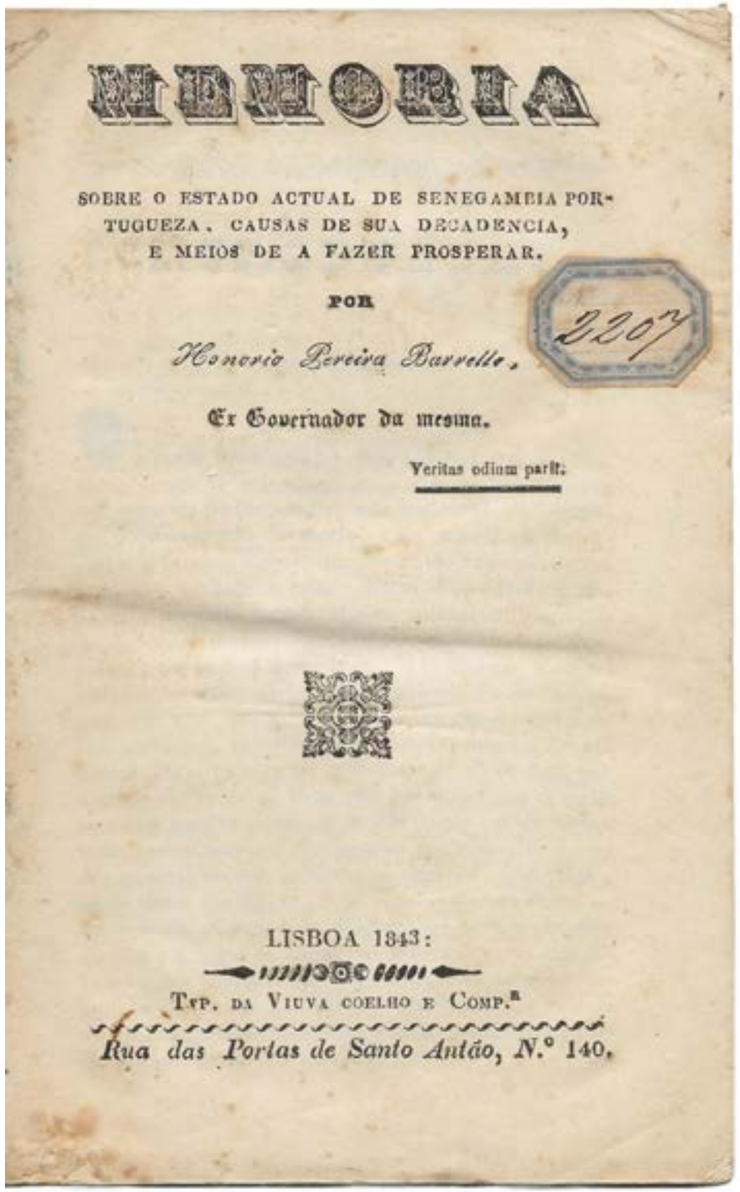
A rare and highly important work on 'Senegambia Portugueza', or 'Guiné' (today's Guinea-Bissau and southwestern Senegal), written by Honório Pereira Barreto, a highly educated Black Portuguese military officer and native of Guiné, who served as the colony's de facto Governor; in this amazingly candid and well-written thesis, Barreto laments the horrific current state of Guiné, and proposes a bold agenda of reforms to transform the colony into a politically stable and economically productive asset to the Portuguese Empire; a valuable work whereupon a Black African leader seeks to grasp the destiny of his homeland during the height of the colonial era.

1.800 EUR

During the 1840s, 'Senegambia Portugueza', which roughly comprised of much of modern-day Guinea-Bissau and Casamance (today in Senegal), was in a state of crisis. It was more like an archipelago of Portuguese forts scattered across a land controlled by largely hostile local chiefs, than a proper colony. Governed as a subsidiary of Cabo Verdo, Guiné was sorely neglected by the Portuguese crown. The colonial officials were corrupt and inept, the soldiers were brigands who could not shoot straight, and the priests were morally debauched. Guiné was a money-losing embarrassment to Portugal, as virally no efforts were made to harness its prodigious natural resources.

Yet, there was one clarion call for reform. Honório Pereira Barreto was a Black native of Guiné who, hailing from a wealthy merchant family, gained a first-class education in Portugal. Upon his return to his homeland, by his own merit and drive he worked his way up to serve several terms as the Capitão-Mor (district governor) of both the districts and Cacheu and Bissau (the latter role being the de facto Governor of Senegambia Portugueza), making him one of the very few Black Africans to serve as a colonial chief executive during the 19th century.

In this rare and fascinating work, Barreto, in amazingly candid terms, takes the entire Portuguese colonial system in Guiné to task. He rails against the neglect, corruption and incompetence that pervades every sinew of colonial life, and deftly analyses the situation, providing concrete evidence to support his assertions. He then suggests a well-reasoned


MEMORIA

SOBRE O ESTADO ACTUAL DE SENEGAMBIA PORTUGUEZA, CAUSAS DE SUA DECADENCIA, E MEIOS DE A FAZER PROSPERAR.

POR

Honorio Pereira Barretto,

Ex Governador da mesma.

Veritas odium parit.

2207

LISBOA 1843:

Typ. da Viuva coelho e Comp.a

Rua das Portas de Santo Antão, N.° 140.

programme of reforms, that if enacted would render Guiné an orderly and profitable possession of Portugal.

The Present Work in Focus

In the Introducção (pp. 3-4), Barreto notes that Senegambia Portugueza then consisted of two 'Councils', being Bissau (consisting of the presidio of the same name, the fort of Geba, the Island of Bolama and the Ponto de Fá) and Cacheu (consisting of Farim, Zeguichor and Bulór).

Barreto paints a very grim picture of the current state of Guiné. He remarks that "everything is buried in silence" by brutal and corrupt colonial officials, and that "Life in Portuguese Senegambia is completely insecure; always its inhabitants are harassed by the Gentios [his term for local 'pagan' tribal chiefs and their supporters]", while "people are wounded and murdered with impunity". Yet, "in Lisbon it is read in the *Gazeta do Governo* that the Portuguese Possessions, in this part, are in order and are flourishing." He warns that "These possessions will be lost if the Government and the Courts do not come to their aid as soon as possible".

Of the colony's problems, "no one has yet bothered to make then clear". However, here Barreto promises that "I will show them without hesitation even if it yields no other fruit than hatred; but when I see the country where I was born, and for which I gladly made a thousand sacrifices, almost in complete ruin, I cannot help but postpone personal considerations to speak loud the language of truth".

In Part 1 *Estado actual de Senegambia Portugueza* [Current State of Portuguese Senegambia] (pp. 5-36), Barreto notes that the "climate is very unhealthy, even deadly, in winter", especially for Europeans. This is due to poor public hygiene, the bad construction of buildings, and the over-consumption of "hot food" and "alcoholic beverages". The Portuguese Crown does nothing to alleviate the health situation. Guiné has no serious surgeons, hospitals or pharmacies, unlike those in neighbouring foreign colonies.

The settlements of Guiné are harried by "insolent Gentios, who generally dominate the Portuguese colonials and the officials of the local government" and regularly make excessive demands upon Portuguese. Yet, Barreto concedes that "Our subsistence comes from the Gentios neighbouring our settlements". However, he asserts that the Portuguese could regain order and authority merely by bringing in only a very small force of disciplined troops, something the Crown refuses to do.

Barreto opines that the local people are generally "lazy, indolent, inert and unwilling to apply themselves to anything" although they are capable of many things if they feel motivated. They "Entertain themselves by drinking brandy" and "live brutally, and almost always die riddled with venereal diseases". They are never open to changes or new ideas, simply saying "our ancestors did it this way", while they follow a "thousand ridiculous superstitions".

Under the Portuguese colonial regime "everything is arbitrary", as "justice for the rich is different than the injustice for the poor". The military men who are appointed as colonial governors have no knowledge of the law, and can often be bribed, giving wrongdoers impunity "even for the greatest crimes".

Barreto recalls that he established a new treasury system in Bissau with governance safeguards, as "While I governed, the Commission performed its functions well; afterwards, like everything else, has become disorganized". Customs officers are corrupt, and they facilitate smuggling, robbing the crown and colony of vital revenues.

The priests in the colony care little for the morals of the Catholic Church. They live openly with mistresses and are often chosen by the authorities in Cabo Verde and to serve in Guiné for "their wickedness and dissolute morals".

The troops are "undisciplined, turbulent, ragged, naked and drug-dealing men", as well as being insubordinate. Moreover, they do not know how to fire rifles. The authorities in Cabo Verde only send the "most incorrigible and thieving soldiers" to

Guiné.

Thus, it is no great surprise that foreigners "treat our authorities with contempt", seeing them as useless and corrupt.

As for the Concelho de Bissau, it is the most important in commerce and population, with annual revenues of 3.55 million reis, against expenditures of 10 million reis.

The town of Bissau, with a population of 1,000, is the capital of Senegambia Portugueza. At its heart is a fort in the Vauban style; however, its construction was never finished, while the army barracks and chapel are in a ruinous state. In 1839, under Barreto's government, the fort had 28 working cannons, today there are only 9.

The relationship between the local tribal leaders and the whites is very acrimonious. The Gentios often attack the Europeans, while the Governor is helpless, a mere spectator.

The internal trade of the colony is based upon rice, wax, hides, palm oil and turtles. As for external trade, it is minimal, as only 80 ships dock at Bissau annually.

Bolama Island was ceded to Portugal by the local ruler in 1838, but this was contested by Britain which soon attacked the outpost. In December, an "English commander committed acts so injurious to the Portuguese nation that my pen refuses to describe them".

As for the Concelho de Cacheu, it is less important than Bissau, but is far more tranquil, as the local tribal leaders are less militant.

In Part 2 *Causas de sua decadencia* [Causes of its Decline] (pp. 37-42), it is said that the main cause of Guiné's crisis is the "little care" that both Lisbon and Cabo Verde show the colony. As the governors and senior colonial administrators are appointed due to their allegiance to a given political party, and not because of merit, they serve their short-term best-interests and do not attempt the hard work to fix things. They are surrounded by 'Yes Men' who likewise just lookout for their own interests.

Colonial officials send falsely positive accounts about the situation in Guiné to their superiors. The governors "send reports of imaginary facts" and claim that all good things are "linked to him" and that "if he is dismissed, everything is lost". The Governor-General of Cabo Verde then resends these reports "also showing that he has a part in these fantastic services". Barreto cites João de Fontes Pereira de Melo, the Governor-General of Cabo Verde and Guiné, who held office in 1839-42 and 1847-51, as being a particularly bad actor.

Barreto continues that Guiné has a "total lack of laws", especially as recent reforms and decrees have confused the situation, making the legal code seem like "one of the Novellas of the Arabian Nights"

Crown employees are often far more concerned with their own private commercial endeavours that their 'day' jobs. Civil servants who are arrested for crimes are soon released under pressure from their sponsoring political party and then let permanently off the hook.

In December 1839 there was a small revolt of troops in Bissau that overthrew and injured the military commander. Governor-General Fontes's response was pathetic, as he sent a motley force of only 40 men, who did nothing, allowing the perpetrators to entirely escape justice.

Political appointments tend to be "men who neither know nor want to fulfil their duties". The fact is that "the Poor quality of people, which Europe sends for these Possessions, is one of the causes of the delay in civilization [of Guiné]". These men are of "the lowest class of the People… who only upon arriving here became Notable".

In Part 3 *Meios de as fazer prosperar* [Ways to Make it Thrive] (pp. 43-9), Barreto states that "We should not consider these possessions for what they are, but for what they may become. I know that at the

present this government is a corpse preserved for the interest of foreigners; however, it may become of great use to the Metropolis; and may revive and sustain itself without being a burden to the nation. These countries possess within themselves many natural resources, which can be exploited and even increased".

He proposes that Cabo Verde and Guiné should no longer be under the auspices of the Naval Ministry, as the ministers of that department come and go in rapid succession, ensuring that no consistent policies are enacted, and that no project gets finished. Also, this encourages the selection of incompetent political appointees for colonial offices. Instead, Barreto believes that colonial affairs should be overseen by a Tribunal of respected elder statesmen with extensive overseas experience. They would serve long terms, and this will provide the needed level of continuity and professionalism to colonial affairs.

Laws must be sensibly made and effectively enforced (the French colonial legal system should be emulated). The powers of local governors in Guiné should be increased so that they can made decisions on the ground without having to wait for messages to be transferred to and from Cabo Verde.

Yet, officials in Lisbon must learn to be "cautious and suspicious of the information they receive" from the colonies.

In Guiné, "Agriculture should be promoted on a large scale", and better techniques and equipment should be supplied to the people.

Barreto proposes that crown employees should be paid good wages in cash but must be forbidden from engaging in their own commercial side shows. However, this must come only after the colonies have been successfully reformed, otherwise these funds will be stolen. For example, in 1834, the Cabo Verde governor-general sent 1 million reis to Guiné to pay for wages, but these funds quickly vanished before they reached their intended recipients, as they were looted by corrupt officials.

Troops should be rotated out of Guiné every year "to maintain discipline" and for the troops to "avoid feeling degraded". The customs regime must be reformed, as its potential revenues alone will be sufficient to support the Colonial Treasury (wages, public works, etc).

Guiné's ports should be visited regularly by Portuguese warships to intimidate the local tribal chiefs, who view such vessels with "great fear". This tactic has long worked well in the nearby British and French colonies.

Primary schools should be built in all parishes, and the priests should work as teachers, although only competent vicars should be dispatched the colony.

The official correspondence of the Governor-General of Cabo Verde and the governors of the councils of Guiné should be publicly printed, to ensure accountability and scrutiny.

Barreto ends by saying that he hopes that newspaper editors, with a "view to Enlightening the government and public for the good of the nation will not refuse to admit my articles in their newspapers".

Honório Pereira Barreto: Reforming Black Governor of Guiné

Honório Pereira Barreto (1813 - 1859) was one of the most extraordinary figures of 19th century West Africa, likely responsible for saving Guiné for Portugal, countering British and French encroachments. He was born in Cacheu, the largest trading and military base in northwestern Guiné, to affluent and influential parents. Honório's father was João Pereira Barreto, Jr. (b. 1772), a native of Cabo Verde who served as the Capitão-Mor (District Governor) of Cacheu, as well as being a successful merchant. His mother, Rosa de Carvalho Alvarenga (1780s – 1860), was a force of nature, as while she hailed from an esteemed military-merchant family, she grew her inheritance greatly, becoming one of the largest slave traders and plantation owners in Guiné. As such, Honório was born to be a leader in his community.

In his youth, Honório was sent to Lisbon, where he received a first class classical and military education. When he returned to Guiné, he found a region in crisis. Portuguese indifference and maladministration had created power vacuum that had allowed Britain and France to actively intervene, openly trading out of long-held Portuguese outposts, while claiming swaths of Guiné for themselves, under absurd legal pretences. Moreover, the remaining Portuguese authorities were coming into conflict with local tribal leaders, threatening to unravel the almost 350-year-old Portuguese colonial presence in the region.

Barreto, who upon his return to Cacheu, was given a senior military role, while also going into business with his mother, in the slave trade, roles that were mutually complimentary. He soon amazed his superiors with his intelligence, energy and bravery and was made the Capitão-Mor of Cacheu at only the age of 21 (he would serve three terms in this office, 1834-5, 1846-8 and 1852). In this role he aggressively moved to shore up Portugal's authority in northwestern Guiné, surely saving a large portion of the colony from falling under French control, while improving relations with local tribal chiefs.

While aged only 24, Bareto was made the interim Capitão-Mor of Bissau (he would serve four terms in the post, 1837-9, 1840-1, 1853-4, 1858-9, with his latter terms being tenured, as opposed to interim), which made him the most senior Portuguese civil and military official in Guiné (in essence the de facto governor of the realm). He radically reorganized and reenergized the colonial administration, instilling rigid military discipline to his ranks, while creating an environment of stability that permitted trade and commerce to flourish. He found money (often coming out of his own pocket) to fund healthcare, education, infrastructure works and religious missions, that greatly augment the colonial regime's standing with the locals. He rebuilt Bolama after it was partially burned by the British in 1839. He led military expeditions that caused Britain and France to cease their incursions into Portuguese territory, and he suppressed tribal uprisings near Bissau (1853) and Cacheu (1856).

Tragically, Honório Pereira Barreto died suddenly at the Fortaleza de São José da Amura, in Bissau, on April 16, 1859, seemingly of some unspecified tropical disease. However, he left an estimable legacy. The Portuguese presence in Guiné was stronger and more prosperous that it had been in generations, while many locals had benefitted from his economic development schemes and social services. For the remainder of the colonial era, Baretto was hailed by the Portuguese government as the greatest of all governors of Guiné and was held up as the archetypes example of what a Black man could achieve if he fully embraced the colonial regime. He was the only Black person to grace Portuguese colonial banknotes, many statues and plaques were made in his honour, while a street in Lisbon still bears his name.

Yet, Barreto's legacy in Guinea-Bissau after the country gained its independence in 1975 has been mixed. While guineanos are in a way still proud of Barreto's inarguably impressive achievements, his role as vehicle of colonialism, as a slave trader and capitalist, is not a good fit for the socialist and black liberation ideologies that have prevailed in the country.

In addition to the present work, Barreto also published two pamphlets which featured a defence of his conduct while serving as governor of Cacheu and Bissau, rebutting the (essentially spurious) attacks of critics, Carta, escrita ao Ilustríssimo e Excelentíssimo Senhor Domingos Correia Arouca (Lisboa: Typ. da Viuva Coelho & Comp.a, 1843) and Resposta às calúnias que o Excelentíssimo Senhor Fortunato José Barreiros, e o Senhor António Pedro Dantas Pereira dirigiram contra Honório Pereira Barreto (Lisboa : Typ. de G.M. Martins, 1856).

A Note on Rarity

The present work is very rare. We can trace 8 institutional examples, held by the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (2 examples); British Library; National Library of Belgium; University of California-Berkeley; Harvard University Library; Bodleian Library

PARTE 2.ª

Causas de sua decadencia.



principal causa do actual estado destas Possessões, e donde dimanam todas as outras, é o pouco caso que o Governo Supremo, e o Geral da Provincia sempre fizeram dellas. Accresce a isto o systema modernamente adoptado de querer introduzir no Ultramar os partidos politicos, que dilaceram Portugal.

(Oxford University); and the King's College London. Moreover, we cannot trace any sales records for any other examples.

References: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (2 examples): H.G. 4634 A. and H.G. 23571//12 P.; British Library: 10096.aa.16.; National Library of Belgium: III 9.366 A; University of California-Berkeley: DT613 .B3; Harvard University Library: Goldsmiths'-Kress no. 33290.1.; Bodleian Library (Oxford University): (RHO) 715 r. 92 (14); King's College London: PAMPH. BOX DT613.65 BAR; OCLC: 1415372417; INNOCENCIO, Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez, tomo III (1869), p. 197; Dalvan M. Coger, Harold G. Marcus, Robert L. Hess, Semper Ex Africa...: A Bibliography of Primary Source for Nineteenth-Century Tropical Africa… (1972), p. no. 7221 (p. 612); Carlos Lopes, Mansas, escravos, grumetes e gentio Cacheu na encruzilhada de civilizações (1993), p. 161; Luso-Brazilian Economic Literature Before 1850: A List of the Kress Library's Holdings (1978), p. 23; Peter Michael Karibe Mendy, Colonialismo português em África: a tradição de resistência (1994), p. 443; José Lingna Nafafé, Portuguese Studies, vol. 28, no. 2 (2012), pp. 126-142; Luis Monteiro Nunes da Ponte, Honorio Pereira Barreto : heróico governador negro da Guiné [Lisbon: Sociedade de Geografia, 1953).

No. 17

Luiz Frederico de BARROS (b. 1854, fl. 1872-85).
Senegambia portugueza ou noticia descriptiva das differentes tribus que habitam a Senegambia meridional / Contendo um quadro de usos e costumes dos povos que a occupam, topographia, religião, governo, lingua, commercio, industria, vestuario, alimentação, solo, clima e producções, e seguida da geographia physica d'aquella parte das costas occidentaes d'Africa por Luiz Frederico de Barros / Natural da ilha de S. Thiago de Cabo Verde.
Lisbon: Typographia Editora de Mattos Moreira, 1878.

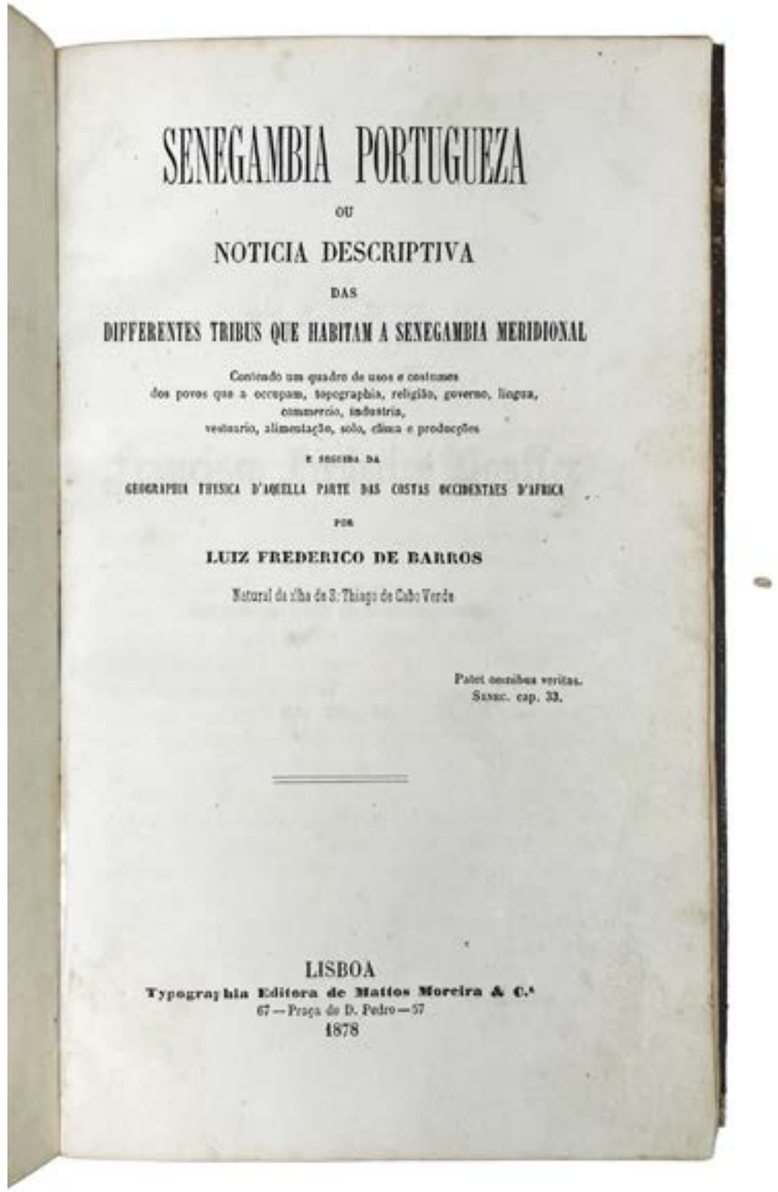
8° (20 x 12.5 cm): 126 pp., plus 1 folding plate, text with gilt fore-edges, satin endpapers, bound in fine contemporary full brown calf with gilt title and elaborate gilt tooling to covers, contemporary bookseller's pastedown label of 'Augusto Ferrin / Lisboa' to inside front cover (Very Good, text with light event toning and a few minor spots, plate with outer edge tattered and some tears entering image but no loss; binding with light shelf-wear and a few small spots).

Extremely rare – an important description and history of Guiné (Guinea-Bissau), published the year that slavery was abolished in the colony, written by Luiz Frederico de Barros, a Black Cabo Verdian (of guineano descent) future journalist and lawyer, it features fascinating accounts of the customs of the colony's diverse indigenous nations predicated upon the author's own incisive observations, as well as a record of the troubled state of the Portuguese colonial regime, featuring many insights and details found nowhere else – a stellar example in a beautiful contemporary binding.

2.200 EUR

This extremely rare and historically significant work is both a travel memoir and comprehensive academic description of Guiné, published in 1878, the year that slavery was abolished in the colony (although pseudo-slavery would continue for some years). It was written by Luiz Frederico de Barros, a precocious 24-year-old Black Cabo Verdian (of guineano descent), who subsequently became a high profile (and controversial) journalist and one of Guiné's leading lawyers. He came from a successful family, his cousin Marcelino Marques de Barros (1843 - 1929) was the Vicar General of Guiné and the leading authority on Guinean creole dialects (*please see the next book in this catalogue*).

The present work grew out of the travel journal that Barros wrote when he visited Guiné for some months when he was 17-18 years old, in 1872, but was clearly greatly expanded and improved over the coming years by the author's own extensive research. It features a wealth of factual and statistical information, as well and firsthand observations of the extraordinary customs and traditions of Guiné's diverse indigenous nations, as well at the natural won-


SENEGAMBIA PORTUGUEZA
OU
NOTICIA DESCRIPTIVA
DAS
DIFFERENTES TRIBUS QUE HABITAM A SENEGAMBIA MERIDIONAL
Contendo um quadro de usos e costumes
dos povos que a occupam, topographia, religião, governo, lingua,
commercio, industria,
vestuario, alimentação, solo, clima e producções
E SEGUIDA DA
GEOGRAPHIA PHYSICA D'AQUELLA PARTE DAS COSTAS OCCIDENTAES D'AFRICA
POR
LUIZ FREDERICO DE BARROS
Natural da ilha de S. Thiago de Cabo Verde
Patet omnibus veritas.
Sanct. cap. 33.
LISBOA
Typographia Editora de Mattos Moreira & C.ª
67 — Praça de D. Pedro — 67
1878

ders and the (lamentable) state of the Portuguese colonial regime. Here Barros proves himself to be a very incisive observer, prefiguring his future career as a journalist. He is also able to see Guiné from the perspective of a Black man of guineano descent, but one who is highly integrated into the general Portuguese milieu.

The first section, 'Viagem á Guiné portugueza - Aspecto geral do paiz' commences with a description of Barros's voyage from Cabo Verde to his first encounter with his ancestral land:

"As evening fell on June 28, 1872, I left the city of Praia, on the island of São Thiago in Cape Verde, and embarked aboard the cutter Cabo-Verde, bound for Bissau...

Upon entering the harbour of Bissau, the traveller, after some inconveniences of the journey, letting his gaze wander over this part of the western coast of Africa, contemplating the numerous islands that surround it, the superb and leafy trees, whose majestic crowns touch the heavens, the torrents of water that surround it, the multi-coloured birds that populate it, the richness of the three kingdoms of nature that it contains, laments that the government has not applied due attention to this vast territory."

He goes on to provide detailed descriptions and intelligence on Bissau Island (the colonial capital), the Public Buildings, the Clothing of the inhabitants, the Marriage customs of the Papel people, Funeral Rights, the tribal Justice System (the Administration of Justice among the Grumetes peoples, tribal courts, "The crime of torture", etc.), The War between the tribes of Antim and Antulla, Popular Festivals, Music and Dance among the Papel people, the Agriculture System and the "Natural indolence of the people", Commerce, Food, the Wealth of the Papel people, the Hut Construction System, Climate, a description of different locales (the Ilheu do Rei, Ilha de Bolama, Rio Grande de Bolola, Cacheu, etc.)

Barros also describes the many tribes of Guiné, including the Balantas, Bujagós, Flupos, Buramos, Mandingas, Fulas, Balafadas; Nagas; Tiliboncas, Bambarrás, Souzos, Azenegues, Serreiros; Papels, And the Wolofs. Interesting, he provides mini-lexicons of the Manding and Wolof languages (pp. 85-7 and 94-5).

A highlight of the work is the beautiful folding plate depicting an Islamic manuscript, which is described as: "The script, which we reproduce in facsimile, contains sacred prayers against witchcraft and malefices. They put it in a leather envelope and wrapped it with white, red, and black threads" (p. 84).

Barros explores the magnificent tropical natural wonders of Guiné, including it animals, flora and its physical geography.

The work concludes with a section called the 'Condemnation and Redemption of Africa", whereby Baros lionizes the heroic accomplishments of Portugal's early mariners and colonizers who were the first Europeans to encounter and exploit Guiné, while decrying the colony's neglected and decayed current state. Like Honório Pereira Barreto (please see the previous book in the catalogue), he suggests reforms that will reinvigorate Guiné and African colonies in general, writing (pp. 124-6):

"Thus, to raise Africa from the depression and in which it lies, it is necessary first of all that the utmost scruple preside over the selection of high officials who are sent for this task, who, in addition to superior knowledge, must possess honesty, the most unquestionable probity, and be suitably paid, so that their services are in direct proportion to the income they receive. It is also important to attract and redirect the flow of emigration to the healthiest points in Africa, with the government guaranteeing them means of subsistence until they can obtain them from the product of their work; establishing frequent communications with the ports of Africa, giving the widest freedom to legitimate trade...

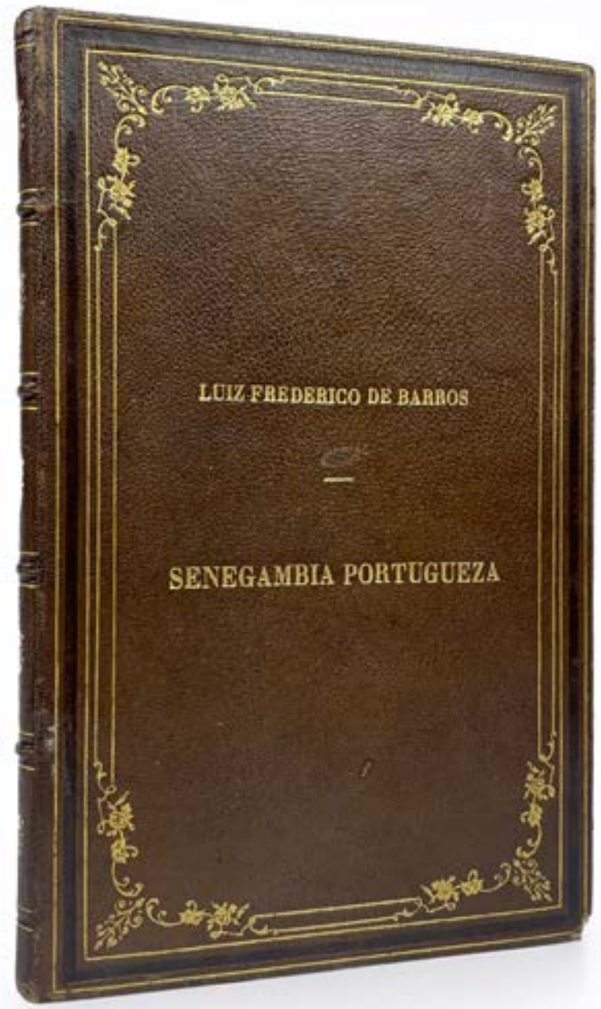
It is also necessary to appoint as heads of some districts, not sergeant-majors, who, from inexperienced recruits, become in Africa true sons of Mars through their refined whims, disregarding the law, weighing reason, and spitting on justice, making their procrastinations and follies prevail in place of order, harmony, and justice; but rather captains distinguished in arms and Letters, or magistrates with scientific qualifications; choose morally upright priests who will evangelize the savage hordes, missionaries who, when worthy of such a name, will plant trees blessed by God… , whose fruits will be the flower of morality, apples of civilization, and fruits of liberty…

to provide qualified teachers to teach the respective subjects, giving them adequate remuneration; and finally, not to send undisciplined, anaemic and inept soldiers to Africa who almost always end up being prey for the indomitable natives, such are, in short, the powerful elements that, in my view, could raise the Colonies from the decadence towards which they are progressively marching."

Frederico de Barros: J*ournalist, Lawyer and Chronicler* of Guiné

Luiz Frederico de Barros (b. 1854, fl. 1872 - 1885), *often known as 'Frederico de Barros', was a Black* cabo-verdiano *lawyer, journalist, and scholar of* guineano descent. A native of the S. Tiago (or Santiago), home of the colonial capital, Praia, he was a relative of the esteemed guineano prelate and creolist Marcelino Marques de Barros (1843 – 1929), described by the latter as his "cousin", with whom he seems to have had a complex relationship. *Frederico was a very precocious and intellectually curious young man. Educated by missionaries, he was a voracious reader and studied a wide variety of topics; he even had a great fascination for the ancient Coptic language of Egypt.*





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In 1872, Barros, while he was aged 17-18, spent some months in Guiné, whereupon he wrote a manuscript journal of his trip, which he subsequently modified and expanded into the present work. Seemingly, due to his great intellect and 'people skills', Barros, while still only in his 20s, was appointed to the lucrative office of chief customs collector for S. Tiago. While still holding this office, he branched out into journalism, editing the two short-lived but highly influential newspapers, A *Imprensa: orgão do commercio, industria e agricultura das colonias portuguezas* (1880-1) and *Justiça* (1881). While editor of Imprensa, Barros came into a personal dispute with the Governor of Cabo Verde António de Nascimento Pereira de Sampaio. This led him to openly (and rashly) accuse the governor of "abuse of power" in the pages of the Imprensa. Not surprisingly, Sampaio took his revenge, and Barros was soon ousted as a journalist and fired from his position at the customs office.

In 1882, Barros moved to Bolama, the new capital of Guiné, where he established himself as a prominent lawyer, gaining great popularity amongst the largely illiterate locals for helping them to navigate the complex colonial legal system.

Throughout his career, Barros remained academically active, writing several articles on guineano creole dialects in prestigious Portuguese journals. However, the present work was his magnum opus. We cannot find a trace of his activities after 1885.

A Note on Rarity

The present work is extremely rare. We can locate only 4 institutional examples, held by the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (2 examples); Bodeleian Library (Oxford University); and the Michigan State University Library. Moreover, we cannot trace any sales records for any other examples from the last generation.

References: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (2 examples): H.G. 13861//9 P. and H.G. 14817 P.; Bodeleian Library (Oxford University): (RHO) 715 r. 106; Michigan State University Library: DT613 .F7; OCLC: 18594970; INNOCENCIO, Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez, tomo XVI (1893), p. 29; João CARDOSO Junior, Subsidios para a materia medica e therapeutica das possessões ultramarinas portuguezas, Tomo II (1905), p. 397; Rosemary E. GALLI, Guinea-Bissau: World Bibliographical Series, vol. 121 (1990), p. 2; Walter HAWTHORNE, The Interior Past of an Acephalous Society: Institutional Change Among the Balanta of Guinea-Bissau, C. 1400-c. 1950 (1998), p. 343; João Nobre de OLIVEIRA, A imprensa Cabo-Verdiana 1820-1975 (1998), p. 8; Wilson TRAJANO Filho, Pequenos mas honrados um jeito português de ser na metrópole e nas colônias (2003), p. 23; Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, vol. 12 (1889), p. 301. Cf. Philip J. HAVIK, Silences and Soundbites: The Gendered Dynamics of Trade and Brokerage in the Pre-colonial Guinea Bissau Region (2004). p. 34; Philipp KRÄMER & Silvio Moreira de SOUSA, 'Across the oceans and through the Alps: The intellectual networks of 19th-century creolistics', Grazer Linguistische Studien 87 (Frühjahr 2017), pp. 107-132, esp. pp. 114-5.

No. 18

Marcelino MARQUES DE BARROS (1843 - 1929).
Litteratura dos Negros: Contos, Cantigas e Parabolas.
Lisbon: Typographia do Commercio, 1900.

Oblong 8° (21 x 11 cm): 120 pp., 1 f. (errata), bound in original printed paper wrappers, bearing mss. author's dedication to "Dr. Gonçalves Viana" to title (Very Good, text clean with light even toning; toning to upper front cover and spine chipped and worn, spotting to back cover).

An exceedingly important work on traditional West African poetry, music and folklore, being an anthology of several of the most popular such works from Guiné (Guinea-Bissau), as recorded in the late 19th century by Marcelino Marques de Barros, a Black native of the colony, who was the preeminent authority on Crioulo Guineano languages and the Vicar-General of Guiné (the colonial head of the Roman Catholic Church); the anthology preserves masterpieces of poetry, music and folklore before they would have been lost to time or severely altered by colonialism, thus forming a magnificent archive of the extremely rich cultural traditions of Guiné's various tribes – the present example bearing the author's mss. dedication to Gonçalves Viana, Portugal's preeminent linguist.

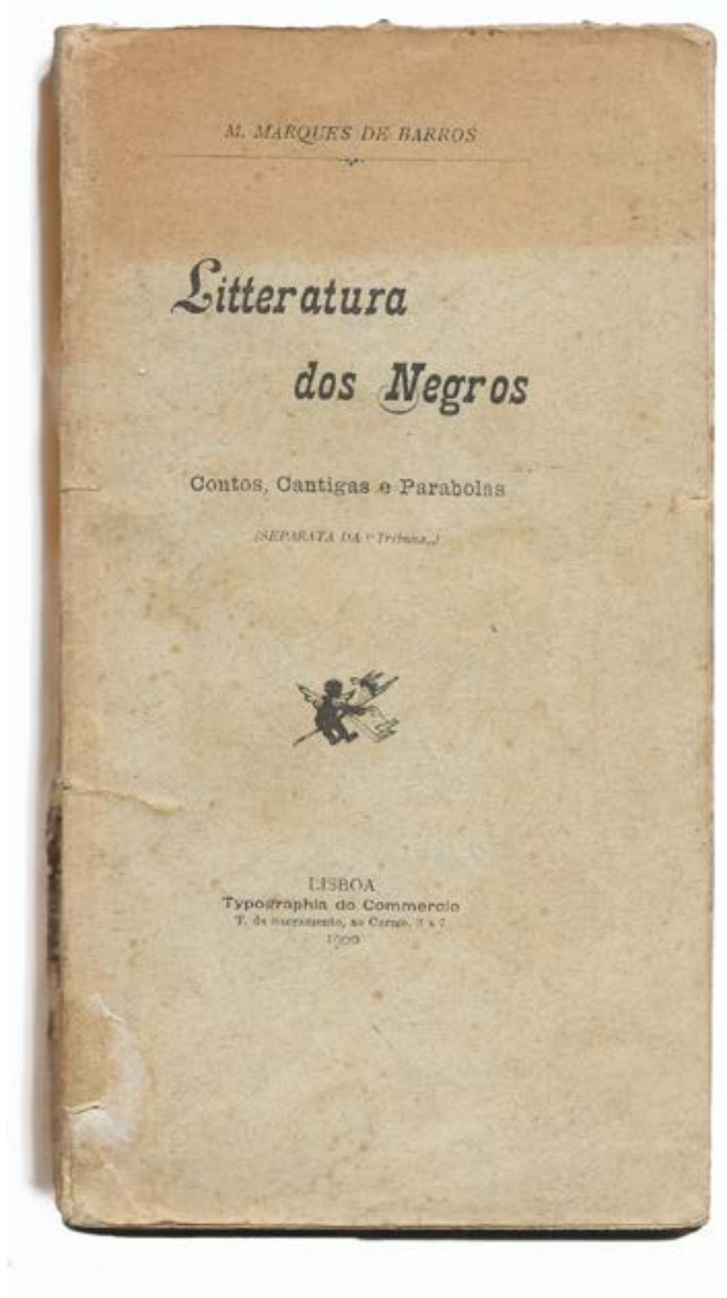
2.500 EUR

This is one of the most important and fascinating cultural works on what is today Guinea-Bissau (then Guiné), being an anthology of traditional guineano songs, poems, and folk tales, recorded at the end of the 19th century by Marcelino Marques de Barros, a Black native of the colony, who was the Vicar-General of Guiné (the colonial head of the Roman Catholic Church) and a preeminent authority on *Crioulo Guineano* (the creole languages of Guiné).

While Guiné had extremely rich traditions of music, stories and poetry, these masterpieces were seldom brought to paper. Importantly, here Marques de Barros records several of the most famed works from a variety of different tribal traditions in their authentic form, before they may have been lost to time or altered by colonialism. In most cases, Marques de Barros translated the works from the Crioulo Guineano dialects to conventional Portuguese.

The works run the gamut of the human experience in West Africa, with topics such as slavery and emancipation, love and longing, tribal and personal rivalries, and the sacred power of the natural world. They capture the souls of people of profound sensitivity and passion, in a forever beleaguered land.

A sample of the pieces in the anthology is given here, being *Malan (Song of a Slave)*, provided both in Portuguese and in English translation:



MALAN
(Canto de uma escrava)

Eu era uma triste escrava,
ai! e que triste escrava,
que vinha para embarcar.
0 meu senhor vestiu-me
e zangado batia-me
com ramo de coral;
e pensava-me as chagas
co'o mais doce licor;
E limpava-me as f'ridas
com lenço de cambraia.
E eu era triste escrava
que vinha para embarcar
— que ben ba par bàe.

MALAN
(Song of a Slave)

I was a sad slave,
oh! and what a sad slave,
who was about to embark.

My master dressed me
and angrily beat me
with a coral branch;
and treated my wounds
with the sweetest liquor;
And cleaned my sores
with a cambric handkerchief.

And I was a sad slave
who was about to embark
— que ben ba par bàe.

The complete contents of the anthology are:

I - A noiva da serpente (Conto Mandinga).

II - O conto do vaqueiro de Brichos.

III - Historia de Sanhá (Conto Mandinga).

IV - Cantigas: Sumá (Canto maritimo); Malan (Canto de uma escrava); Amores, Amores.

V - Mondé. Mondeanas (Cantigas).

VI - Nha menino. O meu menino.

VII - Apologo. O Rei Djambatúto. Storia de djambatûtû ré de pastros.

VIII - Nharambá. Nharambanas. Appendice: Ás Nharambanas. Imitações. Cantiga de uma rival de Nharambá - Resposta attribuida a Nharambá. Uma rival de Tóte - Resposta de Tóte. D. Silvana. Canção de partida. Cuscus e batanga. No centro d'Africa. Gigantes.

IX - Batira cáò. Hymno Pepel.

X - Cryptinas. O lobo e o carneiro. Storia de lobo co' carnél.

XI - O jugudi e o falcão (Apologo). Falcon cu jugudi.

XII - Morêno. *Moreno.*

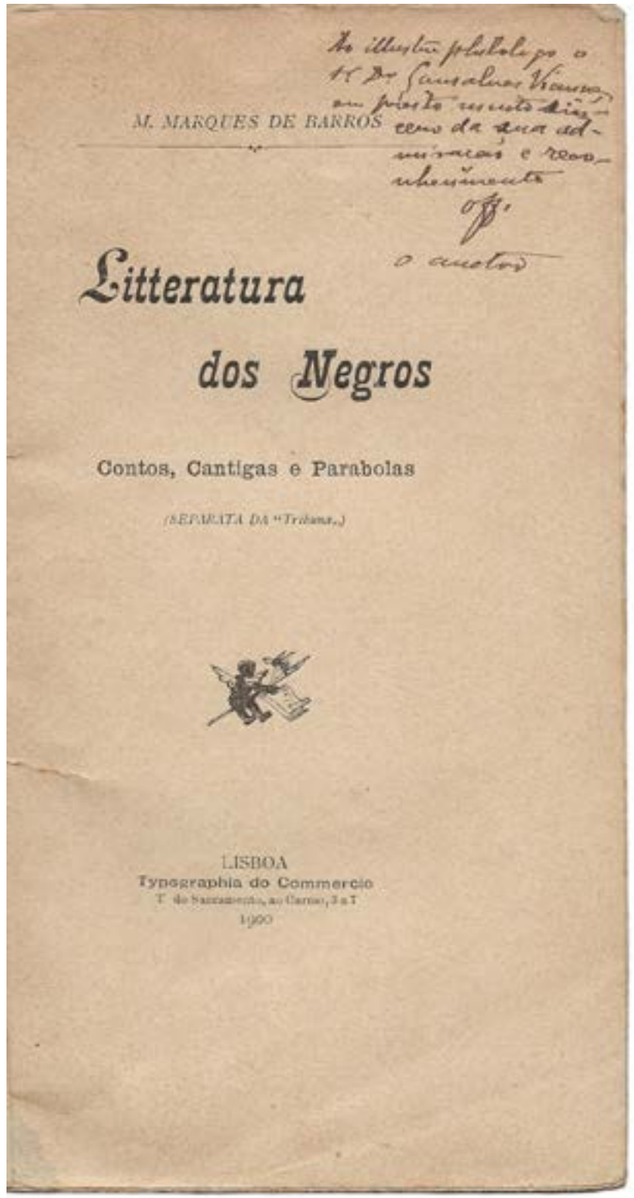
XIII - Bende-m'. Vendei-me senhor. Cantifa de uma iinfeliz escrava. Nota. Balaio.

XIV - Elegia. Spéra-l. | Errata.

The present example of the work is dedicated by the author, in manuscript, on the title, to "Dr. Gonçalves Viana", being Aniceto dos Reis Gonçalves Viana (1840 - 1914), who was then perhaps Portugal's leading philologist, linguist and lexicographer, and a long-time friend and intellectual colleague of Marques de Barros.

Marcelino Marques de Barros: Guinea-Bissau's First Modern Intellectual

Marcelino Marques de Barros (1843 – 1929) is widely regarded as Guinea-Bissau's first intellectual, in the modern European sense. He was variously a senior Roman Catholic prelate, botanist, ethnographer, historian and the country's foremost 'creolist', or authority on Guiné's diverse linguistic dialects. His greatest


M. MARQUES DE BARROS

Litteratura dos Negros

Contos, Cantigas e Parabolas

(SEPARATA DA "Tribuna.")

LISBOA
Typographia do Commercio
1900

legacy was preserving a vast corpus of knowledge and cultural information that would otherwise have been lost to time.

Marques de Barros was born in Bissau and attended the prestigious Colégio das Missões in Cernache do Bonjardim, Lisbon, where he received a first-class education. Ordained in 1866, he immediately returned to Guiné, where for 19 years he served as a parish priest in various places, such as Bissau, Bolar, Ziguinchor, Cacheu, and Farim. This allowed him to acquire a deep knowledge of most parts of the country, as well as to immerse himself in different tribal societies, so granting him an amazing command of their various linguistic dialects and cultural customs.

In 1885, Marques de Barros returned to Portugal to teach at the Colégio das Missões do Bonjardim. There he was an active member of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, whereupon he forged close ties with Portugal's intellectual elite.

Marques de Barros gave many lectures and wrote several articles on guineano creole dialects that were pioneering and definitive studies on the topic. Many of his contributions were published in the Revista Lusitana, a scientific journal edited by the fellow Sociedade de Geografia member Leite de Vasconcelos.

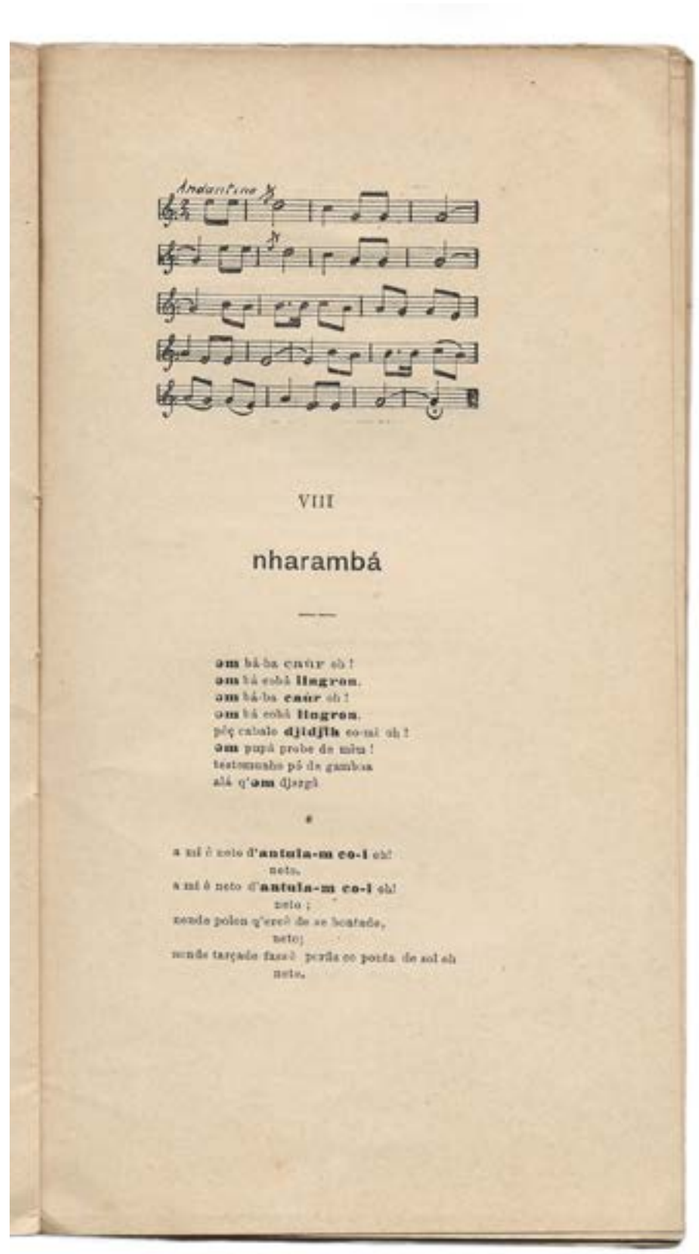
In 1893, Marques de Barros returned to serve in his home country, whereupon he was appointed as the Vicar-General of Guiné, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the colony.

During this period, he worked on concluding his 35-year-long project to record Guiné's incredibly rich oral history of legends, folktales and songs, immortalizing them in print, resulting in the present work, which was his magnum opus.

A Note on Rarity

The present work is rare. We can trace around a dozen institutional examples (although curiously none in the United States!), held by the likes of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal; Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; University of Coimbra; Biblioteca Pedro Veiga (University of Porto); British Library; Bodleian Library (Oxford University); King's College London; University of Edinburgh; National Library of Israel; and the University of Witwatersrand Library.

References: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (2 examples): J.S. 7594 and L. 96159 P.; University of Coimbra Library: 398 BAR 1900; Biblioteca Pedro Veiga (University of Porto): PV/4461; British Library: X.909/32072.; Bodleian Library (Oxford University): REP.P.1959; King's College London: PL8013.P8 B27; University of Edinburgh Library: .80889 Mar.; National Library of Israel: 69 C 7799; University of Witwatersrand Library: PL 8013.P BAR; OCLC: 2182247, 557003879; Moema Parente AUGEL, O desafio do escombro nação, identidades e pós-colonialismo na literatura da Guiné-Bissau (2007), p. 416; Samuel-Martin Eno Belinga, Cristina Brambilla, Letterature dell'Africa (1994), p. 325; Albert S. GÉRARD (ed.), European-language Writing in Sub-Saharan Africa (1986), p. 285; Philip J. HAVIK, Silences and Soundbites: The Gendered Dynamics of Trade and Brokerage in the Pre-colonial Guinea Bissau Region (2004), p. 375; Ewa A. ŁUKASZYK, 'Comparative Literature and the Quest for Global Literary Theory: Exploring a West African Margin', Compendium 6 (December 2024) pp. 25–44, esp. p. 42; José Lingna NAFAFÉ, Colonial Encounters: Issues of Culture, Hybridity and Creolisation Portuguese Mercantile Settlers in West Africa (2007), p. 181; N. Naro, R. Sansi-Roca, D. Treece, Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic (2007), p. 69; Luigi SCANTAMBURLO, The Ethnography of the Bijagós People of the Island of Bubaque, Guiné-Bissau (1978), p. 136; João Dias VICENTE, 'Subsídios para a biografia do sacerdote guineense Marcelino Marques de Barros (1844-1929)', Lusitania Sacra vol. 2, no. 4 (1992), pp. 395-470.



VIII

nharambá

—

ɔm bá-ba **cuur** oh!
ɔm bá cobá **lingron**.
ɔm bá-ba **cuur** oh!
ɔm bá cobá **lingron**.
pèç cabalo **djidjih** co-mi oh!
ɔm pupá probe de mim!
testemunho pó de gambôa
alá q'**ɔm** djargá

*

a mi ê neto d'**antula-m co-i** oh!
neto.
a mi ê neto d'**antula-m co-i** oh!
neto;
nonde polon q'ereê de se bentade,
neto;
nonde tarçade fassê perde co ponta de sol oh
neto.

No. 19

J.R. Ralph CASIMIR (1898 – 1996).
The Negro Speaks by J.R. Ralph Casimir.
Roseau, Dominica: Printed by J.R. Ralph Casimir, 60 Old Street, 1969.

8° (20 x 15.5 cm): 1 f., iii, 24 pp., bound in orginal beige printed wrappers, stapled, with mss. dedication to title reading "With best wishes from J.R. Ralph Casimir / Dominica, W.I. / Aug. 12, 1971"; a few author's mss. corrections to text (Excellent condtion, universally clean, bright and crisp).

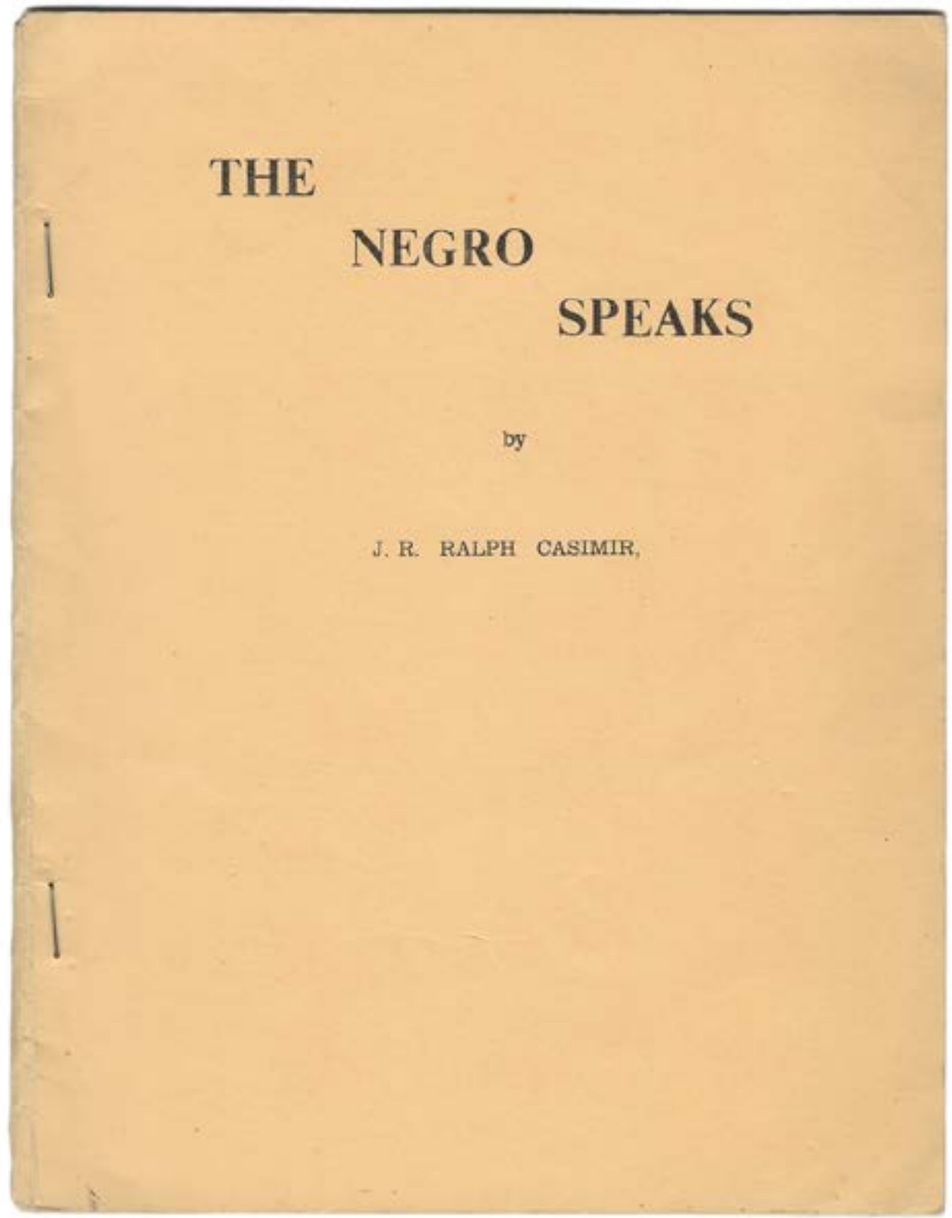
The first and only original edition of 'The Negro Speaks', arguably the greatest work of the internationally-renowned Dominican poet, essayist and activist J.R. Ralph Casimir, a leading follower of Marcus Garvey, who for 70 years was one of the Afro-Caribbean word's most articulate and impassioned advocates for black self-determination and Pan-Africanism; the focus of the work is 'I am Negro', a grand 22-stanza poem that celebrates Black dignity and the historical achievements of Afro-Caribbean peoples and civil rights pioneers; the work was privately published in Roseau, Dominica, and privately circulated by the author, ensuring that today it is exceedingly difficult to source – this example ***signed by the author.***

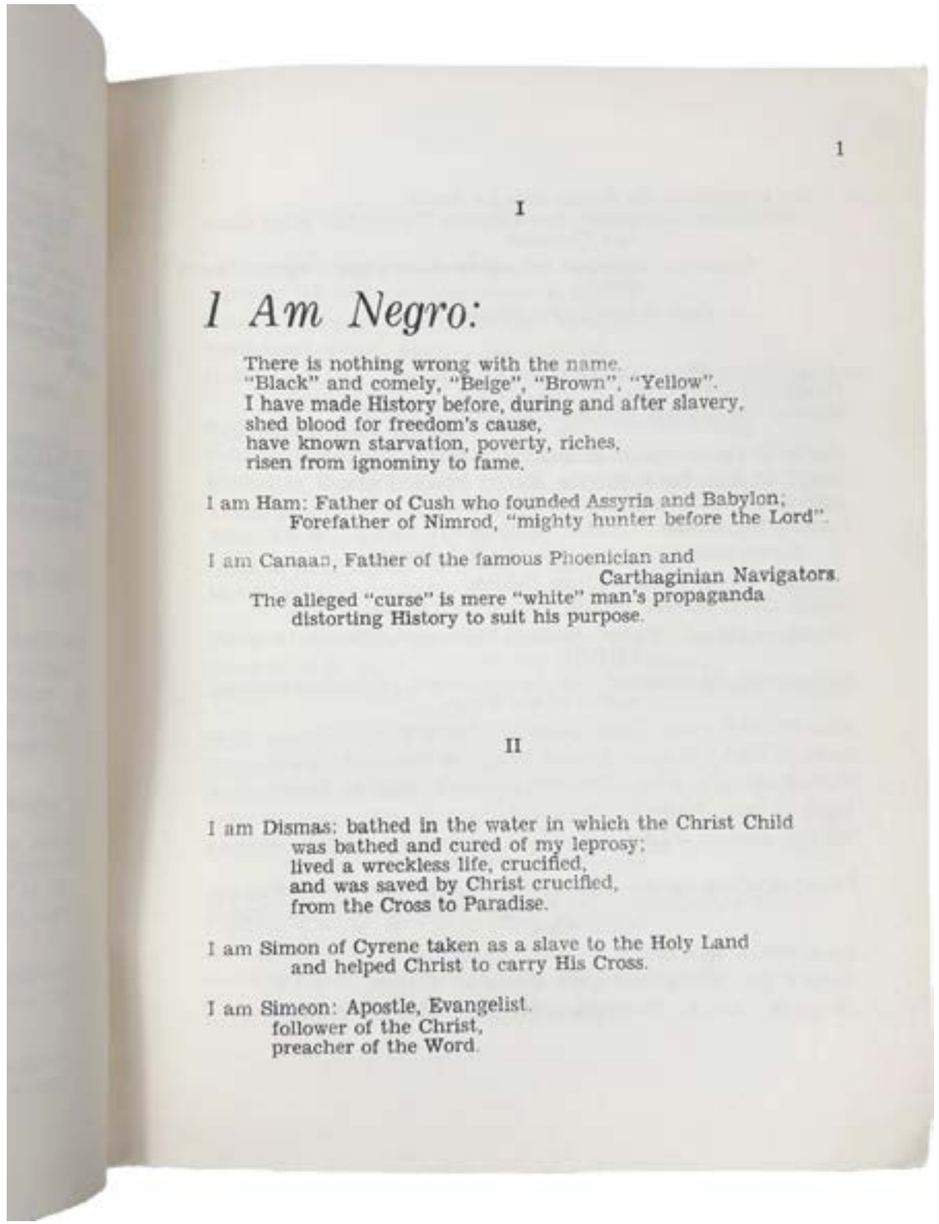
2.400 EUR

J.R. Ralph Casimir was for over 70 years one of the Caribbean's leading voices for Black self-determination, Pan-Africanism and anti-colonialism. A Dominican poet, essayist, journalist, bookseller and activist, he rose to prominence as a disciple of Marcus Garvey, before embarking upon a literary career whereupon his powerful works celebrated black dignity and sovereignty. Casimir was highly influential well beyond his home region, with his oeuvre admired for its boldness and intellectual honesty.

While Casimir's political essays perhaps had a wider readership, it was his poetry that best captured his message. Arguably his finest poetry work was The Negro Speaks, which celebrates African civilization and the contributions of historical black pathfinders. Present here is a stellar example of the first and only original edition of *The Negro Speaks,* which Casimir self-published at his premises in Roseau, Dominica, in 1969.

First, in the 'Forward' (pp. i-iii) to the work (dated Dominica, September 26, 1969), Casimir unapologetically seeks to re-claim the word "Negro" as being the definitive and just term for Black peoples (as by the 1960s the term was seen by many as dated, if not pejorative).





1

I

I Am Negro:

There is nothing wrong with the name.
"Black" and comely, "Beige", "Brown", "Yellow".
I have made History before, during and after slavery,
shed blood for freedom's cause,
have known starvation, poverty, riches,
risen from ignominy to fame.

I am Ham: Father of Cush who founded Assyria and Babylon;
Forefather of Nimrod, "mighty hunter before the Lord".

I am Canaan, Father of the famous Phoenician and
Carthaginian Navigators.
The alleged "curse" is mere "white" man's propaganda
distorting History to suit his purpose.

II

I am Dismas: bathed in the water in which the Christ Child
was bathed and cured of my leprosy;
lived a wreckless life, crucified,
and was saved by Christ crucified,
from the Cross to Paradise.

I am Simon of Cyrene taken as a slave to the Holy Land
and helped Christ to carry His Cross.

I am Simeon: Apostle, Evangelist.
follower of the Christ,
preacher of the Word.

Here he writes:

"For quite a long time there has been much controversy about the word "Negro" which applies to Africans and peoples of African descent - pro and con. Those who are angainst the use of the name suggest such names as "Afro-American", "Aframerican", "Afro-West Indian", "Coloured", "Black". The use of such ridiculous names would be harmful to Negro literature and Negro people generally.

The Negro has undoubtably made his mark in world affairs and there is no reason why Africans and peoples of African descent should be ashamed of the name "Negro" which is most applicable to the Negro race.

Why "Coloured" when this name is applicable to many people of different races? How can "Afro-American", "Aframerican", "Afro-West Indian", etc. be applicable to people of the same race? Why "Black" when all Negros are not "black"?...

"The average Negro knows nothing or very little of his forefathers' achievements in world history. He is told and taught that he is an inferior being with a brain that cannot function, and he foolishly believes such a "cock and bull" story, too lazy to use his brain!
We have, unfortunately, to bear in mind that it is not seldom that some Negroes on attaining "power" get mad or drunk thereby to the disadvantage of many and that a "literate" or "rich" Negro treats his less fortunate brother with utter contempt.

But, however, we must not ignore the fact that there are good, bad and indifferent people in every Race. And now, I invite you, gentle Reader, to read carefully the following pages."

The focus of the work is *I am Negro*, a grand 22 stanza poem. It is truly powerful and imbued with great academic knowledge an intellectual confidence. It takes the reader upon an amazing journey through history, extolling the names of great Black people and their incredible achievements, from ancient times to the present day. Examples of these Black luminaries include Simeon the Evangelist, Augustine of Hippo, Pharaoh Akhenaton, Emperor Hailie Selassie, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Cheops – the builder of the Great Pyramids, Martin Luther King, Thurgood Marshall, Booker T. Washington, Mary Seacole, Paul Cufee and Alexandre Dumas. Yet, despite that fact that the subjects of the poem are of disparate peoples, eras, places, and fields of achievements, the ultimate message calls of the unity of Black peoples worldwide, the essence of Pan-Africanism.

The opening stanza of the poem reads (p. 1):#

I am Negro:
There is nothing wrong with the name.
"Black" and comely, "Beige", "Brown", Yellow".
I have made History before, during and after slavery,
shed blood for freedom's cause,
have known starvation, poverty, riches,
risen from ignominy to fame.
I am Ham: Father of Cush who founded Assyria and Babylon;
Forefather of Nimrod, "mighty hunter before the Lord",
I am Canaan, father of the famous Phoenician and Carthaginian Navigators.
The alleged "curse" is mere "white" man's propaganda distorting history to suit his purpose.

The poem's Postscript (pp. 20-1) features a call for unity:

"It is unfortunate that Negroes – Africans and peoples of African descent – who after much agitation, sacrifice and suffering towards independence on having reached their goal are being overcome by the evil wind of ignorance, greed and mischief, fight amongst themselves in Congo, Haiti, Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, Uganda, et cetera, and are the wretched victims of world unrest which is presently the curse of all Nations of diverse Races.
When, good GOD, will we see
the way and the truth as the light
to know that none is free
who practice not that which is right?
Negroes - whether Black Muslim, Black Power, Black Panther, African Nationalist, Ras Tafarian, Indepen-

dent, and/or of whatever Party, - must understand that hatred and mischief availeth naught and that we cannot stand divided.

Unusually, and indicative of Casimir's intellectual rigour, the author incudes a lengthy bibliography to support the poem's content and assertions.

The present example of *The Negro Speaks* features an inscribed manuscript dedication on the title by the author (to an unknown recipient) that reads, "With best wishes from J.R. Ralph Casimir / Dominica, W.I. / Aug. 12, 1971".

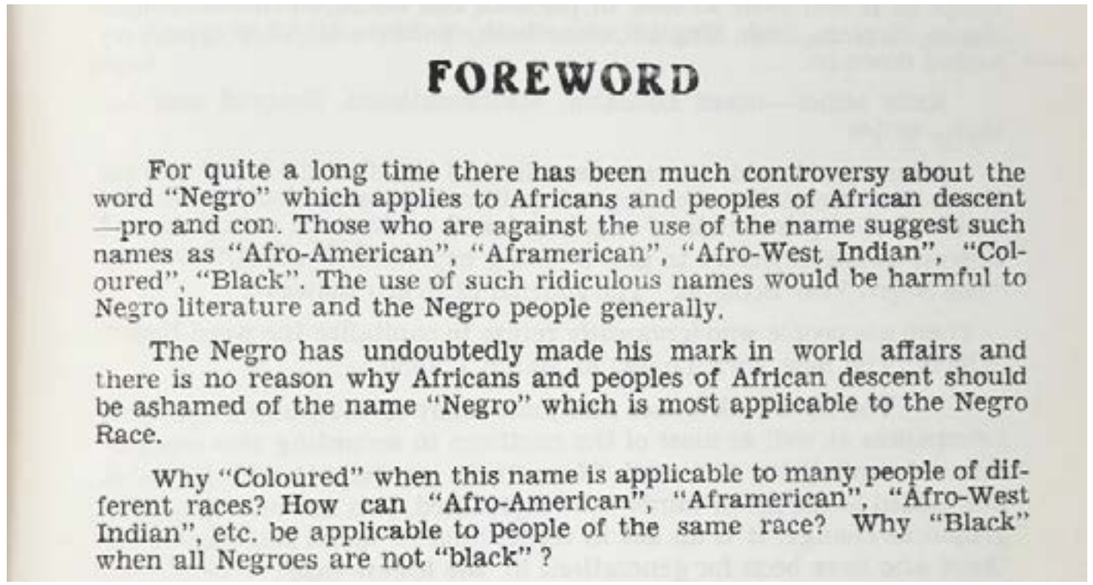
A Note on Rarity

The present work is immensely difficult to acquire, as it was privately published and privately circulated by Ralph Casimir. He gifted the book to other international Black leaders and sold examples from his Roseau bookshop, but the work was published in a small print run and was not made available for mass distribution. We can trace 11 institutional examples, with 10 held by U.S. libraries. We cannot trace any sales records for any other examples of the work.

Ralph Casimir: Powerfully Articulate Voice for Black Self-Determination and Dignity

Joseph Raphael "Ralph" Casimir (1898 –1996) was an internationally prominent Dominican poet, journalist and bookseller, who was one of the most articulate and impassioned voices for Black consciousness and sovereignty in the Afro-Caribbean world.

Born into modest but comfortable circumstances in St. Joseph, Dominica, as a young man he cut his teeth as an activist when he served as the law clerk for the eminent Dominican barrister Cecil E. A. Rawle (1891 – 1938), who was a leading voice for the self-determination of the British Caribbean. After reading an article published by the legendary Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey, in the magazine *Negro World*, Casimir penned a letter to the author. Garvey, greatly impressed by the young man, gave him his blessing to help found the Dominican chapter of his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), whereupon Casimir became it secretary (serving from 1919 to 1922).

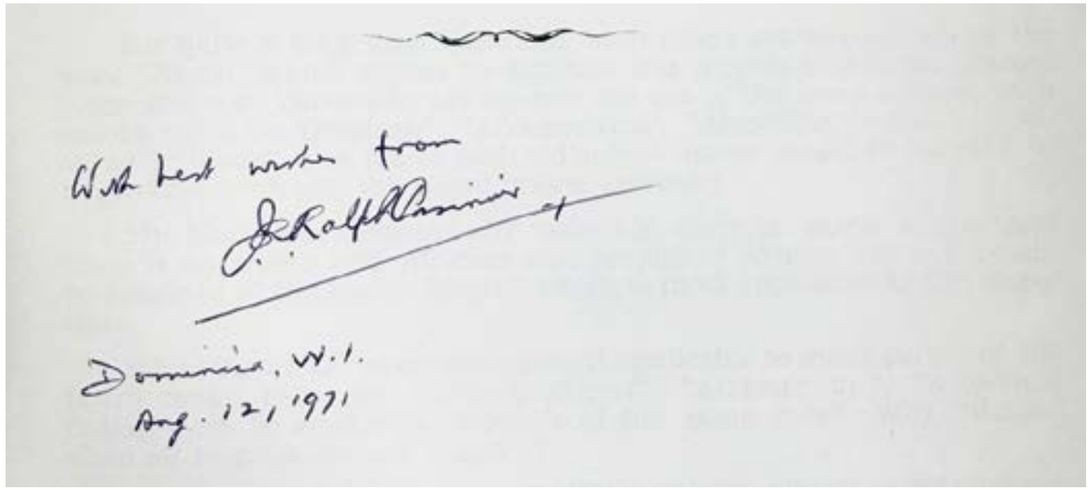


FOREWORD

For quite a long time there has been much controversy about the word "Negro" which applies to Africans and peoples of African descent —pro and con. Those who are against the use of the name suggest such names as "Afro-American", "Aframerican", "Afro-West Indian", "Coloured", "Black". The use of such ridiculous names would be harmful to Negro literature and the Negro people generally.

The Negro has undoubtedly made his mark in world affairs and there is no reason why Africans and peoples of African descent should be ashamed of the name "Negro" which is most applicable to the Negro Race.

Why "Coloured" when this name is applicable to many people of different races? How can "Afro-American", "Aframerican", "Afro-West Indian", etc. be applicable to people of the same race? Why "Black" when all Negroes are not "black" ?



Casimir's literary breakthrough came with his essay 'What Ails Dominica', published in *Negro World* (1920), which boldly called for black Caribbean peoples to take their destiny into their own hands, a message resonated far beyond his home island.

Casimir subsequently worked as the Dominican agent for Negro World and for other global black publications, such as W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Crisis*. An exceedingly gifted advocate for anti-colonialism and Pan-Africanism, he contributed numerous essays and poems to these and other black publications across the Caribbean, United States and West Africa, often under his penname 'Civis Africanus'.

However, Casimir's greatest literary achievements were his poetry anthologies, which were the first such works of their kind created in Dominica. These included *Pater Noster and Other Poems* (1967), *Africa Arise and Other Poems* (1967), *A Little Kiss and Other Poems* (1968), *Farewell and Other Poems* (1971), *Dominica and Other Poems* (1968), and *The Negro Speaks* (1969), the last of which was arguably his finest and most revered work.

Casimir passed away at the age of 97, after a career of activism and literary achievement that lasted over 70 years. He left an immense legacy, as his vision and writings greatly influenced generations of black leaders in the West Indies, Britain, South America, West Africa, the United States and Canada.

Notably, Casimir's granddaughter, Kathy Casimir MacLean, wrote a biography of the great man, *Black Man Listen* (2022), that has been universally hailed as a stellar tribute and insight into Casimir's life and legacy.

References: Roseau Public Library (Roseau, Dominica): DM 811.729 841 Cas; Harvard University: Old Widener SAL 10262.81.100; Benjamin S. Rosenthal Library, Queen's College (Flushing, NY): E185.96 .C375; Temple University (Philadelphia): PR6053.A835 N4x; Penn State Library: E185.96. C375 1969; Earl S. Richardson Library, Morgan University (Baltimore): E185.96 .C375; Virgina Tech Library: E185.96.C375; University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee: PR6053 A85x N4; Hallie Q. Morgan Memorial Library, Central State University (Wilberforce, OH): 11072 AKA Grant 1975; Northwestern University Library: 821.914 C339n; Langston Hughes Memorial Library: PR9275.D653; OCLC: 1171535; Tony MARTIN (complier), African Fundamentalism: A Literary and Cultural Anthology of Garvey's Harlem Renaissance (1991), p. 346; Tony MARTIN, in 'African and Indian Consciousness', General History of the Caribbean, vol. 5 (1997), p. 243; Tony MARTIN, Literary Garveyism, Garvey, Black Arts, and the Harlem Renaissance (1983), p. 65.

No. 20

大日本帝國陸地測量部 [IMPERIAL JAPANESE ORDNANCE SURVEY DEPARTMENT].
新嘉坡 : 馬剌加.ベンカリス *[Singapore: Malaya…].*
Tokyo: 大日本帝國陸地測量部 [Imperial Japanese Land Survey Department], December 10, Meiji 43 [1910].

Colour photolithograph (Very Good, overall clean and bright, just some light toning in places, light wear along old folds), 46.5 x 62 cm (18.5 x 24.5 inches).

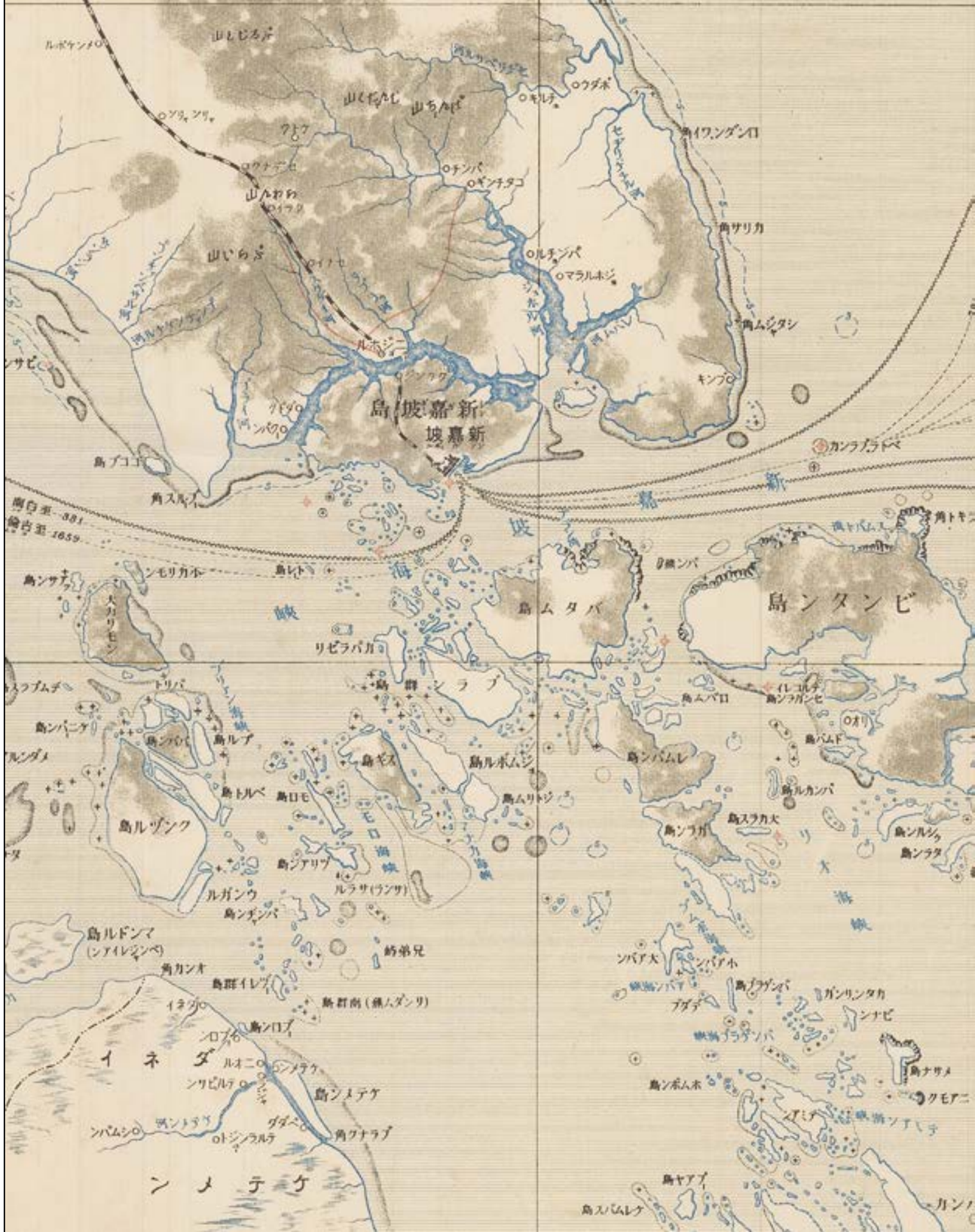
Exceedingly rare – one of the earliest Japanese maps of the Singapore-Straits of Malacca region, issued by the Imperial Japanese Land Survey Department, the national civilian mapping agency, in 1910, as Japan's economic and political clout was on the rise in Singapore; while a separately issued map made to serve official military and commerical strategic planning, it was made as part of the the ambitious 'East Asia Land Map' project, which was composed of dozens of interconnecting maps that covered all of East Asia from Siberia to Indonesia.

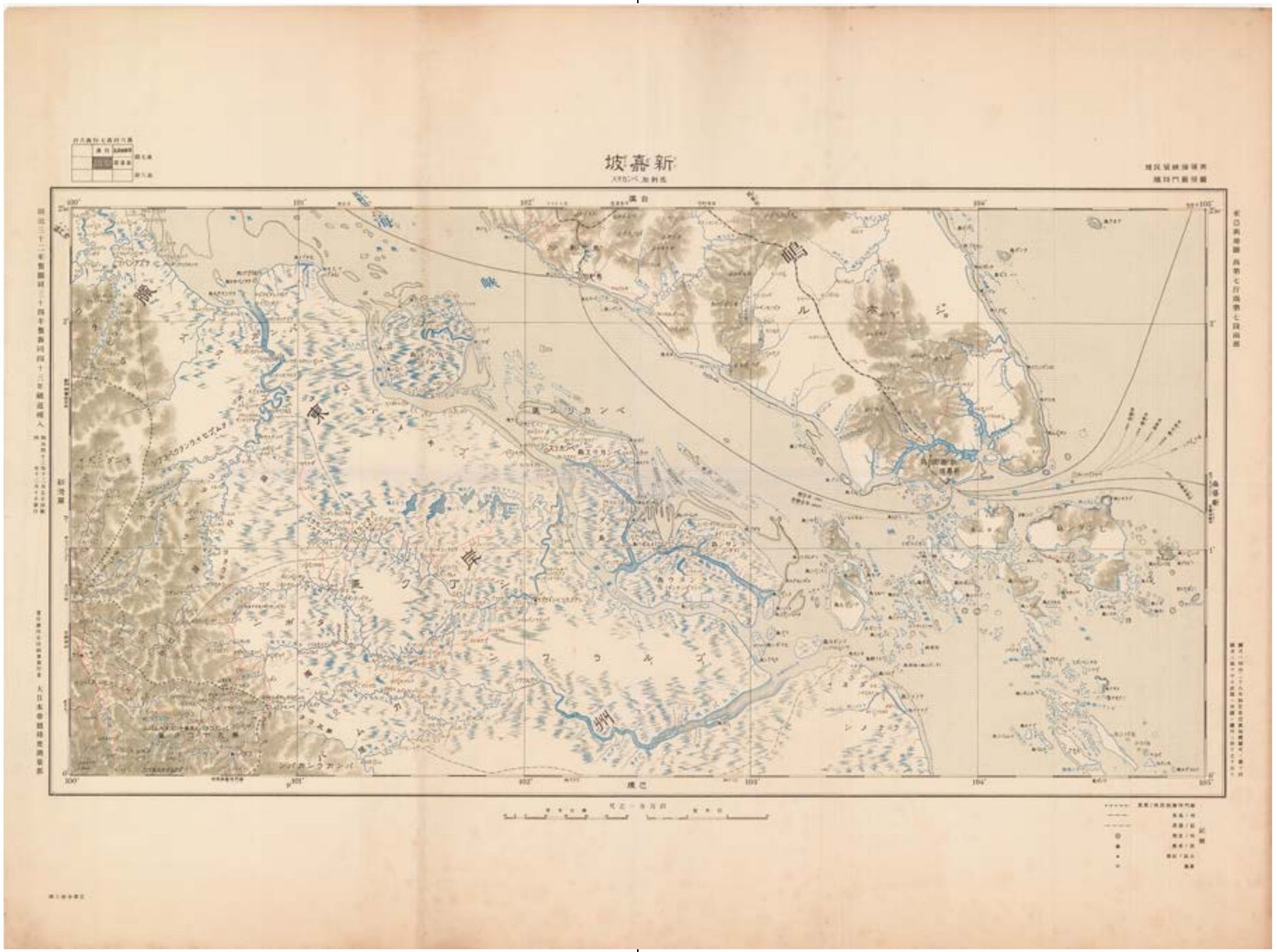
850 EUR

This is one of the earliest Japanese maps of the Singapore-Straits of Malacca region, which appeared in the run-up to World War I, as Japan was developing a muscular economic presence in Southeast Asia for the first time. Published by the Imperial Japanese Land Survey Department, the national civilian mapping agency, the map features Singapore, on the righthand side, and embraces the Malay Peninsula up to a point above Malacca, and then across the straits to take in a good portion of Sumatra, while the Riau Archipelago lies to the south of Singapore. The map encompasses the area located between 0° to 2°30′N Latitude and 100° to 105°E Longitude.

Predicated upon the best international surveys, the map shows areas of elevation by shading, marks the courses of rivers and locations of swamps, while revealing the many shoals and reefs in the straits of Singapore and Malacca. All cities and towns of note are labelled, while the city of Singapore is shown in outline. The railways crossing Singapore Island and then up through Malaya towards Kuala Lumpur, completed in 1903, are depicted, as is the spur line connecting to Malacca, finished in 1905. Key roads are marked, while the locations of lighthouses are noted by red symbols.

The present map was separately issued in 1910, and is updated for the first edition, published in 1899. It was part of the 東亞輿地圖 [East Asia Land Map] series, an ambitious cartographic project that aimed to create dozens of interconnecting maps, all at a uniform quality and scale of Scale: 1,000,000, of all East Asia, from Siberia down to Indonesia. The first printing of the first maps from the series was issued by the Imperial Japanese Land Survey Department in 1894, with further maps and updated editions


島坡嘉新
新嘉坡
島ンタンビ
島ムタバ
島ルソンク
島ルボムシ
島シアリヴ
島シメテケ
ンメテケ
イネダ
島ンバムレ
島ンラガ
島ンバ
島ンラタ
島ナサメ
島ヤアブ
島スバムレケ
島ルドンマ
島群イレツ
島群南(鎖ムダンリ)
島ンロブ
島ンバニケ
島ンバ
島ルブ
島トルベ
島ロモ
島ンバンバ
島ンラガン
島ンボムホ
島ンラタンバ
島ンリンタカ
島ンナビ
島ンバムド
島ルカンバ
島スラカ大
島ンルシク
島ンラタ
島ンバア大
島ンバア小
島ブラガンバ
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島ンナビ
島ナサメ
島ヤアブ
島スバムレケ
リビラバカ
ルボケンメ
ウダボ
ルチンバ
マラルホジ
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ンムリトジ
ンスラカ大
ンルカンバ
ンバムド
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ンナサメ
ンヤアブ
ンスバムレケ
ンバ


新嘉坡
東京
支那
蒙古
西伯利
滿洲
朝鮮
日本

appearing until 1940. The maps were made for official Japanese government use, for both strategic military and commercial planning (i.e., where to direct Japanese investment). While the maps were issued separately, with different titles and editions appearing at various times, the series allowed groups of maps to be joined to form grand overviews of entire regions, although many would still have been separately employed. It is unclear what a 'complete' set of the 'East Asia Land Map' series would entail, although the University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture Library holds an atlas that features 179 maps from the series.

Each map from the project features a locator, explaining its physical place within the grander East Asia Land Map series, with the present work featuring the line: 東亞輿地圖 ; 西第7行 南第7段 [East Asian Land Map; West 7th Row, South 7th Row].

A Note on Rarity

All examples of maps from the East Asia Land Map series are extremely rare, as the maps were seemingly only produced in limited print runs for official Japanese government use, and were not generally sold or otherwise publicly distributed. Moreover, the survival rate of such maps made for practical use is very low.

We can trace only 3 institutional examples of any of the editions of the Singapore map from the series, being 2 examples of the present 1910 edition, held by the University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture Library and the Kobe University Library for Social Sciences; while an example of the 1912 edition is held by the University Library for Agricultural and Life Sciences, The University of Tokyo.

The Japanese in Singapore up to World War I

The present map appeared at time when Japan's star was on the rise in Singapore.

The Japanese have a long and varied history in Singapore that commences well before Japan's gratuitously brutal occupation of the island during World War II. The first Japanese person to formally register to live in Singapore was Yamamoto Otokichi, who settled there in 1862. However, for the many years thereafter, the Japanese presence in Singapore lay along the peripheries of society, largely functioning in the city's red-light district.

However, upon the country's shocking victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), Japanese merchants and diplomats came to be taken seriously in Singapore. During World War I, the scarcity of European industrial goods in Southeast Asia allowed Japanese commercial houses to gain a great economic presence in Singapore that prevailed until end of World War II.

References: [re: present December 1910 ed.:] University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture Library: B63:2:163; Kobe University Library for Social Sciences: 7-5-201; Kyoto University Library: 534||||95||三高和; [re: 1912 edition:] University Library for Agricultural and Life Sciences, The University of Tokyo: 11404:151; OCLC: 1253330518.



JAPAN – HOKKAIDO / FIRST TRIGONOMETRIC SURVEY / EARLY AMERICAN-JAPANESE NEXUS MEIJI SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

No. 21

開拓使 [‘KAITAKUSHI’ / THE HOKKAIDO DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION]. /
James Robert WASSON (1847 - 1823), Murray Simpson DAY (1845 - 1878),
荒井 郁之助 [ARAI Ikunosuke] (1836 - 1909) and 福士成豊 [Noritoyo Fukushi] (1838 - 1922).
北海道實測圖 *[Topographic Map of Hokkaido].*
Tokyo: 東京銀座彫刻會社印行 [Tokyo Ginza Engraving Printing Company], [December Meiji 8 [1875]].

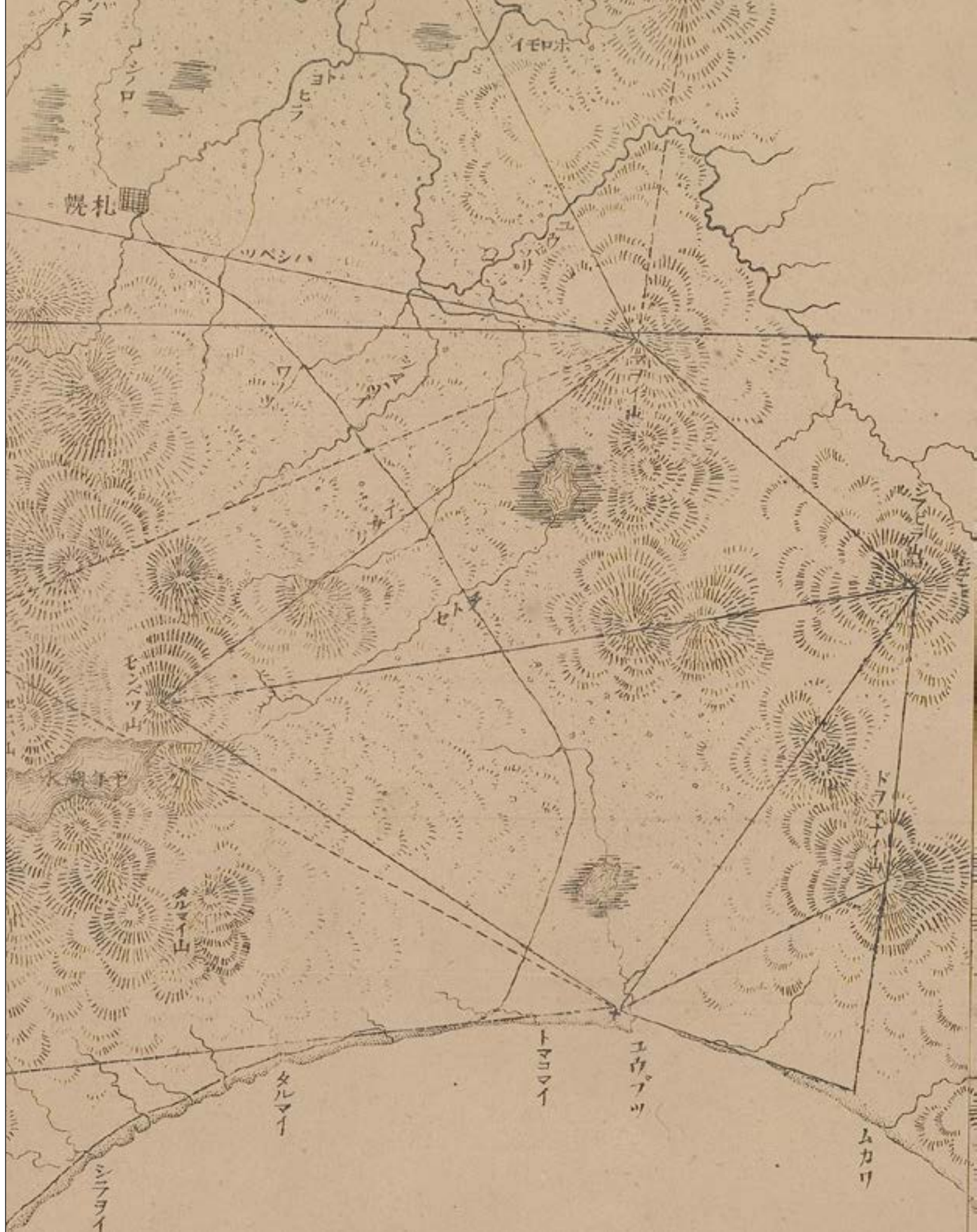
Lithograph, on Western-style paper, mounted upon rice paper, mss. title and pastedown mss. label to verso (Good, wear and some small tears along old folds with some tiny bits of loss), 124 x 118 cm (49 x 46.5 inches).

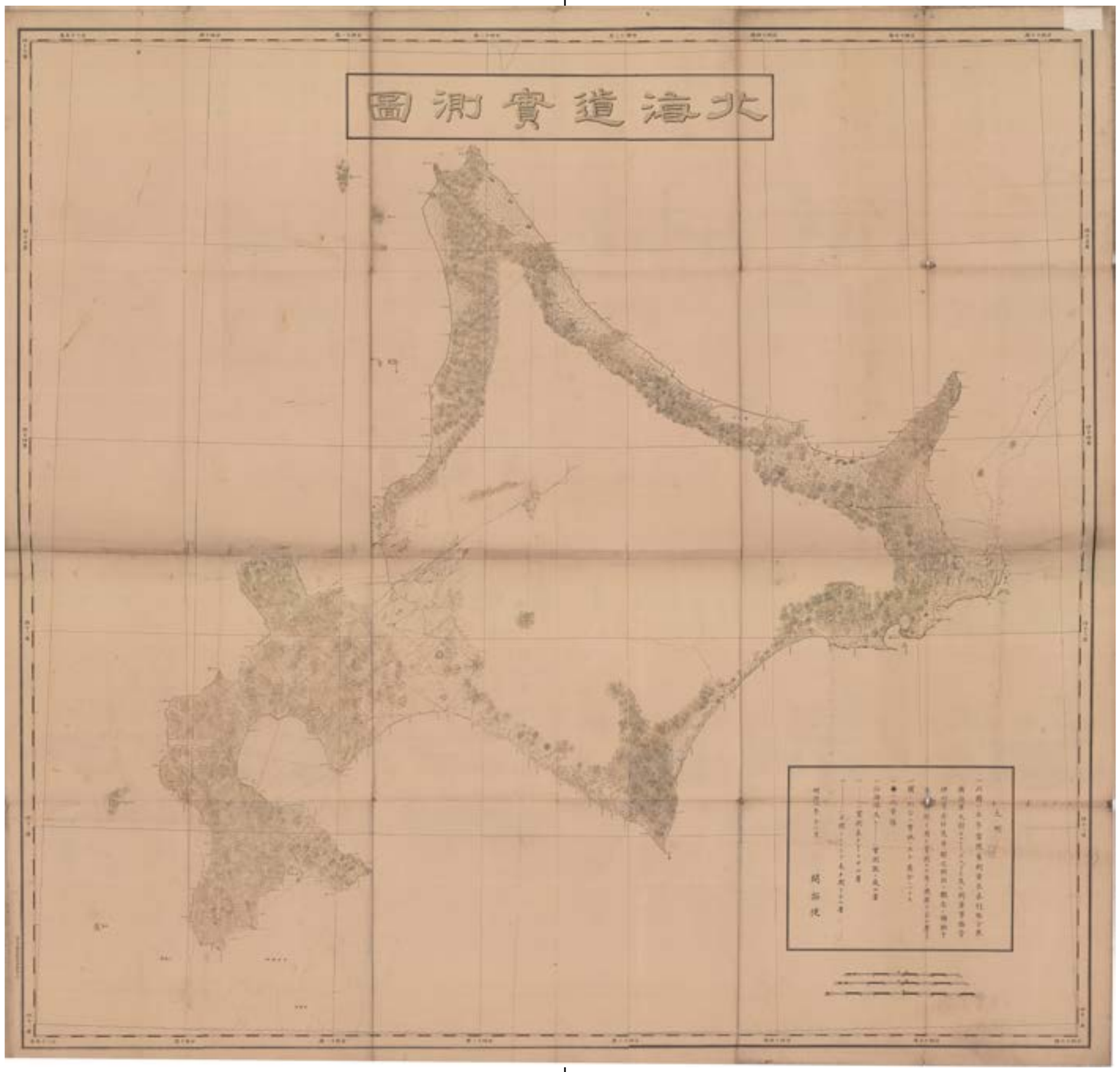
Exceedingly rare – 1 of only 3 known examples – the first edition of the first truly modern map of Hokkaido, being the earliest general topographical map of the island predicated upon systematic trigonometric surveys, produced as a signature objective of the Kaitakushi, the commission formed to realize the Meiji regime’s ambitious plans to colonize Hokkaido and exploit its mineral wealth, the map being the signature accomplishment of the ‘Triangulation Survey of Hokkaido’, an endeavour led by the American military cartographers James R. Wasson and Murray S. Day, and largely executed in the field by the Japanese surveyors Arai Ikunosuke and Noritoyo Fukushi, both of whom went on to become legendary figures in the modern cartography of Japan in their own rights; the map importantly served as the blueprint for contextualizing innumerable subsequent cadastral, colonial settlement and infrastructure surveys, greatly aiding the rapid development of Hokkaido over the coming generation.

3.800 EUR

During the Meiji Era (1868-1912), Japan embarked the most radical and rapid transformation of any country in world history. In only a short number of years, Japan went from being a largely isolationist, rural agrarian society into an internationally outgoing, increasingly unurbanized and hyper-industrialized military superpower.

Yet, Early Meiji Japan had two great weaknesses. First, concerned the fact that the country produced very few minerals of the kind desperately needed to supply its burgeoning factories. Generally, these materials had to be imported at great trouble and cost. While Honshu was once one of the world’s leading silver producers, these deposits has long been depleted, and while Japan’s main island still produced some coal, these reserves were nowhere near sufficient to fuel the country’s needs.




北海道實測圖

Second, Japan's home islands were overpopulated, a factor that made it difficult to provide the county's people with the high standard of living that Japan's economic growth would normally entail.

Hokkaido (traditionally called *Yeso*, or *Yesso*), Japan's second largest and most northern major island, provided a solution to both these problems. It was long thought to be rich in mineral resources, while it was home to vast expanses of fertile lands and coastlines with access to abundant fisheries.

However, it remained that most of Hokkaido's landmass was little known to the Japanese. While they had long colonized the island's most southernly area, the Oshima Peninsula, and its fishermen had frequented its coasts elsewhere, up the late 1860s most of Hokkaido was still under the control of the indigenous Ainu people, who had largely successfully resisted encroachment upon their territories.

The Meiji regime directed overwhelming resources into conquering Hokkaido and colonizing it with Japanese settlers. In 1869, the imperial government formed the Hokkaidō Development Commission (*The Kaitakushi* / 開拓使) to oversee this momentous task. Over the succeeding years, tens of millions of yen would be spent to encourage Japanese settlers to migrate to Hokkaido, and many new cities and towns (notably, the island's capital, Sapporo) were built. The Kaitakushi also oversaw the construction of roads, railways and grand agricultural schemes, with the goal of creating a modern society with advanced European-style capabilities and amenities.

The Japanese offered many Western experts (mainly British and Americans) large salaries to come to Hokkaido to plan and oversee the development of modern infrastructure and systems and to train Japanese experts on how to run these enterprises going forward. Notably, the Kaitakushi (for a colossal sum) recruited Horace Capron, the former U.S. Agriculture Commissioner, to come to Hokkaido to advise on how to develop the island (he resided there from 1871 to 1875). Capron's presence encouraged several other Americans to join the Kaitakushi's service.

The traditionalist society of the Ainu was sadly no match for this industrial juggernaut, and they quickly lost possession of their lands, being killed, displaced or assimilated.

The Triangulation Survey of Hokkaido

Critical to the Kaitakushi's ambitious designs to develop Hokkaido was the need to map the island to the most advanced Western scientific standards. As an autonomous part of the Japanese Ministry of Industry's programme to scientifically map all of Japan, led by the Scotsman Colin Alexander McVean, in 1873, the Kaitakushi established the *Triangulation Survey of Hokkaido*, which envisaged that all the island would be systematically mapped by triangulated methods regulated by astronomical observations – the gold standard of modern surveying.

The Triangulation Survey occurred simultaneously, but independently, with the G*eological Survey of Hokkaido*, led by the American Benjamin Smith Lyman, which reconnoitred the island for mineral deposits, while conducting scientific surveys of key sites.

However, this arduous endeavour relied upon highly trained leadership and expensive specialized equipment, none of which was available in Hokkaido.

James R. Wasson (1847 - 1823), of the U.S. Army, was recruited to lead the Triangulation Survey of Hokkaido. Wasson was a veteran of the U.S. Civil War and had graduated first in his class from West Point. He also had close personal ties to U.S. President Grant. While no Japanese were yet able to lead a trigonometrical survey, Wasson benefitted from the fact that he was given the services of several Japanese surveyors and university students of uncommon intellectual curiosity and ability who proved adept at quickly learning and mastering Wasson's techniques. Of note, were Wasson's top lieutenants, Arai Ikunosuke (1836 - 1909), a former samurai, professional surveyor and once the Naval Minister of the short-lived rebel Republic of Edo; and Fukushi Narotoyo (1838 -1922), a shipbuilder-turned-surveying engineer, who were crucial to the endeavour, and who subsequently became legendary figures in the modern cartography of Japan in their own rights.

In 1873, under Wasson's supervision, the anchors of the Triangulation Survey of Hokkaido were set by his lieutenants, with Arai measuring the Hakodate subsidiary base line, on the Oshima Peninsula, and Fukushi measuring the Yufutsu base line, along the island's south coast. Soon the endeavour was joined by U.S. Navy Lieutenant Murray Simpson Day (1845 - 1878), who arrived with sophisticated surveying equipment. At the start of the 1874 season, Wesson left the survey to join the Japanese military invasion of Taiwan, leaving Day in charge.

The survey's efforts coalesced during the 1875 season, whereupon six teams worked simultaneously in the field, variously attending to astronomical observations, triangulation, point setting, and seacoast surveying. During this time, 23 trigonometric points were set up between the Hakodate and Yufutsu baselines, before the triangulation was extended all the way up the west coast of Hokkaido to the island's northernmost point, Cape Sōya, while Fukushi led a survey of the cross of the island through the critical Ishikari Plain, the fertile lowland that featured Sapporo. Impressively, Day's teams were able to survey the complete coastlines of island. By the end of the season, 40% of Hokkaido's area had been exactingly mapped by triangulated surveys.

Regrettably, the Triangulation Survey of Hokkaido ended early in the 1876 surveying season, as Day returned Stateside, frustrated by the Kaitakushi's infamous bureaucracy; Arai was promoted to Tokyo where he eventually became the head of the national trigonometrical survey and the first director of the Japan Meteorological Agency; Fukushi was seconded to scientifically survey a line up Honshu between Tokyo and Aomori, and then to connect the Hokkaido surveys to the incipient national survey of Japan; meanwhile the funding for the Hokkaido survey dried up. Thus, the advanced scientific mapping of Hokkaido went into hiatus and would only be resumed and completed during the 1880s.

The Present Work in Focus: The First Truly Modern Map of Hokkaido

This ultra-large-scale work is the first truly modern map of Hokkaido, being the official map recording the Triangulation Survey of Hokkaido's progress up the end of 1875 (featuring essentially all its accomplishments). It was published in Tokyo for the Kaitakushi and is exceedingly rare, today known in only 3 examples.

The map shows all Hokkaido to a grand scale, with all its littoral areas charted with great precision, with all points, bays, harbours and river mouths labelled, while points of elevation are carefully expressed by hachures.

The southwestern areas of the Hokkaido, notably the Oshima Peninsula (home to the island's main port of Hakodate) and the Ishikari Plain (home to Sapporo, the capital), plus the lands running all the way up the west coast to Cape Sōya are fully mapped, and are shown covered in dozens of triangulated lines, emanating from basepoints (often located atop hills/mountains). These completed territories of the survey account for 40% of the island. Arai's Hakodate Baseline is shown to run at the head of the bay north of the eponymous city, while the origin of Fukushi's Yufutsu Baseline, located near the middle of the south coast, is marked by a cross.

By contrast, the heart of Hokkaido, which is dominated by heavily forested volcanic peaks, is shown blank, as it was left unmapped by the Triangulation Survey of Hokkaido.

While the map shows that the survey's work was left unfinished, what was accomplished nevertheless proved highly valuable to the development of Hokkaido, as it provided a precise mapping of the main areas of both the established population centres and of future colonial settlement, being the Ishikari Plain

and Oshima Peninsula. As such, it served as the basis for countless township, cadastral and infrastructure surveys, so perfectly addressing the Kaitakushi's main priorities.

Perhaps most importantly, the Triangulation Survey of Hokkaido trained Arai and Fukushi, as well as many other Japanese professionals, to perform Western-style scientific surveying to the highest level of perfection, allowing the Japanese to assume leadership of the cartography of their own country in the years ahead.

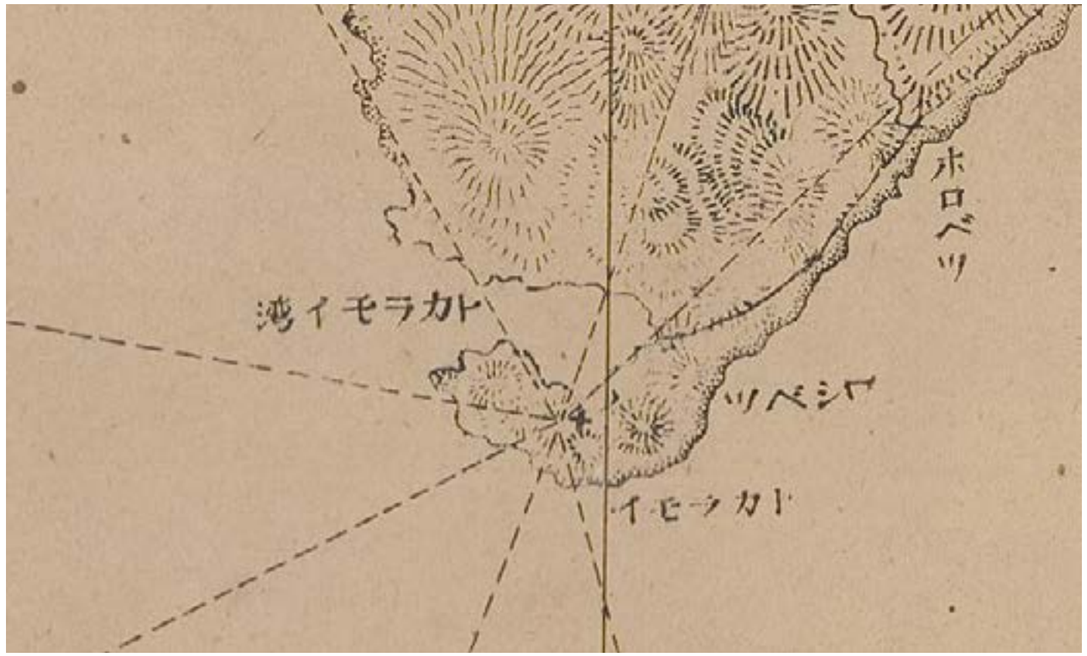
The present work may be a variant of the map, as is does not feature the publication date of December Meiji 8 [1875], as is apparently present on the other known examples of the map; however, it almost certainly dates from the same time.

The present map was reissued under the auspices of the Japanese General Staff, in two editions, in November 1881 and April 1881, likely due to demand considering the lack of examples of the original issue.

A Note on Rarity

The map is exceedingly rare; it would have been issued in only a very small print run for the use of senior Kaitakushi officials and top crown figures in Tokyo. We can trace only two other examples of the 1875 issue, held by the National Diet Library and the National Library of Finland (Kansalliskirjasto). The 1880 and 1881 reissues are likewise rare, known in only an example each at the National Diet Library. We are not aware of any sales records for any other examples of the map, of any of the issues.

References: National Diet Library: YG913-571; OCLC: 675631840; National Library of Finland (Kansalliskirjasto): Japonica 586: 2. Cf. Etsuo Yamamura, 'Model Reference Adaptive Theory on International Technology Transfer (II): Transfer of Triangulation Technology for a Vast Area of Hokkaido', Journal of the Graduate School of Environmental Science, Hokkaido University, vol. 13, no. 1, (Sapporo, 1990), pp. 69-74.



JAPAN – MEIJI EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTION
EARLY GEOGRAPHY TEACHING AID

No. 22

友鳴吉兵衛 [Tomomei Kichibei].

改正地理初歩暗射之圖 / *[Kaisei chiri shoho ansha no zu / Revised Geography Beginner's Guide].*

Osaka: 大野木市兵衛 [Ichibei Onogi], January 1876.

Colour lithograph on rice paper, with original yellow endpapers bearing pastedown printed label, contemporary bookseller's handstamp to title and front endpaper (Excellent, remarkably clean, bright and crisp), 71.5 x 99.5 cm (28 x 99.5 inches).

A very early, especially well designed and attractive teaching aid used to grant Japanese elementary school students a knowledge of the basic terms of physical geography and travel, embodying the new ethic of the educational revolution of the Meiji Era (1868 - 1912), when Japan radically and rapidly reformed its education system to open young minds to geography and foreign lands - extremely rare and in remarkably fine condition.

1.200 EUR

During the Meiji Era (1868-1912), Japan radically and rapidly reformed its education system to open young peoples' minds to geography and knowledge of the outside world, in sharp contrast to the isolationist ethic that prevailed under the previous Shogunate regime. During the time, educators developed sophisticated and effective pedagogical devices to convey geographical knowledge to students, many of whom had no previous acquaintance with maps or travel accounts.

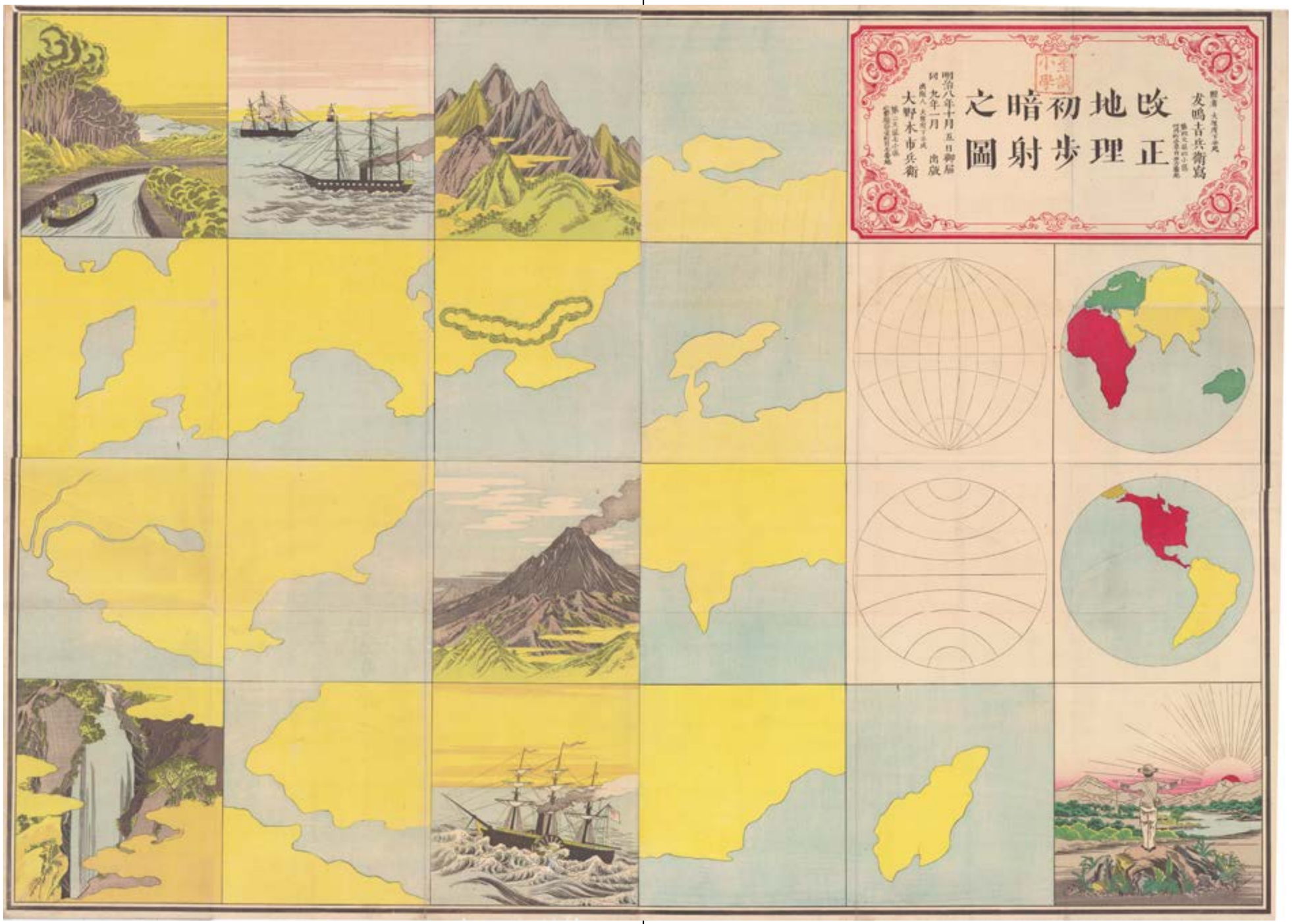
The present work is a very early, clever and highly attractive geography teaching aide geared towards elementary school students. It was issued in Osaka, drafted by the artist Tomomei Kichibei and published by the printer Ichibei Onogi, in January 1876, only 8 years after the start of the Meiji Era.

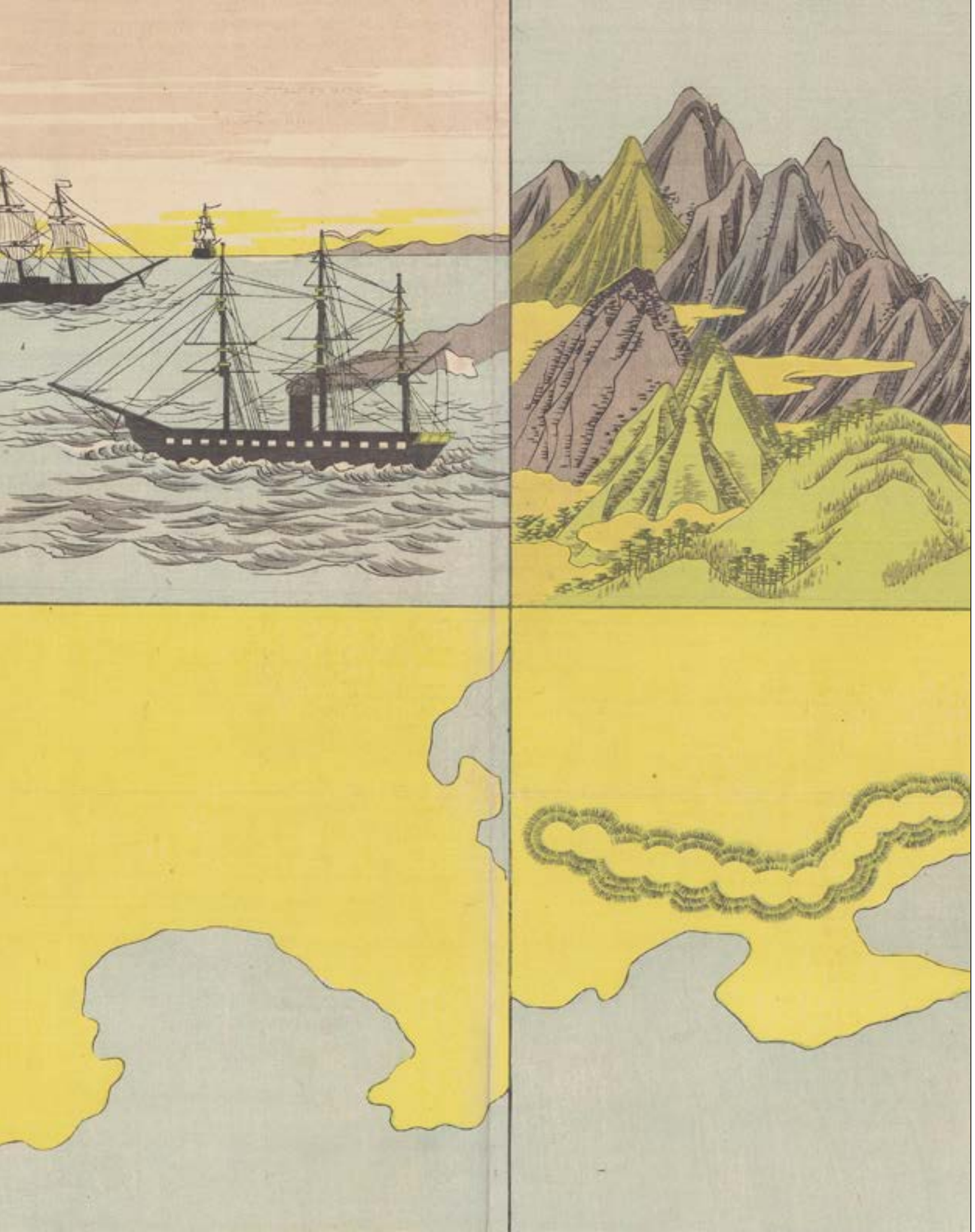
When unfolded, in addition to the title register (upper right corner), the colourful composition is divided into 22 squares of equal size, each of which features an element of a geography lesson.

Seven of the squares feature pictographic representations of aspects of physical geography or travel, and include a boat heading down a river towards the sea; a pair of ships (one a sailing vessel the other being largely steam powered) traveling on seas with a coastline in the background; mountains punctuated by a valley; a waterfall; a steaming volcano; a steamship on stormy high seas; and a man standing atop a peak overlooking a verdant river valley with a sunrise over mountains in the background. These pictures would have been employed to teach and quiz the students as to the features they depict.

Next, the composition features 11 outline maps (lacking any labelling) that depict diverse elements




改正地理初歩暗射之圖
明治八年十月五日御届
同　九年一月　出版
大野木市兵衛
戊鳴吉兵衛寫



of physical geography, mainly being various aspects of coastlines (capes, points, peninsulas, bays, straits, etc.) which were especially important in an island nation like Japan, in addition to lakes, rivers and mountain ranges. Thus, the students would be taught how to properly name these features on sight.

Finally, there are 4 hemispheric maps of world, located on the righthand side of the composition. The two skeletal maps (to the left) show, respectively, the lines of longitude, plus, the lines of the Equator and the Tropics; while the other shows the lines of latitude. The maps to the right employ colour-coding to depict the continents in both the Western and Eastern hemispheres.

This boldly colourful and visually appealing work would have been effective, as the teacher could easily convey the full gamut of basic geographical terms to students in way that was fun and memorable. It is worth remarking that it is especially well-designed compared to other early Meiji pedagogical works, while this example survives in remarkably stellar condition.

The present work is extremely rare. We can trace only 2 institutional examples, held by the National Diet Library and the University of British Columbia Library. Moreover, we are not aware of any other examples as having appeared on the market.

The work's designer, 友鳴吉兵衛 [Tomomei Kichibei], was an artist and cartographer active in Osaka during the early Meiji Era. The printer 大野木市兵衛 [Ichibei Onogi], who flourished throughout the 1870s and '80s, was a boutique publisher of educational books, issuing titles on history, calligraphy, grammar and physics, while also producing maps of Osaka.

The Meiji Revolution and Education

During the Meiji Era (1868-1912), Japan experienced the most rapid and radical socio-economic transformation of any nation in world history. In the 1850s, American-led foreign pressure compelled the long ruling (but ailing) Shogunate regime to reluctantly open the country to international trade, following a three-century-long official policy of isolation.

In the wake of the regime change that installed the Meiji imperial administration, in 1868, it suddenly became official policy to embrace the outside world with gusto. Japan quickly adopted Western-style industrial methods, and in only a single generation transformed itself from having an economic profile based upon agriculture and handcrafts to being one of the most advanced modern industrial economies in the world.

Whereas inquiry into foreign lands and the study of geography beyond one's locality was traditionally discouraged, the Japanese people now thirsted for information and products from distant shores, spawning a great flowering of print culture on foreign subjects that included maps, travel logs, scientific works and pedagogical materials on Europe, America, Africa, Australia, and the rest of Asia.

In line with this socio-economic revolution, the Meiji regime radically altered the national school curriculum to encourage learning about geography and overseas lands. Significant amounts of both public and private funds were spent on new textbooks, visual aids and maps showcasing elements of topography, exploration and travel. While many of these works were either translations of, or copied from, Western antecedents, many, like the present work, were significantly modified to give them a distinctly Japanese flair.

The result of these changes to the Japanese education system ensured that for generations thereafter Japanese people tended to be curious about foreign countries, with those with the means often going to great lengths to travel to see with their own eyes what they once saw in textbooks or on maps.

References: National Diet Library: YG913-1719; University of British Columbia Library: G3201 .A5 1876 T6; OCLC: 674843367, 10238662853.

No. 23

Atanasio LUDINO.

***Luminoso astro brilhante planeta nova estrella de Neptuno
a qual soccorrida com a protecçaõ da Deosa Pallas descobre com as luzes de muitas, e admiraveis noticias de gravissimos authores gregos, latinos, romanos, egypcios, e carthageneses, quaes foraõ o primeimeiros inventores da arte de navegar : os corssarios mais crueis, que tem havido nos mares; e as sentenças de muitos sabios philosophos, que nunca quizeraõ navegar, nem embarcar***

***[Luminous, bright star, new planet, Neptune's star,
that aided by the protection of the Goddess Pallas, discovers, with the light of many admirable accounts from the most serious Greek, Latin, Roman, Egyptian, and Carthaginian authors, who were the first inventors of the art of navigation; the most cruel corsairs that have ever existed on the seas; and the opinions of many wise philosophers who never wished to sail or embark.]***

Lisbon: Pedro Ferreira 1750.

Large 8°, [8 pp.], inserted in later marbled paper wrappers (minor age-toning, tiny tears in margins, ghost of an old paper label around the spine).

A Portuguese historical and philosophical essay on the constellation known today as the Southern Cross, or Crux. In antiquity, this constellation helped Mediterranean peoples navigate unknown seas and discover new lands, laying the groundwork for Portuguese exploration of the world. During the Renaissance, the Portuguese rediscovered the Southern Cross, which enabled them to navigate to South America and around South Africa to reach India and Asia.

1.200 EUR

The Southern Cross, also known as Crux, is a constellation made up of four stars and is currently only visible in the Southern Hemisphere. In antiquity, this constellation, which at that time had no official name and was sometimes referred to simply as a bright star, was visible from the Mediterranean region. The Ancient Greeks and Romans used it to navigate southward across the seas. However, over time, the constellation gradually sank below the European horizon and was eventually forgotten by the inhabitants of northern latitudes.

The records of the stars have only survived through ancient texts. For over a thousand years, this constellation captured the curiosity of sailors, explorers, and philosophers. Many people talked about four stars that formed a cross shape, which was believed to help navigate ships through the darkness of the southern seas. However, many dismissed this idea as nothing more than rumors and wives' tales.



LUMINOSO
ASTRO
BRILHANTE
PLANETA
NOVA ESTRELLA DE NEPTUNO,
A qual ſoccorrida com a protecçaõ da Deoſa Pallas deſcobre com as luzes de muitas, e admiraveis noticias de graviſſimos Authores Gregos, Latinos, Romanos, Egypcios, e Carthageneſes, quaes foraõ o primeimeiros inventores da Arte de navegar; os Corſſarios mais crueis, que tem havido nos mares; e as ſentenças de muitos Sabios Philoſophos, que nunca quizeraõ navegar, nem embarcar.
POR
ATANASIO LUDINO.
LISBOA:
Na Officina de PEDRO FERREIRA, Impreſſor da Auguſtiſſima Rainha N. S. Anno de 1750.
Com todas as licenças neceſſarias.

During the Renaissance, Italians and Portuguese began to rediscover the location and significance of the Southern Cross. It is generally believed that João Faras, also known as Mestre João, who was an astrologer, astronomer, and medical doctor, was the first in the modern era to describe the Southern Cross while accompanying Pedro Álvares Cabral on the discovery of Brazil in 1500.

Canto V

14.
Já descoberto tínhamos diante,
Lá no novo Hemisfério, nova estrela,
Não vista de outra gente, que ignorante
Alguns tempos esteve incerta dela.
Vimos a parte menos rutilante,
E, por falta de estrelas, menos bela,
Do Pólo fixo, onde ainda se não sabe
Que outra terra comece, ou mar acabe.

15
Assim passando aquelas regiões
Por onde duas vezes passa Apolo,
Dois invernos fazendo e dois verões,
Enquanto corre dum ao outro Pólo,
Por calmas, por tormentas e opressões,
Que sempre f az no mar o irado Eolo,
Vimos as Ursas, apesar de Juno,
Banharem-se nas águas de Netuno.

By the early 16th century, the Southern Cross, although still without an official name at the time, was well known among the Portuguese. It is most famously described in the monumental work by Luís de Camões (1524 or 1525 – 1580), titled *"Os Lusíadas"* (*The Lusiads or The Discovery of India, an Epic Poem*), which was first published in 1572:

14.
Our sailors had discovered long since,
In that new hemisphere, the Southern Cross,
Though those who had not witnessed it
For a while doubted its existence.
We saw new heavens, less sparkling
And, for lack of stars, less beautiful
Nearing the pole, where no one comprehends
If a continent begins or the sea ends.

15.
By now we had left behind both tropics
Where Apollo's chariot twice pauses,
Coursing from pole to pole, making
Its contrasting winters and summers;
At times becalmed, at times wracked
By storms whipped up by Aeolus,
We saw both Bears, for all Juno taught us
Plunging headlong into Neptune's waters.

de Camoes, Luis Vaz; Landeg White. The Lusiads (Oxford World's Classics) (English Edition) (S.100-101). OUP Oxford. Kindle-Version.

In this work, written as a thesis in 1750 in Lisbon, the author Atanasio Ludino connects sources from Greek and Roman legends and literature that mention navigating unknown waters by following a bright star(s). In this context, he refers to the new star of Neptune, who is the personification of the seas and oceans. Although the title refers to "the new planet, Neptune's star," the planet known as Neptune was not discovered and named until 1846.

These ancient texts were of vital importance for Portuguese exploration and the discovery of new lands and territories. In the mid-18th century, explorers were still seeking improved and shorter sea routes.

Today, the Southern Cross appears on the flags of several countries in the Southern Hemisphere, including Australia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, and Brazil.

We could trace two institutional examples, housed at the Portugal National Library (S.A. 22999//7 P.) and Harvard University (OCLC 612856456).

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