# **Bay Psalm Book with Salem** Witch Trial Provenance Tops \$1 Million Sale

by Jeanne Schinto **Photos courtesy Swann Galleries** 

seventh edition of the Bay Psalm Book, published in Boston in 1693, was the top lot at Swann's printed and manuscript Americana sale on February 4 in the auction house's New York City gallery. Estimated at \$30,000/40,000, The Psalms Hymns and Spiritual Songs, of the Old and New-Testament, as this edition was officially titled, inspired a lively extended competition. The high bidder, William S. Reese, paid \$221,000 (including buyer's premium). Of the 324 lots offered, 90% were sold, for an above-estimate total of \$1,051,124. It was the fourth million-dollar sale for the auction house's Americana department in 18 months.

'The success of the Bay Psalm Book was particularly satisfying," said Americana specialist and book department director Rick Stattler. In addition, he was especially pleased to see an unusually large number of lots go to institutions, including a quarter of the top 20.

### "They had been disturbed by having this Ionathan Corwin book in their home."

Reese of the eponymous rare book firm in New Haven, Connecticut, said the price he paid for the Bay Psalm Book was "a bargain." This is not an uncommon statement for a dealer to make after an auction purchase. But Reese is also a scholar, for whom this book has been what he called "an area of interest" since the late 1970s. He supported his bargain claim via e-mail and phone just before heading out to Pasadena, site of this year's California International Antiquarian Book Fair. A pithy recap of all of the earliest editions known to date was his argument's centerpiece.

'We know all about the first edition," said Reese. The first book printed in North America was published in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1640 as The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre. Sotheby's auctioned a copy owned by Boston's Old South Church on November 26, 2013. Both before and after that sale, the general media paid lavish attention before, because it was a controversial deaccession by the church; after, because of the price of \$14.2 million, paid by financier and philanthropist David M. Rubenstein. That figure is the still-standing auction record for any single printed book. The only other time a first edition came to market in the last century, it broke the same record. It happened on January 28, 1947, when Mrs. Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney's copy sold at Parke-Bernet Galleries for \$151,000 to representatives bidding on behalf of Yale University.

That may make the first edition seem rarer than rare, but Reese said, "It is the commonest of the first twentyfive editions, with eleven known copies, six complete." Besides Yale's and Rubenstein's copies, there are copies at Harvard's Houghton Library; John Carter Brown Library (JCBL) in Providence, Rhode Island; American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts; New York Public Library (NYPL); Rosenbach Museum & Library in Philadelphia; Library of Congress; Huntington Library in San Marino, California; Bodleian Library at Oxford University; and Old South Church, since the congregation retained one copy when it sent the other one to auction.

If you want rare, try finding a second edition. There are no known copies. There are two copies of the third, but each has been off the market since the 19th century when they went into institutions, JCBL and NYPL. As for getting your hands on a fourth, fifth, sixth-or another seventh edition, for that matter—Reese said, "Until this copy, there were no known copies of the fourth through seventh editions, although we supposed they existed because the Boston edition of 1695 called itself the 'eighth edition.' There is one known copy of that. It has been at the Massachusetts Historical Society for at least 150 years."

Reese said his copy is "thus the earliest copy one can get short of the first, and unless Rubenstein sells his, probably the earliest version you can get."

And if you were thinking of someday acquiring a slightly later edition? That probably won't work out too well for you, either. According to Reese's reckoning, there are two complete copies of the ninth edition—one at the Massachusetts Historical Society, one at the British Library—and one imperfect copy at the University of Virginia (UVA). There are two complete copies of the tenth edition—one at Harvard, one at UVA, and another but imperfect one at UVA. There are no known copies of the 11th edition.

As it happens, Reese owns a 12th edition. There is only one other, he said, and it is an imperfect one, again

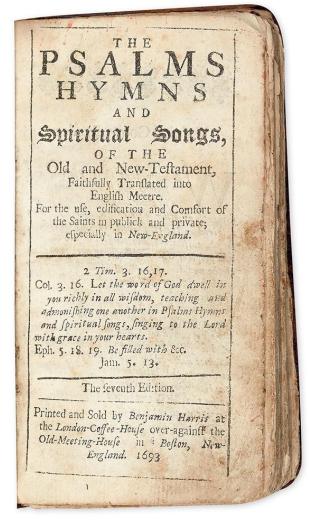
Swann referred in its pre- and post-sale reports to the seventh edition that was sold to Reese as "newly discovered." However, its new owner said that some dealers, including himself, have known about it for decades. "This copy became known to the book world when the owners had some kind of discussion about it with Goodspeed's [Goodspeed's Book Shop of Boston, now closed] back around 1970. I don't know exactly what transpired," i.e., whether an offer was made and refused. "But it became known to at least a few booksellers at that point. I didn't know the people who owned it, but I knew, when the [Swann] catalog came, that it had to be the same one, because I had known about the witch trial connection."

That connection is its provenance, which names the book's original owner as Jonathan Corwin (1640-1718) of Salem, Massachusetts, a judge in the witch trials of 1692, and his wife, Elizabeth Corwin. Published while the trials were still going on but being presided over by other judges, this copy bears Mrs. Corwin's inscription, "Jonathan Corwin / Elizabeth Corwine [sic] / Her Book / 1694 / 5 /..." The book had at least two owners after the Corwins; then in the late 19th century, it passed into the hands of descendants of another personage with a witch trial connection, John Proctor.

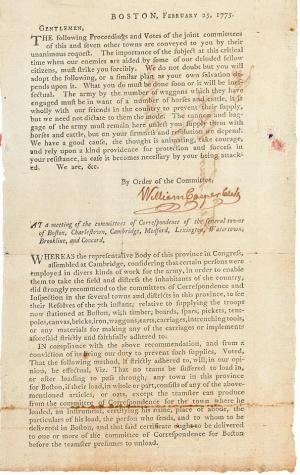
Proctor, a farmer and tavern keeper, found himself on the wrong end of the debacle in Salem. Accused of witchcraft by his servant-girl Mary Warren, he was convicted and hanged-but not forgotten. More than 350 years later, Arthur Miller's 1953 play The Crucible dramatized the fate of Proctor and his pregnant wife, Elizabeth, who was also accused of being a witch but was spared execution. I don't suppose the marquee role created by Miller is any consolation to Proctor's spirit, however, nor that he was portrayed by Daniel Day-Lewis in Miller's 1996 film adaptation.

Asked if any measurable cross-collectability price bump occurred as a result of the witch trial connection, Stattler said no. "But we did get quite a bit of media interest, based on that angle." In addition, the witch trial angle was one reason why the book finally came to the auction. "I get the impression," said Stattler, "that not only did [the consignors] need the money at this time but also, for many decades, they had been disturbed by having this Jonathan Corwin book in their home. They were keenly conscious of their history and their descent from John Proctor, and they knew the book was

1. In 1979, for example, Reese, then a recent Yale University graduate (class of '77), organized an exhibit for the Grolier Club on legendary Americana collector George Brinley (1817-1875), owner of, among others, a Bay Psalm Book that is now in the John Carter Brown Library's collection. That volume, a third edition, was part of the exhibit, a reassembling of 100 items from Brinley's erstwhile, gargantuan collection, which was dispersed at auction in five sessions after his death. A paper delivered on the occasion of the exhibit, "George Brinley and His Library," was later published as an essay by Reese in the Gazette of the Grolier Club, Vol. 32 (1980), pp. 24-39.



A seventh edition of the Bay Psalm Book, published in Boston in 1693, sold to William Reese for \$221,000 (est. \$30,000/40,000). Serious bidders were interested in it as an early American imprint, not because of its witch trial connection. Yet the idea that it was owned in succession by parties on either side of the events in Salem in 1692 gives this particular copy of the book a touch of tragic poetry.



This 1775 circular letter from Boston's Committees of Correspondence sold for \$5740 (est. \$2500/3500). The 12" x 71/4" letterpress broadside notes the British need for "timber, spars, pickets, tent poles, canvas, bricks, iron," etc., and resolves that the people of Massachusetts should find ways to prevent these commodities from passing through to the enemy. Estate of Milton R. Slater.

interesting because of its provenance, but they also didn't feel a close kinship with it." Indeed, they used to call it "the witch book."

For his part, Reese said, the witch trial connection was "not extraordinarily interesting" to him. However, the 17th-century provenance certainly was. "There are not a lot of those for American books—period. Establishing who the owners actually were is pretty unusual and is in itself pretty interesting."

For the antiquarian book show in California, Reese was readying such things as a set of *Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio*; the earliest obtainable printing in any form of the Emancipation Proclamation; a first edition of Theodor De Bry's *The Petit Voyages*; and Benjamin Shephard's original watercolor sketchbook of the scientific expedition of the H.M.S. *Challenger*, featuring 19th-century views of Madeira, St. Thomas, Bermuda, Halifax, Capetown, Prince Edward Island, and other coastal points.

Reese did not take either of his Bay Psalm Books. "They are not for sale," said the dealer and scholar, who is also a collector in his own right. "They will be for sale. But I'm in no hurry to sell either one of them." The time will come when "all the details [are] wrapped up, final research done, and proper boxes made to house them."

So why did the seventh edition go at what Reese convincingly characterizes as a bargain? "I don't know that people necessarily understood how rare these different editions are," he said. "The first edition obviously got a lot of press at the time the Old South Church sold off their [extra] copy. But the others don't get a lot of press because they [mostly] don't exist." He laughed. "The Bay Psalm Book is something I've been aware of for a long time, because it goes close to the heart of what I do, whereas somebody might have looked at the catalog entry and thought, 'Well, gee, this is just a seventh edition.' Somebody without specialized knowledge might think, 'Well, there must be a bunch of later editions around. They're going to show up. There'll be another opportunity.' And that of course is not the case at all if you really look into it."

Reese continued on a more philosophical note: "It's the difference, everywhere in the world, between knowledge and information. The information exists, but not the knowledge and understanding. We live with such a glut of information that the difference has become clouded. People start to think that since all information is accessible at our fingertips—or seemingly accessible—the playing fields have been leveled. And a lot of playing fields have been leveled by the Internet. But a lot of others haven't been. This is why connoisseurship still matters; this is why market experience still matters; and this is why the ability to put all the pieces together still matters."

Perhaps Reese recognized it as a bargain simply because, as Randolph G. Adams wrote of George Brinley in *Three Americanists* (1939), which includes essays on Brinley, Thomas Jefferson, and Henry Harrisse: "The true collector has an uncanny knack of picking up important books."

The Bay Psalm Book's costar (the next-to-top lot) was a first edition of The Federalist. Subtitled A Collection of Essays, Written in Favour of the New Constitution, the compilation of articles was published in two volumes by J. & A. McLean of New York in 1788. The arguments against the anti-Federalists, whose ranks included signers of the Declaration of Independence, were originally written for serialization in New York newspapers. The authors were James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, each of whom used the pseudonym "Publius." On December 8, 2015, Christie's sold a first edition of the two-volume book in original boards for \$317,000. It is the new auction record. The copy at this sale—a beautiful example but without its original boards and with an erased inked inscription and erased Newberry Library stamp—was not expected to touch that twomonth-old high-water mark and didn't. Estimated at \$90,000/120,000, it opened from the desk at \$55,000 and quickly went to an unidentified dealer on the phone for \$87,500.

A stippled and engraved posthumous portrait of Hamilton was the cover lot of this well-designed sale. Meant to resonate with *The Federalist*, it also seemed to reference something current. "When I put this catalog together," Stattler said, "I didn't know that Hamilton would become hip," referring to the hip-hop musical

Hamilton now playing on Broadway and, as of this writing, completely sold out except for four matinees in January 2017. Printed in New York in 1804, the image by William Rollinson was available to mourners just seven weeks after Hamilton's death. It was a marketing coup, and yet the likeness had not been done quickly. Rollinson was already at work on it before Hamilton's fateful pistol duel with Aaron Burr. The print sold for \$3500 (est. \$5000/7500).

The catalog description of another lot, *The New-York Directory, and Register, for the Year 1795*, cleverly carried the Hamilton theme forward. It noted that he was listed as "counsellor at law, 63 Pine," while "[a] few blocks away his future killer, Senator Aaron Burr" was listed as "counsellor at law, 30 Partition' (now Fulton Street)." In its original printed wrappers and with its folding map, the book brought \$3000 (est. \$1000/1500).

Beyond the Bay Psalm Book and The Federalist, many rich and varied items were on offer including a particularly notable group of journals and diaries.2 An 18th-century whaler's manuscript journal sold for \$13,750 (est. \$8000/12,000). The journal keeper, Lewis Cresse (1720-1769), set out from Cape May, New Jersey, to hunt whales in Atlantic waters each February or March most years from 1752 through 1764—with very little to show for it. What compelled him to go out again and again despite the lack of rewards and plethora of risks? Hope? Foolhardiness? Habit? While on these trips, he witnessed at least two fatal wrecks. His own boat was struck by a whale as he pursued it, and the vessel's splintered pieces were whipped as if by "a whirlwind a raising a parcel of oak leaves." The buyer of the 13 pages was the Museum of Cape May County. Previously published as "The Whaler's Diary" in the Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy in June 1968, the journal had descended in the whaler's family over seven generations.

A much later whaling journal (from the late 19th century) sold for \$4500 (est. \$4000/6000). It is distinguished by having been penned by a woman, Mrs. Charles Williams ("Parnell") Fisher of Martha's Vineyard, a captain's wife. In 62 pages covering September 2, 1885, to December 22, 1887, Parnell Fisher tells of her journey to the remotest parts of the South Pacific. She didn't see all the action, however. She was so seasick and anxiety ridden that her captain-husband dropped her off on a remote island and then picked her up after the whale hunt concluded. He did this repeatedly for the journey's duration. One of those drop-off points was Norfolk Island, a flyspeck about 900 miles from Australia's mainland. "There are only four families of white people in the island," she wrote in the journal. "There are a great many kanacks [sic] there and climate very hot. I did not like it.'

The manuscript diary of John Albee, a young Transcendentalist friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson, sold for \$9375 (est. \$4000/6000). Its 241 pages cover May 16, 1853, through January 24, 1861, while Albee was a student at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts,

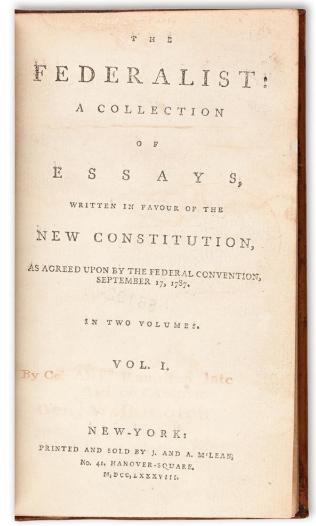
and at Harvard Divinity School. It continues through his first years as a Unitarian minister. Albee reveals his spiritual doubts, writes a painful narrative of an unrequited love, and probes his inner life in a surprisingly modern way. "There is something of the feminine in my character," he reflects on July 3, 1855. "There is more than anyone knows in my body. I am too sensitive and confiding for a man." The diary's buyer was the Massachusetts Historical Society.

"That's a perfect home for it," said Stattler. "It's a Massachusetts story, and although Albee didn't diary certainly has more literary and philosophical interest than most of the diaries we handle."

An archive of 12 diaries written by a young Vermont woman went to a collector for the same amount as the

An archive of 12 diaries written by a young Vermont woman went to a collector for the same amount as the Albee, \$9375 (est. \$1500/2500). Elizabeth F. Houghton (1805-1892) of Woodstock and Hartland wrote the bulk of these pages from 1816 through 1836 while she was briefly a teacher, then engaged in housework and socializing, and also doing a fair amount of reading. A small number of graphics, perhaps executed by Elizabeth, along with other items, such as recipes and invitations, sweetened this deal. One of the graphics, a folky image of two women wearing patterned dresses and exchanging flowers, was used to good effect as a double-page spread on the title page of the catalog.

kill any whales or ride across the Rocky Mountains, his



A first edition of *The Federalist* sold for \$87,500. The text and much more information can be found on the Library of Congress website (www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/federalist.html).

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The letter book of Paschal N. Smith, Boston merchant and privateers' agent during the American Revolution, sold to the Society of the Cincinnati for the lot's high estimate, \$30,000. Benedict Arnold, Israel Putnam, and Henry Knox were among Smith's correspondents during the period 1775-81, but as Rick Stattler wrote in his catalog, the letters to Smith's father-in-law, Isaac Sears, are what make this volume most valuable to researchers. Sears, a prosperous merchant in Manhattan, was one of the most outspoken and radical organizers of the Sons of Liberty.

2. Rick Stattler was asked what, in Swann's opinion, is the difference between a "journal" and a "diary," i.e., when does Swann use one term in its catalog descriptions and when the other? He replied in an e-mail: "I usually use 'diary' for any daily personal record of events. I use 'journal' less often—sometimes for a record kept retroactively, like the Cresse whaling manuscript. I think historically, women kept diaries and men kept journals...." (Ellipses his.)

The Vermont diary came from the estate of Milton R. Slater. So did some of the most interesting Mormon material in the sale. For example, a one-page document signed by Emma Smith, regarding her financial difficulties after the death of her husband, Mormonism founder

Joseph Smith, sold for \$13,750 (est. \$4000/6000). In addition, Slater's single issue of the *Wasp*, the first newspaper published for the Mormon community at Nauvoo, Illinois, achieved \$3120 (est. \$800/1200). Also from Slater, a first edition of *Mormon Fanaticism Exposed* by Tyler Parsons, published in Boston in 1841 in response to the church's first missionary efforts in the city, made \$2750 (est. \$1200/1800).

All told, the Mormon chunk of the sale (a "white-glove" moment featuring 20 lots) all sold and realized \$99,382, with the top two lots coming from sources other than Slater. One was a volume of 24 monthly

issues of Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate. The second periodical issued by the young church in 1834 through 1836 went to a dealer for \$35,000 (est. \$50,000/75,000). The other was a first edition of the "Manchester Hymnal." Officially titled A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, in Europe, the book, published in Manchester, England in 1840, sold to a collector for \$22,500 (est. \$10,000/15,000).

"We've really become the leading auction house for this kind of material in the last decade or so," said Stattler. "[Its beginning] preceded me. We've continued to get a good flow of material. We've developed a good audience."

Swann can also be counted on to present an enticing array of Latin Americana material at these sales. This time an 1862 to 1867 manuscript register of cattle brands from Baja California sold for \$5500 (est. \$1000/1500). A letterpress broadside, published on September 16, 1829, just one day after the Guerrero decree abolishing slavery in Mexico, went to a collector for \$15,000 (est. \$5000/7500). And the family papers of Colonel Joaquin Terrazas (1829-1901) of Chihuahua, who led militia against Apache invaders, brought the same amount as the Guerrero broadside on the same estimate.

"We don't necessarily think of the Wild West as extending into Mexico," Stattler said, "but they had the same kinds of conflicts between ranchers and Indians."

Swann's Americana department traditionally holds sales twice a year. This year there will be three. The second is scheduled for June 21; the third will be in the fall, probably November. This is not only a change in quantity but in timing. Typically, there is a sale in April to coincide with the New York Antiquarian Book Fair.

"We definitely encountered a bit of fatigue among the fair-goers because there is so much going on," said Stattler. "But we definitely still want to have a presence during the fair." (This year, Tobias Abeloff's department had a sale of early printed, medical, scientific, and travel books on April 12, two days after the 2016 book fair closed.) "Having two sales around the fair was a bit stressful for all involved. We'll probably alternate years between Tobias's department and this one."

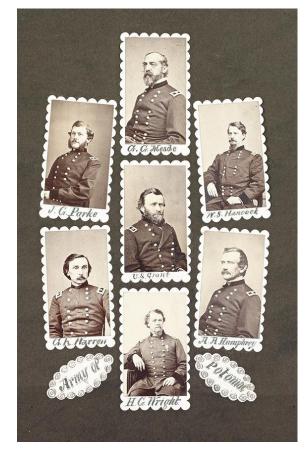
Since Stattler will now tackle one-third more work per year, we asked if he was getting an assistant. "Well, we have brought on an associate cataloger, Arielle Bremby, who is working for the whole book department. She started full time in January and has proven extremely valuable in many ways already."

For more information, contact Swann at (212) 254-4710 or through its website (www.swanngalleries.com).

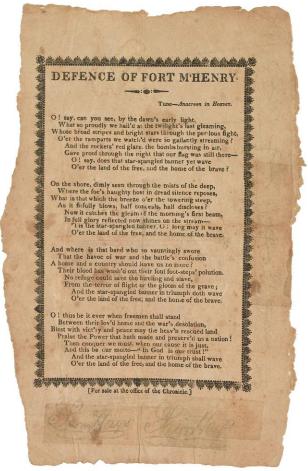
An archive of diaries of a Vermont woman in early womanhood sold to a collector bidding as an absentee for \$9375 (est. \$1500/2500). This sketch may have been the work of the diarist, Elizabeth F. Houghton (1805-1892). Estate of Milton R. Slater.



This 8½" x 11½" aquatint of 18th-century British spy John André sold to a dealer for its low estimate, \$15,000. A Representation of Major John André...going from the Vulture Sloop of War to the Shore of Haverstraw Bay shows André being rowed across the Hudson to meet Benedict Arnold on September 23, 1780. According to Swann's research, the print had not been known at auction since 1869, at which time it sold for \$4.50.







"Defence of Fort M'Henry" by Francis Scott Key, an 8½" x 5½" letterpress handbill, sold for \$7000 (est. \$1200/1800). Undated, it was very likely printed in 1814 shortly after Key wrote the words to our national anthem but before its title "The Star-Spangled Banner" was adopted. There are no other copies listed in Online Computer Library Center (OCLC).

This maquette from the Mathew Brady studio consists of circa 1864 albumen photographs, each 3" x 134", mounted together on a 15" x 12" board. The seven photos were used for the composite "Army of Potomac." Pictured are Ulysses S. Grant (center) and six of his generals. It sold to an absentee bidder for its low estimate, \$6000.

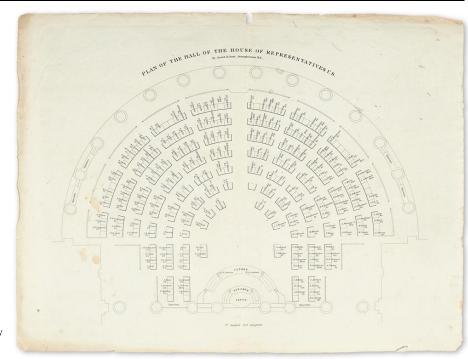


This 24" x 12½" letterpress broadside was printed in Washington, D.C., on April 20, 1865, just days after the Lincoln assassination. A second printing, second issue, it includes the information that John Wilkes Booth may have shaved his "heavy black moustache." (He had.) It sold previously at Swann on April 21, 1983, for \$3300, which is about \$7800 in today's dollars, according to the Department of Labor's Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator (www.bls.gov/data/inflation\_calculator.htm). A collector bought the print this time for \$37,500 (est. \$20,000/30,000).



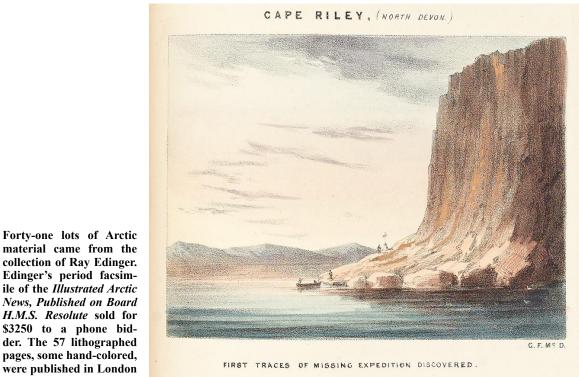


Two copies of Thomas Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia were among this sale's highlights. Observations sur la Virginie, published in Paris by Chez Barrois in 1787, sold to a collector for a new auction record at \$47,500. The French edition is considered the "first *published* edition," since Jefferson had a handful of copies printed for private distribution in 1784-85. The French one is also the first to contain the regional map, and the example in this copy was cataloged as being "in unusually strong condition." The same buyer paid an underestimate \$22,500 for the first edition in English. Published by John Stockdale in London in the same year as the French, this copy included the map with hand coloring.



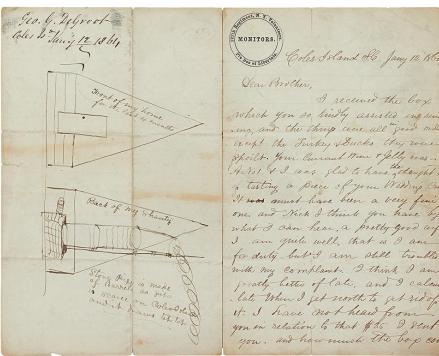
This circa 1839 seating chart for the U.S. House of Representatives shows the places of John Quincy Adams, Millard Fillmore, and James

K. Polk, among others. It's a simple thing but fires the imagination as one contemplates the conversations across the aisles. The 13" x 161/2" engraving published in Washington, D.C., sold for \$1750 (est. \$500/750).

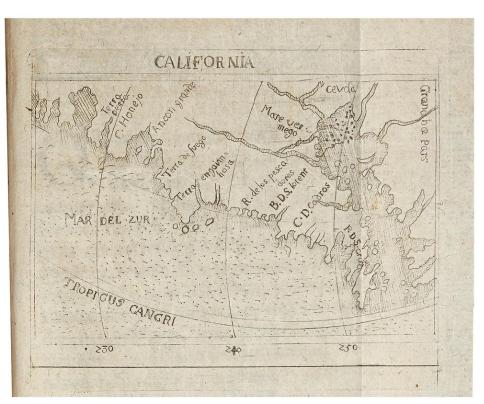


material came from the collection of Ray Edinger. Edinger's period facsimile of the *Illustrated Arctic* News, Published on Board H.M.S. Resolute sold for \$3250 to a phone bidder. The 57 lithographed pages, some hand-colored, were published in London in 1852. In the previous

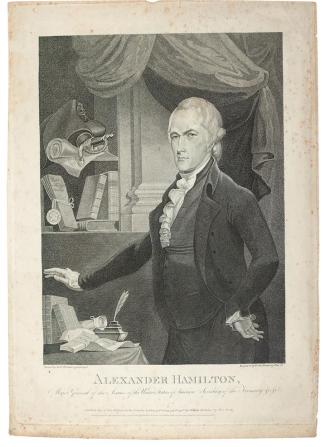
year, the Resolute had been searching for Sir John Franklin and his expedition when it became trapped in ice; producing the newspaper was one way of passing the time. Many other lots in this category were well-known titles and often sold after cyber duels.



A Civil War archive of 56 letters from a sergeant in the Monitor Regiment sold to the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina for \$5500. The letters were written by George Gordon DeGroot of Canarsie, Brooklyn, New York, to his brother Nicholas DeGroot of New York City. The writing is vivid, grim, unrestrained. "To run a rebel through with a bayonet is fun and I could do it with a clearer conscience than I could killing a pig," he wrote on March 4, 1864. "The rampart & fort looks more like a badly damaged cheese than Fort Sumpter [sic]," he observes of Fort Sumter after it has undergone two years of shelling. The sketch pictured shows his Coles Island, South Carolina, "shanty." After months of illness and then a bad battle wound, DeGroot, who was born in 1841, died in a Hilton Head hospital in 1865.

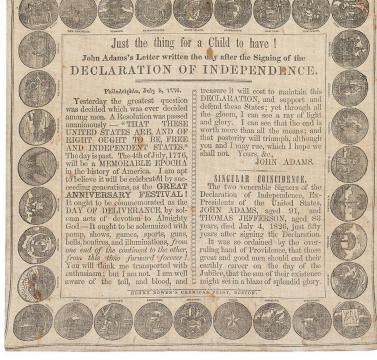


A university thesis published in Germany in 1739—an attempt to determine whether California was an island—sold to a dealer for \$32,500 (est. \$4000/6000). According to Swann, no other copy of Disputation Geographic de Vero Californiae by Johann Jeorg Gemeling has been known at auction. What is more, of the four copies listed in Online Computer Library Center (OCLC), only one is on this side of the Atlantic. This copy a with map came from the collection of Glen McLaughlin, author of the bibliography The Mapping of California as an Island (1995).



This stippled and engraved portrait of Alexander Hamilton was published in New York by the Columbia Academy of Painting in 1804. The 231/4" x 171/2" print sold for \$3500.

> An 11" x 11" illustrated broadside on muslin, published circa 1848 in Boston, sold to the Massachusetts Historical Society for \$2375 (est. \$400/600). The text is from John Adams's letter



of July 3, 1776, to his wife, Abigail: "Yesterday the greatest question was decided which was ever decided among men...." The title takes the cake: "Just the thing for a Child to have!" The catalog said only two other copies have been traced, and none were known at auction until now. Estate of Milton R. Slater.



The archive and library of American magician Leslie Pierce Guest (1898-1981) sold for \$2000 (est. \$1200/1800) The 205 items included correspondence, typescripts of tricks, press notices, promotional materials, photographs, a library of trick pamphlets, and professional magician society literature.





A Nebraska jail ledger was used as a scrapbook for scores of wanted posters issued by police departments across the United States and Canada in the early 20th century. They include notable fugitives as well as small-timers. There are eight million stories in the naked city. These are 319 of them—told in a matter of a few sentences each. There is a poster for baseball player Dan Brown, a star pitcher in the Negro Leagues of the 1920s, who killed a man in a bar fight and was never captured. There is another for Ponzi schemer Leo Koretz, who embezzled an estimated \$30,000,000. He died in jail in 1925, an apparent suicide by chocolate. A diabetic, he ate an entire box of it. The ledger-scrapbook sold to William Reese for \$5500 (est. \$2000/3000).



The family papers of Colonel Joaquin Terrazas of Chihuahua, Mexico (59 items dated 1874 to 1913) included this pencil and wash portrait of the patriarch. Coming at the tail end of these sales, the Latin Americana section invariably plays to a sparse live audience. Still, vigorous bidding from the phones, Internet, and order book is the rule. The winner in this case, a dealer who was perhaps the last bidder left in the room, paid \$15,000 (est. \$5000/7500).

The Federalist is a great American book. It is not, comparatively speaking, a rare book. A census conducted by William Reese Company a few years ago located more than 110 copies. What could be considered rare is a Federalist manuscript. An example by John Jay (one page shown) was offered at Christie's on December 8, 2015. Written circa November 7, 1787, the six pages were then extensively revised in Jay's hand. Billed as the only surviving Federalist manuscript in private hands, it sold for \$1,445,000 (est. \$600,000/800,000).

In his essay, Jay rails against the idea of the newborn country splitting "into three or four independent and probably discordant republics or confederacies," remarking that if such a split were to occur, "what a poor, pitiful figure will America make!" The job of convincing citizens to redirect their loyalties away from their individual states and toward a federal government was not an easy task, however. For a brilliant and comprehensive explication, see Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815, published in 2009, authored by Gordon S. Wood, a

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