



Universidad de Valladolid

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DEPARTAMENTO de FILOLOGÍA INGLESA
Grado en Estudios Ingleses

TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

A Survey of Books Printed in the British Isles before 1800, Held by the University of Valladolid

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2015-2016

Abstract

The University of Valladolid holds in its old repository located in the library of Santa Cruz nearly 600 books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland before 1800. The present study will make a contribution to the field of bibliography and its different disciplines. This dissertation also deals with the history of the university, its library, and its studies. Its main purpose is to survey those rare books according to subject matter, place and date of publication, language, and location. Results allow us to show that the majority of the titles were written in English and published in the last quarter of eighteenth-century London, and that they dealt with modern subjects like Moral and Natural Philosophy, Economy and Politics, and Grammar and Rhetoric. The final goal of this research is to present for the first time the richness of the collection and the modernity of its topics, when compared to the more traditional disciplines taught at the university in the period.

Keywords: Early Printed Books, Britain and Ireland, Santa Cruz College Library, University of Valladolid Library, Library History, Bibliography

Resumen

La Universidad de Valladolid conserva en su antiguo repositorio ubicado en la biblioteca de Santa Cruz casi 600 libros impresos en Inglaterra, Escocia e Irlanda antes de 1800. El presente estudio hará una contribución al campo de la bibliografía y sus distintas disciplinas. Este trabajo también trata de la historia de la Universidad, su biblioteca y sus estudios. Su principal propósito es estudiar esa colección de impresos de acuerdo con su materia, lugar y fecha de publicación, idioma y localización. Los resultados nos permiten mostrar que la mayoría de ellos fueron escritos en lengua inglesa y publicados en el último cuarto del siglo dieciocho en Londres y que trataban con materias modernas como filosofía moral y natural, economía y política y gramática y retórica. El fin último de esta investigación es presentar por primera vez la riqueza de la colección y la modernidad de sus temas, si se les compara con las disciplinas más tradicionales que se enseñaban en la universidad en ese mismo periodo.

Palabras claves: Fondo Antiguo, Gran Bretaña e Irlanda, Biblioteca del Colegio Santa Cruz, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valladolid, Historia de las Bibliotecas, Bibliografía

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures and Tables	1
Introduction	3
Chapter One: From Bibliography to Print Culture	6
Chapter Two: The Historical Library of the University of Valladolid	9
Chapter Three: Early British and Irish Books at the University of Valladolid	14
Conclusion	29
Works Cited	32

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Languages	14
Figure 2. Place of Publication (1)	15
Figure 3. Place of Publication (2)	16
Figure 4. Date of Publication	17
Figure 5. Economy	19
Figure 6. Natural Philosophy	20
Figure 7. Law	22
Table 1. British and Irish Titles in the College Santa Cruz in Comparison with Overall Number of Titles, c.1750	25
Figure 8. Titles per date of publication and subject	26

Introduction

This B.A. Dissertation aims to carry out a survey of the books held by the University of Valladolid libraries that were printed in the British Isles before the year 1800. The collection of British and Irish books at the University of Valladolid consists of 597 items in total, corresponding to 277 different titles. It will be analysed and the results, presented in the following pages, will be shown. This will be done using statistics and according to four main criteria: the language in which those books were printed, their different places and dates of publication, and the subject categories they represent.

In the English-speaking world, bibliographical studies have a tradition of more than one century, since their beginnings at the end of the nineteenth century until their blending in the 1950s-1960s with the different disciplines that can be found in the social sciences such as history, sociology, or economy. Library studies also have a tradition, not only in the English-speaking countries but also in Spain. In our country, however, research on early books printed in Britain or Ireland in Spanish libraries continues being scarce.

This can be seen in the research that exists on the history of the library of Santa Cruz College, in Valladolid, which holds the overwhelming majority of the books printed before 1800 among the bibliographical holdings of the Valladolid University. A brief history was first written by Mariano Alcocer in his edition of the *Bezerro* (1907) and later by José Manuel Ruiz Asencio and Soledad Carnicer Arribas (“La Biblioteca de Santa Cruz de la Universidad de Valladolid”, 1989). Its holdings have been recently surveyed in Covadonga Matos Eguiluz’s Ph.D. Thesis *Las lecturas y los libros en Valladolid (siglo XVIII)* (2012). Nevertheless, there is no study today that focuses on the early printed books held in this library that were published in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and therefore, the fact that British and Irish books are present in the historical library of this university is unknown to scholars interested in the field.

The analysis of the whole collection of early books printed in Britain and Ireland and the selection of items was carried out in several phases:

1. We used the University of Valladolid online catalogue to make a preliminary list of British and Irish books printed before the nineteenth century, with the advantages

and disadvantages that this fact implies, because new books are added every day and entries are under revision constantly.

2. The list of books that we obtained was compared to the digitised manuscript inventories and completed from them. However, the inventories that nowadays appear available are also incomplete.
3. When this second list was completed, we had to look for every item that had a false imprint (in general, books printed in the French or Italian languages), and remove them from the list.
4. In the final list, we identified each title by location, language, place of publication, date of publication, and classified all of them by subject matter, using the categories used in the university chairs at the time: Sacred Scripture, Theology, Moral and Political Philosophy, Economy, Natural Philosophy, Canons, Law, Civil History, Grammar and Rhetoric.
5. We visited the college of Santa Cruz's library to become familiar with the handling of rare books and the principles of bibliographical description.

The results of this survey will be shown in three chapters. The first one deals with book studies and its theoretical trends and critical debates; the second one is based mostly on the reconstruction of the history of the University of Valladolid library, including its studies; the third one focuses on the distribution of the books depending on the four criteria mentioned, shows graphs illustrating the main facts and concludes with an interpretation of the data extracted.

We will see how the majority of the British and Irish books printed in the seventeenth century deal with the more traditional subjects like canons, classical rhetoric, law, or civil history. Nevertheless, these are very few. By contrast, the great majority of British and Irish books held at the historical library of the university relate to moral philosophy, natural philosophy, economy, English literature, and grammar and were published in the eighteenth century and in the last quarter in particular.

Apart from these and other particular conclusions which will be presented in due course, in general, what is most interesting is the independence of the collection with

respect to the subjects studied at that time in the University of Valladolid, dealing mostly with canons and law, even after the 1771 reform of studies. We consider that our preliminary survey of the rare books found in Santa Cruz library, their classification and selection of items will offer an overview of the interest of the collection, especially of the bibliographical holdings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which doubtlessly are richer and more plentiful.

Chapter One

From Bibliography to Print Culture

In the past hundred years there have been a number of important transformations in the field of book studies. The theoretical trends and critical debates that have dealt with books have ranged from traditional textual and bibliographical studies to cultural and sociological analyses of their production and techniques. Here follows a brief survey of the evolution of bibliographical study in the period and the way in which bibliography, literary criticism, economic and social history have influenced each other as research tools; this will be followed by an anticipation of the theoretical framework chosen for the present study.

Bibliography as a discipline emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. It was a product of the common work of professionals (librarians and booksellers) and literary scholars and their bibliographical societies. In fact, they developed a conventional language and method to examine and describe the early printed books with which they worked, by then mainly secular. Both language and method developed in the writings of the 'New Bibliographers'. We refer principally to those by R. B. McKerrow on the bibliography and book trade of early modern England, W. W. Greg on the textual transmission of Shakespeare's texts, and, in North-America, Fredson Bowers, whose *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (1949) still serves as the standard manual for the description of books as physical objects. Their discussion about whether to edit texts from the best and earliest copy or compare it with the variant texts taught interested readers not only how to recognize and describe the format of books, the collate signatures, the types of paper, the different typefaces, etc., in an organized and systematic way, but also how to interpret those aspects of the materiality of books to reconstruct the transmission of literary texts and recover in a new edition the 'ideal copy' behind the various printed versions.

The consistency of such 'pure' scholarship was not disputed until the late 1960s. In this moment, D. F. McKenzie was the one who questioned it. During his research on English printing houses in the seventeenth- and eighteenth- century, he had become convinced that paying attention to the historical facts surrounding the production of books, as could be found in archives (correspondence, printing catalogues, or business ledgers of

the presses), could produce new interpretations of a printed text. The success of his 'Printers of the Mind' (1969) reoriented the bibliographer's task into a sociology of the text, whose aim was "no longer simply to create scholarly editions in strict accordance with the authors' intentions but also to bear witness to the multiplicity of textual forms and the proliferation of their meanings" (McDonald and Suarez 9).

His shift encountered resistance on the part of the more traditionalist scholars, but many others followed his lead. In the 1980s and 1990s, a second innovative moment, Robert Darnton's 'What is the history of books' (1982), tried to deal with the difficulty of understanding how books interrelated with society. Due to be inspired by French social history, he designed a model of analysis in which all the agents that intervened in printing were interconnected, "from the author to the publisher [...], the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader" (11). With this model, known as the 'communication circuit', the way in which readers or booksellers could influence the publication of texts became better known.

The relevance of his contribution encouraged corrections and expansions. Some tried to recover the emphasis on books as artifacts, like Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Barker ('A New Model for the Study of the Book', 1993), who adapted the circuit to the actual processes of book production (publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception, and survival) linked to the political, legal, religious, economic, social, areas of influence. Others before them, Gerard Genette (*Paratexts*, 1987) or Thomas Grafton (*The Footnote*, 1997), had already focused on issues such as front and back covers, blurbs, indexes, or footnotes, to better understand the different cultural representations that they disclosed, although their interpretations seemed too abstract. Jerome McGann would argue against them that "the body of the text is not exclusively linguistic" (in Finkelstein and McCleery 13), and re-emphasized instead MacKenzie's sociological analysis: "literary works are fundamentally social rather than personal or psychological products" (McGann in Walsh 267).

Thus, the term 'print culture' which is now widely used to reconcile the two main areas of specialty mentioned: on the one hand, the creation, dissemination, and uses of script and print (books, newspapers, ephemera, etc.); on the other, the social, cultural, and

economic history of the creation, dissemination, and uses of books (authorship, publishing, printing, the book arts, book selling, libraries, reading responses, etc.).

This BA Dissertation adheres to the capaciousness of this two-fold approach: it is both bibliographical and sociological.

It is bibliographical because it is concerned with books, literary and non-literary, printed to 1800 as physical objects, and it is sociological since they will be surveyed as part of a library collection and it also considers the political, intellectual and institutional context in which they belonged. To be more specific, although our analysis will not use the classical analytical and the descriptive strategies of bibliography, that is to say, it will neither try to identify nor record the physical characteristics of a book “to determine the date and method of composition, the source and nature of the compositors’ copy, the identity and proclivities of the compositors, and the kind and quantity of type or the kind of machine used in composition” (Proctor and Abbott 10), but it will be descriptive in the more general sense as Bowers explains that it wants to become a “medium to bring an absent book before a reader’s eyes” (Bowers 15).

This is intended to be applied to the set of books printed in Britain and Ireland before 1800 and held by the University of Valladolid libraries. An attempt will be made to get as close as possible to their description as a collection, first, by looking at the institutional contexts in which it was formed, the rise and fall of the College and Santa Cruz and the slow emergence of modern studies in a reformed University in Valladolid, in a period covering from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth, and second, by analyzing and interpreting the statistical figures of their place and date of publications, the languages in which they were printed and, most important, their subject matters. The most prominent titles will be mentioned to highlight the identity and relevance of this collection of British books, never before studied, among the historical holdings of the University of Valladolid.

Chapter Two

The Historical Library of the University of Valladolid

Reconstructing the history of the University of Valladolid historical library has proved difficult. The first historical review was added by Mariano Alcocer to his edition of 1907 of the eighteenth-century *Libro de Bezerro* (265-73) and remained almost the only source of information for eighty years. The most recent studies were included in the second volume of the *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid* compiled by Jesús María Palomares and Luis Ribot (1989), a chapter by Ruiz Asencio and Carnicer Arribas which focuses on the Library of the *Colegio Mayor* de Santa Cruz and its fusion with that of the University of Valladolid (805-11), and in Covadonga Matos Eguiluz's doctoral dissertation, which adds a final section on the Library of Santa Cruz and the university Library throughout the eighteenth century (719-83), with information taken from the Library inventories and other documents at the University Archive. Following their accounts, this chapter will trace the history of the libraries of the College of Santa Cruz and the University of Valladolid until they were united in 1909.

The University of Valladolid claims to have its origins in the *Studium Generale* at Palencia when this was transferred to Valladolid in 1293. That would make it the oldest University in Spain. The Spanish *Colegios Mayores* ('Senior Colleges') appeared afterwards in the fifteenth century to give a home to the students that did not have the means to study at the university. The College of Santa Cruz was the second *Colegio Mayor* to be established in Spain, after that in Salamanca. From its inception in 1479, it was always independent from the University, and sometimes was its rival (Sobaler Seco 347-49), until it was suppressed in 1798. The libraries of the two institutions remained also independent until 1909.

The library of the College of Santa Cruz had been located in the building since its foundation, since the aim of the institution was to give a home to the poor but talented students so that they could conclude their university studies and achieve higher degrees. This is the reason why its founder, Cardinal Mendoza, wanted to equip the institution with an excellent library. Ruiz Asencio and Carnicer (1989) explain the origin of its first

holdings. Many books came from Mendoza's private collection. This can be seen because the Cardinal refers in the constitutions to "all books we have bequeathed to the college" and because the Cardinal's signature appears on some of them (806). Other books were purchased and many were donated by the students (they were obliged to donate at least one after finishing their studies). There are books that contain annotations of the students saying they were their bequests (806). As a consequence, before the end of the sixteenth century, the library of Santa Cruz had at least 970 books on canons, law, arts and medicine, and theology (Matos Eguiluz 723) and before 1740, about 7,000 (Ruiz Asencio and Carnicer 806).

Until the last quarter of the eighteenth-century, the use of the library was exclusive for the students of the College. Those who neither studied nor lived in the college could hardly have access to the library and only exclusively with the consent of the college authorities. The students could not even go out to their chambers with books since they could only be used in the library (Ruiz Asencio y Carnicer 806). Therefore, in the late 1770s, there were several requests by the professors of the University of Valladolid that the library of Santa Cruz would be opened, as will be later explained.

This may be better understood because it seems that originally the University of Valladolid did not have a library (Alcocer 265) or not a very rich one (Matos Eguiluz 779). There is nothing about a university library or a librarian in the university's constitutions or the *Bezerro*, and we know very little about it apart from that in 1604 the university board ordered that a library chamber ("un aposento librería") was built for the books donated by Dr. Vega (Matos Eguiluz 778). The institution only thought of building an independent library around 1770 (Matos Eguiluz 778).

At that time the University of Valladolid was going through a dismal period in which it almost disappeared: the number of students was small and the professors were not brilliant in teaching their subjects. If it had not been thanks to the help of many important and influential politicians, it would have closed. In the reforming plans of King Carlos III, colleges and libraries should be opened around Spain and the universities modernized. These facts implied a slow process of secularization of the university in Spain and a drastic

process of centralization of the properties with the purpose of activating the destabilizing influence of internal groups of professors, mainly ecclesiastical.

If we look at Alcocer's notes to the *Bezerro*, we learn that the reform of studies affected especially the *cátedras*, or Chairs, of Law, because Theology did not want to abandon the Thomist tradition (11-62). In Valladolid, the enlightened reforms scarcely modified the predominance of Roman Law but Royal (or National) Law and Natural (or International) Law were introduced in 1771; this also happened with Canons: the general Church councils were seen in the *Prima* Chair of the Theology and the Spanish ecclesiastical councils in the *Vísperas* of Theology. Likewise, Moral Philosophy included new subjects like Economy or Politics, and Metaphysics, Mathematics, Astronomy or Experimental Physics. The problem was how to deliver these new subjects when the professors were the same ones (Álvarez de Morales 474). New readings had to be introduced in the libraries. For that end, the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Spain in 1767 was essential; the king proclaimed that their libraries had to be transferred to the universities. This was the way in which in 1770 the University of Valladolid received the confiscated holdings that belonged to the Jesuit colleges around the province. Some came from Villagarcía, but most of them came from San Ignacio and San Ambrosio: 1,705 from the former and 447 from the latter, of the total of 2,323 titles that Matos Eugiluz calculates (781).

The Library at Santa Cruz was larger and more varied. According to Matos Eguiluz, already in the mid-18th century there were over 5,500 titles (728-30). A total of 1,857 titles were related to Law, of which 1,163 dealt with Civil Law, whereas 696 focused on Canons. The titles associated with History were also numerous, over 1,220. This subject included books on hagiography, voyages, political history, etc. The books of Theology amounted to 420, plus 80 titles which dealt with Moral Theology and 129 with Spiritual Theology. Sacred Scripture was represented by 383 books and the 221 on science were subdivided in 135 titles on Astrology and 86 of Medicine. Physics, Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy, and Moral Philosophy may be considered part of the subject of Philosophy which made a total of 147 titles. The section of Literature was made up of 173 titles of Poetry and 199 of Rhetoric and Grammar. Finally, there were 169 works which dealt with Politics. Matos

Eguiluz highlights the variety of subjects, and how in the 1780s many books on economics, politics, science and modern philosophy became part of the collection (731-32).

So it is not surprising that, while the College of Santa Cruz declined with Carlos III's reform of higher education, the university professors often asked that the library of Santa Cruz was opened to the public. In 1779, Pedro Gómez, president of the Royal Chancellery, warned the king of Spain that keeping the Santa Cruz library closed to the public was not the best way to preserve it, but making it public. He claimed that Valladolid had important scientific academies and the University of Valladolid was the most populated one in Spain, so that many would need to consult books that due to their cost they could not afford, but were in the Santa Cruz library (Alcocer 266-69). It has been shown how the best books that came from the Jesuits had been sold in auction by the University (Matos Eguiluz 681-85), and the rest had been left in a classroom, 'piled up and covered in dust' ("amontonados y llenos de polvo", Matos Eguiluz 679) and in boxes for decades in a dark and poorly aired 'low room' (in Ruiz and Carnicer 807). The resolution of the Supreme Council was at first negative, but when the college was suppressed in 1788 the professors were officially allowed to use the library.

During the following hundred years, the Library of Santa Cruz became the property of the university, first in 1807 and then in 1909 and until today. Immediately after the College had been abolished, the library was placed in the custody of the Royal Chancellery in Valladolid. In 1806, the University requested the library and Carlos IV agreed and accepted that the librarians and the books remained physically in this place until the university constructed a library room with everything necessary to place the books. It was on the 6th and 8th of October, 1807, when the library of Santa Cruz College was transferred institutionally to the University of Valladolid, though physically it remained where it had been placed by its founder. The most interesting thing is that there was a new inventory of holdings: Alcocer informs that the inventory of 1807 listed 13,431 printed books and 336 manuscripts at Santa Cruz (270).

The restoration in 1830 of the *Colegios Mayores* meant the restitution of the library to its first institution, Santa Cruz College, but only for a period of six years because in 1836, as a consequence of the ecclesiastical confiscations of Mendizábal, the college were

abolished again and the old Library of Santa Cruz was transferred, not back to the University, but to the Valladolid Provincial Council (Ruiz Asencio and Carnicer 809). Nevertheless, in December 1850, a Royal Decree by Isabel II gave the library back to the Rector, and in 1909 the holdings of Santa Cruz and of the Universidad de Valladolid were definitely unified and placed together in the historical palace of Santa Cruz (807). Again, the great majority of the books belonging to the university were kept in boxes. Today these are kept at the general library of Reina Sofía and all books printed and published before 1835 (the original collection of the college, the books from the Society of Jesus and monasteries, and later donations from private collections like the one of the Duke of Osuna) at the old college of Santa Cruz.

Chapter Three

Early British and Irish Books at the University of Valladolid

The collection of British and Irish books printed before 1800 which are held in the historical libraries of the University of Valladolid consists of 597 books in total, corresponding to 277 titles. The precise figure cannot be determined, because new items are catalogued every day. They are kept at two main locations: 593 books (274 titles) at the historical library of the College of Santa Cruz; four books (three titles dealing with history) by the library of the Faculty of Arts. We will always refer to the number of titles (277 in total), and not to the number of volumes held at the university's repositories (597). Some subjects like canons concentrate multivolume works, but if you consider the number of titles in relation to the overall amount, it is insignificant.

The present chapter will analyse the collection according to several aspects: their main language, place of publication, date of publication, and subject matter.

1

Let us begin our analysis by looking at the different languages in which they were printed. The following graph (Fig.1) shows the number of titles corresponding to the different languages used, and the number of bilingual, trilingual or polyglot editions.

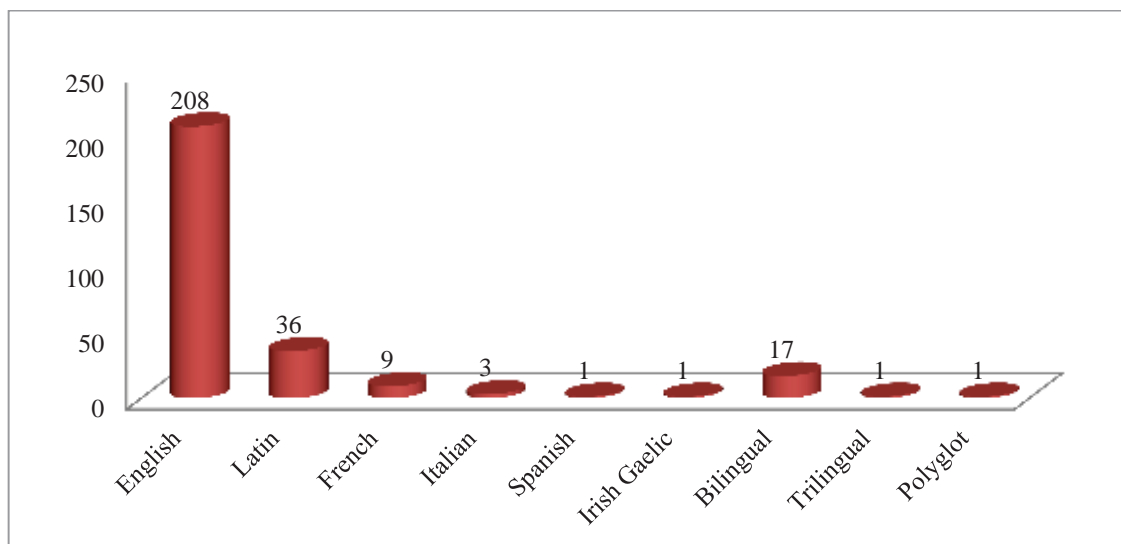


Figure 1. Languages

As can be seen, 208 titles, representing the seventy-five percent of the total, were published in English. Among them, those dealing with subjects like history, economy or politics or English literature are the most abundant. The second largest group is made of Latin editions. These works amount to thirty-six and mainly deal with canons or rhetoric. Greek is represented by nineteen books in bilingual, trilingual and polyglot editions in ancient and classical languages. Though the Latin and Greek editions are only a few, they are very important, as will be seen.

Books in French come next, representing 3.2 percent of the total. It is significant that most deal with moral philosophy and politics, while the three books written in Italian are concerned with art or bibliography. The one book printed in Irish Gaelic, *Leabhar na nurnaightheadh gcomhchoidchiond* (1608), is worth mentioning for its rarity and for being the earliest in the entire collection of British and Irish books kept at the Valladolid university libraries.

2

The places of publication are also various. The vast majority were published in England and represent 92.8 percent (257 titles). Scottish printing shops only produced 5.8 percent (16 titles) of all books and only four books in the collection were printed in Ireland, which means 1.4 percent (4 titles).

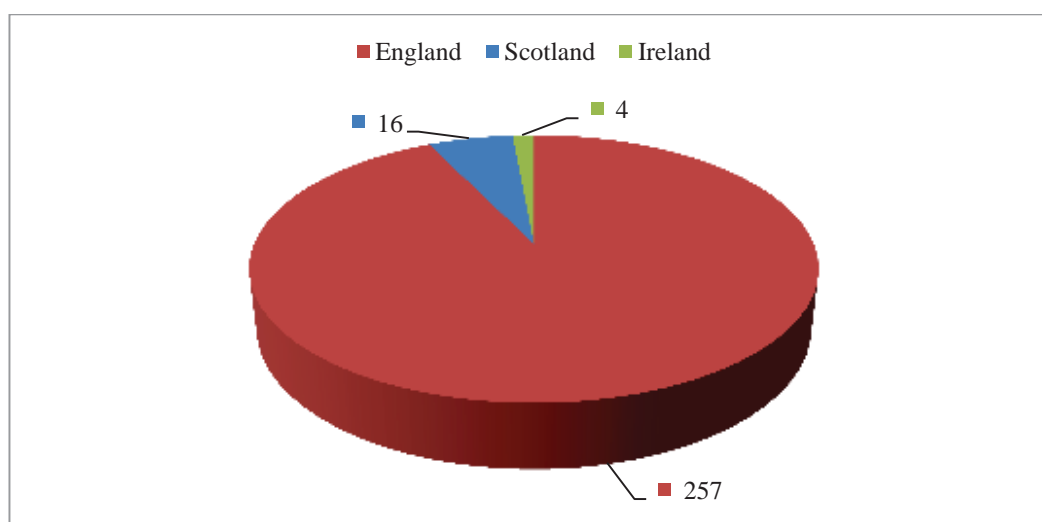


Figure 2. Place of publication (1)

Among the 257 books printed in England, again the vast majority (87.1 %) was printed by London publishers and sold by London booksellers, a total of 224 books. As can be seen, this amount almost multiplies by ten the number of titles published by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the rest of English cities together.

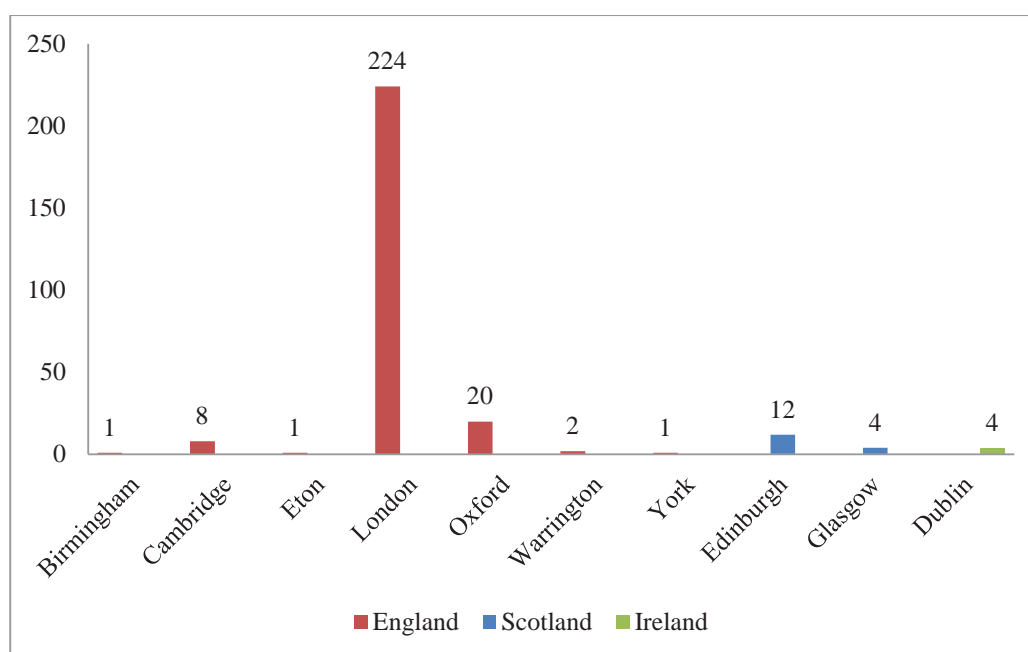


Figure 3. Place of publication (2)

Very often, the success and popularity of their editions led continental printers to use London as a false imprint. The library of the University of Valladolid holds eight of those counterfeit editions, published in French and Italian, which we have left out of our study. For their part, Edinburgh and Glasgow printing shops only produced 5.8 percent of all books. The same applies to Dublin, with 1.4 percent of the overall amount.

3

As can be seen in the following graph (Fig. 4), the large majority of all holdings were published throughout the eighteenth century (93.5 %), mostly in its second half, and in the 1770s and 1780s more specifically. There are eighteen seventeenth-century editions and ten printed in the nineteenth century. This last are not considered in this dissertation.

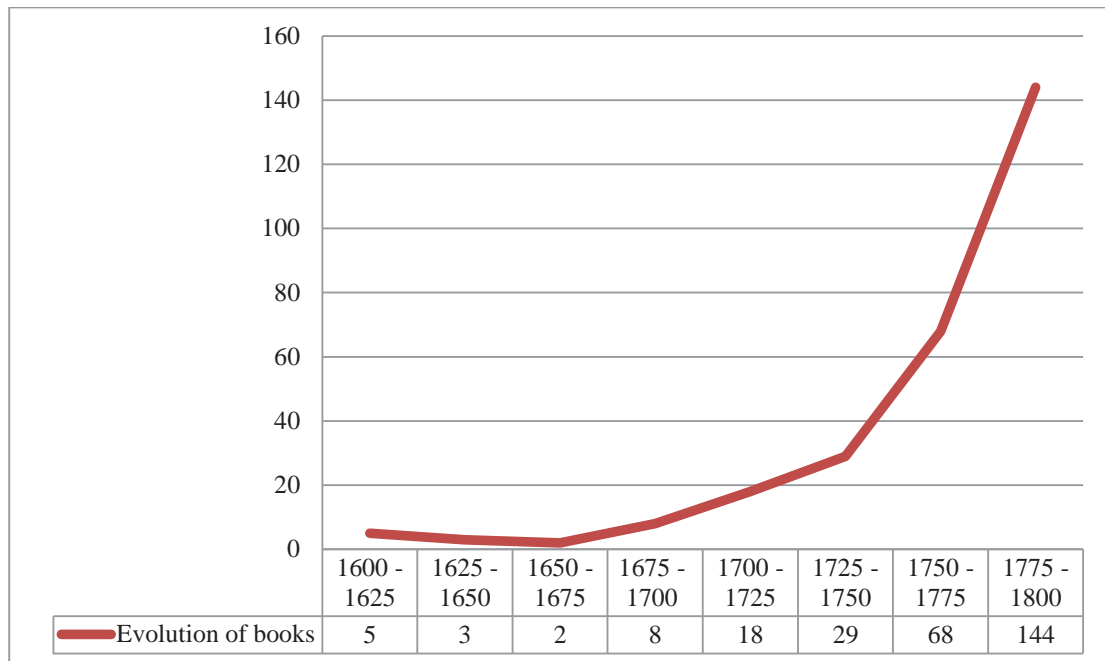


Figure 4. Date of publication

As will be seen in our concluding section, the trend shown here coincides with the general trend of book production and trade at the time in Britain and Spain.

4

The classification by subject of all seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century copies may be presented as follows:

a. Sacred Scripture

There are only six works in the library of Santa Cruz that belong to this category, but they are important. Roycroft's *Biblia Sacra polyglotta* can be found in two complete sets of volumes, edited in 1665-57, one originally belonging to the library of Santa Cruz, the other to the convent of San Francisco. Kennicott's two volumes of the *Vetus Testamentum hebraicum* (1775-80) and Everingham's French *Nouveau Testament* (1686) also stand out.

b. Theology

The group of theological, religious, and mystical works present in the libraries is not very large. There are not any sixteenth-century editions and most were printed in the second half of the eighteenth century. Christian apologetics and the Quakers are among their main topics. *Clementis Alexandrini opera*, printed in Oxford in 1755 or Barclay's *Theologiae verè christianae apologia* (London, 1729) are some of the earliest. This last one was translated into Spanish by Antonio Alvarado. Two books in this category belonged to the particular collection of the Duque de Osuna, bequeathed to the University of Valladolid in 1850: two Glasgow editions of *De imitatione Christi* (1751) and a critical edition of Marcus Municius's works of 1750.

c. Moral and Political Philosophy

This group is quite large, with a total of thirty-two books among Santa Cruz's holdings: a four-volume edition of John Locke's works (London, 1777), an earlier edition of his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1735) both with engraved portraits of the authors, like the London edition of *The Moral and Political Works* of Thomas Hobbes (1750), plus a 1785 edition of Daniel Hume's *Essays and Treatises*.

The set in Santa Cruz also includes the works of contemporaries like Thomas Reid's *Essays on the Active and Intellectual Power of Man* (1785), also published in the last quarter of the century, or Adam Ferguson's *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (1785). The works of the English politician and political philosopher Henry St. John Bolingbroke are significantly represented. The fifteen volumes of the *Dictionnaire universel des sciences* printed in London (1777-1783) were a bequest of the early nineteenth-century Rector of the University of Valladolid, Manuel Tarancón y Morón.

d. Economy

Early printed books in the library dealing with economy, a modern subject developed from political and practical philosophy, are quite numerous. There are copies of thirty-six works on topics like agriculture, commerce and trade, finance, among other. The majority were published in English and printed at the close of the eighteenth century.

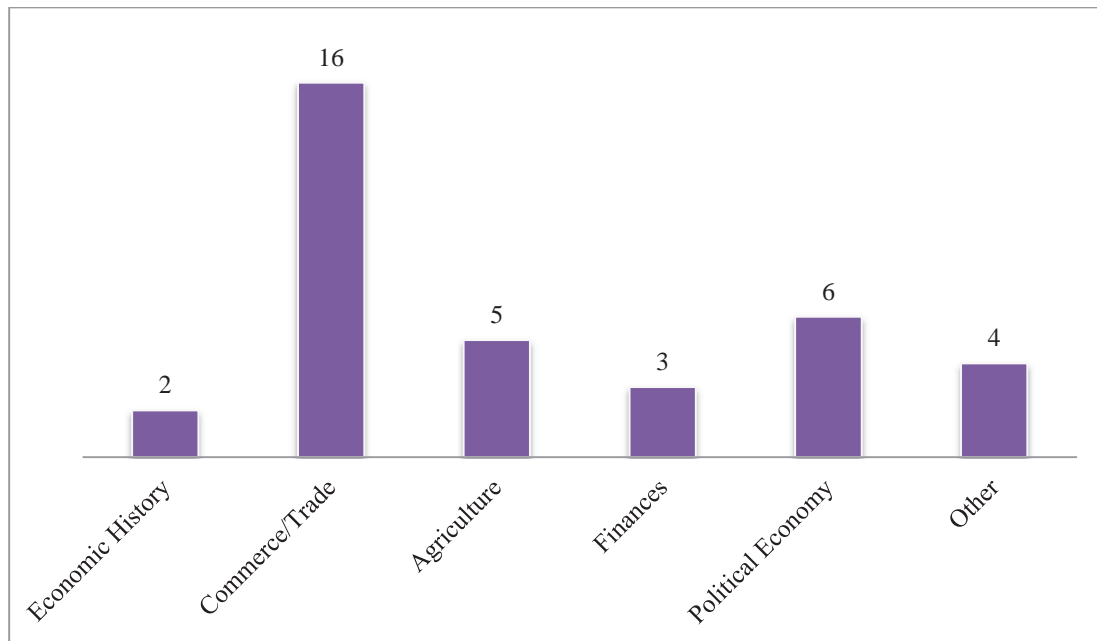


Figure 5. Economy

A fourth edition of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (London, 1786) is interesting to note among Santa Cruz's holdings as well as discourses on trade and finances like John Law's *Money and Trade* (Glasgow, 1760) or Sir Josiah Child's *A New Discourse of Trade* (London, 1775). There is a great abundance of works accounting for the great commercial interest of the British Empire, like Adam Anderson's account of *The Origin of Commerce* (1787) or Arthur Young's *Political Essays* (1772).

There are also titles on the methods of providing insurance, in general or for widows and persons in old age, such as Richard Price's *Observations* of 1783, and relief to the poor, like for example Richard Burn's *History of the Poor Laws* (London, 1764). Books on corn-trade and corn-laws, rural economy and husbandry are also present, and the encyclopedic and practical interest in economy is represented by the two volumes of the 1774 *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*.

e. Natural Philosophy

In the group of titles in the library of Santa Cruz dealing with all branches of Natural Philosophy, including mathematics, physics, astronomy or geology, may be found

up to seventeen works. Their dates of publication range from 1620, the year of publication of a first edition of Francis Bacon's *Instauratio Magna*, which is defective, to another first edition of 1799 of Thomas Parkinson's *System of Mechanics and Hydrostatics*. Next is shown their distribution in different subcategories:

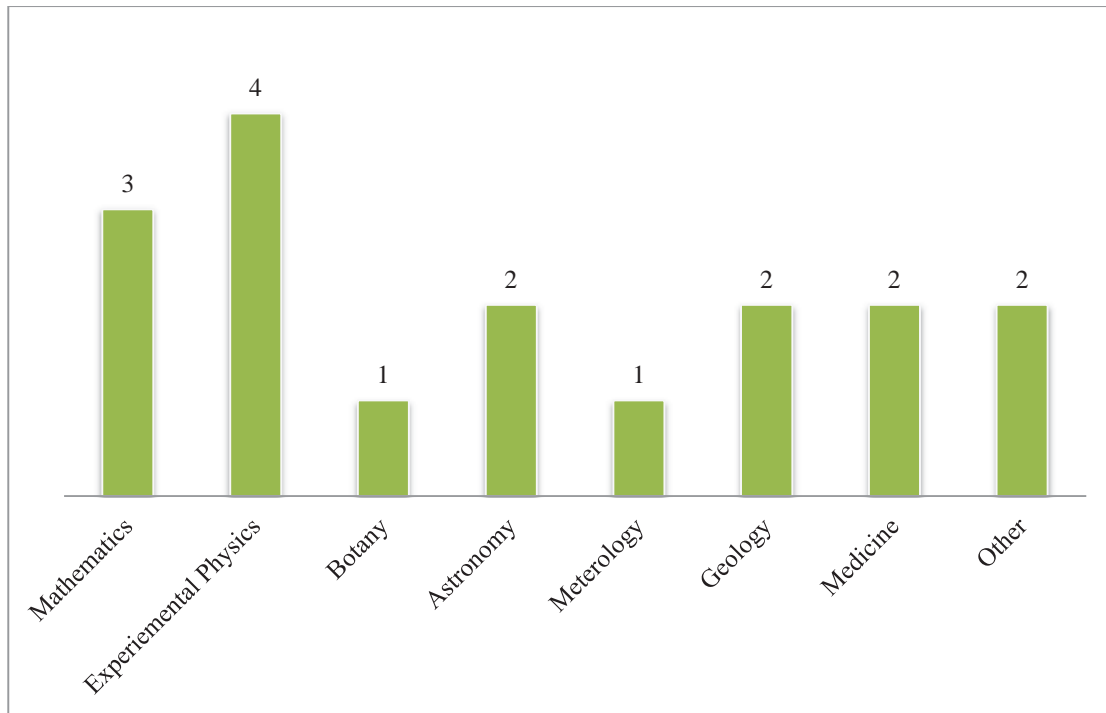


Figure 6. Natural Philosophy

Except for Tiberius Cavallo's *Treatise on Electricity* (1786), a work translated from the Italian, and *De solis ac lunae defectibus* (1760) by Bascovich, most of the works in the library were written by fellows of the Royal Society. Mathematics is represented by Cotes's *Harmonia mensurarum* (1722), a compendium that develops Newton's ideas, represented in the library of Santa Cruz by a second four-volume edition of his complete works (1779-1782). Some of them are courses of lectures like Rutherford's *System of Natural Philosophy* (1748), describing the theoretical principles of mechanics, optics, hydrostatics, and astronomy, or James Lee's *Introduction to Botany* (1789). Other is theoretical inquiries like Whitehurst's *Original State and Formation of the Earth* (1786). A number of them deal with practical and experimental aspects like, for instance, George Adams's *Essays on*

the Microscope (1787) or Joseph Priestley's second revised and enlarged edition of *History and Present State of Electricity* (1769), which includes experiments.

f. Canons

This section is not very large, since in the university libraries there are only eleven titles, 3.9 percent within the collection of British and Irish early books, but valuable, because most of the titles included are early works and first editions. In the group that deals with general Church councils we find two different editions of Paolo Sarpi's controversial history of the Council of Trent: the first edition of *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* (London, 1619), in Italian, held at the library of the Faculty of Arts, and its Latin version printed one year later, previously owned by the professor of Law at the University of Valladolid José Isidro Torres, kept at Santa Cruz. Next comes Beveridge's folio *Pandectae*, in its first edition of 1672, a compendium of the apostolic canons and texts of the eastern councils; the national councils of the British Isles are present in Wilkins's *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae* (1737), again a first edition.

The folio edition of Eusebius' *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* printed in Cambridge in 1720 and a 1729 edition of Mathew Parker's controversial *De antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* are noteworthy among the eight titles that relate to ecclesiastical history within the books in Santa Cruz.

g. Law

The group of law books comprises a total of thirty-three books, 11.9 percent of the overall number. These are of different kinds: general collections of documents, treatises, or histories, and the branches of the discipline range from Roman or civil law to national or natural law.

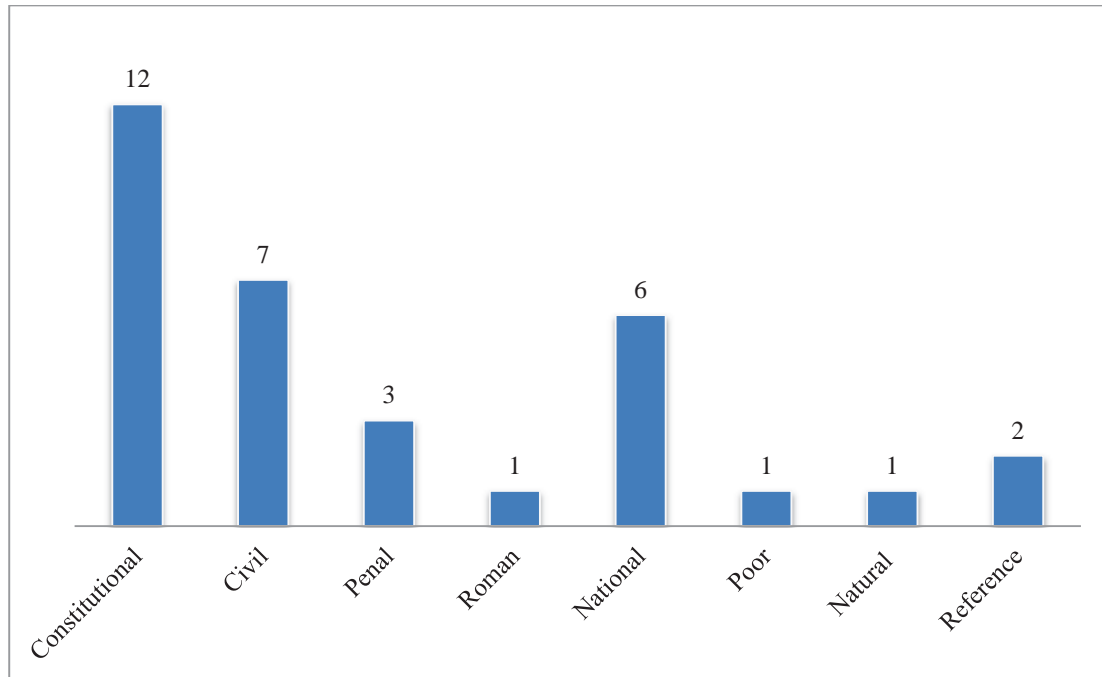


Figure 7. Law

Naturally, the collections of documents and indices are very bulky. In Santa Cruz, there are twenty volumes of the Latin folio edition of Rymer's *Foedera* edited by Robert Sanderson in 1727 (volumes 18 and 20 are missing), the ten-volume folio edition of *Statutes at Large* (1786), beside the single volume of Edward Brooke's *Bibliotheca legum anglicae* (1788), with a catalogue of British law books, writers and records.

Constitutional Law is represented by England and the United States: the second editions of *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England* (1762) in twenty-three volumes and Gilbert Stuart's *Lectures on the Constitution and Laws of England* (1776) can be seen beside John Adams' *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (1787-88), prepared and published while Adams was United States Minister to Great Britain.

Among the titles on penal law we can find Dagge's *Considerations on Criminal Law* (1774) and John Howard's *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* (1777), while Bever's *History of the Legal Polity of the Roman State* (1781) is the only title that deals with Roman law. In the civil law sub-group, the title that stands out among the rest is

Taylor's *Elements of the Civil Law* (1769). National law systems are covered by a selection of titles like John Reeves' *History of the English Law*, in its second edition of 1787 or the introductory textbook *An Institute of the Law of Scotland*, edited by Erskine and printed in Edinburgh in 1785.

All these books were printed in the eighteenth century, except for the works of the Hebraist and orientalist John Selden. The library of Santa Cruz holds an expurgated edition of his *De iure naturali* (1640) and an edition of *De successionibus* (1636) that belonged to the college's original collection.

h. Civil History

Most of the rare books dealing with history, eighteen in total (6.4 % of our selection), were printed in the eighteenth century. The histories of all the different nations of the United Kingdom are covered, including Ireland's. There are two first editions: Thomas Leland's London edition of *The History of Ireland* (1773) and Gilbert Stuart's *History of Scotland* (1782). Warrington's *History of Wales* (1788) and Robert Henry's ten-volume *History of Great Britain* (1788) complete the set.

But probably, the most valuable piece in this collection of British and Irish books reached the Santa Cruz Library from the Convent of St. Francisco, Valladolid, after it was disentailed in 1835. It is the Latin *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores decem* (1652) by Twysden, a compilation of ten imprinted medieval English chronicles.

i. Grammar and Rhetoric

The group of titles on grammar is small. There are two English grammars: one *Short Introduction* by Robert Lowth printed by Dodsley and Cadell in 1787 and John Horne Tooke's treatise *Diversions of Purley* (1786), in its first single-volume edition. They stand along with a sixth edition of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1785) in two volumes. Next is a Spanish/English dictionary published in 1763 written by the Spanish teacher Giral Del Pino, whose Spanish grammar is also kept at the library.

Apart from the works of English and Irish literature held by the library of the college of Santa Cruz, beside four volumes of *The Adventurer* (1778), six of *The Tatler* (1786), and four first volumes of *The Observer* (1786-1788), we find many multivolume

eighteenth-century editions: the octavo edition of *The Plays of William Shakespeare* of 1785 in ten volumes, the fifty-eight octavo volumes of Samuel Johnson's *Works of the English Poets* (1779 -1780) with prefaces (1779-1781), the complete works of Jonathan Swift in seventeen volumes (1784), and those of Samuel Johnson, in eleven (1787-1788). The four volumes of *Tom Jones*, in duodecimo format of the 1785 edition are also part of its holdings.

Hugh Blair's *Lectures* printed in 1785 can be seen beside a number of treatises on criticism by contemporaries like Daniel Webb or George Campbell in the first editions of 1762 and 1776 of *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* and *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*.

Finally, two special cases can be mentioned here. One is the presence in the Santa Cruz library of a two-volume Latin edition of Horace (1733-1737), fully engraved by Pine, which belonged to the private collection of the Duke of Osuna before it was donated to the University of Valladolid in 1884. The other is a bilingual edition of Xenophon's works (1782), a bequest of Saturnino Gómez Escribano, professor of Law and Lord Mayor of Valladolid, around 1850.

j. Miscellanea

A final group of books has to do with diverse topics like education, art, biography, travel, or printing. Three titles may be highlighted. These are Thomas Hyde's *De ludis orientalibus*, printed in Oxford in 1694, in two separate volumes, with parallel texts in Latin and Hebrew, and parts in Arabic, the *Notizia de' libri rari nella lingua italiana* (1762), a bibliography of Italian books from the beginning of printing, written by the Italian librettist and composer Nicola Hayman, resident in London until his death, and Wood's *Les ruines de Palmyre*, a beautifully engraved folio edition of 1753, printed in Andrews Millar's shop, in London.

5

In sum, it may be said that the vast majority of early printed books published in Britain and Ireland before 1800, kept by the University of Valladolid, are held in the library of Santa Cruz, were mostly published in England, in the English language, and by London printers, and in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

As can be made visible in the following table, there is a clear contrast between the distribution by subject of British and Irish titles in the Library of Santa Cruz, excluding those that belong to the miscellanea, and that in the overall collection that Matos Eguiluz has described for the mid eighteenth century (729).

Subjects	British and Irish titles	%	Overall number of titles	%
<i>Sacred Scripture</i>	6	2.3	383	7.7
<i>Theology</i>	10	3.9	629	12.6
<i>Moral, Political, Natural Philosophy, and Economy</i>	85	32.9	537	10.7
<i>Canons</i>	11	4.3	696	14
<i>Law</i>	33	12.8	1163	23.2
<i>History</i>	18	7	1223	24.4
<i>Grammar and Rhetoric</i>	95	36.8	372	7.4
TOTAL	258	100.0	5003	100.0

Table 1. British and Irish Titles in the College Santa Cruz in Comparison with Overall Number of Titles, c. 1750

In the entire collection in the Library of Santa Cruz the largest groups correspond to the subjects of Law (23.2%) and History (24.4%), followed by Canons (14%) and Theology (12.6), while Grammar and Rhetoric together make the smallest group, only 7.4 percent of all titles. In contrast, in the case of British and Irish imprints, the case is precisely the opposite. The largest group is Grammar and Rhetoric, representing 36.8 percent of the total, whereas Canons and Theology amount only to 4.3% and 3.9%. The number of those relating to Moral and Political Philosophy, Natural Philosophy and Economy can be also considered significant (32.9%), if compared to the same class in the entire collection, which only make 10.7 percent.

The reason why this is so may be seen in this final graph showing which subjects were the most represented throughout the century:

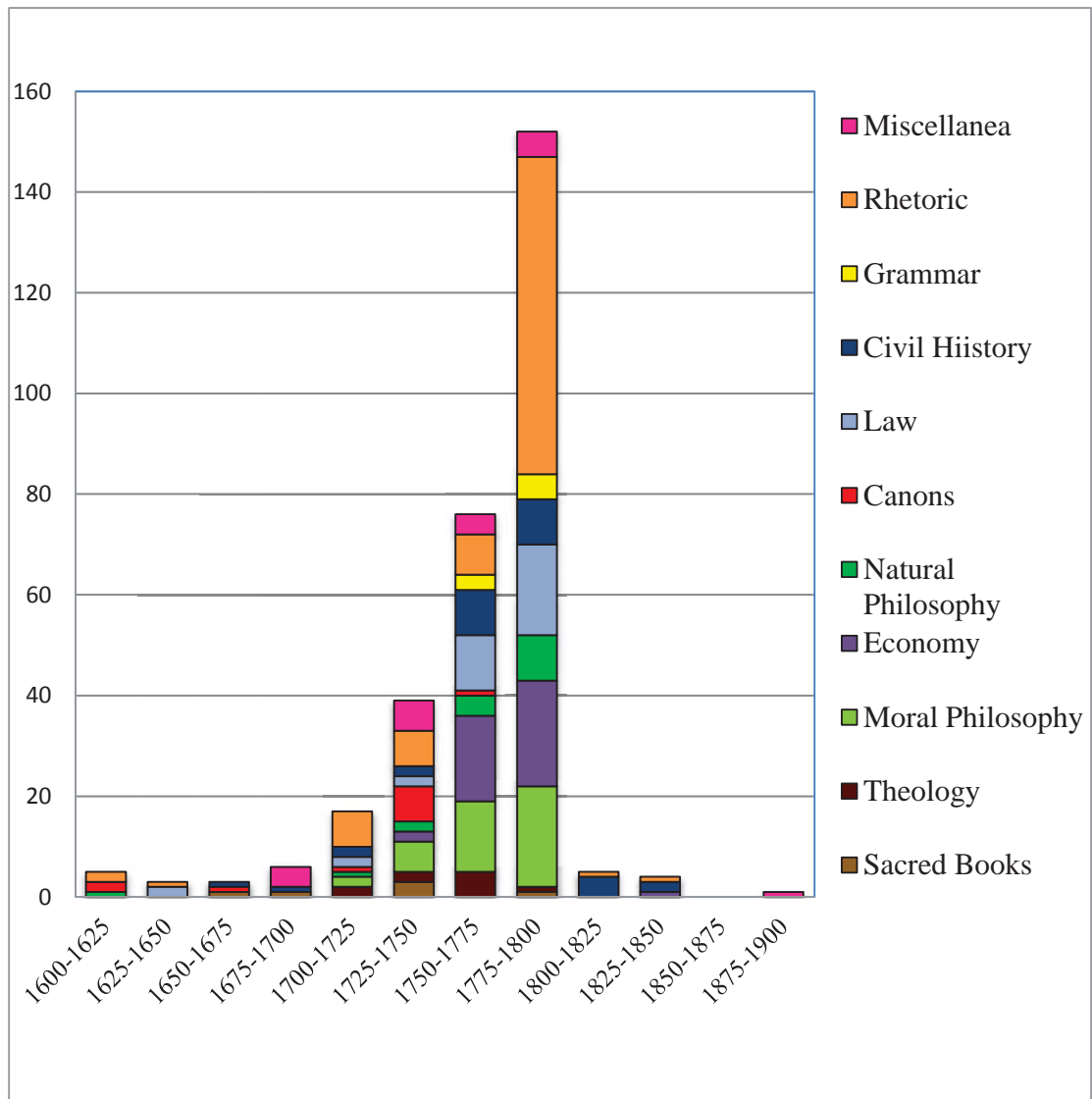


Figure 8: Titles per date of publication and subject

The majority of the titles printed in the seventeenth century deal with Canons, Classical Rhetoric, Law, and Civil History, the more traditional university subjects. We also find books related to Sacred Scripture. In this century, there are no books dealing with modern subjects like Economy, neither Natural nor Moral philosophy. By contrast, in the eighteenth century, there is a diverse range of subjects. As can be easily seen, there are more books published in this century than in the previous one. Indeed, the majority are published in this century, especially in the last quarter. If we study in detail this graph, we

realize that since 1675, there is a gradual increase in the publication of these books held by the University of Valladolid. In fact, all economic books and those related to Natural Philosophy, and English Grammar were exclusively published in this century, besides the majority of the books focused on Law, national or natural, and Rhetoric in the English language that were also published in this century. We can see that in the last quarter there is a high abundance of books that deal with Moral and Natural Philosophy, Economy, Law, Civil History, Grammar, and Rhetoric in comparison to the previous twenty-five years, a natural consequence of the increase in British Isles in publication and trade figures toward the end of the eighteenth century.

The evidence coincides with the general trends in book production and book trade in Britain and Spain. The increase in the number of printers in Britain over the 1700s has been documented: at the start of the century there were seventy printers working in London, a dozen in the provinces, twenty in Scotland and about ten in Dublin; by 1770, there were 124 London printers, and 120 more in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin (Raven 36-37). It is also known how book trade in Spain was institutionally controlled, particularly in the case of books which came from protestant nations, and that in spite of this and of the fact that English books were expensive for Spanish readers, the illegal circulation of books through the different harbours and frontiers of Spain, especially in the South, was impossible to stop (Rey 213). The quality of English books had improved so much as a consequence of the mechanization of printing and the interest in modern subjects like history, economy, politics, or English literature, and the English language, hardly ever used in Spain, a language perceived to be difficult, without orthographic or pronunciation rules (Alberich 54), had grown among scholars and the elite (Rey 201).

The relation of the data with the Spanish appreciation of the process of industrialization in the British Isles and of the constitutional developments of the kingdom is clear and the relation with the general trends of university reform started in Spain in 1771 (Álvarez de Morales 1983) seems also evident. However, its relation to the university studies or chairs at the University of Valladolid in those days or the use that was made of these books in the College of Santa Cruz is not known exactly. We can only desire to

continue our research of British and Irish books held by the University of Valladolid in the future, into whose interest this preliminary study has given us a clearer insight.

Conclusion

The general field of study of this dissertation is bibliography and in particular the study of early printed books in the Spanish library collections. This dissertation focuses on the books kept at the University of Valladolid historical library that were printed in Britain and Ireland before the 1800s. It offers a first, preliminary survey of the collection mainly regarding their subject matter, the date of publication, the place of publication, the language in which they were written, and their location, and highlights the most interesting titles.

The history of the library of the University of Valladolid is linked to that of the library of the Colegio Mayor of Santa Cruz. Since its origins in the late fifteenth century, the College of Santa Cruz accommodated a library with the purpose of training poor but talented students. Its library holdings reflected the studies that were offered at the university, mainly general canons and theology, basically focused on Saint Thomas, and Roman civil law. After the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1763 and the reform of studies of the year 1771, the university changed notably. It inaugurated its own library with the holdings that were confiscated to the Jesuits and introduced new chairs of studies associated with moral and natural philosophy, national canons and national law. With that, and later with the disentanglement of monasteries carried out by Mendizábal, an increasing number of books became part of the collections of Santa Cruz and the university library until in 1909 the two libraries were definitely unified.

Today, there are 277 titles published in the British Isles before 1800 and only three of them are located in the Library of the Faculty of Arts; the great majority, 274, are located in Santa Cruz. Of these, we have found that seventy-five percent were published in English, although we also find a number of works written in Latin and French, 36 and 9 books respectively, that is, 12.9 percent and 3.2 percent of the overall figure. A few books were written in the remaining three languages which are Italian (3), Spanish (1) and Irish Gaelic (1), and the number of bilingual and multilingual editions like the works of classical authors and polyglot Bibles is also significant (19). These books were published in England (92.8% of the total), Scotland (5.8%), and Ireland (1.4%). We have found that London, with 224 titles, is the most frequent place of publication. Next come Oxford and

Cambridge, with 20 and 8 respectively, and then Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin, with 12, 4 and 4. We have also seen that the majority of these were published in the eighteenth century, particularly in the last quarter of the century: 93.5 percent of the overall amount. Although the libraries contain eighteen titles printed in the seventeenth and ten in the nineteenth century, the amount seems insignificant in comparison, though not in importance.

The books may be classified by subject matter into eleven groups. The smallest groups belong to the traditional subjects: only six titles belong to Sacred Scripture, eleven to Theology, and eleven to Canons. The larger groups to the most modern disciplines: thirty-six to Economy, thirty-three to Law, mainly national and constitutional, and thirty-two correspond to Moral Philosophy and Politics. Natural Philosophy, is one of the smallest among the modern subjects since it only contains seventeen titles, while Civil History, Grammar and Rhetoric are also well represented, especially those of English Literature, which are Jonathan Swift's *The Works of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift* (1784), Henry Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones* (1782), Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1782), *The Plays of William Shakespeare* of 1785 and *The Works of English Poets* (1785) by Samuel Johnson

Our findings show how the majority of the titles printed in the seventeenth century deal with canons, classical rhetoric, law, and civil history, the more traditional university subjects; whereas those printed in the eighteenth century deal with the modern subjects: economy, law, national or natural, and rhetoric in the English language.

If we had to select some of the books in the collection to show its interest, we would choose the earliest of them all: the Irish *Leabhar na nurnaightheadh gcomhchoidchiond* (1608), Roycroft's *Biblia Sacra polyglotta* (1665-57), in two sets, a first edition of Francis Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* (1620), the first editions of *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* (London, 1619) and Beveridge's *Pandectae* (1672), along with the *Latin Historiae Anglicanae scriptores decem* (1652). To these may be added, an expurgated edition of John Selden's *De iure naturali* (1640).

Many of the most notable itmes deal with science: *De solis ac lunae defectibus* (1760) by Bascovich, Cotes's *Harmonia mensurarum* (1722), courses of lectures like

Rutherford's *System of Natural Philosophy* (1748), or books dealing with practical and experimental science like, for instance, George Adams's *Essays on the Microscope* (1787) or Joseph Priestley's second edition of *History and Present State of Electricity* (1769). Let us also highlight the many complete multivolume editions ten volumes of *Statutes at Large* (1786), *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England* (1762) in twenty-three volumes, and Robert Henry's ten-volume *History of Great Britain* (1788) complete the set.

We would also like to stand out the two English grammars by Robert Lowth (1787) and John Horne Tooke's treatise *Diversions of Purley* (1786), as well as Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* in its 1785 edition. It is also important to mention Giral del Pino's *Spanish/English dictionary* (1763) and *A New Spanish Grammar* (1766).

As for Literature, the library holds *The Plays of William Shakespeare* of 1785 in ten volumes, the Samuel Johnson's complete set of *Works of the English Poets* (1779 -1780) with prefaces (1779-1781), and the complete works of Jonathan Swift (1784) and Samuel Johnson (1787-1788). It has the first editions Daniel Webb's *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* (1762) and George Campbell's *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776) and a fourth edition Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1785).

Two of the most beautiful editions are John Pine's *Horace* (1733-1737), and Robert Wood's *Les ruines de Palmyre*, a beautifully engraved folio printed in London in 1753.

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