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**Early British Books on Rhetoric in the
Historical Library of Santa Cruz, Valladolid:
A Bibliographical Note**

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Abstract

Bibliography as a discipline has produced a tremendous amount of scholarly output since the beginning of the twentieth century. English studies in Spain are perhaps not aware of its reach. The object of this study was to draw on their historical and descriptive principles and provide a bibliographical note on the seven titles on Rhetoric and Criticism that can be found in the Historical Library of Santa Cruz, Valladolid, the work of Daniel Webb, Edward Gibbon, Henry Home, Alexander Gerard, George Campbell, and Hugh Blair. This will hopefully help me highlight the importance of its collection of early books printed in Great Britain, intellectually very advanced at a time in which higher education in Spain could not but fail to emerge from its state of decay.

Keywords: Early British Books, Rhetoric, Eighteenth Century, Historical Library of Santa Cruz, University of Valladolid, Descriptive Bibliography

Resumen

La disciplina de la Bibliografía lleva produciendo una enorme cantidad de aportaciones académicas desde comienzos del siglo XX. En España, los Estudios Ingleses parecen no ser conscientes del alcance que ha tenido. Este estudio tiene por objeto emplear sus vertientes histórica y descriptiva para ofrecer una nota bibliográfica de los siete títulos de retórica inglesa que se encuentran en la Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz, en Valladolid, obras de Daniel Webb, Edward Gibbon, Henry Home, Alexander Gerard, George Campbell y Hugh Blair. Pretendo con esto que se reconozca la importancia de la biblioteca y la modernidad intelectual de los impresos publicados en Gran Bretaña que alberga, en un periodo en el que la educación superior española luchó sin éxito por salir de su estado de decadencia.

Palabras clave: Libro Antiguo Inglés y Escocés, Retórica, Siglo XVIII, Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz, Universidad de Valladolid, Descripción Bibliográfica

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Introduction

Are the texts of Shakespeare that have come down to us fully faithful to what he once wrote? Or are they just corrupt products born out of the unintentional mistakes of printers or the intervention of the different editors? About a century ago, these questions emerged in the minds of scholars who were concerned with the transmission of texts in general, and of printed texts in particular, and wanted to find the 'true' original version of a literary work. In order to answer their questions, they turned to bibliography, the study of all aspects regarding the making of books as physical objects in the hand-press period, which could help them distinguish between authentic versions of texts from corrupt ones. Since then, bibliographical study has developed a wide range of principles and applications and multiplied its approaches, so as to offer a better knowledge of the history of books, and depending on which focus, their printing, collecting, distribution, textual transmission and criticism.

The modern study of bibliography has its roots at the beginning of the twentieth century and in the English-speaking world, when leading authors like W. W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow, F. P. Wilson, and A. W. Pollard, among others, started to care about the physical structure and material elements of books and the authenticity of the texts they transmitted. D. F. McKenzie ("Printers of the Mind," 1969) would follow them, but questioning their scientific aim, by incorporating to the study what he called 'the sociology of texts', or Robert Darnton ("What is the History of Books?," 1982), who proposed that all the agents that intervened in the production of books formed a 'communication circuit'. Although these studies have been highly developed in other countries, for the use of not only librarians, archivists, or book collectors, but also academics, here in Spain, in the specific area of English Studies, the study of bibliography and its uses are virtually ignored.

With respect to the history of libraries, and in particular the case of the library of the College of Santa Cruz, Valladolid, the case is different, thanks to the work of historians or Hispanists. There are several valuable works written about the history of the University of Valladolid, and also about the College of Santa Cruz and its historical library. The most relevant ones are by Mariano Alcocer Martínez (*Historia*

de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1918-1931), Covadonga Matos Eguiluz (*Las lecturas y los libros en Valladolid, siglo XVIII*, 2012), María Ángeles Sobaler Seco (“El Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz, 1484-1793,” 1989) and José Manuel Ruiz Asencio and Soledad Carnicer Arribas (“La Biblioteca de Santa Cruz,” 1989).

There is a catalogue of the early printed books that can be found in the Library of Santa Cruz but the bibliographical description it gives of each book is simple and sometimes not correct. There is now a survey of the books in the library which were printed in Great Britain or Ireland before 1800 (Estela González Arranz 2016), but the collection itself has not yet been analysed and described.

With this BA Dissertation, I want to give the first bibliographical description of some of those early British books in the library of Santa Cruz. I selected the titles on Rhetoric and Literature. They are only seven, published in the eighteenth century, but are really important. Only three of them have copies in other libraries in Spain and most of these are later editions. Here are their titles:

1. Daniel Webb, *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1762)
2. Edward Gibbon, *An Essay on the Study of Literature* (London: Printed for T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 1764)
3. Daniel Webb, *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1769)
4. Henry Home, *Elements of Criticism*, 4th ed. (2 vols., Edinburgh: Printed for A. Millar and T. Caddel, London, and A. Kincaid and J. Bell, Edinburgh, 1769)
5. Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Genius* (London: Printed for W. Strahan, T. Cadell in the Strand, and W. Creech at Edinburgh, 1774)
6. George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (2 vols., London: Printed for W. Strahan, and T. Cadell, in the Strand, and W. Creech at Edinburgh, 1776)
7. Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 2nd ed. (3 vols., London: Printed for W. Strahan, T. Cadell, in the Strand, and W. Creech, in Edinburgh, 1785)

The first three are the only copies of those titles that there are in libraries in Spain and are first editions. In Spain, there is only another copy of *Essay on Genius* held at Salamanca, printed in 1774, and six other editions of *Elements of Criticism* in Spanish libraries, but they were printed after 1769. There is a copy of Hugh Blair's *Lectures* at Salamanca published 1783, but the rest of the copies of this title that we can find in Spanish libraries were published later, mainly published during the nineteenth century.

As I say, the volumes held by the University of Valladolid at its historical library have not yet been analysed and described. That is the main purpose of this Dissertation: to offer for the first time an analysis of their physical features and a simple bibliographical description of each one of them that may be used by bibliographers and book historians or English academics interested in tracing the transmission and circulation of the work of eighteenth-century theorists of literature.

In order to be able to carry out that task, I have taken several steps. First I read about bibliography, its methods and uses, and about the University of Valladolid and its historical library of Santa Cruz. Next, I selected the books in the historical library that I was going to analyse and describe. From the catalogue provided by the Library of Santa Cruz I had to identify the works published in Great Britain and Ireland, and next those that dealt with Rhetoric and Literature. Once I had identified them, I selected the ones which dealt with Rhetoric and criticism, the ones listed above. Then I visited the library of Santa Cruz to analyse their bibliographical features, following Philip Gaskell's *Introduction to Bibliography* (1972) and Joseph A. Dane's *What is a Book?* (2012). I wrote a description of them, following Fredson Bowers' *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (1955). Finally, I turned to secondary bibliographical sources in order to contextualize the works they contained and the time in which they were published and transmitted.

My findings have been organized into four different parts:

- a) The first section of my dissertation deals with the development of the field of bibliography since its emergence along with its different uses. With this chapter, I want the reader to get a clear idea about the object and uses of

bibliography, so that the purpose and limits of this study will be easier to understand.

- b) Secondly, I provide a view of the situation of education in Spain in the eighteenth century. Besides, I deal also with the history of the study of Rhetoric at the institution. By analyzing these aspects, I intend to offer the institutional context in which these books came to the library.
- c) Thirdly, I present the history of the library of the College of Santa Cruz and its relation with the library of the University of Valladolid. I also offer a survey of its collection of books printed in the British Isles before 1800 and the works on Rhetoric and Literature that it includes.
- d) The main and final section of this dissertation presents the bibliographical description of the eleven volumes. Each one includes (1) a transcription of the title page, (2) a formula with format and collation of the gatherings of the book, as well as signing and pagination statements, (3) the contents of books, (4) half-title and running title, when there are any, (5) notes on catchwords, press figures, type, and paper, (5) a simple description of their bindings, and (6) general notes on other marks. I also deal with the printing history of each of the titles and its main contents and transmission.
- e) To conclude, a brief critical commentary of all aspects covered closes my dissertation.

With the present study, I want to draw attention to the remarkable collection of British books printed before 1800 that are deposited in the Library of Santa Cruz and highlight that the historical library of the University of Valladolid is one of the most relevant for English Studies in Spain, particularly with regard to books printed in the eighteenth century, since it owns a collection of titles which practically cannot be found in any other public library in Spain.

I would like to express my formal thanks to the Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz for permission to research its holdings and reproduce pictures of books in its collection.

1

Bibliography and its uses

With this first chapter I want to give a brief overview of the history of bibliography and the different bibliographical and textual perspectives that started to be used by scholars from the twentieth century. I will also provide a description of the different types of bibliography and their main uses.

1.1 New Bibliography

Everything started at the beginning of the twentieth century. A group of scholars —R. B. McKerrow, W. W. Greg, F.P. Wilson, A.W. Pollard, among others— wanted to study the works of Shakespeare and of other contemporary Elizabethan playwrights, and investigate their textual transmission. These ‘New Bibliographers’ did not want to neglect the ways in which texts have been transmitted. By paying attention, for example, to the format, signatures, types of paper, or typefaces of their past editions, they wanted to recover the original texts, purged from all the possible textual corruptions that many of these major texts had suffered.

This analytical approach of bibliographical study was a great success among English literary critics, and it was also applied to the literature of different modern languages of Europe. However, with the raise of the New Criticism, the New Bibliography was no longer so popular.

1.2 McKenzie and the beginning of change

But the greatest challenge would come later, when the bibliographer Donald F. McKenzie wrote his essay “Printers of the Mind,” first published in *Studies in Bibliography* in 1969. He demonstrated that the conditions in which a book was produced had a high influence on the physical production of a text and wanted the

methods of the New Bibliography to be revised. Until this moment, as McKenzie wrote in that essay, bibliographers believed that “a compositor usually worked on only one book at a time” (in McDonald and Suarez 31), that “printing and printing production [...] had little effect on output,” as Finkelstein and McCleery put it (9). McKenzie proved that “not only several were in production at the same time but that each workman [...] was often engaged on several books more or less at once” (in McDonald and Suarez 31). He criticised that the New Bibliographers described an ideal copy that never existed. He proposed instead that books should be seen as products of the economic, social, aesthetic, and literary conditions of each time. Therefore, bibliographical study should use the deductive methods of historians and investigate also sources in archives. In 1977 he called his new perspective “a sociology of the text” (“Typography and Meaning”, in McDonald and Suarez 200). It had a great impact on the work of book historians from then on.

1.3 From ‘Communication Circuit’ to ‘Print Culture’

Robert Darnton’s essay “What is the History of Books?” (1982) was a call of attention for scholars involved in the study of the history of the books in the early 1980s. Following the methods of the French *Annales* school, he established “a general model for analysing the way books come into being and spread through society” (67). It would merge into one all the disparate and competing methods of “historians, literary scholars, sociologists, librarians, and anyone else who wanted to understand the book as a force in history” (65). Under the name of ‘communication circuit’ Darnton proposed what a book’s life cycle would be. He designed a pattern for the transmission of texts running from authors, to publishers, printers, shippers, booksellers, and readers, in such a way that if a book historian took one of the segments of the circuit and studied it according to the methods of one discipline, his work may then “draw out its full significance” (75).

However, in “A New Model for the Study of the Book,” published *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society* (1993), Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker criticised that Darnton’s approach focused too much on communication processes and forgot about the significance of a book as an artifact. So, the two scholars were concerned

not just with books but with print culture, and designed a new model “based on processes (publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception, and survival)” (Finkelstein and McCleery 14). The new model should take into consideration all those forms of intellectual, political, legal, commercial, social and religious influences that affected book production, but also recover the uses of the methods of traditional bibliography, mainly for the practice of book preservation.

Therefore, bibliography may be defined as the study of printed books as physical objects and of the transmission of their texts, a study which has different purposes depending on the perspective used (analytical, historical, sociological, critical).

1.4 The different uses of Bibliography

It is generally agreed that there are four main branches of bibliography. Each category is useful in its own way and can provide useful information and different applications for the user. William Proctor Williams and Craig S. Abbot (2009) give the following classification: reference bibliography, historical bibliography, analytical bibliography and descriptive bibliography. Robert B. Harmon (4-5) gives a possible organization for them: enumerative or systematic bibliography and analytical or critical bibliography are the two main branches; textual bibliography, historical bibliography and descriptive bibliography, are subcategories of analytical bibliography.

Reference Bibliography

Reference bibliographies are the product of bibliography most people are familiar with: lists of books that follow a number of organizing principles and formal conventions, from a ‘Works Cited’ section at the end of an essay to a library catalogue. These bibliographies exist since antiquity. They may be enumerative or annotated, but anyway they are used as sources of information and scholarship.

Analytical or Critical Bibliography

Analytical bibliography wants to know how a book was made in the printing shop by looking at its physical features. It is interested in the traces which the printing process has left on materials, visual format and book structure: watermarks, typing errors or missing gatherings. From the books themselves and from archives, this type of bibliography can help discover a first edition, how many copies of it were printed and how many were sold, or even whether it was forged. So, as Williams and Abbott say, it “feeds the other branches of bibliography and, in turn, helps produce the raw material for the study of literature” (10).

Textual Bibliography

Textual Bibliography is a kind of analytical bibliography. It uses the bibliographical method and literary criticism to study “the life of a text from the machine-press period” (Williams and Abbott 65). It studies and compares the different editions, issues, states, and variant states of a title. Joseph A. Dane gives the traditional definitions of all these four terms (197), but they have changed with time. He recommends that the neutral terms *edition* (“a book-copy produced by a single setting of type at a printing house,” 9) and *variant edition* (“any textual difference involving reset type, or any significant visual difference such as the placement of illustrations between copies of the same edition,” 195-196) are used, because they can describe most textual variations (195). Textual bibliography is applied in editing and also interpretation.

Historical Bibliography

Historical bibliography works with the principles of analytical bibliography and uses them together with the tools and methods of historians and sociologists. According to Williams and Abbott, this type of bibliography “involves the history of books and of the people, institutions, and machines producing them” (2). It may, for example, date individual editions, study those of a particular publisher, printer, bookseller, binder, or type founder them, or explain from them sociological aspects

like “the impact of printing on Western culture” or “the effect of a mass literary market on literary standards” (Williams and Abbott 9).

Descriptive Bibliography

Descriptive bibliography is another type of analytical bibliography and so, it examines the book as a physical object, especially the marks of alterations it has suffered in the printing process. But its specific focus is “the method by which this information is recorded for the benefit of other researches” (Harmon 89) and developing conventions that serve to register the bibliographical information in an understandable way. The results are presented in a list of all the books containing works by Charles Dickens, for example, and so, Descriptive Bibliography is enumerative. However, it is much more detailed. In a descriptive bibliography each entry usually specifies format (folio, quarto, octavo, etc.), the sequence of gatherings and signatures, the signing statement, the statement of pagination, a transcription of title page, and the detailed description of paper and printing type. Generally, it also includes details about illustrations and binding. The aim is to “identify [a book] as precisely as possible, locate where it stands in the hierarchy of editions, determine what its importance is, and generally settle its status” (Harmon 12). Therefore, its practice is very useful for book collectors, booksellers, and academics, to learn about the printing history of the works of a writer or identify a variant edition of a title.

1.5 The bibliographical approach of this dissertation

In this Dissertation, I use the methods of historical and descriptive bibliography. I first reconstruct the history of a university library, the historical library of Santa Cruz, Valladolid. I next analyse and describe the early British books on Rhetoric and Literature that form part of its collection. Finally, I write a simple bibliographical description of each volume, including format, collation, signing statement, statement of pagination, a transcription of their title pages and a description of paper and printing type.

It is only a bibliographical note. I do not try to identify exactly whether each copy is a particular edition or a variant edition, because I have not had access to other copies apart from the ones I describe here. However, I hope to be able to provide an accurate description of each item which would be useful to bibliographers who are interested in eighteenth-century British books and literary scholars who would like to research the circulation in Spain of British works on Rhetoric and the art of writing.

The study of Rhetoric at the University of Valladolid before 1800

With this second chapter, I want to examine the history of the study of Rhetoric at the University of Valladolid to give the institutional context in which the early British books on the subject came to its library. Because they were all printed in the eighteenth century, I will start by commenting the situation of university education in Spain in the 1700s which will help understand the general backwardness that existed in the studies of the Valladolid institution. Then, I will write about the reforms introduced by Carlos III at the Universities and *colegios mayores* and the way in which they failed. Finally, I will deal with the subject of Rhetoric that was taught in the university classrooms, in order to find out how traditional or modern it was.

2.1 *The state of education in Spain in the 1700s*

The state of the Spanish universities in the eighteenth century reflected that of a country which was in serious decadence since the end of the 1500s and had gone through the War of Spanish Succession, the crowning moment of that period of crisis. That was a moment to start looking for answers to this state of decay, and Jerónimo Feijoo had his own ideas. He summed up the situation by saying that the big problem was the fear to novelty and emphasized that, besides, the Universities were not in all their splendor. The studies of Physics, Mathematics, and Natural Science were neglected and there were not professors capable of dealing with them, or, even more, they were afraid of the fact that the new philosophies of Descartes, for instance, would be detrimental to religion. The Faculty of Medicine was, as well, in a very bad state. This is how Antonio Álvarez de Morales introduced the question (1-6).

In the analysis he gave of the Spanish Faculties of Arts around the time, where the studies of Rhetoric were taken, he found the same fate. *Súmulas* (a summary of the principal elements of dialectics and logic), Logic, Scholastic Physics and Metaphysics were the subjects taught in all of them; only in some, Mathematics,

Greek, Arabic and Hebrew. So, theoretically, the Faculty of Arts provided its students with the basic knowledge they needed of arts and science. But the students could not obtain a degree in this Faculty as such. This is why it was called '*facultad menor*' (139). Its studies were considered only preparatory to the *facultades mayores*, where Theology and Canons were taught and the degrees of *licenciado* and *doctor* achieved. The problem, said Álvarez de Morales (13-14), was that most universities only taught the first two. Bearing in mind that they rejected modern philosophy and focused only on Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas (15), even that part was not very advanced.

While European universities were moving forward and embracing the new advances relating science and philosophy, teaching Locke and Newton, Spain was only accepting some advances in the study of Chemistry, only because it was essential for the development of Medicine (27).

As for Latin Grammar and Rhetoric, they were taught in every Faculty of Arts, but just secondarily, and they did not teach literature, neither Latin nor Greek. Álvarez de Morales gives the example of the University of Alcalá: in spite of the fact that Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Rhetoric were supposed to be taught in this Faculty, the situation at that moment was that only Latin Grammar was taught, and just a little bit of Rhetoric (14). Rhetoric, of course, taught to argue and persuade on the basis of the texts of Latin authors and not of modern authors or modern languages.

2.2 The university reform of 1771: Nothing but a failure

In the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, the monarchs did not interfere in education, but in 1771 King Carlos III decided to reform the Universities completely, from the way of accessing and the entrance examinations to the way of teaching and the content of the subjects.

As I mentioned before, the main purpose of the reform of the Faculties of Arts and Philosophy was to introduce scientific studies. Moral Philosophy, *Lugares teológicos* (the basic theological topics), Mathematics, Experimental Physics, and

Chemistry had to be taught there before Law, Theology and Medicine in the higher faculties (Álvarez de Morales 102).

The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 was one of the first necessary steps of this reform. As Álvarez de Morales explains, their power was really big in the universities around the nation: they took charge of teaching Grammar and Latin and they also taught Theology. In the end, they were held responsible for the bad situation of the education in Spain, the principal enemies of reforms and friends of the aristocracy that were against any new way of thinking. As Álvarez de Morales remarks (53-58), we can read in the text of the reform that Latin and Grammar did not evolve because of them, and that they were the ones to blame of the decadence of the letters in Spain, even though the Jesuits took turns with the Dominicans and the Franciscans in occupying the university chairs of Philosophy and Theology. The truth was that the reformers wanted to finance their plan of reform with their colleges and libraries, which had become the property of the state. But although these were abundant, they were not enough.

The reform of the *colegios mayores* was another principal focus of Carlos III's actions on higher education and a new disaster. Colleges appeared in Castile in the fifteenth century along with the rise of University education, established by the ecclesiastical aristocracy. They were to give residence to the *bachilleres* that wanted to take a higher degree but had no economic means of support to do it. The students were selected by competitive selection procedures and then attended different classes in the college which served as extra support lessons in order to help them with their university studies (Sobaler Seco, "Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz," 340). However, this situation started to change around 1623, according to Álvarez de Morales (20). The costs were too high and only the nobility could afford them. The scholarships were directly given to the sons or relatives of the people in the government of the colleges and after graduating, they were the ones to get the positions in the administration of the state and the professorships at university.

So, as can be imagined, the *colegios mayores* fought against the reforms since they wanted to deprive them of their privileged situation (Álvarez de Morales 210-216). Francisco Pérez Bayer, a professor at Salamanca, drafted a reform which was

also passed in 1771 (167-172). It controlled the discipline, suppressed the halls of residence (*hospederías*) and established the entrance exams again. But though it was able to stop some of the outrages committed by them and to cut off some of their privileges (Álvarez de Morales 217-218), the problems soon reappeared. The new students enjoyed the same privileges.

In the end, the reforms could not be made because of the lack of economic resources and of people capable of teaching innovative ideas (Álvarez de Morales 144-155). As far as the changes of the studies delivered are regarded, the results were not the ones expected. The curricula proposed by the different universities were not homogeneous and, in some cases, they were not innovative at all, as Álvarez de Morales explains (106-143). Theology now included the study of Sacred Scriptures and the history of the Concilia. But because it was now taught only by the Dominicans and Augustinians, reading Thomas Aquinas still remained the main content of its courses. The only real change came in Law. Its study became separate from Canonical Law and Natural Law and National Law were taught besides Roman Law, which was the traditional subject. Still many spoke against it because it went against the old order. The Faculties of Medicine were impossible to reform and were soon suppressed. The Faculties of Arts taught Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry in a new preparatory subject called *Instituciones filosóficas*, but only the advanced universities chose modern authors for the lessons; the traditional universities followed the scholastic authors (Álvarez de Morales 144). As for Rhetoric, the reformists were worried that its study could be established again, together with the basic teaching of Latin and Greek, which for them was very poor (Arias de Saavedra 18).

2.3 *The subject of Rhetoric at the University of Valladolid*

The early history of the subject of Rhetoric at the University of Valladolid is full of general ups-and-downs and affected by the eighteenth-century reforms.

As we can read in Alcocer, in 1564, the idea was to create the professorship of Rhetoric because they found the discipline necessary for the acquisition of the

other sciences, and besides, it would increase the splendor of the University (92). The idea was to use the money of the chairs of Logic and Grammar, but it was rejected by the *Claustro*, the governing body of the University (González Martínez 152). They agreed instead to create it by limiting its rent.

Since 1581, the classes of Rhetoric were given by members of the Society of Jesus, who also taught Grammar and Greek (as well as Theology) for the university in the nearby college of San Ambrosio (Sobaler Seco, “Otros colegios universitarios,” 357). Their teaching was very successful. The other professors at the university complained because they did not have enough students, and just ten years later, they got that those chairs became the property of the University. Since then, Grammar and Rhetoric were not taught in a regular way and in 1625 the chair of Grammar was suppressed (Alcocer 92). The decay of the University of Valladolid can be clearly seen. It passed on to the Jesuits again until the suppression of the Society. After that, the gap left by them was difficult to fill in, writes González Martínez (153).

Alcocer notes that the chair of Rhetoric was reestablished in 1743 thanks to a private donation, but he also informs that it was often left vacant probably because it was considered a secondary subject (93). Moreover, its salary was the lowest at the university (González Martínez 154). The quality of the lessons in Latin Grammar and Rhetoric got worse and worse and however, as we mentioned before, the state justified the expulsion of the Jesuits blaming them for the bad state and stagnation of human sciences in Spain (Matos Eguiluz 666-667).

The secularization of education was on its way. With the reform of 1771, the chair of Rhetoric was reestablished to be taught by the Universidad de Valladolid and no other institution. The University would give a salary of 13,600 *maravedíes* to its professor so that the vacancies were filled (Marcos Martín, “La Hacienda de la Universidad de Valladolid,” 250) and the professor of Rhetoric was going to supervise the teaching of Latin of all the other readers of Rhetoric in Castile, the religious colleges included (Alcocer 92).

Margarita Torremocha says that the general result of the reforms shows the University of Valladolid as an example of resistance to change (97-98) and

exemplifies that with the Faculty of Arts (108). In her view after the reform its studies became merely preparatory and remained very traditional and Aristotelian. However, while it is true that they became preparatory, it is also true they became obligatory for all students who wanted to take higher degrees, including Law and Medicine.

This was the case of Rhetoric. The fact that it had been reestablished and made it obligatory for all higher degrees had planted the seed that in the reform of 1807 led to the establishment of the chair of *Lenguas* at the University of Valladolid, which taught Latin Grammar and Rhetoric, Hebrew and Greek (Alcocer 256), which inspired the future development of the subject over the nineteenth-century.

2.4 The case of English Literature and Rhetoric

Obviously, the study of Rhetoric related to the study of Latin and the classical texts. The question is why there were books on Rhetoric and Literature written in English and dealing with English literary texts in the old libraries of Santa Cruz and of the University, when the general state of knowledge at the Institution was not advanced and the study of Rhetoric was limited to Latin.

British books on Rhetoric and Literature in its historical library

The University of Valladolid did not have a library of its own until the end of the eighteenth century. The same happened in the rest of Spanish universities and was one of the things that Carlos III wanted to change. This chapter examines the history of the historical library of the University of Valladolid. It starts explaining how it was built with the books of the Jesuits, of the college of Santa Cruz and of the monasteries of San Benito and San Francisco. It also describes its collection of books printed in the British Isles, most from the end of the eighteenth century, and in particular those on Rhetoric and Literature.

3.1 The University of Valladolid's first library: The libraries of the Jesuits

With the expulsion of the Jesuits, their colleges were closed and confiscated. As for their books, Matos Egiluz explains that the Jesuits were allowed to keep their breviaries and books of prayer and the library of the colleges of Villagarcía de Campos and Loyola (670, 675), but those from the colleges of San Ambrosio and San Ignacio, in the city of Valladolid —2,323 titles (Matos Egiluz 781)— were given to the University (Alcocer 266). They made the university's first library.

As Matos Egiluz informs (678), in the beginning, the University of Valladolid did not know what to do with them. The dictionaries and grammars were sold and other books were sent to Villagarcía (780). It is sad to read that when in 1772, the rest came to the University, they were left in a room without shelves, piled on the floor and covered in dust (679). The professors were more interested in getting access to the holdings in the library of Santa Cruz.

3.2 *The transfer of the library of Santa Cruz to the University*

At the end of the century, another main event took place. As mentioned before, one of Carlos III's reforms of Spanish higher education was that of the *colegios mayores*. It failed and in 1798 the college of Santa Cruz was closed, three hundred years after the first students had started to arrive in 1492. So, its library, one of the most important ones in the city, created from the personal library of Cardinal Mendoza, became part of the central administration and later of the University.

It was first given to the Royal Chancellery (*Real Chancillería*). Its president, Don Pedro Gómez, asked the king to make the library public and one year later, in January 1799, the library was opened to the public and a librarian and an assistant appointed (Alcocer 268). When in 1806 the University asked to be allowed to take care of the library de Santa Cruz, the monarch agreed. In 1807 the library of Santa Cruz was transferred to the University, but as a condition it had to keep the books in the building of Santa Cruz until the University had some place to place them (Ruiz Asencio and Carnicer Arribas 807). In 1830 the *colegios mayores* were re-established and the library of Santa Cruz became again the property of the college, but it was definitively suppressed six years later, after Mendizabal's disentailment of church property. The library of Santa Cruz passed to the central administration again.

Fourteen years later, in 1850, Queen Elizabeth II officially transferred the books of the college of Santa Cruz to the University. In that same year, the University received 614 books from the orders of Benedictines and the Franciscans that had been suppressed (Ruiz Asencio and Carnicer Arribas 809). So, in 1850 the University library possessed more than 18,000 printed books in total. In any case, the two libraries were independent until the twentieth century.

3.3 *The unification of the two libraries*

The phase of unification of the libraries of Santa Cruz and the University began in 1909, when the old sixteenth-century building of the University was demolished and the Palace of Santa Cruz received the University library (Alcocer 271). Many books must have been bought or received in donation, because in 1918,

the total number of books was over 51,000, according to Alcocer (272): almost 28,000 in the section of the University and more than 13,000 in the section of Santa Cruz.

Only the ones which were considered more useful were made public, about 5,000; the rest were put in 245 boxes and distributed in different rooms of the Palace of Santa Cruz (Alcocer 272). In order to save space, those in the Library room were placed in the shelves according to their type of binding and to their size, and not to their subject matter. This created a great chaos and it was almost impossible to find any of them, until they were indexed in the 1920s, giving them the correlative registration numbers that are still used.

Then, the libraries were expurgated and the least interesting books donated to the local public library (Ruiz Asencio and Carnicer Arribas 810). Today, the holdings of the historical library of the University of Valladolid include almost two hundred incunabula and 22,887 printed books (Matos Eguiluz 725).

3.4 British books among their holdings

Thanks to Estela Gonzalez Arranz's *Survey* (2016), we now know that the historical library of the University of Valladolid holds almost three hundred titles printed in the British Isles before 1800. They are works published in English, Latin and French, Italian and even Spanish, apart from a number of bilingual and multilingual editions. Most of them were published in England and in London and in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. With regard to subject matter, they deal above all with modern subjects like economy, law, national and international, moral philosophy and politics, natural philosophy, and civil history.

3.5 British books on Rhetoric and Literature

Among them, I have found thirty-seven works, in 183 volumes, that relate to Literature or Rhetoric: journals, collections of poems, novels and treatises. Here is a list of all of them arranged according to type of work and registration number.

a. *The works of classical authors*

The historical library of the University of Valladolid has thirteen works by classical authors that were printed in Britain between 1600 and 1775.

From the old library of Santa Cruz come, for example, the annotated editions of the *Odyssey*, by Joshua Barnes (1711) and Julius Caesar's commentaries, by Samuel Clarke (1712), and John Pine's Horace (1733). From the old library of the University are other examples like the works of the Greek rhetoricians Aelius Aristides, edited by Samuel Jebb (1722), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by John Hudson (1704). Sophocles and Horace are present in Thomas Johnson's and William Sandby's editions of 1704 and 1749.

b. *The poems of the controversialists*

The earliest books in the collection of works printed in the British Isles belong to this category. However, they came late to the library. The poems of Hadrian Damman of Bysterveldt (1600) arrived in 1899 from the library of the Duke of Osuna, like Sandby's Horace. A manuscript note in the book says Hadrian Damman is a censored author. Hugo Grotius's poems (1639) are also there and the copy is expurgated. John Barclay's poems, edited in 1615, came from the college of San Ignacio.

c. *Journals*

The British books in the historical library of the University of Valladolid include the original six volumes of *The Tatler*, 1.1-6.4 (1709-1711), four of *The Adventurer* (1778), the first four of *The World* (1753-56), published in London in 1782, four of *The Observer* (1786, 1788). They belonged to the college of Santa Cruz. The eight volumes *The Spectator* (1788) in the historical library were part of the University library.

d. *English Literature*

The largest number of volumes in the selection relate to the subject of English Literature: eleven titles in 117 volumes. Many are composed of many volumes.

From the old library of Santa Cruz, the historical library of the University holds the six-volume miscellany *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, reprinted in 1775.

There is a complete set of ten volumes of *The Plays of William Shakspeare* edited by Samuel Johnson, George Steevens and Isaac Reed, in a third edition of 1785. Thomas Sheridan's seventeen-volume edition of *The Works of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift* (1784) is complete too, including the life of the author. Of *The Works of Samuel Johnson* are the eleven volumes of 1787, as well as volumes 12 and 13 of 1787 and 14 of 1788.

Besides, there are three novels of the picaresque tradition: a sixth edition of Tobias Smollett's *Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1778), in four volumes, and a third edition of *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1783), in three volumes, as well as Henry Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones*, published in 1782, in four volumes.

<i>Shelfmark</i>	<i>Title</i>
U/Bc 07087-07096	<i>The Works of Samuel Johnson, in Eleven Volumes</i> (London: Printed for J. Buckland, et al., 1787)
U/Bc 07097-0798	<i>The Works of Samuel Johnson, in Thirteen Volumes</i> (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1787)
U/Bc 07099	<i>The Works of Samuel Johnson, in Fourteen Volumes</i> (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1788)
U/Bc 08666- 08675	<i>The Plays of William Shakspeare, in Ten Volumes</i> , ed. by Samuel Johnson, George Steevens, and Isaac Reed (London: Printed for C. Bathurst, et al., 1785)
U/Bc 08681-08697	<i>The Works of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift</i> , ed. by Thomas Sheridan, 17 vols. (London: Printed for W. Strahan, et al., 1784)

U/Bc 10594-10597	[Tobias Smollett,] <i>The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle</i> , 4 vols., 6th ed. (London: Printed for W. Strahan, et al., 1778)
U/Bc 10612-10614	T[obias] Smollett, <i>The Expedition of Humphry Clinker</i> , 3 vols., 3rd ed. (London: Printed for T. Longman, et al., 1683 [1783])
U/Bc 10623-10626	<i>The Poems of Mr. Gray</i> , ed. by W. Mason, 4 vols. (York: Printed by A. Ward and sold by J. Dodsley, et al. 1778)
U/Bc 10639-10644	<i>A Collection of Poems by Several Hands</i> , 6 vols. (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1775)
U/Bc 10647-10650	Henry Fielding, <i>The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling</i> , 4 vols. (London: Printed for W. Strahan, et al., 1782)

Table 1: Titles held by the old library of Santa Cruz: English Literature.

The number of volumes of Literature that come from the old library of the University is also large.

Apart from the miscellany *A Select Collection of Poems*, in eight volumes (1780-1782), the set of fifty volumes of Samuel Johnson's *Works of the English Poets* (1779), with the two volumes of the index is almost complete.

However, there is only volume two of *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, in an edition published in 1782.

<i>Shelfmark</i>	<i>Title</i>
U/Bc BU 04998	Laurence Sterne, <i>The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman</i> , vol. 2 (London: W. Strahan, et al., 1782)
U/Bc BU 07258-07265	<i>A Select Collection of Poems</i> , 8 vols. (London: Printed by and for J. Nichols, et al., 1780-1782)
U/Bc BU 07266-07317	<i>The Works of the English Poets, With Prefaces, Biographical and Critical</i> , ed. by Samuel Johnson, 50 vols. (London, 1779-81)

Table 2: Titles held by the old Library of the University of Valladolid: English Literature.

e. *Rhetoric and Literary Criticism*

There are seven treatises of rhetoric and literary criticism. There are five first editions: Daniel Webb’s *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* (1762), Edward Gibbon’s *An Essay on the Study of Literature* (1764), Daniel Webb’s *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (1769), Alexander Gerard’s *An Essay on Genius* (1774) and George Campbell’s *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776). The two volumes of *Elements of Criticism* by Henry Home are a fourth edition (1769) and Hugh Blair’s *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1785), a second edition.

Most of them belonged to the old library of Santa Cruz.

<i>Shelfmark</i>	<i>Title</i>
U/Bc 07103	Alexander Gerard, <i>An Essay on Genius</i> (London: Printed for W. Strahan, et al., 1774)
U/Bc 07132- 07133	[Henry Home,] <i>Elements of Criticism</i> , 4th ed., 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Printed for A. Millar and T. Cadell, et al., 1769)
U/Bc 08715-08717	Hugh Blair, <i>Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Letters</i> , 3 vols., 2nd ed. (London: Printed for W. Strahan, et al., 1785)
U/Bc 08718-08719	George Campbell, <i>The Philosophy of Rhetoric</i> , 2 vols. (London: Printed for W. Strahan, et al., 1776)
U/Bc 10533	Daniel Webb, <i>Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music</i> (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, et al., 1769)
U/Bc 10645	Edward Gibbon, <i>An Essay on the Study of Literature</i> (London: Printed for T. Becket and P.A. de Hondt, 1764)

Table 3: Titles held by the old library of Santa Cruz: Rhetoric and Literary Criticism.

As can be seen in the table below, only one belonged to the old library of the University: Webb’s *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* (1762).

Samuel Johnson's critical prefaces to *The Works of the English Poets* (1779-1781) are also present and are complete except for volume two.

<i>Shelfmark</i>	<i>Title</i>
U/Bc BU 04417	Daniel Webb, <i>Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry</i> (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1762)
U/Bc BU 07490-07498	Samuel Johnson, <i>Prefaces Biographical and Critical, to the Works of the English Poets</i> , 10 vols. (London: Printed by J. Nichols, et al., 1779-1781)

Table 4: Titles held by the old library of the University of Valladolid: Rhetoric and Literary Criticism.

3.6 *My selection*

These books have never been analysed or described, even though many of them are the only copies of them in Spain.

The last group of treatises on rhetoric and literary criticism is perhaps the most interesting bibliographically. There are five first editions and there are no other copies of them in Spanish libraries, except for Hugh Blair's *Lectures*, Henry Home's *Elements of Criticism*, and Alexander Gerard's *Essay on Genius*.

So, I want to give the first bibliographical description of them and some information on their distribution in Spain, so that bibliographers and literary scholars who are interested in eighteenth-century British books and their circulation in Spain may find it useful.

Their bibliographical description

It is in this chapter where I will provide the bibliographical descriptions of each of the books on Rhetoric in the historical library of the University of Valladolid that were printed in Britain before the nineteenth century. They are written in the bibliographical form following Philip Gaskell's conventions (321-335), based on the Fredson Bowers and Sir Walter Greg. The aspects that I have analyzed of each copy and are included in each description are the following:

(1) *Title page*. I provide a transcription of the title page in which all capital letters are typed as capitals and all lower case letters as lower case. Italics and versals are kept and rules described in brackets. I type an upright line for every line ending.

(2) A *formula* with format and collation of the gatherings of the book, as well as signing and pagination statements. Format describes the book as 2° (folio), 4° (quarto), or 8° (octavo), depending on how many pages were printed on each sheet of paper. The collation that follows presents a list of all the signatures of the book with the number of leaves in each. Next, the signing statement in square brackets indicates how many pages in each gathering are signed. The statement of pagination shows the way in which the book is numbered by the page. Unpaginated leaves appear in brackets and in italics.

(3) *Contents*. The different sections of the text come next, including title and text, and half-title, dedication, contents, advertisement, or errata, if there are any.

(4) *Half-title* (HT) and *running title* (RT) are given when they are present. The half-title is a full or shorter version of the title of a book that sometimes appears in the recto before the title page; the running title is an abbreviated form of the title of a book that can be found at the top of each page.

(5) Next come technical notes on *catchwords* (CW), a word or part of a word that appears at the bottom right of a page and repeats the first word that starts the

following page, and register of *press figures* (PF), a number that may appear at the foot of the page that may identify the pressman when several presses were used.

(6) *Type*. Here I include fount type, Roman and italics, with 20-line measurement of the text type. It comes after the standard dimension of type-page and before the number of lines in a normal page.

(7) *Paper*. I indicate that the paper is laid (showing the watermarks of the wires of the molds). I identify the measure of the space between the chain-lines and the type of watermark or countermark when they are present.

(8) *Binding*. Besides dating and materials (parchment, calf, board, wood, etc.), I give a short description of the decoration on covers and spine (gilt, tooling, labels, etc.), on binder's paste-downs and flyleaves, and on edges. I also offer its dimensions.

(6) The last section is for general notes on additional information, including engravings or special characters.

Before every description I give a note on the printing history of each title and its contents. I also add information available about its circulation in Spain.

4.1 Daniel Webb, *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry*, 1762

Daniel Webb's *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* was printed by the London publishers and booksellers Robert and James Dodsley. With the patronage of Alexander Pope, Robert Dodsley had opened a shop around 1735 (Raven 187-188). By publishing Pope, Mark Akenside, Edward Young and anthologies of poems, he became an influential publisher of poetry. With his younger brother James he printed more than a hundred works (Tierney 24).

Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry was published after *An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting* (1760), which had been a great success. Like it, it is written in dialogues. In the first one, Webb focuses on the nature of poetry and the two different types of harmony it shows: verbal ("the general flow of the verse, most

pleasing to the ear, but independent of the sense”) and sentimental (“bringing the sound of measure of the verse to correspond with, and accompany the idea”). In the second one, he distinguishes the different qualities a poet may or may not possess, like genius (the ability to discover a just and beautiful relation between two ideas), wit (the ability to observe the relation among ideas and select the most singular one), taste (the ability to recognise the merit of an invention) among others. Many examples from Pope, Milton and Shakespeare exemplify each question, as well as comparisons, metaphors and imagery. He concludes that the difference between a good poet and a bad one is that the good one only gives hints about what he is talking about, but in the end he is able to transmit a complete idea, whereas the bad poet would be incapable of such thing.

The Beauties of Poetry was not as successful as *The Beauties of Painting*. This edition of the work of 1762 was the only one. Here I describe the copy held in the historical library of Santa Cruz, Valladolid.

REMARKS | ON THE | BEAUTIES | OF | POETRY. | *By* DANIEL WEBB, *Esq;* | [*rule*] | Then Criticism the Muse’s Handmaid prov’d, | To dress her Charms, and make her more belov’d. | *Essay on Criticism.* | [*double rule*] | LONDON, | Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall.* | MDCCLXII.

Collation: 8°: [A]² B-H⁸ I⁶ [\$4 signed; missigning D4 as B4]; 64 leaves, pp. [4] [1] 2-123 [124]

Contents: [A1] half title (verso blank); [A2] title (verso blank); B1-I6 text: B1^f ‘REMARKS | ON THE | BEAUTIES | OF | POETRY. | [*rule*]’ and E6^v ‘[*double rule*] | DIALOGUE II. | [*rule*]’.

HT] REMARKS | ON THE | BEAUTIES | OF | POETRY.

RT] REMARKS ON THE | BEAUTIES OF POETRY.

CW] on every page; C4^v We] What; E3^f I have] I HAVE; I1^v *Hor.*] *Hort.*

PF] 1: C1^v E5^v; 4: D2^v F7^f G1^v; 5: B8^v C6^v E5^f F8^f G4^v I5^v

Type: 111×71 mm.; Roman and Italic 111 mm.; with ligatures; 20 lines

Paper: laid; watermarked, crown, arms, ‘LVG’; chain 24 mm.

Binding: late-eighteenth century, Spanish; light brown speckled calf over pasteboard; gilt-tooled spine with black label; Spanish marbled pastedowns and flyleaves; solid red edges; pink silk marker ribbon; 189×115×25 mm.

Notes: (1) All rules by hand, in black ink. (2) Capital initials to mark the entrance to each dialogue. (3) Greek characters.

It is the only one that can be found in Spanish libraries. There is no proof that the work circulated anywhere else in the country.

4.2 Edward Gibbon, *An Essay on the Study of Literature*, 1764

An Essay on the Study of Literature was the first publication of the writer of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788). In it, Edward Gibbon wanted to prove his own experience that the study of the writings of the classics develops the faculties of the mind. He wrote the text in French and sent it to the London printer Thomas Becket.

According to Raven (160), Becket had begun as Andrew Millar's apprentice. In 1729, he decided to start his own business and later the Dutchman Peter de Hondt became his partner. Together they published Gibbon's essay in French in 1761. This English translation appeared in 1764. The impression was small. Gibbon was not happy with it and forbid a second edition. Only two pirate editions appeared in Dublin, after the *Decline's* success.

So, it is not surprising that the copy now in Santa Cruz is the only one of the work that can be found in Spanish libraries. Here is the description of it.

AN | ESSAY | ON THE | STUDY of LITERATURE. | [*rule*] | Written Originally in FRENCH, | By EDWARD GIBBON, Jun. Esq; | [*rule*] | Now first translated into ENGLISH. | [*double rule*] | LONDON: | Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, | in the Strand. MDCCLXIV.

Collation: 8°: A⁴ B-L⁸ M⁴ [\$4 signed]; 88 leaves, pp. [8] [1] 2-163 [164-165] 166-168

Contents: [A1] title (verso blank); A2 dedication: '[*double rule*] | TO | EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;'; B1-M2 text: '[*double rule*] | AN | ESSAY | ON THE | Study of Literature.'; M2 (verso blank); M3 advertisement: '[*thick-and-thin rules*] | NEW BOOKS, Printed for T. | BECKET and P. A. DE | HONDT, in the Strand.'

RT] A3-A5 'DEDICATION.'

CW] on every page

PF] 2: B7^v C8^r D8^v E4^v E8^v F8^r H8^r I6^v K7^v L8^r; 4: K8^v

Type: [A] 114×71 mm., Roman and italic 164 mm.; with ligatures; 14 lines; B-M2 118×70 mm., Roman and italic 104 mm.; with ligatures; 20 lines

Paper: laid; unwatermarked; chain 24-25 mm.

Binding: late-eighteenth century, Spanish; light brown speckled calf over pasteboards; gilt-tooled spine, with red label; Spanish marbled pastedowns and flyleaves; solid red edges; pink silk marker ribbon; 187×116×30mm.

Notes: (1) Horizontal chainlines. (2) All rules by hand, in black ink. (3) All page numbers in brackets. (4) Capital initial for the title of first book in the list of final advertisement. (5) Marginal apostils and footnotes. (6) Greek characters.

4.3 Daniel Webb, *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music*, 1769

This is the third and last treatise on the fine arts written by Daniel Webb. It was published by James Dodsley, who was carrying on with the business alone, after his brother's death in 1764 (Raven 187-188). He decided to sell *Poetry and Music* by announcing in the title page it was written "By the author of *An Enquiry into the Beauties of Painting*," because there had been three different editions of Webb's first book by then.

In *Poetry and Music*, Webb explains that poetry does not only delight the ear, but also communicates the inner movements of our soul, like music or painting. The problem is that people were taught to disregard English verse in favour of classical poetry, because it was thought to be too simple, and so they had not been able to study the effect of that poetry on their passions. However, even though the classics are superior in metre, Webb claims English poetry can be as good as classical poetry. For him, this is because English is mainly a monosyllabic language. Its stress and rhythm are like those in the compositions of the first civilizations. For him, the best example of the sublime simplicity of English poetry is the iambic pentameter line. To make English poetry better, he concludes that the use of words from other languages should be avoided, as well as that of syntactic transpositions.

The work was reedited twice. But in Spain it seems it was not known. Here is a description of the Valladolid copy, a first edition and the only copy present in Spanish libraries.

OBSERVATIONS | ON THE | CORRESPONDENCE | BETWEEN |
 POETRY and MUSIC. | By the AUTHOR of | AN ENQUIRY into the BEAUTIES
 of | PAINTING. | Concordant carmina nervis. | Ovid. Metam. | Carminis
 suavitas, numerique, non solum ad aurium | delectationem compositi, sed ad
 res ipsas exprimen- | das, omnemque animi motum concitandum efficaces. |
 Lowth de Sacr. Poet. Hebræorum. | LONDON, | Printed for J. DODSLEY, in
 Pall-mall. | M DCC LXIX.

Collation: 8°: A⁴ B-L⁸ [\$4(-A4)
 signed]; 84 leaves, pp. [i-iv] v-vii [viii]
 1-155 [156] [4] [misprinting 112 as '1
 12']

Contents: [A1] half title (verso blank);
 [A2] title (verso blank); A3 dedication:
 'To his Grace | The DUKE | OF |
 GRAFTON, | First Lord of the
 Treasury' (A4^v blank); B1-L4 text:
 '[double rule] OSERVATIONS | ON
 THE | CORRESPONDENCE |
 BETWEEN | POETRY and MUSIC.';
 L4^v appendix: 'APPENDIX.'; L7
 advertisement: 'Books *Printed for J.*
DODSLEY.'

HT] OBSERVATIONS | ON THE |
 CORRESPONDENCE | BETWEEN |
 POETRY and MUSIC.

RT] OBSERVATIONS ON | POETRY
 AND MUSIC

CW] on every page; K8^f do] well

PF] 1: G7^v I2^v; 2: C1^v D4^v L5^f; 3: E3^v;
 4: F6^v H5^f I3^v; 5: B6^f F3^v H8^f K3^f; 6:
 G8^v; 7: K2^v L3^v

Type: 110×67 mm., Roman 110 mm.;
 with ligatures; 20 lines

Paper: laid; watermarked, shield, post
 horn, crown, bell, arms, 'LVG'; chain
 26 mm.

Binding: late-eighteenth century,
 Spanish; light brown speckled calf; gilt-
 tooled spine, with red label; Spanish
 marbled pastedowns and flyleaves;
 solid red edges; pink silk marker
 ribbon; 183×114×30 mm.

Notes: (1) All rules by hand, in black
 ink. (2) Capital initial in first
 paragraphs of dedication, text and
 advertisement. (3) Versals mark the
 first word of every paragraph. (4) With
 footnotes. (5) Greek characters.

4.4 Henry Home, *Elements of Criticism*, 1769

Like most works of the Scottish Enlightenment, Henry Home's *Elements of Criticism* (1762) was published in London and Edinburgh at the same time. To publish this book, Andrew Millar, one of the main printers and booksellers of the century, and Thomas Cadell, his successor, had joined Alexander Kincaid and John Bell, who had the best printing shop in Edinburgh. Sher explains Millar had succeeded James McEuen in his shop in London and Kincaid in his shop in Edinburgh (285).

Home's work is divided into two volumes. In the first one, he defines many different concepts such as perceptions and ideas, emotions and passions, beauty,

grandeur and sublimity, wit, ridicule, etc., to be able to learn how to distinguish the emotions that a word produces; in the second, he focuses on rhetoric properly, the norms and rules that can be used to judge poetry: the beauty of language and tropes, narration and description, epic and dramatic compositions. Home wants to show that criticism of the fine arts and *belles lettres* acts as “a subject of reasoning as well as of taste,” an “intermediate link” between the aesthetic pleasure of the body and moral and religious pleasure of the soul.

The book became very popular and there were up to eight editions before the end of the century. The Valladolid copy is a fourth edition. Here is a description of the two volumes:

[Vol. I] ELEMENTS | OF | CRITICISM. | VOLUME I. | The FOURTH EDITION. | With ADDITIONS and IMPROVEMENTS. | EDINBURGH: | Printed for A. MILLAR and T. CADDEL, London; | AND | A. KINCAID & J. BELL, Edinburgh. | MDCCLXIX.

[Vol. II] ELEMENTS | OF | CRITICISM. | VOLUME II. | The FOURTH EDITION. | With ADDITIONS and IMPROVEMENTS. | EDINBURGH: | Printed for A. MILLAR and T. CADDEL, London; | AND | A. KINCAID & J. BELL, Edinburgh. | MDCCLXIX.

Volume I

Collation: 8^o: a⁸ A-2I⁸ [\$4 signed]; 264 leaves, pp. [i-iv] vi-ix [x-xi] xii [xiii] xiv-xvi [1] 2-15 [16-17] 18-512

Contents: a1 half-title (verso blank); a2 title (verso blank); a3 dedication: ‘TO THE KING’ (a5^v blank); a6 preface: ‘Preface to the Second Edition.’; a7 contents: ‘CONTENTS.’; A1 introduction: ‘INTRODUCTION.’; B1-2I8 text

HT] ELEMENTS | OF | CRITICISM. | The FOURTH EDITION | In TWO VOLUMES.

RT] changes with each chapter

CW] on every page; 2H2^v II] Faire; also for footnotes

Type: 152×82 mm., Roman 97; with ligatures; 31 lines

Paper: laid; unwatermarked; a: chain 23-24 mm.; A: chain 25 mm.; B-2I: chain 24-25 mm

Binding: late-eighteenth century, Spanish; light brown speckled calf; flat spine with gilt-ruled frames, with a red and a black label; Spanish marbled pastedowns and flyleaves; solid red edges; pink silk marker ribbon; 209×112×45 mm.

Notes: (1) Sections a2 (Title Page), a3-a5 (Dedication) and a7-a8 (Preface to the Second Edition, Contents) mounted on paper guards. (2) A final gathering is assumed to be missing from the text block, given that the verso of the last

leaf of the last gathering of the text block (2I) ends with the catchword 'peopled'. (3) Page numbers of dedication and preface between square

brackets. (4) With footnotes. (5) Capital initials in dedication, preface, introduction, and every new chapter.

Volume Two

Collation: 8°: A-2M⁸ 2N⁴ [\$4 signed]; 284 leaves, pp. [1-3] 4-534 [32] [2] [misprinting 155 as '159' and 159 as '155']

Contents: A1 title (verso blank); A2-2I4 text; 2I5 appendix: 'APPENDIX. | TERMS. DEFINED OR EXPLAINED.'; 2L4 index: 'INDEX.'; 2N3^v blank; 2N4 advertisement: 'BOOKS Written by Lord KAMES, sold | by Kincaid and Bell in Edinburgh, and | Thomas Cadell, in the Strand, London.'

RT] changes with each chapter

CW] on every page; T5^r Metaphorical Metaphorical

Type: 151×81 mm.; Roman and italic 97; with ligatures; 31 lines

Paper: laid, unwatermarked; A-2N: chain 24-25 mm.

Binding: As in vol. 1.

Notes: (1) Capital initials mark the start of every new chapter. (2) With footnotes.

In Spanish libraries, there are six later editions: two held by the Biblioteca Nacional de España (1788, 1795) and four by other universities (1805, 1817, 1838, 1851). It seems that in Spain Home became better known in the nineteenth century. However, his work has never been translated into Spanish, as it was into German.

4.5 Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Genius*, 1774

The Scottish minister Alexander Gerard was already known for having published *An Essay on Taste* (1759). His *Essay on Genius* would be one of the major works by Scottish authors published in collaboration by William Strahan and Thomas Cadell, in London, and William Creech, in Edinburgh, during 1770s and early 1780s (Sher 339).

In this work, Gerard is concerned with the nature of genius, the general sources of its varieties and its different kinds. For him, invention is the ineffable characteristic of genius and the intellectual powers (sense, memory, imagination, and

judgment) its sources and assistants. In fact, it is the union of a great imagination with an accurate judgment the one that has produced the great geniuses of all ages, including modern authors. Their genius can be for science (aimed at the discovery of truth) or for the arts and poetry (the production of beauty). While the genius of science addresses its discoveries to understanding, the genius of the arts addresses its productions to taste. For the arts, taste is essential, as well as the power of execution.

The book was reprinted in 1784. The Valladolid copy that I describe here is a first edition:

AN | ESSAY | ON | GENIUS. | BY | ALEXANDER GERARD, D.D. | PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN KING'S COLLEGE, | ABERDEEN. | Quid illa vis, quæ tandem est, quæ investigat occulta, quæ | inventio, atque excogitatio dicitur? | CIC. Quæst. Tusc. lib. i. | LONDON: Printed for W. STRAHAN; T. CADELL in the Strand; | and W. CREECH at Edinburgh. | M DCC LXXIV.

Collation: 8^o: A⁴ B-2E⁸ 2F² [\$4 signed]; 264 leaves, pp. [i-iii] iv [v] vi-vii [viii] [1] 2-434 [435-436] [misprinting 279 as '179']

Contents: A1 title (verso blank); A2 advertisement '[*thick-and-thin rules*] ADVERTISEMENT.'; A3 contents: '[*thick-and-thin rules*] CONTENTS.'; A4^v advertisement: '*Published by the same Author, | An ESSAY on TASTE*'; B1-2F1 text: '[*thick-and-thin rules*] AN | ESSAY | ON | GENIUS.'; 2F2 errata: 'ERRATA.'

RT] changes with each section

CW] on every page

PF] 1: C5^v E6^v H1^v Q1^v R7^v S8^v T8^v U7^f; 2: K8^v L8^v O8^v P5^v Q8^v Y1^v 2B^v 2E7^v; 3: D5^f L7^v N1^v O8^f S3^v U5^v Z6^v 2B5^v 2C8^f 2D7^v; 5: B8^f E6^f F2^f H8^v I6^f

M5^f X8^f Z8^f 2A7^f 2E5^f; 6: B5^v D8^f F1^v G7^f I6^v P5^f R8^v T7^v 2C7^f 2D8^v

Type: 153×83 mm., Roman and italic 109 mm.; with ligatures; 27/28 lines

Paper: laid; watermarked, fleur-de-lys, crown, arms, with letters 'LVG'; chain 26-27 mm.

Binding: late-eighteenth century, Spanish; brown marbled calf; gilt-tooled with a red label; Spanish marbled pastedowns and flyleaves; green silk marker ribbon; solid red edges; 135×122×35 mm.

Notes: (1) Page numbers 5, 71, 107, 197, '179', 317, in square brackets. (2) Capital initials mark the start of every new chapter. (3) Versals mark the first word of every paragraph. (4) With footnotes. (5) Greek characters

Of this first edition there is another copy kept at the University of Seville. But again, the work was practically unknown in Spain, while in Germany it had been

translated into German and influenced Kant and Romanticism. The first Spanish translation has not been published until 2009.

4.6 George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 1776

The Philosophy of Rhetoric is the most remarkable work of the Scottish philosopher and minister George Campbell, except his sermons and lectures. It was used as a textbook in colleges in England, even in America, and well into the nineteenth century (Sher 594). This can be seen from the arrangement of contents.

George Campbell starts his book describing the nature of Eloquence. He defines it using a quote by Quintilian: “that art or talent by which the discourse is adapted to its end,” and expands his definition with the relation of eloquence to logic and grammar. The business of logic is to evidence truth, through mathematical axioms or common sense, and it is used in eloquence in order to convince the audience; grammar is used in eloquence to give sense to the language used in discourse, always making his arguments understandable, making use of his or her imagination and passion when speaking. His book goes on to discuss and illustrate elocution and its essential properties, which depend on the use the public speaker makes of language, grammar, style, double meanings, equivocation and ambiguity, and perspicuity. In the end, the vivacity of language depends on the choice of words, the number of words, or their arrangement. How to combine the parts of a sentence and the sentences into discourse is the interest of the last section of the book.

Like the works of many Scottish enlightened authors, it was also co-published by Strahan, Cadell, and Creech. Here is the description of the copy now kept in the historical library of Santa Cruz:

[Vol. I] THE | PHILOSOPHY | OF | RHETORIC. | BY | GEORGE
CAMPBELL, D.D. | PRINCIPAL OF THE MARISCHAL COLLEGE, |
ABERDEEN. | Certo sciunt homines, ARTES INVENIENDI SOLIDAS ET
VERAS | ADOLESCERE ET INCREMENTA SUMERE CUM IPSIS
INVENTIS. | BAC. De Augm. Scient. l.v. c.3. | IN TWO VOLUMES. | VOL.

I. | LONDON: | Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand; | and W. CREECH at Edinburgh. | M DCC LXXVI.

[Vol. II] THE | PHILOSOPHY | OF | RHETORIC. | BY | GEORGE CAMPBELL, D.D. | PRINCIPAL OF THE MARISCHAL COLLEGE, | ABERDEEN. | Certo sciant homines, ARTES INVENIENDI SOLIDAS ET VERAS | ADOLESCERE ET INCREMENTA SUMERE CUM IPSIS INVENTIS. | BAC. De Augm. Scient. l.v. c.3. | VOL. II. | LONDON: | Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand; | and W. CREECH at Edinburgh. | M DCC LXXVI.

Volume I

Collation: 8^o: A-2K⁸ [\$4(+AL2C6) signed]; 264 leaves, pp. [i-iii] iv-x [xi] xii-xv [xvi] [1] 2-24 [25] 26-338 [339] 340-511 [512]

Contents: [A1] title (verso blank); A2 [*thick-and-thin rules*] preface: 'PREFACE.'; A6 contents: '*thick-and-thin rules*] CONTENTS | OF THE | FIRST VOLUME. | [*rule*]'; B1 introduction: '*thick-and-thin rules*] INTRODUCTION.'; C5-2K8 text: 'THE | PHILOSOPHY | OF | RHETORIC. | Book I. | The Nature and Foundations of Eloquence. | [*rule*]'; 2K8^v errata: 'ERRATA.'

RT] THE PHILOSOPHY | OF RHETORIC

CW] on every page, also in footnotes; 2A6^r have] used

PF] 1: E3^v G3^v I8^v U4^v X6^v Z6^r 2I5^r; 2: B5^r C3^v G2^v H4^v L1^v S6^r 2A3^v 2F1^v; 3: A6^r B6^r C2^v N3^v C7^v Q7^v 2I7^v; 4: K4^v T7^r Y1^v Z5^r 2G1^r 2H3^v; 5: D2^v K7^v U3^v X6^r 2B3^v 2K1^v; 6: D1^v H1^v L6^v R2^v R5^v

2E8^r 2G4^v; 7: 2E4^v 2F4^v; 8: M5^v N2^v T8^r 2H2^v

Type: 150×84 mm., Roman and italic 111 mm.; with ligatures; 27 lines

Paper: laid; watermarked, fleur-de-lys, crown, arms, with letters 'LVG'; chain 25-26 mm.

Binding: late-eighteenth century, Spanish; marbled red and green calf; flat spine, with gilt-ruled frames, with a red and an ochre label; Spanish marbled pastedowns and flyleaves; solid red edges; headbands; pink silk marker ribbon; 218×135×40 mm.

Notes: (1) Y3, Y4, and 2E1 are marked by the printer with an asterisk, as an instruction to the binder, because they have errors and should have been replaced by corrected sheets. (2) I2 y L3 bound out of square. (3) Single rule to separate text from notes. (4) Capital initials mark the start of every new chapter. (5) Versals mark the first word of every paragraph. (6) With footnotes. (7) Greek characters.

Volume II

Collation: 8^o: A⁴ B-2F⁸ [\$4 (+F8) signed]; 224 leaves, pp. [i-iii] iv-vi [vii-viii] [1] 2-155 [156-157] 158-445 [446-448] [misprinting 219 as '21']

Contents: [A1] title (verso blank); A2 '*thick-and-thin rules*] | CONTENTS | OF THE | SECOND VOLUME. |

[*rule*]'; A4 errata: 'ERRATA.' (verso blank); B1-2F7 text: B1-L6 '*thick-and-thin rule*] THE | PHILOSOPHY | OF | RHETORIC. | [*rule*] | Book II.' (L6^v blank) L7-2F7 '*thick-and-thin rules*] THE | PHILOSOPHY | OF | RHETORIC. | Book III. | The

discriminating Properties of | Elocution.
| [rule]’ (2F7^v blank); 2F8
advertisement: ‘BOOKS printed for T.
CADELL.’

RT] CONTENTS; THE PHILOSOPHY
OF RHETORIC

CW] on every page, also for footnotes

PF] 1: B4^v E8^f U3^v U4^v X7^f 2B2^v 2C5^f
2E7^f; 2: D3^v N3^v 2A6^v 2B3^v 2E5^v; 3:
A3^f B3^v D8^v M6^f 2D8^v; 4: C3^v G4^v K5^v
Q6^f S5^f X6^f Y5^v Y6^f Z3^v; 5: F2^v G8^f L7^f
R6^v T4^v DF2^v; 6: H2^v M8^v O2^v M8^v Q3^f
Z7^f; 7: C4^v L7^v P5^f 2A7^v 2D1^f; 8: I7^v
P7^v S6^f T6^f 2F1^v

Type: 149×83 mm., Roman and italic
110 mm.; with ligatures; 27 lines.

Paper: laid; watermarked, fleur-de-lys,
crown, arms, with letters ‘LVG’; chain
25-26 mm.

Binding: As in vol. 1.

Notes: (1) Numerous leaves printed or
bound out of square. (2) Single rule to
separate text from notes. (3) Capital
initials mark the start of every new
chapter. (4) Versals mark the first word
of every paragraph. (5) With footnotes.
(6) Hebrew and Greek characters.

This copy is a first edition, like the one kept by the Biblioteca de Catalunya. The work became popular and was reedited several times in the early 1800s. In Spain, there are two nineteenth-century editions held by the Universities of Seville (1801) and Complutense de Madrid (1823). Campbell could be the first of our six authors to have had a certain success here.

4.7 Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 1785

His *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, first published in London and Edinburgh in two volumes in 1783, culminate our selection. Like the six previous titles here analysed, it is also the work of a Scottish minister and critic, a compilation of lectures, and published in cooperation by Strahan, Cadell, and Creech. But Blair’s *Lectures* experienced by far the greatest editorial success. The book was used in most colleges and universities, in Britain and in America.

It is true that Blair’s *Lectures* has the characteristics of a textbook. It is an organized compendium of the fundamental ideas of rhetoric and theory of poetry: figurative language, eloquence, the merits of the ancients and the moderns, historical and philosophical writing, the nature, origin and types of poetry, tragedy, comedy. But it is much more than that. It is also a response to eighteenth-century debates around the philosophical problem of beauty and of arts and letters. However, the fact that content was so well organized was decisive for its wide dissemination.

It was published frequently and in many formats. Not only reprints, variant editions, but also abridgements, expanded versions, translations, extended or altered. The copy in Valladolid claims to be a second edition in three volumes. Here follows my description:

[Vol. I] LECTURES | ON | RHETORIC | AND | BELLES LETTRES. | By HUGH BLAIR, D.D. | ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE HIGH CHURCH, AND | PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES | IN THE UNIVERSITY, OF EDINBURGH. | IN THREE VOLUMES. | VOL. I. | THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED. | [*thick-and-thin rules*] | LONDON: | Printed for W. STRAHAN; T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND; | AND W. CREECH, IN EDINBURGH. | MDCCLXXXV.

[Vol. II] LECTURES | ON | RHETORIC | AND | BELLES LETTRES. | By HUGH BLAIR, D.D. | ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE HIGH CHURCH, AND | PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES | IN THE UNIVERSITY, OF EDINBURGH. | IN THREE VOLUMES. | VOL. II. | THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED. | [*thick-and-thin rules*] | LONDON: | Printed for W. STRAHAN; T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND; | AND W. CREECH, IN EDINBURGH. | MDCCLXXXV.

[Vol. III] LECTURES | ON | RHETORIC | AND | BELLES LETTRES. | By HUGH BLAIR, D.D. | ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE HIGH CHURCH, AND | PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES | IN THE UNIVERSITY, OF EDINBURGH. | IN THREE VOLUMES. | VOL. III. | THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED. | [*thick-and-thin rules*] | LONDON: | Printed for W. STRAHAN; T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND; | AND W. CREECH, IN EDINBURGH. | MDCCLXXXV.

Volume I

Collation: 8^o: π1 A⁴ B-2F⁸ 2G⁴ [S4(-A3,A4) signed]; 312 leaves, pp. [i-iii] iv-vi [vii] viii [1] 2-456 [misprinting 265 as '263']

Contents: [A1] title (verso blank); A2 preface: '[*thick-and-thin rules*] | PREFACE.'; A4 contents: '[*thick-and-thin rules*] | CONTENTS | OF THE | FIRST VOLUME. | [*rule*]'; B1 text

RT] changes with each section, or smaller section within lecture

CW] on every page, except when new lecture starts; also for footnotes

PF] 1: B2^v C8^v D8^r E5^r F5^v G8^v H8^r I7^v K8^v L5^r M4^v N7^r Q4^v R7^r S8^v T5^r U4^v X6^r 2B2^v 2D6^r 2E6^v 2F6^r 2G1^v; 4: B7^v C5^v D2^v E6^r F6^v G1^v H2^v I4^v K6^r L8^r M1^v N1^v O5^v P8^r Q6^r R5^r S8^r T1^v U8^r X5^r Y4^v Z7^v 2A3^v 2B7^v 2C8^v 2D7^r 2E6^r 2G3^r; 5: O8^v P8^v Y5^v Z2^v

Type: preface 144×79 mm. text 150×79 mm., Roman and italic 108 mm.; with ligatures; preface: 27 lines, text: 31 lines

Paper: laid; unwatermarked; chain 25-26 mm.

Binding: late-eighteenth century, Spanish; brown speckled calf; gilt-tooled flat spine with a red and an ochre label; Spanish marbled pastedowns and flyleaves; solid red edges; pink silk marker ribbon; 215×132×43 mm.

Notes: (1) Frontispiece portrait of Hugh Blair, engraved by James Caldwell (1739-1822) after an oil painting of 1775 by David Martin (1737-1797). The caption reads ‘*Published according to Act of Parliament, May 1. 1783, | for W. Strachan & T. Cadell, N. 144, in the*

Strand’. (2) Thick-and-thin rules before and a swelled rule after the heading ‘LECTURE [*Roman numeral*].’ preceding each lecture title. (3) The entrance of main sections (i.e. contents, introduction and lectures) marked with an initial and versals; that of each paragraph, with versals. (4) On the outer margin of every page, the apostil ‘LECT. | [*Roman numeral*]’ underlined by a horizontal closing curly brace. (5) Printed with footnotes. (6) Greek characters

Volume II

Collation: 8°: [A]² B-2H⁸ [\$4 signed]; 242 leaves, pp. [4] [1] 2-446 [1] 448-480

Contents: [A1] title (verso blank); [A2] ‘[*thick-and-thin rule*] | CONTENTS | OF THE | SECOND VOLUME. | [*rule*]’; B1 text

RT] changes with every section, or smaller section within lecture

CW] on every page, except when new lecture starts; also for footnotes; Y1^v are] The 2C6^r ‘wished] “wished; 2D5^r feebling.] feebling

PF] 1: B7^r C5^v D7^r E7^v F2^v H5^v I1^v M2^v N1^v P7^r R6^v T7^r; 2: K5^v M6^r O5^v Q8^v R7^v Y8^v 2A1^v 2B7^v 2C8^r 2F8^v; 3: G8^r I5^r L1^v 2E7^r 2G5^v; 4: B1^r C6^v D6^r E7^r F7^v O7^r P5^v Q8^r S8^v U7^r Z2^v 2A2^v 2B6^v 2C8^v 2D5^r 2E1^v 2H5^v; 5: G5^r H7^r T1^v X1^v Z7^v; 6: U3^v; 7: Y8^r 2D1^v 2H5^r

Type: 151×79 mm., Roman and italic 93 mm.; with ligatures; 31 lines

Paper: laid; unwatermarked; chain 25-26 mm.

Binding: As in vol. 1.

Notes: (1) As in volume I, thick-and-thin rules before and a swelled rule after the heading ‘LECTURE [*Roman numeral*].’ preceding each lecture. (2) The entrance of main sections (i.e. contents, introduction and lectures) marked with an initial and versals; that of each paragraph, with versals. (3) On the outer margin of every page, the apostil ‘LECT. | [*Roman numeral*]’ underlined by a horizontal closing curly brace. (4) Printed with footnotes. (5) Greek characters

Volume III

Collation: 8°: [A]² B-2C⁸ 2D⁶ [\$4 signed]; 207 leaves, pp. [4] [1] 2-384 [26]

Contents: [A1] title (verso blank); [A2] ‘[*thick-and-thin rules*] | CONTENTS | OF THE | THIRD VOLUME. | [*rule*]’; B1 text; 2C1 index ‘[*thick-and-thin rules*] | INDEX TO | THE THREE | VOLUMES.’

RT] changes with every section, or smaller section within lecture

CW] on every page, except when new lecture starts, also in footnotes

PF] 1: B3^v C5^v D7^r E5^v F3^v G4^v K3^v O5^r X6^r; 2: I2^v O3^v Q8^r 2C7^r 2D1^v; 3: X6^v 2B7^r; 4: B2^v C8^v D1^v E5^r F2^v G8^v H2^v K7^r L8^v P7^v Q4^v R7^r T7^v U7^r Z7^r; 5: I1^v N8^r S6^v Y8^v 2A7^r; 6: H7^v L3^v

M8^v N6^v S7^v Y6^f Z8^f 2A6^v 2B5^v 2C7^v
2D4^v; 7: M8^f T6^v U6^f

Type: 154×48 mm., Roman and italic
99 mm.; with ligatures; 31 lines.

Paper: laid; unwatermarked; chain 25-
26 mm.

Binding: As in vol. 1.

Notes: (1) II catchword 'LEC' to open
new lecture on next page. (2) As in
volumes I and II, thick-and-thin rules
before and a swelled rule after the

heading 'LECTURE [Roman
numeral].' preceding each lecture. (3)
The entrance of main sections (i.e.
contents, introduction, lectures and
index) marked with an initial and
versals; that of each paragraph, with
versals. (4) On the outer margin of
every page, the apostil 'LECT. |
[Roman numeral]' underlined by a
horizontal closing curly brace. (5)
Printed with footnotes. (6) Greek
characters. (7) A manuscript note in
pencil on pp. 369-370, in the bottom
margins, in nineteenth-century hand.

Apart from this Valladolid copy, there are several English editions and Spanish translations kept in Spanish libraries. The copy held by the University of Salamanca is a 1783 two-volume edition, that by the University of Seville, a 1796-98 three-volume edition. José Luis de Munarriz's as *Lecciones sobre la Retórica v las Bellas Letras* can be found in any of its three editions (1798-1801, 1804, 1816-1817) next to the abridged version of the text, *Compendio de las lecciones sobre la Retórica v Bellas Letras*, published not only Madrid, but also in Girona and Seville, between 1815 and 1868. Alfredo Adolfo Camus's revision of Munarriz's translation, *Curso elemental de Retórica y Poética*, also went through three different editions in 1847, 1854, and 1865 and can be found in many of our libraries. So we can assume that Blair was widely read in Spain.

4.8 *Summing up*

The collection of early British books on Rhetoric that I have analysed contains some of the most representative texts on Rhetoric printed in Britain in the eighteenth century and by some of the major printers of the last quarter of the century.

The copies I have described follow very similar printing practices, with some difference in the quality of the type set.

They are all printed in 8° format. It was very commonly used in the eighteenth century, very appropriate for private study and also not expensive. In all

of them the first four leaves of each gathering are signed. Webb and Gibbon are printed in around ten gatherings, while Home, Gerard, Campbell and Blair are printed in between thirty-three and one hundred gatherings. This may explain why Gerard or Campbell require errata leaves.

Only *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* has a half-title. However, composition is very similar in all eleven volumes. Running titles are present in all of them, except in Gibbon's *Essay*, and the standard dimension of type-page is around 110x70 for the briefer treatises by Dosley and Becket, and 150x80 for those by Strahan and others. The numbers of lines is around twenty in the case of the former and thirty in the case of the latter.

Footnotes are present in the majority of cases, and apostils, too. Gibbon uses apostiles instead of section headings.

Catchwords are present in all and show very few mistakes. There are no press figures in Home's *Elements of Criticism*, but all the other books have press-figures. They indicate that Dodsley and Becket may have used two or three presses to publish the shorter publications, while Strahan, Cadell, and Creech may have used five or more, in their more voluminous works.

Type is very similar in all of them. The 20-line measurement is around 110 mm. and they all use Roman and italic fonts. Some use Greek characters.

The paper does not differ much from one to another. All of them printed on laid paper. Almost half of them are watermarked, while the other half is not. When it is watermarked the picture varies (crown, arms, post horn, bell, fleur-de-lys), but the letters 'LVG' persist. This indicates high quality.

In sum, the quality of the printing does not vary much and is representative of the time and the type of publication. However, there are three titles that show some peculiarities.

1. In general, the layout of page and type is very similar, except for Gibbon's *Essay on the Study of Literature* and its dedication in particular, where the type is much larger, there is a running title while the rest of the book does not have one. It

may be that the dedication comes from the French edition, where it was also published in English and with the same type set.

2. The case of Henry Home's *Elements of Criticism* shows another peculiar thing. The spaces between the chain-lines in the title page, dedication, preface, and contents page are very different and those leaves are mounted on guards. This may be because they have been added to a reprint of the work as if it were a new edition. Besides, volume one seems to be incomplete and a final gathering missing.

3. George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* shows three gatherings marked with an asterisk, as an indication to the binder that they must be replaced with the correct ones. But they never were replaced.

4. Perhaps Blair's *Lectures* are the best printed volumes. Not only because Hugh Blair's *Lectures* has a frontispiece portrait of Hugh Blair, engraved by James Caldwell, but because of the regularity of all features and complexity of type set without errata: running titles, rules, initials, versals, apostils, footnotes, Greek characters.

The binding of the books is almost the same for all of them, and it was probably made here, in Spain, because the pastedowns and flyleaves are of Spanish marbled decorated paper. The pasteboards are covered with calf, speckled or marbled and the spines are decorated with gold and labels. The binder seems to be the same one for all volumes.

The copies are all in a very good condition. In fact, none of the books have any marks that can be interpreted as marks of use. One exception is the third volume of Hugh Blair's work. Somebody reading Lecture 47 wrote the following note in pencil on pages 369-370: 'It is a very injustice that of juging [*sic*] of the Spanish theatre by the account of M. Perron de Castera and not by the original study of it. And another injustice is not to confess the Spanish theatre the true model of all the dramarian[?] art.' But this gives life to the work.

Conclusion

Bibliographical studies are of principal importance if we want to keep learning about the traditions, techniques and processes of the early printing presses, but also if we want to trace the circulation of ideas in the past. Given all the books printed in the British Isles before 1800 that can be found, not only in the Historical Library of Santa Cruz, in Valladolid, but in Spanish libraries in general, it may be interesting for Spanish students of English to dedicate more time to study and learn from them, and from the analytical, historical, or textual perspectives of bibliography.

The overview I have offered of the Historical Library of Santa Cruz in Valladolid is somehow complex and tied to the history of the College of Santa Cruz and of the University of Valladolid, but it is essential to understand the bibliographical analysis I have made of the early British books on Rhetoric and Criticism that it holds.

In the eighteenth century, Spanish universities were in a general state of decay. While European universities were teaching Locke and Newton, they were teaching only Logic, Physics and Metaphysics, Theology and Canons. The *colegios mayores* controlled the professorships and their suppression and that of the Society of Jesus proved ineffective to carry out the modernization of studies that Carlos III had planned.

Such was the state of backwardness and resistance to reform that our University of Valladolid lived in the 1700s. Rhetoric had been successfully taught by the Jesuits since 1581 but when they were expelled the chair was left vacant. A certain impulse of reform succeeded when it was reestablished in 1771, but obviously its content continued to be taught around Latin language and literature.

In this context, what use was made, then, of the books of English Rhetoric and Literature among the holdings of the historical library of Santa Cruz? They were two modern. They not only represented modern thought on Rhetoric and the arts in eighteenth-century Britain but also had become very influential among French and German men of letters.

In Spain, no one has ever noted their existence. I decided to make for the first time an analysis of their physical features and a simple bibliographical description of each one of them. I hoped that it may be used by bibliographers, book historians or English academics interested in tracing the transmission and circulation of the work of eighteenth-century theorists of literature in our country.

The seven titles are Daniel Webb's *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* (1762) and *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (1769), Edward Gibbon's *Essay on the Study of Literature* (1764), Henry Home's *Elements of Criticism* (1769), Alexander Gerard's *Essay on Genius* (1774), George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776) and Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1785).

After having analysed these books and the history of the historical library of the university where they came to be kept, it may be safe to conclude the following.

From a bibliographical point of view, the Webb, Gibbon and Gerard copies in Valladolid are interesting because they are first editions and, except for Gerard, the only copies to be found in Spanish libraries. The copy of Gibbon's *Essay* appears to include the same type set of the Dedication in English that its printers had prepared for the earlier French edition. That of Henry Home's fourth edition of *Elements of Criticism* may be a re-issue with a new title page and that of George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* presents three signatures marked with an asterisk as an indication to the binder that they should be replaced for the corrected gatherings, but they were never replaced. The three volumes of Blair's *Lectures* are probably the most perfect. These conclusions are obviously provisional, because I have not had the opportunity to look at other copies.

As for their reception and circulation, it may be safe to conclude that although one may think in the beginning that these books were there in order to be read and studied by the residents of the College of Santa Cruz or the students at the University, these books may not have been read at all. Their studies were far too traditional, their knowledge of English was extremely uncommon and there are not any reader's marks in them, with the sole exception of volume of Blair's *Lectures*. In fact, some of them seemed that had not been opened before. However, their presence

indicates something else. Someone in the administration of the college of Santa Cruz or the University, some *ilustrado*, must have been very awake, to buy not only these seven titles but the more than one hundred titles of English Literature now in the historical library of our university. Perhaps this indicates that eighteenth-century Valladolid was more active in the book trade with England than has been thought to this day.

These books have been in this library for almost two centuries now, and even though they have always been books of unimaginable importance and quite unique, they had never received the attention and recognition they have deserved. I hope that with this dissertation, I have brought some light to these copies long forgotten.

Appendix: Title Pages and Distinctive Features

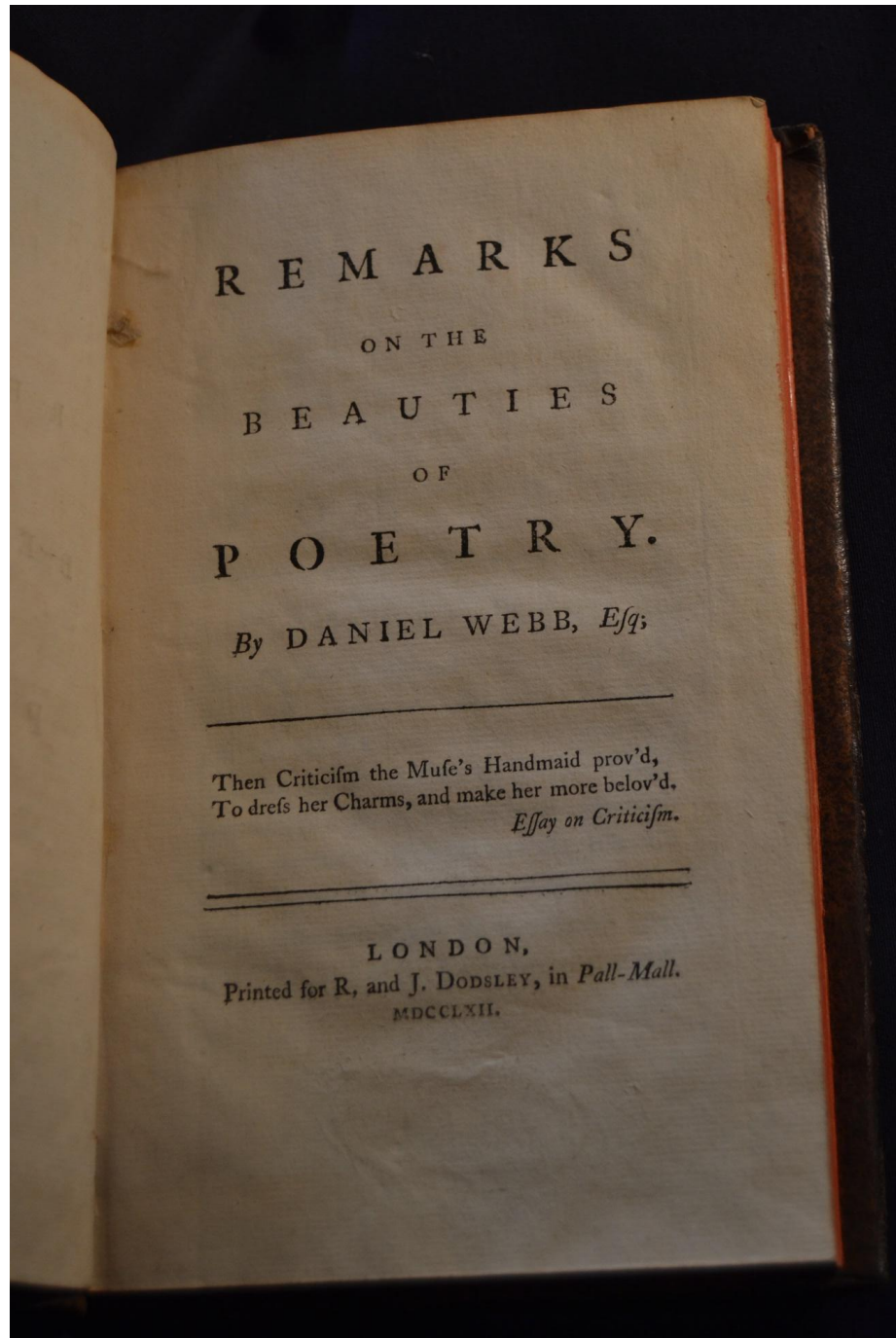


Figure 1: Title page in Daniel Webb's *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry*, 1762. Universidad de Valladolid, Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz. U/Bc BU 04417. Note the lines ruled by hand in black ink, in contrast to the title page of Figure 7, which does not have any ruled lines.

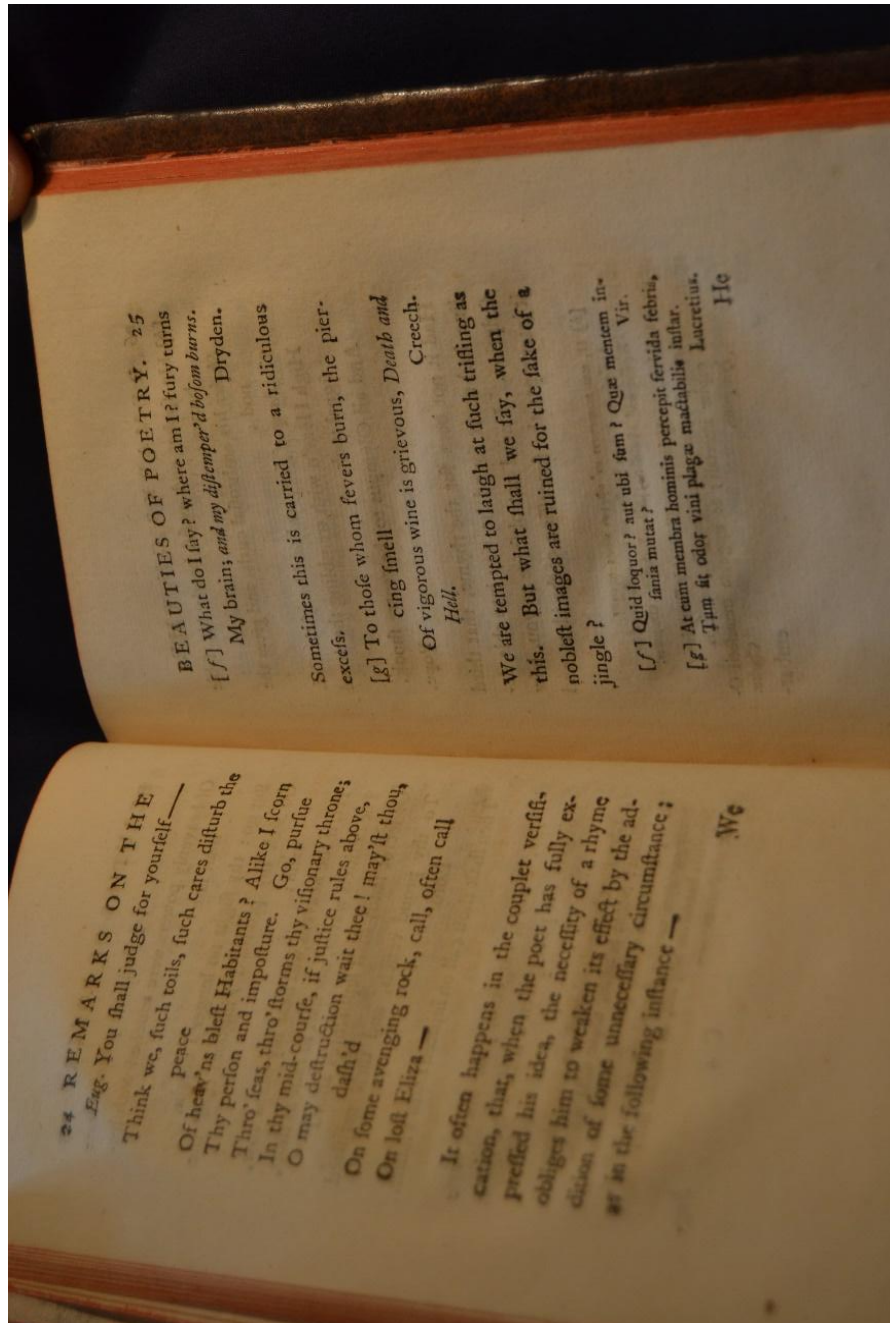


Figure 2: Wrong catchword in Webb's *The Beauties of Poetry*, 1762. UVA BHSC. U/Bc BU 04417. The catchword *We* on p. 24 is wrong.

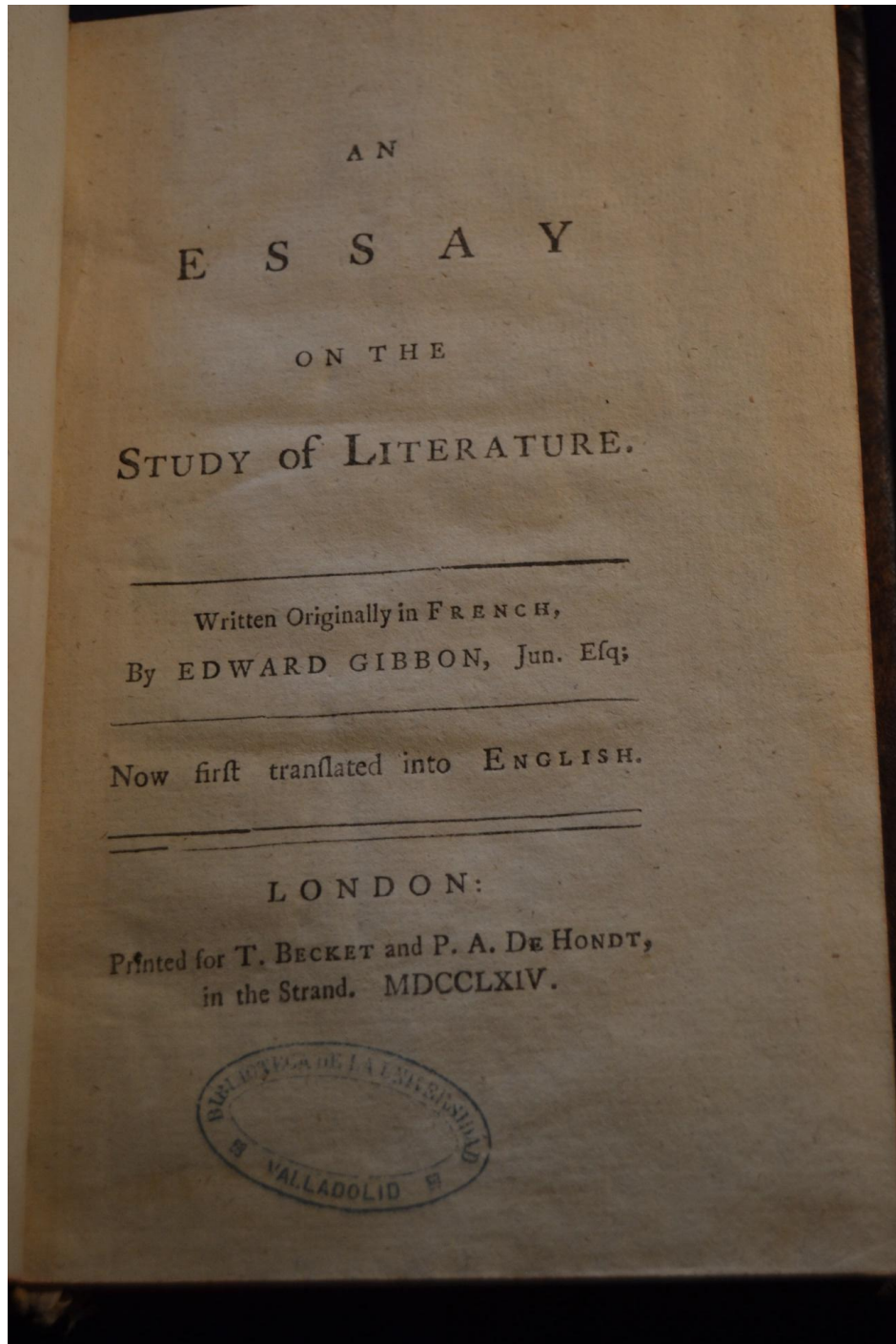


Figure 3: Title page in Edward Gibbons's *Essay on the Study of Literature*, 1764. UVA BHSC. U/Bc10645. Lines ruled by hand in black ink.

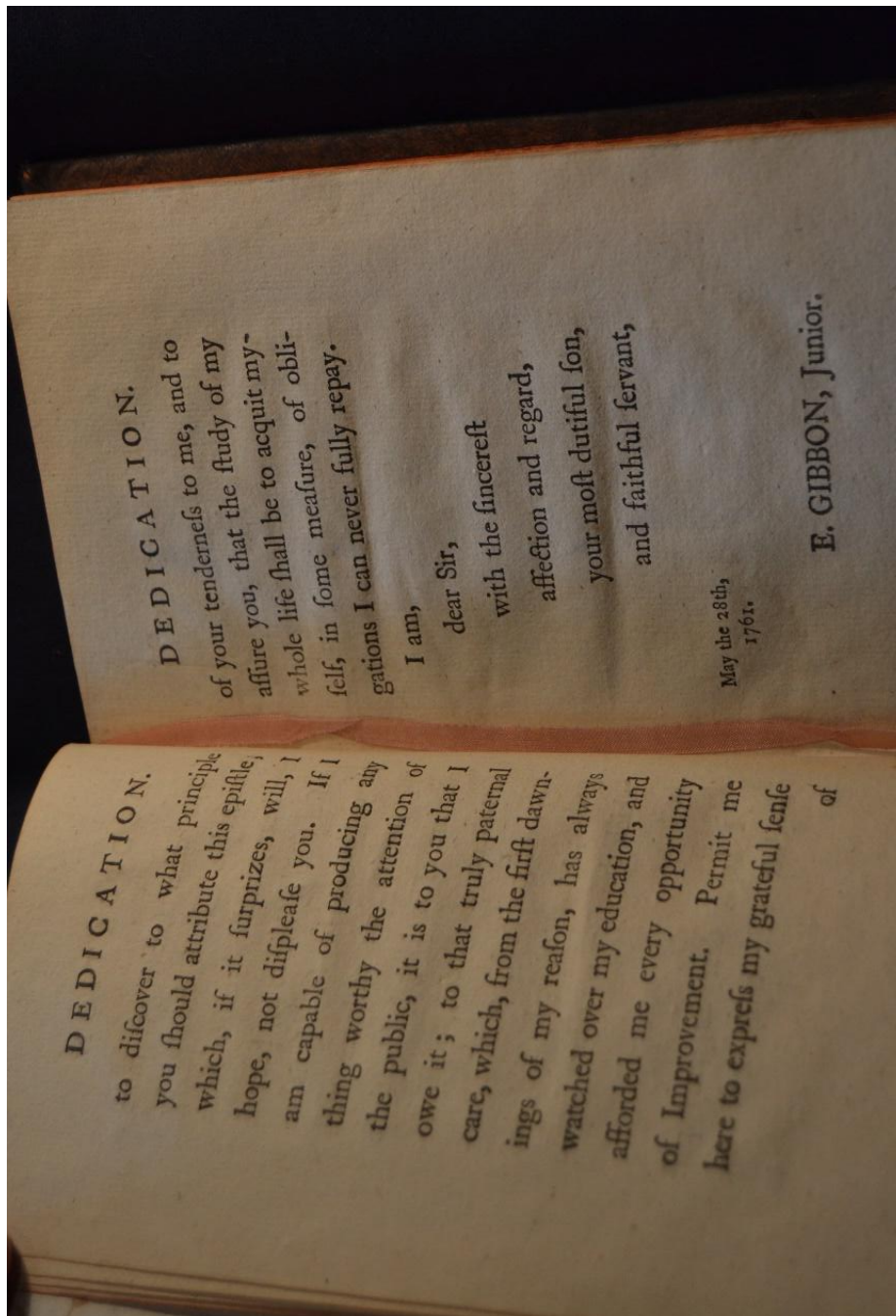


Figure 4: Dedication pages in Gibbons's *The Study of Literature*, 1764. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 10645. Dated 1761, the dedication shows the same type set as in the French edition.

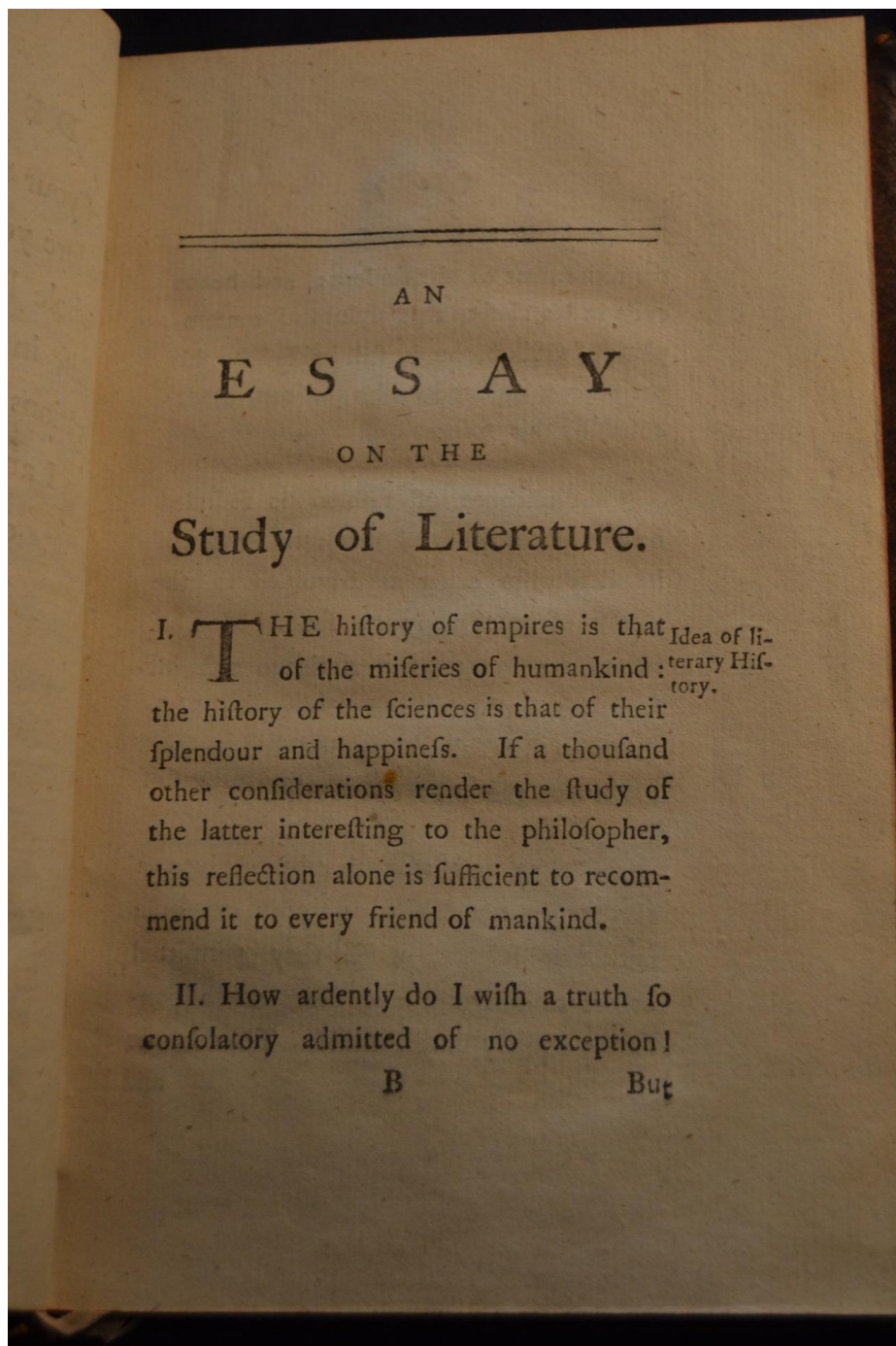


Figure 5: Page [1] in Gibbons's *The Study of Literature*, 1764. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 10645. Note the presence of capital letter and versals to start section, marginal apostil, signature and catchword. The double rule in black ink over the title has been added by hand.



Figure 6: Spanish marbled pastedown and flyleaf in Daniel Webb's *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music*, 1769. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 10533. Note also the solid red edges.

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN
POETRY and MUSIC.

By the AUTHOR of
AN ENQUIRY into the BEAUTIES of
PAINTING.

Concordant carmina nervis.

Ovid. Metam.

Carminis suavitas, numerique, non solum ad aurium
delectationem compositi, sed ad res ipsas exprimen-
das, omnemque animi motum concitandum efficaces.

Lowth de Sacr. Poet. Hebræorum.

L O N D O N,
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall.

M DCC LXIX.



Figure 7: Title page in Webb's *Poetry and Music*, 1769. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 10533. It indicates no author, but the dedication is signed.

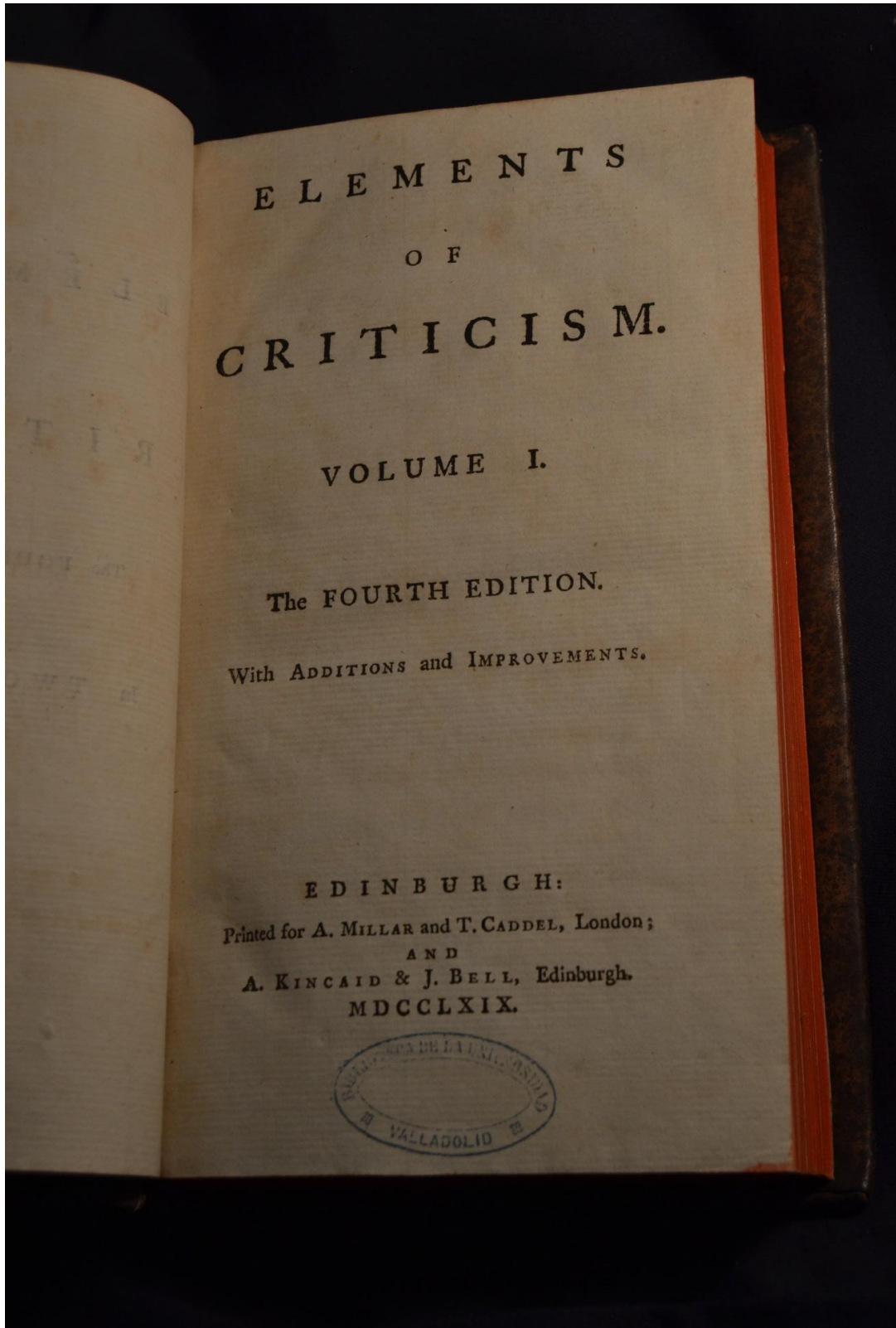


Figure 8: Title page in volume 1 of Henry Home's *Elements of Criticism*, 4th ed., 1769. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 07132. It indicates no author, but the dedication does.

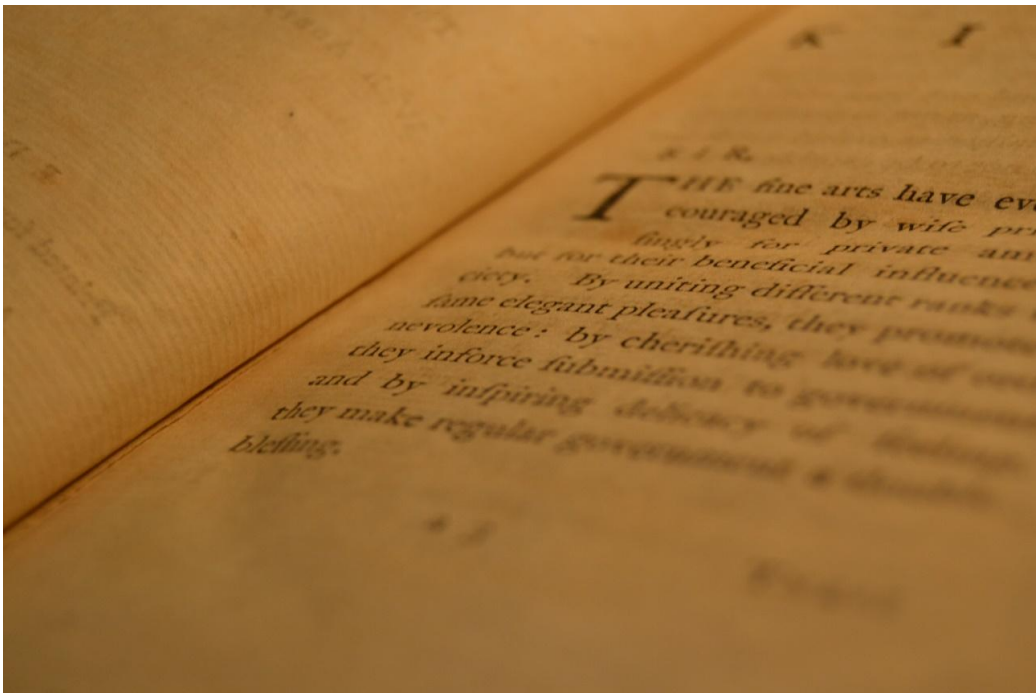
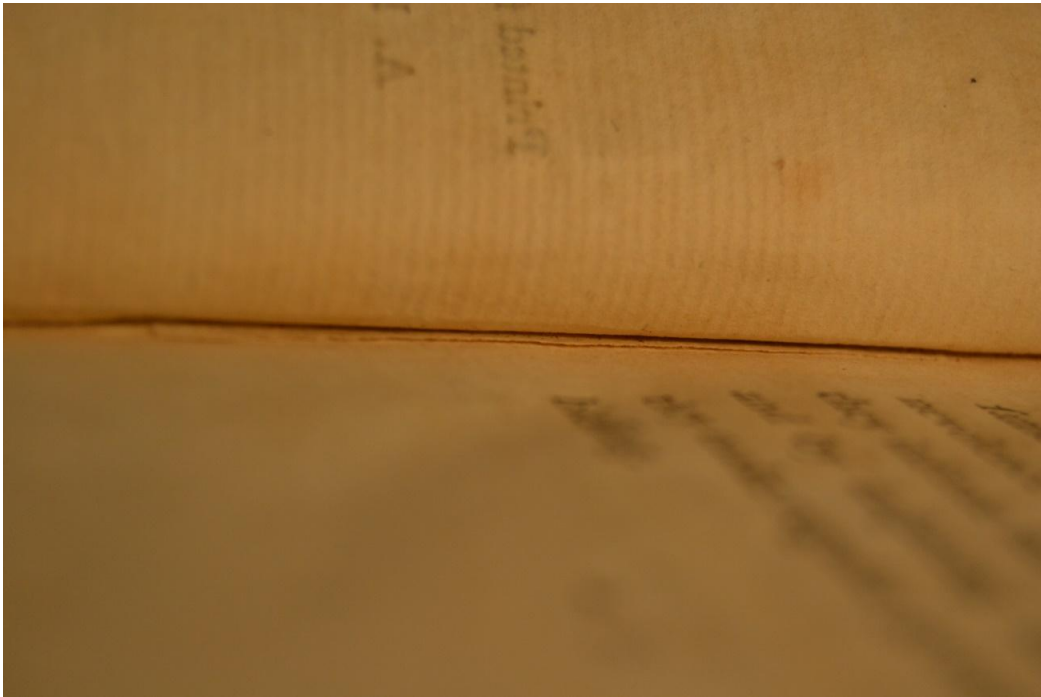


Figure 9: Paper guards in the preliminaries of volume 1 of Home's *Elements of Criticism*, 4th ed., 1769. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 07132.

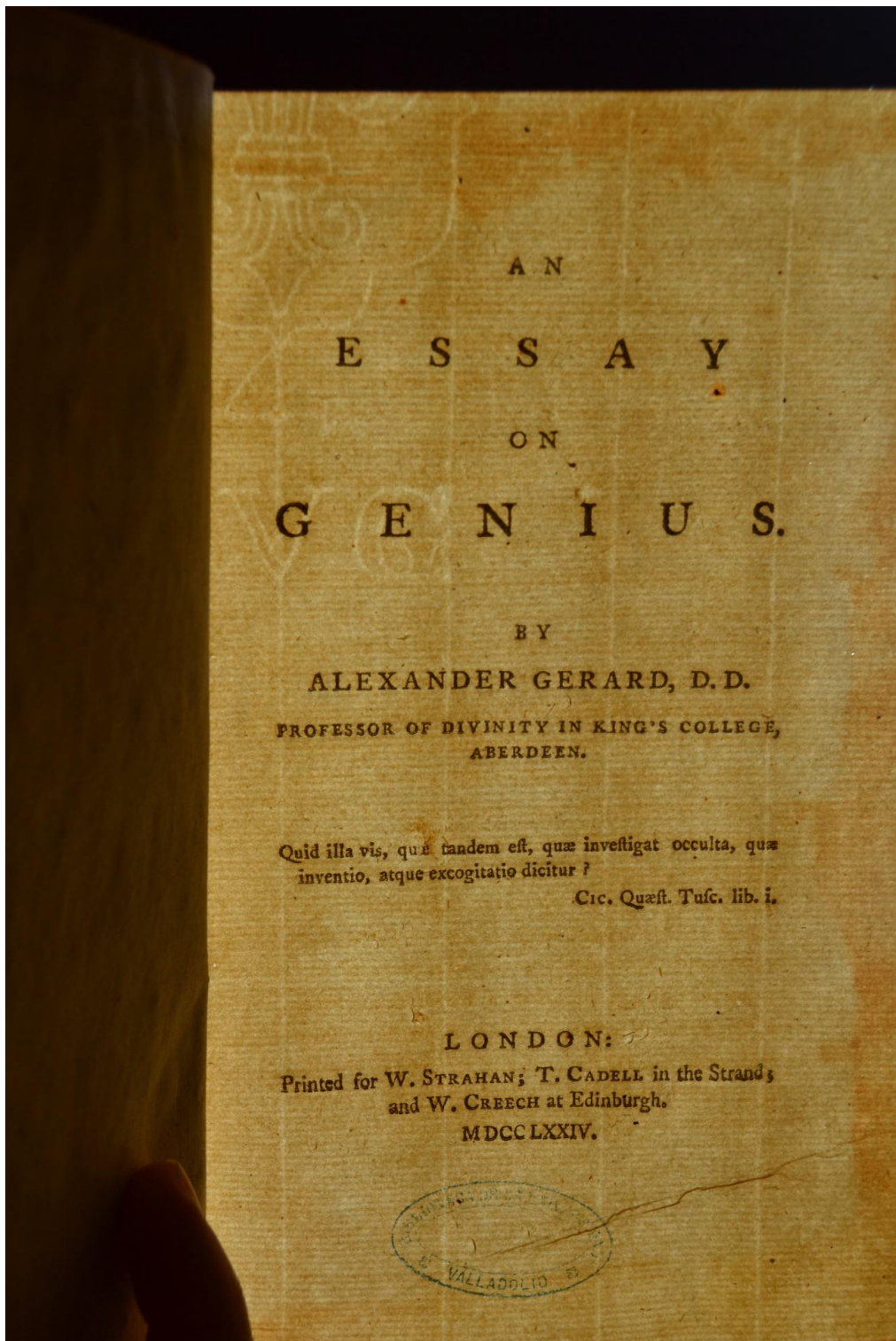
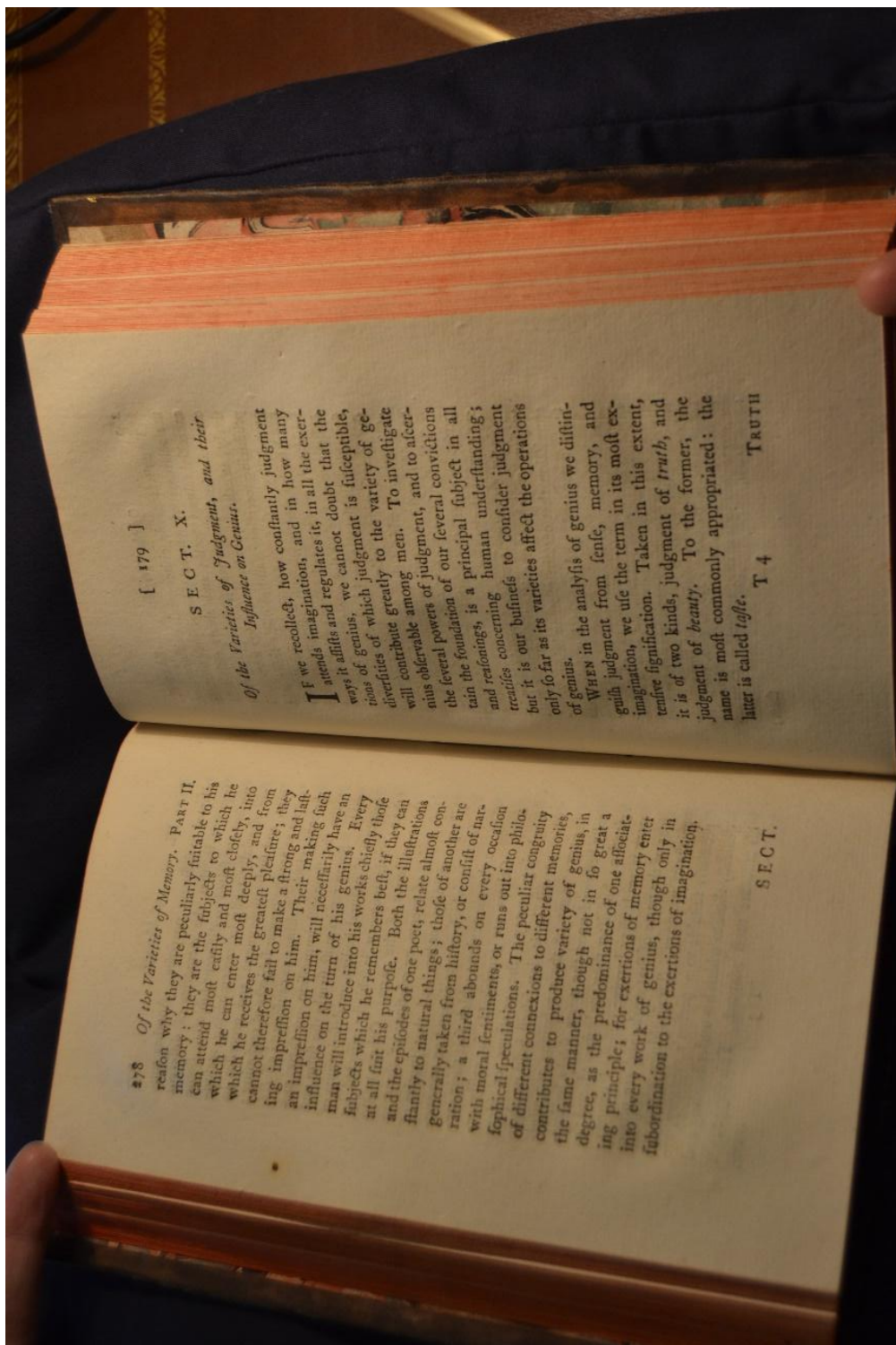


Figure 10: Watermark, chainlines and wirelines in title page of Alexander Gerard's *Essay on Genius*, 1774. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 07103.



278 *Of the Varieties of Memory.* PART II.
 reason why they are peculiarly suitable to his memory: they are the subjects to which he can attend most easily and most closely, into which he can enter most deeply, and from which he receives the greatest pleasure; they cannot therefore fail to make a strong and lasting impression on him. Their making such influence on the turn of his genius, and last man will introduce into his works chiefly those subjects which he remembers best, if they can at all suit his purpose. Both the illustrations and the episodes of one poet, relate almost constantly to natural things; those of another generally taken from history, or consist of har- with moral sentiments, or runs out into philo- sophical speculations. The peculiar congruity of different connexions to different memories contributes to produce variety of genius, in the same manner, though not in so great a degree, as the predominance of one associat- ing principle; for exertions of memory enter into every work of genius, though only in subordination to the exertions of imagination.

S E C T.

[179]

S E C T. X.
Of the Varieties of Judgment, and their Influence on Genius.

If we recollect, how constantly judgment attends imagination, and in how many ways it assists and regulates it, in all the exertions of genius, we cannot doubt that the diversities of which judgment is susceptible, will contribute greatly to the variety of genius observable among men. To investigate the several powers of judgment, and to ascertain the foundation of our several convictions and reasonings, is a principal subject in all treatises concerning human understanding; but it is our business to consider judgment only so far as its varieties affect the operations of genius.

When in the analysis of genius we distinguish judgment from sense, memory, and imagination, we use the term in its most extensive signification. Taken in this extent, it is of two kinds, judgment of *truth*, and judgment of *beauty*. To the former, the name is most commonly appropriated: the latter is called *taste*.

T R U T H

T 4

Figure 11: Misprinted page number in Gerard's *On Genius*, 1774. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 07103. '179' for 279.



Figure 12: Front cover of volume 1 of George Campbell's *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 1776. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 08718. Marbled calf.

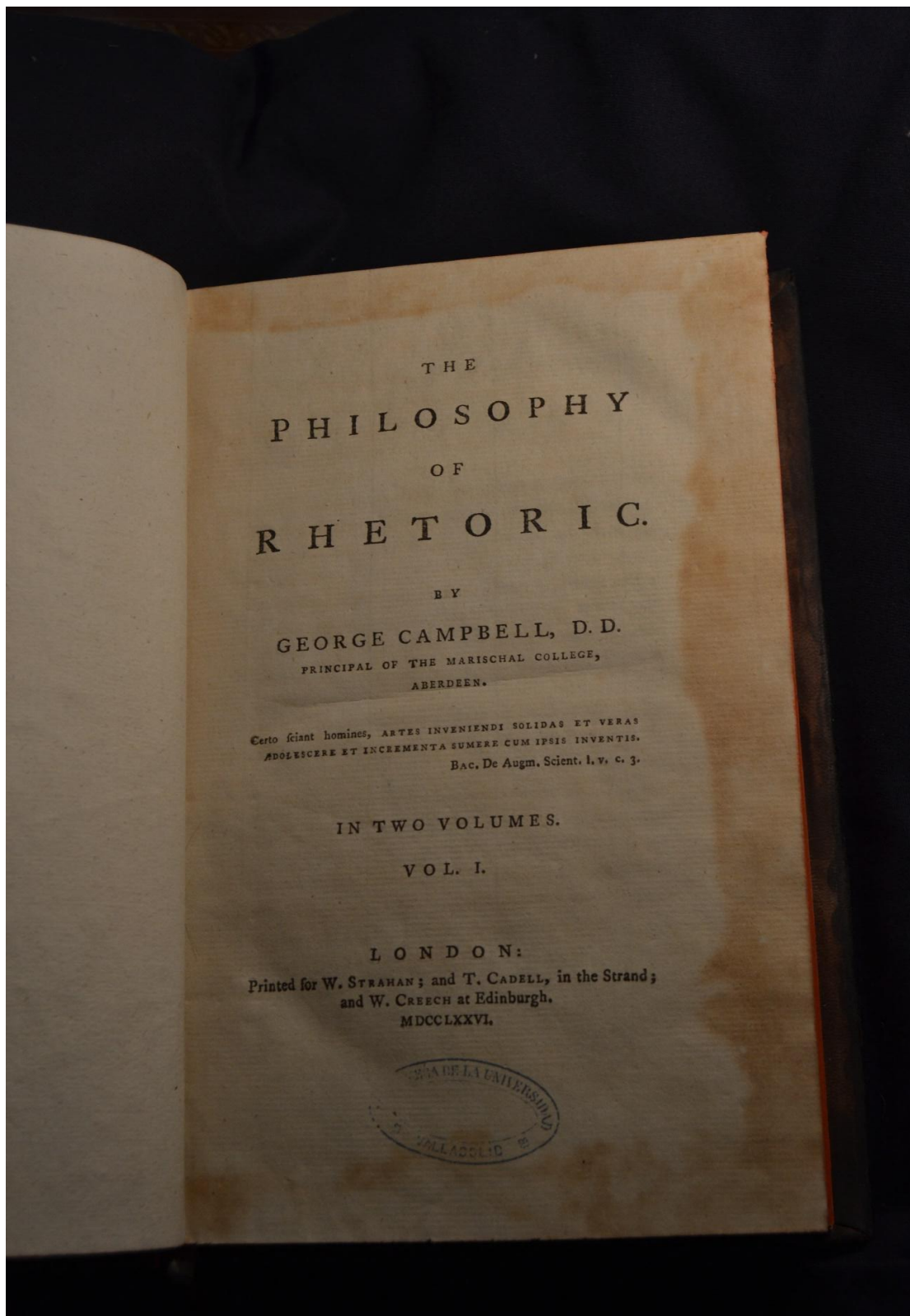
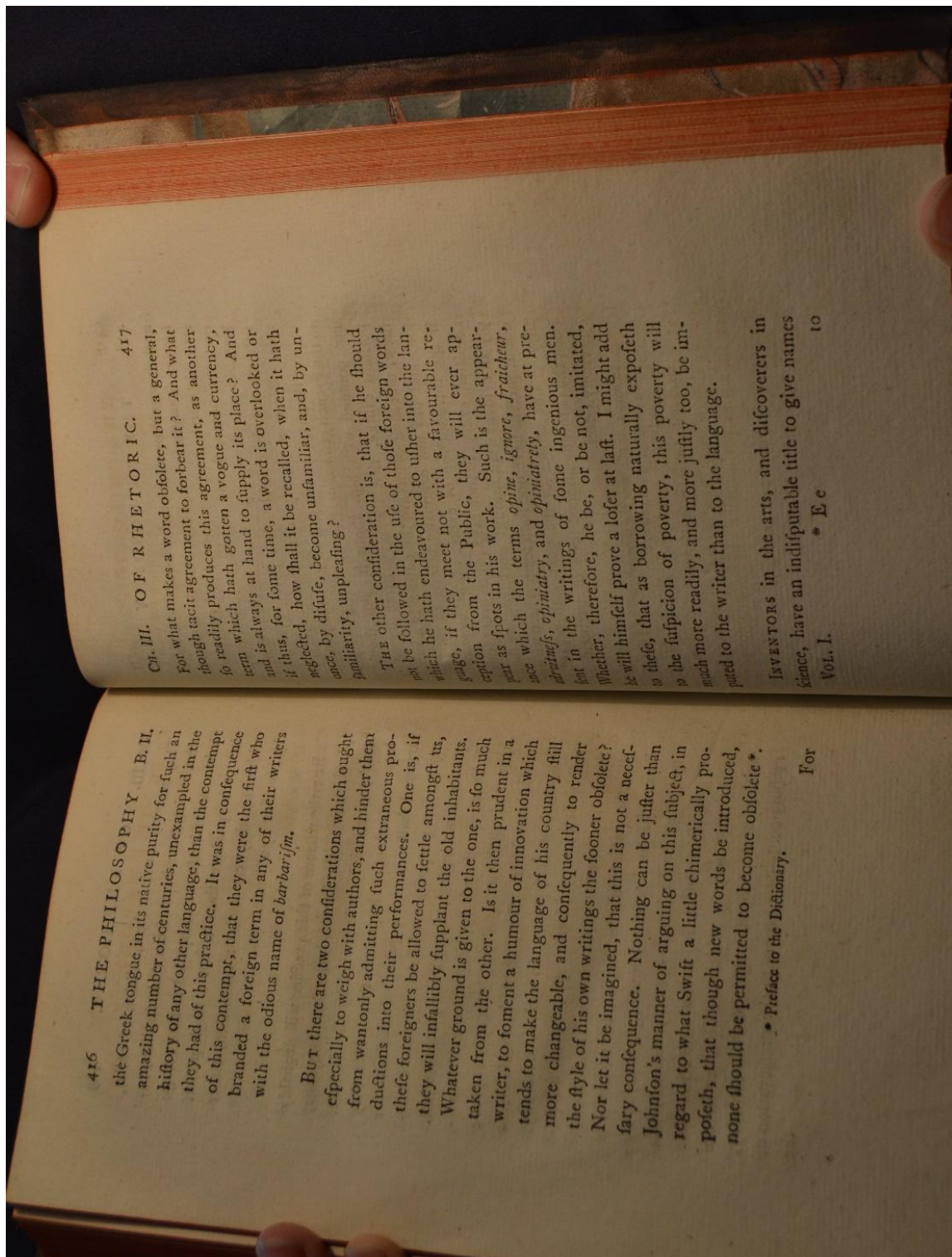


Figure 13: Title page in volume 1 of Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 1776. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 08718. Soiled from the glue on the edges of the front cover.



416 THE PHILOSOPHY B. II.
 the Greek tongue in its native purity for such an
 amazing number of centuries, unexampled in the
 history of any other language, than the contempt
 they had of this practice. It was in consequence
 of this contempt, that they were the first who
 branded a foreign term in any of their writers
 with the odious name of *barbarism*.

But there are two considerations which ought
 especially to weigh with authors, and hinder them
 from wantonly admitting such extraneous pro-
 ductions into their performances. One is, if
 these foreigners be allowed to settle amongst us,
 they will infallibly supplant the old inhabitants.
 Whatever ground is given to the one, is so much
 taken from the other. Is it then prudent in a
 writer, to foment a humour of innovation which
 tends to make the language of his country still
 more changeable, and consequently to render
 the style of his own writings the sooner obsolete?
 Nor let it be imagined, that this is not a neces-
 sary consequence. Nothing can be juster than
 Johnson's manner of arguing on this subject, in
 regard to what Swift a little chimerically pro-
 poses, that though new words be introduced,
 none should be permitted to become obsolete*.

* Preface to the Dictionary.

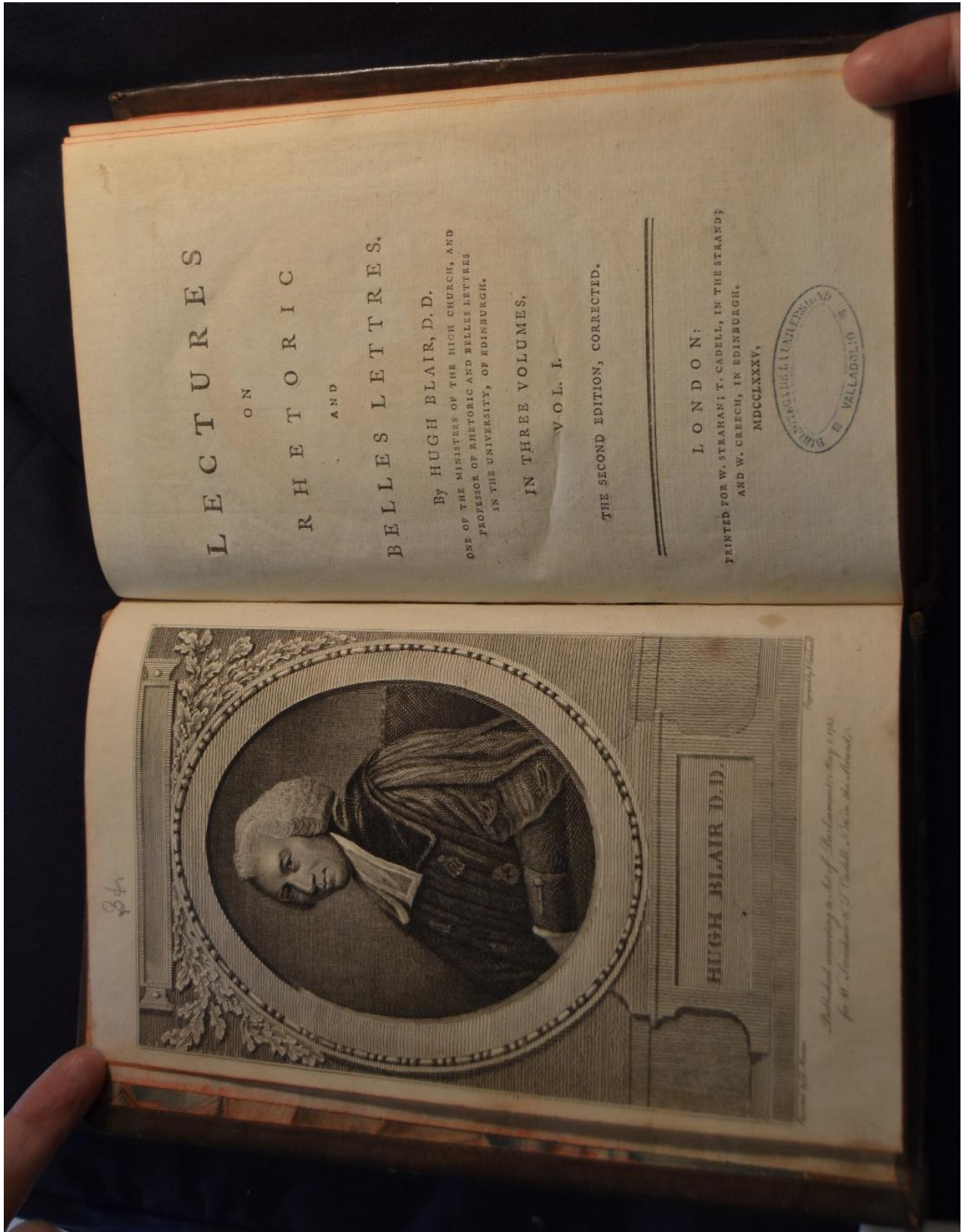
For

417 OF RHETORIC.
 for what makes a word obsolete, but a general,
 though tacit agreement to forbear it? And what
 so readily produces this agreement, as another
 term which hath gotten a vogue and currency,
 and is always at hand to supply its place? And
 if thus, for some time, a word is overlooked or
 neglected, how shall it be recalled, when it hath
 once, by disuse, become unfamiliar, and, by un-
 familiarity, unpleasing?

The other consideration is, that if he should
 be followed in the use of those foreign words
 which he hath endeavoured to usher into the lan-
 guage, if they meet not with a favourable re-
 ception from the Public, they will ever ap-
 pear as spots in his work. Such is the appear-
 ance which the terms *opine*, *ignore*, *fratcheur*,
advizifs, *opiniatry*, and *opiniatry*, have at pre-
 sent in the writings of some ingenious men.
 Whether, therefore, he be, or be not, imitated,
 he will himself prove a loser at last. I might add
 to these, that as borrowing naturally exposeth
 the suspicion of poverty, this poverty will
 much more readily, and more justly too, be im-
 puted to the writer than to the language.

INVENTORS in the arts, and discoverers in
 science, have an indisputable title to give names
 to
 * E c

Figure 14: Signature 2E in volume 1 of Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 1776. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 08718. Marked with an asterisk. An instruction to the binder to replace it.



LECTURES
ON
RHETORIC
AND
BELLES LETTRES.

By HUGH BLAIR, D.D.
ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE HIGH CHURCH, AND
PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES
IN THE UNIVERSITY, OF EDINBURGH.

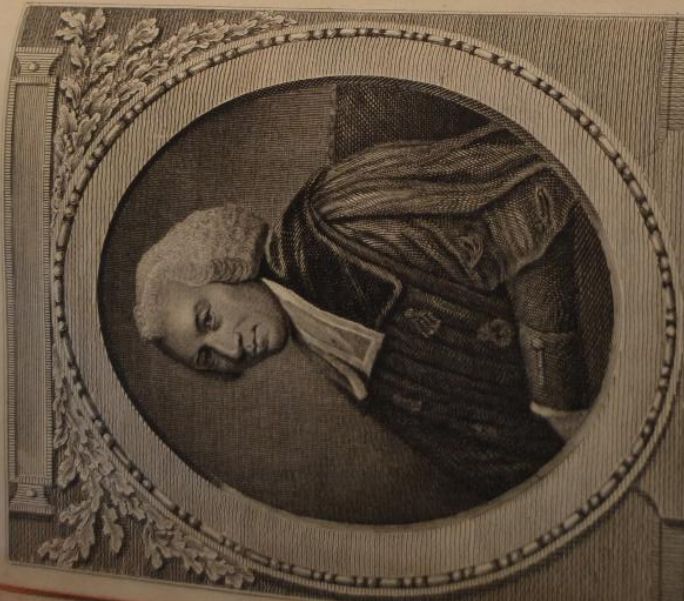
IN THREE VOLUMES,
VOL. I.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN; T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND;
AND W. CREECH, IN EDINBURGH.
MDCCLXXXV.



Bh



HUGH BLAIR D.D.

Engraved by G. Kneller
Published according to the Act of Parliament, May 1784.
for W. Strahan & T. Cadell, in the Strand.

Figure 15: Title Page and frontispiece portrait in volume 1 of Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 2nd ed., 1785. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 08715.

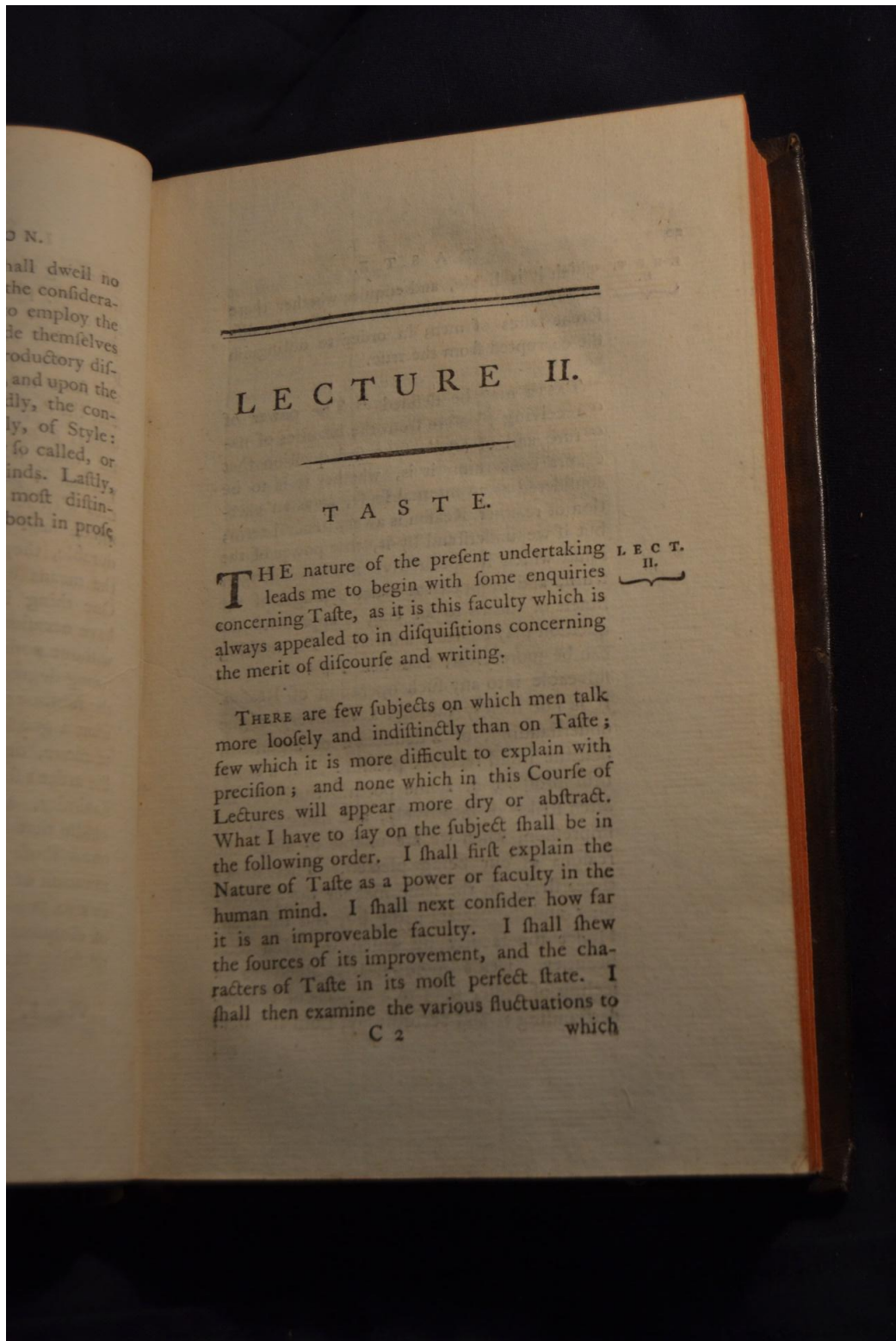
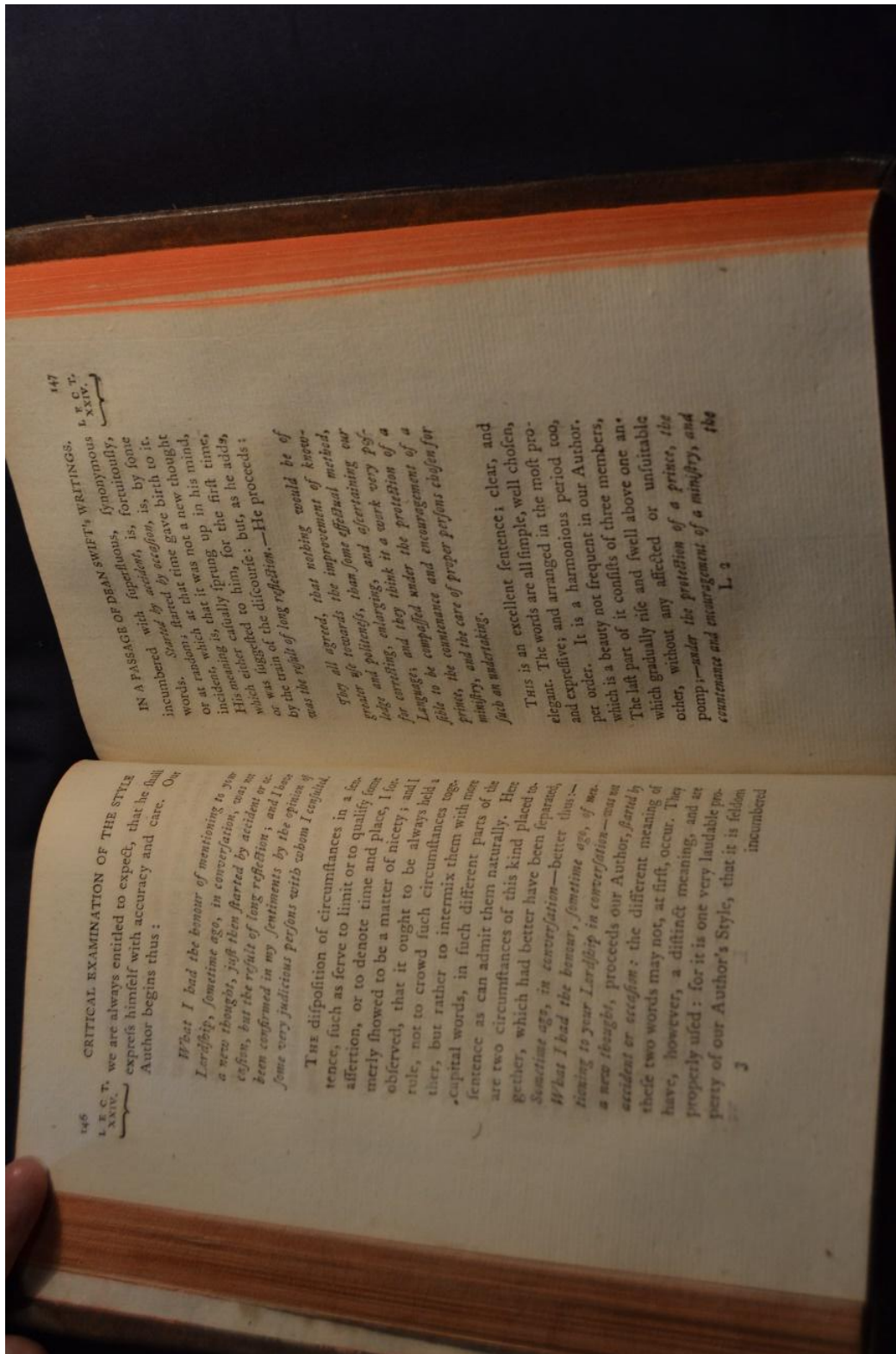


Figure 16: Page in volume 1 of Blair's *Lectures*, 2nd ed., 1785. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 08715. Heading between rules (thick-and-thin and swelled) above lecture title. Entrance marked with initial and versals. The apostil underlined by a horizontal closing curly brace.



146
L. E. C. T.
XXXV.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE STYLE

we are always entitled to expect, that he shall express himself with accuracy and care. Our Author begins thus:

What I had the honour of mentioning to you last night, sometime ago, in conversation, was no accident, but the result of long reflection; and I have been confirmed in my sentiments by the opinion of some very judicious persons with whom I engaged.

THE disposition of circumstances in a discourse, such as serve to limit or to qualify some assertion, or to denote time and place, I formerly showed to be a matter of nicety, and I observed, that it ought to be always held in rule, not to crowd such circumstances together, but rather to intermix them with more capital words, in such different parts of the sentence as can admit them naturally. Hence are two circumstances of this kind placed together, which had better have been separated. *Sometime ago, in conversation*—better thus:—*Having to year last night, sometime ago, of me.* *a new thought, proceeds our Author, said by accident or occasion*: the different meaning of these two words may not, at first, occur. They have, however, a distinct meaning, and are properly used: for it is one very laudable property of our Author's Style, that it is seldom incumbered

147
L. E. C. T.
XXXV.

IN A PASSAGE OF DEAN SWIFT'S WRITINGS. L. E. C. T. XXXV.

IN A PASSAGE OF DEAN SWIFT'S WRITINGS, synonymous with *superfluous*, *fortuitously*, *incumbered with superfluous*, is, by some words. *Started by accident*, is, by some or at random: that time gave birth to it, incidents, which sprung up in his mind, His mention casually sprung up in his mind, which either called to him, for the first time, or was suggested to him: but, as he adds, by the train of long reflection.—He proceeds:—*was the result of long reflection.*

They all agreed, that nothing would be of greater use towards the improvement of our language and politeness, than some effectual method for correcting, enlarging, and ascertaining our Language, and they think it a work very fit to be attempted under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a prince, and the care of proper persons chosen for such an undertaking.

This is an excellent sentence; clear, and elegant. The words are all simple, well chosen, and expressive; and arranged in the most proper order. It is a harmonious period too, which is a beauty not frequent in our Author. The last part of it consists of three members, which gradually rise and swell above one another, without any affected or unsuitable pomp;—under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a prince, and

L. 2

Figure 17: Press figure in volume 2 of Blair's *Lectures*, 2nd ed., 1785. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 08716. Numeral 3 in the direction line of page 146.

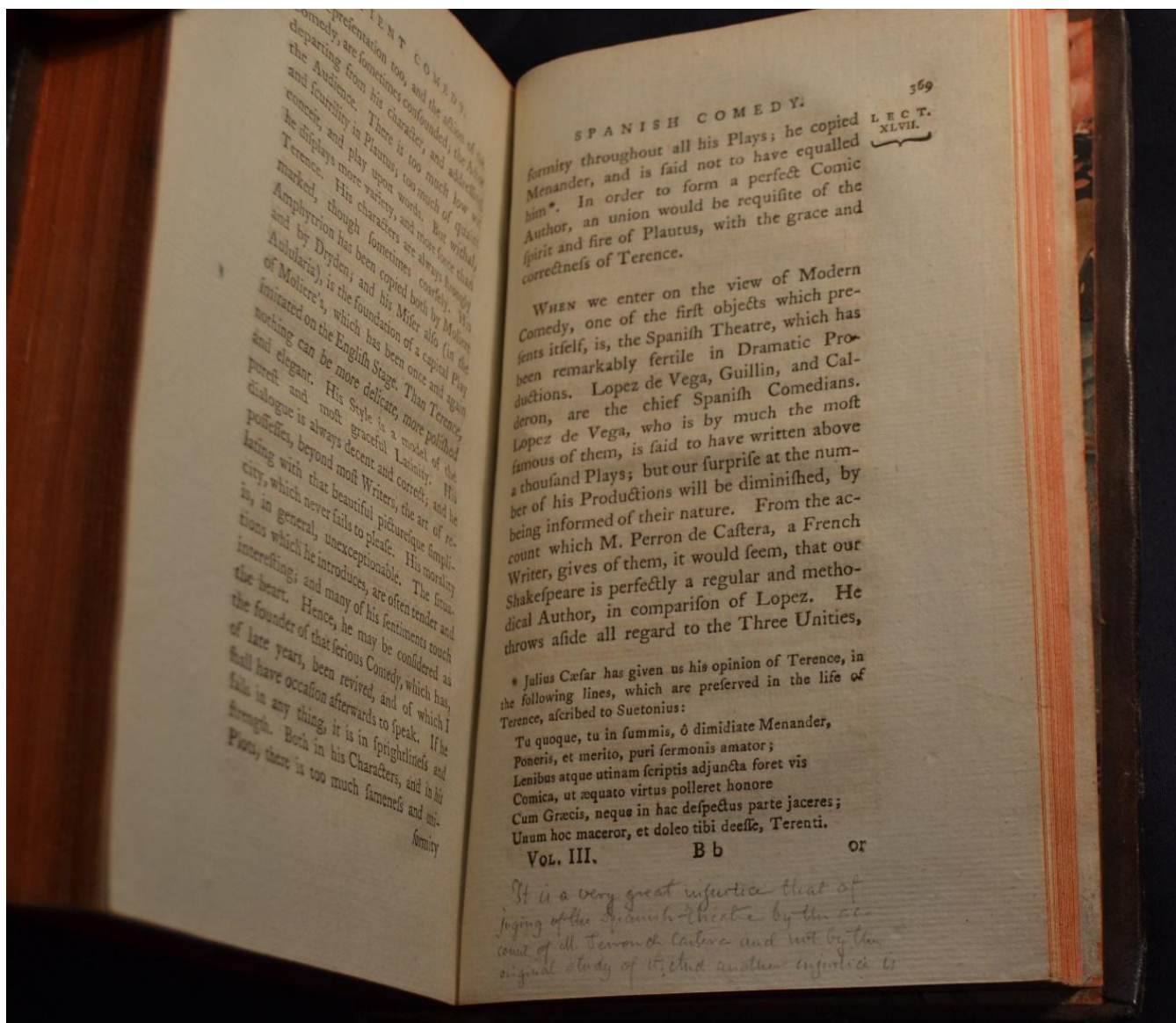


Figure 18: A reader's handwritten note in volume 3 of Blair's *Lectures*, 2nd ed., 1785. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 08717.

BOOKS printed for T. CADELL.

1. **T**HE History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Volume the First. By Edward Gibbon, Esq. Price 1 l. 1 s. in boards.
2. An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. By Adam Smith, LL. D. and F. R. S. 2 vols. Price 2 l. 2 s. bound.
3. The History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hannover. By James Macpherfon, Esq. Second Edition. 2 vols. 2 l. 2 s. in boards.
4. Original Papers, containing the Secret History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hannover. To which is prefixed, Extracts from the Life of James II. as written by himself. The whole arranged and published by James Macpherfon, Esq. 2 vols. 2d Edition. 2 l. 2 s. in boards.
5. An Account of the Voyages undertaken by Order of His present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Capt. Wallis, Capt. Carteret, and Capt. Cook, in the Dolphin, and Swallow, and the Endeavour; drawn up from the Journals that were kept by the several Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq; and Dr. Solander. By John Hawkefworth, LL. D. Illustrated with Cuts, and a great Variety of Charts and Maps (in all 52 Plates) relative to the Countries now first discovered, or hitherto but imperfectly known. Price 3 l. 12 s. bound.
6. Moral and Political Dialogues, with Letters on Chivalry and Romance. By the Rev. Dr. Hurd. 3 vols. 9 s.
7. An

Figure 19: Advertisement for "Books printed for T. Cadell." in volume 2 of Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 1776. UVA BHSC. U/Bc 08719.

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