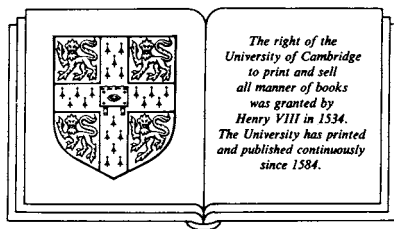


# THE LIBRARY OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, 1584–1637

Sargent Bush, Jr  
and  
Carl J. Rasmussen



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All photographs were taken by Frank Stubbings, to whom we are grateful.

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# INTRODUCTION

In recent years catalogues from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century libraries have begun to receive the careful scholarly attention which they deserve. Bibliographers have long recognized the intrinsic interest of such inventories; of late, scholars in the humanities and social sciences have begun to turn to these catalogues more frequently to gain fuller understanding of the cultural and intellectual history of both England and America. Sears Jayne, whose publication in 1956 of an extensive list of largely unknown *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* did much to inspire interest in the field, has made the claim that “a large and careful English library catalogue is . . . the shortest and most accurate route to a knowledge of what was known in renaissance England about any subject.”<sup>1</sup> Even though it is true that not all books on library shelves – then as well as now – were read, Jayne’s assessment of the value of such inventories is quite correct. Early library catalogues, with their abundance of detail, provide a valuable body of data to support or correct the sometimes easy and sweeping generalizations that have been used to characterize a richly interesting, complex, and influential historical period. The kind of information such inventories provide is particularly useful when it illuminates the thought and illustrates the mission of historically important personages and institutions.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in its first half-century, was just such an institution, and its library holdings represent a heretofore untapped resource of knowledge about that college and the era to which it so substantially contributed. The work which follows is, therefore, an attempt to make available a full knowledge of the particularly ample resources of a college of unique historical significance in the period of its great initial influence, 1584–1637.<sup>2</sup>

For the past 350 years the Emmanuel College archives have safeguarded seven inventories of the books in the early college library. The first six are in a narrow folio account book and the last is in a somewhat larger notebook. The first of these lists, which is undated, was apparently compiled in or about 1597, some thirteen years after the founding of the college in 1584. The second was not made until 1621. Five successive inventories were compiled in the next sixteen years, doubtless reflecting an increasing concern for the careful management of the college’s library. In all, these seven lists, compiled in c. 1597, 1621, 1622, 1626, 1628, 1632, and 1637, represent a full and accurate record of the growth of one of the larger college library collections of the period. Sears Jayne calls this series of inventories the “most remarkable” of Cambridge college library inventories from the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> They surely comprise an unusually detailed record, not only of exactly what books the college owned but also of the nature of the library’s growth during a half-century in which college libraries were increasingly valued after a period of decline. Emmanuel College offers an unusually

interesting case because of the special nature of the college's history, its particular mission in the period, and the unique contributions by its alumni in both England and America during these years and the subsequent decades.

## **The character of the early Emmanuel College**

In 1583 the land and buildings of a defunct Dominican monastery were acquired by Laurence Chaderton, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and his kinsman, Richard Culverwell of London, who promptly conveyed the property to Sir Walter Mildmay, Queen Elizabeth's Chancellor of the Exchequer and a member of her Privy Council. Sir Walter had formed plans for a new college, and the Queen granted a charter for its founding in January 1584. Chaderton became the first master of the college, a post he held for thirty-six years. Three fellows were appointed, one coming from Christ's College and two from Clare Hall. Later in the same year they were joined by four new fellows, two from Christ's and two from Clare. By July of 1585 there were eighteen scholars. The financial footing of the college was gradually strengthened, and major building projects began almost immediately, most notably the construction of the Founder's Range (now the Westmorland Building).<sup>4</sup>

The diplomatic and financial skill of Sir Walter Mildmay was surely an important factor in the rise to prominence of this new college which by the early seventeenth century enrolled more students than any other college in Cambridge except Trinity. Sir Walter's intentions, however, were not simply to establish another college; he had a particular goal in mind. Mildmay, from his seat in Parliament and the Privy Council, was a forceful defender of the great need to protect the godly Puritan preachers from too severe treatment at the hands of the government. Chaderton voiced similar views in one of his very few published sermons.<sup>5</sup> Tradition holds that after she had granted the charter, Queen Elizabeth said to Sir Walter with considerable displeasure, "I hear, Sir Walter, you have erected a Puritan foundation," to which the accomplished diplomat responded with a carefully chosen metaphor: "No, Madam, far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws, but I have set an acorn, which when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof."<sup>6</sup> In the early statutes of the college and in his comments on those statutes, Mildmay returned to his planting and harvesting metaphor, saying that he had established Emmanuel College as a "seed-plot of learned men for the supply of the Church" so that "from this seed-ground the English Church might have those that she can summon to instruct the people and undertake the office of pastors, which is a thing necessary above all others." "We have founded the college," he said, "with the design that it should be, by the grace of God, a seminary of learned men for the supply of the Church."<sup>7</sup> In order to insure that the fellows at Emmanuel did not become so comfortable as to forget their duty to the world, Mildmay wrote into the original statutes the stipulation that no fellow could remain more than ten years after receiving his M.A. or more than one year past his D.D. Such a regulation did indeed assure that the college would be a continuous source

of ministers for the kingdom and also that the college's body of fellows would, perforce, receive a steady flow of new blood. This regulation remained in effect until 1627 when, in the mastership of John Preston, a royal dispensation was granted suspending the rule.<sup>8</sup>

Regardless of Mildmay's denial of subversive intent, Emmanuel College was, from the start, a Puritan institution. It became notorious for its departures from prescribed form in the observation of the sacrament of communion and in the refusal by its clerics to wear the surplice in the church service. Even the first chapel was out of line, facing north rather than east as was customary. These were only the most conspicuous signs of the college's ecclesiastical nonconformity, a characteristic which encouraged numerous Puritan families in the country to send their sons there for their education. A prominent procession of church leaders, scholars, colonists, and, to a lesser extent, political figures issued from Emmanuel during its first half-century. Though Sir Walter died only five years after his college was born, his vision of its fruitfulness was not long in being realized.

Emmanuel's early graduates and fellows were very often, as Mildmay intended they should be, important presences and voices in the church. William Bedell was among the very first to enroll at Emmanuel, being admitted on November 1, 1584. He would become chaplain to the Ambassador to Venice, Sir Henry Wotton, and later Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop of Kilmore and Armagh. Joseph Hall, a minister and man of letters who became chaplain to James I and later Bishop of Exeter and then of Norwich, was another early Emmanuel graduate and fellow to achieve special prominence in the church. More typically, Emmanuel graduates became a part of the large force of prophesying Puritan preachers active in the English countryside. Such names as John Rogers, Ezekiel Culverwell, John Cotton, Thomas Shepard, Timothy and Nehemiah Rogers, and Thomas Hooker became all too familiar to the Anglican Church hierarchy, many of them being silenced during the late 1620s and 1630s. Many of the delegates to the Westminster Assembly in the 1640s were Emmanuel men, including Stephen Marshall, William Bradshaw, John Yates, the Independents Jeremiah Burroughs and Sidrach Simpson, and even Francis Cornwall, whose nonconformity ultimately became the more radical Baptism. Other men found preferment at other colleges as fellows and masters. Among the most prominent of these were two of the original seven fellows, John Richardson and William Branthwaite. Richardson became Master of Peterhouse (1609–15), then Master of Trinity College (1615–25) and Regius Professor of Divinity, while Branthwaite, an accomplished Greek scholar, became Master of Gonville and Caius College (1607–19). Both were among the translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible, as was Samuel Ward, another Emmanuel fellow, who became Master of Sidney Sussex (1610–43). During the interregnum, an Emmanuel College background was sufficient recommendation for preferment. Under the Protectorate, when new masters were imposed on many of the colleges by the political authorities, as many as twelve of the masters of Cambridge colleges were Emmanuel graduates. It was in this period that Thomas Fuller, the early historian of the University of Cambridge, after quoting Mildmay's prophetic oak tree metaphor, declared that "at this day it hath over shadowed all the University, more than a moiety of the present masters of colleges being bred therein."<sup>9</sup> In the years 1644–

53 Emmanuel itself was led by one of her own, Anthony Tuckney, also a Westminster Assembly delegate and previous Master of St John's College. The sole Emmanuel graduate before Tuckney to become the Master of his alma mater was William Sandcroft (1628–37), uncle of the more famous Archbishop of Canterbury William Sancroft, also an Emmanuel graduate.

Earlier in the seventeenth century, many of the strongest and most outspoken Puritans among the Emmanuel alumni had committed themselves to the Great Migration to New England. Most of these men left England in the 1630s, having been exiled, in effect, by being denied the right to practice their preaching or teaching gifts in England. Indeed, it is well known that no college in the land contributed nearly so many leaders of the early New England colonial enterprise as did Emmanuel. In the first generation of settlement, 1620–45, some 130 college-educated settlers went to New England. About 100 of these were from Cambridge colleges, thirty-five being Emmanuel men. The college contributing the next highest number of college-graduate colonists was Trinity College, Cambridge, with thirteen.<sup>10</sup> The Emmanuel men in New England included governors and magistrates such as Thomas Dudley, Simon Bradstreet, and Richard Saltonstall; powerful preachers and town founders such as Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, and Samuel Stone; ministers who also wrote the first body of laws, Nathaniel Ward and John Cotton; and a book-collecting minister who gave his library and his name to the first college in America, John Harvard. Moreover, it was Emmanuel which served as the chief model for Harvard College's curriculum, its educational philosophy, and even the floor plan of its residential buildings. As Samuel Eliot Morison has suggested in his histories of Harvard College, Emmanuel was, in many ways, the mother of Harvard.<sup>11</sup> The fruits from Sir Walter's seed-plot were even more abundant and far-flung than he had hoped or imagined a half-century earlier.

All of the men mentioned in this brief and highly selective list were at Emmanuel College during the period in which the seven early library inventories were compiled. It might be argued, indeed – without diminishing subsequent contributions – that it was this period in which Emmanuel College achieved its greatest prominence and made its profoundest impact on the history of England and of the western world. At any rate, as a Puritan institution, Emmanuel was born at a most opportune moment: the seventy-five years after its birth saw the triumph of Puritanism. Emmanuel men, as we have suggested, had an important role as teachers and practical leaders of this movement on both sides of the Atlantic.

### **College libraries in the period**

1584 was also an excellent time for the creation of a college library. From the Henrican Reformation until the accession of Elizabeth, the English Universities had been in turmoil, and this turmoil adversely affected the college libraries, which were severely diminished. A major purge of libraries occurred in 1535 when Roman Catholic works of canon law along with books by scholastic Biblical commentators were largely cast out. Around mid-century under the brief reign of Edward VI some of the libraries



suffered the effects of Puritan censors, and in 1557 in his visitation of Cambridge, Cardinal Pole rooted out Protestant works. Public book-burnings in the market place were among the consequences of the Pole visitation, made all the more dramatic in February 1557 by inclusion in the fire of the remains of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, exhumed from Great St Mary's Church. On Elizabeth's accession, fortunately, a more enlightened attitude towards books and learning came to prevail.<sup>12</sup>

Political and ecclesiastical vicissitudes were not, however, the only causes of the weakening of college libraries in the sixteenth century. Fully as many books – perhaps more – were lost by the mismanagement of the collections. The case of King's College has been particularly well documented in this respect. Even though the Visitation of 1557 represents the nadir for most Cambridge libraries, in the thirteen years after 1557, "what was left of King's Library almost entirely disappeared."<sup>13</sup> In both Cambridge and Oxford people were simply walking off with books and manuscripts. Although all college libraries through much of the sixteenth century continued the medieval practice of chaining their books, most such libraries also kept a portion of their collections for loan. This was the "electio sociorum," which allowed fellows of the college to take books and manuscripts to their rooms for extended periods. All libraries had difficulty enforcing the rules of this system, and a great many books were simply never returned. Merton College, Oxford, discontinued the system as early as 1519, though most libraries stayed with it much longer, to their loss. Several scholars have documented the decline in the holdings of college library collections in the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century; it was not unusual for collections of four or five hundred volumes to have been reduced to between one and two hundred in this period.<sup>14</sup>

By the time Emmanuel College was founded, however, the climate had changed. It is now generally agreed that the period of about 1585 to 1640 represents what Neil Ker calls "a new era" in the history of college libraries.<sup>15</sup> The date of Emmanuel's founding thus could not have been more fortunate for building a library collection. Indeed, from the outset the Emmanuel library took on a rather modern approach in its shelving methods and its rules. Though some extant college libraries remained chained well into the seventeenth century,<sup>16</sup> Emmanuel's books were never chained. This innovation probably reinforced the tendency already present in other colleges to do away with their chains. As Philip Gaskell has explained in his history of Trinity College Library, removal of the chains and the heavy binding boards required by the chains made possible new, more efficient shelving methods.<sup>17</sup> Offsetting this apparent new openness, however, were rules limiting access to most libraries to fellows of the colleges. In this regard as well Emmanuel's practice appears to have been more liberal than the norm.

### **Emmanuel's earliest library: physical details**

Not a great deal is known about the physical characteristics of the first library at Emmanuel. Robert Willis and John Willis Clark conclude that it must have been located in "the small range which extended from the north end of the Kitchen-range to the street and formed the north side of the small court called 'Bungay Court'."<sup>18</sup> Their reasoning is based mainly on the details in David Loggan's engraving of the college

Table 1. *Reconstruction of classis 4, inferior, from the 1621 and 1622 Emmanuel College Library catalogues*

The 1621 and 1622 catalogues show identical data on this classis. Note, however, that the fore-edge numbering reflects the presence of more volumes in the classis than does the numbering of the items on the inventories of 1621 and 1622. This suggests that books were added shortly before the application of the fore-edge numbering sometime in the period 1622–6, and before the major rearrangement of the collection in 1626. **RBR** stands for Register of Books Removed.

1621–22 location	Running number on fore-edge	1637 location	Author, short title, date of publication	Present class mark
4.I.1	"2"	22.I(2).14	Altensteig, <i>Lexicon Theologicum</i>	MISSING
4.I.2		23.S(2).4	Nausea, <i>Homiliarum Centuria Tres</i> (1532)	308.3.51
4.I.3		—	Aretius in <i>Psalmos</i> . Last recorded 1628. 3.I.5	MISSING since 1628
4.I.4		22.S(3).9	Fricius [ <i>Modrevius</i> ], <i>De Republica</i> . . .	MISSING, (RBR, p. 29, l. 14)
4.I.5	"5"	22.S(1).6	Sedulius, <i>In Epistolas Pauli</i> (1528)	310.5.1
4.I.6	"6"	23.I(1).4	Sadoletus, <i>In Pauli Epistolas ad Romanos</i> (1536)	306.2.32
4.I.7		22.I(3).4	Hosius, <i>Opera Omnia</i>	MISSING
4.I.8		22.S(3).10	Vives, <i>De Veritate Fidei Christianae</i>	MISSING, (RBR, p. 38, l.3)
4.I.9	"9"	22.I(3).9	Pighius, <i>Hierarchiae Ecclesiasticae Assertio</i> (1538)	307.3.4
4.I.10	"10"	22.I(3).11	Vadianus, <i>Aphorismorum . . . De Consideratione Eucharistiae</i> (1536)	307.3.10
4.I.11	"11"	22.I(3).2	Stapleton, <i>Principorum Fidei Doctrinalium</i> . . . (1581)	305.1.7
4.I.12	"12"	22.I(3).3	Canisius, <i>Opus Catechismus</i> (1579)	308.3.36
4.I.13	"13"	22.I(3).10	Lindanus [ <i>van der Lindt</i> ], <i>Panoplia Evangelica</i> (1575)	307.3.8
4.I.14	"14"	22.I(3).17	Lindanus, <i>Apologeticum ad Germanos pro Relig. Cath.</i> (1568[–70])	301.5.68
4.I.15	"16"	23.I(1).26	Lindanus, <i>Paraphrases in Psalmos</i>	MISSING
4.I.16	"17"	7.I.19	Molinaeus, <i>Tractatus Commerciorum</i> (1555)	FB9
4.I.17		22.I(3).16	Constantio [ <i>pseud. Gardiner</i> ], <i>Confut. Cavil</i> . . . <i>Eucharistiae</i> (1552)	301.5.69
4.I.18	"18"	22.I(3).23	Billick, <i>Judicii Universitatis et Cleri Coloniensis adversus</i> . . . (1545)	301.5.92

4.1.19	"19"	22.1(3),22	Fisher (Roffensis), De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia (1527)	334.3.68
4.1.20	4.1.20	23.S(2),14	Pepin, Expositio in Genesim, 2 Vols.	MISSING?
4.1.21	4.1.21	23.1(1),27	Titelmann, In Omnes Epistolas Apostolicas	MISSING?
4.1.22	4.1.22	23.1(1),29	Guiliandus, In Canonicas Apostolorum	MISSING
4.1.23	"24"	22.1(3),35	Peresius, De...Apostolicis, atque Ecclesiasticis Traditionibus (1549)	321.4.107
4.1.24	"26"	2.1.29	Lossius, Annotationes Scholasticae in Evangelia Dominicalia (1560)	321.6.11
4.1.25	"27"	21.1.46	Bodius, Unio Dissidentium (1531)	321.6.39
4.1.26	"28"	22.1(3),34	Cologne, <i>Cathedral</i> , Antididagma.... (1544)	338.5.30
4.1.27	"28"	22.1(3),36	Gerlacher, Erasmus, & Luther, De Libero Arbitrio, etc.	MISSING?
4.1.28	"30", "31"	23.S(2),16	Culmann, Concionum....2 Vols. (1550)	326.4.98,99
4.1.29	"32", "33", "34"	2.1.15	Sarcerius in Matthew, Mark, & John, 3 Vols. (1538,39,40)	321.6.15-17
4.1.29	"35", "36"	2.1.16	Sarcerius in 1 & 2 Cor., 2 Vols. (1544)	323.5.113 and 321.7.75
4.1.29	"37"	2.1.17	Sarcerius, Postilla (1538)	321.6.14
4.1.29	"38", "41"	2.1.18	Sarcerius, Loci Communes, 2 Vols. (1539, 40)	338.5.41 and 326.4.90
4.1.29	"39"	2.1.19	Sarcerius, De Consensu Verae Ecclesiae & Sanctorum Patrum...super praecipuis Christianae....(1540)	338.5.43
4.1.29	"40"	2.1.20	Sarcerius, Catechismus, & Spalatinus & Castalfone (1542, 44, 45)	321.7.76

(c. 1688) which shows seven windows on the south side of that range's second story. These windows would have been ideal for a library, they argue. Other evidence, again supportable by a detail in the Loggan print, suggests another location for the library, however. An entry in the college's accounts book for 1657 refers to a payment for installing "doggs and SS of iron for the Library." Two of the three outside walls on the Bungay Court building thought by Willis and Clark to be the library are clearly shown in the Loggan picture, but neither has an "S" bracket. Two such brackets are visible, however, one clearly depicted on the west end (in the immediate foreground) and one barely discernible in the shadows on the north wall of the extension of the Founder's Wing which runs out perpendicular to St Andrew's Street (originally Preachers' Street).<sup>19</sup> This building is south of but parallel to the Bungay Court building and thus also on an east-west axis, a requirement for the Emmanuel Library, Willis and Clark note, because of the 1637 inventory's division of the collection into a "pars occidentalis" and a "pars orientalis."

As to the furnishings of the library, we may note that three of the seven inventories include supplementary lists of property other than books in the library. All the lists take note of certain objects such as "The founders picture with a curtayne of blew saye & an Iron rodd" and the "Terrestriall globe with a waynscot frame." Another recurrent entry is "Nyne glass windows & 3. Casements." Loggan's view shows only a window with two lights on both the first and second floors of the west end of the extension. It does seem likely, though, that the room nominated by Willis and Clark must have had more than nine windows, while the wing with the "S" brackets must have had a smaller number because a large chimney occupies part of the south wall.

Included on the inventories of physical property in the first list (c. 1597) are "Nyne fayre desks of oake each one having three degrees." These were supplemented shortly after 1622 by "2 other desks of oake having each of them 6. degrees, the upp[er] bord of one wanting" and by "1 other desk of deale having 6 degrees." This last item does not appear on the 1637 list but the other eleven "desks" do. As Willis and Clark point out, the word "desk" was sometimes used synonymously with "classis," each term referring to a book case or press, usually having two shelves and a lectern desk at the top where the large folios could be laid comfortably close to eye level for the standing reader. It is not certain that the lectern-style cases were used in Emmanuel's first library but it seems highly likely. At any rate, it is clear that, though most of the desks had three "degrees" or shelves, only two were used for storing books, leaving the top of the case unoccupied.<sup>20</sup>

It is not clear exactly how these cases were arranged around the room, though most of them probably projected from the wall at right angles, with windows between, in the manner common to medieval and early Renaissance libraries. The nine desks with three shelves may not have been of uniform size judging from the variation from list to list of the number of books stored in each. Still, they seem to have conformed in style and function to those in most Cambridge libraries of the period. The two extra-tall classes first appear in the property list appended to the 1621 book inventory and were first integrated into the functional library furnishings between 1622 and 1626. They were surely acquired to help accommodate the large influx of new books in 1622-6, of which more will be said shortly.<sup>21</sup>

The books were shelved standing on their bottom edges with the fore-edges facing outwards. Lists of the books in a given case were probably posted on the end of the case, according to standard college library procedure for the period. At first this was probably all the help one had in finding a given work in the Emmanuel Library, though there was a rough subject division of the books. At some point it was decided, as the collection grew larger, that the books themselves should bear designations indicating the author and/or title or subject. Consequently short author and/or title designations were written on the fore-edges; as one looked at a shelf one saw, usually at the tops of the fore-edges, such short titles as "Prosper" and "Naz. graec" to designate volumes of the Opera of St Prosper of Aquitaine and a Greek version of the works of St Gregory of Nazianzus.

At a slightly later date it seems to have occurred to those in charge of Emmanuel's library that running shelf numbers assigned to each volume would help keep the shelving system in order. These numbers were probably written on the list of books posted at the end of the lectern desks, but they were also written directly on the books' fore-edges, above or, more commonly, below the author/title designation. The shelving order was substantially changed at least three times during the period with which we are concerned, and it can be shown that this fore-edge numbering system appeared shortly after the 1622 inventory and before the major rearrangement of 1626 (see Table 1). Once it appeared, however, the system was of limited usefulness. New books had to be added to the old subject classes, so that the fore-edge numbers quickly went out of date. Some of these numbers were altered, but the futility of this process must soon have become apparent. Probably there was a period when the new running numbers were not written on or in the books at all. Sometime after 1637 the Emmanuel Librarian began writing tripartite class marks, along with the library's ownership designation, on the title pages or flyleaves of the volumes. Consequently many of the early volumes contain an inscription such as: "Coll: Eman: Cant:/ G.3.35," though in many cases only the class mark was written in. The final number, the running shelf location number, also appeared on a small paper tab glued around the edge of the front cover near the top of the fore-edge.<sup>22</sup> Such tabs were common in Cambridge libraries and since tabs are replaceable, they proved more practical than fore-edge writing. During the period in which the inventories were made, however, fore-edge writing was the only method used at Emmanuel for indicating a book's shelf location, and it was not applied to all books. The fore-edge writing on some books was trimmed away when these books were rebound in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but where it remains, it has been especially valuable evidence for our reconstruction of the early library.

### **The founder's books**

In 1584 immediately after receiving the charter, Sir Walter Mildmay already had a hand-picked Master, at least three fellows, and sufficient financial resources to begin

operation of the college. It seems likely, therefore, that he had given some careful thought to and made preliminary plans for the acquisition of a suitable library for the college. Yet, relatively little is known about the Emmanuel Library during its first fifteen years. It is not mentioned in Mildmay's Statutes for the college. By the time the first surviving inventory of the library was made in about 1597, however, the collection already contained at least 443 volumes, and perhaps as many as 481.<sup>23</sup> This was a very respectable number since, as Philip Gaskell and others have said, 500 volumes was about the most that any college library contained at this date, the main restriction on growth being lack of space.<sup>24</sup> Trinity College, which was founded in 1546 through a merger of two earlier institutions and their libraries, and whose collection eventually grew to be the gem of the Cambridge college libraries, had only about 325 volumes of printed books in 1600.<sup>25</sup> It seems clear that Emmanuel had made a determined effort to build a good book collection from the very start.

Mildmay, for all of his other talents, was not known as a book collector, though he was a friend and occasional patron of authors. He did give to Emmanuel a small collection of a dozen books, doubtless intended to serve as the core of the new library. They are books which came from his own private library, and most of them bear his signature, sometimes with the date on which he acquired the volume.<sup>26</sup> Most also contain his marginal notes. This cluster of books displays Mildmay's own varied interests, but it may also suggest something of his sense of what a college library should contain and even what a college should be. Three of the works have to do with divinity: a Latin vulgate Bible (Lyons, 1557), a French language Bible (Geneva, 1588), and the second volume of Theodore Beza's *Tractationum Theologicarum* (Geneva, 1573). Each of these is interesting for unique reasons. The Latin vulgate Bible was lost sometime in the first decade of the seventeenth century (it was one of some thirty books recorded as missing on October 4, 1610). The French Bible bears a hand-written inscription on its title page: "Ex dono Ministrorum totius Ecclesiae Geneuensis Octavo Calendas Junij 1588. W. A.: Mildmayer". After he received this book from the Geneva divines, Mildmay must have presented it very promptly to the college library since he lived just under a year after the gift was inscribed. It thus probably came to the library slightly later than the rest of his gift books. The Beza volume was dedicated to Sir Walter and the copy at Emmanuel is the dedication copy.

His desires for this "seed-plot" were that it should produce "learned men for the supply of the church" but the Mildmay nucleus for the library was by no means narrowly theological. His donation of books also included a volume on logic (Rodolphus Agricola), two of rhetoric (the *Orationes* of Isocrates in Greek and Latin and The Latin *Orationes* of the sixteenth-century English author Walter Haddon), and two on ancient history (Appian in Greek and Livy in Latin, both important for their style as well as content). Much farther afield from the broad subject area of divinity were the remaining books in Mildmay's donation: three on mathematics (Dürer, Finé, and Tunstall), and one reflecting the founder's immediate practical interests in the law (Charles Du Moulin on contracts).

One of the most striking things about this rather diverse list is its reflection of trends in Cambridge education in the period. The copy of Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica* (Cologne, 1527) is a case in point. This book has been singled out by Lisa Jardine as

one of the four or five most important dialectic texts in Cambridge by the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup> It follows Valla and precedes Ramus and Melanchthon in giving the study of dialectic a new humanistic emphasis. Agricola's is, says Jardine, a "reformed dialectic.... Agricola is first and foremost a *humanist* in his emphasis on Cicero and Quintilian at the expense of Aristotle, and in his insistence on elegant Latin as the model for discourse."<sup>28</sup> She has observed that in the private book collections of members of the university in this period "Agricola's... occurs twice as often as Melanchthon's textbook, and three times as often as any other [dialectics] textbook."<sup>29</sup>

But there are other signs that Mildmay was in tune with the trends in Cambridge education. The two history books given by Mildmay are Appian's *Romanae Historiae* (Paris, 1551) in Greek and the Basel, 1535 edition of Livy. Although Greek was taught at Cambridge, it was not a part of the undergraduate curriculum until well into the seventeenth century.<sup>30</sup> But the presence of the Greek version of Appian's history of Rome, an important resource for the study of literature as well as of Roman history, suggests that Mildmay's "learned man" was expected to know Greek. It clearly had a place in a body of resources which were providing the basis for the strengthening of the humanities at Cambridge. This is all the more true of the volume of Livy, who was "the favorite Roman historian of the early humanists" until after the turn of the century when he was replaced by Tacitus.<sup>31</sup>

Also striking in these few books given by Mildmay is the presence of contemporary works in both law and literature. The study of law had been in disarray at the universities since the abolition of canon law by Henry VIII. William T. Costello goes so far as to say "there was no study of law worth a doit at Cambridge between 1600 and 1670."<sup>32</sup> Mildmay had himself studied at Gray's Inn after leaving Christ's College, however, and had a strong practical bent in his thinking. His gift of the French jurist Charles Du Moulin's *Tractatus Commerciorum, et Vsurarum* (Paris, 1555), suggests that for Mildmay the well-rounded "learned man" would do well to mingle the law with his study of the other disciplines.

Likewise, Mildmay's decision to bestow a copy of Walter Haddon's Latin poetry and orations on his college's library is noteworthy. While Haddon is no Sidney or Spenser, the presence of *any* contemporary poet in a college collection in the 1580s was more than a little unusual.<sup>33</sup> The ancient poets were there, but modern poets, even in Latin versions, were only just beginning to appear. A volume of Petrarch was present at the time of Emmanuel's first inventory; Chaucer did not appear in the collection until sometime between 1628 and 1632, and nothing whatever of Spenser was in the library by 1637 nor were the modern English poets, George Herbert and Francis Quarles, who were so popular with the Puritans. Mildmay's choice of Haddon can probably be explained by the fact that he was a personal friend, being, like Mildmay, a Cambridge graduate, a sometime member of Gray's Inn, a Member of Parliament, and a counsellor to the Queen. One of his Latin poems, in fact, was written about Mildmay.<sup>34</sup> Still, while Haddon's *Orationes* makes a somewhat peculiar companion to the Greek *Orationes* of Isocrates, Mildmay may have reasoned that both the modern and the ancient offered instruction to the student of eloquence.

The only branch of learning as fully represented as divinity in Mildmay's gift books

is mathematics, a field which, like law, was not much taught at sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Cambridge. Costello, again adopting a hyperbolic style, says simply that “early seventeenth-century Cambridge is almost a mathematical desert.”<sup>35</sup> A letter by the eminent Emmanuel graduate, John Wallis (B.A. 1637), on the state of learning in the field which particularly attracted him, has often been quoted. Having long since established his eminence as a professor of astronomy at Oxford, as an old man he complained that:

I had none to direct me, what books to read, or what to seek, or in what method to proceed. For mathematics, (at that time, with us) were scarce looked upon as academical studies, but rather mechanical; as the business of traders, merchants, seamen, carpenters, surveyors of lands, and the like; and perhaps some almanac-makers in London. And amongst more than two hundred students (at that time) in our college, I do not know of any two (perhaps not any) who had more of mathematics than I . . . which was then but little.<sup>36</sup>

Curiously, another man who achieved eminence in the same field in a much shorter life than Wallis's, Jeremiah Horrocks, had also matriculated at Emmanuel in 1632, the year Wallis enrolled. Both had been preceded there by Samuel Foster, the mathematician and astronomer, who had taken his B.A. and M.A. in 1619 and 1623 respectively. Somehow, despite the scarcity of knowledgeable instructors, these three members of the same college received sufficient nurture in their undergraduate (and, in Foster's case, graduate) training to sustain an interest in and establish a fundamental body of knowledge about mathematics on which to build in later years. It would be foolish to claim too much for Sir Walter Mildmay's foresight in his gift of Albrecht Dürer's *Institutiones Geometricae* (Paris, 1535), Oronce Finé's *In sex priores libros Geometricorum elementorum Euclidis Megarensis demonstrationes* (Paris, 1544), and Cuthbert Tunstall's *De Arte Supputandi* (Paris, 1529). But the fact remains that these books were in the library from its beginnings and did provide a core of books to which a few others were added in the next four decades, so that the likes of Wallis, Horrocks, and Foster were hardly stranded in an intellectual desert. Also present in the Emmanuel library by 1632 were Ptolemaeus's *Almagestum* (Venice, 1515), acquired in the period 1598–1621, Euclid's *Geometrica Elementa*, with Grynaeus's commentary (Basel, 1533) and the important *Opera Mathematica* of Christoph Clavius (Mainz, 1612), both of which were acquired in the period 1628–32. These works, together with books on cosmography by Apianus and Münster, helped make up a small but respectable collection for its day. Since, after all, mathematics was taught and mathematics textbooks were available in Cambridge, it is proper to suppose with Mark H. Curtis that to some degree extreme statements like that of the aged John Wallis demonstrate that “the memories of impatient genius, even when recalled in the tranquility of old age, may be less than fair to bygone times.”<sup>37</sup>

Mildmay's gift of books, then, established a small core collection which signaled that Emmanuel's ministers would have a humanist background and at least some opportunity for acquaintance with the practical disciplines of law and mathematics. It would be a mistake to make too much of the possible motivations for Mildmay's gift of these few books since in fact we know nothing definite about it. He may simply have been disposing of his duplicate copies! But, considering his seriousness in establishing his