

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK PURCHASING IN CHETHAM'S LIBRARY, MANCHESTER

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FORMERLY LIBRARIAN, CHETHAM'S LIBRARY

When the Manchester merchant Humphrey Chetham died in September 1653 his total estate was estimated to be worth £15,139. His will, proved in March 1654, required his executors to secure the foundation of a school and a library. Forty boys, the children "of honest, industrious and painfull parents", were to benefit from his generosity and "the Colledge", once the home of the Lords of the Manor of Manchester, was purchased from the Countess of Derby to be a home for the books and the boys.¹ The main sections of the Will deal with the administration of his estate and of the school; the last section, an adjunct, relates to the foundation of "the library".

Under the terms of the Will libraries were to be established in the two parish churches of Manchester and Bolton-in-the-Moors, and in the three Chapels of Gorton, Turton and Walmsley. Another library was to be established as a public library in Manchester "for the use of schollars and others well affected" and a thousand pounds was allocated for the purchase of books for this, the "Great Library", the one now in Chetham's Hospital. Two hundred pounds were "to be bestowed in ... godly English Bookes, such as Calvins, Prestons and Perkins workes, comments or annotacions upon the Bible or some parts thereof ..." for the chapel libraries, which were to be for the edification of "the common people". The books of all six libraries were to be chained.

Details of the purchases for these libraries over a thirty-year span from the foundation may be found in a slim folio volume in the Chetham Archives, "Invoices of original books, 1655-1685". This comprises 61 folios containing twenty-nine invoices written in sixteen contemporary hands. The first invoice is dated 1 August 1655, the last 29 April 1685. These invoices provide an interesting insight into seventeenth-century book policies and practices.

The rhythm of despatch partially reflects the times. In 1655 there were three "parcills", including one chapel delivery. Two consignments followed the next year and four the year after;

¹ See F. R. Raines and C. W. Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham*, vol. 2 (*Chetham Soc.*, No. 50 (1903)), App. I ("The Will of Humphrey Chetham").

these included two chapel deliveries. There were three deliveries in 1658, a chapel delivery only in 1659, and in 1660 a single parcel of 97 volumes, followed by one undated parcel ("9th Parcell. Manchester Library"). Only two deliveries, both chapel, are recorded between 1661 and 1668. An acceptable explanation for this seven-year gap is the disappearance of the relevant Chetham papers for these years; they were removed by Cromwell's men and apparently lost in the Great Fire of London. The last decade saw ten deliveries, two single ones in 1669-1670, then biennial deliveries in 1672, 1674, 1683, 1685.

The descriptions of the consignments vary. Those of 1655-1656 were described simply as "Bookes sent to Manchester" or "Sent to Manchester" (18 October 1656, 7 May 1657). Sometimes the parcels were given numbers, viz. "second parcell," "fifth parcell," "sixth parcell" and "seventh parcell". Twice they were addressed to the Library: "For the Publick Library" (20 September 1655) and "The Manchester Library." On three occasions a more complex description is used: "A Catalogue of Bookes for the Manchester Library", "A Catalogue of Bookes for Boulton", and "An order of books sent to Turton and Manchester to Mr. G. Chetham. June 30th 1659". Other forms of address include "Sent By Henry Bradshaw", and "Those left for Boulton". Latterly the parcels were sent to "Mr. Tho. Mynshull at his house in Manchester, Lancashire" (seven entries) or "Mr. Tho. Mynshull, Apothecary at Manchester" (three entries).

The books were chosen by the Governors (a policy still continued today), and ordered from London book-suppliers. Once ready, the "chestes" containing them were left at convenient inns for their conveyance north. Three London inns are named in the invoices: "The Pewter Platte in St. John's Street", "the Ax in Aldermanbury", and "Blossome Inne", and the journey lasted seven days. Twelve carriers' names are known, three of them Cheshire men—Samuel Kirckman of Little Hassal, near Sandbach, John Henshall of Bramhall, and John Shaw of High Leigh. The other known carriers are John Ockerson, John Hatton, Ralph Kettle, Richard French, Henry Bradshaw, Thomas Hide, John Garnett, Oliver Bolton and Robert Henshaw.

Details of the invoices are such that it is possible to form a consistent picture of carriage and other costs. The former included carriage to Islington, Manchester and, once, to Oxford. Other

details include payments to carmen, coopers and porters, and weighing charges.

It is not possible to deduce individual carriage costs. However, in 1657 a carriage to Islington cost ten shillings and in 1674 a carriage to Oxford one shilling. Porters' charges were seldom recorded separately from the main costs, although there is a separate charge for a porter in the invoice of 2 August 1655 ("to the Porter: 0.0.4."). Often these charges were absorbed with others. One charge is worth special mention, again in the invoice of 2 August 1655: "Payd for Carriage of it to Manchester with ye chaines, Rods, ye chaines for patternes, 0.2.5."; this is the only mention of the chaining of the books stipulated by the Founder's will.²

The cost of carrying the books was estimated by the hundred-weight ("ye cent"), the maximum being 6s. (9 August 1683), the minimum 4s. (1669). The heaviest load was eight hundredweight (1669); the lightest, on 17 October 1674, "weighed 701b." Only once were these charges separately itemised ("For weighing the Bookes ..., 0.0.6.", 2 August 1655). The standard charge seems to have been one shilling and sixpence; thus, on 21 May 1655 "the weigeing [*sic*] the bookes and the globes" came to "0.2.0.", of which ls. 6d. was for the books and 6d. for the globes.

A cooper was employed to supply the containers, hogsheads and vats for packing and to seal them with "heads" and nails. A cooper was only once paid for services alone (18 October 1656: "to the Cooper ... 0.2.0."); the records are otherwise for furnishing nails and the like ("for Hoopes" (f. 22v), "for making the heade, Hoopes, Nailes & his labour 0.18.6." (f. 5v)). After 1660 coopers' payments disappear from the invoices, presumably as other packing methods were adopted.

The books were packed in boxes, cases, chests, hogsheads and vats. The dry "fatts" and hogsheads were later replaced by boxes, cases and chests. Items amongst the charges of 21 May 1656 perhaps provide the clearest insight into the packing methods:—

"One great Chest, bought at second hand	0.6.0.
Fouer chests of deal. yard & halfe long	1.1.0.
One deale Chest. yard long:	0.6.0."

² "And my will and minde is, that the same bookes bee fixed or chained as well as may bee within the said librarie for the better preservacion thereof" (Raines and Sutton, *op. cit.*, App. I, p. 259).

These are the only mentions of the size of the containers and the only written indication that these were not always new. It seems that the wood was deal. Three diagrams on the plan of 1656, shown below, could well be packing plans.

Handwritten notes, possibly a list of items or a packing plan, including terms like "London", "Packing", "12", "14", "10", "11", "12", "13", "14", "15", "16", "17", "18", "19", "20", "21", "22", "23", "24", "25", "26", "27", "28", "29", "30", "31", "32", "33", "34", "35", "36", "37", "38", "39", "40", "41", "42", "43", "44", "45", "46", "47", "48", "49", "50", "51", "52", "53", "54", "55", "56", "57", "58", "59", "60", "61", "62", "63", "64", "65", "66", "67", "68", "69", "70", "71", "72", "73", "74", "75", "76", "77", "78", "79", "80", "81", "82", "83", "84", "85", "86", "87", "88", "89", "90", "91", "92", "93", "94", "95", "96", "97", "98", "99", "100".

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15	15	15
12	14	10
12	11	
10	12	

13	12	11
10	11	12
12	11	14

"Invoices of original books, 1655-1685", f. 13v.
(?Packing plans)

The total packing costs amounted to £ 31.8.10 over thirty years. This included such extra items as, "Payd for printing papers sent by Mr. Alder. |Cheetham, 0.7.6. 1672" (f. 16v), "2 quires of Venier paper, 0.3.0." (f. 36v), "4 quires of Wrighting Paper, 0.8.0." (f. 36v), "two quires of large thick paper, for yr Frames, 20 inches deep and near 14 long" (7 August 1683).

The accounts were usually made up at the end of each invoice. In the first invoice (1 August 1655) the total sum for each

alphabetical group is given in the left-hand columns. The other invoices have a running total at the end of each folio, the final total being on the last sheet of each invoice. The price of each volume is entered in the right-hand margin of each purchase; any distinction made for the expenditure of folio, quarto and octavo volumes appears to be incidental. The number of volumes in each consignment is entered at the end of each invoice, usually by size, with the charges for the different sizes. This practice was not consistent; sometimes the number of volumes and their physical descriptions are entered at the foot of the invoices. Examples occur in 1655, 1657, 1658, 1660 and 1684. When sets were purchased, only the price of the whole set was given, viz. "Suarez, Opera. Vol. 22 ... 09.0.0. May 5th-Anno Dom: 1660". There are three exceptions, namely, "Perkins works at 37s. 0d a book ... 3.14.0"; "2 Ushers body of Divinity, one part 6s. 6d. ... 0.12.6." and "2 Annotations on the Bible at 2.5—4.10.0."

The suppliers' accounting methods are revealed in two accounts. On f. 6v the supplier has entered his invoice page at the side of his figures and on f. 12v his original addition appears to have been faulty, as a set of figures has been struck out.

The arrangement of the books themselves in the invoices is generally alphabetical and by size, invariably folio, quarto and octavo. Predictably both acquisitions and expenditure were heaviest in the early years. The following table shows the annual book expenditure for the years in question:—

1655	£ 304.10.6.
1656	£ 249.13.6.
1657	£ 65.12.6.
1658	£ 121.17.6.
1660	£ 61.11.0.
Undated "Parcill 9th"	£ 70.17.0. ³
1669	£ 150.10.6.
1670-74	£ 368.15.9.
1683	£ 65.11.0.
1684	£ 84.13.6.
1685	£ 4.14.0.

³ This parcel included a "Velom book for Benefactors names" (Item 12, f. 25v). As the earliest gift-book now in the library dates from 1694, it would seem that this was lost with the other Chetham Papers in the Great Fire of London.

Receipts were issued when the books arrived at the library in July-October 1674; these were signed by the then Librarian, William Harrison, and were checked and marked off on both despatch and receipt. Before and after this the system varied. In the 1655-1656 invoices the right-hand margins are marked by a cross, which is the librarian's receipt mark, while the left-hand margins bear the suppliers' marks—for a single volume this was a downward stroke (\downarrow), for two volumes a cross (X), and for more than two volumes one vertical stroke with horizontal strokes corresponding to the number of volumes, viz. 20 September 1655 “(⊞) Milanthon's Opera, Vol. 5. 2.0.0.” (f. 7r). Also, a distinction was made in these invoices for “j” between an order for two copies of the same volume and two parts of the same volume, thus “Ruperti Opera. Vol: 2 1.0.0. (f. 7r), “2 bookes of Martyrs: one New at 2d, the other bound in fillets: 1.18.0.” (f. 8r). After 1657 the practice was reversed; the crosses are in the left-hand margin, the strokes in the right-hand margin, and the receipt of multiple volumes is noted by a series of identical multiple strokes corresponding to the number of volumes received; thus, “Corpus Historiae Bizantinae. Vol. 12. Gr.-Lat. IIIIIIIIIII.”

The invoices for 1658-1660 reverted to the 1655-56 practice except that in the right-hand margins multiple volumes are noted by short vertical strokes and there are no crosses in the left-hand margins; Parcel 9 is devoid of marks. In 1669 the librarian's and suppliers' marks were crosses followed by a stop; no volume marks are used. The invoice of 18 October 1656 has crosses only, in both margins. Crosses in the 1672, 1674 and 1675 and 1683 invoices are in the left-hand margins only. The 1684-1685 invoices are free from marks—they have become running accounts, the folio numbers being in the top left-hand corner.

The kind of books bought and the prices paid are, of course, a particularly interesting aspect of the invoices. At first mainly theological works were added to the stock: Bibles, commentaries, and concordances, sometimes bearing a contemporary continental imprint, e.g. seven volumes of Luther's works printed at “Wittenberg” (f. 3r). The purchase of “Alciati's Emblemata, Venet., 6.6.0.” and “Camden's Anglica, Normanica, Hibernica, 1.0.0.” may be considered exceptions. Additions of the classics were also made at an early date; the first item of the 20 September 1655 invoice is “Aristophanes. gr. lat. scholijs, ... 0.15.0.” (f. 7r), and this is followed by seven similar items.

In the order of the same date for the chapel libraries were three 'lay' publications; "1 Heylins Cosmographie ... 1.0.0."; "1 Halls workes Vol. 2 ... 1.10.0."; and "1 Raleighs History of the World ... 1.0.0." The 21 May 1656 invoice includes the first natural history purchases: "Aldrovandi Opera. Vol. 12 Bononiae ... 19.10.0." and "Heylins Cosmographie" described as "New ... 1.0.0." Also, "1 Hollinsheds Chronicle. Large. Vol. 2—2.14.0." (apparently the library's first historical work), "Munsteri Cosmographia" (a single copy, purchased in 1656 for 0.8.0.), and "Purchas' Pilgrims & Pilgrimage. Vol. 5" for 3.15.0. (f. 11r). (It is worth reflecting that a similar set, also from this library, realised £2,000 at Christie's in November 1980.) Early travel books included "1 Strabonio Geographia, gr. lat. Paris: 0.18.0." (1656). Legal works were added in 1657 and included editions of Leigh, Lightbowne and Richardson. The second 1657 invoice (28 July) included the purchase of the first medical works, the texts, namely, of "Galeni Opera. Graeci Vol. 3 Bas. ... 2.10.0." and "Hippocratio Opera. Latini. Vol. 5 ... 2.10.0." The 29 April 1658 invoice is headed by the only manuscript purchase—"Augustini Tractatus varij 2.0.0." (f. 20r) There was also an increase in topographical purchases, including Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, London, 1658, for 0.12.0. and his *Survey of Warwickshire*, 1656, for 1.7.6; both are still in the library. Heraldry, history, dictionaries and military works were also now within the collection's compass, and the following occur:—

"Upton de Studio Militari. fig. Lond., 1654 1. 8.0.
 Mill's Catalogue of Honor. Lond., 1610 0.18.0.
 Vincente Heraldrie. Lond., 1622 1. 5.0.
 Historia Eadmeri 0. 5.0.
 Sanderson's History of King Charles. 1658 0.17.0."

The first English work of distinction was the eighth item on this invoice (f. 20r), "Burtons Melancholy. Oxford, 1651. 0.10.0", followed by "Bacon's Advancement of Learning, 0.8.0." (f. 23r). In 1660 the first numismatic work was purchased "Anto: Augustini Numismata. Ant. 1654—01.4.0." and the 1669 invoice included "Hortus Eyst[jett]ensis Bezleri: 10.0.0." (f. 28r). At least fifteen scientific additions were included in the undated ninth parcel, amongst them

"Dureri Symmetria et Geometria. Par., 1557 . . . 0.14.0.
 Blancanus. de Sphaera mundi. 1635 0. 8.0.

Euclidio Elementa. Commandini. 1619. 0.10.0.
 Lansbergij Tabulae Motuum Caelestium. 0.08.0.”

Among the 1672 additions were Dalechamps' *Historia Plantarum*, Vol. 2, 1.15.0. (f. 34v); Grafton's *Chronicle*, 0.12.0; Gage's *Survey of the West Indyces*, 0.7.8.; Coryat's *Crudities*, 0.10.0 (f. 35v); Camden's *Remaynes*, large paper, 0.4.0 (f. 35v); and Wright's *Errors in Navigation*, 0.6.0. (f. 36r). Interesting additions in 1683 are “Boecleri Architectura Curiosa, 3.10.0.” (f. 2v), the “Theatrum Machinarum cum figuris”, and Grew's *Anatomy of Plants*, “New”, 0.15.0; in 1684 the “Index Librorum Prohibitorum, Madriti”, 1.4.0.” and “Prosper Aquitani Opera. Basle, 0.8.0.” (from the Greenwich bindery),⁴ and in 1685 Snape's *Anatomy of an Horse*, 1.2.6. (f. 61r).

By 1690 the library could clearly be considered a scholar-gentleman's library, adequately equipped with contemporary works in subjects sufficiently specialized in research.

Of the approximately 2,455 books bought in these three decades, 226 are given their dates of publication in the invoices. Of these, 34 are of the 16th century and 192 of the 17th, the earliest date being 1502 and the latest 1681. A copy of the *Cronica Chronicorum* (f. 29r), described as “Large, cum figuris”, is undated as are the “Tractatus varij” of St. Augustine (f. 20r). Sometimes the suppliers also include the place of publication. The names of 266 towns are given, in Austria, Holland, England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Switzerland. Apart from Cambridge, Edinburgh, London and Oxford, Latin versions of the names have been used, suggesting that the titles were directly copied. Four printers only are mentioned: Stephanus (10), a distinction being made between Robert and Henry; Plantin, whose name appears twice, and Jugge, the sole English printer (“1 Bible in English, large. Printed by Jugge” (f. 10r)).

The average price paid for a single book varied from 6s./8s. to £1.10.0. One of the most expensive single items purchased was “The King of Spaine's Bible” with gilt edges, which cost the foundation £20.0.0; the “Hortus Eyst[ett]jensis Bezleri” cost £10.0.0. The following table indicates the general run of prices;—

Less than £ 1	1597 books
Less than £ 2	282 books

⁴ An example of English gold-tooled binding on white leather, this volume is said to have been bound for Henry VIII, c. 1545, by the “Greenwich binder”.

£2 - £3	85 books
£3 - £4	53 books
£4	12 books
£5	4 books
£6	2 books
£7	3 books
£8	1 book
£9	2 books
£10	2 books
£13	1 book
£15	1 book
£20 (2)	4 books
£20.10.1.	1 book

The total estimated cost to the Governors for book purchases during these years was £1,308.9.9. Other expenses included miscellaneous costs and paper; the latter was ordered by the quire. Occasionally binding costs were also invoiced, e.g. on f.23r, "Biblia Linguarum Orientalium. Vol. 6, quires ... 12.0.0.", with underneath "Payd for Extraordinary Binding ... 04.0.0; "For putting Pooles 3d volume into Pastboards ... 0.2.0; and "for binding Two Second volumes [of] Pooles Synopsis ... 0.12.0" (f. 36v).

The invoices are also informative about the activities of 17th-century book-suppliers. Their responsibilities included book purchase; contact with English and foreign book suppliers; securing the services of carmen, carriages and porters; obtaining packing cases; drawing up invoices; settling accounts; arranging the transport of the books north; and other miscellaneous duties, such as binding, supplying paper, and, on one occasion, finding a mathematical instrument maker.

Robert Littlebury of Islington supplied books from 1655 to 1684. Other known suppliers were Samuel Smith (1683-1685) and Mordecai Moxon⁵ (1685). The latter was a Manchester man and supplied books between 1682 and 1690. The suppliers of books in the earlier invoice notes are not known, as these are neither dated

⁵ See *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vi (1889), 1-26 ("Notes on the Early Booksellers and Stationers of Manchester Prior to the Year 1700", by J. P. Earwaker, of which pp. 18-20 deal with "Mordecai Moxon, 1679 to 1692"). Earwaker notes (p. 18) that "Several books were purchased from him for the Chetham Library between 1682 and 1690."

nor signed. Evidence of their activities is, however, considerable and there are at least three references to overseas acquisitions. For example, a note dated London, 9 August 1683: "the most of them [i.e. books] are such as come lately from beyond the sea, at noe small charge ... I expect many from France daily" (f. 43r). A year later (16 September 1684) another note reads "Having the last weeke received from Geneva a new peier publisht by Bonitus ...". Again, in August of the same year Littlebury writes, "they [the books] are generally new, and never came into any library, being such as were lately brought out of Italy, and France, at noe small charge: the Prices are just as every one payed" (f. 47r).

Although the invoices of 1655-1670 do not mention the services of middlemen, in those from 1671 to 1684 at least the names of three of these are given: Mr. Hough, Mr. Mayer, and Mr. Hindley, the first being called a merchant. Mr. Hough's services were used for over a decade (1671-1684). Samuel Smith, in a note dated 16 December 1684, states that he "Recd. of Mr. Tho: Minshull by a bill drawn with Mr. Hough, the sum ... for a parcell of books sent down to Manchester Library by accounting to the like of value ... 20.3.6." This is the most explicit of eight similar entries.

The references to purchases of paper, also noted above, and the "mathematicall" instrument maker are interesting. In the note of 9 August 1683 Littlebury writes: "The paper for the frames is deeper and Broader, then you gave directions, but I could not have any large enough but what was not strong and white, this is extraordinary & commonly sold for 3d. a sheete." His note of 17 October 1674 reads: "I have acquainted the mathematicall Instrument maker, with what you writt about the spheare, whoe sayed that hee will take care to haue one made before May next, soe as it may bee exact and for his Creditt, If you please I can have it viewed by one of the ablest Persons in England, but shall not Conclude as to the Price without your order".

Littlebury served the library long enough to develop a personal interest in the collection. He writes on f. 24v: "Within the Covers of Dr. Hamond on the Psalmes and Gauden Eccles: Angl: Suspiria. you will finde the donor's name Printed upon a piece of paper, and if ye like were done throughout the Library, it would keepe his name high in memory, & it might Encourage others to doe something in that way." His intimate knowledge of the collection is clear from several other notes. In July 1670, for instance, he

writes "I am about buying a Library where many good bookes are. Whether I buy or not, I shall take note of such as are wanting in the Library to lye by me upon occasion." Again, four years later, "Except Bacons Resuscitation, the Cardinalismo, Clavis Talmuidica and a piece of Vossius, all which I finde by my notes are allready in your Library (London, 16 July 1674)", and ten years later, "I have presumed to give you an account of it, because the rest of his workes are in the library ... R. Littlebury. London. September 16: 1684."

Three notes refer to the interest of Governors in the selection of books, especially that of Dr. Nicholas Stratford, Warden of the Collegiate Church and later Bishop of Chester. Thus, we find Samuel Smith stating on 29 May 1683 that "I was ordered by Dr. Stratford, who is pleased to favour me with his commands ..." and in August 1684 there is a reference to "The bookes ... which Dr. Stratford was pleased to make choice of at present". At the end of the same month occurs: "there is not a leafe of Paper more then was made choice of by the Bishop of St. Asaph and Dr. Stratford, except for Mr. Downes Treatises wich you writte for Mr. Tillsleyes directions".

Purchases were made by the suppliers from a list prepared by the Governors, whose demands they were expected to satisfy. The physical description and invoice entries suggest that particular editions and certain versions were specified, and the frequent use of the word "new" suggests that often a second-hand volume was to be preferred to a new one. Examples may be cited to illustrate these points; thus, a 1655 invoice entry reads, "1 Buntings Travils of the Patriarch Wth. a map," and the entry beneath "... of the same at second hand ... 0.3.6." (f. 6r). Orders for specific editions are numerous, e.g. "1 Topsill on Joel: 2d Edition" (f. 6v), "1 Eusebius Eccles: Historia, last edit. 0.10.0." (f. 8r), "1 Greenham's Workes, 5th edition" (f. 6v), or "Selden de dio Syrio, ult. edit." Other details specified include; "1 Clemens Alexandri: gr. lat. Large Paper ... 0.18.0." (f. 2v), "1 Coci Confusa Patrum. with paper ... 0.3.0." (f. 4v), "1 Gataker Gods eye on his Israel with other tracts 0.2.5." (f. 6v), "1 Brightman on Rivilation. Cant: Daniel. Bound in black leather fillets" (f. 7v), "2 Bookes of Martyrs, one new at 2d the other bound in Fillets: 1^l 18s. 3.18.0." (f. 8r), "1 Bible in English. Large volume. New 1.10.0.", "1 Scapula Lexicon, New Dutch Binding: 1.9.0." (f. 11v), "Howall's Survey of Venice. gilt. 0.5.0." (f. 12r), "Chester Countie: Illus-

trated 0.9.0." (f. 12v), "Sands Travels, bound in Turkey leather" (f. 12r), "Guillim's Heraldry 1660. Enlarged 0.9.0." (f. 23r), "Rastalls Book of Entries. 1596: not ye last but the most Correct Edition 2.0.0." (f. 42r), and "Nicolaj Hercules Siculus, sive studium Geographicum With Mapps: 2.5.0." (f. 44r).

The invoices of the chapel libraries are separate and their smaller loads usually consisted of theological and related works. Deliveries were irregular. Parcels arrived every year from 1655 to 1658. The 1659 and 1660 invoices are still extant and there are references to those for 1669, 1670, 1674 and 1684. The first consignments were named "The Parcell of English", perhaps a reference to the wording in the Founder's Will ("godly English bookes"); another form of address was simply "English Bookes" (7 May 1657, 28 July 1657) and another description "For the churches" (20 Sept. 1655), or merely "Those left for Boulton", "The books delivered to Gorton Chapell," or "A catalogue of Books for Boulton" (f. 57v).

The left-hand marginal invoice notes of 1655-1657 suggest that the chapel deliveries were made *en bloc* and that there were overlaps between "the Great Library's" stocks and those of the chapel libraries. In the invoices there is an allocation code: B means that the volume is intended for Bolton, D for Droylsden, G for Gorton, T for Turton, M for Manchester and W for Walmsley. AE and C also occur, although the meaning here is not clear. On f. 56v is another allocation:—

"B: ffor the Library at Boulton

M: Library at Manchester

London: Sent to Littlebury

Jenson: Sould Mr. Jenson" [probably intended for Rev. Richard Johnson, the first Chetham's Librarian, 1653-75].

A clarification of this key is supplemented by a foot-note on f. 13v.:

"1 One volume of Lapide, now sent, two more yet remaynes.
1 Manton on James, wich two Bookes should have bine sent with the English,
1 Jenkyn on Jude, that are for the churches, I pray bee pleased to add thim unto those wch came to you first—where ye Bookes of Martyres are catalogued and prizd."

The inference is that the stocks of the various libraries were

interchangeable and this is reinforced by a note of f. 17v "This parcell of English was bought for one of the chapells, but if there bee any of them judged necessary by you for ye library, Mr. Johnson is willing yt such should be placed there."

Forty-seven volumes came with the invoice of 20 Sept. 1655, costing £25.3.0. Two notes to the 1656 invoices refer to acquisitions specially intended for the chapel libraries namely (f. 4r) "2 Bp. Jewell's Workes: for 2 of ye Chappils. 2.0.0." (1 August 1655) and (f. 16v) "May 7-1657, 1 Large Bible for one of the Chappels 1.10.0." The invoice of 7 May 1657 contained 14 folios and 12 quartos (total cost £13.4.0.), and nine items were marked G, presumably for Gorton. The lot of 28 July 1657, "English books sent with ye sixt parcell", included 5 folios, 17 quartos and 6 octavos (total cost £8.9.6.); again nine items were marked for Gorton. The 1684 invoice (12 Nov. 1684) mentions English books. The specific request in the Will for "godly English Bookes, such as Calvins, Prestons and Perkins workes", was complied with, for on f. 8r we read of the purchase of

"2 Calvins Institutions. English	0.15.0.
1 Calvins on Isaiah. English.	0.10.0.
1 Calvins on Job. English.	0. 8.0,"

while the verso of the same leaf records purchases of "2 Jewels workes. London. 1611 2.0.0." and "2 Perkins workes at 37s. a book". These purchases were often specially bound, thus "Perkins Workes. Vol. 3. Camb. 1604, very strong bound; and with claspes. 1.18.0." (f. 7r). This also happened with Bibles. Purchases for the chapel libraries cost the foundation between £200 and £300 (an approximate estimate being £227.19.6.) The invoice arrangements are similar to those for the "Great Library", extra charges being accounted for in the final total for all the libraries. Differences to be noted are that Latin entries are absent, and obvious care was taken to ensure that the English versions of foreign publications were bought. Duplicates were presumably acquired (although this is not always indicated) for distribution to these libraries. The later invoices, written in five 17th-century hands, are more compressed; a feature of the Bolton, Gorton, Turton, and Walmsley chapel libraries invoices is the inclusion of book fixtures (f. 59r.), carriage, chaining (f. 57r), and furnishing costs, viz., desks. Once (30 June 1659) a chapel delivery was executed by George Chetham's servants.

However, the significance of the chapel libraries is historical rather than bibliographical. Founded as sister subsidiaries of the "Great Library", their purpose, as shown by their contents, was to edify "the common people". To-day only Turton survives. The Gorton Chapel library has been disbanded, its books now being in the "Great Library" on permanent loan, where they are kept in their original chest in the Old Reading Room.

It is perhaps invidious to compare the ways of one century with those of another. Three centuries ago expedition of business seems to have been virtually independent of time. Accounting, packing and transport methods were cruder, but perhaps off-set by deeper personal interest. The contents of the libraries, determined by the Governors, had their main emphasis then on theology; to-day it is on North-Western history and topography. An interesting point emerging is the variety of the booksellers' duties, often performed single-handed. Exporters and suppliers rather than sellers, their role can hardly be compared with that of their modern counterparts. Packing had to be stronger to withstand the hazards of the journeys. The book traffic between the Continent and England was heavy, but suppliers still seemed to communicate with printers. The greatest difference, however, undoubtedly lies in prices. Thus, Besler's *Hortus Eystettensis*, then bought for £10, is to-day worth some £10,000, while many of the theological works so diligently added to the collection are now not even worth their seventeenth-century purchase-prices.