The Value of Books:

The York Minster Library as a social arena for commodity exchange.

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It would be the height of ignorance, and a great irony, if within a work focused on the donations of books, that the author fails to acknowledge and thank those who assisted in its production.

Having been distant from both Uppsala and close friends whilst writing this thesis, (and missing dearly the chances to talk to others in person), it goes without saying that this work would not be possible if I had not had the support of many generous and wonderful people. Although to attempt to thank all those who assisted would, I am sure, fail to acknowledge everyone, a few names should be highlighted:

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Fourthly, to my family and closest – thank you for supporting (and proof reading, Maja Drakenberg) me throughout this process. Any success of the work can be attributed to your assistance.

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Contents:

Foreword

To the present-day reader texts are widely available. However, to the early modern reader this access was limited. While book ownership increased in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was not universal – even libraries were both limited in their collections and exclusive to the communities they served. Libraries were to be found all over Early Modern England, from city libraries to town subscription libraries. One could gain access to books but these collections were often rather limited in the variety and number of books they offered. Undoubtedly many libraries purchased books for their collections, but frequently books were also given to them by benefactors. One fine example of a community library which reflects its readers and members is the library of St Peter's Cathedral, York Minster. York Minister library owes its existence to traceable benefactors and donations. One could study the collection to give an insight into reading practices and interests of the Early Modern Period. But in doing so we fall foul of becoming static and failing to develop the historiography of Book History. Instead, we can re-evaluate this collection by drawing from the old focus of genres but shifting this focus and approach the collection from a different path: a material path. These books resonate value. Not solely due to their genres and subject matter, but their value is also generated in how the books became accessible, through generosity and donation. As donations from benefactors these books should not be considered solely as works of literature, but as gifts from one agent to another. Gifts given with both intention and purpose.

Turning a new page on perspective of value:

Written words, and our subsequent readings and thoughts over these words, influence how we interact with our physical, social, and emotional environments. We have all, I hope, had the poignant moment where a text has moved us, where a text has made us re-evaluate or rethink our perspectives. Be it a text which we have discovered on our own literary adventures, or a work given to us or suggested for us to read, we associate moments of self-development and reflection with particular literary moments. We value these moments. From the 'Word of God' contained in the Bible to the classical works of the Greek and Roman philosophers, the value of putting pen to paper for future readings is widely acknowledged as an important part of the history of Early Modern Europe.[1] This perspective on the cultural significance of books has not changed much over the centuries – an avid modern day reader would be in good company holding a conversation with those gripped by the reading frenzy of the eighteenth century.[2] Yet it appears that historical studies largely maintain their focus upon the pages themselves, on who owned them, and how they were read. The action of the historian in studying literature can almost be described as inaction, or at least static. Yet one should acknowledge another perspective, namely that works of literature used as historical sources offer more than a mere insight into a past world of words.

The cultural importance of literature has been the focus of many studies – the emergence of Book History as its own branch of historical investigations testifies to this. However, much of this history has been confined to the private book collections of the Early Modern Period. This is understandable when one considers the earlier aims of this branch of history tasking itself with linking book ownership to social status and intellectual curiosities.[3] At points we have a shift in this focus: Paul Kaufman's studies in the community and subscription libraries, Robert Darnton's focus on printing circuits, and Roger Chartier's focus on how texts and books were read, all move away from this static tradition whilst still looking at the literary culture of the past.[4] However, even with these studies the book can be seen as an isolated island where one individual's interactions with the book is a closed circuit, or at least stepping stones to other literary islands. An individual borrows a book from a library: what does this tell us about reading vogues? A publisher sends a book to another: why was one particular genre selected over another? A person reads a particular book:

[1] S. Kurschus. *European Book Cultures: Diversity as a Challenge*. (Weiebaden: Springer VS, 2015) pp. 26
[2] Guglielmo Cavallo, and Roger Chartier, 'Introduction', found in *A History of Reading in the West*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1999). Pp. 24
[3] I. Jackson. 'Historical Review: Approaches to the History of Readers and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Britain', found in, *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 47, No. 4 (December 2004). pp. 1042
[4] Wallace Kirsop, 'Booksellers and Their Customers: Some Relections on Recent Research', found in, *Book History,* Vol. 1. (1998). pp. 283.

how do they read the text? This focus lies still lies with the words. Yet, books are more than words arranged in a particular order, more than just an insight into concepts of the past. It is this understanding that a book can be viewed as more than simply words that sparked this thesis' interest. If we consider instead how a person obtained a book, then the book changes from an isolated literature island to a door into a social world. This was Kaufman's focus. What then if we look for moments where a person gives away a book? Then the book alters again. It is no longer the island, nor is it a door. Instead it becomes a vessel which transports the giver from the isolated island to the social door. But why is this action important? Simply put, actions are vital when looking into the social history of the past.

Actions speak louder than words. To many this proverb will be all too familiar, its meaning clear. Physical interactions generate greater significance than merely saying or writing an opinion or intention. One is visible, traceable, provable; the other, flimsy, full of good intentions but can lack the conviction to follow through. Furthermore, actions can stimulate a response where words fail to do so. However, this snippet of advice fails to acknowledge one thing: words can inspire actions. Moreover, one needs to recognise that when one is granted access to words, specifically their physical form, by another, this in itself is an action. We can describe this action of giving a book to another as a pathway into the gift economy which was present in early modern society. For those who were able to understand which pieces of literature were of value, or were perhaps just lucky in their choices of gifts, giving particular books to particular people opened particular doors.

When these books are considered as gifts they take a new form of historical importance: they can reveal how, and perhaps why, historical agents gave their own culturally valuable items to another. Here we see words in action. We witness the act of donating books, donating words and thoughts, to the York Minster library. The words initiate the action; the action, in turn, stimulates a response. The questions therefore are simple: what words, what response, to whom and why?

The Value of the Thesis

Many studies can credit their existence to questions inspired by other studies. This thesis is no different. It owes its formation to many different academics and academic traditions, in particular to the study of literary cultures, centred on interactions within and across libraries, the study of the book as a historical material, and the ideas of gift theory. Each approach has its strengths but, so this thesis wishes to demonstrate, by combining select facets from each approach a new focus of book culture can be achieved. This thesis aims to demonstrate that books are material artefacts which can initiate and influence social relationships depending on the perceived value of the book,

and were not simply the educational and cultural items into new intellectual movements. The gratitude that was generated from such values in turn elevated a person, opening new pathways into social positions, or access to opportunities previously closed to them.

The Value of Books: the absence of books as gifts in Early Modern studies

The unique insight into the past, revealed through studying the literature of the past, has long been pursued. Arguably beginning with Lucien Fevbre and Henri-Jean Martin's work *L'Apparition du Livre*, which sought to question who read what, this process largely depended on categorisation of genres and distribution of works.[5] This approach to History of the Book, focusing on genres and printing has largely continued. Wallace Kirsop gives reason for this when he identifies three fixations that possess book historians: production of books, distribution of books, and how these books were received.[6] This approach is understandable when one notices that the focus runs parallel with the already identified original aims of Book History which links book ownership to intellectual development and social status. Yet, the discipline has evolved, and the focuses now include sub-branches such as of the History of Reading and the study of libraries. Both approaches reveal social history previously overlooked. This thesis seeks to act as a bridge between these two sub-branches.

Firstly, this thesis is an attempt to contribute to what has been identified as an Anglo centric scholarly approach to the History of Reading. This approach seeks to explore not only the way a person read, interpreted and reflected upon a text, but more specifically for this study, the social history of literature. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier argue that a social history is traceable through a book's circulation – in this specific case, the gift of literature from one agent to another.[7] Moreover, literature can both constrain a person's social mobility whilst simultaneously granting them freedoms. Constraints seen in the limitations of what an historical agent could read and who to communicate this knowledge to, and freedoms manifested in thought and communication within a reading community. However, as this thesis has a dual focus on both the literature donated and on the impact of a donation, its results emphasise that freedoms gained by reading were not simply intellectual development, but social mobility or influence.

Secondly, as strongly asserted by Kirsop, books are more than simply ideas and concepts penned and bound for future reading, they are objects.[8] Although emphasising the commercial

[5] Roger Chartier, 'Reading matter and 'Popular' Reading from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century, found in, *A History of Reading in the West*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1999). pp. 269:
[6] Wallace Kirsop, (1998). pp. 283.
[7] Guglielmo Cavallo, and Roger Chartier, (1999). pp. 34
[8] Wallace Kirsop, (1999). pp. 303

enterprise of book production, this does inadvertently suggest one thing: the book itself can manipulate and affect the social position of its owner. This transforms the book from a literary device to a material object, allowing the historian to study a book's life-cycle and movement rather than simply the text itself. The library of the Cathedral of St. Peter, York, presents a perfect opportunity to adopt this approach as the majority of its books came through donations. Yet, book donations as focus for historical studies appear to have been largely skimmed over, with the exclusion of a select amount of passages in Paul Kaufman's works, the work of Felicity Heal and Natalie Zemon-Davis, and a recent publication by Janika Bischof.

Felicity Heal suggests that words, presented as gifts, were frequently the most valuable of presents one could give to another in Early Modern Tudor England.[9] Although the majority of these 'gifts of words' were dedications, letters or poems, the commonplace action of donating a book was still considered to be of great value by both the donator and the receiver. This was determined by the book's ability to play on the receiver's identity, the book's own subject matter and its form and condition.[10] Yet, Heal asserts that there are few examples where donations from particular individuals exemplify an understanding of their political and social environments within their culture.[11] The donations of several individuals to the York Minster appear to give evidence of this. Even though this thesis' time period begins a century later, it is still an exciting prospect for the social historian: an opportunity to show how a person manoeuvred across and within social arenas through the use of literary donations. With that said, these examples may still only appear to focus primarily on individuals, rather than a community.

Recently, Janika Bischof's work, *'Testaments, Donations, and the Values of Books as Gifts: A Study of Records from Medieval England before 1450'* (2014), identified this oversight of books as gifts in historical studies.[12] Concluding that books were held in high regard as gifts, Bischof sought to analyse how books' values were suggested through the language in which they were described. Ranging from a consideration over the semantics of esteem (good, nice, etc.), to the size and aesthetic appearance of the works, Bischof's study offers an approach into investigating how medieval minds sought to qualify the value of their literary gifts. Although the study focuses on the era preceding the Early Modern Period this suggestion does reinforce the notion that books held more value than simply their physical materials and production costs. With that said, Bischof's study only focuses on the description of value rather than assessing value by looking for impact. In order to do this one must combine the conclusions of Zemon-Davies, Cavallo and Chartier.

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[9] Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gift: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford. Oxford University Press. 2015). pp. 43
[10] *Ibid.* pp. 48
[11] *Ibid.* pp. 47
[12] Janika Bischof, *Testaments, Donations, and the Values of Books as Gifts: A Study of Records from Medieval England before 1450'* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang: 2014) pp. 15

Writing on the subject of book donations in sixteenth and seventeenth century France, Zemon-Davies suggested many of the points echoed by Heal. However, one point stands out: the uniqueness of books when they have taken the status of gifts or donations. As the book in western traditions has a heritage connected to the original gift, the word of God, the ownership of any book given or donated – especially to a community both public and private such as York Minister library – is contested. Again, focusing on dedications initially, Zemon-Davies argues that these dedications reveal a shift in social importance of books: from patronage to social and religious issues.[13] This change in dedication can also been seen in the nature and purpose of what a book should do, and to whom should the benefits be directed to. Unlike other gifts, plate, clothing, food, etc., a book has two distinct imprints: first, the imprint of the giver or donator that is imparted upon the book; second, the author and the contents of the book itself, generated from the writings and knowledge contained within the book.[14] This understanding is again highlighted by Bischof when stating that when the book is given the status as a gift through donations, it has two 'dimensions', the material aspects of the work, and the connection with the previous owner(s).[15] However, what is suggested by this thesis is that a third, and final, imprint is made on a book when given as a gift: the imprint of the contemporary world as understood by the reader – in this case the community of the York Minster library.

Although hinted at by Zemon-Davies and Bischof, this is not explicitly underscored. Zemon-Davies' assertion that the ownership of literary works is contested between public and private spheres (who has the right of possession over knowledge found within books when knowledge, to the many early modern agents, is a reflection to the original gift, the *Word of God*), complicates this idea of two imprints or dimensions. Should only two imprints be found within the book, then any reciprocal benefit is easily identifiable. However, with the confusion over private versus public ownership this is not as clear as one would like to assume. Moreover, Cavallo and Chartier's emphasis on the constraints and freedoms of a book, which is the direct consequence of the immediate contemporary world a reader finds themselves in, suggest that a book's identity *must* acknowledge the contemporary world of its donator and its receiver. What is valuable to one person in one generation may be of different value to another in a different place or time. The implication is that any reward generated from a donation may instead go to the social group and those who construct the contemporary world as they give the reader the ability to understand and communicate this new knowledge to others. All these imprints form a complex object, which can

[13] Natalie Zemon-Davies, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gift in Sixteenth Century France: The Prothero Lecture', found in, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 33 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1983). pp. 79
[14] *Ibid.* pp. 70.
[15] Janika Bischof, (2014) pp. 27

add to the value of the book whilst simultaneously obscuring who should receive the reciprocal benefits: the author, the donator, or the contemporary world (see *Fig. 1*.).

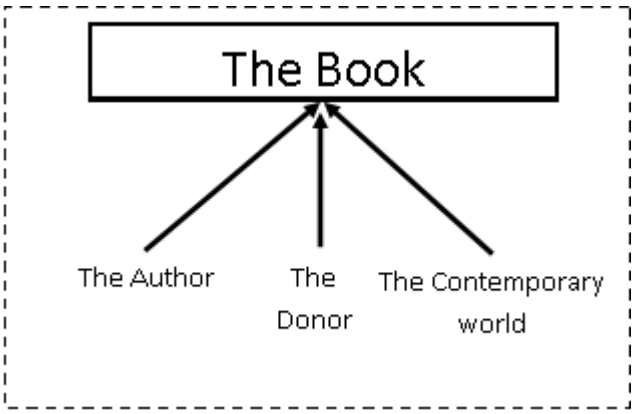

Fig. 1. The imprints of identity on a Book which determine its value.

By re-evaluating books as historical objects, any acts of donation which result in a change in social position, associations, or privileges suggest that the selection of a specific book to a specific audience instigated, or at least contributed to, this change, not simply the reading vogues of the day. Should they have donated an appropriate work at the correct time to the correct people, this may indeed allow the benefactor entry to this social group, or increased social standing. Therefore, to understand how a person manoeuvred through the social spheres of York Minster between 1685 and 1858, one must give an overview of this social arena.

The York Minster Library as a social arena and its community

To the north of Dean's Park, jetting out from the narrow path that encircles its lawns, lies the York Minster Library. Largely overshadowed and overlooked - perhaps understandably – by the spires of the Minster, it is nowadays accessible to all members of the public. Grasping hold of the rather obtrusive metal handle and passing through its heavy oak studded door, one enters the library to find themselves flanked on each side by different paths: to the right lies a room with a large collection of books and busts of past intellectuals casting their eyes down on any visitor, to the left a stair case leading to the present-day reading rooms. If one should climb the stairs higher, passing through the anti-room, itself furnished from floor to ceiling with books, one enters the Old Library. Illuminated by light shining through the large south-facing stained-glass window, book cases line the walls. The room seems to emit an atmosphere of learning and heritage. One would be forgiven for believing this building has always been the home of the Minster's library. This, however, is incorrect. Previously the Minster's literary collections were held in a building attached to the south-side of the cathedral, today the Cathedral gift shop. With the efforts of Dean William Markham in

the 19th century the collection was moved to this outer building (itself possessing a unique history as the 'Old Palace').[16] Although the literary collection, with its movement between sites and its association with learning and benefactors, hints to its historical uniqueness (a library that crossed boundaries and possessed great cultural value) for this thesis the library's importance is seen from a different perspective. The importance lies with those who entered this learning environment. Books have no purpose if they are not read; libraries are lifeless without a community. The library was, and still is, a social arena, and much like its books, it is punctuated with many moments of community interaction.

The existence of the Minster's library can trace its history back to the eighth century and the character of Egbert.[17] Its purpose was to instruct the clergy and lay students in the traditional seven liberal arts of medieval education. In reflection of this the library boasted the theological writers of classical antiquity (Rome, Greece, Hebrews, and Africa).[18] Even at this early stage the purpose of the library and its close fixation on religious themes was known. However, with the fire of 1069 the library's treasures were all but lost and its communal function became almost none-existent.[19] It was not until 1414, with the donation of works by John Newton, that the library reemerged with a valuable collection for its community. The reason given by Newton for his donation shows that he understood how literary works of value could reap rewards: the books were 'to be delivered to the chapter of York to remain in their library in perpetuity, for the salvation of my [John Newton's] soul and of all the faithful departed'.[20] Following the traditional practice of donations to ecclesiastical communities, Newton demonstrates the contemporary understanding that spiritual penance could be achieved under the guise of generous donations of books, and more specifically worked within the community of York. Interestingly, although the consideration of others, termed 'the faithful', is not unusual in acts of Christian benefaction, it does highlight that those who donated items were aware of the need to acknowledge a debt to a larger community.

This practice of exchanging property for religious purposes was widely prevalent in the medieval period. However, with the shift in the religious institutions from Catholic to Protestant in the Tudor era this practice supposedly faded, yet donations to the minster continued. One thing is certain, similar to the impact of the fire of the 11th century, the shifts in religious allegiance forced the library to alter its contents to meet the new religious teachings adopting new texts and removing others.[21] The result was a confusing collection which was difficult to use. This was rectified and was the direct stimulus for the library's new focus: to serve its canon and clerical community, but

[16] Clements Markham, *Markham Memorials Vol II* (London: Spottiswoode & co. 1913) pp. 78-9
[17] C.B.L Barr, 'The Minster Library', found in, G.E Aylmer and R. Cant, *A History of York Minster*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1977) pp. 487
[18] *Ibid.* pp. 489
[19] *Ibid.* pp. 491
[20] *Ibid.* pp. 495
[21] *Ibid.* pp. 497

more importantly, loaning texts to its members.[22] The purpose of the library had switched from simply a housing texts chained to the shelves and lecterns, to educating its members both within and outside of the library. When an individual took a book from the library an element of the library went with it. The assertion is that the library was attempting to reach out and interact with the surrounding community. Tied with the large endowment of Archbishop Tobias Matthew's extensive literary collection by his widow Frances Matthews in 1628, which made the library one of the largest cathedral libraries, the Minster's library became a centre of book culture.[23] Paul Kaufman notes that, in comparison to many other cathedral libraries, the Minster demonstrated an uncommon openness to its reading community.[24]

Following the example of Newton and Matthew many more individuals are recorded to have donated to the library. Ranging from members of the clergy to secular individuals, from public intellectuals to the academically curious, from book binders to local dignities, from lords to ladies, the community grew with the library's collection. Families of the clergy often became entwined with the collection, donating texts across generations and the library even boasted Emperor Alexander II of Russia as a benefactor in 1863. With such prestigious connections to the library the opportunity to associate oneself with others through similar acts of donation would have been a great incentive. It was not until the formation of the *Yorkshire Philosophical Society* in 1822 that the library's position as the bastion of learning for residents was challenged. Again, supporting the idea that the library offered a unique entry point to a powerful community. Yet the community which it served was not contained to the books or walls of the library. Occupying positions in local politics, holding leases for large sways of land in Yorkshire, and honoured on the plagues and windows of the cathedral, the community ventured from the library. Many of them strengthening their bonds and positions in the local community with this association. Although it is impossible to conclude with full certainty that these connections were formed as a direct consequence of the donations, these acts of generosity will have contributed to their public opinion. In order to determine how this is possible, one must understand what is how gifts and donations can influence relations between people and communities.

[22] *Ibid.* pp. 499
[23] *Ibid.* pp. 500
[24] P. Kaufman. 'Reading Trends in Cathedral Libraries', found in, *Libraries and Their Users: Collected Papers in Library History.* (London: Library Association. 1969) pp. 80.

The *Creed* of gifts: the 'rules' of gift exchange.

Keywords and terminology: Commodity, politics of knowledge, reciprocal, gratitude, charity, love.

Objects as *commodities* and *forms of exchange*.

The subject of what, and how, social forces dictate and/or influence how humans interact with one another has been the interest of many historical investigations. Theories of social discipline, identity politics, and gender history, etc., all provide ideas why humans, often as a response to internal or external stimuli, behave in a certain way. However, explanation of human interaction is not, and should not be seen as, the exclusive pursuit of the historian – other disciplines have also sought to explain human interaction. Social anthropologists, psychologists, and philosophers have all thrown their chips into the pot of theories. It is the ambition of this paper to take inspiration from these other disciplines, specifically Social Anthropology, to improve our understanding of how and why people of the past donated or gave possessions to others.

Within many social theories the role of economics rises to the forefront. From the Marxist perspective of economic inequality to the Annales School's attempts to write 'total history', the economic conditions in which humans find themselves appears to hold a centre stage. Central to this approach is the concept of *commodity*.[25]

One of the first attempts at defining a commodity can be attributed to Karl Marx. Marx saw a commodity as an object that a person wishes to possess, either through necessity or desire: 'A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another'.[26] This notion of *want* or *desire* is vital as it allows a person to distinguish between objects and commodities, and place value upon them. However, this vague definition may imply that an item is a commodity in its very nature. Yet this was not what Marx suggested. The examples of commodities given by Marx can be described as 'assembled' items made through the interaction and agency of humans – such as iron and paper. These items are constructed from other materials, or elements, which are 'assembled' or extracted resulting in the final commodity. Iron is only attained when it has been extracted from iron ore; paper is created through a process of working wood into a pulp, then after several more processes, eventually becoming paper. Without the insight of humans these objects would not exist or have practical uses. This emphasis on the importance of human intervention could even stretch to include foraged

[25] A. Appadurai. *The Social life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective.* (Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1989). pp. 5
[26] K. Marx, '*Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. Volume I. Book One: The Process of Production of Capital.'* (1887) pp. 27

items that have been taken from their natural environment into the possession of a person. From this perspective commodities are distinct from the objects found within nature, they are worked or interacted with.

However, Marx argued that as commodities also hold value as determined by their social use, which only becomes visible in exchange, this makes commodities distinct from products.[27] Yet he fails to clarify if this is an aspect of a commodity or simply of a result in the change of its state: 'the valid exchange values of a given commodity express something equal; secondly, exchange value, generally, is only the mode of expression, the phenomenal form, of something contained in it, yet distinguishable from it.'[28] Marx, perhaps not intentionally, implies that an item is a commodity *before* it is exchanged between agents. This creates a problem: if an item is only to be considered a commodity if it is the result of human interaction, something motived by desire, then the relationship of value is only between the item and its maker. Yet, if the value of a commodity is made manifest only through exchange then shouldn't this status of exchange be an integral aspect of its nature? Georg Simmel's, who argued that objects are only valuable – and therefore commodities - if they are out of our reach, or *resist* our desires, illustrates this problem.[29]

Here Arjun Appardurai attempts to clarify Marx's definition by emphasising that the movement of an item's ownership makes it a commodity; an item only becomes a commodity when in a transitional phase, i.e. being exchanged.[30] Therefore, it is the desire of an item that provokes how a person interacts with another, not the existence of an item.

Finally, if a commodity is an object which is desired, and therefore valuable, by an agent and is only available through exchange, it must in turn adhere to *politics of knowledge*.[31] This suggests that the *context* of the exchange also impacts on the value of a commodity. For example, the Book of Common Prayer, 1543, would generate different values depending on the time it is exchanged. If exchanged in year of its publication between supporters of the English throne, when England was becoming more staunchly Protestant, it may generate a high value; if exchanged two decades after when Catholicism returned it may yield little value. Clearly, in order to value a commodity, the context in which the commodity is exchanged must be considered.

In summary, this thesis will seek to define a commodity as the following: an object of desire in a transitional state, the value of which is determined by three aspects – the nature of the object; the agents who are engaged in the exchange; and, the context (referred to previously as the *politics of knowledge*) that the exchange is completed within. Furthermore, as the movement of a *commodity*

[27] K. Marx. (1887) pp. 30
[28] *Ibid.* pp. 27
[29] G. Simmel. *The philosophy of money.* (London: Routledge. 1978). pp. 67
[30] A. Appadurai. (1989). pp. 13
[31] *Ibid.* pp 16

is essential one must understand the different forms of exchange, all of which can be found under the umbrella term of *economic exchange*. Economic exchanges can be categorised into three distinct forms: i) direct exchange ii) bartering[32] and iii) the exchange of gifts.[33] It is with the final category, the exchange of gifts, where there has been great oversight by many Early Modern and Modern historians – as well as sociologists. As a result an important pathway of social interaction has been ignored; this thesis wishes to rectify this.[34]

Gift exchange as an economic mechanism.

Although the focus of this section lies with gift exchange one must understand how it differs from direct exchange and bartering. Direct exchange suggests that the possession of a commodity is transferred for its equal monetary value, (the value of A is equal is the monetary value B, thus the exchange is equal). It should be noted that Marx suggested that commodities were only present in monetary systems,[35] but, taking inspiration from Marcel Mauss and others, as commodities are defined and understood as given above, they can be found in the two other forms of exchange. Bartering assumes that one may negotiate the value of a commodity, which fluctuates with the politics of knowledge, and is not dependant solely on monetary payment, but can be exchanged with a commodity that is equal to the agreed value, (the value of A is equal to the negotiated value of B, therefore the exchange is deemed equal).[36] Distinct to both of these is the *exchange of gifts*. Simply put, gift theory involves the movement of a commodity between two agents without need for an immediate exchange of alterative commodities or monetary payment, (one agent gives commodity A to another without *visible*[37] exchange of value), but instead provokes future interactions between the agents to reciprocate the gift's value. One should note that bartering and exchange of gifts are universal forms, termed as *primitive* forms of commodity exchange, whereas direct exchange is exclusive to those who are part of a monetary economy. It is here that we can see the benefits of considering the practice of exchange of gifts in the past: whilst early modern

[32] Here I have distinguished between direct exchange and bartering in order to make distinct the notion of negotiation, seen in bartering, as opposed to immediate exchange set by the demands of the seller, or individual who is relinquishing their ownership of a commodity, to another, the purchaser. This distinction also presupposes the idea that direct exchange tends to focus on monetary exchange of value, argued in the following paragraph, whereas bartering can involve other items or commodities of negotiated value. This is different to Appadurai's categorisation as he suggested bartering and direct exchange are the same, (Appadurai. 1989. pp. 9).
[33] *Ibid.* pp. 9
[34] D. Cheal 'Moral Economy', found in, '*The Gift: An interdisciplinary Perspective.* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1996). pp. 81
[35] *Ibid.* pp. 8
[36] *Ibid.* pp. 9
[37] The terminology of *visible* is intentional. Gift theory dependant on the concept of value but it is not directly connected to physical value, e.g money or commodity exchange.

societies of Western Europe widely used currency, many historical agents still depended on these 'primitive' forms of exchange. By redirecting our focus on gift exchange and away from monetary systems, a new web of economic agents comes to the surface.

One of the first major works to explain the form, function and purpose of the exchange of gifts, or *gift theory* was Marcel Mauss in his work *The Gift* (1925). The idea challenged by Mauss' work, and the focus of many following studies, is the nature of gifts and the intention of gifting items in society. Mauss intended to show that gifts are evident throughout all societies - often deemed to be charitable items – and they reveal both the motives of the giver and the social rules of the surrounding society. These two aspects then dictate the appropriate response from the receiver. In other words, all gifts are 'loaded', and the concept of a free gift without purpose and intention is farcical.[38] Bronislaw Malinowski supports this assertion by arguing that this cycle of gifts and counter gifts prove that the agents conform to an almost impulsive society wide system.[39] Although members of the society do not speak of this system in theoretical terms, it is understood and its rules are followed.

Although one of Mauss' primary aims was to illustrate that primitive societies depend more upon *reciprocal* exchanges, he also suggested that gift exchange can be explained as a 'total social fact'.[40] His work suggests that these total social systems, built on gift economy, are evident throughout history and in present day societies. Plainly, a gift exchange does not merely focus on the movement of commodities but is affected by, and in turn effects, social, religious, legal, and moral aspects of a society or relationship, and acts to unify and strengthen social bonds between people.[41] Furthermore, as argued by Aafke E. Komter, gift exchange reinforces these societal bonds and acts as the 'cement to social relationships'.[42] Therefore, when a commodity is given from one person to another the behaviour of the recipient falls in line with the accepted social expectations. One can observe how and what governed society outside of the market. Yet, there is more that can be drawn from observations on gift exchange: networks. If, as suggested by Mauss and Komter, gifts cement social bonds, then by tracing the gifts, the historian can attempt to reveal social networks and bonds previously hidden. The Early Modern Period is seen as one where the *state* was born, and with it the people adapted to new social orders and rules. Historians look to the

[38] M. Mauss *The Gift: The Form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London: Routledge. 2002). pp. 4.
[39] B. Malinowski 'The Principle of Give and Take', found in, '*The Gift: An interdisciplinary Perspective*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1996). Pp…
[40] M. Mauss (2002). pp. 3
[41] M. Douglas, 'Foreword', found in, M. Mauss *The Gift: The Form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London: Routledge. 2002). pp. x.; and, S. Lévi-Strauss, 'The Principle of Reciprocity', found in, *The Gift: An interdisciplinary Perspective*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1996). pp. 18.
[42] A. E. Komter, 'Introduction', found in, *The Gift: An interdisciplinary Perspective*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1996). pp. 4.

interactions of court, military advancements, and the centralisation of legislative power in their attempts to explain this process and change. At times, the individual is missed. Gift practices, as they are on the periphery of these, reveal the individual. But in order to focus on the individual, one must (simply) understand the *why*. Why do people engage in giving gifts to others?

If society lacks a system of monetary exchange and becomes dependant on gifts to exchange commodities, then there must be an incentive to both agents to participate in the exchange. This incentive, Mauss suggests, is obligation for the receiver to reciprocate the gift with something of either equal value, be it future gifts or services, or greater value, which challenges the honour of the original giver.[43] This continued toing and froing between agents creates a perpetual cycle of gifts. In its most rudimentary aspect, this is society.[44] Therefore, gift theory only works when reciprocation is expected. This, for Mauss, is the fundamental fact of reciprocity – this is echoed by many succeeding theorists.[45] *The Gift* should be viewed as a work attempting to prove that it is possible to record the exchanges of value, or credit, in societies which do not solely depend on monetary exchanges. Mauss' work highlighted one major admission seen in previous research: gift exchanges are visible, with their associated societal aspects, religion, honour etc., they have to be; market exchange – something that many historians fixate upon – can be harder to trace and yet are widely studied.[46] By utilizing gift theory, research can combine all aspects of society previously written and presented as distinct aspects (religious histories, social histories, political histories etc), thus leading to a better understanding of 'total social' network. Moreover, as the value of commodities are determined by the context (*politics*) of the exchange, then surely the more visible these interactions are, the more successful studies into human interaction can be. The benefits of utilizing gift theory may be very rewarding. However, if the keystone of gift theory is *reciprocity* then one must understand this in itself is a complex notion. It depends on the morals of an agent and their ability to either i) value the item, ii) wish to reciprocate the gift, or iii) abide or contest the societal pressures to reciprocate a gift. All these facets contribute to constructing a complex set or social rules a person must abide by.

It should be noted first that the societies which Mauss studied led him to argue that whilst the obligation to reciprocate is essential, this followed the obligation to give.[47] As charity can be seen as a Christian virtue, one could argue that this need to give items to a cathedral community was also present in the Early Modern Period. The idea of sacrificing one's property to appeal to both

[43] M, Mauss. (2002) pp. 3; M. Douglas (2002). pp. xi
[44] M. Douglas (2002). pp. xi, xiii; D. Cheal (1996). pp. 82
[45] B. Schwartz 'The Social Psychology of the Gift', found in, '*The Gift: An interdisciplinary Perspective*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1996). pp. 76
[46] *Ibid.* pp. xviii
[47] M. Mauss (2002) pp. 17

god(s) and their religious institutions in order to win favour, appease a deity, or follow required religious practices is widely pursued.[48] The resemblance between this notion of gifts for God's appeasement and approval strike remarkably similar to indulgences and alms of the Christian church. However, it is proposed that as the economic system of early modern York included direct exchange in monetary forms and bartering, this was perhaps not as essential for the everyday life of the early modern agent as it was for the 'primitive' communities studied in *The Gift*. This is not to say it was not present, but the physical gifts of items were perhaps not as frequent, especially when the subject of the gift was a book. Focus will instead be placed on reciprocation of voluntary donations that may have been strongly motived by personal reasons, as well as influenced in part by societal norms. Should reciprocation be essential in gift culture, then what provokes it needs to be understood. Therefore, yet another concept needs to be considered: gratitude

The place of *Gratitude* in inspiring *reciprocation*

Gratitude, as a concept that the social historian is dependent on, is both problematic and simplistic; problematic as it is difficult to locate, to trace, to see; simplistic because it is commonly present in human interaction can could be considered as innate, existing in every exchange in one form or another. Why is gratitude important? If the historian wishes to grasp why gift culture can act as a path of social interaction they must understand what is meant by gratitude. Gratitude can be considered as the reason why people interact with one another in a particular way – it is the axel with which the wheel turns on directing a person down a particular path. A low feeling of gratitude will lead to a different path to a high feeling of gratitude. Here lies the importance – if we can predict what is likely to inspire high gratitude we can then see people's intention and give reason why people interacted in particular ways. Therefore, how do we trace it, and more fundamentally, what actually is it?

Gratitude is defined as: 'the quality or condition of being grateful; a warm sense of appreciation of kindness received, involving a feeling of goodwill towards the benefactor and a desire to do something in return; gratefulness'.[49] With such a description the importance of gratitude in social relationships is clear: gratitude provokes reciprocation. Previously we have suggested that gift theory is dependent on reciprocation. In turn, reciprocation is dependent on the feeling of gratitude. Simnel considered gratitude to be the aspect which bonds people, forming the 'ideal

[48] *Ibid.* pp. 22
[49] "gratitude, n" *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web 10 July 2017

bridge' between people which they then use to 'come closer'.[50] Moreover, it can inspire faithfulness – the feeling of allegiance and loyalty. Should one be grateful, one reciprocates, should one not, one does not. Now its simplicity has been shown we encounter the problem: its visibility for the historian. As gratitude is an emotional response, evidence of it may be difficult to pin down. However, we can see glimpses in the historical record, which suggests that this can be studied. Gratitude can be seen in language, in the reception of gifts, and *reciprocation* of generosity.

Should gratitude create and enforce the bond between people, groups or organisations, then reciprocation is gratitude manifested. This is typically seen in the exchange of materials or services between agents for mutual benefit, and reveal what Mauss referred to as the 'total social fact'. [51] By returning the value of a given item, a receiver ensures that the benefactor is rewarded and the relationship between the two can continue. This will allow them to interact in more than just the economic sphere and can influence their social, religious or political relationships as favour is accrued between the two. This is the 'norm of reciprocity', as suggested by Alvin W. Gouldner, and explains how to approach and predict how a person will respond to a gift, which in turn underpins the gift economy.[52] With that said, one needs to realise that the 'balance of debt' between agents is never truly met which allows the relationship to continue. *Distributive Justice* is the concept that if the exchange is returned in equal measure then the relationship between the two agents will lose purpose as they no longer rely on each other – unless of course, this is wanted by both.[53] This creates the perpetual cycle suggested above, which only adds to the visibility of the gift economy for the historian. Therefore, one can assume that if gratitude has been felt by the receiver then the observer (the researcher or historian) need only to look for a returned favour in order to prove the system.

However, this is not an easy task and the historian must pose several questions: what should we look for, where should we look, and more importantly what can we expect to see? This forces the historian of the gift to look to sources that others may have overlooked. Reflecting Mauss' call to consider all forms of exchange and interaction, not simply economic records, the historian may uncover connections previously unknown. Honoured positions described on opinion records, heraldic shields within windows, leases of property – examples this thesis draws upon, all of which will be analysed later – give hint to this 'total social fact' where an account of monetary exchange may not. Yet, should the system have been as prevalent as suggested, the evidence of reciprocation

[50] G. Simmel, 'Faithfulness and Gratitude', found in, '*The Gift: An interdisciplinary Perspective*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1996) pp. 45
[51] Mauss, (2002) pp. 100
[52] A. W. Gouldner, 'The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement', found in '*The Gift: An interdisciplinary Perspective*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1996) pp. 62
[53] Barry Schwartz, (1996) pp. 78

should be overwhelming. This is not the case for many instances. Furthermore, the very basic rudiments of the gift economy emphasise that the system does not conform to a predictable timetable of reciprocation; one may reap the reciprocal rewards of a gift after many years have passed, or never at all even if the expectation was there. Again, to overcome this, the historian must look elsewhere for their evidence of the gift economy.

Finally, should little, if any, reciprocation be found in many instances then, naturally, one may question the importance of the gift economy for historical studies. However, this approach *will still* hint to a social system of the past. How? Through revealing the social expectation of historical agents. With the case of the Christian community of the York Minister the study of the donations may illustrate how early modern agents were able to toe the line between, at times almost sinful, self-improvement (*self-love*) and the ideal quality of *Christian Charity* and altruistic gifts. A gift or donation to a community, in this case the library, can be considered as examples of either two. Therefore, a successful study into the gift economy of York Minster, may show how particular individuals manoeuvred themselves through a complex social structure. In order to do so one must account for the tradition of gift giving in Christian thought.

Christian Charity and Gift Giving.

When tasked with uncovering the presence of gratitude and reciprocation in any society one must account for social traditions and structures historical agents interacted within. With regards to the York Minster, unsurprisingly, the society is identified as an active Anglican Christian community. Within this community historical agents had an expectation to follow the socially expected roles of their position in the social strata as defined by Christian teachings. However, all were expected to abide by the basic Christian aspects such as love of God, fellow Christians and *sacrifice*.

As already identified, the concept of sacrificing one's possessions, even spirit, is widely practiced throughout many religions. This works on the hope that through the act of sacrifice one may be able to improve an aspect of life that is not achievable by a person's own agency, (health, the admittance to an afterlife etc.).[54] With regards to Christian traditions one could strongly assert that this idea of sacrifice to both God and other Christians is its defining feature.[55] When one refers to Christian communities a primary connotation which may be invoked is *Christian Charity*.

[54] Arnold Angenendt, 'Sacrifice, gifts, and prayers in Latin Christianity', found in, *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2008) pp. 453

[55] William Pearson, 'The Measures of Christian Charity, in not seeking our own private good', found in, *Sermons on Several Occasions Preach'd at the Cathedral of York.* (London: R. Harbin. 1718) pp. 118

Although *Christian Charity* is a complex concept which can demand extensive discussion in its own right, for the purpose of this thesis a brief attempt at defining it follows. *Christian Charity* is not simply the act of relinquishing one's property to another – not to say this is not an example of charity – but goes further as it is expressed as a form of *Love*. It is an act which mirrors God's nature, (the creation of Man and the Sacrifice of Christ were acts of *love*) and is therefore considered in the highest regard in Christian theology.[56] To pursue and complete charitable acts, such as donations, which should be completed with the motive of *love,* one begins to re-enact God's own actions.

This motive of *Christian Charity* encourages members of the Church to support other members. Thus, through mutual dependency the Christian community is strengthened as its members are encouraged to work cooperatively as opposed to singularly focusing on their own personal pursuits. The classic exhortation to 'do unto others what you would have them do to you' exemplifies this.[57] This therefore gives in part an answer to how Christian communities elevate the common interests of a group over the necessities of an individual, a question frequently posed by social theorists.[58] These acts of sacrifice of either property or spirit are described as altruistic, which promotes the idea of meeting the needs of others rather than selfish pursuits. Altruism, which is defined as: 'Disinterested or selfless concern for the well-being of others, esp. as a principle. Opposed to *selfishness*, *egoism,* or (in early use) *egotism*',[59] is seen to be an approach that gains the acceptance of a social group as altruistic actions are seen to be performed to a person of principle and inspire respect.[60] In short, it can be considered is the epitome of Christian theology.[61]

However, should these altruistic actions be the staple of the Christian teachings – centred upon communal benefits rather than individual advancement – how can one expect gift theory to exist? If, as suggested, gift theory focuses on interaction between agents with 'loaded' gifts in order to strengthen or form social relationships, then the theory is in contrary to altruism where no intention for personal advancement is proposed. If so, gift theory would not be appropriate for the study of our particular community. However, this is untrue. Gift theory is both usable and entirely appropriate to a Christian community: altruistic gifts undoubtedly inspire gratitude from those who

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[56] One should note that, according to Catholic teaching, the act of Charity is one of the seven virtues. As the Church of St. Peter, York, is a part of the Anglican Protestant Church, while it still holds a prevalent position, it is an essential part of the acts of a Christian, not an independent virtue. The differences of Christian thought may appear similar, but one would do well to acknowledge this variation of emphasis.

[57] Bible, Matthew 7:12

[58] Christopher Jencks, 'The Social Basis of Unselfishness', found in '*The Gift: An interdisciplinary Perspective*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1996) pp. 177

[59] "altruism, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 23 August 2017.

[60] David Schmitz, 'Reason for Altruism', found in, '*The Gift: An interdisciplinary Perspective*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1996) pp. 170

[61] The sacrifice of Christ is *the* example of the altruistic act.

benefit from them; this approach illuminates 'total social facts' as it highlights how one gained social favour with others which impacted upon their social position, religious standings etc. Not all gifts must be returned with material objects. Moreover, to suggest that all donations and gifts were given entirely in an altruistic fashion is incorrect. The medieval Christian tradition of donating wealth to monasteries and other church establishments to gain spiritual penance was a well-known practice.[62] Although indulgences and property for prayers were almost absent in this study's period, the idea of self-promotion through donations still occurred. Preached from the very pulpit of the Minster, examples of sermons which highlight the importance of the gift economy and sacrifice for both individual and communal benefit from the perspective of contemporaries of the Early Modern Period can be found.

Throughout 1718, William Pearson, L.L.D, Chancellor of the Diocese of York and Residentiary of York, penned and delivered many sermons. The intention of these sermons, as any sermon, was to captivate and advise his audience to follow in the correct behaviour demanded by the Church. One particular sermon, 'The Measures of Christian Charity, in not seeking our own private good', (1718) contains the typical biblical references and examples as expected. Yet, rather abruptly, it thrusts forward ideas which appear to counter altruistic fashions: we see encouragement, if not sanctioning, of Christians to seek personal advancement so long as this does not harm the community.

Emphasising that charitable acts mirror God's gifts, Pearson quips many known stories and motives of charity: the emergence of charity in Christianity, the support of others, etc. He underscores that charity will improve the qualities of a person, making one affable, courteous, and candid. It generates respect for others, and teaches one to be grateful to those who assist us.[63] All this, he shows, is in order to encourage us to *love* one another, to create a society built *on social love*.[64] Individuals who complete such actions should be honoured by their peers and held in high regard.[65] Yet, he then proposes that charity is not entirety altruistic or selfless and there is a place for personal pursuit: 'Now, as to a Man's desiring his own Good, his own Welfare and Happiness, it is not a Matter of Choice, but of Necessity, as necessary as his very Being'.[66] By proposing that desire is a necessary attribute Pearson effectively argues that self-improvement is not deemed sinful in all cases.

[62] Arnold Angenendt. (2008) pp. 466
[63] William Pearson. (1718) pp. 117
[64] *Ibid.* pp. 117
[65] *Ibid.* pp. 133
[66] *Ibid.* pp. 120

Pearson suggests that this idea of self-love and wanting to improve one's own position comes directly from God himself, and good morals are the result of this self-love.[67] It is only when self-love stands against public good then it is no longer correct.[68] By suggesting that Christians can still pursue charitable acts whilst allowing opportunities to improve their own position, Pearson gives sanction to self-love. Pearson even goes as far as acknowledging that, as stated before, the acts of charity may not yield physical reward: 'if the Good they do, cannot always overcome the Ungratitude of Some,'.[69] Instead, Pearson offers some condolences and an alternative outcome: the chance that a person's generosity will be repaid with kindness and friendship of others.[70]

Therefore, we can see that gift theory, and the economy and community generated by it, is not only appropriate for historical studies into the early modern agents of Christian York, but is also in line with the original outline as described by Mauss. An historical agent who interacted with the Christian community was encouraged to pursue an engagement with another for 'his own Good, his own welfare', seeking reciprocation of value or favour.[71] Moreover, this system worked to galvanise these social bonds between agents and allow the community to benefit and grow. Thus, the claim that we will witness the 'total social fact[s]' which were generated and inspired by donations is strengthened. Therefore, the model to which this investigation will locate, measure, and judge the success of individuals who used the gift economy will be presented and explained.

Reciprocal pathways: following the rules specific to books.

Having explained the place of the gift economy within economic systems, the mechanisms specific to this system, and the context of Christian communities of York,[72] an overview of the model is given below (see *Fig 2)*. The model demands that multiple pathways are incorporated to allow for any variation of success for individual examples of donations. As books are complex gifts many differing outcomes depending on context, the book itself, and the donator. The intention is to determine the amount gratitude one could expect to be generated by a donation. As an initial way to consider the value of a book, the three imprints need to be accounted for: the importance of the author, the character of the donator, and relevance to the contemporary community. All these imprints can affect a book's value. Should only one of the three imprints be deemed valuable then one could assert the book to be of low value. If two are judged valuable, the book will be considered

[67] William Pearson. (1718) pp. 122
[68] *Ibid.* pp. 128
[69] *Ibid.* pp. 133
[70] *Ibid.* pp. 137
[71] William Pearson. (1718) pp. 120
[72] It is acknowledged that this alters throughout the time period given and will be considered in full for each particular example given later.

of moderate value. With all three present, the book can be considered of high value. However, one should note that each imprint will not necessary be of equal value; a prestigious author may outweigh a prominent donator who gives a book which hold some relevance to the contemporary community (see Fig 2).

The context in which the book is donated concerns the book culture prevalent to the time, both general and localised to York, and any political or social change known. Consequently, this requires a section of the thesis to focus on the reading trends particular to the Minster's community, and whether this reflects the proposed academic definitions of early modern book culture. As will be discussed later, this context shifted throughout the period between 1685 and 1858. Therefore, the overall period will be analysed first followed by three subsections: 1685 to 1727, 1728 to 1800, and 1801 to 1858.

For this study, the receiver is identified as the York Minster Library and its members. However, examples where donations appear to target specific members have been found. These will be reflected in the model itself to illustrate this focus.

As the value of a particular book will have been accessed, the context in which it was donated will be considered, one can then determine the expected reciprocal pathway. Should the value of a book be determined high due the imprints and context when it was donated favourable, then one can expect reciprocation to occur. If the value is low and the context in which it was given not appropriate for the donation, then one can expect no reciprocation. Books of moderate value may follow either pathway. Although this may appear to show a problem with the proposed model, it will allow for a close inspection of gift economy of York. Thus, contributing to any drawn conclusions on any 'total social fact[s]' present in this community.

Finally, a book of high value and known to have inspired gratitude and subsequently reciprocation, then the model allows for two different pathways for reciprocation: back to the donator of the book, or to the contemporaries and social group of the minster. This is not to say one must favour the other as the outcome of reciprocation may go down both pathways.

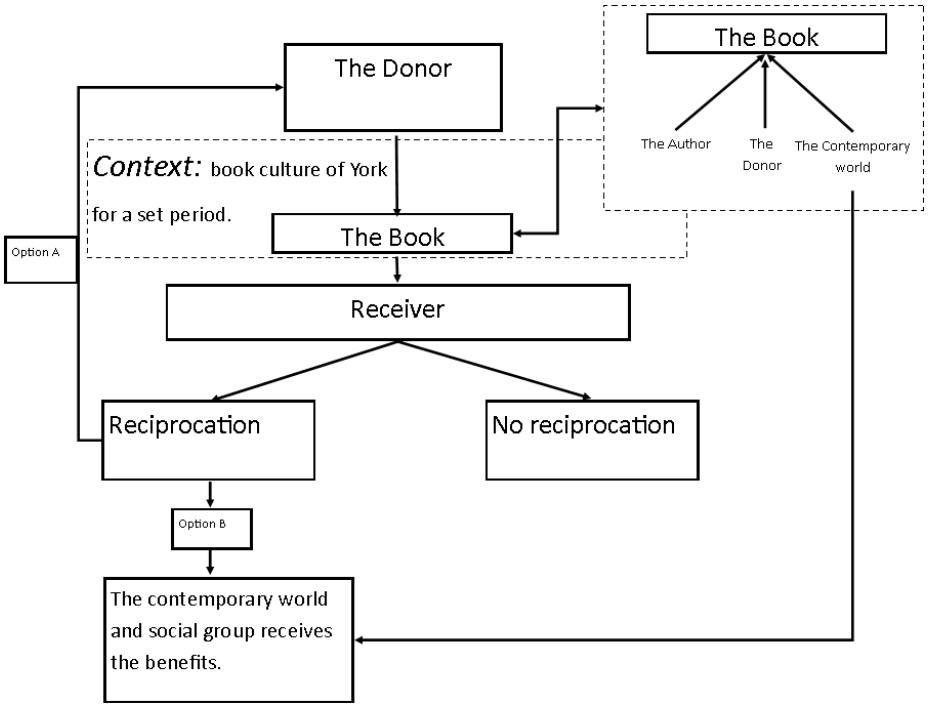

Fig 2. Model of Gratitude and Reciprocal pathways

***Setting the example*: the *Liber Donorum* as a historical source.**

Whilst the title and presumed focus of a book may spark the initial interest of its reader, this focus will alter as they break its binding and meet its contents. The 21st century reader, whose attention frequently may be centred on the chapter headings and structure of the book, may glance over a dedication or acknowledgement which the author has written, if at all present, perhaps more interested in the work than its origins and thanks. For the early modern reader dedications could be seen as works of their own. Much more than the: *with gratitude,* or, *For my parents*, etc. dedications show both the intention of the author and gives noteworthy praise to individuals the reader should not only acknowledge but be thankful too. The dedication penned on the opening page of the *Liber Donorum*, the book of the donations to the York Minster between 1685 and 1921, exemplifies this:

> 'The name of the illustrious personages and other patrons of the polite arts, who, after an immense variety of literary furniture found in the museum of Toby Matthews, Archbishop of York, of immortal memory, and after his death transferred hither through the generosity of his excellent lady
>
> FRANCES MATTHEWS;
>
> have at their own expense liberally adorned and increased the library of this cathedral and metropolitcal church.

A woman setting the example'.[73]

The author of the book, Thomas Comber D.D., precentor of the church between the years 1683 and 1695, later becoming Dean of Durham until his death in 1700, had copied the same words, thus creating the same motive, that were inscribed upon the memorial board that had hung on the library's wall.[74] The purpose is clear: whomever looks upon this work should immediately understand the importance of these benefactors to the library, and by evoking their memory the individuals are not only honoured through association to the Minster, but also gain prestige. This rather ostentatious dedication appears to fall in line with the common practice in early modern society of publicly announcing your social relationships in order to create or strengthen a bond between two or more agents.[75] However, it marks itself as strangely different for one reason: it is from the church and directed to multiple individuals rather than an author or intellectual seeking a patron. The striking assertion is that the library not only owes its collection to its benefactors, but is forever grateful for their donations and seeks to perhaps reciprocate their generosity through this acknowledgement. Clearly, the words of William Pearson's sermon echo the earlier practices of honouring the community: 'Doubtless such [Wo]Men do well deserve to have their Names had in Reverence, and not to be mention'd without Honour'.[76]

The fact that these donations continued to be recorded over two centuries proves that this feeling of gratitude continued. But the dedication reveals more than mere thankful feelings, it gives reasons for this gratitude and depicts the community created through the donations. '…patrons of the polite arts', suggests that the donators and the church library held similar literary interests; 'immense variety of literary furniture', conjures images of a plethora of literary subjects on shelves; and, 'illustrious personages and other patrons', underscores the gained prestige bestowed on these benefactors. When this is considered, the dedication becomes much more than just words penned upon a page or inscribed upon a board. It becomes a window into the community, the relationships, and bonds between institution and agents. Moreover, this community appears to be inclusive rather than exclusive. It contains not only people part of, or with family connections to, the clergy, but includes doctors, lawyers, bookbinders, and the untitled. Each one with their own name assigned to them, each one who could claim membership to this community, this social arena, which was the York Minster Library. This community, formed by books, surrounds them. But surely something must incentivise a donation. Therefore, the questions formed may appear deceptively simple but are vital. What books were given? Is there a traceable reason for their donation? Would

[73] F. Drake. *Eboracum or, the history and antiquities of the city of York, Vol 2 Part 2* pp. 270
[74] C.B.L Barr, (1977). pp. 506
[75] F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2016) pp. 43; N. Z. Davies, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture', found in, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society , Vol. 33* (1983). pp. 69
[76] William Pearson. (1718) pp. 133

a donation generate a response? If so how? Through studying these recorded donations found in the *Liber Donorum* these questions may be answered.

The usefulness of the *Liber Donorum* as an historical source.

The *Liber Donorum* continues to record, page after page, the donations of literature and their respective donators, albeit sometimes omitting some donations – one may conclude with the annotations found in the book that this may have been caused by the lack of strict procedure on how to record donations, or even cases where the scribe appears to give up on the tedious nature of transcribing all given works.[77] In total the work spans 133 pages, however this thesis will finish its enquiry on page 41 (Recto) for two reasons: the scribe's handwriting alters, and the following entries exceed the year of 1858 – one should note that the general opinion sees the end of the Early Modern Period in the mid-19th century. As previously stated the quality of the entries differ dramatically with shortened titles, frequently omitting the size of the works – folio, quarto, or octavo etc., - and even the date of the several donations unrecorded, (there is no given date for any of the entries between 1685 and 1727, and again between 1839 and 1841, and 1850 and 1857). The total number of entries tallies to 553. With the exclusion of 95 entries, the majority of donated literary works can be traced, totalling 458. This gives the opportunity to consider the dominating genres which hints to the book culture present, or at least perceived to be present by the donators. Yet, as previous argued, the focus of this thesis lies with material aspects of a book rather than contents. With such considerations on content and genres one could accuse this thesis of becoming static. However, an explanation will prove why this approach can still be useful if used correctly.

Although book culture, understood to be what people within a specific community deemed culturally valuable and interesting as literature, may initially appear unimportant to a discussion on gift culture, it is an integral part of the proposed model. If, as the premise of this thesis suggests, the content, condition and subject of a book in part determined whether or not a literary gift was reciprocated, one must understand, or at least make an observation on, which genres dominated the donations. This also emphasises that should a historical agent wished to have taken full advantage of any gift economy present in York, then the context of the exchange had to be acknowledged, which included the book culture of a particular time-period (see *Fig 3.*). Yet, before such an approach is taken one must acknowledge the pros and cons of genre analysis.

[77] The example of Marmaduke Fothergill's donation in 1737, recorded that the 'library of the late Fothergill' is given in a separate work (pp. 17 Recto, *Liber Donorum*) and, William Burgh's donation record up until the 69th entry after which the scribe comments 'for the rest see the Chap Catalogue', (pp. 28 Recto, *Liber Donorum*) referring to the 1834 catalogue, spring to mind.

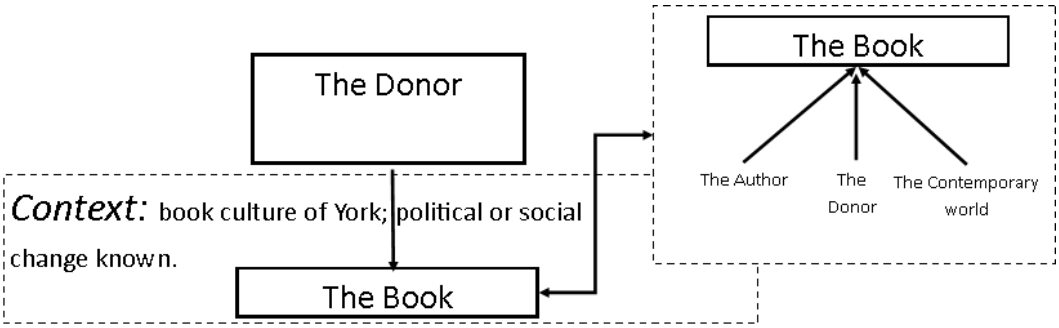

Fig 3. The importance of context in the proposed model.

Within the historiography of the book, there has been great debate over the use of genres as a tool for analysis of reading practices and book culture. A dependence on statistics of categorised genres has sometimes been accused of being outdated – a history based on a book-centred approach rather than reader-centred.[78] From the birth of studies centred on the History of the Book by the Annales School, the intention was to reveal the impact of social and intellectual changes that became visible in the shifts of book ownership – something that resembles the methodology of this thesis.[79] However, its main criticism was that by focusing on how many books a person owned, who the person was, and which genres these books belonged to, we do not know whether the individuals read them or just collected them as status symbols.[80] This also fails to address the idea that an early modern reader could have crossed the boundaries of genres, reading on many different subjects. The presence of a 'reading epidemic', where individuals in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe read all they could obtain regardless of simple genres, is well known.[81] This suggests that reading vogues fluctuated with time and environment. Moreover, a study on a private collection may fail to address this trend as it is a snapshot of one point in time, commonly the end of a life with an inventory. A person may change their collection throughout their life, giving books away, selling them on, or simply discarding what is not wanted. Even accepted definitions of book cultures of the Early Modern Period fall foul of this generalisation. Stephanie Kurschus' work *European Book Cultures: Diversity as a Challenge* (2015) defined early modern book culture as one which focused on scientific discussion and self-improvement.[82] Whilst this accounts for the new reading genres, it excludes the traditional and does not seem to fit the community of York Minster library, a collection which reflects an ever-changing community but with a constant religious and historical overtone. This problem, however, can be addressed with the *Liber Donorum*.

[78] I. Jackson. 'Historiographical Review: Approaches to the History of Readers and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Britain', found in, *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 47, No. 4. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2004). pp. 1043
[79] *Ibid.* pp. 1042
[80] *Ibid.* pp. 1042
[81] R. Whittman, 'Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?', found in, *A History of Reading in the West*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1999). Pp. 285
[82] S. Kurschus. *European Book Cultures: Diversity as a Challenge*. (Weiebaden: Springer VS, 2015) pp. 52

As the *Liber Donorum* records books donated to the library rather than privately owned collections, any analysis will give an insight into community book culture, not simply the interests of a single person. Moreover, as gifts are given consciously in order to generate gratitude which in turn provokes reciprocation, any examples of reciprocation will also underscore which genres were deemed valuable. Thus, further proving the strength of the proposed model (see *Fig. 2*). Consequently, if one is then able to predict which genre would give the best opportunity for reciprocation, and this is in turn found in the historical record, then it supports the assertion that a person tactfully manoeuvred themselves through the gift economy by considering the context of the exchange. Furthermore, York Minster library has several accounts of borrowing within our time period which has been the focus of two other studies.[83] By referring to these articles directly, we can strengthen any conclusion reached by the genre analysis method. This removes the blinkers of genre based analysis making the individual the focus rather than simply the literature. The genre based approach therefore shifts: from the book-centred focus *to* the reader, the intellectual, and the social centred study.

'An immense variety of Literary furniture': Genres and Subjects found in the *Liber Donorum*.

Until 1802, the vast majority of the works within the library came from donations.[84] This suggests two things: the works of the library do not necessarily reflect the interests of the Minster, but the interests of those who donated the works. Moreover, these works portray what the individuals who donated books *thought* was of interest to the Minster library; the books, and therefore the identity of the book culture present, may have been projected onto the minster rather than promoted by them. As argued previously, gifts can form identities as well as support them. Therefore, by gaining an overview of genres donated we can strongly assert what the book culture present in the community was, and if the presence of this community supports previous definitions of early modern book culture. Secondly, by looking to analyse the genres donated, we can predict whether a book will be more or less likely to generate reciprocation based purely on its subject matter. One could assume that if the *arts*, or *divinity*, are the most popular donations then the community may see this topic as culturally valuable and consequently any books given on this topic may generate more gratitude than others. Should this conclusion be proven then it suggests those who donated a text were aware of their contextual surroundings and utilized agency, even if this was limited (one cannot donate a specific genre of text when one does not possess such a book, even if one wishes to).

[83] P. Kaufman. 'Reading Trends in Cathedral Libraries', found in, *Libraries and Their Users: Collected Papers in Library History.* (London: Library Association. 1969); E. Brunskill, and Brunskill
[84] C.B.L. Barr (1977) pp. 512

Of these 548 works we can definitively categorise the genres of the traceable 458, and with the remaining 90 take an educated guess based upon their title or categorise them as *undetermined*. This range of genres are taken from, and with slight alteration to, Paul Kaufman's categories found in his article *Reading Trends in Cathedral Libraries* (1969): "Divinity and Ecclesiastical History; History and Antiquities; Biography and Memoirs; Voyages and Travels (including Geography and Topography); Philosophy; Belles-Lettres (English); Greek and Latin; Language, Dictionaries, etc.; Law, Government, and Trade; Mathematics; Natural Philosophy; Arts: Fine Arts; Music; Physic, Anatomy, etc.; Husbandry; Miscellaneous; Undetermined Classification".[85] Due to the limits of both time and biblical and literary expertise the author of this study currently possesses, it was deemed implausible to select with one hundred per cent accuracy which works which are *Divinity and Ecclesiastical History* in nature, and others which are focused on *Bible: texts, translations, versions and commentaries*. Therefore, all religious works have been collated under the title of *Divinity,* and the category of *Bible etc.*, has been omitted. This was also the case for the genre of *Foreign Literature (Modern)*, as many of the works donated, written in a language other than English, Greek or Latin, were penned over a century before their donation, hence the confusion over 'modern', and have therefore been placed under *Languages, Dictionaries, etc*. It was also deemed necessary to include *Classical Literature* and *Sciences* as two new categories. One may argue that these two categories can be placed under the umbrellas of *Belles-Lettres* and *Physic, Anatomy, etc.*, but as this thesis takes issue with the supposed growing fixation with 'new learning' in the Early Modern Period by introducing *Science* and *Classical Literature* a thorough analysis of book culture is more feasible. Finally, books commonly belong to more than one genre: *The Life & works of Wm Assheton D.D.*,[86] as recorded in the *Liber Donorum*, can be both categorised as *Divinity* and *Biographical*. This will explain the larger total number of genres compared to the total number of donated works. The analysis has also been structured as a step by step process. Firstly, the overall collection of works given in our time period, between 1685 and 1858, will be considered. This will give opportunity to sketch an outline of what genre interests were present and contrast this to other literary communities. Following this analysis will be an attempt to further segment the time period into three separate groupings: 1685 to 1726; 1727 to 1800; and 1801 to 1858. The reasons for such a selection holds no real mystique. The scribe, who first recorded the donations in 1685, failed to specify the date of any book donated after the *Liber Donorum*'s creation until the first identifiable date, attributed to '*A Manuali Precationum Lat: Cum Calindario nitid: & illuminate'* given by a M. Brathwail, in 1727. This therefore explains the reason for the first grouping. The second and third groupings were given to give a range that covered at least half a century and including a large enough sample that could be analysed. By

[85] P. Kaufman. 'Reading Trends in Cathedral Libraries', found in, *Libraries and Their Users: Collected Papers in Library History*. (London: Library Association. 1969) pp. 80

[86] Entire title given as: *The Christian indeed, and faithful pastor: impartially represented in a practical essay, and historical account of the exemplary life and works of the late emininet William Assheton, D.D., Rector of Beckenham in Kent Prebendary of York, and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Ormond.* (See Table: *Liber Donorum*)

breaking down the time period into three smaller groups it is hoped that any trends and peculiarities in the donations, and therefore interests of the community, will be shown.

Making sense of the Titles and Genres.

Before the findings from the genre analysis are presented, it may be worth explaining how the data was collated, and open an invitation to use and manipulate the data covered in future research. Stretching over forty pages, each of which differs in form and layout, (see *Fig. 4,* Appendix A.) a new approach to analysing the *Liber Donorum* had to be adopted. Using only the original primary document containing the handwritten entries would be both inaccurate and confusing. It was deemed that the most appropriate and useful way to study the document was through the construction of a database (see *Appendix 1*). Using the genre categories already mentioned, each book's title was transcribed as well as the individual donator. Following the transcription of these titles, the publisher, date of publication and provenance, and size of the text was researched. Not all details wanted were able to be located for every single book, but there is a plentiful amount of data collated. Totalling 558 rows, the task of processing each book and any social link to the minister is too arduous to evaluate for this thesis. However, the database constructed offers many different opportunities and approaches for future research.

The focus of the essay instead has been to segment the donations and identify individual donators which can be traced in other documents. This has resulted in a several examples of particular interest, but pushed many other aside. Perhaps, with future research endeavours, and the interests of others, this community can become more lucid. It is the wish of this thesis that the database will lead to identifying more social connections than are confined to the pages following.

The community in its entirety: 1685 to 1858

Without want of unnecessarily repeating previously argued points, it should be reiterated that many studies conclude that the reading culture and practices shifted in the Early Modern Period, casting off the old guard of literature to promote 'new learning', such as sciences, romances and travel.[87] However, the community found within the *Liber Donorum* appears to contradict this.

Of the 548 donations given, 353 entries, amounting to 48% of all gifted works, were found to be *Divinity and Ecclesiastical History* in nature (see *Table 1*). The collection includes a large variety of subjects: sermons, such as '*A century of sermons upon several remarkable subjects: preached by the Right Reverend Father in God, John Hacket, late Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry'*, given as part of a large donation by Archbishop John Dolben in the late 17th century (which will be referred to as the

[87] P. Kaufman, (1967) pp. 36.

Dolben Gift from this point onwards), and 'S*ermon on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by Abp Sharp'*, given by a Catherine Sharpe in 1821, illustrate this; many bibles, as expected, were donated – particular highlights include *'The booke of the common praier'*, recorded as '*English Bible Black Letter 1549'*, given by Mr James Atkinson, surgeon, in 1800, '*The bible: that is, the holy scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament'* interleaved in three volumes with the signature of Thomas Triplett, a prominent 17th century scholar and philanthropist,[88] and a French Bible, *La Bible qui est toute la sainte scripture,* published in 1535 and donated in 1825 by a A Bethel Esq; and, finally, many works of commentaries and discussions are seen. Interesting, and most frequently attributed to Archbishop Tobais Matthews with several others recorded as part of the *Dolben Gift,* are works of controversial literature. It was known that Archbishop Matthews possessed several works which were banned, and one may assume that these were confiscated from others in Matthew's capacity as archbishop or as attempts to read on the 'other' for intellectual purposes.[89] Nonetheless, the fact that they were given to the library is interesting – even more so may be 'Sr. Sam Gerard Kt of Braterton' donation of *'The review of the Council of Trent, translated by Ger: Langbain D.D.'*, the final entry in the 1685 to 1726 grouping. Untraceable as he is, with a title of Sr. one may assume that he is outside of the clerical cloister – an assertion strengthened by a lack of records from the cathedral itself. This therefore is worth pause and consideration. Why would such an individual give a work focused on the plight of, and call to defend, the Catholic Church to an Anglican cathedral, especially York, when not a member of the clerical community? This, amongst other points, will be returned to later, but the reader would do well to ponder over this question.

Table 1: A quantitative analysis of the Liber Donorum

Record of all books found in the Liber Donorum, 1685 – 1858		
Total donations given	548	
Traceable donations	458	
Books with certain genres categorised	458	
Books with accurately surmised genres categorised	90	
Genres	**Total Number**	**Percentage**
Divinity and Ecclesiastical History	353	48%
History and Antiquities	64	9%
Biography and Memoirs	31	4%
Voyages and Travels (including Geography and Topography)	15	2%
Philosophy	19	3%
Belles-Lettres (English)	14	2%
Greek and Latin	58	8%

[88] Margot Johnson, 'Triplet , Thomas (1603?–1670)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
[89] C.B.L. Barr (1977) pp. 501

Language, Dictionaries, etc.	20	3%
Law, Government, and Trade	20	3%
Mathematics	3	<1%
Natural Philosophy	7	1%
Arts: Fine Arts; Music	26	4%
Physic, Anatomy, etc.	6	1%
Husbandry	3	<1%
Classical Literature	11	1%
Sciences	19	3%
Miscellaneous	22	2%
Undetermined Classification	45	6%

One striking fact observed is the persistence of divinity and religious works throughout this period. From the first work under this genre, *'Labbei Concilia Vol: 18'* concerned with the sacred Christian councils,[90] given in 1685 as a part of the *Dolben Gift,* to *'Ezekiel's oblation and the apocalypse'* on the subject of prophecies and the apocalypse, given by its author – William Hewson who held the curacy of Bishop Burton and later Goathland[91] – in 1858, religious donations did not seem to dwindle in their popularity. Whether this is merely due to the number of books given rather than continued charity will be seen once the period is divided into the three groupings.

The second most popular genre is *History and Antiquities.* Again, this can be assigned to the old traditional academic subjects, reinforcing the view of a community that didn't not follow the general eighteenth century trend of focusing on 'new learning'. In total 64 works were given, a dramatic difference compared to the previous 353 religious works, amounting to 9% of donations. Within these books we find a variety of focuses: Anglo-centric works, such as '*Daniels History',* assumed to be part of either Matthews or Dolben's donations, concerning the history of Britain, and '*Rapin's History of the English Two Vols Folio'*, given by John Fountayne, Dean of York. Several works take more of a European interest: *Boetticher's Geographical History & Political Description of Germany Holland Etc,* given in 1801 – contemporary to the French Revolutionary Wars, perhaps the history of this region was deemed to be of interest for library and its members – by a George Rupell, and *Knight's Saracenic and Norman remains in Sicily*, given between 1840 and 1841. Finally, and something that portrays a community that is very much focused on its identity, are the local histories of York and its surrounding counties: *Torr's antiquities of the City of York, 1719*, bestowed to the library by Reverend George Markham, Canon Residentiary of York, and, *Rivers, Mountains, & Sea Coast of Yorkshire by J. Phillips,* given in 1853 by Reverend Charles Hawkins, are two works which exemplify this. Alongside these are several works on architecture of the local church buildings and even one work on the cathedral libraries across England.

[90] *Liber Donorum*, pp. 3 (Recto); true title given as *'Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta quae nunc quarta parte prodit auctior studio Philip. Labbei, & Gabor. Cossartii... ab initiis aerae Christianae.'* (Lutetiae Parisiorum. 1671-2).
[91] G. C. Boase, 'Hewson, William (1806–1870)', rev. Ellie Clewlow, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

The final substantial category is *Greek and Latin*, with 58 entries, amounting to 8% of the collection. As Latin was the primary language of both classical and religious works the duality and popularity of works in this category will come as no surprise. However, this is not to say that all works are religious. Amongst these we again see several entries that are worth noting: *Homer & Dydimus Super eundem,* written in Latin and containing both the work of Homer's *Odyssey* and Dydimus' critiques, given as part of the Dolben Gift, and *Fabricii Bibliotheca Latina 2 Vol 4to,*[92] concerning classical literature, given by James Dallin, librarian of the cathedral in the mid-nineteenth century, testify to this. Yet, one particular entry stands out and is worth a pause for thought.

Lucan, a work of Greek poetry concerning the Roman civil war with the title of *Lucan's Pharsalia*, given as part of the Matthew's collection, may appear unremarkable in its entry but should one consult the book itself we can see a contest over, or at least a changing record of, ownership of the item. Upon one of the pages we see the signature and motto of Ben Jonson, a prominent 16th and 17th century romantic playwright.[93] However, the date when it must have come into the possession of the Matthew family causes some confusion. Jonson's book may have been bought by the Matthew's family following an auction of Jonson's collection after his death in 1637. However, Tobias Matthew died in 1628. There is a possibility that Frances purchased the book after Tobias died, or even that it was purchased whilst Jonson and Tobias, both renowned for their literary collections, were still living contemporaries. Why a person closely associated with their literary collection would part with their works, prized or not, is something that cannot be easily surmised from records alone. Nonetheless, with this lineage and previous associations we can deduce two things: i) that classical poetry was of interest to both individuals, thus giving evidence to support a community who gravitated towards classical works, not new romantic literature – further supported by the fact that one cannot see any romantic plays or literature from Ben Jonson's collection, or even rarely throughout the recorded donations, and ii) that the Matthew's family wished for it to be known that this piece of literature was their property. However, as it is part of a larger donated collection, whether the previous ownership increased the book's value, or its subject matter was of more importance, is hard to determine. For this we will need to locate a donation with known previous ownership and of a similar genre later in this investigation.

The remaining categories are remarkably close in their numerical values, with only *Biography and Memoirs*, again a traditional genre, exceeding all others with 31 entries, 4% of the collection. Subjects closely associated with university studies are also of some number: *Language, Dictionaries, etc.,* and *Law, Government and Trade* both amounting to 20 donations, 3%; Philosophy contains 19 works, 3%; and, *Arts; Fine Art, Music, etc.,* total 26 donations, 4%, (although, with the exception of

[92] Its published title being: *Jo: Alberti Fabricii Bibliotheca latina, sive Notitia auctorum veterum latinorum*
[93] Tom Lockwood, 'Ben Jonson in the Romantic Age, accessed from Oxford Scholarship Online, 2005 – DOI: 10-1093/acprof:oso/9780199280780.001.0001

several maps and sketches of architecture, they are primarily musical sermons). One donation does demand attention: Thomas Mace's *Musik's Monument,* published in 1676, and given by William Gray, Esquire, in 1843. Mace was a proponent of a particular form of music within worship – he wished to return to the traditional methods and music of past years instead of the new scientific method contemporary to him. This is of interest to us, as within the eighteenth century the effects of scientific methods extended even into the art of music, where people began to study the form and sounds of music itself. The scientific revolution was not contained to the sciences alone. Yet, this work, over two centuries old, was given in the mid-nineteenth century, suggesting that William Gray either aligned himself with Mace's thoughts, thought it would be of interest to the cathedral whether they agreed with the Mace's proposals or not, or that people within the choir may share Mace's perspective. If so, this would strengthen the argument that the literary culture of the library community once again favoured the traditional works, rather than new sciences.

Sciences, Voyages and Travels and *Belles Lettres*, the genres associated with popular 'new learning', do have their place amongst the collection. Sciences total 19 works, 3%, and, perhaps surprisingly, donations were given throughout our period. From the first, *Zaræ Anatomia Iugenioru*,[94] a Latin work on science and philosophy, given as part of the *Dolben Gift*[95], to the aforementioned *Rivers, Mountains, & Sea Coast of Yorkshire by J. Phillips*, which includes discussions on climate, given in 1858, proves this point. However, many of these entries, eight in fact, were given by Dr Alexander Hunter, works mostly focused on horticulture along with several new editions of Evelyn's work. With that said, one of Dr Hunter's donations stands out due to a dedication within. *'s Terra,* given in 1778, is inscribed with 'To the library … from the editor'. Clearly, and quite understandably when all of his other gifts are taken into account, Dr Hunter held his association with the library in high esteem and wished to acknowledge this relationship publicly. Whether these scientific donations and public declarations worked in his favour will have to be considered later.

Belles Lettres, with 14 donations, 2%, tells a similar story. The first entries are attributed to the *Dolben Gift*, such as *Herbert's Poems*,[96] and the last, given in 1827, *Erasmus's in Praise of Folie Englished by Sir Tho: Chaloner, Knight,* bestowed by Rev. William Richardson, also prove a constant presence of this genre. Although small in number, the collection can boast of the inclusion of several significant authors and works. Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Glasgow edition 1770, donated in 1816 by Mr McNair of Leith, and the work of H. J. Todd, Chaplin of York and his Majesty, *Some account of the life & writing of Milton* show that some community members wished to read poetic works. Granted, Milton's work are poems of religious themes – *Paradise Lost* concerns the war over the heavens and the Fall of Man - but as Todd was a member of the clergy and wrote extensively on Milton, we can

[94] Given title: *Anatomia ingeniorum et scientiarum sectionibus quatuor comprehensa.*
[95] Within the *Liber Donorum* and the York search engine, several works are recorded as part of the *Dolben Gift*, referring to the donation of Archbishop Dolben.
[96] Given title: *The temple. Sacred poems, and private ejaculations.*

see that this genre was not without life in this community. This point is furthered by the inclusion of Matthew Priors works, *Prior's Poems*, and it should be stressed that these works were not solely religious. Theatrical works are also present. The first mention of Shakespeare, *Shakespear's Works,* appearing between 1811 and 1812 given by Rev W Dealtry, and John Skelton's moralistic play *Magnifycence, an Interlude,* was given in 1822. It seems that any book presented to the library which can be described as *Belles Lettres* has the gravitas of association with prestigious authors, Milton, Shakespeare, Drake, etc. Whether or not this was a purposeful selection is unknown, but authorship is one identify of value. These aspects must have increased the cultural value of the donation.

Voyages and travels, 15 donations, 2%, does not have as many works that are worth highlighting as others, but three can be noted. Two accounts given, and authored by, James Backhouse, *A narrative of a visit to the Australian Colonies*, and *A Narrative of a visit to the Mauritius and South Africa; illus […]* give reason to think that the some of their benefactors held interests in travels. Yet, the more interesting aspect of this exchange is the character of James himself. This will be the focus of a later analysis. However, this point of interest in travel is proven when we acknowledge the presence of *Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travils 6 Vol*, given by Reverend Edward Salter, Predenary of Strensall, one of the most widely read works in the eighteenth century.

Rather unpredicted was the sheer lack of works of Mathematics and Husbandry, 3 entries each. The reasons for this cannot be explained – the very nature of their absence make it difficult to ponder over this – it may simply be of no interest to this community. However, it may also due position of other intellectual groups, such as the Yorkshire Philosophical Society emerging in the early-mid 19th century.

What, therefore, do these entries of 'new learning' – even in its limited state – suggest about this community? In contrast to the dominating genres of *Divinity and Ecclesiastical History,* and *History and Antiquities,* they appear to be of little significance. Why should they with such little representation? Yet to cast aside such additions would be incorrect, even more so when it is acknowledged that these works were donated by both clergy and laymen. In fact, the opposite approach should be taken – one should take time to contemplate over these. Although few in number these works do suggest one thing: when the community members did not have their noses in between the Holy Scriptures, theological works, or historical accounts of the past, several of them appear to have been discussing poetry, exploring the stage, or imagining distant lands. Although this may be not have been as prevalent as in other book communities, it did hold its own place on the shelves. What is now required is an attempt to see when these interests entered the community. Was it of constant presence, or was it born later in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century? By analysing this change, an accurate definition of the book culture present may be revealed, and in turn support the assertion that recent proposed definitions of early modern book culture need to be readdressed. Moreover, this will form a better understanding of the shifting context experienced by the library. Consequently, it may allow the prediction of which genres were

more likely to generate gratitude, at a specific time, therefore giving insight later on the how a person manoeuvred the gift economy.

Three time-periods within one:

In order to determine any reoccurring themes or patterns in donations, the data collected has again been divided into three periods: 1685 to 1726; 1727 to 1800; 1801 to 1858. This will allow immediate comparison and a summary on each period. On initial inspection it seems that the trends described previously were largely present throughout our time period, save one or two noticeable shifts. Throughout the coming analysis reference will be made to *Table 2*.

Table 2: Comparison between the three periods.

Genres	**1685 – 1726**	**1727 – 1800**	**1801 – 1858**
Divinity and Ecclesiastical History	198	14	141
History and Antiquities	15	6	43
Biography and Memoirs	11	3	17
Voyages and Travels (including Geography and Topography)	2	1	12
Philosophy	12	1	6
Belles-Lettres (English)	2	0	12
Greek and Latin	38	6	14
Language, Dictionaries, etc.	10	1	9
Law, Government, and Trade	8	0	12
Mathematics	2	0	1
Natural Philosophy	3	0	4
Arts: Fine Arts; Music	18	0	8
Physic, Anatomy, etc.	4	0	2
Husbandry	0	0	3
Classical Literature	0	1	10
Sciences	4	3	12
Miscellaneous	4	0	18
Undetermined Classification	34	2	9

The first leaves of the Liber Donorum: 1685 to 1726

The donations between 1685 to 1726 provide several problems for the historian. Firstly, and one that can be easily solved, is that the *Liber Donorum* starts with a record of eight individuals who donated works, of which only one book is identifiable: *Biblia Poly glossa in Velum: una cum Castelli Lexicon in 2 Vol,* donated by 'Timotheus Thriscrosse S. T. P. quondam Archidiaconus de

Cleevelant'. However, as there are no specific dates to which one can tie these donations, they are excluded. Secondly, the titles are sometimes reduced to shortened titles, or simply the author's name. An example of this is *Daniel's History*. However, with the use of the records provided by York Minster library, this was found to be *The collection of the history of England* written by Samuel Daniel in 1626. This reduces the chance of any errors when determining genres. With that said, a small deviation from the theme of this section maybe of value to this study as there are two things that are worth taking note of.

First, as it is the only donation given a title on the opening of the book it can be assumed to have held importance. The interest grows when one identifies this as religious text written on velum, a material of luxury. Bibles were commonly one of the most significant gifts one could bestow to a clerical community, especially one of good quality and artisanship.[97] Secondly, although it is not known when the donation was made an estimate on its date can be given as the character in question is known, and the language of the recorded donation hints to a specific time in his life. This may illuminate the reason for a donation of such a valuable item and again give an example of the gift economy present in York in the seventeenth century.

Timotheus Thriscrosse, identified to be Timothy Thurscross (died 1671) held the position of Archdeacon of Cleveland in the diocese of York between 1635 and 1638. Having only had three years in office, Thurscross resigned from due to a change in circumstance: 'sign'd unto the Arch-Bishop of York his Archdeaconrie and Vicaridge of Kerby Moorside, being much troubl'd in his conscience for having obtain'd them thro symonie, and now living at York hath nothing to maintain himself and his wife with all but his prebend'.[98] The entry of his donation states 'quondam' translating to mean formally. The suggestion is that in order to maintain good graces with the Minster Thurscross may have donated a valuable book when he failed to meet his requirements of office. However, he only served one more time as a preacher in 1661 at Thomas Sutton Charterhouse, London.[99] Whether this is a success or failure to navigate the path of reciprocation is hard to determine, but does give example of one using the gift economy to perhaps better their situation.

Returning to the analysis, one can see that the most popular donation is categorised as *Divinity and Ecclesiastical History,* with 198 entries. In a distant second, *Greek and Latin* stands at 38 entries. Interestingly, *Arts: Fine Arts, Music*, exceeds *History and Antiquities* with 18 and 15 respectively. *Philosophy, Language, Dictionaries, etc.*, and *Biography and Memoirs* each have 12 and 11 titles, respectively, categorised, with *Law, Government, and Trade* amounting to 8 books within the collection. Whilst this dominance of traditional texts appears to mirror the conclusions drawn from

[97] Heal, (2014) pp. 106
[98] Reference to this account is found on: http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/CreatePersonFrames.jsp?PersonID=127700, accessed on 29/08/2017
[99] *Ibid.*

an entire overview, this may be due to the number of donators and to whom one can attribute the majority of the donations.

Although the time period spans over 41 years, the total recorded donations amount to 289 books, a considerable number for such a short period of time. One could assume this shows not only the favour enjoyed by the library, but also its prominence in the local community. This, however, is a rather opaque observation. The majority of the donations came through the generosity of Frances Matthew's gift of her deceased husband. 273 of the works are recorded as part of this donation, one that amounted to over 3,000 works (not all works were recorded in the *Liber Donorum*).[100] That said, with the remaining 16 donations, 7 can be categorised as *Divinity and Ecclesiastical History*, and 4 as *History and Antiquities*. Even though they are dwarfed by the colossal library of Matthew, the trend still occurs in the immediate years following his donation. Moreover, as Matthew held the position of Archbishop before his death, it is almost certain that he helped to shape the atmosphere of learning and academic interests of this community.

Therefore, what does this suggest about the book culture of this period? Simply put, with the example of Tobias Matthew's library acting as a model and defining the interests of this community, other donators seemed to follow suit. There was a dominance of religious works, followed by Greek and Latin scriptures and historical accounts. Interestingly, arts, particularly music, did play a role. However, with the entirety of its collection connected to Matthew it does not appear to have been followed up. In summary, the context for this period of time will be described as the following: a book culture of traditional academic subjects which relate to worship and the Christian faith.

Following trends, with slight variation, 1727 to 1800;

Amassing the fewest number of donated books totalling 27, even though this exceeded the previous period by 73 years, the interests appear to again focus on the traditional academic subjects: Religion, History and Greek and Latin.

Divinity and Ecclesiastical History accounts for over 50% of donations, 14 entries. *History* stands at 6, with three donations worthy of note. *Rapin's History of the English Two Vols Folio*, given by L Fowntayne, Dean of York is the first. This book stands out for two reasons: the appropriate nature and subject of the book on its publication (and this translation by Nicholas Tindal, 1732) it was received well, and was sympathetic to the politics and reading style of the day.[101] Secondly, this entry has a physical imprint of its donator, as a bookplate is found on its cover with Fowntayne's

[100] Elizabeth Brunskill, *18th Century Reading: some notes on the people who frequented the library of York Minster in the Eighteenth Century, and on the books they borrowed*. (York: York Georgian Society. 1950) pp. 5

[101] M.G. Sullivan, ' Rapin de Thoyras, Paul de (1661-1725)' found in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.its.uu.se/view/article/23145, accessed on 27 Aug 2017]

name. Clearly, the presence of the donator will be known to all who selected the book for their own reading. Possessing two imprints that constitutes its cultural value suggests a work of high value. The other entry, *Gough's British Topography 2 Vol*, published in 1780 and donated by Rev John Preston, M.A., Prebendary of Riccall in 1800, has the signature of Gough within its bindings. Considered to be the leading antiquary of the eighteenth century and renowned for his use of maps and study of historical medieval church buildings, Gough became well known throughout England's antiquarian community.[102] The association of Gough to the work may have increased its cultural value. Finally, *Torre's Antiquities of York*, 1719, donated by George Markham, Chancellor and Canon of the Minster, contains George's signature. Again, this ensures that a text many would have found of interest due to its connection to the locality would evoke memories or esteem for its donator. Although only around 25% of the entries were historical, they appear to have been selective and thought valuable. The works show connection to one or more of the imprints that inform its cultural value. Should the community not find interest in such works then the donations would have been worthless. Why would one give up a book of value for no reason unless it was thought that it would serve both the community and the donator well? The reflection is that the community still held historical works in high esteem, especially when connected to individuals of prominence.

With one fewer entry in *Science* for this period than the preceding period, it appears that perhaps the subject was less popular than before. However, all these entries were donated by the aforementioned Dr Hunter. With 3 entries this genre amounted to 8% of the donations, all of which focused on agriculture ranging from his first notable donation in 1776 of *Evelyn's Silva* [Sylva] to *Gesneri Scriptores de Re Rustica* in 1800, Dr Hunter's presence was persistent. Through multiple donations, the library was evidently an important social sphere, and consequently the repeated scientific donations suggest that this community found a place on the shelves for such a subject.

With a such a small number of donations recorded in the *Liber Donorum* it could be asserted that the library was failing to interact with its public. However, one must remember that a comparison between this period and the preceding period must account for the impact of Matthew's donation. Drawing conclusions from only the *Liber Donorum*, it may appear that the library's community was small and inactive. Perhaps the reading opportunities did not appeal to the members of the local community. However, Elizabeth Brunskill's article *18th Century Reading: some notes on the people who frequented the library of York Minster in the Eighteenth Century, and on the books they borrowed*, testifies against this. Not only was the library open to the clergy, but anyone who gained permission.[103] Therefore, the period reflects a wider community than period preceding it. The observation that the books borrowed reflect the donations support the idea of a large

[102] R.H. Sweet, 'Gough, Richard (1735-1809)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.its.uu.se/view/article/11141, accessed on 27 Aug 2017]
[103] Elizabeth Brunskill, (1950) pp. 8

community who were still focused on traditional aspects well into the 18th century. Although Brunskill's article ranges from 1716 to 1778 and does not directly compare to this thesis division of time, 1727 to 1800, it largely overlaps. Brunskill identified that two-thirds of the books borrowed were either religious or historical, with law, philosophy and poetry making up the final third; science was largely ignored.[104] This almost perfectly mirrors the donations of this period, with the exception of science which was donated at the end of Brunskill's period. Therefore, to conclude on this period's book culture one can define it as the following: a book culture which is centred on religious and historical texts, but with a focus shifting to include the sciences.

Filling all shelves, 1801 to 1858:

Appearing to overcome its dwindling popularity suffered between 1727 and 1800, the popularity of donating works to the library grew dramatically. Totalling 232 donations the library's collection increased across almost all genres and began to boast a collection that was not confined to just the traditional subjects, but included *Travel, Sciences, Belles Lettres* etc. Similar to the first period, 1685 to 1726, the 19th century included a very large donation attributed to William Burgh, (given by his wife on her death in 1819 following the wishes of her husband), totalling 359 books.[105] However, as the *Liber Donorum* only records 69 of these donations, it does not entirely distort any conclusions on the book culture of the contemporary community. Moreover, the fact that William Burgh himself wished to donate his works may suggest that his interests were mirrored by the community, and therefore his collection is should not be entirely discounted.

The dominance of religious and historical texts is found, again, to be present. *Divinity and Ecclesiastical History* accounts for 141, and *History and Antiquities* 43 entries, making up for 42% and 13% of the entire collection. Immediately, it is clear that the assertion that this community held on to an interest of the traditional subjects of study is almost infallibly correct. Although, as stressed previously, this is not surprising given the nature of the Minster itself as a religious bastion of the Anglican Church in the North of England, it is still remarkable with the sheer scale of the donations and how frequent they were in comparison to other subjects. Clearly, the book culture definition provided to before by Kurchus, with the inclusion of primarily science and self-education motives, does not fit for this community.

With that said, finally, with the turn of the 19th century other subjects became more prominent. *Voyages and Travels*, previously almost non-existent, surge to the front gaining the third

[104] *Ibid.* pp. 30

[105] It should be noted that William Burgh is recorded to have given 328 volumes, as argued by C.B.L Barr (1969) pp. 514. However, the Minster Library Catalogue VI, 1831, records 359 donated by William Burgh, hence the revised number presented.

place on the podium, 12 entries to its name. Containing works such as *Churchill's Collections of Voyages & Travils 6 Vol*, given in 1803 by Rev. Edward Salter, the aforementioned *Knight's Saracenic and Norman remains in Sicily,* given by the author in 1839, or, again already mentioned, donations of James Backhouse, it holds a prominent place on the shelves. Interestingly, many of these works were given by the author's themselves. This strongly suggests that the authors, perhaps seeking favour or prestige, donated their works to the library. Evidence seems to support this and will be scrutinised later.

Law, Government and Trade also become more visible with 12 entries, as does *Classical Literature.* However, it is the emergence of *Science* and *Belles-Lettres* which is surprising. Numbering 12 each, they exceed *Languages, Philosophy and Arts* for the first time, and by some margin. It appears that the new subjects had finally permeated the boundaries of the library and found themselves a place on the shelves. That said, the door that was open to the scientifically minded individuals of the community appears to have been closing towards the end of the period. Only 4 entries were given between 1838 and 1858, and the remaining 8 were donated between 1801 and 1811. This does coincide with the creation of the *Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, which also tasked itself with provoking scientific discussions and interests. Perhaps individuals, with this new avenue open to a different form of donations, thought best to donate elsewhere; or perhaps, realising that the community was not interested, the door was stuck, partially closed, until the late 1830s. This is difficult to deduce; however, we can underscore that, finally, the community of the Minster appears to have opened its intellectual interests to subjects previously excluded.

To conclude, how should the final stage in the period be summarised? It appears that whilst the old guard of literary were holding strong, slowly but surely other academic interests were finding their way onto the shelves. The book culture should then be described as the following: a book culture with the primary focus on the traditional academic subjects, but shifting to include the newer subjects of popularity and interest.

The shifting contexts of the library: 1685 to 1858

When an analysis of the contents of the *Liber Donorum*, ending in 1858, is taken we can see the dominance of three subjects. Passing first through the door to fill the shelves is *Divinity and Ecclesiastical History*, closely following by *History and Antiquities* and *Greek and Latin* tussling for second place. Slumping behind are the remaining subjects appearing to have almost no presence at all. However, when the time-period is segmented this distorted image becomes clearer. The other subjects, whilst still failing to match the importance of the 'old guard', they did enter in droves at particular moments. Clearly, the book culture as defined by Kurschus is not appropriate for the

community of York. With its consistent, almost fixated, focus on the 'old guard' the definition needs to be adapted to the more suitable one: a book culture which focused on theological, religious and historical discussion with elements of scientific and self-improvement works.

Therefore, to claim that the book culture for the library, as projected on the Minster through the donations, continually excluded the new subjects would be too bold a statement. Instead it revealed a community with shifting interests. The assertion is that these donations played on what the community deemed valuable, by both the Minster itself and the individual donators. When the proposed model and the individual donations are analysed, these contexts must account for these shifting interests (see Fig 5). For any donation given between 1685 and 1726, the book culture was traditional subjects which centred on religious and historical discourse; 1727 to 1800 saw a culture centred on religious and historical texts with some inclusion of sciences; and from 1801 to 1858 religious and historical works were dominant but with the introduction of new subjects.

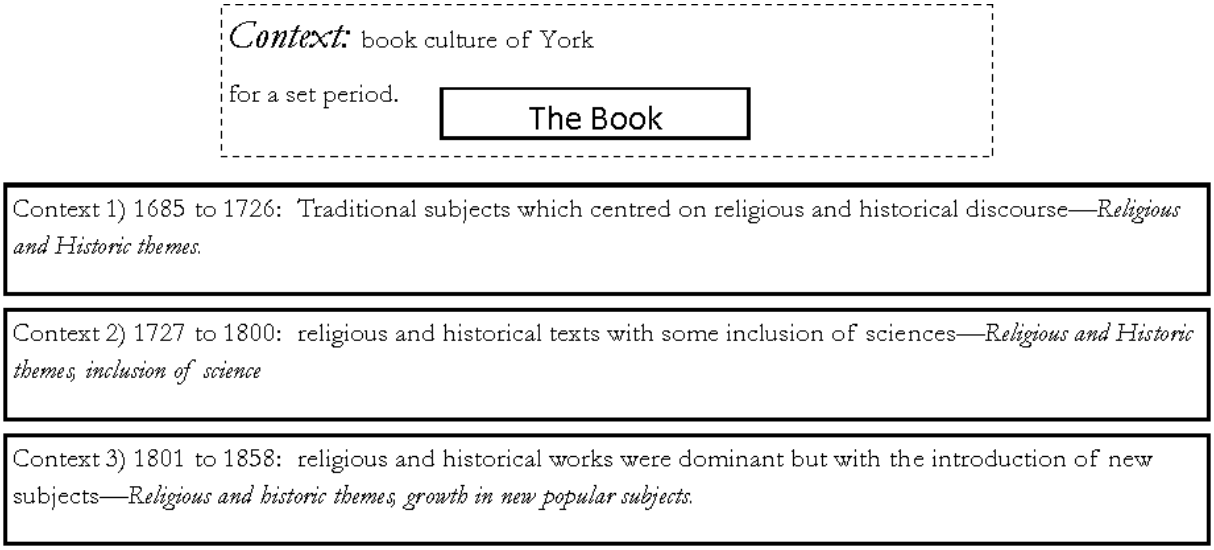

Fig 5: Context as influenced by the book culture present.

Context integrated within the proposed model:

With the book culture defined by the period, a more precise prediction of any expected reciprocation by the Minister Library can be made. Evaluating each donation by combining the assessed value of a book (the three imprints) with the defined context (the book culture present at the time of the donation), one can anticipate how much a book could have been valued at. The greater the value, the higher the gratitude, the more likely one would receive reciprocation. The character of H. G. Knight is given as an example. (See *Fig. 6*.) Knight (who will be analysed later) donated several texts categorised as *Travels, Voyages, etc.,* between 1839 and 1844, thus falling into the third period of time. Therefore, the context within which he donated is defined as: a book

culture centred on religious and historical works but with the introduction of new subjects (summarised to be *Religious and historic themes, growth in new popular subjects*). One can therefore expect that the culture present would be receptive for such a donator. Provided the book itself generated sufficient cultural value as determined by its three imprints, then any reciprocation would not come unexpected. Provided this and other examples analysed support the predicted level of reciprocation then the model, in part, will be proven.

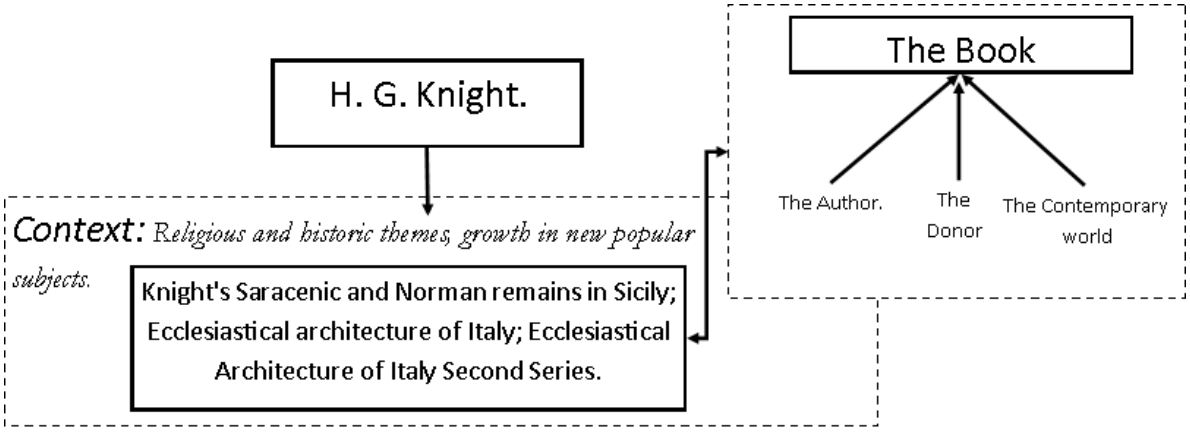

Fig 6. The inclusion of context within the model.

Finally, in order to establish how important donations were to participants and the society of early modern York, one must look to the individuals themselves. By determining who the agents were, what, if any, facet of life connected them together outside the library, and whether or not they had any other paths available into the gift economy, one can gain a more lucid and detailed understanding of the motives and movements of Yorkshire people in their social networks. One in which the library was just one arena, used by some more than others. By identifying the donators, the community is placed at the forefront of the study, no longer residing behind stacks of books. Instead, the impact of the donations may be revealed and any change in a person's social status or benefits can be traced.

Identifying the generous giver(s):

A library's aesthetic and its environment can, to both present day and past people, portray a sedative environment. Tradition dictates a quiet space that promotes the studious activities of 'bookish' individuals. Conversations and personal interactions between users of the library are side-lined in favour of internal discussions with an author of a book. Both the minster's library and reading practices of the Early Modern Period seems to reinforce this imagine. Niccolo Machiavelli, writing to friend, described how, through his readings in the focused environment of his personal library, he 'enter[ed] into the ancient courts of ancient men and am welcomed by them kindly, and there I taste the food that alone is mine, and for which I was born.'[106] Although written a century before our period, it gives a unique insight into how the early modern reader approached their texts and readings. A dialogue was cultivated between the reader and the author, and later shared with others. Read and annotate the texts, converse and debate with others later. Undoubtedly, there was a move towards more open and inviting spaces which encouraged conversation and debate on texts in libraries throughout early modern Europe.[107] However with the attachment to the Cathedral, and later relocation of the library to the 'Old Palace', it would not be too presumptuous to reason that this internal discussion, reflecting both humanists reading practices and Christian worship, was in favour within the Minster's library. Furthermore, Archbishop Dolben, angered at the observation that the library of the 17th century was not looking after its contents, demanded three vicars were to be employed to oversee the library to ensure that all present were there for learned purposes, and that 'the books be not purloined or damnified by such as shall pretend there to study'.[108] Previous to this change, even the books physically embodied this stalwart attitude to learning and its place and purpose in the library.[109] Chained to the lecterns they were stored on, one could not ignore the message: a person entered this environment to learn. This strict atmosphere continued until the end of our period and became almost entrenched in new procedures enforced in 1842: borrowers could have access to the collection six days a week, and were allowed to borrow up to four works. However, these could not be in their possession for any longer than a month and they were to pay the cost of carriage and weekly loans.[110] It was a privilege to consults such books and the authority they contained. With its rules and regulations any one utilizing the library must have thought it collection valuable.

Moreover, the analysis above on the donations of books from 1685 to 1858, centring religious and historical texts, underscores this traditional environment, which would have likely

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[106] Anthony Grafton, 'The Humanist as a Reader', found in, *A History of Reading in the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1999) pp. 180.
[107] P. Kaufman, (1967). pp. 25
[108] C. B. L. Barr, (1977) pp. 505.
[109] *Ibid.* pp. 496
[110] *Ibid.* pp. 517

followed the humanist style of internalised and contemplative reading. Therefore, it is understandable that the individuals with a quiet nature may be overlooked in the historical record, with the focus falling, instead, on the books themselves. However, the library was known to be used by many people throughout its history. Brunskill observes that with borrower's legers of 1716 onwards, the library opened its doors to public no longer restrictive to the clerical community, but 'local parsons, and serious-minded men'.[111] Although this does negate the presence of women, of which there were several as exemplified by Frances Matthews, it does suggest that the community of library was an active one.

The library even took the initiative to advertise its value and encourage others to take advantage of its treasures by taking out a post in the *Yorkshire Gazette* in 1837. Writing that the:

> 'Dean and Chapter, respecting the use of their library, not being generally known, […] any gentleman resident in York, or the suburbs, may have the loan of books from the library,' and that the library boasts nearly 8000 works, of which 'half the volumes being theological […] a good collection of classics, […] fathers of the Church, […] Rabbinical learning […] general history, […] learned or modern foreign languages'.[112]

Although, again, similar to the constraints of the borrower's leger, women appear to be excluded, something which we know was not strictly gospel, it is interesting to observe that the advert also stresses the importance and high regard the library had for its members, stating that 'a considerable part of them [the books] having been bequests and gifts, to be for ever attached to the Cathedral.' In this almost fleeting comment, both the origins of the library and the significance of the donators are seen. All these examples hint to a community that was both active and wide ranging. Furthermore, it suggests that the library did not neglect its interactions with its public. Instead, it sought to acknowledge their value. The brief analysis of the title page suggested this, but the names of those recorded also support this assertion.

The individuals recorded in the *Liber Donorum* total 113. Of these 76 individuals were single donators, almost entirely all of whom can be named, and 37 individuals who donated multiple times. Ranging from 2 to exceeding 20 donations, the majority of multiple donations range between 2 to 4 works given (see *Table 3*).

[111] Elizabeth Brunskill (1950) pp. 8
[112] C.B.L Barr (1977) pp 516.

Number of donations	Number of donors
2 to 4	27
3 to 5	1
6 to 7	2
8 to 9	1
10 to 14	0
15 to 19	0
20+	5

Table 3: Tallied number of donations against donators.

Surprisingly, 5 instances of donations exceeding 20 are recorded. However, this includes the Markham family as a collective as it was thought to be appropriate to group its members together, and also accounts for the characters of Maramaduke Fothergill and William Burgh (donations which, although Burgh will be looked into briefly, demand thorough and extensive study not achievable within this boundaries of this thesis). This comparison between single and multiple donators illustrates that a third of all donators thought it purposeful, or at least correct, to donate more than once. What does this tell us? It may suggest that for some the community and institution of the library was worth the frequent voluntary relinquishment of their property. It could illustrate some were indebted to the library. What is conclusive is that for many individuals a continuing relationship, built on reoccurring donations from the agent to the library, was deemed to be valuable. Resembling the idea of Barry Schwartz' 'distributive justice' and balance of debt referred to earlier, this seems to confirm the presence of a gift economy.

But what of single donations? Do we simply conclude that their solitary interactions with the library give no insight into general trends of donations and reciprocation? Taken alone this would appear so. However, these single donators can also be grouped when gender, position and personal connections can be found.

The question then is, what groups, or which individuals, standout from this crowd of donators, and what can one discern from this? Identifiable groups include women, authors, publishers, and family units, such as the Markhams. By selecting such groups, we may be able to reveal the benefits and incentives of donations and give further evidence for this active gift economy.

F**rances Matthews, and other of Women of *Example*.**

'A Woman setting the example'. With the donation of such a large bequest in 1628 Frances Matthews' exemplified character rings throughout the dedication, elevating her above others, setting *the* example and casting a shadow over any donations which followed. The semantics of this very phrase does not specify whether this shadow hung over other women or all donators

irrespective of their gender. However, it does suggest one thing: women were not excluded from honours placed on those who parted with books. In this act Frances was not alone. Unique in the amount of appreciation of she was given, undeniable, but not alone in her presence.

Amongst the names scribed into the *Liber Donorum* three other women are identifiable. The inclusion of these women suggests two things: women may have been able to employ some agency by parting with personal books, and, this act of donation was to be acknowledged by other members of this community. However, it should be noted that, perhaps, a women's donation could have been given and recorded in the family's name, therefore excluding the women's name from the honours list. Moreover, the donation of a male may have been provoked or at least suggested by a wife, sister, spouse etc., as the benefits, if any, can fall on the family rather than simply the man. With that said, there are still some entries which can be identified suggesting that women donators, whilst not frequent, still occurred. It does appear that these were women of status, but their inclusion is still evident. These donations reveal incentives which can explain why some individuals donated texts, even when no specific benefit is visible. The works themselves all allude to specific identities or intellectual characteristics which suggest attempts at gaining, or strengthening, prestige as their own identity became imbued with the social capital possessed by the Minster Library. The donations also hint to agents pursuing opportunities to strengthen social bonds.

The three individuals traceable are: a Mrs Donkin in 1820, one of either three characters, perhaps Elizabeth Donkin, previously Markham, the wife of Major General Sir Donkin who governed Cape of Good Hope. However, the date and genre of the donation and the title of the donator may complicate the identification of Donkin. Another donator, one Lady Mansfield, a lady of position belonging to a well-established family and married to Lord Mansfield. The daughter of William Markham, she also held personal connections to the Markham family, a family known for their strong affiliation to the library. Finally, recorded as one Catherine Sharpe, the granddaughter of Archbishop Sharpe and sister of Grenville Sharpe, the prominent abolitionist.

On 32 (Vecto) of the *Liber Donorum* two separate donations recorded to have been given to the Minster by a Mrs Donkin. These two donations fall into the category of languages due to the nature of their subjects: The two entries are *Specimens of translations of the S.S. into Eastern Languages*, and, *51 Vols Translations of the S.S. into the Languages of Hindoolan & with Grammars & workes on Eastern Literature*, both of which were donated in 1820. [113] Herein lies the problem. Mrs Donkin, it is assumed, is to be connected to Major General Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, a prominent figure in York, through either marriage or blood. Sir Donkin, the son of a famous general, Robert Donkin, was the governor of the Cape of Good Hope between 1820 and 1821, and married Elizabeth Markham, the daughter of the George Markham, Dean of York, and granddaughter of Archbishop

[113] Due to the fact that S.S. could not be determined to mean any one specific thing, it was decided that this book would be categorised as only Languages, dictionaries, etc. However, this could easily be a religious text.

William Markham, in 1815.[114] Clearly, Sir Donkin had married directly into one of York's most prominent families, and one which not only was closely associated with the Minster, but intimately tied with the library. In 1810, with the dilapidated state of the chapel of the Old Palace, Dean George Markham initiated an action to restore the chapel and move the Minster's literary collection under its new roof. [115] Barr comments that, under the example of Dean Markham, and the support of his father Archbishop William Markham, the Markham family began to consistently donate works to the library. This included the characters of Elizabeth, who seemed to copy her father's example Sir Donkin.[116] It should be again repeated that, as suggested by Mauss, Komter, Simmel and others, all gifts are given under contexts of societal or relationship aspects such as religious, social or communal interests, and that anything given from one to another is affected by these aspects. This may suggest that both Elizabeth and her husband, Sir Donkin who himself donates several works under his own name, donated these texts to mimic the actions of their extended and immediate family. Imitation is, as they say, the best form of flattery. The works also reflect the characters and life of Elizabeth and Sir Donkin. In 1815, the same year of their marriage, Sir Donkin was reassigned to the Bengal presidency in India.[117] The two-works donated by Mrs Donkin reflects this new environment with translations into Hindi and other eastern languages. However, given the date of entry, for two reasons prompt the historian to hesitate in assuming that these two works were given by Elizabeth.

Firstly, Elizabeth has been referred to as Lady Elizabeth Donkin.[118] However, within the *Liber Donorum* it is simply recorded as Mrs Donkin. This may simply be somewhat of a misnomer, either on the epitaph or in the *Liber Donorum*. The scribe seems to have taken the effort to record Lady Mansfield who donated works in the same year, recorded by the same hand, with her title included in the *Liber Donorum*. However, the second issue is more problematic. Although Barr states that Elizabeth Donkin donated works as a benefactor to the library, the only two entries of donated by Mrs Donkin were in 1820. It may not seem unreasonable to assume that Elizabeth would have been able to do this even abroad in India, but Elizabeth died in Meerut in 1818, leaving Sir Donkin a widower with an infant son.[119] Although the donation may have been given two years after her death, this may be rather improbable. Perhaps one of two other individuals could have been the beneficiary of these two texts: Jane Anna Donkin, sister of Sir Donkin, who later – date unknown – married Robert Boyer. The other individual it could be identified as Læthia Donkin, the eldest sister of Sir Donkin, who died in 1820, giving the works on her death. However, one would expect

[114] H. M. Chichester, 'Donkin, Sir Rufane Shaw', found in *Oxford Dictionary of The National Biography*, (23 September 2004), accessed from https://doi-org.ezproxy.its.uu.se/10.1093/ref:odnb/7812 on 15/10/2017
[115] Clements Markham (1913). pp. 78-9
[116] C.B.L. Barr (1969). pp. 511
[117] H. M. Chichester (2004)
[118] Frederick Teague Cansick, *Collection of Curious and Interesting Epitaphs: Copied from the Monuments of Distinguished and Noted Characters in the Ancient Church and Burial Grounds of Saint Pancras* (London: J. Russell Smith. 1869) pp. 114
[119] H. M. Chichester (2004)

to see these two individuals to be recorded as Ms, rather than Mrs, as they were born with the family name. One final scenario should be suggested: the individual's cursive script who penned the entries on the *Liber Donorum* may have accidently scribed Mrs when Mr was wanted. This, however, can be quickly disregarded. On the following page, 33 (Recto), Sir Donkin is recorded donating his own works and his full title is given. This can only lead to the assertion that these two texts were given by Mrs Elizabeth Donkin, and were either sent before her death, or on her death, or mistakenly recorded in the wrong year. The family connections, the themes which embody the intellectual and environmental surroundings of the young couple, and the fact that Sir Donkin also donates *The Cape Town Gazettes* in the 1822 – again, resembling the places and experiences he lived through - support this assertion. Clearly, Mrs Donkin's identity was imprinted on the works donated. Furthermore, one final point may illuminate the additional reasons why the Donkin family donated works to the library. Sir Donkin, upon retiring from the army, led a rather active life in the literature community, writing for the *Literary Gazette*, he was a founding member of the Royal Geographical Society, and was made a member of the Royal Society.[120] With such interests and connections to a literature community, the donations to the York Minster library may have assisted forming or strengthening social bonds to such communities. Therefore, what reasons can be deduced for why these donations were made, and what benefits would these donations give? It appears that although no economic benefit was achieved, the gesture of donations resulted in personal reciprocation manifested as social support and connections (Option A). Through donations the Donkin family reaffirmed their connection to the Minster literature community, and perhaps more importantly, the family of the Markhams. With the bereavement of Dean Markham's oldest daughter, the connection between Sir Donkin and his extended family was tested. Furthermore, through the similar actions of acting as a benefactor to the beloved library, Sir Donkin would continue to reinforce his path back to the Markhams whilst simultaneously strengthening his literary connections (see *Fig 7*).

Prestigious institutions attract prestigious people, and the *Liber Donorum* proves the minster's attraction. In addition to this, family connections can also explain the appeal of the minster. Lady Frederica Mansfield, born Frederica Markham, daughter of Archbishop William Markham, is recorded donating one work in 1820, *Preces Niensis Clajensis,* a prayer book of multiple languages published in Venice in 1818. Coincidentally, the same year as her niece, Mrs Donkin. The work is of religious themes and, written in Latin, is in the traditional vernacular of the church. Perhaps one could suggest that this donation, one of only five texts donated in 1820 – four of which came from members of the Markham family – mirrored a collective family motive. In response to Mrs Donkin's donation after death perhaps, or another reason we cannot be sure. However, the significance of all donations given in one year, two by Mrs Donkin, one by Lady Mansfield and

[120] H. M. Chichester (2004)

one by George Markham, appears to quite unusual. (See *Fig. 8,* Appendix A). Where no initial reason for, or response to, this donation can be traced, William Markham's own promotion has been linked to his friendship with the predecessor of Lord Mansfield.[121] It seems that this friendship cemented a promotion of both Archbishop Markham in his career and secured his daughter's marriage to a prestigious family. Through donations of religious works to the minster, Lady Mansfield was able continue to show her patriation of the Minster and further reinforce her connection with her paternal family and their traditions and interests.

The last women setting an example was Catherine Sharp, the sister of Grenville Sharp and granddaughter of John Sharp. Donating a totally number of six texts – one in 1820, four in the following year, and one in 1825 – all of which fall into *Divinity and Ecclesiastical* or *Biography and memoirs*, and centre upon either her brother's or father's works or lives. Titled Ms, it appears that Catherine was unmarried, and connection to her biological family was very strong. However, it should be noted that one other Catherine Sharp is known, one the daughter of James Sharp born in 1770 and dying in 1843, who sat in a family portrait, could perhaps be the Ms in question.[122] Yet as the location, Barnet, is recorded allows us to quickly disregard this as James has relocated to London; one can assume that his daughter would have also travelled with him, explaining her frequent inclusion in their afternoons of concert playing as a family unit.[123] Both the granddaughter of John Sharp, the Archbishop of York between 1691-1714, and the daughter of Archdeacon Thomas Sharp, and herself living in Yorkshire, Catherine must have held a close connection to both the religious community and the locality of York Minster itself. This offers some explanation as to why she may have donated works to the minster. However, one realises the importance of her donations when their subject matter is considered.

As Simmel argued, gifts are imbued with the spirit or identity of the giver but also any previous owners.[124] Subsequently, these connections can enhance the value of a book. Each of Catherine's donations are intertwined with the identities of her family members, either through the subject of the book itself or personal items of her relatives. Texts given, one on the life of her brother, written by his first biographer, *Hoare's Memoirs of Granville Sharpe Esp.* and one given on her grandfather, *The life of Archbp Sharpe. 2 Vol 8vo*, exemplify this. The remaining texts given were penned by members of her family: *Sermon on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by Abp Sharp,* written, clearly, by her grandfather; two texts on written by her father *Sermon on the same subject [Sacrament] by Dr T. Sharp* and *Remarks on the Rubric by the same [Dr T Sharp]. Sundry*; and finally, *Pamphlets by Granvile Sharp with letters to him.* Interestingly, and rather unique to these works, the provenience of the texts was

[121] Nigel Aston, 'William Markham', found in found in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
[122] Johan Joseph Zoffany's The Sharp Family, accessed on 15/10/2017, found on, http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw05163/The-Sharp-Family#description
[123] G. M. Ditch *Sharp, Granville*, found in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[124] G. Simmel (1996) pp. 44

recorded, whereas many other texts with known authorship and provenience had to be traced independently. The impact on the value of the donations generated from the individuals' imprints must not be discounted. Grenville Sharp's work on the abolition of the slave trade thrust him forward in prominence in the political arenas of 18th and 19th century England; Archbishop Sharp's keen religious tracts and high actively life as a man of the cloth also elevated him above others. Even Archdeacon Thomas Sharp, Catherine's father, was known for his love of books, a clear interest shared or at least acknowledged by Catherine as evident in her donations.[125] Besides the visible imprints of her family members on the books, they also reflect the early modern practice of praising and highlighting individuals who rose above others with selfless acts. Rosemary Sweet highlights that the Early Modern Period's promotion of exemplary individuals worthy of note, due to their conduct and virtues in life, assisted in the reinforcement of social bonds. [126] Moreover, and specifically in works associated with the history of the minster itself, the example of charitable Christians emphasised the expectation placed other members in the community. [127] Therefore, with texts mirroring the book culture of the period, *Religious and historic themes,* and with the direct linked to prominent figures, one can strongly assert that these donations were not simply the actions of a person offloading her unwanted items without thought or motive, but instead a person donating highly valued books with specific intent or purpose. With such prominent connections to family members, the donations both elevate the works and lives of the authors, Catherine continued to associate herself with the minster and secures her position in both the community and her own family (Option A). (See Fig 9, Appendix A.)

In summary, although few in number, the inclusion of women who parted with their books does allude to a form of agency and suggests reasons why they sought to become a benefactor of the minster. Although no real social change can be traced, it can be asserted that through donations of books, honour and prestige was given to both the donator, be that Catherine, Lady Mansfield, or Mrs Donkin, or their families. Not only this, but the act of relinquishing one's assets aided in strengthening bonds with their respective families. Imitating, emphasising or highlighting their relationships, interests, or works allowed these historical agents to be counted in a field dominated by male names. Truly, these donations though smaller than Frances, prove that should a woman be of a particular standing or background, they could truly set an example for others to follow and mimic.

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[125] Richard Ovenden 'Sharp, Thomas', found in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[126] Rosemary Sweet, 'History and Identity in Eighteenth-Century York: Francis Drake's Eboracum (1736)', found in, *Eighteenth Century York: Culture, Space and Society* (York: University of York. 2003) pp 19

[127] *Ibid.* pp 19

Authorship and publishing power.

On 34 Recto of the *Liber Donorum* one witnesses the fallibility of the scribe. Recording the donation of *Sir James Hall's Gothic Architecture*, the donation was initially acknowledged to be from one John Hall. Quickly, it appears that such an error was noticed and struck out, replacing with the true form of James Hall. (See *Fig. 10,* Appendix A). It appears that even a well-practiced scribe was open to mistakes. However, should one study these entries focusing solely on such errors, one would overlook one subtle important feature. The work was donated by its author. Moreover, the very acknowledgment of this donation takes a different form than majority of entries recorded as *presented*, not simply *given*. This emphasis on the way the work was donated implies that the donation evoked more ceremony and gravitas than other gifts. Although this may be simply a stylistic choice from the scribe, selecting differing words to break the autonomy of his duties, should one consult the following pages a pattern quickly emerges. Authors, booksellers and editors are often recorded as presenting their works. The implication is that these texts were of value because they were works given by the authors, products of their own due diligence and hardship. This, therefore, raises an interesting observation which highlights the importance of the minster as a social arena for the gift economy of York. Many authors, editors and even booksellers, appear to have parted with their works presenting them to the library in an attempt to continue or strengthen a bond of association with the minster, and in turn accrue prestige for their works and services.

The first work recorded given by its author was from Thomas Comber, the very author of the *Liber Donorum*. The works themselves are not identifiable, simply recorded as one folio, one quarto and two other manuscripts. Turning two pages forward the second author is seen parting with his work, Dr Thomas Newton bestowing *Dissertation on the Prophecies Three Vols: Octavo*. This practiced continued with the last entry in this thesis' study, *Ezekiel's oblation and the apocalypse* in 1858, given by its author a W. Hewson MA. In total 47 books given by authors, editors or booksellers were recorded, with 27 individuals identified (with the addition of two untraceable authors or editors increasing the number to 29). Clearly the practice was well followed throughout the period and supports both Zemon-Davies' and Heal's observations on books as gifts given by authors, and Komter's suggestion that gift practices cement social bonds. Although it may be intriguing to consider each author's donations on their own merit, due to the confines of this thesis only a select few will be considered. Dean Cockburn a member of the clergy is present. H.G. Knight, Dr Alexander Hunter, and James Backhouse all part with their works, members of the community outside of the clerical orders. With that said, these three donators will be analysed in more detail later. However, the inclusion of the bookbinders, William Tesseyman, John Wolstenholme, Thomas Peck, and J. and G. Todd, reveal how voluntarily giving up one's own works could secure future business. Clearly, this exemplifies Mauss' assertion that an agent was obliged to reciprocate

a gift received at equal value, provided that the donation, in this case the book, was gratefully received.[128]

William Cockburn, between 1838 and 1841, donated one work, *Cockburn on the Deluge and on the Creation of the World*. Yet, Cockburn does not appear to have personally gained from this donation, having already attained the position of Dean of York in 1822 and never bettering this role.[129] However, this does reinforce the view that Cockburn considered the library to be both appropriate for his own works, and religious academic study. Placing his works on the shelves which contained many unique and treasured entries Cockburn, himself a prolific pamphleteer and writer, could witness his work grow in prestige with its inclusion to the library. Moreover, the importance of Cockburn's donation highlights his support for the act of donating religious texts to a literature community. As proposed by William Pearson a century before, through this charitable act Cockburn reinforces the community though acts of *social love*. Thus, the importance donating his own works is two-fold: to generate authority and prestige as an author, and to exemplify the act of Christian charity to the library. Consequently, one could assume that Cockburn would look favourable on other generous donators. This may be a rather obvious conclusion, but Cockburn's name also appears as the authority sanctioning two separate indentures between James Backhouse and William Gray, respectively, both close to the dates of their donations. One may therefore suggest that Cockburn's patronage of the library and role as a sanctioning authority of leases etc, to individuals whom themselves had donated works, are linked. This requires further investigation, but the possibility is enticing.

With regards to the bookbinders and the booksellers of the city and county, they are equalled represented along with the clergymen, Doctors and the rest of the library's community. The names of J. and G. Todd, John Wolstenholme, Thomas Peck and William Tesseyman are recorded between 1801 and 1829, donating a total number of seven works. Each work donated falls into the category of *Divinity and Ecclesiastical* works, clearly reflecting the interests of the library. Interestingly, one donation, given by William Tesseyman in 1801, shows the importance of the relationship of goodwill between the book merchants and the library. Initially appearing as a rather routine entry, Tesseyman donated *Hey's Norriscan Lectures 4 Vol.* However, the reason for the donation is also recorded: 'Mr Wm Tesseyman - Bookseller in lieu of a guinea which he received as a subscription for Dade's proposed History of Holderness, a book which never was published.' Evidently, the book was given to the library from Tesseyman in order to fulfil his obligation when he agree to take a payment for a book which was never produced. It appears that by donating a book to the library, Tesseyman wished to restore the 'balance of debt', thus ensuring future custom. Through such an action, Tesseyman was able to utilize the gift economy and ensure that his reputation was

[128] M, Mauss.(2002) pp. 3; M. Douglas, (2002). pp. xi
[129] *Cockburn, William* accessed from http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/CreatePersonFrames.jsp?PersonID=10082 on 10/09/2017

upheld. Four years following Tesseyman donates another work, yet at this point he is described as 'the late Mr Tesseyman'. It appears even with his death Tesseyman wished to ensure his good character was known to the library's community.

The remaining three merchants also reveal reason and reward for donations to the library. Thomas Peck, a local bookbinder, donated one work, *A Dutch Testament 12mo Amsterdam 1660,* in 1811. The work itself can be considered of high value with its religious subject matter and its age. Thomas Peck was already known to the library, working on re-binding its collection, a project which began in 1804. However, with the move to the 'Old Palace' his work dramatically increased. The donation of the work in 1811 may have been given in thanks for the library continued use of his services. If so, the donation, and undoubtedly his work, succeeded in ensure this continued relationship which only diminished when a London binder was connected to the library in 1815.[130]

J. and G. Todd also donate the work *Sermons in Faith & justification of Abp Sharp & Rev O Manning*. It is not known if this donation was successful in inspiring future business, however Barr does comment that the dealership of Todd, alongside Tesseyman and Wolstenholme, were frequently used by the library when wishing to purchase new books. Moreover, Barr draws the same conclusion that these acts of goodwill ensured future business between the publishers and merchants and the library.[131]

Finally, John Wolstenholme's name is connected to several works, and as already stated, has been directly linked to his successful business ventures with the library. However, one moment in York's history suggests that this affiliation between the library and its book merchants may have helped to surpass purely an economic benefit. In 1810 Wolstenholme parted with three works, *Treatise of Master Walter de Hilton Canon of Thurgarton*, *On the renewal of Mans nature*, and *Mirror of Mass Salvation*. All three works are of a religious nature, and maybe given as testament to Wolstenholme's good character and charitable Christian virtues. Although no specific material gain can be traced through indentures or any other interaction with the library, Wolstenholme's name appears in a petition alongside many other influential members of the community a year later, headed by William Burgh.

The Opinion Book of 1811, titled, *Opinion of Law Officers respecting the dilapidated state of the walls of the City of York and a request to prevent the walls etc being pulled down or to become further dilapidated. 1811*, records the attempts of the powerful and well-respected inhabitants of York to save the walls of the city being demolished.[132] Within these 52 names, referring to themselves as 'the undersigned and freeholders of the city', fifteen individuals were known donators to the library; John Wolstenholme, the only known book merchant, is also present. This is not to say that the inclusion of Wolstenholme was solely caused by these donations, however, through the donations

[130] C.B.L Barr. (1969). pp. 513
[131] *Ibid.* pp. 512
[132] Opinion book (1811).

Wolstenholme may have been able to strengthen his social bonds and connections with this community leading to his inclusion in this matter. If so, Wolstenholme's importance to the literary society, and respectable qualities known to the influential elite of the city, was proven and secured by his successful interactions using the gift economy of York.

Overall, through the donations of their own works, individuals were able to both increase their opportunities to secure future business connections and ties, and better their own social standing. These individuals illustrate that, for a community that intertwined the use of the gift economy and the monetary systems of York, giving the correct works to the correct institutions or people, could pay dividends. Yet one more reason for donations has been hinted at, but requires further analysis: the role of family and community relationships which influenced people to follow expected practices of donations. Such reasons, and outcomes they achieved, can be witnessed in the very building of the library.

Their presence illuminating the library: The Markham family.

A library that boasts no books, boasts no purpose. Yet even with a housed collection, without the facilitates to study such books, a library fails to meet it requirements. The book collection in the confines of the old library building attached directly to the cathedral, originally totalling between 100 and 200 volumes in the early 17th century, grew to a vast number exceeding nearly 6000 volumes.[133] Clearly, the building no longer was fit for the cathedrals' literary collection. For George Markham, Dean of York and son of Archbishop Markham, this problem became his focus. In 1810 the books were relocated into a more fitting environment, the Old Palace.[134] Above them, the donators' plaque hung reminding all those who used the library to thank the charitable souls of the past. However, George's forethought extended further: the building needed both renovation and illumination. The solution was inspired by the heraldic windows of the old library and the blocked windows on the east of the building: a five-light window emblazoned with shields of benefactors who paid for such an honour.[135] Through the windows, those studying would know of the charitable people who paid for the building. This acknowledgement secured the benefactors both memory and prestige. Present amongst these shields is the name of George Markham, along with his father and two brothers. Clearly, the Markham family, already shown with Mrs Donkin's donations, were heavily associated with the library. This association is proven further with their individual donations of books, where George Markham was undoubtable the greatest benefactor but other family members followed suit.[136] These donations, and subsequent public associations with the library, illustrate three more possible reasons and outcomes for those who engaged in the

[133] C.B.L. (1977) pp. 512
[134] *Ibid.* pp 513
[135] C.B.L Barr (1977) pp. 513
[136] *Ibid.* pp 511

gift economy of the library: supporting family traditions, attempting to earn personal prestige, and trying to strengthen community and individual affiliations with others.

The first, and particularly interesting, donation from the Markham family to the library came from William Markham, Esq, and eldest son of Archbishop Markham, titled *Hastings Warren Esqr: Debates on his Trial*, in 1799. Whilst the genre, *Biography and Memoirs*, was not religiously centred, it was not an unusual genre to donate to the library. However, the subject matter was on a controversial topic, and one of which two Markhams were personally invested in. Therefore, with the subject matter, and the connection to an established member of the community, the work can be initially measured as a book of moderate value. However, the value increases with a closer study of the book.

In the late 18th century the House of Westminster was particularly at odds with how to approach the problem of Warren Hastings, once governor of Bengal and, to some such as the influential writer and philosopher Edmund Burke, held directly responsible for gross-misconduct in managing the East India Company and British interests in India. On his return to England in 1785 a call for Hastings' impeachment and trial was made, and subsequently acted on.[137] Both William Markham and Archbishop Markham supported Hastings; William Markham, who worked as Hastings' personal secretary in Bengal, offered evidence in defence of Hastings, and Archbishop Markham wrote a speech, which was read aloud in the House of Lords, where he lauded the character of Hastings' and attacked his opponents.[138] In response to this support, Hastings sent one of a several hundred quartos he produced which collated the evidence and speeches of his defence to his old secretary commenting that:

> 'I desire you to receive and to perpetuate the possession of it in your family, if not as a pledge, yet with the assurance of my most affectionate attachments, and in grateful recollection and acknowledgment that I owe to you a very large portion of the best sentiment which blended itself with my acquittal, not only in the minds of my judges, but in the hearts of all who heard your evidence in my defence. Do not misconceive me. I do not, nor ought I to thank you for that evidence, but I may surely avow a sense of gratitude for the manner in which the most emphatic part of it was delivered'[139]

The book gifted to William Markham is this very same one as he donated to Minster Library. What, therefore, can be drawn from this? Does William Markham's relinquishment of a personal gift suggest he did not care for the relationship between Hastings and himself? Whilst

[137] P.J. Marshall 'Hastings, Warren', found in, found in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
[138] Clements Markham (1913) pp 68
[139] Clements Markham (1913) pp 68

this could be deduced, should one consider the impact of the friendship for both William and Archbishop Markham, and the works inclusion in the library, this would be too bold an assertion.

Firstly, the dedication illustrates that for others who interacted with members of family, the practice of acknowledging personal connections and support through the personal gift of literature was common. Quite literally, this emphasises the importance of gratitude in forming and strengthening relationships. Thus, supporting that dedications were practiced to prove connections and affiliations between people and improve already established social bonds.[140] In this light, the balance of debt between the two was equalled: the Markham's offered support when Hastings was in need, Hastings then publicly thanked them, thus strengthening their relationship. Moreover, the fact that this was the only work donated by William Markham to the library suggests that it was a selected text and not simply tossed aside and left in an unwanted place. By placing the work in the library, the William Markham publicly continued to show support to Hastings. This support had tried and tested the members of the family, positioning the Markhams against others, and even ending the close friendship of Archbishop Markham and Edmund Burke.[141] The donation, therefore, whilst not improving the material or economic position of William Markham, was successful in publicly announcing his connection to Hastings. In turn, William preserved this connection 'perpetua[ting] the possession of it in [his] family', a family which extended to the community of the minster library, but instead of any personal gain it simply reaffirmed William's loyalty. However, when analysed through the thesis' model, William's gift can give an example of a donation which did not lead to direct personal reciprocation (option a), but instead benefitted the community (option b) (see fig 2). Although personally connected to William Markham, he received nothing in return of the donation. However, it reaffirmed that the members of this community should not only act charitable, but also adhere to expected rules of gift culture and loyalty to others, thus benefitting the community.

As highlighted by Barr, of all the Markhams, George showed the most interest in the library.[142] Heading the renovations he also donated a total of ten works, two of which were given before he became Dean of York and tasked with overseeing the library - *Zonaræ Annales [Græ and Latin 2 vol]*, given in 1799 and categorised as *History and Antiquities*, and *Torr's antiquities of the City of York 1719*, given in 1800. Whilst we cannot conclude that these two donations secured his future position as Dean, the connection should not be overlooked. Between 1727 and 1800 of the fifteen, seven donators where members of the clergy with only three including both George and his father, were multiple donators. These donations would have clearly

[140] N. Zemon-Davies (1983). pp. 77
[141] Nigel Aston, (2004)
[142] C. B. L. Barr (1977) pp. 511

differentiated George from others of York clerical community. Moreover, the final text donated was *Torr's History of York*, a very significant book in the history of the city which, along with others works such as Francis Drake's *Eboracum*, sort to create an urban history of community and tradition, cultivating an urban identity which allowed others to feel part of a society.[143] The works of Torr were known to be very important to the members of the literary community with original manuscripts donated by Archbishop Tobias Matthews nearly a century before, and frequently read by Lawrence Sterne, a famous figure of York.[144] Through such donations George proved his support for the library. This continued focus, highlighted in both donation and diligence to matters of the library, would be evident for all to see with his shield and name looking down from the library's windows. However, to the uneducated on his life, George's true importance maybe hard to distinguish from the other names written on library's window, and these individuals did not nearly match the efforts of George in matters of the library. Moreover, the majority George's donations were given after his promotion to Dean. This is perhaps expected – one should favour the institution they work with. But seen from a different perspective, George's donations are similar to that of his brother (and follow the reciprocal path, Option B): as an altruistic act, embodied in both the donations and the efforts to rehouse the library, for the benefit of the collection and the community it served, not singular the donator.

The final two Markhams who are specifically named are Robert Markham, Arch-deacon of York, and the patriarch of the family, Archbishop William Markham. Together they donated a total of fourteen texts, eight and six respectively. With the exception of one intriguing work given by Robert, all the texts are either categorised as *Divinity and Ecclesiastical History* or *History And Antiquities,* subjects popular in the community. Most of the works given were aged or written in foreign languages – the Italian work of *Opere del Cardinal Bentivoglio,* published in 1648 provides a good example – which suggests the estimated value of the donations were moderate to high given the combination of all three imprints. However, no direct reciprocation can be seen, excluding their inclusion in the shielded window. In fact, with regards to not simply Robert, but also George and Osborn Markham, it has been suggested that it was not their merit alone that achieved their positions, but through acts of nepotism instigated by their father.[145] Although they were suitable for promotion from their own ability, the influence of Archbishop Markham, who was not unique in promoting family members in early modern society, helped. With that said, the importance of charity hung close to the hearts of the family, or at least in the mind of Robert. In 1801 Robert bequeathed to the library one *M.S. Account of charitable donations in the City of York & other neighbouring parishes in 1786*. Although the work is

[143] Rosemary Sweet (2003) pp. 14
[144] Elizabeth Brunskill, (1950). pp. 5 and pp. 14
[145] Nigel Aston, (2004)

no longer traceable, it does portray Robert as an individual concerned with the charitable acts of others, and by extension, himself. However, the year 1784 does not seem to be linked with Robert's own actions or elevations. Like many clerical members at the time Robert was guilty of pluralism, however he was not ordained as Arch-deacon until 1794, only preceding this being both canonised and becoming a Rector in 1792, both patronised by his father.[146] His promotions can therefore not be directly assigned to successful donations. This work may have been given as a gentle reminder to the community of the celebrated qualities a charitable Christian should have, and how these charities should be returned. Robert was awarded another canon position at 1801 - but with the many previous promotions and ordinations achieved, to assign this solely to a single donation would be too presumptuous, especially considering the canonised position was located at Carlisle cathedral.[147] Thus, it seems that these books were given to imitate his brother's actions and support the library. This conclusion can also be made on Archbishop Markham's donations. Should he have sought to gain more prestige through literary means, then one could assume he may replicate the actions of Tobias Matthews and donate the entirety of his personal works. However, Archbishop Markham's own literary collection ended up in Becca where he built a new library specifically to house his private works.[148] Given these deductions, what, therefore, can one conclude from these donations?

Simply, the act of donations to the library were not given for private and individual gain. Instead, the two gifted their works in support of their son and brother and the Minster's community. This act may have added another aspect to their already well-received character, but it would not bolster this dramatically. Instead, supporting the assertion of Mauss, the action of donations created a perpetual cycle of donations which stretched across the generations and family members.[149] Expanding the focus away from Archbishop Markham and his three sons, we see other family members also donating to the library: Archbishop Markham's daughter and her husband, already analysed earlier, a nephew, his daughter and her husband.[150] Clearly, all the donations were not given to the library to secure positions or benefits. Instead, they sought to strengthen their family bonds by imitating each other and acting according to expectations. The benefits of the donations were given to the library as its members could read the newly acquired books, however, privately, the donators were awarded social securement. From this perspective, the donations to the library do reveal some form of 'total social fact'. Donations brought together individuals as a collective in which a community

[146] 'Robert Markham', access from http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/search/index.jsp on 15/09/2017
[147] *Ibid.*
[148] Clements Markham (1913) pp 59
[149] Mauss, (2002) pp xi
[150] C.B.L. Barr (1977) pp.511

can centre on. Thus, illustrating how a family, and a community, could prosper through giving things up.

A crowd *setting the example* and reaping the rewards:

Through the analysis of the names of selected, but not exhausted, groups recorded in the *Liber Donorum,* the identities become more humanised, and the reasons and benefits for donations more visible. It has been shown that for many, donations to the library were given on order to aid historical agents in economic and social advancements. Primarily family connections and allegiances rise to the forefront, thus emphasising that in the Early Modern Period, through the donation of works one could galvanise connections to others. Whilst they may not reap any particular material rewards, excluding the increased custom of the booksellers, the personal rewards achieved by voluntarily given up one's valuable works appears to have been placed in high regards: that of prestige when connected to the library and social bonds of friendship and family. However, in order to truly demonstrate the importance of the gift economy for historical agents, and by extension the usefulness of the proposed model – in turn supporting Mauss' theory of *total social facts* – one must look more thoroughly at specific people traceable in other documents. Thus, using the *Liber Donorum* as an initial point of departure and following the individuals through other historical documents, it is hoped that their paths will demonstrate the importance of the minster library for commodity exchange in the Early Modern Period. Therefore, one must now turn to the library again, but this time the crowd residing in the *Liber Donorum* have been identified, their characters known and their actions visible. No longer are the names simply hints to the past, they become the guides to specific times in the minster library's history.

To personify a benefactor.

'Illustrious personages and other patrons of the polite arts': Identifying particular donators and moments of reciprocation.

Picture the room you have entered. Having left the bookbinders in the Dean's park behind you, and passing the troop of Markhams corralled together in the anteroom attentively listening to their patriarch, Archbishop Markham – George Markham, unperturbed from the lecture, continues to read on York's antiquities, whilst William Markham discreetly studies his Hebrew bibles – you enter the library. The light shines through the heraldic windows illuminating the faces that turn to meet you. You witness the looming presence of William Burgh, a prominent theologian and politician, his generosity in full swing, almost throwing books on to the library's shelves;[151] James Backhouse, a local resident of York is talking on some distant theme, but possesses a peculiar twinge to his accent; H. G. Knight is busy scribbling away and comparing notes on the buildings of Mediterranean countries; William Gray, robed, carrying a page with unmistakeable signature of Queen Victoria, walks with purpose towards the door – the signed sheet is muddled between sheets of music; Dr Alexander Hunter, a physician who's interest appears to be fixated on the natural world, on agricultural developments, rather than your company sits alone;[152] and, one William Calvert, appearing impassioned, if not rather angry, disputing with the librarian and lifting one white bound book from the shelves. Individuals from differing classes, with differing interests, yet not entirely unfeasible to be seen sharing each other's company. All these individuals shared a common thread – membership to this community. This new community, formed by books, surrounds them. Each member found under the same roof. Each in one another's presence. Each with a book underarm.

Although this scene may sound peculiar, in one imaginative scenario, it is real. The *Liber Donorum*'s records prove this. Every individual shares a common link – that of donation(s) to the library. Similar to the individuals already encountered, these donations must have been incentivised. However, there is a difference between these individuals in question and those who have preceded them: they received reciprocated favour. These six people give examples of how one could interact within, and across, a gift economy, in combination with other pathways, in order to successfully better one's position. Therefore, the questions that can be posed can be more specific than previously allowed. What books did they give? Would there be any known reasons for their donations? Would one expect these donations to generate gratitude, and therefore solicit a

[151] W. P. Courtney, 'Burgh, William (1741/2–1808)', rev. M. J. Mercer, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

[152] Anne Digby, 'Hunter, Alexander (1729?–1809)', found in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006

response? If so, how? Through studying the collected donations found in the *Liber Donorum*, in addition to other sources, these questions may be answered.

Burgh's poetic ending.

Lost in a jarring world's tumultuous cries
Unmarked around us sink the good and wise
Here Burgh is laid; a venerable name.
To virtue sacred, not unknown to fame;
Let those he loved, let those who lovd him tell
Tell of the void his social spirit left,
Of comforts long enjoyed, for ever reft,
Of wit that gilded many a sprigtlier hour,
Of kindness when the scene of joy was oer,
To guide his virtues to their native Heav'n.
Nor shall their sorrowing voice be heard unmov'd
While gratitude is left, or goodness lov'd
But listning crowds this honour'd tomb attend
And children's children bless their father's friend.

Epitaph of William Burgh written by J.B.S. Morritt, York Cathedral. 1808.[153]

The late Mrs. Burgh Widow of Dr Burgh of
this city author of two Vol on the Holy Trinity,
having left by Will, to the Library of
the Dean & Chapt, the theological
great & Religious books
of Dr Burghs
Library;
W. Gray Esq on the
part of the Representatives of
Mrs. Burgh & the Librarian on the part
of the Dean & Chapter, the selected the following
works as coming under the terms of Mrs Burgh's
bequest, which have been deposited accordingly
viz in Folio

Entry of Burgh's donation, 1819. Vecto 25, Liber Donorum,

Should one judge the character of Mr William Burgh from the above epitaph and dedication alone, one could conclude that Burgh was the archetypal Georgian gentleman. A learned man, with an extensive library of moral and theological works, who espoused the virtues of generosity and goodness, he seemingly became the centre of social life. Those who knew him were gracious of the opportunity to share his presence, and the void left on his death would have been surely felt by many. Surprisingly, this summary appears to be close to the truth.

A man of many talents, Burgh could boast a life rich in experiences. A politician in the Irish Parliament between 1769 and 1776, he publicly denounced the war in American and the French revolution leading to both controversy and support.[154] A personal and close friend to Edmund Burke and William Wilberforce, he cultivated a passion for liberty which extended into both his personal life and political career.[155] Along with these accolades, he was also a prominent writer on theology, writing in defence of the Trinity in an infamous exchange of essays with one, Mr Lindsey.[156] Having spent the majority of his adult life in York, Burgh formed many connections to societies and persons of note, many of which lay close to his heart. None more so than the community of the York Minster library. The importance he placed on this connection is proven by

[153] Photo of Burgh's monument found here: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Church_monuments_in_York_Minster#/media/File:Memorial_to_William_Burgh_MP_in_York_Minster.jpg accessed on 10/10/2017
[154] W.P. Courtney, 'William Burgh' found in, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.
[155] *Ibid.*
[156] *Ibid.*

his frequent borrowing of its books, and both his entry in the *Liber Donorum* and his sizeable donation. However, with such a social standing, there were few benefits Burgh would have gained through parting with his works that he could not have achieved himself. Even more so when it is noted that only one donation was given before his death. Therefore, what reasons could have provoked Burgh to act in such generosity? Like the caricature described previously, these donations reveal one thing: Burgh embodied and reflected gratitude. Furthermore, a cycle of gratitude was created from both the minster and Burgh to attempt to balance the debt one had for the other. Burgh's donations reveal that even after death, donations preserve a legacy that was normally exclusive for members of the clergy, and that gift culture still governed the interactions of people after they has passed.

Burgh bestowed on the minister library a total number 359 works, too great a number for the scope of this thesis to analyse, however a summary can be offered.[157] Only one entry can be attributed to Burgh's personal donation: *A Scriptural Confutation of Mr Lindsey's apology*, given in 1776. This work was the culmination of Burgh's diligent scholarship and intense readings taken from the library between 1754 and 1778, where he borrowed a total number of 43 texts, 31 of which were religious tracts of early Christian fathers.[158] With his publication, Burgh donated the work in thanks for his use of the library for research. However, with his publication secure, he still left indebted to the library his personal collection, which was donated in 1818 by Mrs Burgh as instructed in Burgh's will.[159] This library had been constructed to aid Burgh in his last attempted piece of writing, a history on late 18th century religious thought.[160] However, life left Burgh before he could complete such an endeavour. Yet, in 1810 Burgh's life of faith was rewarded by having the honour of a funeral monument within the cathedral itself.

With the engraved epitaph given above, the monument depicts a female figure looking down – most likely symbolising faith – holding Burgh's book in her left hand.[161] The monument was installed in 1810, and is worth of note not simply because of its beauty, but for the person it remembers. Most of the monuments within the Cathedral represent members of the clergy – Burgh is one of the few exceptions from the early 19th century.[162] One cannot conclude that it was simply his donation to the library which secured this honour, certainly his actions and friendships in life contributed greatly. However, with his death and promised benefaction the Minster had to reciprocate such a valuable bequest – a funeral monument is a perfect exchange of value. Finally,

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[157] To be noted: as already determined C.B.L. Barr numbered donation was found to be incorrect. The books appear to be collections of works collated together and bound, most likely by Burghs' own request. This collection cries for its own study into its origins and value. See footnote 112.
[158] Elizabeth Brunskill, (1950). pp. 24
[159] C.B.L. Barr (1977) pp. 514
[160] *Ibid.* pp. 514
[161] See footnote 156 for link.
[162] G.E. Aylmer 'Funeral Monuments and other Post-Medieval Sculpture' found in *Eighteenth Century York: Culture, Space and Society* (York: University of York. 2003) pp. 431

when the promised donation was fulfilled in 1818, a year before the death of his wife, the last clear effort to acknowledge the gratitude to Mr Burgh's generous gift was recorded in the *Liber Donorum* itself. Written almost as a piece of pattern, or concrete, poetry, Burgh's entry seems to take the form of an hourglass (See *Fig 12*, Appendix A). Whether the notion is that Burgh's time and interaction with the library has ended, much like the last grain of sand falling through, or that similar to the sands of time, Burgh's benefaction will always be present, it is not known. However, Burgh's entry is the only one to have a unique form to it – all those simply scribe the donations in sentences. This distinction proves that to whomever wrote his entry, William Burgh was a man who's legacy demanded distinction. The following remaining reciprocal favour fell onto the community of the minster library as the new additions bolstered an already well-equipped collection of works.

Therefore, what does this tell us? Burgh's unique acts of remembrance forcibly show the importance of gratitude and reciprocal exchange in the Early Modern Period. By donating works only achievable through the opportunity to study the texts of the library, Burgh was obliged to repay the debt he accrued. [163] Consequently, feeling that the debt was still unbalanced, he left his entire literary collection to the library, which in turn provoked the minster library to distinguish Burgh, over all others in the *Liber Donorum*, as a person of honour. A cycle of reciprocated favour was established to which both Burgh and the minster had to abide to, as determined by the social norms and rules of reciprocation.[164] This is a clear indication of both the power of the gift economy in the Early Modern Period, and the usefulness of its inclusion in historical studies. Without such consideration, the motives and reasons behind the acknowledgement of historical characters, such as Burgh, may be overlooked. (see *Fig 13,* Appendix A).

Opening a door: James Backhouse

It has been shown that the books of the nineteenth century minster library seemed to no longer abide by the restrictive nature of their subjects and genres. Instead, venturing away from the traditional themes to explore new subjects. The library was becoming almost adventurous in its interests. The embodiment of such explorative interests can be seen in one of its very own benefactors: James Backhouse.

On page 39 Recto of the *Liber Donorum* it is recorded that James Backhouse donated two works of which he was the author: *Narrative of a visit to Australia*, given in 1843, and, *Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius*, given a year later. Both texts are categorised as *Voyages and Travels*, a genre largely absent from the library collection with only thirteen additional texts given over the entire period of this thesis. Moreover, Backhouse, although a Yorkshireman himself, born in Darlington to a

[163] M, Mauss.(2002) pp. 3; M. Douglas, (2002). pp. xi
[164] B. Malinowski (1996). Pp 16

horticultural family, had been absent from York since 1831 having sailed abroad with missionary duties only returning in 1841, which limited his interaction the community.[165] With no known previous link to the library before 1843, and by giving works whose audience may have been disinterested in its theme, one can assume that this donation is not only a peculiar addition the minster's shelves, but also a donation which would likely fail to reciprocate any benefit. However, difference is not always to be frowned upon. Uniqueness can also be an asset, especially with the right motives and if connected to the correct person. Rather suddenly, 'James Backhouse, Nurseryman' appears, connected to the minster, in another document – an indenture of the 32 acres of land in Holgate in 1845.[166] A huge asset of land given almost abruptly to an individual who has no other known link to the minster. Perhaps the donations were of more value, and generate more gratitude, than initially expected? One must, therefore, re-evaluate both the actions and paths of Backhouse and his donations in order to conclude on the success of his movements into the gift economy of the minster.

James Backhouse was a known Quaker who had been active in the city as a missionary from 1824, and held a local position of importance: James, and his brother Thomas, has purchased the York Nursery – growing trees and plants for sale – from John and George Telford in 1815.[167] In addition to this, the annual reports of the *York Philosophical Society* show Backhouse as a person both interested and involved in York's scientific community. In 1830 Backhouse is recorded as paying a £10 subscription fee and in 1832 he donated 100 foreign shells to its collection.[168] Clearly, Backhouse was not simply an unknown character in the streets and avenues of York, but an influential character with tinges of both business and religious elements. His dedication to the scientific community and the *York Philosophical Society* was again proven after his return: in 1843 he donated 'the scull of a native Australian' and several examples of barks and gums; in 1860 he gave a large fern; in 1861, Backhouse and his son donated to the garden of the society the stem from a large tree fern native to Australia.[169] However, what is of particularly interest is the donation of his two books. Not simply their subject matter, but their destination. Unusually, both works donated to library were not given to the *York Philosophical Society*. Why would a person who had a personal interest, as well as predictably vested business interests, with the local scientific society donate not to them, but instead a religious community? Surely the inclusion of his works, unless perhaps already purchased by the society, would better suit a scientific audience? It is proposed that the grant of a lease of land in 1845 may explain this.

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[165] Peter Davis, 'Backhouse family', found in, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.
[166] Indenture of lease of land at Holgate, found in York Minster catalogue, 1840+ reference: W/m/ pp. 125
[167] Peter Davis, (2004).
[168] Annual Report of the Countil of Yorkshire Philosophical Society, (1830), accessed on 25/11/2017 from https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=TggIAAAAQAAJ&pg=RA1-PA8&dq=Yorkshire+philosophical+society+record&hl=en&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=knight&f=false
[169] *Ibid.*

Within four years of Backhouse's return his brother, Thomas Backhouse, died. Backhouse and his son were both then tasked with the growth and expansion of their nursery. By 1853 Backhouse had moved the nursery to a larger 100-acre plot in Holgate, York – the very same location that was leased (albeit small at the time of the lease), in 1845 by the minster for £10 rent. This lease coincided with the death of his brother. As one of the largest landowners in Yorkshire, if not the largest, Backhouse may have been reliant on the minster's goodwill in future land enquiries; through the donations of works, Backhouse would have generated gratitude with the minster's community. Tied with his already well-respected position in both the religious and the lay community, Backhouse's opportunity for successful applications for leases of land from the minster may have improved with the gratitude generated from the donation. This therefore explains why he did not donate to the *York Philosophical Society*, but instead to the minster. Already holding good standings with the philosophical society, many of which cross over with the minster's community, and with his limited resources, donation to such an institution would perhaps have been wasteful. However, by donating works with the imprint of both a respected author and well-reviewed texts, Backhouse bettered his chances in securing future land leases with the gratitude he generated. (See *Fig 14,* Appendix A).

Keeping a door ajar: H G Knight

Walking similar paths as Backhouse, albeit in different directions, the attraction of benefaction to the minster was also felt by another Yorkshiremen, Henry Gally Knight, who had spent some time abroad on his own European tour, as appropriate for a respectable Georgian man. A man of considerable wealth, with large estates across Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Nottingham, he not only travelled through the country from the House of Commons to his estates, but he also entered the library between 1841 and 1843, leaving two books on its shelves. His name also crops up in the indentures of the minster, bookended between his dates of donations, in 1842 for the lease of tithes of Thropham and Thwaites.

Born into a prominent family in 1786, Knight experienced an opulent life. The son of a Yorkshire barrister and grandson of an MP, Knight attended both Eton and Cambridge. By 1814 he had secured his own position as an MP, but later resigned the seat over disagreements with his catholic sympathies. Interestingly, this did not put him at odds with showing favour to the York Minster by donating his works, suggesting that either these sympathies did not intrude on either his want to increase prestige as an author, or the opportunities to gain favour with the minster. Following this departure from politics, Knight returned to the House of Commons in 1835, standing as a conservative. A year later Knight reinforced his claim as a learned man but producing *An Architectural Tour in Normandy*. His affection for travel was again pursued in 1836 when he travelled abroad to study the architecture of Messina. This culminated in two works *The Normans*

in Sicily, in 1838, and *Saracenic and Norman Remains to illustrate the Normans in Sicily*, in 1840. Finally, in 1842-4 Knight published a collection of his work, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*. Although these works had faults, they were well received by the antiquarian community. It is through the selection of two of his works, *Saracenic and Norman Remains to illustrate the Normans in Sicily* and *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy* Knight opted to engage with the minster library. However, with such extensive lands and estates, as well as a position of influence, what could have been the purpose of such donations? It is suggested that, following the notion that gifts can cement social bonds and provoke cycles of reciprocation, the donations demonstrate a historical agent's attempt at keeping a relationship open.

Having shown support to the *York Philosophical Society* in 1830, subscribing to its building fund for a total cost of £25, Knight understood that through patronage of the arts and the intellectual, his public persona could be improved.[170] Similar to Backhouse, Knight did not donate his work to the philosophical society. However, given the nature of antiquities and the minster's affiliation to the traditional subjects, this is understandable. By placing his work on the shelves of the library which, as shown, boasted its reputation on these subjects, Knight's own work would gain authority. But the donation would also inspire a gratitude from the minster towards Knight – a year later this is repaid with his only indenture granted. In turn, perhaps judging that the relationship between himself and the minster reaped more than social benefits, Knight donated again. Although, the cycle of gift-returned gift-gift ended here; Knight died in 1846. However, the final acknowledgement of Knight's want to publicly declare his support to the ecclesiastical community was made. With his death, Knight bequeathed his estate of Firbeck, with a total of 1,281 acres, to be given to Ecclesiastical Commissioners once his wife passed.[171]

What do these donations reveal about the use of the gift economy of York? Put plainly, Knight's donations demonstrate that even those who already held a high position in society had something to gain through parting with selected books. Imbued with the imprint of his own identity, and given in close proximity to his only requested lease, Knight's donation proved he view his connection to the community as important. With his lease preceded and followed with donations of his most personal works, Knight ensured that the door he opened, remained open. Lastly, with Knight placing the obligation to reciprocate on the minster, whether this relationship would have continued to benefit Knight is not known. However, the prestige and the connection to the minster was perhaps reward enough (see *Fig 15*, Appendix A).

[170] Annual Report of the Countil of Yorkshire Philosophical Society, (1830).
[171] *The Gentleman's Magazine Volume 179*, (1846) pp. 434

Entering the libraries community: William Gray, Esq

Given the records of leased land and indentures already studied, and with the many treasures owned the minster, kept both in the library and the cathedral, the rewards of association would have been known and sought after by many people. By extension, the need for the minster to have trusting relationships with legal representatives of York to oversee its affairs, would have been a necessity. Although many people would have assisted in these matters, one individual seems to have been held in high regard by the Minster in the nineteenth century: Mr William Gray Esq. Calling on his services on several legal disputes, Gray was selected over others. However, the question is what distinguished him from others?

The character of Gray is first seen written in the William Burgh's entry in the *Liber Donorum,* suggesting Gray seemed to have a connection with the library many years before his first donation. Following this he appears again as a legal representative in 1819 in one indenture of the Church at Cawood.[172] However, he then disappears from the record only to return in 1843 when Gray was given the responsibility to oversee a very valuable asset for the minister; in very same year, his name also enters the *Liber Donorum*. It is therefore suggested that it was the donation of works, as well as his reputation, which must have contributed to his selection, which distinguished him from others. Although unknown which was acted on first, the toing and froing of gift and reward demonstrate a cycle of reciprocation and obligation from one to the other.

Having previously analysed Gray's first donation, *Musik's Monument*, a quick review of its importance should be given. Penned in the late 17th century, the author, Thomas Mace, wrote in response to a new, scientific, form of music worship which was replacing the tradition forms. The work thrust forward the argument for, and examples of, traditional worship that should still be followed. Although this book was given two centuries after its publication, it coincided with a debate upon the reincorporation of traditional approaches to arts which aided to reignite the authority of traditional forms of music.[173] Given the contemporary interest in traditional arts and the context of the book culture at this time, *Religious and Historic themes with the introduction of new subjects*, one can assume that the minster would welcome this book. Moreover, the minster lost many of its choral manuscripts in a fire in 1829, which would have increased both the value of the work, and the gratitude generated from the donation.[174] Therefore, one can conclude that the value of such a donation, as determined by the author and the contemporary world, would have been high. Thus, either soliciting a response or given in response for some other favour.

In the same year, Gray, alongside Charles Alfred Thiselton, Chapter Treasurer, was given the responsibility to oversee and collect £4000 from Mr Thomas Price and Mr John Swann in exchange

[172] Indenture of the Church at Cawood, found in York Minster catalogue, reference: W/m/p 149.
[173] Percy M Young, 'Music in Cathedral Libraries', found in *Fontes Artis Musicae.* Vol. 36. No 4. (October-December 1989) pp.259
[174] *Ibid.* pp. 253

for the lease of the rectory and hereditaments of Topcliffe.[175] Such a considerable sum of money would only have been granted to a trusted person. Whether this position was given in response to Gray's donation, or granted before, and in turn provoking Gray to donate, is not known. However, it can be assumed that one will have affected the other and such a valuable donation supports this assertion. Following this, a cycle of reciprocation exchanges would occur.

After this donation, Gray was again appointed to sequester £800 from a Samuel Henry Duntze, sanctioned by the Queen herself,[176] and was himself awarded the indenture of lands in South Cave.[177] There is then little activity from both Gray donating and the minster calling for his services in indentures etc. However, in 1846 he donates two more books: *Jo Seldenes de Anno Civili Vet Jud. &c.* and *Jo: Selden's Uxor Hebraica et De Synedriis Lib iii,* texts on the religious histories of Jewish people. Although neither texts cannot be traced, the first is known to have been published in 1683. Given the topic of the works and their age, one can again assume that these would have been deemed valuable. The following year Gray is again appointed, this time to take possession of Bishopthorpe.[178] Finally, Gray's importance and influence is proven in 1849 when he was awarded the indenture of tenement in Petergate, and the indenture of five tenements adjoining the Minster gates, valued at demanding rents of £160, in 1850. Gray's association had become physically represented in property so close to the minster itself.

The indentures and appointments by the minster prove that a relationship of both trust and respectability had been formed through Gray's interactions. With the first traceable interaction of Gray seen in the dedication of a beloved benefactor, Burgh, the true advancement of his position occurs in the same year as his donation, and after a couple of quiet years with the donation of two more texts he is again called upon. We cannot conclude that this was purely the result of the donations – to do so would require further investigation. However, as Mauss suggests, the reciprocal benefits of successful gifts do not have to manifest as objects, but can also be services; the use of Gray in high value legal ventures, and in turn the reward of his own indentures, suggests a reciprocal return of equal benefit.[179] Therefore, through the donation of highly valued works, selected appropriately for the Minster, Gray demonstrates how gifts could be used in combination with services to ensure both social position and material benefits (see *Fig 16,* Appendix A).

[175] Indenture of Rectory and lands of Topcliffe, found in York Minster Catalogue, 1840+, reference W/o/pp 64-68
[176] Written within the indenture it states that: . To our well beloved in Christ William Gray of the City of York Esquire. Greeting Whereas we have received Her Majesty Writ in the following […]
[177] Appointment of William Gray, found in *York Minster Catalogue, 1840+,* reference W/o/ pp. 87-88; Indenture of South Cave found in, *York Minster Catalogue*, *1840+*, reference W/o/ pp. 90-92
[178] Appointment of William Gray to take Bishopthorpe, found in *York Minster Catalogue, 1840+,* pp. 241
[179] Mauss (2002) pp. 4

The *Nature* of Dr A Hunter.

Dr Alexander D Hunter was an active and well-known citizen to eighteenth century York. Frequently appearing throughout York his paths ran wide through taverns, the *Doctors Club*, and the gardens of the city. Having originally practiced as physician in Beverley, a town close to York, Hunter relocated in 1763 accepting the position as Physician to the county hospital.[180] He consciously sought to rub shoulders with dignitaries, and whilst not trying to gamble his wealth away with rather obscure bets, presented himself as a man of standing.[181] In addition to these movements, this rather eclectic character also found his way into the minster library leaving a multitude of his own works and selected books on their shelves, works which reflected his nature. Yet, with his death in 1808, and with some last donations bestowed to the library, his connection to the library appears to have faded – rather ominously coinciding with his public image.[182] In comparison to both Knight, Backhouse, and Gray, no reciprocal benefits are tracible. With this reflection one may assume that all these donations failed to generate gratitude, and therefore reciprocation. Yet, this simple conclusion would fail to acknowledge the genius of Hunter's actions. Should a gift be given with the simple intention of benefiting the donator, rather than ensuring material or economic benefit, then other avenues to reciprocal benefits appear. Or to put simply: if the correct gifts were given social bonds and bridges can be built which can be as sturdy and profitable as any lease of property or land. Therefore, one can see Hunter's donations as actions of an individual seeking not direct material gain, but the rewards of promulgating one's character to the correct audience. In this light, the continued donations of Hunter highlight the position of the minster library as a social arena in gift economy of York, allowing a person to better their standing and social connections with the elite and influential members of the city.

Assessing the works themselves, Hunter's donations can be viewed as unique and of high value. Totalling fourteen texts, donated between 1776 and 1808, the subjects include *Divinity, History, Natural Philosophy,* and *Husbandry*. This may appear rather unsurprising; both the periods of 1727 to 1800, and 1801 to 1858 were dominated by books of religious and historic themes. However, of the fourteen texts given, eight were of a scientific nature. In fact, the inclusion of *Science* as a vogue of the reading culture of 1727 to 1800, and the inclusion of *new subjects* between 1801 and 1858, can largely be attributed to Hunter's benefaction. Moreover, of the total nineteen scientific texts which were donated to the library across the entirety of this thesis' study, nearly half were given by Dr Hunter. This raises a rather curious point: if donations of scientific texts were uncommon, and

[180] Anne Digby, (2004).
[181] Michael Brown, 'From the Doctors' Club to the Medical Society: Medicine, Gentility and Social Space in York, 1780 – 1840', found in, *Eighteenth Century York: Culture, Space and Society* (York: University of York. 2003) pp. 65
[182] In 1813 the York Lunatic Asylum became the centre of a national enquiry in accusations of mistreatment of patients. The character of Alexander, even though he had passed on several years previously, was questioned and opinions began to turn against him. Seen in: *Ibid.* pp. 67.

therefore perhaps not actively wanted, let alone sought after, why part with such works? Does this suggest that Hunter himself failed to understand the politics and social expectations of donations to the library? If so, Heal's claim that many historical agents were not sufficiently aware of their immediate political and social environment, and failed to incorporate these considerations in gifts of books, extends further into our period and for members on the periphery of the social elite.[183] Thus, illustrating Hunter's understanding of the importance of *politics of knowledge* as argued by Appadurai.[184] *Yet*, Hunter was known to other social and political groups in York including the Doctors' Club and the Whig Rockingham Club, each of which had social rules and etiquettes their members were obligated to follow.[185] Perhaps, Hunter was attempting to alter the culture of the library. However, this conclusion would be both bold and unfounded. Whilst the nature of the books donated may have been peculiar to the library, they did reflect the personality of Hunter. It should, however, be acknowledged that there may have been few other places to donate these works. It was not until 1822, fourteen years after Hunter's death, that the York Philosophical Society opened, giving an alternative path for anyone who wished to donate scientific works. With no other literary community available, Hunter had only the minster library to donate to. Moreover, the books include works of outstanding cultural value, with one even showing a personal connection to the minster library.

In 1776 Hunter parted with a copy of his newly illustrated and annotated work of John Evelyn's *Silva (or Sylva)*, and within two years had also donated a second work of Evelyn's Terra. Both these texts received national acclaim, and *Silva* was embossed with the markings of The Royal Society of London. These texts were widely read and secured Hunter's position within The Royal Society which he joined in 1775 – a membership perhaps itself secured with both his connections and his own work *Georgical Essays*, a body of essays written whilst founding the York Agricultural Society in the 1770s.[186] These essays were also given in 1803. With both his position as a Georgian learned gentleman involved in many influential societies, and his work as a member of the medical community of York, Hunter was a man of prominence whose donations would have been imbued with an imprint of gravitas. Combining Hunter's own character as a donator with the importance of the author John Evelyn, the books undoubtedly illustrate the imprints as defined by Zemon-Davis.[187] One would assume therefore, that given the value of these three donations alone, reciprocation could be expected. Yet, as stated, none can be located. However, it is with the donation of *Terra* in 1778 that one can see both the reason, and the success, of Hunter's donations.

Within the first pages of *Terra* it is recorded that Hunter wrote a dedication to the library and its community: 'To the library… from the editor.' Although it appears to be a lacklustre dedication,

[183] F. Heal, (2015). pp. 47
[184] A. Appadurai (1989). pp 16
[185] M. Brown, (2003) pp. 65
[186] Anne Digby (2004).
[187] Natalie Zemon-Davis (1983). pp. 71

it does openly link Hunter with the Minster. Considering this was the second donation of many, it is safe to assume that the following donations were also given with this connection in mind. Hunter himself was an avid user of the library borrowing many works which contributed directly to his own such as the *Georgical Essays*, giving further weight to why he may have shown gratitude towards the library.[188] Moreover, within his first work of *Silva*, Hunter dedicated his work to our aforementioned William Burgh, writing that, 'I esteem myself greatly indebted to William Burgh Esq, for an elegant drawing of the Cowthorpe Oak'.[189] As known, William Burgh was a great benefactor to the library, donating his first work in 1776, the same year as Hunter. By openly declaring his debt and gratitude to Mr Burgh, within the community which knew him well, Hunter's donation supports Zemon-Davies' point that dedications provided an opportunity for historical agents to strengthen and improve their relations with others.[190] With such a public announcement of gratitude to Burgh within the same year as his first donation, and positioning his work in the library, Hunter's benefaction proves that the library was seen as a social arena where one could show and illustrate their own social connections. Furthermore, Hunter's own position as a member of the medical community gives reasons for why such donations were necessary. Michael Brown highlights that the medical profession in early modern England was often a difficult practice to follow.[191]

Early modern society structured itself around a complicated social discourse which positioned agents at different levels through consideration of profession, birth, gender etc. With associations of undignified and distasteful responsibilities, combined with a demanding list of duties, medical practitioners were often pressed for both time and finances. Even Hunter himself was recorded commenting that: 'The life of a physician is not to be envied. Other professions have their days of vacation, but he has not a moment he can call his own.'[192] Moreover, these blemishes on Medical practitioners meant that they often found themselves between the lower and higher echelons of society, an observation recorded in the urban dictionaries of the time.[193] This overlapping between worlds often meant that one had to seek benefaction of members of high society if one wanted to better their own position, and what better way than through personal connections with notable individuals.[194] Hunter is a perfect example of an Early Modern agent who activity sought association and service with high society through social interaction.

A founding member of the Doctors' club in 1781, which only boasted 16% of its membership as medical practitioners with remaining members considered persons of note, the society acted as

[188] Elizabeth Brunskill, (1950). pp. 23
[189] *Ibid.* pp. 23
[190] N. Zemon-Davies (1983). pp. 77
[191] M. Brown (2003). pp. 63
[192] *Ibid.* pp. 63
[193] *Ibid.* pp. 62
[194] *Ibid.* pp. 62

a way to both form, and improve, social connections.[195] It provided a place where a person's knowledge won them association, rather than simply profession.[196] Hunter, as chairman, prided himself with these connections and proving himself to be an equal to others. Therefore, the donations to the library can be viewed as well thought-out acts, given in order to strengthen both Hunter's Georgian gentleman persona and cultural intellect, as well as social bonds with others. Finally, should this assertion be accepted one could assume that other medical professionals may have also donated to the library, trying to emulate Hunter's success. Should one look through the *Liber Donorum* this can be seen: James Atkinson, senior surgeon to York County Hospital, friend of Lawrence stern, and member the Doctors' Club, donated five works in 1801. None of these were scientific in nature, however the presence of a medical practitioner known in several societies in York, of which Hunter was also a member, donating to the library further supports the assertion that the library appealed to those wishing to better their social position with the community.

In summary, although Hunter's donations appear to not have inspired any material reciprocations, they highlight the importance of the gift economy for social mobility. Through multiple donations, two of which projected Hunter's personal connections for all to see, Hunter demonstrates that these gifts reinforced social bonds and connections. Cavallo and Chartier suggested that the books reveal social histories, but as has been shown, the gifts of books also reveal these social connections vividly.[197] Giving items of high cultural value, imprinted with both his own identity and that of influential authors, Hunter was able to add more names to an already impressive list of contacts. Thus, proving Komter's assertion that successful gift exchanges and acts work to strengthen social relationships.[198] What would be of interest for future investigation is a more thorough analysis of Hunter's gift giving practices and any interactions with other members of the library community, and by extension the city, in order to further support this conclusion, and reveal further Mauss' total social facts (see *Fig. 17*, Appendix A).

William Calvert's Canon works

Having observed all the other identified individuals imagined earlier, one character remains unstudied: William Calvert, the frustrated man disputing the ownership of a book. For the majority of benefactors of the library, their donations appear to have been given of their own accord. Yet, with such valuable books actively sought by the library, many works in its collection took an indirect path. One example is Maramaduke Fothergill's donation which was, plainly stated in the will of Fothergill, intended to go to the church of Skipwith, but as it was unable to house the collection it

[195] *Ibid.* pp. 59
[196] *Ibid.* pp. 64
[197] Guglielmo Cavallo, and Roger Chartier, (1999). pp. 34
[198] A.E. Komter, (1996). pp. 4

was moved to the minster library.[199] This is not the only example of disputes over the ownership or inclusion of works seen in the *Liber Donorum*. It is with this contest over ownership that the clearest use of the gift economy and balance of both debt and exchange values of commodity is revealed.

On page 15 Recto, one Mr William Calvert M.A. is seen donating *The XIIth Tome of Baronius Annals in Fol.* Appearing rather ordinary in its donation, the value of the work is underplayed dramatically. As Barr shows, Thomas Comber, the librarian tasked reorganizing and improving the library at this point, was actively seeking to improve its collection.[200] Attempting to create a library which would match, or better, all other ecclesiastical libraries of the 18th century, he took opportunities to complete any set of works the library already possessed. By 1686 the minster had accumulated thirteen of the fourteen folios of Baronius Annals, only the twelfth tome was absent. One can imagine the satisfaction Comber must have had when, through good fortune, the library completed its set. However, when one turns to page 15 Verso, the following message is recorded:

> 'Whereas the late Dr Thomas Comber Presentor, sent Mr Oswald Sangwith to borrow the Twelfth Tome of Card: Baronius 's Annals of me William Calvert Clerk, & contrary to my consent, placed it in the Library in St Peters York: I have the other Tomes, & therefore not willing that my sett should be impect did make demand of the said tome & had it honourably & justly restored to me as witnesseth my hand. Wm: Clavert'.

Clearly, as argued by Calvert, the book given under false pretenses, and not wishing to worsen his own set, Calvert demanded it back. However, should one walk through the library today, on its left wall, behind its secure metal dividers, one will see *The XIIth Tome of Baronius Annals in Fol,* sat in pride of place between the other tomes. How did this occur? Having demanded the book back, Calvert's dispute is lost in the historical record. However, in 1711 Calvert was canonized for the Prebendary of Bugthorpe.[201] In 1707, Comber had secured a respectable income for the library – a fee of £1 was paid by anyone who would be canonized which would do directly to the minster library.[202] However, Calvert did not pay this, instead giving one book, the XIIth tome, in its place. Here is the visible exchange of value and a clear example of the use of the gift economy and commodity exchange in York.

As explained by Appadurai, the value of a commodity is determined by both the desire for the commodity, and the *politics of knowledge* within which the exchange occurs.[203] Seen in this light, the value of the work increased with Comber's desire, and in turn by having an

[199] C.B.L Barr (1977) pp. 510.
[200] C.B.L. Barr (1977) pp. 508
[201] C.B.L. Barr (1977) pp. 508
[202] *Ibid.* pp.506
[203] A. Appadurai (1989). pp. 4 and 16

understanding of the *politics of knowledge* (or context) Calvert was able to demand an exchange of equal value, as determined by both Comber and Calvert. Furthermore, this exchange illustrates the motives of the giver and position the receiver to follow the expected social rules of obligation and reciprocation.[204] Once the exchange was complete, the balance of debt, as suggested by Barry Schwartz, had been met and the relationship was terminated as no further gratitude was generated.[205] This exchange gives a wonderful example of how one historical agent was able to use the gift economy of York, bypassing the monetary system, for his own social advancement. Moreover, Calvert's actions prove Heal's point that there are few examples of historical agents which illustrate an understanding of the 'political and ideological understanding of their [sixteenth century] culture' had in part disappeared by the eighteenth century.[206]

In summary, William Calvert's simple act of donating one desired text proves that should the correct gift be given to the correct people or institution, doors opened. One could better one's social position where previously unavailable, and the gift economy in the Early Modern society was not simply overlooked, replaced with a system depended on monetary exchanges. Instead, the gift economy was still an important avenue for social interaction – the library, one of its social arenas. Through it use agents were able to maneuver and achieve social advancement, form bonds or secure prestige, William Calvert was one such agent (see *Fig 18,* Appendix A*)*

[204] Mauss (2002). pp. 4
[205] B. Schwatz (1996). pp. 76
[206] Heal. (2015) pp. 47

To illuminate a community

Did books inspire gratitude and reciprocation?

The intention of this thesis was to demonstrate an alternative perspective on social interactions, constructing a social history that approaches the use of traditional sources in a different way, a material way. It was proposed that the value assigned to any cultural object, in this case a book, is defined and determined not simply by the knowledge the object imparts on an agent, but the desirability and status of the object as a commodity. Moreover, as suggested by Mauss' gift theory, and echoed by many subsequent theorists, when an item is exchanged within a gift economy its perceived value generates a response of gratitude – the higher the value, the greater the gratitude. The obligation to reciprocate the favour is then placed upon the receiver conforming to social norms and rules which govern how communities interact. However, the nature of books, and to whom the book is given, can complicate who receives the reciprocated favour: the giver, the community, or both. As argued by Cavallo and Chartier, books themselves offer an insight in a social history traceable through their use and circulation. It is therefore a perfect opportunity to combine both approaches: the historical analysis of the circulation and use of books, and the social-anthropological approach to the gift economy. Thus, revealing how historical agents manipulated their environment in order to better their own social positions and standings. Through the voluntary relinquishment of objects of desire, released as gifts, these individuals a followed a pathway into a separate economic structure, distinct from the monetary or bartering systems prevalent elsewhere. The library turned from a bastion of books and knowledge, to a unique social arena where one person could exchange commodity in the hope that future rewards would be reaped.

Whilst there are two pathways in the gift economy as proposed by the thesis model, simply reciprocation and no reciprocation, the analysis has shown that there are several outcomes for those who were successful in their book donations.

One could form and strengthening the social bonds, which in turn could benefit the individual in future business opportunities, or simply cement their inclusion in already established social groups and communities: Tesseyman, Wolstenholme and our other booksellers generated future business by giving their books away, thus generating the gratitude and respect from the minster – Wolstenholme's example even illustrates how a bookseller could find themselves in company with people of influence; William Gray's donations, tied with his skill as a legal practitioner, secured his future representing the Minster; Dr Alexander Hunter ,in donating his works, bonded with possible future clients and associates; and, the Markham family continued to interact with one another showing support for both family members and friends, even across distant lands and seas. However, the epitome of social elevation through the use of the gift economy is assigned to William

Calvert's dispute over his precious 'donation'. The successful donations inspired a particular form of reciprocated favour: the possibility for future and continued interactions and social advancement.

Material gains, illustrated in the linked exchange of property which equals the perceived value of a book, also highlights how a person benefited from donations. James Backhouse's successful application for the lease of lands which would become his nursery was assisted by his donations; H.G. Knight's indenture of land of Thropham and Thwaites was bettered by his own works; and, William Gray's awarded leases, collecting personal assets of land and rents, all closely follow his donations. These all attest to the opportunities for exchanges of value, in material forms, that can be secured when an historical agent successful utilized the gift economy.

One could also accrue prestige through associated with the library, leading to an elevated position as an author or member of the community. The examples are many: Dr Alexander Hunter, frequently donating his works in order to establish himself as an author; William Burgh's warm remembrances, both in prose and in stone, exemplify his prestige and honour; the illuminated shields of Archbishop Markham and his three sons, constantly shining upon the library's collection; and the dedication, which inspired all those who followed, of Frances Matthews, her donation forever associated with the library, known to all those who met her example. Although not a material manifestation of reciprocation, the gratitude generated from these donations was still returned. Their image in the public's eye was preserved forevermore. What better reward could a person ask for than respect and admiration from their peers, even after death?

Finally, when no beneficiary of reciprocated favour was known, the rewards of a donation fell to the community. Thus, revealing how many individual's isolated actions intertwine to construct a vibrant community. Following this we can trace a communal interest or theme and begin to take a larger look at trends. Therefore, the gift economy does not simply highlight an individual, but instead a community.

When the historian investigates the past, they look for interactions of people. These moments of interaction give insights into why and how people acted in particular ways. Yet, we must not over complicate this aim, instead remembering one thing: people of the past are simply that, people. The opinions of others and how they would be remember mattered to them as much the experiences in life. Through the donation of selected books, with consideration given to both context and audience, these donators proved that the gift economy was important pathway for social interactions. Moreover, it proves that social relationships are revealed when the gift economy and practices are studied, relationships which may have been missed if this approach was ignored.

Past present(s) and future (research):

This model's application in future research.

As Mauss proposed, nearly a century ago, 'we must return to archaic society and to elements in it. We shall find in this reasons for life and action that are prevalent in certain societies and numerous social class; the joy of public giving; the pleasure in generous expeditor on the arts, in hospitality, and in private and public festival.'[207] This thesis has given many examples of each of these traits seen in the donations of multiple individuals, Markhams, Gray, Backhouse etc. Yet there may be more value found and explored in the pages of this paper, should one agree with its findings. Simply put: should context, content and donator result in generated gratitude, then a person could alter their position and manoeuvre themselves down different paths and avenues. Moreover, should there be a contest over whom should receive the reciprocal benefits, should they be warranted, then the individual no longer holds centre stage, but instead shares this with the community.

These acts of communal generosity and obligations, their ideals and their values, may seem estranged, perhaps even alien, to our current day individualistic perspective. Often are we exposed to an 'us and them' binary view. A dialectic of isolation and separation. At times this has spilled into our historiography, becoming focused only on one approach – studying individual ownership of books, on how a person read a work etc. But this communal outlook was present in Early Modern York, accessible through many doorways – the cathedral library was just one of them. These attitudes are still prevalent today. Moreover, when the focus is not solely on monetary assets and trade, but items, articles, possessions, *gifts*, the 'total services' Mauss commented on rears its collective head. Its stands to reason that for the social historian, this focus is essential.

With respect to the arts, Mauss argued that these articles are unique as their ownership – as they move between hands the right of one person declaring its true ownership becomes contested. Gifts fall directly into this category. The self-history of an item is written on many pages with many different hands. Where does this ownership therefore lie? Where, in turn, does the gratitude inspired by these items as gifts go? It appears that both Zemon-Davis and Mauss came to the same point via different avenues, through different doors. This thesis proposed to illustrate that books take a unique status when given. Although the thesis has ended in the company of a select few individuals, the community within which they won their membership to has been, partially, revealed. Moreover, where the reciprocation is either contested, or does not take a material form, its benefits spilled onto the community. The gift's ownership, and generated gratitude, is then divided between the community. It seems that, similar to Davis and Mauss, we have arrived at point following our own avenue, through our own door – a library door.

[207] Mauss. (2002) pp. 85

Should this model be deemed to be fruitful and hold conviction in its conclusions, then the next step should be toward other contested arts seen in donations to communities. From books donated to other institutions, universities, community libraries, schools, to music, to art (paintings, sculptures, etc.) to furniture. Through such investigation the social history can focus on the societal links and, hopefully, uncover more total services suggested by Mauss. History is tasked with revealing the relationships and workings of past peoples. The more determined the move away from relying purely on almost scriptural descriptions and written accounts of the past, the more past people are illuminated. Investigations into the gift economy of the past is one way to do such a thing. Surely, therefore, this should not be seen as an endeavour, but more of an adventure, one that, I hope, yields results.

Appendix A:

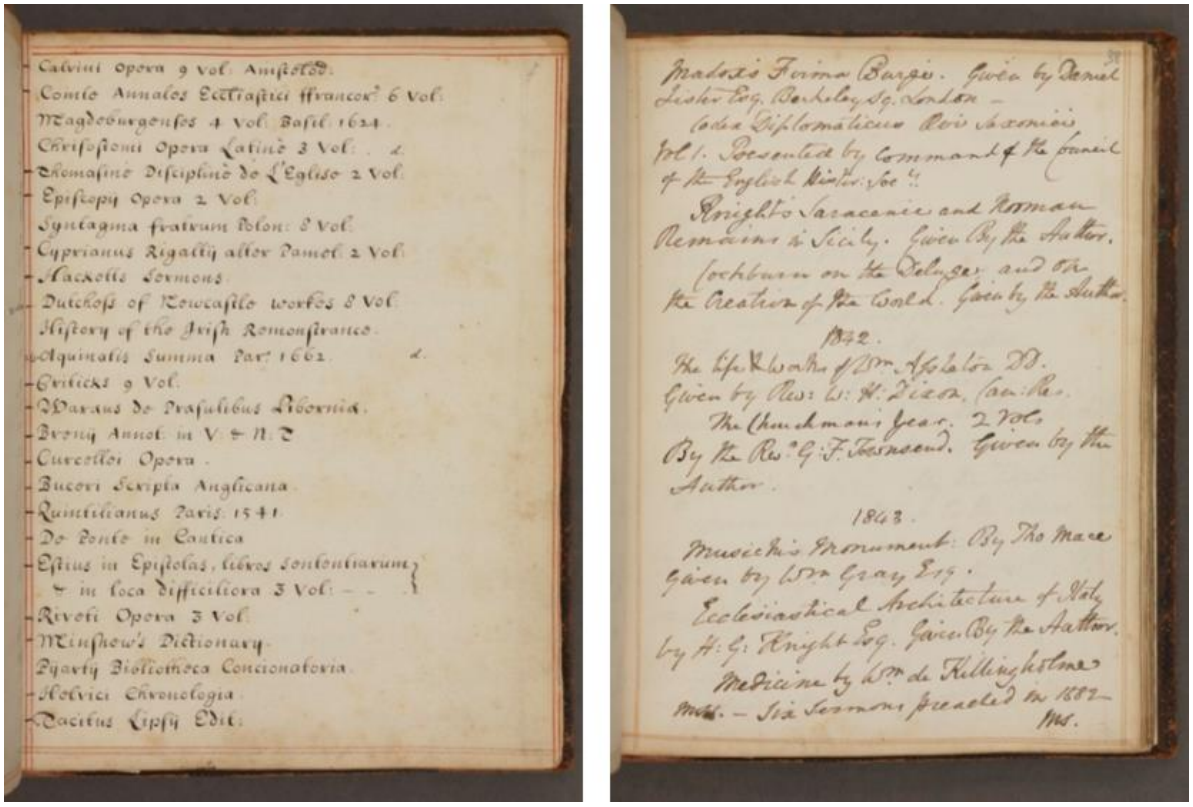


Fig 4: Left – 4 (Recto); Right – 38 (Recto). Liber Donorum.

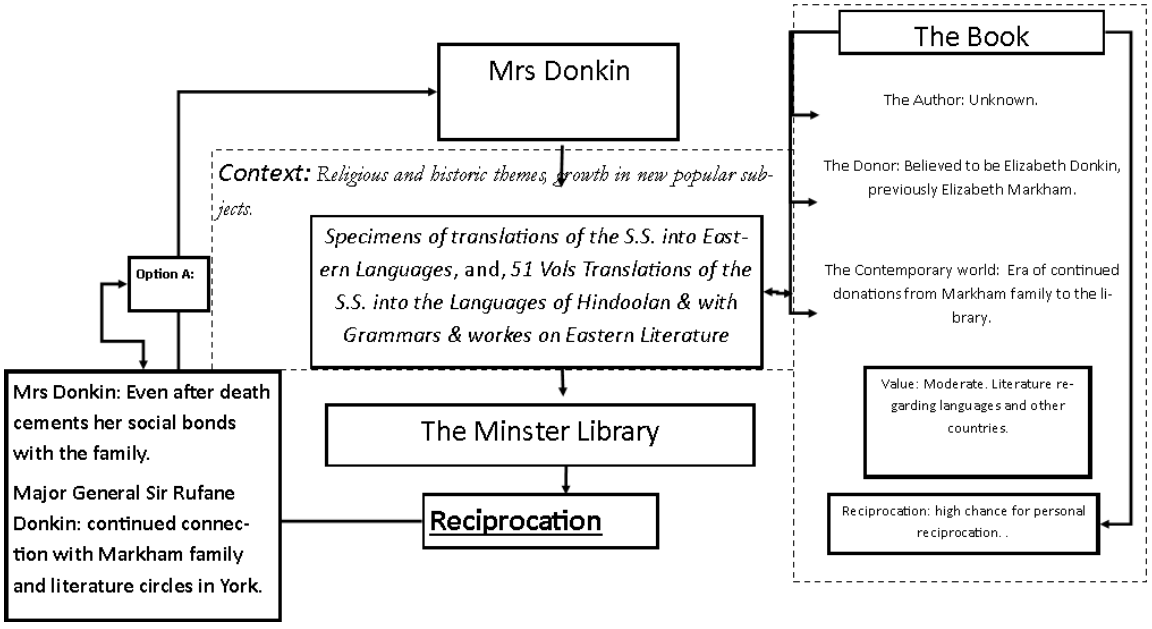
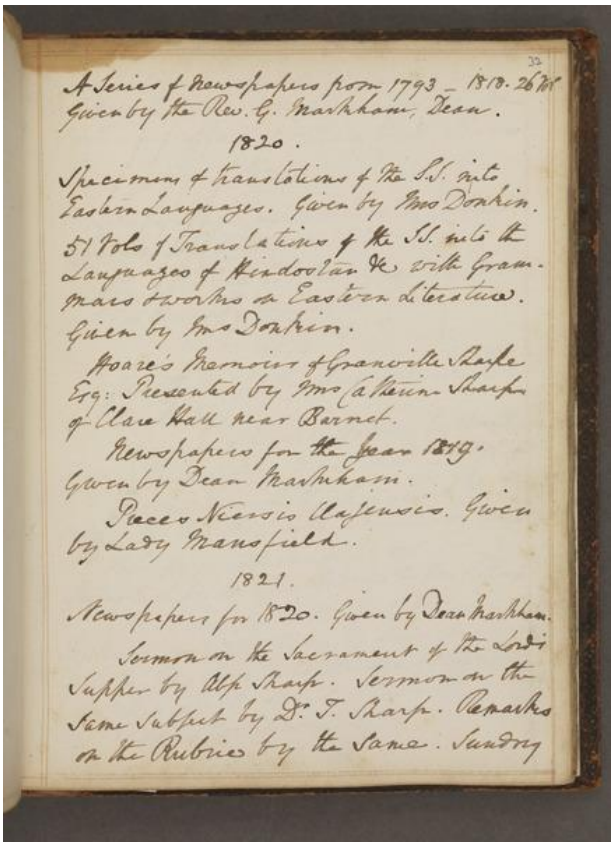
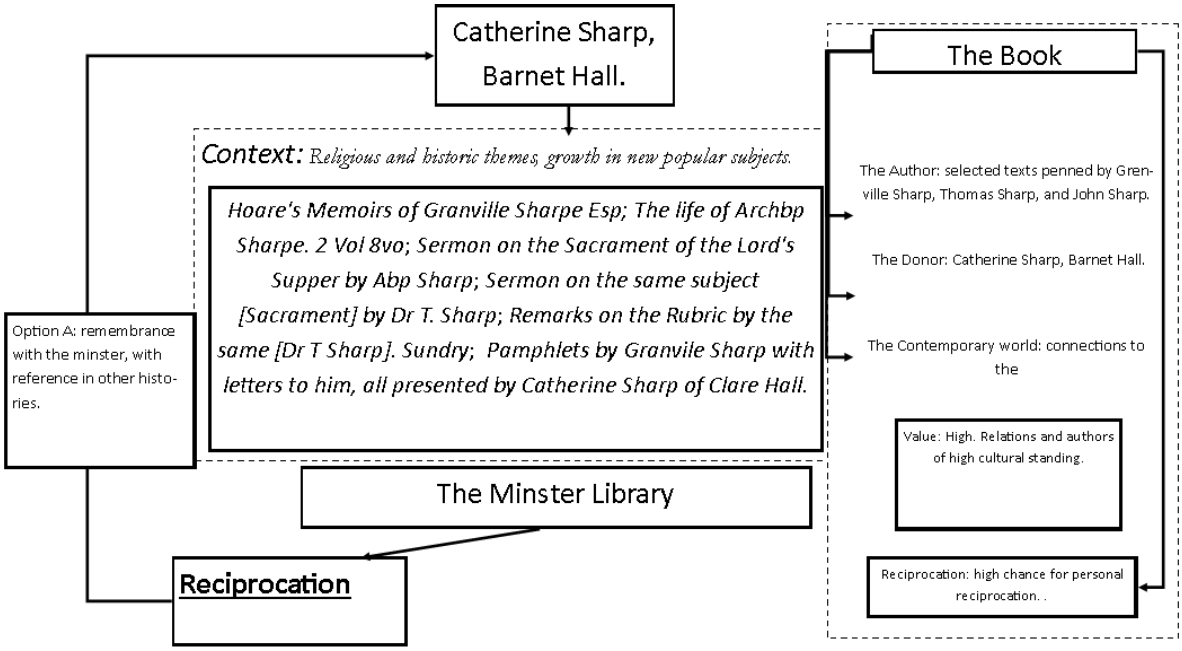


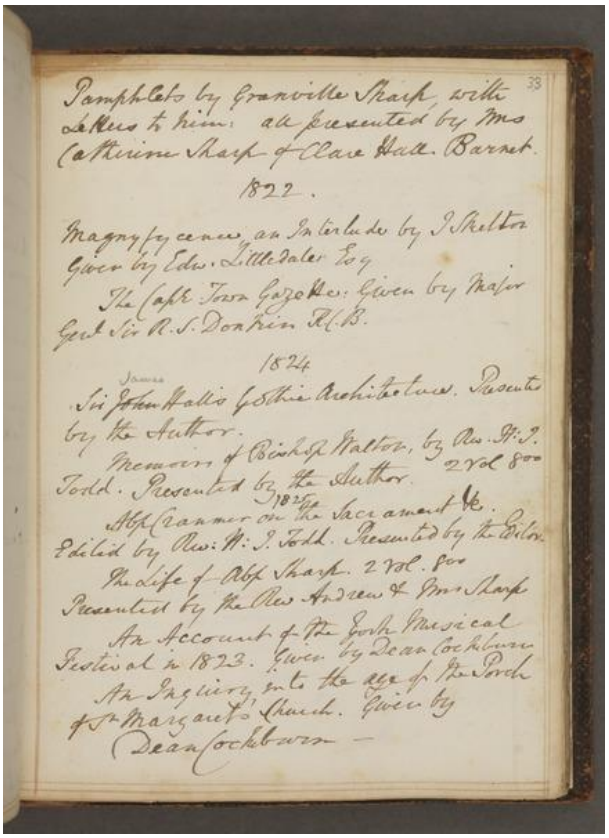
Fig 7. The Donkin pathway to the Markham family, and its literary community.



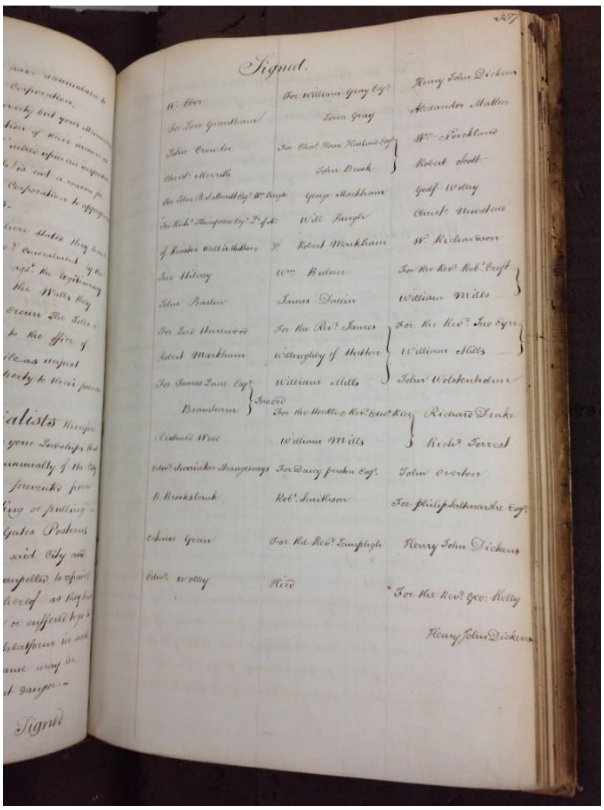
(Fig 8: 32 (Vecto). Recorded are the donations of Mrs Donkin, Catherine Sharp, and Lady Mansfield).



(Fig 9: Gift pathway of Catherine Sharp.)



(Fig. 10. The scribes error on 34 Recto)



(Fig 11: The names of the freeholders of York, Opinion book 1811)

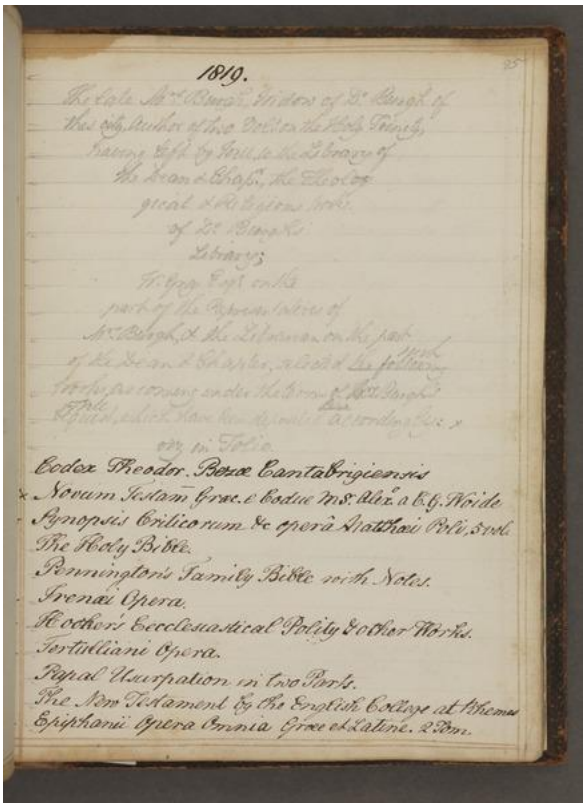
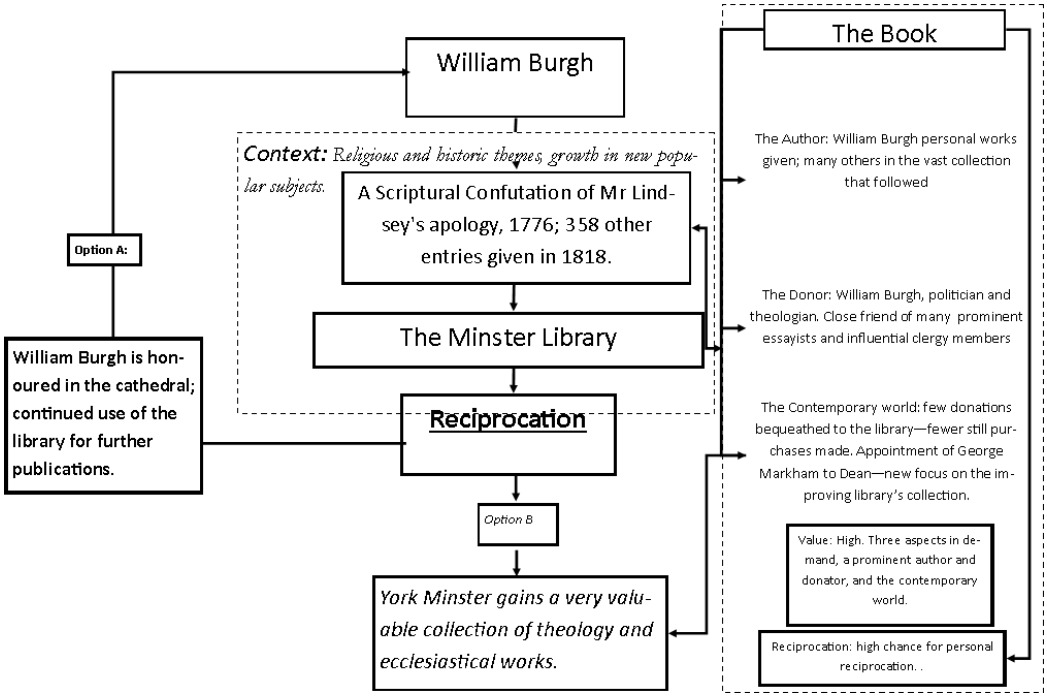
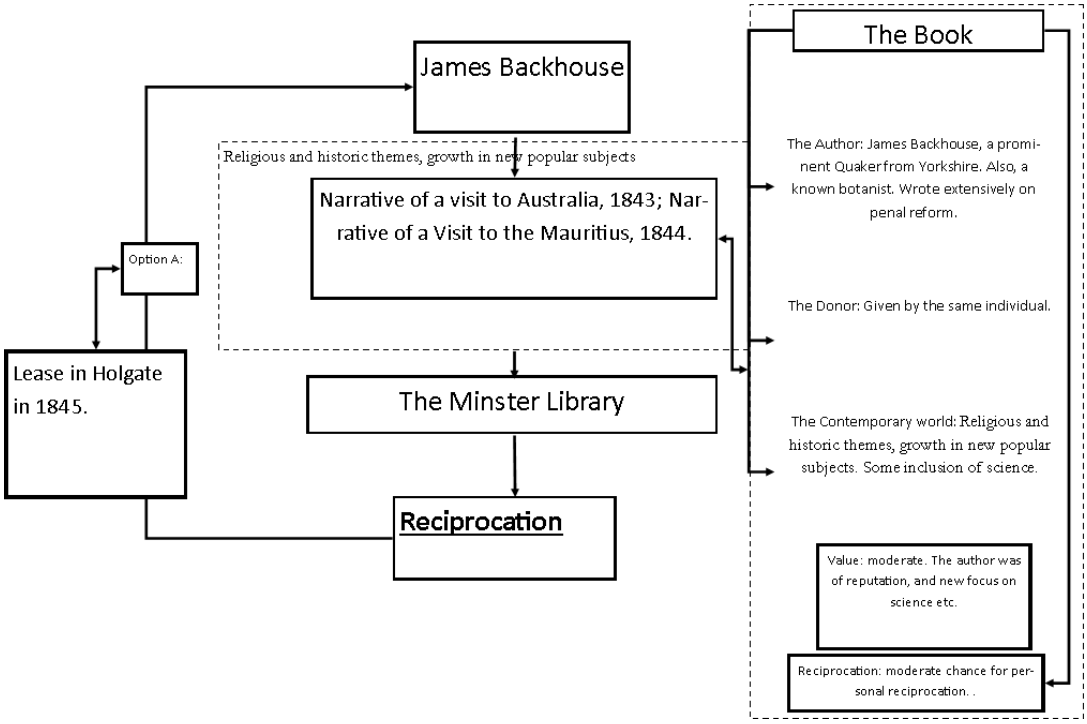


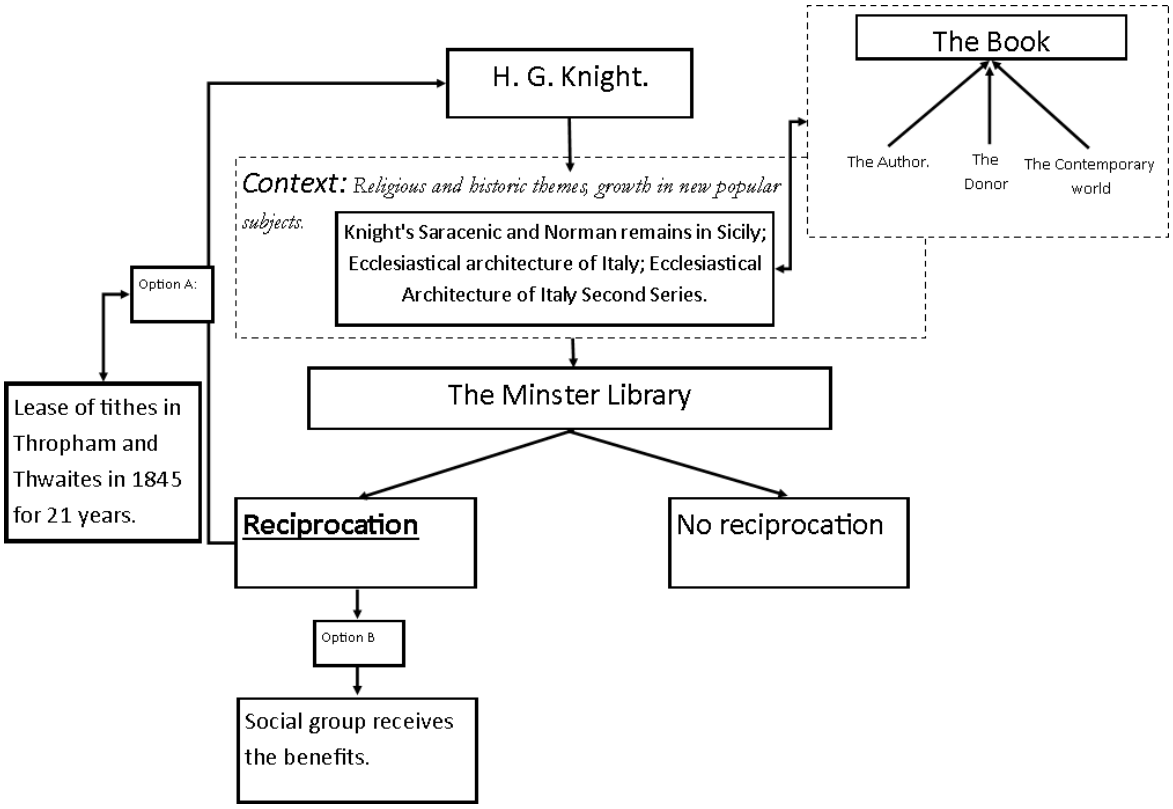
Fig 12: Page 25 Recto, Liber Donorum, with William Burgh and Mrs Burgh's dedication.



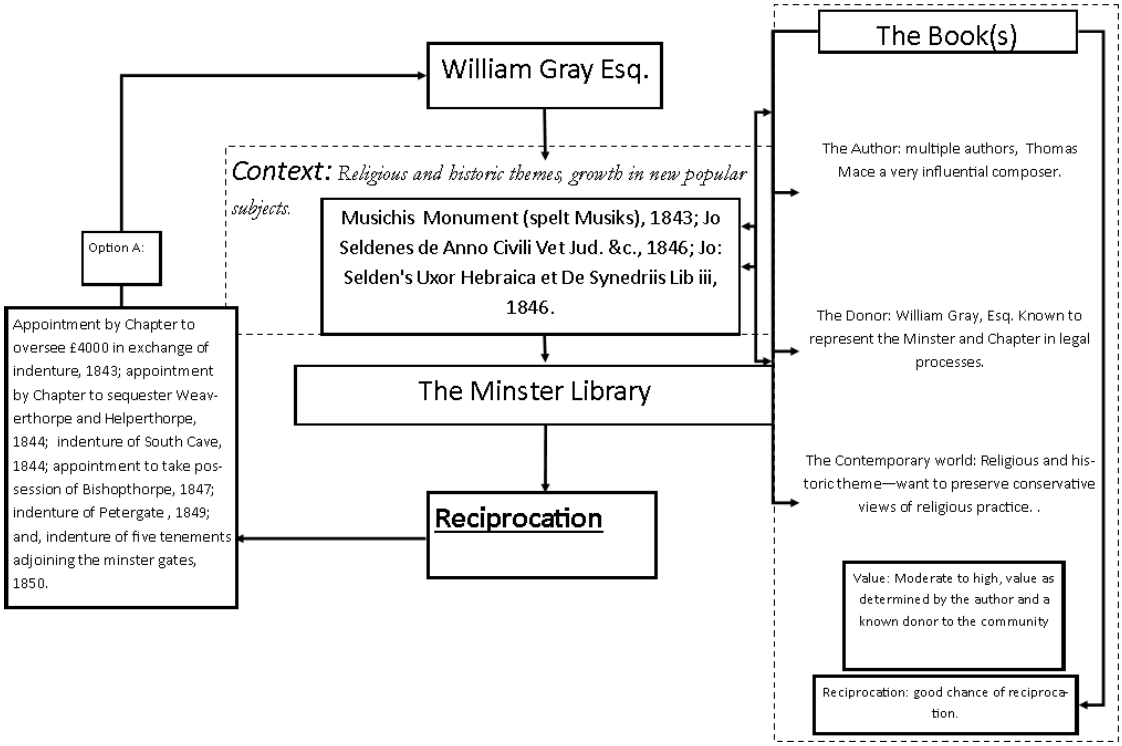
(Fig 13: The reciprocal pathway of William Burgh)



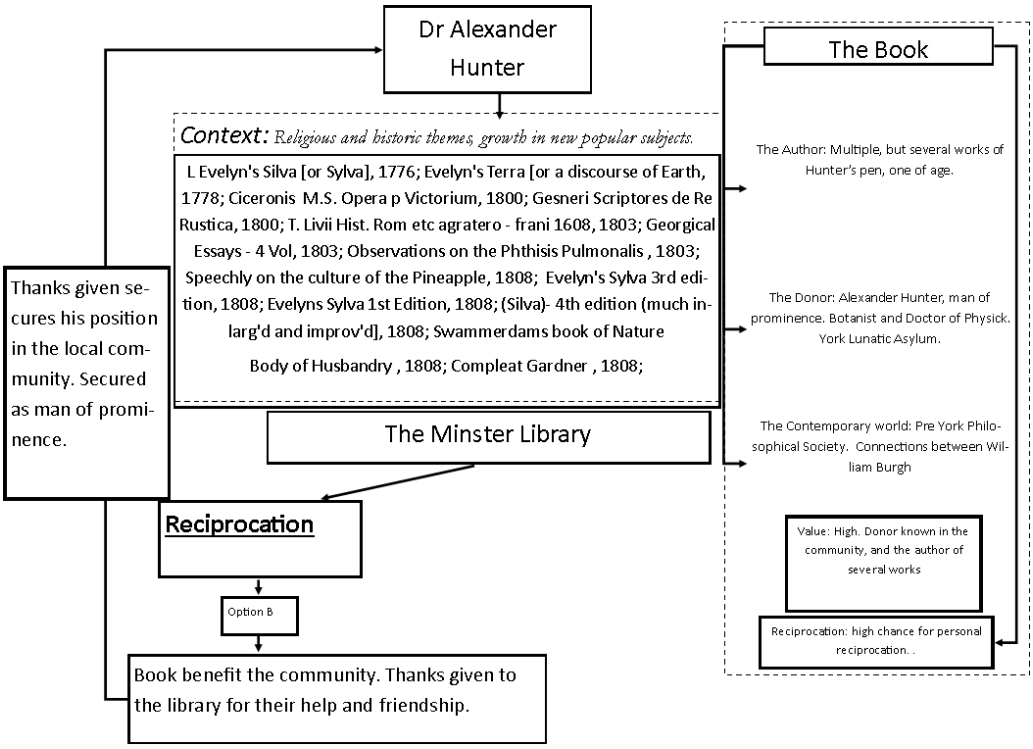
(Fig 14: The Reciprocal pathway of James Backhouse)



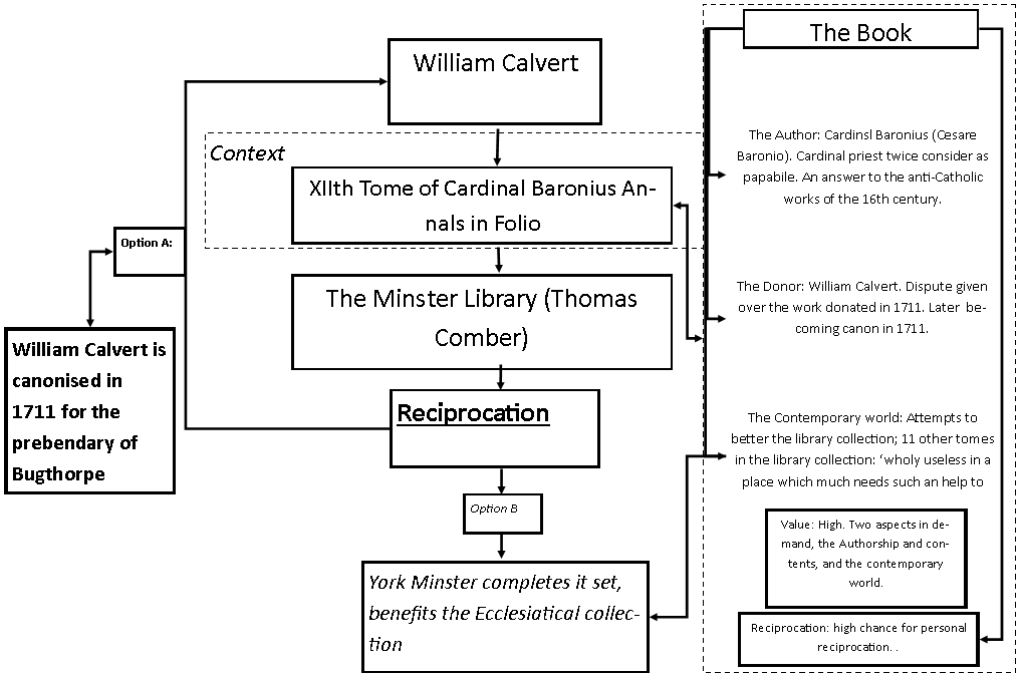
(Fig 15: The reciprocal pathway of H.G. Knight.)



(Fig 16: The reciprocal pathway of William Gray Esq.)



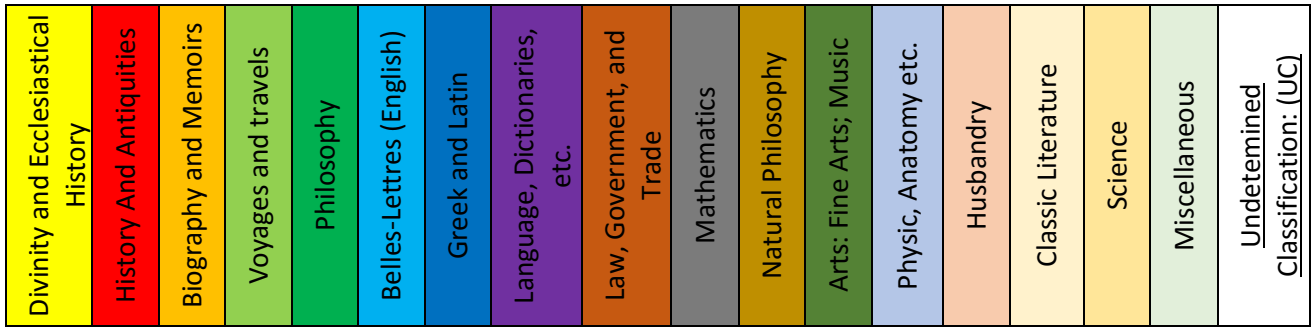
(Fig 17: The reciprocal pathway of Dr Alexander D Hunter.)



(Fig 18: The reciprocal pathways of William Calvert)

Appendix B:

Key for genre catagorisation:



(To be noted: as only *Biblia Poly glossa in Velum: una cum Castelli Lexicon in 2 Vol,* donated by 'Timotheus Thriscrosse S. T. P. quondam Archidiaconus de Cleevelant', can be identified in the first eight individuals, they have been omitted from the table and analysis below.)

Book Title	Page	Folio: Quarto: or Octavo	Author	Publisher	Publishing provenance	Publishing date	**Donator**	**Genre 1**	**Genre 2**	**Genre 3**	**Donated date**
Labbei Concilia Vol: 18: una cum Stephani		Folio			Lutet. Par.	1671-2					
Baluzii Novâ Collectione 1 Vol											
Calvini Opera 9 Vol: Amstetod - [Amstelod]	4 Recto	Folio				Amsterdam 1668					
Cointe Annales Eccliastici ffrancon: 6 vol		Folio				Paris 1665					

Magdeburgenses 4 Vol: Basil. 1624		Folio									
Christostomi Opera Latinè 3 Vol:		Folio									
Thomasine Disciplinè de L'Eglise (Check) 2 Vol		Folio									
Episcopii Opera 2 Vol:		Folio				Amsterdam 1630					
Syntagma Fratrum Polon: 8 Vol:		Folio									
Cyprianus Rigaltii alter Pamel: 2 Vol		Folio	Cyprian, Saint, Bishop of Carthage Mumicius Felix, Marcus ; Rigault, Nicolas, 1577-1654		Parisiis, sumptibus Ioannis du Puis	1666					
Hacketts Sermons		Folio	John Hacket			London 1675	Dolben				
Dutchess of Newcastle Workes (or Worfes) 8 Vol.		Folio			London.	1671					
History of the Irish Remonstance		Folio									
ab. Aquinatis Summa Par: 1662		Folio									
Criticks 9 Vol		Folio			London	London 1660	John Dolben				
Waræus de Præsylibus Hibernia		Folio						UC			
Breuii Annot: in V & N: T[A].		Folio				Amstel. 1664					

Curcellei Opera		Folio				1675					
Buceri Scripta Anglicana		Folio	Martin Bucer			Basil. 1577					
Quintilianus Paris: 1541		Folio				Paris 1541					
De Donte in Cantica		Folio									
Estius in Epistolas, Libros Sententiarum & in loca difficiliora 3 Vol:		Folio									
Riveli Opera 3 Vol:		Folio	Andre Rivet			Rott. 1651	Dolben				
Minshew's Dictionary		Folio				London. 1797					
Piiartii Bibliotheca Concionatoria		Folio						UC			
Helvici Chronologia		Folio				Marp. 1629 (1661)					
Tactius Lipsii Edit.		Folio						UC			
Soto de naturâ & gratiâ	5 Recto	Folio				Lug. 1591					
De Muis Opera		Folio				Paris 1650.					
Delacerda Adversaria Sacra		Folio						UC			
Lorichii Thesaurus Theologicus		Folio				Fribur. 1609					
Tena in Herbreos		Folio									
Epiphanius Gr: Basil:		Folio				Basil		UC			
Towerson on the Commandements		Folio				London 1676	John Dolben				

Smith's Xtian Religious appeale		Folio				London 1675					
Dixon on the two testments		Folio			London	1676					
The accounts of the soul translated out of Italian		Folio									
Day Upon the Romans		Folio	William Day		London	1666					
Bilson's survey of x(ts) sufferings &c		Folio	Thomas Bilson		London	1604	John Dolben				
ab. Whittakerus de Autoritate Scriptura		Folio						UC			
Causaboni Exercitationes		Folio	Isaac Casaubon		London	1614					
Seldenus de jure Nrali et Gentiu.		Folio				Lugd. 1568		UC			
Battledoore		Folio			George Fox, Benjamin Furley, John Stubs	1660	John Dolben - Dolben gift				
The house of Mourning		Folio			London	1640					
Lactantius Colon: 1543		Folio			Coloniae	1543					
John Whites workes [works]		Folio				Lon. 1624 possibly					
Wigger in 1st 2n2; [ins 2de]		Folio						UC			
Daniels History		Folio	Samuel Daniel		London	1626					

Cambridge Concordance		Folio						UC			
English Bible interleaved 3 vol.		Folio	Barker		London	1616					
Euseb: Nierembergii Homilia -		Folio			Antverpiae	1651					
Ejusdem Hieromelissa Bibliotheca } 2 vol		Folio	Juan Eusecio, Nieremberg		Lugduni	1686	Dolben gift				
Cartwright's Confutation of the Rhemish Translation.		Folio	Tho Cartwright		London	1616	Archbishop Tobie Matthew collection 1628, presented by Mrs. Frances Matthew, 1629.				
Justin Martyr Paris: 1551	6 Recto	Folio	Saint Justin Martyr		Paris	1551	Dolben				
Pocock on Hosea Malachi & Mica 3 vol		Folio			Oxon	1685					
Brochman Systema - Universa Theologia		Folio			Ulm.	1658					
Spencer de Legibus Hebreorum		Folio			Cant	Cant 1685					
Solinus & Pomponius mela		Folio			Basileæ	1538	Dolben Gift 1686				
Welch comon prayer booke Royall paper		Folio				Lon. 1664					
? - Grotii in Nobrum T: pars Tertia		Folio						UC			

Acta Synodi Nationalis Dordrechtana		Folio	Dort. Synod 1618-19		Lugduni Batavorum	1620	Frances Matthew 1629				
Alciatus de Verborum Significatione.		Folio	Alciatus (Andr)	Gryphius	Lugd. Sebast	Lug. Ba. 1530	Archbishop Dolben's Executors				
Origenes de rectâ in Deum fide &c		Folio									
Franci Petracha Opera		Folio			Basiileae	1554	Dolben gift 1686				
Caroli 7mi Pragmatica Sanctio		Folio			Parsiis	1666	Dolben Gift 1686				
Cassiani Opera		Folio	Cassian, John		Atrebati	1628	Dolben Gift 1686				
Perkins Workes 3 vol		Folio			Printed at London, by Iohn Legatt, printer to the Vniversitie of Cambridge	1612	Dolben Gift 1686				
Dodwelli dissertations Cypriana		Folio	Dodwell, Henry		Oxford	1682	Dolben Gift 1686				
Pistoria [Historia?] conciloo fflorentini		Folio									
Ainsworths Comments		Folio		M. Parsons	London	1639	Archbishop Dolben's Executors				
Libertez de L-Eglise Gallicane 2 vol		Folio			Rouen	1639	Dolben Gift 1686				
Barbosa de autoritate Episcopi &c 3 vol.		Folio	Barbosa, Agostinho		Lugduni	1665	Dolben Gift 1686				
Dr Gibbs Sermons		Quarto	Givves, Charles		London	1677	Dolben Gift 1686				
Theses Salmurienses		Quarto	Cappei, Louis		Salmurii	1664	Dolben Gift 1686				

Kircheri Concordantia 2 Vol:		Quarto	Kircher, Conrad		Francofurti	1607					
Cartwrights Coment in Proverb & Eccles	7 recto	Quarto			Amstelrodami	1632	Dolben Gift 1686				
Homer & Dydimus Super eundem		Quarto	Homer, Didymus, Chalcenterus		Lugduni Batavorum	1655					
Arnoldus in Catech Racovian		Quarto	Arnoldi Nicolaus		Francqueræ	1654	Archbishop Dolben's Executors				
Pancirollus revum Memorabil:		Quarto	Panciroli, Guido. Salmuth, Heinrich.		Francofurti	1631	Dolben Gift 1686				
Bp Andrews Op: Lat		Quarto			Londini	1609	Frances Matthew 1629				
Volkelius de vera rel:		Quarto			Racoviae	1630					
Bilson de Perp: Eccl: Gub		Quarto	Bilson, Thomas		London	1593	Frances Matthew 1629				
Budæi Epist:		Quarto	Budè, Guillaume		Parisiis	1574	John Dolben				
Erastus.		Quarto						UC			
Lubbertus Cont: Soc:		Quarto			Franekeran	1611	Dolben Gift 1686				
Rinesii varia Lect:		Quarto			Lipsiae	1670	Dolben Gift 1686				
Historia Christi Persice Scripta.		Quarto			Lugduni Batavorum	1639					
Arminii Opera		Quarto	Arminius (Jac.)	Jo. Paedtz	Lug. Bat	1629	Archbishop Dolben's Executors				
Rinesii Epist: 2 Vol		Quarto			Lipsiae	1682					
Zaræ Anatomia Iugenioru.		Quarto			Venetiis	1615	Dolben Gift 1685				
PiAothdix Veterum		Quarto									

celsus de re Medicâ		Quarto			Lugduni Batauorum	1582	Fairfax				
Mainmonides more Nevochim		Quarto			Basileae	1629	John Dolben				
Sharrock de finibus virtutum		Quarto			Oxford	1673	John Dolben				
Juvenal of Persius		Quarto									
Navarri Euhiveidon [Enchiridion]		Quarto			Antuerpiae	1591	Frances Matthew 1629				
Glanviles Scepsis Scientifica		Quarto			London	Albuis, Thomas Science	John Dolben 1686				
Bisterfield Contr: Crelliu		Quarto			Lugduni Batavorum	1639	John Dolben 1686				
Maimonides de Sacrificiis		Quarto			Londini	1683	Dolben Gift 1686				
Downhams defence &c		Quarto			Saint-Omer: English College Press	1613	Frances Matthew 1629				
Abul: Pharagius Arab: Lat:		Quarto	Bar Hebreaus, Pococke, Edward		Oxon	1663	Archbishop Dolben's Executors				
Ludoplhi Lexic: Aethiop: Lat	8 Recto	Quarto						UC			
Bulkley's Gospel Covenant		Quarto			London	1646	Dolben Gift 1686				
Eutychius Vindicatus per Seldenum		Quarto			Romae	1661					
Retractations by Ellis		Quarto			London	1672		UC			

Causabon of the necessity of reformation		Quarto			London	1664	Dolben Gift 1686				
Acta Synodalia Remonstrant: m		Quarto									
Maimonides de jure Pauperis.		Quarto			Oxonii	1679					
Vossii Theses Theologicæ		Quarto			Oxford	1628	Dr. Wickham, Dean of York. 1677-1679				
Vorstius in Epistolas		Quarto			Amsterdami	1631	Dolben Gift 1686				
Taylors 2d Disswasive		Quarto						UC			
James Naylors love to the lost with Severall pamphlets of the Quakers }		Quarto			London	1656	John Dolben				
Abi Jaaphar Arab		Quarto						UC			
Dixon of ffaith		Quarto			London	1668	Dolben Gift 1686				
Widdrington upon the Oath of Allegience		Quarto			London	1619	Ferdinando Fairfax				
Burges Defence		Quarto			London	1631					
Oldsworth's holy Royalist		Quarto			London	1664					
Arnoldi Altheismus Socin:		Quarto	Arnoldi Nicolaus		Frankeræ	1659	Archbishop Dolben's Executors				
Stephenson of Procurations		Quarto			London	1661					
Essenius de satisfactione Xti		Quarto	Essen, Andreas van		Amstelodami	1649	Mrs. E. Davies				

Hewish of the Lords Prayer		Quarto	Huish, Alexander		London	1626	Dolben Gift 1686				
Barrows Archimedes		Quarto	Archimedes, Barrow, Isaac, 1630-1677 ; Apollonius, of Perga. ; Theodosius, active 1st century B.C.		Londini	1675	Dolben Gift 1686				
Sherwyns Discourses		Quarto						UC			
Forbosii Irenicum		Quarto	Forbes, John, of Corse		Aberdoniae	1629	Dolben Gift 1686				
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What is truth by Tho: Harby		Quarto			London	1678	Dolben Gift 1686				

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Chanchard's map of Germany, Italy &c					London	1800	Geogre Rupell Esqr of Leaven Grove				
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Florum Hist Eccles. Gentis Anglorum Libri Septem Collectore Ricardo Smitheo Episcopio chalc Paris, 1654		Quarto	Smith, Richard. Bp. Of Chalcedon		Parisiis	1654	Rev Robert Markham A.M. Arch Deacon & Canon Residentiary of York				
Resolutiones Orthodoxo morales - col. Agrip		Quarto	Hurtado, Tomas		Coloniae Agrippinae	1655	Rev Robert Markham A.M. Arch Deacon & Canon Residentiary of York				

Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii			Blancas, Geronimo de,		Caesaravgvstae	1588	Rev Robert Markham A.M. Arch Deacon & Canon Residentiary of York				
Baptista Blasio De actionibus			Rev Robert Markham Auth		Venetijs	1481	Rev Robert Markham A.M. Arch Deacon & Canon Residentiary of York				
Gough's Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain 5 vol Folio	21 Recto	Folio				1786	The legacy of the Revd John Fountayne D.D. Late Dean of York				
Observations on the Phthisis Pulmonalis		Octavo	W. White M.D	York Wilson, Spence & Mawman.	1792		Dr Hunter of York				
Manuscript formerly belonging to the abbey of St Mary Rievaulx, or Rivers abbey						Unknown	Mr Henry Peckitt of Compton Street London Apothecary				
Fiddes' Life of Cardinal Wolsey		Quarto	Fiddes, Richard.		London	1724 London [Printed for J. Barber]	The Most Revd William Markham Lord Arch Bishop of York				
Churchill's Collection of Voyages & Travils 6 Vol		Octavo or Folio.	Churchill, Awnsham		London	1744	Rev Edward Salter A.M. Prebenary of Strensall in the Church of York				
Nicolson & Burn's Hist of Cumberland & Westmorland	21 Verso	Quarto	Nicolson, Joseph		London	1777	Rev Lamphugh Hird A.M Predendary of Botevant in the Church of York				1804

Manuale Precationum cum Calendario Illuminate						1793	Henry John Kickens Esqr of York				
Drake's Literary Hours 3 vol 800		Octavo	Nathan Drake -		London	1804	Given by his Brother Mr Drake Surgeon York				1805
Historiæ & romance Scriptures 3 vol Fol		Folio					Revd George Markham D.D. Dean of York				
Lloyd's Christian Theology 800					London	1804	Mr W. Tesseyman of Beverley, Late bookseller in York				
Bibliothecæ Matritensis Cod Græc. M.S.S	22 Recto				Iriarte, Joannes. Mardrid.	1769	Robt Darley Waddilove D.D. Dean of Ripon of Prebendary of York				1806
M.S of Drake of York Historian							Revd Francis Drake				1808
Speechly on the culture of the Pineapple		Octavo	Speechly, William		York	1796	A Hunter M.D. of York				1808
and, Evelyn's Sylva 3rd edition					London	1679 or 1706 London editions	A Hunter M.D. of York				
The sum of fifty pounds to be paid out in books given by the Revd Wm Shippen Willem the Center Canonicorum in the Church of York								UC			
Evelyns Sylva 1st Edition					London	1664	A Hunter M.D. of York				
[Do? Do?] (Silva)- 4th edition (much inlarg'd and improv'd]			Evelyn, John		London	1706	A Hunter M.D. of York				

Swammerdams book of nature		Folio	Swammerdam, Jan. 1637-1680		London	1758	A Hunter M.D. of York				
Body of Husbandry			Various authors			London 1756	A Hunter M.D. of York				
Compleat Gardner			La Quintinie, Jean de 1626-1688		London	1683	A Hunter M.D. of York				
Siglarium Romanum	22 Verso	Quarto	Gerrard, John, active 18th century.		Londini	1792	Revd George Markham D.D Dean of York				
A Dutch Bible Quarto		Quarto	Luther, Martin. 1483-1546. Haas, Nicolaus, 1665-1715		Amsterdam	1748	Revd James Croft - Vicar of Burton Leonard				1810
Missale ad usum Sarum Paris 1510		Folio			Paris	1510	Mr Anthony Thorpe - Solicitor of York				
Leeuwenhoeks Arcana Natura detecta		Quarto	Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van		Delphis Batavorum	1695	Revd George Markham Dean of York				
Whartons Anglia Sacra 2 V. fol Large Paper		Folio	Wharton, Henry 1664-1695		Londini	1691	Revd J. Eyre, Residentiary -				
Treatise of Master Walter de Hilton Canon of Thurgarton							Mr Wolstenholme				
On the renewal of Mans nature -							Mr Wolstenholme				
the Mirror of Mass Salvation							Mr Wolstenholme				

Cl. Salmasii Plinianæ exercitationes in Caii lulii Solini Polyhistoria 2 Vol Folis Parisiis 1629		Folio	Saumaise, Claude de		Parisiis	1629	Revd George Markham D.D Dean of York				1812
x Aristotelis Opera Omnia 2 Vol Fol Paris 1619	23 Recto	Folio	Aristotle. Casaubon, Isaac, 1559-1614 ; Duval, Guillaume, approximately 1572-1646. ; Pace, Giulio, 1550-1635 ; Turnèbe, Adrien, 1512-1565		Lutetiae Parisiorum	1619	Given by the Revd C Wellbeloved dip Minster in York				1810
x Newtoni Opera Omnia 5 Vols 4to London 1779			Newton, Isaac 1642-1727, Horsley, Samuel, 1733.1806		Londini	1779-85	Mr Wm. Mills				1811
Shakespear's Works Fol		Folio				London 1685	Revs W Dealtry				
Prior's Poems Fol		Folio	Prior, Matthew, Rowe, Elizabeth Singer		London	1718	Revs W Dealtry				
£20 - to be paid out in the purchase of books							Honorable Rev E. Rice Præcentor of this church	UC			
A Dutch Testament 12mo Amsterdam 1660		sixteenmo			Amsterdam	1660	Thos. [Thomas?] Peck Bookbinder				
Catalogue of the library of the late John Duke of Roxburghes	24 Recto	Octavo			London	1812	Rev C. Baillie Archdn of Cleveland				1813

Dr. Burgh's sequel to his scriptural confutation							Mrs Burgh				1813
Catalogue of the Royal Institutions;		Octavo			London	1809	The Right Honerble Lord Dundas				1814
Tracts against Episcopal Government						1810 Sir Walter Scott	W.L.F. Scott Esqr				1816
Miltons Paradise Lost, Fol. Glasgow editn		Folio	Glasgow Edit		Glasgow	Glasgow 1770	Mr Mc. Nair of Leith				
Theocriti Idylliæ; 8vo, Francof, 1545		Octavo?	Francof 1545				Revd C Isherwood of Brotherton				
Glassii Philiologia sacra, 4,:							Revd J. Dallin, Vicar Choral				
Harleian Miscellany, 10 Vol 4to		Quarto			London	1808-13	Revd G. Markham, D.D Dean of York				1818
Codex Theodor Bezæ Cantabrigiensis	25 Recto	Folio	Beze, Theodore de		Cantabrigiae	1793	Mrs Burgh				
Novum Testam Græcium & Codice MS Alexandrino, qui Londini in Blibliotheca Masei Britain Nice asservatur, descriptum a Carolo Godofredo Woide S. Th. D & c		Folio	Ms Alexo A C. G. Woide		London.	1786	Mrs Burgh				
Synopsis Criticorum & opera Mattæi Poli, 5 Vol		Folio				1669-76	Mrs Burgh				
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S, Frenæi Opera - Edidit Fr. Francis Fell-Ardentius		Folio			Luteb Paris	1639	Mrs Burgh				

Hooker's Eecclesiastic Polity & other Works		Folio				1773 - Matthew Hemmings; One printed in 1807 by I. Walton	Mrs Burgh				
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Papal Usurpation - Part. I. Concerning the Usurpations wars & Persecutions of the Popes & Popish Clergy against Protestant Princes & States . Part .2. The History of the Old Waldenses & Albigenses by John Paul Perrin - Collected & Edited by a sicere Lover of our Protestant _Establishment both in Church & State		Folio			London.	1711-1712	Mrs Burgh				
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Jacobi Ussery Annales Veteris & novi Testamenti - Jacobi Ussery Chronologia sacra veteris Testamenti - Jacobi Ussery Dissertatio de Macedonum et Asiamorum Anno solari		Folio			Lutes. Paris	1673	Mrs Burgh				
Bibliothecæ Patrum veter, seu Scriptor Eccles. Tom. I & II		Folio			Paris.	1624	Mrs Burgh				
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Corcordantiæ Græcolatinæ Testamenti [Demonstratis Evangelica] Novi - Studio Haberg. H. Stephani - Paulus Stephanus Typographus		Folio			Paris	1600	Mrs Burgh				
Annotations upon the Old & New Testament - By certain learned Divines, Thereunto appointed		Folio			London.	1645	Mrs Burgh				
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This History of the Reformation of the Church of England in three parts - By Gilbert Burnet. D.D. 3 Vol.		Folio			London.	1681-1753	Mrs Burgh				
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Libri Moses, Jesus, Judicum, Ruth, Samuelis, Regum et ex Hagiographis Paralipomenon, Ezre, Nehemiæ & Hester - Commentarys Chuonradi Pellicani Rubeaquensis 'illustrati II Tom. In I.		Folio			Tiguri	1532, 1533	Mrs Burgh				
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1) Gracissimæ Quæstionis, de christianarum Ecclesiarum in occidentis præsertim partibus, ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usq: atatem continua successione & statu, Historica explicatio - 2) Gottischaly et Prædestionatianæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historia: unà cum duplice ejusdem Confessione, mune edila a jacobo Usserio &c.		Quarto	1) Jacobo Usserio S.T.P. 2) Jacobo Usserio		1) Londin 2) Dublin	1) 1613 2) 1631	Mrs Burgh				
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Strabonis Libri Histor xvii 2 vol		Folio	Strabo, Casaubon, Isaac, 1559-1614; Falconer, Thomas		Oxonii, e typeographeo Clarendoniano	1807	Dean Waddilove				
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Selections from the Paraphase on the Psalms by Geo: Sandys. Edited by Archdn Todd		18cm	Geo: Sandy edited by Archdeacon Todd.		London.	1839	Given by Archdeacon Tobb				

Madox's Firma Burgi	38 Recto	Folios	Madox, Thomas		London	1726	Daniel Lisher Esq. Berkely Sq London				1839
Codex Dilplomaticus Ævi Saxonei Vol 1		Octavo	Kemble, John Mitchell ; English Historical Society		London	1839-48	Presented by: Command of the Council of the English Histor; Soc. Simmons Thomas Frederick, Preb. of Bugthorpe in York Minster				
Knight's Saracenic and Norman remains in Sicily		Folio	Knight, Henry Gally		London	1840	Given by Author Knight Henry Gally				
Cockburn on the Deluge and on the Creation of the World		Octavo	Cockburn, William		London	1840	Given by Author Cockburn William				
The Life & works of Wm Assheton D.D.		Octavo	Watts		London	1714	Rev. W: H: Dixon Can: Res.				1842
The Churchmans Year. 2 Vols		Octavo	Rev: G. [George] F.[Fyler] Townsend		London	1842	Rev: G.F. Townsend				1843
Musichis Monument (spelt Musiks)		Folio	Tho Mace		London, printed by T. Ratcliffe, and N. Thompson, for the author, and are to be sold by himself, at his house in Cambridge, and by John Carr, at his shop in ... Fleetstreet	1676	Wm Gray Esq				1843
Ecclesiastical architecture of Italy		Folio	H:G: Knight {Henry Gally]		London	1842	H:G Knight Esq				
Medicine by Wm de Killingholme	39 Recto						Revd Edw Churton Rector of Craike				

MSS- Six Sermons Preached in 1582						1582	Revd Edw Churton Rector of Craike				
And Wiclife Dialogi 4to		Quarto	Wycliffe, J 1384		Worms, P. Schoeffer Excusum Anno a Christo nato M.D.XXV. Die VII. Martii.	1525	Revd Edw Churton Rector of Craike				
Narrative of a visit to Australia		Octavo	James Backhouse		London; York, John L. Linney pr.	1843	James Backhouse 1794-1869				
The Order of the Daily service of the United Church of Eng & Ireland		Octavo	Tho Tallis - edited by John Bishop of Cheltenham		London, Messrs. R Cocks and Co	1843	R. Cox & co [Cocks]				1844
Practical Hints for Invalids [insterspersed with cases on the use and efficacy of the mineral waters of Harrogate by Joseph..		Octavo	Jos[eph] Frobisher		London	1842	Jos[eph] Frobisher				
Ecclesistical Architecture of Italy Second Series			B:H:G: Knight Esq				B:H:G Knight				
York Records of the 15th century		Octavo	Edited by R. Davies Esq		London	1843	R. Davies Esq				
Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius		Octavo	James Backhouse		London, Hamilton. Adams, York, John L Linney Pr	1844	James Backhouse				
Liturgies of Edward the Vith		Octavo	Ketley, Joseph		Cambridge: University Press	1844	Council of the Parker Society				

DeCapta a Mehemethe ii Constantinopoli L[eonardi]. Chinsis & G[odefredi] Langi narrationes		Octavo	Leonardus, of Chios, Abp. of Mitylene Camerarius, Joachim, 1500-1574 ; L'ecuy, Jean-Baptiste ; Roting, Michael		1823	1828	Rev E. Churton: Rector of Craike				1845
Jo Seldenes de Anno Civili Vet Jud. &c.	40 Recto	Octavo	Selden, John. Ussher, James 1581-1656		Lugd. Batavor. Apud Petrum van der Aa	1683	W. Gray Esq				1846
Jo: Selden's Uxor Hebraica et De Synedriis Lib iii							W. Gray Esq				
Notitia Cestriensis Bp Gastrell. Vol 1 Edited by Rev F.R. Raines.			Gastrell, Francis, 1662-1725 Raines, F. R. 1805-1878 ; Chetham Society.		Chetham	1845	Rev F. R . Davies				
The Princes Cabala; and Elsynge's Ancient Method of holding Parliaments in England		Quarto			London	1654	Rev: C Hawkins Can Res				1847
History of the Public Library of Zurich							Libranian of Zurich				1849
Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England by B. Botfield Esq.		Folio	B. Botfield Esq		London, W. Pickering	1849	B. Botfield Esq [Botfield Beriah]				
Documents connected with the History of Ludlow by the Hon. R. Clive		Folio	The Hon R; Clive Clive, Robert Henry, 1789-1854,		London, J. Van Voorst	1841	The Hon R Clive				

A letter to the Rev R. Willis by J. Browne		Octavo	J Browne; Browne, John, of York		London : Longman, J. Weale; Oxford, J.H. Parker; York, W. Sotheran pr., H. Sotheran, H. Bellerby, J. Sampson;	1849	J Browne				
The Holy Bible C. p. printed by Baskerville	41 Recto	Folio	John Baskerville		Cambridge	1763	Rev: Mr Coates Hon Canon				
The Doctrine of Holy Baptism of ArchDn R. Wilberforce		Octavo	Wilberforce, R. Wilberforce, Robert Isaac Goode, William, 1801-1868		London, John Murray, John & charles Mozley	London 1849	Archdeacon R Wilberforce.				1850-57
Estro Poetic - Armonico Parafrasi Sopra Li primi Venticinque Salmi Musica di B. Marcello. Six Vol. Fol.		Folio	Marcello, Benedetto		Vebezia	1714-1726	Rev Edward Hay				
A tour through Scotland 8vo presented by the Author S		Octavo					by Author S				
Tracts on Prophecy by Rev W: Hewson		Octavo	Rev W Hewson			1837	Rev W Hewson				
Pearsini Vidiciæ Sti Ignatii Editit Ed. Churton.							By the Editor.				1852
Rivers, Mountains, & Sea Coast of Yorkshire by J. Phillips.		Octavo	J. Phllips. Phillips John, F.R.s.		London	1853	Rev: Cha Hawkins				1853

Wake's State of the Church and Clergy		Folio	Wake, William, 1657-1737 Atterbury, Francis, 1662-1732		London. R. Sare	1703	Rev. W: H: Dixon Can: Res				1853
Collyer's Eccle. History 2 Vol.		Folio	Jeremy Collier		London: printed for Samuel Keble, and Benjamin Tooke	1708-14	Rev. W: H: Dixon Can: Res				
Ellway's Anthems. Given by Rev: C: Hawkins C:R.		12o	Ellway, Thomas		York, printed by Thomas Gent. For John Hildyard	1753	Rev: C. Hawkins C:R.				
Catalogue of Queen's College Liby Camb. 2 Vol. 8vo		Octavo	Horne, Thomas Hartwell		London, S & R Bentley	1827	Rev: W: Hey. Hem Cam.				1855
Aristotele's Rhetorica Gr. et. Lat. 1619		Quarto	Aristotle. Goulston, Theodore	typis E. Griffini	Londini	1619	M. Cowing. Vestry Clerk-				1856
Thesaurus Rerum Eccles: by J. Ecton		Quarto	J. Ecton. Ecton, John Willis, Browne, 1682-1760		London, for T. Osborne, H. Woodfall, A. Millar, J. Beecroft, J. Whiston and B. White, J. Rivington, R. Baldwin, Hawes and Clarke and Collins, R. Horsfield, J. Richardson, T. Caslon, S. Crowder, and T. Longman	1763	B. Agar. Esq:				1857

Perilous Times: Sermons presented by Rev.n Chas Forster & Rev. E. Penny		Octavo	Walton, Jonathan		London, John Hatchard and Son	1826	Presented by Rev.n Chas Forster & the Rev. E. Penny				
Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions Presented by the Author		Octavo	Kenrick, John.		London, John Russell Smith, York, R. Sunter, H. Sotheram	1858	MA, FSA - illegible.				1858
Ezekiel's oblation and the apocalypse		Octavo	Hewson, William		London, Simpkin & Co.,; York, Marsh; Whitby, Newton, etc.	1858	presented by Rsd W. Hewson MA.				

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